



## East African Journal of Arts and Social Sciences

[eajass.eanso.org](http://eajass.eanso.org)

Volume 8, Issue 1, 2025

Print ISSN: 2707-4277 | Online ISSN: 2707-4285

Title DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37284/2707-4285>



EAST AFRICAN  
NATURE &  
SCIENCE  
ORGANIZATION

Original Article

### Push and Pull Factors for Rural Migration to Squatter Settlements in Mwanza City, Tanzania

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Article DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37284/eajass.8.1.2582>

Date Published: **ABSTRACT**

03 January 2025

**Keywords:**

*Squatters,  
Push-Pull Factors,  
Gender-Based  
Violence.*

This paper examines push and pull factors for rural migration to squatter settlements in Mwanza City, Tanzania. A mixed research approach and case study strategy were employed. Respondents included local government leaders and residents. Several sampling procedures were used to get respondents. Interviews, questionnaires, focus group discussions and observation yielded primary data, while documentary review provided secondary data. Qualitative data were subjected to content analysis and quantitative data were analyzed statistically. More females than males migrated to Mwanza City squatter areas and more youth migrated and settled there than other older age groups. Respondents had varied education levels with a higher illiteracy level among female than male respondents. Several pull factors accounted for people migrating from rural areas to Mwanza City in squatter settlements. Gender-based violence (GBV) as push factors included wife beating and discrimination by husbands and adolescent girls' genital mutilation. Like elsewhere in the country, the government plans to deal with squatter settlements in Mwanza City. Some recommendations encompass the following: the government should institute policy and review the legal framework for good habitation in urban areas and weed out Gender-Based Violence, chiefly for women and adolescent girls; and it should further control and prevent sprawl plus dynamics of squatter settlements.

#### APA CITATION

Faru, S. (2025). Push and Pull Factors for Rural Migration to Squatter Settlements in Mwanza City, Tanzania. *East African Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, 8(1), 15-34. <https://doi.org/10.37284/eajass.8.1.2582>

#### CHICAGO CITATION

Faru, Sakina. 2025. "Push and Pull Factors for Rural Migration to Squatter Settlements in Mwanza City, Tanzania". *East African Journal of Arts and Social Sciences* 8 (1), 15-34. <https://doi.org/10.37284/eajass.8.1.2582>.

#### HARVARD CITATION

Faru, S. (2025) "Push and Pull Factors for Rural Migration to Squatter Settlements in Mwanza City, Tanzania". *East African Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, 8(1), pp. 15-34. doi: 10.37284/eajass.8.1.2582.

#### IEEE CITATION

S., Faru "Push and Pull Factors for Rural Migration to Squatter Settlements in Mwanza City, Tanzania". *EAJASS*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 15-34, Jan. 2025.

## MLA CITATION

Faru, Sakina "Push and Pull Factors for Rural Migration to Squatter Settlements in Mwanza City, Tanzania". *East African Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, Vol. 8, no. 1, Jan. 2025, pp. 15-34, doi:10.37284/eajass.8.1.2582.

## INTRODUCTION

This paper presents push and pull factors, demonstrating that they are the main causal factors for rural migration to squatter settlements in Mwanza City, Tanzania. In uncovering causal factors for the growth of squatter settlements, results from this study suggest pertinent ways for their control in Mwanza City and other urban areas of Tanzania.

## Squatter Formation Around The World

It is argued that urban or city development (urbanization) has been the foremost driving force of internal migration in many countries around the world (Deshingkar, & Grimm, 2005). Furthermore, a notable characteristic of a city is its lively change mirrored through building and rebuilding associated with sequence plus occupation of different population groups, relocation of undertakings, for example, industries plus commerce and accompanied processes of downgrading together with impoverishment (UN-HABITAT 2003 pg.17).

Nonetheless, such a situation varies between developed countries and developing countries. In the former, the cities' vibrant change is controlled by the big need for higher returns including optimal land use (*ibid.*: 17). In the latter, there is an inequality in built form such that squatter settlements are located at the lowest socio-economic level (*ibid.*). Besides, in developing countries, land use is still partially under the control of traditional land uses or governments such that squatter settlements tend to lie outside the formal market system of exchange and income generation instead of specialized formal urban distribution systems (*ibid.*).

In addition, urban dominance is a feature of most developing countries, but compared to other regions of the world, Latin America apparently stands out with several of its countries revealing the highest

dominance indices in the world (Rodgers *et al.*, 2011). Presently, Latin America has two of the five largest big cities around the world, despite concentrating less than 15 percent of the planet's urban population (*ibid.*).

Nevertheless, urban growth began to be less concentrated in large cities from the end of the 1970s onwards and Latin America witnessed an expansion of the urban grading because of the spread of middle-sized cities with over 50,000 but less than one million inhabitants (*ibid.*). The tendency is partly linked to the end of import substitution industrialization policies plus the extensive introduction of a new free-market model throughout Latin America (*ibid.*). There was an emphasis on deregulation and decentralization, the end of industrial policy and other forms of state-sponsored macro-economic management endeavours (*ibid.*).

Notably, urbanization intensified around the world, and there grew and continues to grow, squatter settlements. Their causes are furnished concisely in the Global Report on Human Settlements by UN-HABITAT (2007). Squatters form owing to a combination of poverty or low incomes amidst inadequacies in housing provision systems such that poor people are forced to seek affordable accommodation as well as lands that become further and further inadequate (*ibid.*). Data of urban persons in poverty are normally outside the range of city governments (local government authorities) and they are increased by a mixture of economic stagnation, increasing inequality together with population growth, especially growth through in-migration (*ibid.*: 17).

Essentially, there are variations in the prevalence of squatters across the world. Africa records the highest incidence of squatters with over 70 percent of people in urban areas living in squatter areas

(Arimah, 2010 pg. 8). There are 41 percent and 37 percent of people living in squatters in Asia and Latin America as well as Caribbean (LAC) area, respectively (*ibid.*: 8).

In Turkey, squatter housing has been subject to be one of the most impressive conversions in metropolitan settlements during the second half of the twentieth century (Şenyapılı, 2004). In the last 50 years, the squatter phenomenon in Turkey has been effective on urban quality of life such that it has ‘floated’ among different spaces of the city, both abstract and physical (*ibid.*).

