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Gender and youth migration for empowerment: migration trends from Tanzania

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Abstract

Migration remains a central concern in urbanisation, especially in Africa. With mobility, and migration, articulated as norms of the twenty-first century this paper introduces a focus on trending realities. The paper describes the migration to and from the rural hinterland of a medium-sized African city in Tanzania. By asking questions on migration trends within livelihoods, this project identifies the emerging demographic patterns, and geographies, within Tanzania. Analysis was carried out on a Health and Demographic Surveillance Site (HDSS) database. The HDSS site data provides an overview of population movement in, out, and within, Kisesa, Tanzania. The results raise discussion concerning what mobility means and the connections between migration and urbanisation. The results raise two key points. Certain factors increase the 'risk' of migration: age, sex, place of residence, and being able to migrate individually. These risk factors as interconnected. Results highlight the need for a gender and age sensitive approach with feminising, and youthful, migration trends identified. Secondly, migration is not necessarily rural-urban, but rather increasingly involve local movements within the Kisesa ward and circular mobilities'.

Keywords: gender; youth; urbanisation; migration; Kisesa; Tanzania.

Introduction

Migration has been framed as a central component in urbanisation across sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), but the relationship between urbanisation and internal migration requires critical evaluation. Firstly, internal migration is not the main cause for urban growth, or poverty, but rather migration may be a way of alleviating the risk of poverty by creating urban-rural linkages (Tacoli et al, 2008).

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In a livelihoods approach, the geography of those engaging in migration connects multiple spaces, whereby a virtuous cycle can be formed through migration (see Tacoli 2006; *ibid*; Rakodi, 2002). Secondly, assumptions advocating a predominantly 'urban' future and urban in-migration as the final-stage may be incorrect, as the economic performance of cities remains a crucial factor in influencing whether a migrant stays in the city or returns to their home place (Satterthwaite, 2003; 2007). What happens when urban agglomerations hosting migrants fail to secure livelihoods? For example, research in SSA indicates an emerging trend of 'counter-urbanisation' following de-industrialisation (Potts, 2010; 2012:18). So questions need to be raised about the changing articulations of migration, and to look at the life course of migration within both urban and rural settings. If urban migration is not the end stage what migration trends can be identified; and are circular patterns of urban migration rising? Therefore, in focusing on the processes of internal migration, it needs to be asked how can the contemporary dynamics of rural-urban movement, and its changing demography, be conceptualised? A focus on circular migration and livelihoods remains fundamental.

In synthesising debates concerning youth livelihoods, this study's objective centres upon identifying, and quantifying, migration. Two questions are set: firstly, what trends can be identified for migration with Tanzania's changing demography; and does the migration likelihood vary? Secondly, what is the scope, and rate, of circular migration, using as an example the circular trends shown for migration in Kisesa, Tanzania? The results identify emerging trends in who migrates; and raise questions over what such trends mean in light of a 'demographic transition' and 'urban age'. Findings show the youths and women are the key adopters of migration trends. Circular migration is feminine and youth-led. However, from the results, we question whether circular migration is a strategy for risk reduction or an opportunity, and what is the degree of choice in migration?

Methodology

The HDSS collects population data within 18 sites across Sub-Saharan Africa, two in Tanzania (Magu and Ifakara). Two to three rounds of household surveys are conducted per year collecting information on demographic changes for the entire population within the selected sites. Kisesa is one site where the HDSS is conducted. The Kisesa HDSS is composed of two wards; subdivided into six villages, with the longitudinal demographic data cohort recording population census, births, deaths and migration patterns since 1994. The site enables insight into the migration trends from small towns. Kisesa is located 15km outside of Mwanza city (Maps 1 and 2) with a population of 706,453, and growing by 4% per annum (National Bureau of Statistics, 2012).

This analysis uses information from the Kisesa HDSS from 1st Jan 2008 through to 31st December 2012. Analysis centres around three features: migration rates and geographies; circular mobilities; and associated risk factors.

Map 1. Kisesa's location



Source: Google Maps, 1st August 2013, Map data © Google

Map 2. Kisesa and wider surroundings in Mwanza Region



Key: Magu district highlighted in red.

Source: Google Maps, 20th May 2016, Map data © Google

Firstly, in order to evaluate rates of migration ‘residency episodes’ were created. Such episodes represent the periods when a person resided in a particular household in the Kisesa HDSS. A residency episode starts from birth, in-migration or the beginning of the study period (1st Jan 2008), and lasts until death, out-

migration, or the end of the study period (31st Dec 2012). Therefore 'circular migration' includes movement for different reasons: seasonal, marriage, recurring, education or household changes. Local migration includes migration that is internal to the Kisesa ward; therefore, occurring between the 6 villages: Igekemaja, Welamasonga, Ihayabuyaga, Kitumba, Isangijo and Kisesa. Urban migration represents migration to an urban area, as defined in the HDSS.

The rate of migration was calculated from the total number of migration events observed divided by the total time from the residency episodes. The migration rates were calculated for each year separately, and for males and females separately. Analysis was confined to adults aged 15 to 49 years during the past five years – therefore such individuals may be born in Kisesa, aged 15-49 during the residency episode (2008-2012), or have migrated to Kisesa as a new, or returning, individual or household. Youths were defined as those aged between 15 and 35 years (Restless Development, 2011, NYDP, 2007).

The HDSS provides information on home location and migrant destination. Therefore, in analysing circular migration trends a longitudinal approach was used. Using residency episodes out-, and in, migration was calculated over the last five years (2008-2012). Individual migration events were followed to establish the proportion of cases that had returned, repeated migration, or remained relocated. However, in synthesising the results it became important to note what factors influenced the risk of migrating. Poisson regression calculates the hazard of migrating, locally or to urban areas, in relation to individual sex, age, and type of residence. Two Poisson regression models were used in Stata 12: one analysing the risk of any migration, and the second analysing the risk of repeat migration.

Results

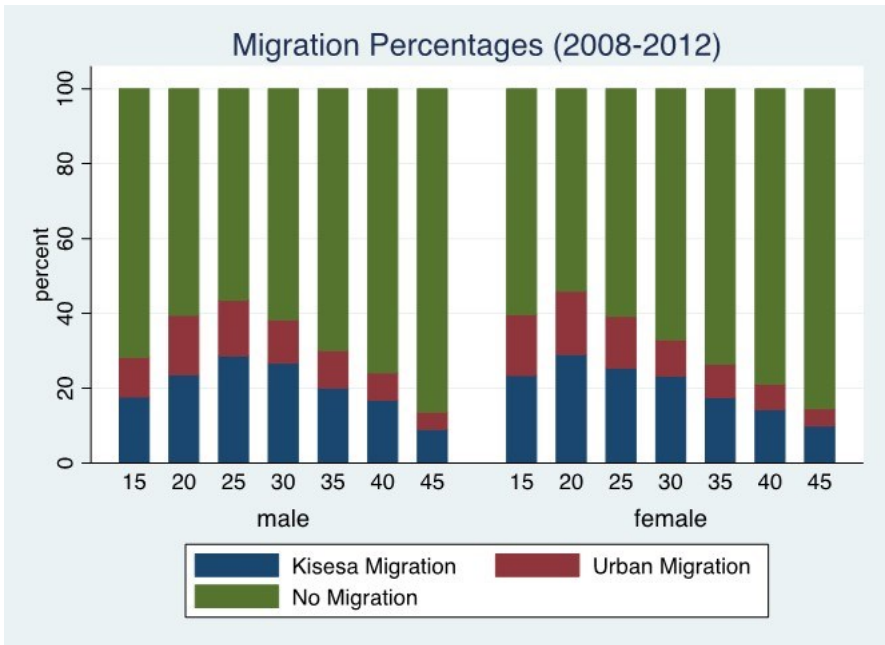
Migration Patterns of a Growing Town

The highest percentage of people had not migrated within the five-year period analysed (Table 1). This was followed by a high percentage of local migration, migration within the area of the Kisesa HDSS. Over the past five years a large percentage of migration routes were 'local', internal to Kisesa – with individuals or households migrating between villages within the ward. In total, between 2008-2012, urban migration accounted for 45.9% of all migration over time (31.2% of the population cohort for 2008-2012 migrated into Mwanza city at least once) and local Kisesa migration 54% (See Figure 1).

Overall 12,181 adults, aged 15 to 49 years, migrated, or changed residence in the Kisesa HDSS over the period 2008 to 2012, giving an overall migration rate of 197.9 per 1000 person years (95% CI 194.4 to 201.4). The migration rates show a gradual increase over the past five years, peaking in 2011 (Table 1). In 2011 the rate per 1,000 person years was 329.86 (95% CI 320.22 to 339.79). Nevertheless, altogether the risk of urban migration is lower, with the rate of urban migration standing at 5,589 events over the five-year period, giving a migration rate of 90.8 (per 1000

person years). However, who migrates to urban areas, or externally, overtime differentiates based on destination, migration type, age, and sex.

Figure 1. Migration percentages (local and urban), overtime (2008-2012).



Source: HDSS, 2008-2012.