### **Growth of Squatter Settlements in Africa**

In Africa, urbanization has a different beginning from the rest of the world. According to Limbumba (2012), history, cultural diversity and poverty in rural areas together with urban areas distinguish Africa from other parts of the developing world like Latin America and Asia. Colonial economic and administrative policies brought about the greatest of all influences on urbanization in Africa (*ibid.*).

Urban areas were built to serve the economic requirements of colonies in Africa, for example, harbour towns were ports for the export of cash crops like sugar, cotton, coffee and groundnuts (Kironde, 1995). Furthermore, the building of infrastructure, for instance, railways was undertaken to cash crop zones. As a result, towns and settlements along lines of transportation developed into busy metropolises (Limbumba, 2012). Besides, new urban areas with mineral deposits developed, for instance, Lubumbashi in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Ndola as well as Kitwe in Zambia (*ibid.*).

Egypt appeared to have 39.9 percent of its urban population with 11.8 million inhabitants living in squatter areas (Marwa, 2011). Notably, Cairo has four out of the 30 biggest mega-squatter areas in the world including Imbaba (1.0 million), Ezbet El-Haggana (1.0 million), City of the Dead

[(cemeteries) 0.8 million] and Mansheiet Nasser [(0.5 million) *ibid.*: 40].

Principally, economic activities were major employment centres for many Africans who moved to urban areas (Kironde, 1995 cited in Limbumba, 2012; see also, UN-HABITAT 1996 pg. 87). In the 1940s, urbanization was slow and it was highly controlled by colonial governments and urban areas were considered to be only for non-indigenous people and those formally employed (Kironde, 1995 cited in Limbumba, 2012). Nonetheless, from the 1950s to 1960s, yearly growth rates of some African cities were as high as 5 percent to 7 percent, implying a doubled increase in population every ten to fifteen years (UN-HABITAT, 1996 pg. 87). As cities grew, people gathered there for work, administration, education and social services (Limbumba, 2012). Thus, people realized that they could sell their labour for urban employment (market) in exchange for wages (*op cit.*: 87). Nevertheless, Africans in such towns often lived in poor unsanitary conditions in selected areas, separate from Asians and Europeans (*op cit.*).

Moreover, in 1950, 14.5 percent of the population in Africa lived in urban areas and by 2007, the level of urbanization increased to 38.7 percent (Arimah, 2010). Likewise, growth in urban population averaged 4.8 percent between 1950 and 1975 (*ibid.*). It is argued that a major consequence of such demographic change is urbanization of poverty such that the concentration of poverty is moving from rural areas to urban centres (UN-HABITAT, 2003).

Furthermore, the African continent continued to experience rapid population growth in the first half of the 1970s (UN-HABITAT, 1996 pg. 87-88). While cities in the developed world experienced urbanization together with economic growth, many cities and towns in Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and parts of Asia have had urbanization with no economic growth (Limbumba, 2012; Mhache, & Mauma, 2013). It is argued that in the first half of the 1970s, Africa’s urban population growth exceeded that of Latin America and the

Caribbean (Limbumba, 2012). Between 1980s and the early 1990s, were periods of an ‘urban crisis’ because the increase in population was unmatched by the supply of basic infrastructure and social services (UN-HABITAT, 1996 pg. 89). Consequently, there was a decline in formal employment, an increase in informal sector activities; deterioration in services like roads, waste management and water supply; worsening in the built environment manifested in proliferation of unplanned settlements; overcrowding; and deterioration of the existing housing stock (*ibid.*).

Outstandingly, population growth has not decreased and it was projected that in the next 25 years, the urban population of Africa will increase by about 400 million people thereby putting further pressure on cities and services (UN-HABITAT, 2007). In Sub-Saharan Africa, 62 percent of the urban population resides in squatter settlements (Arimah, 2010). Besides, it was projected that the higher the rate of urbanization without economic growth, the higher the squatter occurrence (*op cit.*).

Undeniably, the rapid pace of urbanization experienced by African countries over the last three decades plays an important role in the prevalence of squatter settlements (Arimah, 2010). Although the UN-HABITAT report on squatter settlements provides an excellent job of identifying other factors apart from urbanization that drive formation and their expansion in the developed world including Africa and Tanzania, in particular, the precise manner in which factors affecting squatter settlements remains to be further researched.

### **Genesis of Squatters in Tanzania**

The genesis of squatters in Tanzania can best be comprehended based on the land tenure system through the legal framework from colonial time to date (independence and post-independence time frames). Currently, the land tenure system in Tanzania is administered through the Land Ordinance of 1923 and all land in the country is publicly owned as well as vested in the President

(Kironde, 1995). Thus, persons can get land through the “right of occupancy” granted by the government (*ibid.*). The Ordinance stipulates that lands occupied by native communities under customary tenure have a deemed granted right of occupancy (*ibid.*). However, the legal status of customary land tenure, especially in the peripheral (or suburb) urban areas, rights of customary tenure landholders are not quenched out merely upon the declaration of an area as a planning area (*ibid.*). It means that legally, squatting in urban Tanzania is restricted only to persons occupying government land without permission (*ibid.*).

The inherited legal framework and policies on the land tenure system in Tanzania, like other independent African countries, have hardly changed thereby letting the majority of people live in poverty and unplanned areas (Kironde, 1995). Such areas either do not have the infrastructure or if it exists, it is poor and the areas lack authentic land titles and people acquire land informally, which is unappreciated by government machinery [(local and central) (Kironde, 1995).

In Tanzania, like other countries in the developing world, shelter is a major problem, especially in fast-growing urban centres. The impact of urbanization is obvious due to issues of failure of urban government authorities to control urban growth and thus, it results in unplanned settlements and lack of basic infrastructure in most areas (Komba, 2008). Some challenges are very big for local government authorities to provide land for the development of settlements for the urban poor (*ibid.*). Consequently, squatter settlements have proliferated in urban areas of Tanzania.

Since independence, there have been several government initiatives on shelter development in urban and rural areas in Tanzania (Komba, 2008). They aimed at supporting habitable shelters for urban poor and focused on low-cost houses for low-income earners in urban areas (*ibid.*). However, besides such government goodwill, the urban poor

are still left out in their appalling residential settlements, squatters.