External Migration Profile: Age, Gender and Structure

The rate of external migration showcases a youthful, and feminised, trend. The highest rate of migration for men occurs between the ages of twenty-five to twenty-nine (249.44 per 1,000 person years), and for women aged fifteen to twenty-four (345.85 and 298.51 per 1,000 person years). Table 1 shows the events, risk and rate of migration across gender age groups for the five years. When looking at where such youths are coming from, rural Kisesa shows the highest rate for youths aged 15-19; peri-urban Kisesa the highest rate for 20-24 years; and urban Kisesa peaking for the 25-29 age category.

The frequency of individual migration exceeds that of a whole household, with 7319 events recorded (4313 females and 3006 males), compared to 4862 events for whole households. Both men and women were more likely to migrate as an individual, however women showcased a greater rise in the rate of individual migration comparatively. Household out-migration rose with age, peaking at 30-34 for men and 25-29 for women. Furthermore, gender differences emerge in the climax for individual rates of migration – highest for young women (15-19) and men

(20-24) that highlights both the opportunities and risks of migration to youth in this population.

Table 1. Overall out-migration rates (2008-2012), per 1,000 person years, by year, age and sex. (2dp).

	Events	Risk Years (in 1000)	Rate (per 1000 yrs) (95%ci)	Lower CI	Upper CI	
Overall migration	12181	61.57	197.87	194.38	201.41	
Local (Kisesa)	6592	61.56	107.08	104.53	109.70	
Urban	5589	61.56	90.78	88.438	93.20	
Year						
2008	2588	12.71	203.68	195.98	211.68	
2009	2239	14.03	159.54	153.06	166.28	
2010	1161	14.27	81.36	76.81	86.17	
2011	4368	13.24	329.86	320.22	339.79	
2012	1825	7.31	249.71	238.52	261.44	
Gender Age						
Male	15-	1090	5.25	207.43	195.47	220.12
Female	19	1873	5.42	345.85	33.53	361.87
Male	20-	1225	6.73	181.98	172.07	192.46
Female	24	1853	6.21	298.51	285.22	312.42
Male	25-	1038	4.16	249.44	234.72	265.09
Female	29	1259	4.97	253.57	239.94	267.97
Male	30-	879	4.03	217.88	203.94	232.77
Female	34	819	4.54	180.56	168.61	193.36
Male	35-	576	3.77	152.85	140.86	165.86
Female	39	523	4.05	129.19	118.58	140.75
Male	40-	329	2.86	115.19	103.39	128.33
Female	44	278	2.94	94.57	84.08	106.36
Male	45-	208	3.21	64.74	56.51	74.16
Female	49	231	3.46	66.79	58.71	75.98

Source: HDSS, 2008-2012.

Migration Risk

We identify episodes of external migration and have used the HDSS to identify 'factors' associated with the risk, or possibility of migration (Table 2). These 'risk factors' defines why one migrated, or why one is likely to migrate. These factors of migration risk, or 'risk factors', can be seen as parallel to 'push factors', as referred to in the broader literature (see Harris and Todaro, 1970).

Women were more likely to migrate, both within Kisesa and outside, in comparison to the baseline (1.17 – CI 95% 1.11-1.23 and 1.27 – CI 95% 1.20-1.34). Additionally, the risk of migration varied based on age and residence location (Table 2). The risk

of migration remains highest for the 20-24 youth age groups. This age group were 1.5 times more likely to migrate in Kisesa in comparison to the baseline (CI 95% 1.36-1.56) and had a 1.30 hazard ratio for migrating externally (95% CI 1.21-1.40). The rate of migration, within and external to Kisesa, varies demographically and based on home location.

Table 2. Risk factors for urban and local migration, 2008-2012. (2dp).

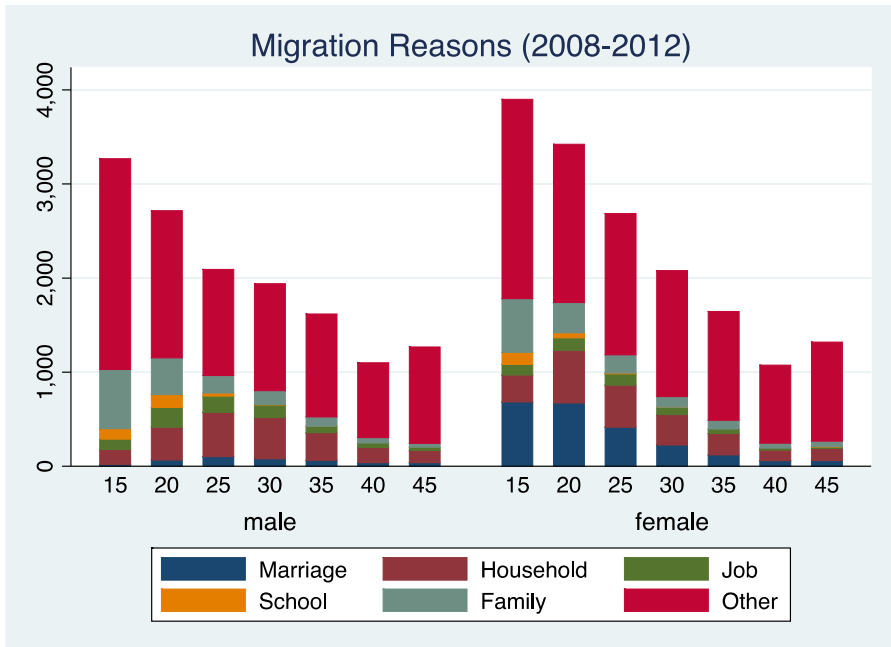
Factors	Migration within Kisesa		Migration outside of Kisesa	
	Crude RR (95% CI)	Adjusted RR (95% CI)	Crude RR (95% CI)	Adjusted RR (95% CI)
Sex				
Male	1	1	1	1
Female	1.17 (1.11-1.23)	1.16 (1.10-1.21)	1.27 (1.21-1.34)	1.27 (1.20-1.34)
Age				
15-19	1	1	1	1
20-24	1.46 (1.36-1.56)	1.45 (1.25-1.55)	1.30 (1.21-1.40)	1.29 (1.20-1.39)
25-29	1.46 (1.35-1.57)	1.44 (1.33-1.55)	1.17 (1.08-1.27)	1.15 (1.06-1.25)
30-34	1.21 (1.12-1.31)	1.20 (1.11-1.30)	.85 (.78-.93)	.84 (.77-.92)
35-39	.86 (.78-.94)	.85 (.78-.94)	.67 (.62-.76)	.68 (.61-.76)
40-44	.62 (.56-.70)	.62 (.55-.70)	.51 (.44-.58)	.50 (.44-.57)
45+	.52 (.45-.60)	.51 (.45-.59)	.41 (.36-.48)	.41 (.35-.48)
Residence				
Rural	1	1	1	1
Peri-urban	1.11 (1.04-1.18)	1.11 (1.04-1.18)	1.10 (1.02-1.17)	1.10 (1.03-1.18)
Urban	1.12 (1.06-1.18)	1.11 (1.05-1.18)	1.17 (1.11-1.25)	1.18 (1.11-1.25)

Source: HDSS, 2008-2012.

The total migration age dynamics suggest the youth categories may have fewer social and physical constraints towards moving, or alternatively they are used as key actors for migration – representing, and moving for, immobile household members. Furthermore, the engendered nature of urban migration requires reflection. Up until the age of twenty-nine the rates of female migration remain comparatively higher, thereafter depreciating. At fifteen the rate of female migration is over twice that of males, however, emerges due to different reasons (Figure 2). The main reason for female migration is themed under ‘other’, followed by ‘marriage’ (see Figure 2), whereas in comparison higher rates of male migration occur due to ‘family’ and ‘household’ reasons. For females, marriage reasons decline after the age of twenty-five, with the development of new households being the main driver – suggesting overtime spouse move together; and in the case of males, independence is shown overtime. As male youths get older migration for ‘family’ reasons declines, indicating their changing relations to family. Interestingly employment plays a minimal factor in reasoning migration, both local and urban. Employment may be acquired once one has already migrated for other reasons.



Figure 2. Migration reasons across age and sex, overtime.



Source: HDSS, 2008-2012.

External Migration: Circular Migration

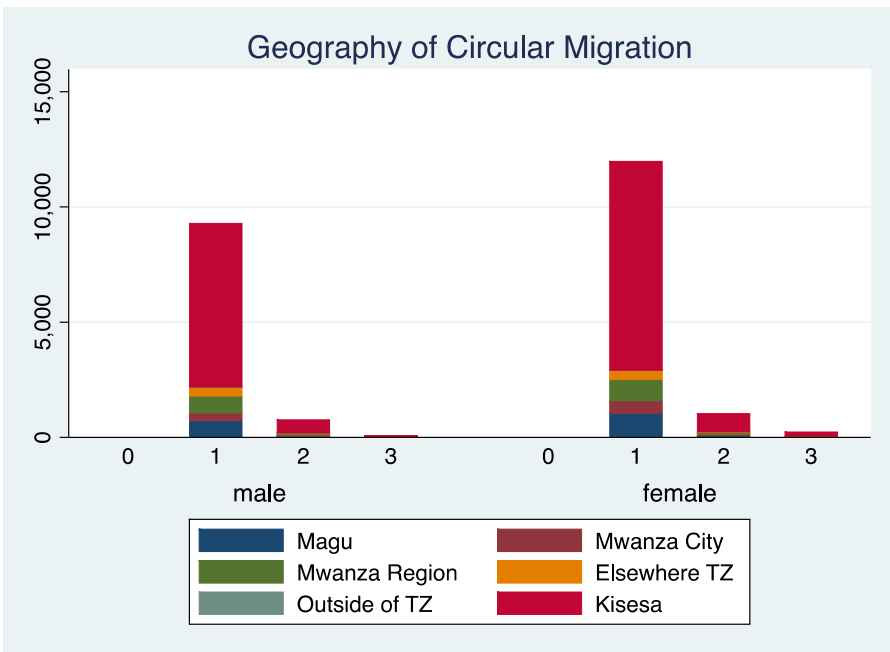
The second key concern in this project was to identify the nature, scope, and prevalence of circular migration – those who return home and migrate again. Circular migration was measured based on the number of migration events recorded for an individual whom had migrated or returned between the 2008-2012 timeframe. Only 9.20% of all migrants were identified to have migrated, and returned, to Kisesa more than once during the five-year period.