### **Situation in Mwanza**

Recall, that the major reasons forcing people to migrate are the search for a better life in urban areas and employment opportunities (Komba, 2008). In Mwanza City, 60 percent of the urban population lives in squatter areas (Amani, 2006 cited in Faru, 2019). Mwanza City has experienced quick spatial population growth in the last three decades and it is the second-largest city in Tanzania (URT, 2013). For instance, the population has grown from 11,399 people in 1948 to 233,013 people in 1988 (Komba, 2008). Spatial growth has been dramatic, increasing from a radius of 5 kilometres from the city centre to an average of 20 kilometres by 2010 (Faru, 2019).

Such a pattern is attributed to the in-migration and urbanization process whereby surrounding rural and peri-urban settlements have been incorporated into the city (*ibid.*). Other reasons for the growth include industrialization and Mwanza City is a gateway to neighbouring countries of Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo [DRC (formerly Zaire)] and has attracted many business types (*ibid.*). In due regard, there are urbanization problems like an increase in informal activities, lack of proper sanitary facilities, lack of strategies to refuse collection and bad city's financial and human resources for infrastructure services (Mwanza Regional Profile, 2006 cited in Komba, 2008). These plus an increase in spontaneous settlements on the hilly slopes of Mwanza and squatters on un-surveyed lands around the city have posed major challenges to urban management.

It is remarkable that Mwanza City, the second-largest city in Tanzania, has experienced quick population growth in the last three decades (URT, 2013). Such dramatic spatial population growth is ascribed to urbanization accompanied by rural-to-urban processes in that contiguous rural and peri-

urban settlements have been incorporated into the city (*ibid.*).

Moreover, due to growth in industrialization and Mwanza city being a gateway to neighbouring countries (Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo), it has attracted many businesses (*ibid.*). Thus, it results in urbanization problems like an increase in informal activities, lack of proper sanitary facilities, lack of strategies to refuse collection and bad city's financial and human resources for infrastructure services (Mwanza Regional Profile, 2006 cited in Komba, 2008). All such problems brought about by urbanization and the eventual growth of squatter settlements pose major challenges to urban management.

There are several measures by the Mwanza City Council to cope with squatters but they have failed to curb as well as prevent the sprawl and dynamics of squatters (see Komba, 2008). Moreover, such effect of urbanization is clear and it has been prominent in the last three or more decades because challenges are highly big for the city's local government authorities to manage them for good habitation (*ibid.*). Thus, with respect to such measures and the prevailing obvious state of affairs for squatters in Mwanza City, this study endeavoured to address the squatter problem by uncovering causal factors for their growth to furnish pertinent ways for their control in Mwanza City and other urban areas of Tanzania.

### **Objectives of the Study**

#### **Main Objective**

The main objective of this study was to evaluate push and pull factors for rural migration to squatter settlements in Mwanza City, Tanzania.

#### **Specific Objectives**

- To undertake a trend analysis of population groups involved in rural migration to squatter settlements in Mwanza City, Tanzania;



- To determine causal factors for rural migration to squatter settlements in Mwanza City, Tanzania;
- To determine problems as well as challenges encountered by squatters in Mwanza City, Tanzania;
- To identify government measures in dealing with squatter settlements; and
- To provide suggestions for control of sprawl as well as dynamics of squatters in Mwanza City, Tanzania.

### PUSH-PULL THEORY

This study employed the Push-Pull Theory in identifying causal factors for the growth and dynamics of squatter settlements in Mwanza City. It used Ravenstein's Theory modified by Lee (1966) who provided great emphasis on internal (or push) factors and outlined the impact on the migration process caused by intervening obstacles. At large, Lee's (1966) formulation analyzed the relationship between places of origin and places of destination in migration and assumed that in every area, there are positive as well as negative factors that encourage or discourage people from living in or leaving the area. Lee (1966) argued that push factors are negative and tend to force migrants to leave their places of origin and they include diseases, wars, bad climates, shortage of land and the like. On the other hand, pull factors are positive and attract migrants to move to the area of destination with the expectation of better lives than in the place(s) of origin (*ibid.*). Pull factors include property and ownership of assets like land, and houses as well as physical conditions like good climate, good soils; and others (*ibid.*).

Additionally, the push-pull model of migration is one of the simple migration models, which attempted to provide reasons for people to move and introduced the issue of obstacles that were not taken seriously in classical models (Mabogunje, 1970). However, it was criticized for not presenting factors

of migration and intervening obstacles explicitly (Todaro, 1976). Further criticism held that not all migrants decide to migrate themselves, for example, usually, wives and children follow their husbands or fathers, as the case may be (*ibid.*). Also, barriers like mountains are no longer applicable in the present world situation where transport systems are highly improved (*ibid.*). Besides, human beings are not always rational because they can migrate irrespective of positive and negative factors that exist in both places of origin and those of destination (*ibid.*).

Accordingly, the validity of pull-push factors for examining migration to cities like Mwanza with limited job opportunities and industries was used. McGee (1971 pg. 63) argued that movements of rural people bring people, whose values, habits and attitudes as well as political, economic and social organization contrast sharply with the urban society. Thus, such features of rural society do not necessarily disappear in the urban environment, especially when the number of rural migrants is large (*ibid.*). For instance, a high urban population growth compared to a city development causes a squatter problem (Yap, & Wandeler 2010 cited in Manotham, 2010).

In due regard, the presented scholarly works facilitated this study to adapt the Push-Pull Theory for good comprehension of causal factors for people's migration from rural areas to Mwanza City squatter settlements. That holds true, for example, scholarly undertakings by Indian sociologists in regard to rural-urban communities analyzed them in diverse capacities (Manjunatha, & Kote, 2012). Also, India is a developing country like Tanzania and thus, careful application of the theory in the Tanzanian context was relevant. Thus, in getting a true picture of rural-to-urban migration, the study evaluated push-pull factors for migration from rural areas to Mwanza city.

## DATA SOURCES AND METHODS

This study employed qualitative research approaches and a case study strategy. However, the qualitative research approach was the hallmark of this study, while the latter was minimally employed on respondents' profiles and a few variables.