The use of circular migrations remains higher for females; however, across age groups a bell-curve is found (Figure.5). Individuals aged twenty-five to twenty-nine reflect the highest proportion with 16.9% of migrants having migrated more than once in the five year period. Although a much higher number of individuals are identified to use circular migration if migrating within the Kisesa Ward, in comparison to those going to urban areas, the proportional percentage is the same.

Two key urban areas stand out in articulating greater occurrences of circular cases – Magu and the Mwanza Region. Such geographies introduce potential debate. Firstly, is circular migration a first or last resort? In the first scenario, is it then an elitist strategy? The restricted number of circular migrants, and geography used in circular migration, may indicate the high-costs, material and psychological, of utilising circular movement. Migrating to a new town, district, or country has costs

and may mean the individual needs to try alternative solutions first before re-migrating, due to the expectations and costs attached. Additionally, returning home unsuccessful, may limit one’s ability to re-migrate. Secondly, who is making the decision of where one should migrate too? Circular migration from Kisesa was more common to Magu and Mwanza region. This selective geography of circular migrants suggests such areas – Mwanza and Magu – may provide more opportunities for change or be expected to provide more opportunities by the migrants. Such areas may hold strong social networks, economic markets, or facilities to match their needs. Or is it merely a matter of close geographical proximity?

Figure 3. Geography of circular migration.



Source: HDSS, 2008-2012.

Table 3 shows the associated risk factors of repeated, circular, migration. The number of migrations made remains associated to ‘risk’ factors: sex, age, residence, and migration out-type. Holding the other predictors constant, the difference in the logs of expected counts of ‘repeat migration’ increases by 1.44 if one is female; and being aged 25-29 increases the expected count by 15.95 (Table 3). Additionally, urban circular migration reflects a solitary lifestyle. Circular individual exits represent a higher proportion (925 counts), in contrast to whole household migration (196 counts). One is more likely to engage in repeat migration if moving independently rather than with one’s household.

Moreover, when evaluating from one's residence type in Kisesa (rural, peri-urban or urban), the out-type used, whether migration occurred as an individual or whole household, and reason for migration the baseline holds a stronger relationship as to whether migration is repeated. If one lives in rural Kisesa, moves as an individual, or migrates due to marriage there is a greater likelihood of engaging in circular migration. Even when considering why youths that migrate enter into Kisesa the following reasons are found. Marriage and remarriage accounted as a reason for 13.63% of the youths, who migrated, to enter Kisesa; 24.08% of the youths entering Kisesa were new households, and 40.23% had entered due to family problems (to care for a sick relative, death of family member or 'family problems'. Such emphasises the importance of marriage and family structures in the movement (in and out) of youths. In Tanzania, divorce rates are said to have increased. In 2007/8 the Registration, Insolvency and Trusteeship Agency (RITA) show a 49% increase in (registered) divorce rates between 2007 and 2009 (Mjinga, 2011).

Table 3. Risk factors associated with repeat migration. (2dp).

Factors				
	Circular migration events	Percent. of migration (%)	Crude RR (95% CI)	Adjusted RR (95% CI)
Sex				
Male	428	8.00	1	1
Female	693	10.13	1.30 (1.14-1.47)	1.44 (1.26-1.64)
Age				
15-19	51	1.72	1	1
20-24	252	8.18	5.09 (3.75-6.91)	5.74 (4.22-7.80)
25-29	370	16.10	10.97 (8.14-14.78)	15.95 (11.79-21.58)
30-34	213	12.54	8.19 (6.00-11.19)	14.57 (10.60-20.03)
35-39	131	11.91	7.72 (5.54-10.77)	14.66 (10.43-20.59)
40-44	64	10.54	6.73 (4.61-9.84)	12.72 (8.62-18.77)
45+	40	9.11	5.73 (3.74-8.78)	10.80 (6.97-16.73)
Residence				
Rural	654	11.67	1	1
Peri-urban	216	8.05	.66 (.56-.78)	.70 (.59-.83)
Urban	251	6.43	.52 (.45-.61)	.60 (.51-.70)
Out type				
Individual	925	12.63	1	1
Household	196	4.03	.29 (.25-.34)	.21 (.18-.25)
Out reason				
Marriage	367	14.05	1	1
Household	380	9.44	.64 (.55-.74)	.95 (.80-1.12)
Job	125	9.65	.65 (.53-.81)	.98 (.77-1.24)
School	6	1.24	.08 (.03-.17)	.15 (.07-.34)
Family	177	6.05	.39 (.33-.48)	.80 (.65-.98)
Other	24	7.32	.48 (.31-.74)	.61 (.39-.96)
Unknown	42	8.11	.54 (.39-.75)	1.00 (.70-1.43)

Discussion

The emergence of a ‘mobility’ paradigm emphasises the importance of movement at multiple scales. The migration results from Kisesa indicate the prevalence of migration, local and external, the need for youth perspectives and an evaluation on what circular migration brings. The results indicate that although circular migration accounts for a smaller proportion its use remains unequal. Therefore, the results discussion raises three key questions in understanding migration trends: why more youths; why more women; and why certain geographies? In doing so the discussion provides a critical review of theoretical debates on migration, contextualised to migration trends in Tanzania.

Table 4 highlights the key theoretical approaches to return migration. Return migration was identified as a natural progress by the New Economics of Labour Migration; and a reflection of one having enough relevant resources, in the transnational approach. Return migration requires preparation, consideration of context in the host and home country, and resource mobilisation (Cassarino, 2004). However, a combination of these forces are at play in Kisesa’s context. These realities of migration, amongst Kisesa’s youths, are discussed further below.

Table 4: Theories of return migration (Cassarino, 2004:269).

Neoclassical economics	New economics of labour migration	Structuralism	Transnationalism	Cross-border social network theory
Those who stay in receiving countries are those who have succeeded. Return is an anomaly..if not failure of a migration experience.	Return is part and parcel of migration project (seen as a “calculated strategy”). It occurs once migrant’s objectives are met in destination countries.	Core/periphery dichotomy. Return to home countries occurs without changing or compensating for structural constraints inherent in peripheral origin countries. Return is also based on incomplete information about origin country.	Return is not necessarily permanent. It occurs once enough financial resources and benefits are gathered to sustain household and when “conditions” in home country are favourable. It is prepared. Return has a social and historical background.	Return is secured and sustained by cross-border networks of social and economic relationships that convey information. Return only constitutes a first step towards completion of migration project.

Livelihoods: Strategic Migration

Theories, such as the Demographic Transition (see Dyson, 2010), suggest society moves towards ‘modernity’ over time. The Demographic Transition suggests increases in the productive workforce, women’s ‘empowerment’, democratisation, and urban agglomerations, are all the outcomes of transition and precondition for economic growth. However, multiple aspects of this need critique. With reference to the idea of ‘women’s empowerment’ in the transition, increased female migration does not mean desired outcomes; and their movement is not always a result of individual ‘rationality’, as assumed. Decisions to migrate are social. For example, the results in this paper show women have higher rates of migration and circular migration. However, their movement mainly occurs in Kisesa. If out-migration does occur the destinations chosen are closer to ‘home’: migrating to Mwanza city, Mwanza region, and Magu. Additionally, the main reason for female migration is ‘marriage’, followed by ‘households’. Therefore, to what extent does the trend of ‘feminised migration’ reflect new gender norms and power structures,

or rather their reinforcement? Particularly when considered in light of Tanzania's 1971 Law of Marriage Act (LMA). The LMA aimed to enable women's rights in marriage by defining a minimum age and introducing procedures for divorce, separation, and child custody. However, the LMA remains heavily criticised. Customary and Islamic traditions continue to govern decisions made in practice. Secondly, the law is not equal for men and women: polygamy is allowed for men, not women, and women below the age of 18 are allowed to marry, contradicting to other rights such as the Law of the Child (2009). Lastly, there remain ambiguities, for example property division rights in polygamous marriages (Howland and Koenan, 2014).

The livelihoods framework provides a more comprehensive theory for migration. The framework advocates a structuration approach, with people being both active agents able to make rational-choice decisions; possessing a degree of assets, but also embedded within a structural context of risks and institutions. The framework indicates how agency is used to make a 'living', survive, and reduce 'poverty' (see Rakodi, 2002; Keesides, 2005; Tacoli, 2006). Migration emerges to connect different spaces and diversify livelihoods. The movement is strategic, to ensure resilience. The literature referred to suggests migration occurs individually, however, the cost-benefits feed back to the 'household' unit.