The study was conducted at MECCO, Isamilo, Kirumba, Igogo and Mabatini wards in Mwanza city (Figures 1 and 2). Notably, Mwanza town was founded in 1892 as a regional administration and commercial centre to control mainly export

production of cotton growing areas in the Lake Victoria Zone (Mwanza City Council, 2014). In 1978, Mwanza obtained the status of Municipality in 1972 and in 2000, Mwanza was further promoted to a city status (*ibid.*).

Mwanza City is along the southern shores of Lake Victoria in northwest Tanzania (*ibid.*). The city is situated between latitudes 20 15 South – 20 45 South of the Equator and between longitudes 320 45' – 33.000 East (*ibid.*). It lies at an altitude of 1,140 metres above sea level (*ibid.*).

**Figure 1: Map of Mwanza City Showing Distribution of Wards**



**Source:** Mwanza City Council (2014).

Mwanza city has grown rapidly, from 11,300 people in 1948, 19,900 in 1957, 223,013 in 1988 to 476,646 in 2002 (National Census Report, 2002). Presently,

the total population of Mwanza is estimated to be just above half a million people (NBS, 2012).

**Figure 2: United Republic of Tanzania, Administrative Boundaries**

National Bureau of Statistics [(NBS) 2012].

### Sample and Sample Size

Cochran (1977: 74-77) submitted that when the population of the study area is unknown and the confidence level required is 95 percent, the margin of error is 5 percent, as well as the estimated proportion of the sample, is 50 percent. Thus, the sample size for the study had to be over 384

obtained from the following formula:

$$n > \frac{Z^2 \alpha/2 \cdot p(1-p)}{d^2};$$

where

$Z^2 \alpha/2 = Z^2_{0.025} = 1.96$  the value obtained from normal distribution Table;  $d$  is the chosen margin of error,  $p = 0.5$  the estimated value for the



proportion of a sample; and

$$n > \frac{(1.96)^2 (0.5)(1-0.5)}{(0.05)^2} = \frac{3.8416 \times 0.25}{0.0025} = \frac{0.9604}{0.0025} = 384.16 \approx 384$$

thus,  $P = 0.5$  gives the optimal sample size in absence of any knowledge of population like the case for Mwanza city squatters (see Cochran, 1977 pg.74-77).

Therefore, 390 respondents participated in the study because such a number was considered adequate and manageable for the study area, Mwanza City. Out of 390, 195 were local residents involved in questionnaires, some were involved in interviews and questionnaires while few were involved in Focus Group Discussions. The latter involved local residents separated by gender because of socio-cultures in the study area. Open-ended questionnaires were administered to local government officials from the following departments: Social Welfare, Culture, Community Development, Land, Environment and Urban Planning, Education and Health and an official from the Municipal Director, Ward Executive Officers and street Chairpersons.

### Sampling Procedures

This study employed a purposive sampling procedure to obtain local government authority leaders from street, ward and municipal councils (Nyamagana and Ilemela Municipal Councils). The study employed a convenience sampling procedure to obtain respondents in squatter settlements because it was hard to use a simple random sampling procedure for people who were mobile at most times based on the nature of their informal undertakings.

Additionally, a snowball sampling procedure was used to obtain respondents in the study area. Moreover, a simple random sampling procedure was used to get spatial units of analysis, the wards and streets.

### Data Collection Methods

The questionnaire had open-ended questions in order to gather qualitative data from municipal council officials and ward executive officials. The questionnaire was deemed fit to be employed by the study for such officials due to their busy work schedules. Besides, close-ended questionnaires were distributed towards.

To curb non-responses, the questionnaires were administered by the research team in person. A total of 87 questionnaires were returned from the Ilemela district (Kirumba and MECCO wards) and a total of 108 questionnaires were returned from Nyamagana district (Mabatini, Igogo and Isamilo/Nyakabungo). All other wards returned questionnaires except Mabatini which returned 37(68.5%) and thus, made a total of returned questionnaires from non-district officials account for 195 (92%) responses, which was sufficient for data analysis.

In order to get first-hand in-depth data for the case study, semi-structured interview questions were administered to squatter settlers and street leaders. They furnished qualitative data and quantitative data from respondents. Furthermore, non-participant observation was used to gather data availability or non-availability of social services. The exercise was facilitated by street leaders so as to control doubts from the inhabitants of the area. The observations were done randomly by selecting some places because it was impossible to walk at all wards due to large sizes and the terrain at some wards was sloppy and/or hilly.

Focus group discussion (FGD) was used to ascertain gathered data from other primary sources and each group was composed of twelve persons. In observing research ethics, each focus group was assigned a code and two Focus Group Discussions were conducted for each ward, one for local residents (in squatter settlements) and another one for the ward as well as street officials from each ward. Each municipal council had a focus group discussion that comprised ten workers from

purposely selected departments. In the streets, focus group members were separated by gender, females from males.

In order to obtain secondary data, a Documentary Review was carried out. Reviewed documents were accessed at Municipal Councils, Saint Augustine University of Tanzania (Malimbe campus) Main Library, Tanganyika Library Mwanza Regional Office and Zonal National Archives Office in Mwanza City including journal articles. The documents included published and unpublished materials. From Municipal Councils, documents concerning work reports, Urban Planning, and Land policy were accessed.

In order to achieve the quality of the study, the researchers guaranteed its utmost quality. Accordingly, the aspect of the manner credible and trustworthy employed data collection methods in the research process had to be observed so as to justify reasons including the extent they can yield results to be trustworthy, credible, precise and accurate for one to really believe (Neuman, 2006; Cohen *et al.*, 2000; Babbie, 2010).

In the improvement of data collection methods before applying them to the full-swing study, a pilot test was conducted for two weeks at Mabatini squatter settlements in Nyamagana Municipal, Mwanza City. Later, results from the pilot test were presented at Saint Augustine University of Tanzania and moderated by colleagues. Additionally, in order to ensure the validity and reliability of data collection methods, the researchers used multiple data collection methods. Finally, the data collection methods were adjusted ready for actual fully-fledged research endeavours.