Research in Sub-Saharan Africa emphasises how migration and circular migration reflects a strategy to adapt to insecure livelihoods, structural policies, or an articulation of coping for an ageing population (see Falkingham et al, 2012; Ferguson, 1999; Potts, 2010). In the case of Zimbabwe, Potts (*ibid.*) indicates how circular migration was used as a response to the changing urban political economy – with shifts in housing, employment, income, and opportunities. Circular migration was used as an adaptive strategy; a responsive tool to insecure livelihoods. The research indicated that the reality of returning home remains unequal – determined by one's ability to adapt or to be catered to by the city (*ibid.*).

In Tanzania's case the contemporary reality is one of limited industrialisation (Potts, *ibid.*; Mkandawire, 1988). The geographies of migration trends showcase this reality, with small towns and rural spaces important in-migration areas. As the Kisesa migration results show: migration remains confined to a smaller geography with higher rates occurring within the Kisesa ward.

The challenges presented in Tanzania's national growth trajectory remain an articulation of colonial legacies, ideologies, and the contradictory nature of governance. Migration trends have varied overtime, dependent on specific ideologies and policies implemented. During the colonial era limited restrictions were placed on indigenous labour movement due to the crucial function of the 'cash-crop' economies: to produce for the international market, under unequal conditions and through suppressing returns to local labour (Amin, 1972:504; Mkandawire, 2010:1649). The 'vent for surplus' theory applied, in Tanzania, was able to maintain low commodity prices, limit technological innovation and local

economic linkages by focusing on the development of export enclaves (ibid). Strict rural/urban colonial divisions were made. Such factors meant migration was concentrated into coastal areas, and provided the basis for a structural crisis of industrialisation. As Tanzania's policy has evolved new migration trends can be seen. During Independence, the Arusha Declaration (1967) and Ujamaa Villagisation meant rural development was prioritised as a 'pre-requisite' of development. From the 1970, however, urbanisation rates have increased (Table 5).

Table 5. Urbanisation in Tanzania over time, 1967 to 2012, population and growth rates per annum.

	1967 Census	1978 Census	1988 Census
Mainland Urban Population (Growth rate)	685,092	2,257,921 (11.5%)	3,999,882 (5.9%)
- of which: Dar es Salaam (Growth rate)	272,821	769,445 (9.9%)	1,205,443 (4.6%)
Mainland Total Population (Growth rate)	11,975,757	17,036,499 (3.3%)	22,507,047 (2.8%)
Urbanisation (%)	5.7	13.3	17.8
	2002 Census	2012 Census	
Mainland Urban Population (Growth rate)	7,554,838 (4.7%)	12,701,238 (5.3%)	
- of which: Dar es Salaam (Growth rate)	2,336,055 (4.8%)	4,364,541 (6.5%)	
Mainland Total Population (Growth rate)	33,461,849 (2.9%)	43,625,354 (2.7%)	
Urbanisation (%)	22.6	29.1	

Source: *International Growth Centre, 2014; and Tanzania National Census, 1967-2012*

Finally, the livelihoods approach provides insight into what determines the risk of migration. Within the migration process power dynamics remain embedded. The livelihoods framework enables power to be deconstructed at an intra-household level; with the obligations that are embedded in migration being emphasised. Gender and development studies have drawn upon such power dynamics; emphasising the unequal burden of poverty, and poverty strategies, in households (see Chant, 2002; Chant and McIlwaine, 2009; Haydea, 2010). Furthermore, the growing concern with youth migration has lead reflection on the inter-generational dynamics of livelihoods (see Assan, 2008; Tacoli and Mabala, 2010). Focus on youth out-migration reflects on the distorted nature of agency in youth movement: not all youths are empowered to decide where they go, for what purpose, and for how long. We need to further evaluate the extent to which youths become stuck in repeated movement?



Circular Migration: Inequalities and Inequities

Circular migration is unequal as a result of social structures and agency. The data in this paper shows that circular migration is higher for females, with marriage being a key reason (over 10% of migrants are circular migrants), and for those aged 25 to 29 years of age (over 16% of migrants were circular). Circular migration is feminine and youth-led. However, is circular migration a strategy for risk reduction or an opportunity? It is important to note that evidence was not discussed on the degree of choice in migration. Such questions remain pertinent when reviewing their reasons for migration.

Tanzania has experienced a growth in the proportion of youths, accounting for 34% of the population in 2002 (UN-Population, 2011), and 34.7% in the 2012 census (National Bureau of Statistics, 2013). Such changes have advocated policies to ensure an 'enabling' environment for youths (NYDP, 1996), although the lived realities of Tanzania's youths showcase the mismatch between policy and practice. Youth unrest is rising over a lack of opportunities, access to capital, and their identification to certain social costs and risks, such as substance abuse (Restless Development, 2011). The growth in youths may be articulated in the migration trends, however, it raises the question of what 'window of opportunity' are the youths presented with and to what extent will they 'urbanise'?