### **Data Analysis Plan**

All collected data, particularly from the survey were cleaned. They were firstly, checked for errors, corrected and edited. The collected qualitative data were sorted according to themes and entered into a

matrix. The resultant themes were subjected to content analysis. Finally, results included transcribed data and narrative reports.

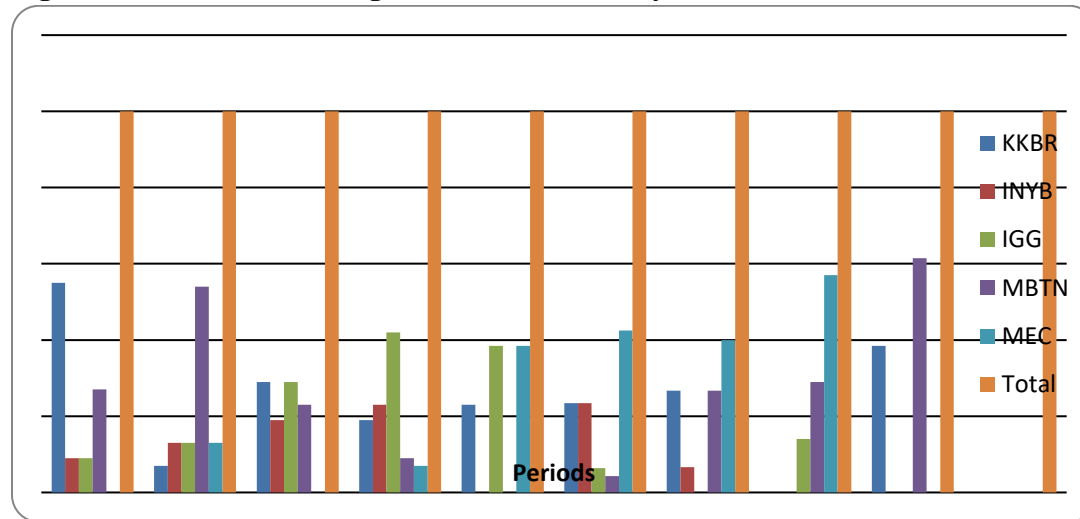
Before analysis, quantitative data were sorted, coded and analyzed descriptively. Initially, there involved proofreading characteristics of the sampled population according to demographic variables like age and marital status, their socio-economic background, which included education level, type of occupation, ethnicity, place of origin before migration to Mwanza City and duration of stay in the settlement. Results are presented using histograms.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **The trend of Rural Migration to Squatter Settlements in Mwanza City, Tanzania**

In order to get a clear picture of the manner Mwanza City has been getting people from rural areas, the study carried out a trend analysis for forty years from 1970 to 2010 (Figure 4). In addition, the analysis was categorized into five-year periods. Such trend analysis shows the ward that started to have inhabitants and mostly squatters, while another ward or wards were recently settled by people. Results are presented in Figure 4.

Overall, results from the study revealed that the period between 1986 and 1990 had the most numerous of all people in squatter settlements followed by 1996 and 2000 (Figure 4). Igogo ward received more (42%) inhabitants than all wards followed by 23 percent of people at Isamilo-Nyakabungo ward (Figure 3). The earliest of all places to be settled was the Kirumba-Kabuhoro ward where people started moving in from 1970 to 1975 (Figure 3). Mabatini ward was next with more people (27%) than the rest of the remaining wards (Figure 3).

**Figure 3: Trend of Rural Migration to Mwanza City from 1970 to 2010**

Key: KKBR – Kirumba-Kabuhoro ward, INY – Isamilo Nyakabungo ward, IGG – Igogo ward, MBTN – Mabatini ward, MEC – MECCO ward

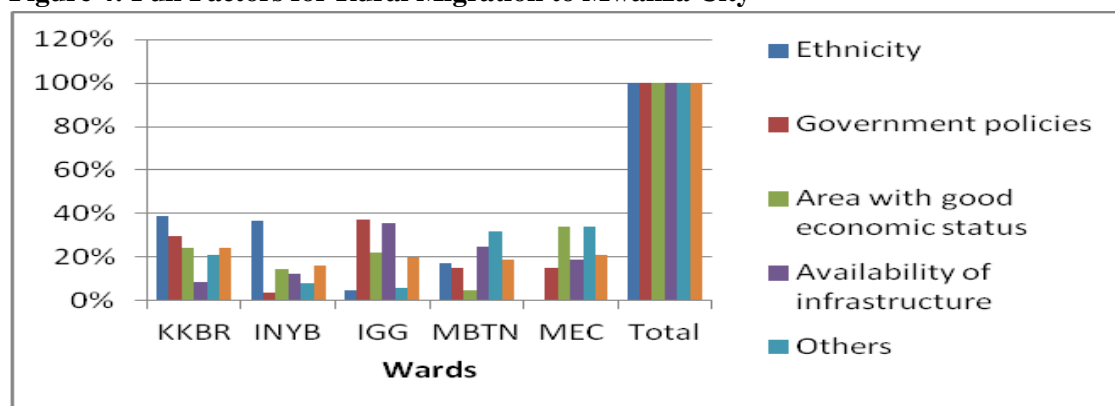
Some respondents did not know the time they shifted to Mwanza City - five from the Kirumba-Kabuhoro ward and eight from the Mabatini ward (Figure 3). The period between 2006 and 2010 had the least people who moved into the studied wards with 14 percent in Igogo ward, 29 percent in Mabatini ward and a lot (57%) of people out of such a minority who settled in the MECCO ward (Figure 3).

### Causes of Squatter Settlements in Mwanza City

This study applied the Push-Pull Theory in identifying causal factors for the growth and dynamics of squatter settlements in Mwanza City. Accordingly, Lee (1966) contended that push factors are negative and that they incline to force migrants to leave their places of origin, while pull factors are positive and attract migrants to move to the area of destination with the expectation of better lives than in the place(s) of origin.

It is important to underscore that the Push-Pull Theory was a pertinent lens for recognition of the motive behind people's rural migration to Mwanza urban squatter settlements. Results from the study revealed numerous push-pull factors that encouraged people to migrate from rural areas to Mwanza City in squatter settlements. Identified push-pull factors are similar to those identified in other areas around the world. Comparable causal factors were drivers for people to migrate from their locales to urban areas, for example, in Bangladesh, India, Nigeria and Ethiopia.