As the results present certain factors increase the risk of migration, and particularly circular migration: age, sex, status of migration (individual or household), and place of residence. However, it is important to recognise these risk factors as interconnected. These features act to characterise the migrants who are more at risk of migrating – by choice or not. However, why is the opportunity for migration more available to, or used by, some groups? Why is migration used by individuals more so than households: is it as they are young and unmarried, or forced to move solitary due to the unpredictability, and costs, of migration? Why are women and young people more at risk of circular migration? Is it a matter of cities, and the reason for migration (i.e. marriage), failing them or vice-versa? What kind of conditions and life are they presented with?

In many ways the results presented raise a question of migration inequalities or inequities. The residents migrating, and how they choose to do so, are shaped by inequalities and inequities. The opportunity to migrate is unequal; and the need to migrate is inequitable.

Geographies of migration

Despite the global discourse highlighting, rapid urbanisation and a rising trend of rural-urban migration, the data set analysis over 2008-2012 raise debate over this. Firstly, the rate of no migration and local migration is higher, compared to external migration to urban areas. Those who do migrate however, have a distinct demographic character. Mobility for a greater proportion of the residents is

confined internally, to the growing villages of Kisesa. The opportunity of mobility and migration is not accessible, or desired, by all.

Secondly, the cities showcasing the highest migrant numbers from Kisesa include the Mwanza and Magu regions. Such raises the factor of geographical proximity in migration. Distance may be a key factor in where one chooses to migrate. This may hold significant opportunities for rural and urban planners, and within development initiatives.

Lastly, where one is from (home location) influences the patterns of migration from Kisesa. Being a resident from rural Kisesa was seen to hold a higher risk of migrating, and re-migrating. This raises questions over what differentiates the rural/urban/peri-rural Kisesa geographies. How are each of these spaces defined and characterised within the HDSS? Why are rural residents more likely to migrate: a situational analysis is required of such rural spaces and the community perceptions. Additionally, why are rural residents more likely to return and re-migrate?

Conclusions

This project approaches questions concerning the trending dynamics of migration. Within this project emphasis is made on the trends of migration and mapping the people who leave urban areas – an alternative reality to the discourse of a contemporary ‘urban age’. The aim was to identify trends. Migration articulates a hope for changing livelihoods – whether moving for school, marriage or employment; however, the reality shown in this paper raises the question as to whether change is always achieved. Circular migration is prevalent, but minimal. Although the proportion of circular migration remains limited, the associations identified how the risk of utilising circular migration varied depending on whom you are, where you live, and how you migrate. Women and youths are at higher risk of using repeat migration.

In describing the trends of youth and gender migration the dataset holds a number of limitations for the results presented. Certain ‘explanatory’ variables were not available in the dataset. For example, civil status and workforce participation across one’s life course remains a useful variable to explain the reasons of migration and use of circulatory patterns. Statuses’ before, during, and after, migration would have remained beneficial to comment on individual migration trends.

However, future research is needed to understand the lived experiences of migration trends. Opportunities for further research include firstly, introducing a gendered and youthful approach, interconnecting trends with economic data, and interrogating household structures. It remains evident that the experiences differentiated across gender identities and age – whether in the jobs undertaken, migration motivations, and return experiences. Secondly, questioning what circular movement mean for those who use it: is it an indication of failing livelihoods? Or



rather comparatively, do those able to return showcase success, able to escape failing cities and the dangers posed? Finally, the trends suggest that power structures who will migrate, with one's position in a household influencing who migrates and returns, with younger and females members taking the risks and opportunities of migration. Such raises a question of how positive households are within strategising poverty reduction. Families and households are often epitomised as positive, ethical, units within the livelihoods literature, however, migration rates varied with age and gender. It needs to be understood whom makes such decisions, why youths are incorporated in such strategies and should they be, and further what do they gain themselves from the process. We need to understand more about what migration, and return, means for youths.

Across the literature the concern with youth mobility remains limited; and where focus has been raised youth mobility is being divided into two opposing realities. Firstly, youths are being presented as mobile actors – with mobility advocated as a mundane normality of their everyday living, intertwined to objects of (im)-mobility and urban micro-politics (see Butler, 2009; Hanson, 2005; Simone, 2005, 2010; Young, 2003). Whilst, alternatively, youths are being defined as a lost generation, constrained in their mobility and capacity to escape poverty (see Moser, 2009; Jeffrey, 2010; Perlman, 2010). The representation of youths in migration trends from, and within, Kisesa reinforces the importance of applying a youth perspective in migration.

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