Findings from the study revealed push and pull factors for rural-urban migration that made people move to squatter settlements in Mwanza City. Results from the study concerning pull factors that enhanced people's migration from their rural areas (places of domicile) to Mwanza City are presented in Figure 4. Such people ended up staying in squatter settlements of Mwanza city.

**Figure 4: Pull Factors for Rural Migration to Mwanza City**

Key: KKBR – Kirumba-Kabuhoro ward, INY – Isamilo Nyakabungo ward, IGG – Igogo ward, MBTN – Mabatini ward, MEC – MECCO ward

Identified pull factors that accounted for people migrating from rural areas to Mwanza City in squatter settlements included ethnicity, good government policies, good economic status, availability of infrastructure and others (Figure 4). For example, it was revealed that the first settlers attracted others to join them in such settlements, for example, Wasukuma featured in all wards with a higher number.

Moreover, Wasukuma ethnic group are among dominant ethnic groups and the main inhabitants of Mwanza region (Figures 2 & 3) (Mwanza City Council, 2014) and the largest ethnic group among over 120 ethnic groups in Tanzania (Nyang'aro, 2004 pg.7). They attracted other Wasukuma to settle in such areas, a similar pattern with several clusters in squatter settlements having dominant ethnic groups associated with Kiswahili nicknames like 'kwa Wakuria' translated that it is a place for Wakurya at areas in Mabatini hillocks, while Igogo has places known to be dominantly settled by Wamanyema from Kigoma region (West of the country along Lake Tanganyika) and Wanyamwezi from Tabora region (Figures 2 & 3).

Availability of infrastructure in urban areas featured to be another pull factor revealed by 48 (25%) respondents (Figure 4). Further probing through focus group discussions elaborated that there is

developed infrastructure like roads, government referral hospitals (for example, Bugando Medical Centre, a zonal referral hospital) including private hospitals and that there are passable roads that facilitate people to go to the hospital when they fall sick. In addition, they alluded that in towns, there are private hospitals while in villages there are low-level government health facilities like dispensaries and health centres with inferior health services. All people depend on urban referral hospitals when they fall sick. Therefore, it was seen as better to shift and live in urban areas to get such services.

It was further disclosed by respondents that urban areas have good economic positions and thus, people are attracted to move there. They moved to urban areas to eke out their living through informal activities because there is no possibility of being involved with income generation in villages (rural areas). That aspect was noted, exclusively, if there is a drought that causes people to become food-poor and can never sustain their livelihoods. They solely depend on the hand hoe for cultivation and rainfall. Therefore, aberrant weathering patterns that ensue for some years leave people with no option except to shift from villages to urban areas. Some are involved in the sale of fruits at stalls and foodstuffs at small markets in their vicinities, while others get employment as casual labourers, for example, at



Mwanza Textile Mills (MWATEX) and fish processing plants.

Other respondents said that they moved to Mwanza City because the execution of government policies was mostly done in urban areas. For example, they reported that policies for the provision of good social services like health and education were better implemented in urban than rural areas such that people in urban areas enjoyed the fruits of the government. They further upheld that they migrated to towns because there were markets for several commodities in that they could live by doing small businesses rather than in villages. Moreover, relatives already in towns called them to go to do small trades. In addition, it was disclosed that people were obliged to move and live in towns to reduce costs by walking on foot to access social services, for example, hospitals for treatment.

Others moved to Mwanza City because it is close to the lake. Thus, it is easier to undertake fishing and get income easier rather than in the villages where they could not manage to do such businesses. Still, others alluded that it was easy to acquire a plot at cheap prices though in hilly areas.

They maintained further that their children can go to nearby schools, a situation that is different from villages that make children cover long distances to attend schools; houses for rent are accessed at low costs; others move to Mwanza city to join husbands; and there are utility services like electricity and clean, potable water in towns, but such services are lacking or inadequate in rural areas. It was further narrated that there is a better life in towns than in villages; after witnessing village neighbours' success in town then they decided to migrate to town. Moreover, they moved to Mwanza seeking security because there were police stations even though there were thieves.

Several push factors were identified by respondents from focus group discussions. They included the following: married women escaped from beating and various forms of discrimination from their

husbands in the villages; some ran away from villages because they were accused of being sorcerers and thus, they were afraid of being killed. Therefore, they were forced to migrate to urban areas as safe havens.

Furthermore, young teenage girls moved to urban areas so as to escape from female genital mutilation (FGM) which is a requirement in their ethnic groups in the Mara region. They moved to urban areas to start a different life in whichever form because they forfeited their education to work as house girls, barmaids and prostitutes.

The UN-HABITAT (2009 pg. 16) Tanzania country profile identified pull factors for rural-to-urban migration. It was noted that large numbers of people migrated to towns in search of work and employment opportunities but they were forced to live in unplanned as well as informal settlements (*ibid.*).

A study by Guria, & Tiwari (2013 pg. 6) on migration and living conditions in urban squatter settlements of Bilaspur City (Chattisgarh) in India, identified pulls for rural to urban migration. They included migration for work or employment, business, education, marriage purposes and others (*ibid.*). In Africa, Okhankhuele, & Opafunso's (2013 pg. 192) study in a Waterside Local Government Area of Ogun State in Nigeria, uncovered that the majority of people migrate to urban areas to continue their education, in search of employment, in search for basic services, to join relatives and to get married. In addition, urban areas pulled many youths who became unavailable in rural areas to help in undertaking house chores and assist their parents in various activities including farm work (*ibid.*).

Besides, pull factors for increased squatter settlements in Abuja, Nigeria, encompassed the incapability of the economy to accommodate for housing needs of low-income as well as no-income groups that form the majority; shortage of housing supply due to a blend together with the high

population as well as urbanization growth rates; and couples with high incidents of poverty amongst the population (Onyekachi, 2014 pg. 422). Others comprised failures to provide the housing sector as its main concern in general economic development and thus, the sector competes with all other sectors in accessing limited resources, for instance, finance, management, labour including materials as well as land; and housing and urban development policies that tend to favour the production of formal housing (*ibid.*: 422).

The study by Gibson, & Gurmu (2012) in Ethiopia reported similar factors to Mwanza, Tanzania and Nigeria. Identified pull factors for people's movement to urban areas in Ethiopia encompassed pursuing a high school education or employment in casual wage-labour jobs in nearby towns of Derra and Iteya; accompanying family; and visiting relatives (*ibid.*).

In Bangladesh, rural-to-urban migration is due to economic reasons (Nabi, 1992; Hossain, 2001; Islam, 2006 cited in Ishtiaque, 2013 pg. 47) and the occurrence of natural disasters (Mahbub, 1998; Herman, 2009 cited in Ishtiaque 2013 pg. 47). Moreover, Ullah (2004 cited in Ishtiaque, 2013: 47) reported that rural to urban migration was due to rural-urban dichotomies in terms of income, employment opportunity together with absorptive capacity where urban areas provide. In another vein, (Rokib, 2009 cited in Ishtiaque, 2013 pg. 48) argued that the household head's religion, educational qualification and occupation had positive direct effects on rural-to-urban migration in Bangladesh.

### **Problems and Challenges Encountered in Squatter Settlements**

Through interviews and focus group discussions, the following challenges were uncovered: there was a population explosion; there were no specially designated or planned areas for human habitation; the government failed to deal as well as resolve the human habitation problem in unplanned areas at an early/infancy stage before it blew up to an

uncontrollable level/stage. Others reported that the government mixes politics and implementation in the wrong way and political leaders fear being blamed by citizens for taking measures like the eviction of squatters.

Furthermore, people settled in squatter areas because planned and surveyed areas for human occupation were difficult to acquire owing to huge expenses and bureaucracy accompanied by corruption in plot allocation to ordinary citizens. As measures for controlling and preventing squatter settlements, respondents exposed that Mwanza city officials launched participatory surveys along plots for residential areas. People were required to pay for survey fee. However, it failed because survey charges were very high and unaffordable. Thus, securing title deeds to their built-up plots was a big problem in informal settlements.

Another challenge disclosed by respondents was about insecurity at night in squatter settlements. They needed the construction of police stations in their areas so as to deal with theft/robbery. Moreover, most areas had no roads and thus, respondents wanted road construction but with some variations based on their priority over other social services. Such variation of the need for roads was due to the nature of the landscape in Mwanza squatter areas that are mostly in bad terrain - sloppy areas and/or hillocks - thus, making it difficult for road construction.

In addition, through focus group discussions, participants identified that markets were in appalling states. They suggested that there was a need for the improvement of markets plus the construction of new permanent markets. Other social services that were missing in their areas and thus, problematic to access included a lack of vocational training for their youth; the absence of playgrounds for children; and the absence of healthcare facilities.

They suggested that in dealing with the absence of social services, they required government assistance

like the construction of vocational training institutes in their areas and reserve places as playgrounds for children's sports as well as their development. Additionally, they suggested about construction of health facilities within their proximity for easy access.

Another informed problem was about unscrupulous house construction in hillocks and other (non-hilly) unplanned areas. To avert the problem, respondents suggested the following: educate people so that persons living in villages should not migrate to urban areas; there should be government intervention in plot allocation for good human habitation, especially involvement of urban planning offices for each council; and the government should allocate other planned areas to resettle those residing in squatter areas. Additionally, the government should improve such areas because they would be good for low-income earners; and the government should build low-cost houses to sell them to citizens at low costs. Besides, they proposed an integrated cartographic survey to offer certificates of rights of occupancy for inhabitants; provide loans; survey new areas; organize habitation areas; and allocate habitation areas to people at low costs. Other proposals embraced the following: institute a law that should prohibit unscrupulous construction of houses; educate people about good habitation; and reduce house rents for people to reside in good/proper areas.

In its efforts to control squatter settlements, Mwanza city officials alluded that they are discouraging people from developing into squatters but the measures are not working. On the other hand, Mwanza City is planning to demolish some houses to create space for paving and building street roads; facilitate waste collection including their disposal; and improve social services provision like building primary and secondary schools, health facilities, markets and police stations.

### **Government Measures in Dealing with Squatter Settlements**

Respondents disclosed that the government had plans to deal with squatter settlements in Mwanza City that included plans to improve existing infrastructure in squatter areas. Such suggestions featured prominently in all studied wards.

Results from focus group discussions (from non-local government leaders) on government plans in dealing with squatter settlements were not different from those obtained from the other data collection methods. All noted that the development of infrastructure was the leading government priority not only to squatter settlements but also to other parts in both urban and rural areas in the country. Demolition of houses was not seen to be a government move as disclosed by the focus group discussion members at Igogo. They noted that the provision of social services like electricity and water by public utility entities was testimony that there was recognition and consideration for people living in squatter settlements like those dwelling in planned and registered settlements.

In its strategic plan for development, the water supply and sanitation public utility entity for Mwanza City and its contiguous areas, Mwanza Urban Water Supply and Sanitation Authority MWAUWASA (2011 pg. 10], is upgrading water and sewerage services in Mwanza city and adjoining places. Besides, MWAUWASA (2011p.g 25) is supervising construction works for water supply and sewerage for Mwanza City and completed the second phase of the Mwanza Sewerage project with funding from development partners and the central government.

However, respondents noted that requirements for the provision of potable, clean and safe water in their areas featured prominently compared to other kinds of social services. The next in prominence among government initiatives in social services provision to citizens were disclosed to be road

construction and waste collection and disposal for cleaning the environment.

Respondents revealed further that the local government was doing its best in electrifying the areas and carrying out limited waste collection to accessible areas, especially those not so high up in hillocks. However, those at Igogo and Kirumba Kabuhoro said that the sloppy hillock landscape alongside underlying and/or exposed granite rock boulders/granite bedrocks hampered the development of road networks in their areas. They had to depend on footpaths. There was poor sanitation and in mitigation of the problem, they dug up shallow pit latrines. Moreover, it was difficult for the local government authority to develop stormwater drains or develop a sewage system in such areas.

Furthermore, there are initiatives to deal with unplanned areas in various spheres of infrastructure development. For example, there are re-pavement works using stones in roads along areas like Igogo Road to Bugando areas. Also, there is facilitation of certificates of rights of occupancy for people in areas that include squatter areas through special survey works. Moreover, there are moves by the Mwanza City Council to facilitate city dwellers' smooth operation of their activities. As its obligation to enable the informal sector, which contributes to the economy of Mwanza City through employment, among others, Mwanza City Council, in consultation with business persons, identified and established markets/working places for informal sector businesses (City Director, 2008 pg. 6). Mwanza City Council is targeting micro-entrepreneurs who cannot afford to acquire ordinary plots from the City Council's land office due to small nature of their businesses (City Director, 2008 pg. 60).

## CONCLUSION

The manner Mwanza City has been getting people from rural areas was analysed for the past forty years from 1970 to 2010 (Figure 5). Generally,

results from the study revealed that the period between 1986 and 1990 had the most numerous of all people in Mwanza squatter areas followed by 1996 and 2000 (Figure 5).

There were numerous pull factors that encouraged people to migrate from rural areas to Mwanza City in squatter settlements that included ethnicity. The first settlers attracted others to join them in such settlements, for example, Wasukuma featured in all wards with a higher number than the rest of the residents in all studied wards.

Availability of infrastructure in urban areas was the leading pull factor followed by good economic status. For example, people moved from their villages to squatter areas to prospect for income generation activities or casual employment or undertake informal activities. They argued that there was no possibility of income generation in villages (rural areas) amidst drought that causes people to be food-poor and to sustain their livelihoods.

People migrated to Mwanza City because the implementation of government policies was mostly executed in urban areas. For example, the provision of social services like health and education were better executed in urban rather than rural areas and they were easily accessed by people in urban areas. All referral hospitals are in urban areas, for instance, Bugando Medical Centre in Mwanza city is a big, zonal referral hospital accessed by all people from nearby regions. Additional pull factors prospect for small businesses and/or small jobs like casual labour and a few joined their husbands. Drought conditions that led to non-harvest of food, as well as cash crops, pushed people to move to Mwanza City; others moved to join their relatives; there were improved livelihoods; and there was easy availability of cheap but insecure as well as untenured land plots.

Added pull factors embraced the availability of clean, potable water, and electricity; enjoying security services due to the presence of police



stations; the presence of infrastructure like roads for easy movement to access social services and other amenities (like high-level referral hospitals, schools and so forth); and availability of markets that have many customers in urban areas compared to rural areas.

Push factors like Gender-Based Violence (GBV) like wife beating plus discrimination by husbands led women to escape such malpractices/ill-treatments, and traditional malpractices like adolescent girls' genital mutilation still practised in hideouts in Mara region made girls run away to Mwanza City. Some women accused of witchcraft were threatened to stay in villages and thus, they had to flee away to other areas that included Mwanza City squatter areas.

Bad weathering conditions like drought that led to minimal and/or no harvests pushed people to migrate to Mwanza city squatter areas and seek alternative livelihoods like getting casual employment; undertaking small vending businesses; and doing other informal activities. Besides, villages felt insecure and therefore, prompted people to move to Mwanza City where they are better off with secure livelihoods due to the presence of police. Rural areas were seen with inadequate social services like schools for their children, the absence of high-level referral health facilities and poor roads.

Uncovered challenges included population explosion; there were no specially designated or planned areas for human habitation; and the government failed to deal as well as resolve the human habitation problem in unplanned areas at an early stage before it blew up to an uncontrollable level. Moreover, the government mixes politics and deals with squatter settlement problems in the wrong way; and political leaders fear being blamed by citizens for taking measures to control squatter settlements like the eviction of squatters.

People settled in squatter areas because planned and surveyed areas for human occupation were difficult

to acquire due to huge costs, bureaucracy along corruption in plot distribution to ordinary citizens. In controlling and preventing squatter settlements, respondents exposed that Mwanza city officials launched participatory surveys along planned but un-surveyed plots for residential areas that required survey fee payment. But as an added problem, it failed because people could not afford it.

It was unveiled that the government had plans to deal with squatter settlements in Mwanza city. They included improvement of infrastructure in squatter areas. Such suggestions featured prominently in all studied wards. Besides, Mwanza city authority is discouraging people from developing into squatters. Moreover, Mwanza City is planning to demolish some houses to create space to pave and build street roads; enable potable clean as well as safe water; facilitate waste collection/disposal; improve buildings for primary and secondary schools; build health facilities; build markets; electrification; and build police stations.

As its obligation to facilitate the informal sector, which contributes to the economy of Mwanza City in terms of aspects like employment, among others, Mwanza City Council, in consultation with business persons, identified and established markets/working places for informal sector businesses (City Director, 2008 pg. 6). Mwanza City Council is targeting micro-entrepreneurs to offer plots due to small nature of their businesses (City Director, 2008: 60).

### **Recommendations**

The government should use proper approaches in dealing with people settled in unplanned/un-surveyed areas before they increase beyond control. The government should review its policies for people's settlements in informal/unplanned urban areas. Besides, the government should educate people and stay in its planned settlements with frequent reviews for people to refrain from living in unplanned areas.

Social services utility entities should seriously observe government plans, strategies and initiatives

geared for good habitation. They should observe urban master plans for Mwanza City and all urban areas of Tanzania.

The government should properly provide social services like healthcare, schools, market infrastructure, police stations and many others in rural and urban areas to control rural-to-urban migration.

Concerning Gender-Based Violence targeting women and adolescents' health situations and women accused of sorcery and thus, pushing women to urban areas, along with stakeholders, single-handedly and/or in groups, the government should enact policy and review the legal framework to weed out Gender-Based Violence in the country.

### Acknowledgements

This paper is from the author's doctoral thesis. The author expresses her gratitude for sponsorship from Saint Augustine University of Tanzania (SAUT) and the University of Vechta, Germany. Furthermore, the author expresses her sincere gratitude to the authorities of Mwanza Region, Mwanza City, Nyamagana Municipal Council, Ilemela Municipal Council, and all grassroots local authority leaders in the study area for permission to conduct the study and their participation in it.

### Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author declared no potential conflicts of interest regarding the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

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