

Determinants of the Migration of the Ndali Tribe from Ileje to Mbozi District, Tanzania

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Abstract

Understanding the determinants of migration and associated patterns may inform relevant institutions to devise intervention plans and resource mobilization strategies for affected areas. This paper examines the determinants of migration of the Ndali tribe from Ileje to Mbozi District. It attempts to diagnose factors that determine Ndali tribe migration to Mbozi District and recommend possible strategies for addressing the situation. A sample of 551 heads of households of Ndali migrants were drawn from Mbozi District using simple random sampling techniques, and employing a cross-sectional research design. Both quantitative and qualitative data were gathered through household questionnaire, field observations, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and documentary reviews. Quantitative data from the questionnaires were analysed through descriptive statistics, while content analysis was employed in the analysis of qualitative data. Results suggest that the availability of land for cultivation, permanent settlements, social services availability, availability of wage labour, socio-cultural issues, and the presence of relatives from Ileje District were the major determinants of the migration of the Ndali tribe in Mbozi District. However, the determinants of migration was not dominated by a single factor, but by a combination of multiple inter-related factors. The paper concludes that out-migration is the viable means of the Ndali tribe to survive; and recommends the promotion of equitable development such as investing in Ileje and enhancing opportunities in the area of origin to minimise out-migration, and keep population in the area of destination at a manageable rate since an increase in in-migration will inevitably lead to population pressure and land crisis.

Keywords: *migration, Ndali, determinants, out-migration, in-migration, pressure.*

1. Introduction

Migration is a patterned movement of people from one place to another, and it is a common phenomenon in Tanzania, as well as the whole world. Migration in Tanzania has been taking place since pre-colonial times, although it differs in aims from one locality to another (Mbonile, 2008). Mbozi District in-migration is just an example of a broader and continuous movement of population taking place in the country. Rural-rural population mobility in Tanzania has been taking place

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since the early 20th century. These movements involved both crop cultivators and pastoralists. Several factors have been associated with these migrations. These include climate, security, land shortage, famine, employment, and seasonal labour in high potential districts. Larger movements of people have been triggered by population pressure leading to land degradation, and what some scholars call environmental refugees (Timberlake, 1988).

Studies by Gulliver (1955, 1957), Mbilinyi and Omari (1996); Liviga and Mekacha (1998), Mbonile (2004), and Mulungu (2003, 2017) observed that since the colonial and post-colonial period, Ileje District has been one of the major out-migration area and the source of migrant labour in Tanzania. It shares the characteristics with other less developed districts in the country such as Makete and Ludewa in Njombe Region, Kasulu and Kibondo in Kigoma Region, and larger zones such as the southern corridor of Lindi, Mtwara and Ruvuma regions, which were also labour reserves during the colonial period. Out-migration from the densely populated regions of the Southern Highlands began during the colonial period when people migrated to plantations in coastal and mining areas in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Zambia (Gulliver, 1955; Mbonile, 1995). Moreover, McCall (1982) and Mbonile (1994) have observed that the densely-populated areas of Rungwe, Kyela and Ileje Districts, which was part of the Rungwe District, recorded a negative net migration because of out-migration. In fact, the establishment of tea and coffee plantations in Rungwe District alienated residents from the land as a result the young generations were compelled to move out of their birth places because they lacked land. Indeed, the establishment of plantations squeezed the local population out into marginal lands, leading to land fragmentations (Gulliver, 1955). As these perennial crops competed with subsistence crops for land, there was land shortage. Consequently, young men were not able to find land for both subsistence and cash crop cultivation; and hence migrated to the Usangu Plains, Mbozi, Chunya, Kilombero, and other places of destination of long-term, semi-permanent and rural-rural migration (Mbonile, 2008; Mulungu, 2013, 2017).

Generally, out-migration of people from Ileje is more triggered by increased pressure on land resource due to high population growth. For example, the 2002-2012 population growth rate of Ileje District was 1.2 percent (Population and Housing Census, 2012). This has resulted to increased cultivation of marginal lands, causing land degradation and loss of soil fertility; all of which has affected farm output.

As a response to increased poverty levels due to low agricultural returns, people have decided to move from one place to another searching for better life, Mbozi District being their major destination (Mbonile, 2008). However, the main areas of destination for out-migrants from Ileje District have been changing with time.

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During the colonial period, they were migrating to areas with available land for cultivation and permanent settlements in Rungwe and Mbozi Districts, as well as sisal and sugar plantations in the east and northeast regions of Morogoro, Tanga, Kilimanjaro, and Arusha. There was also long-distance migration to gold and copper mines in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (Gulliver, 1955, 1957; Mbonile; 1995, Mulungu, 2013, 2017). Other destinations for long-distance migrants from Ileje District included Morogoro, Mwanza, Njombe, Iringa, Ruvuma, Rukwa, Katavi, Dodoma, Kigoma, Tanga, Mara, Tabora, Arusha, and Zanzibar regions. There is also long-distance out-migration to Dar es Salaam City.

The increase of people in Ileje District around Undali Hills in the 1930s raises many questions regarding the effect of rapid population growth on ensuring secure livelihoods and sustainable resources utilisation. Empirical findings show that population growth often leads to environmental damages, thus imposing diminishing returns on rural economy, over-utilisation of resources, and entrenched poverty (Hall 1945, Mulungu, 2013). In consequence, the district was unable to accommodate and support the burgeoning population. Hence; out-migration was the alternative to environmental stress.

Mbonile (2008) asserts that, as a major out-migration district in the country, the district attracted only primary and secondary school teachers and rural health workers. As far as out-migration and survival strategy is concerned, the district still experiences heavy out-migration despite its participation in bamboo goods trade. Between 1970 and 2003 there was an increase in out-migration despite an increase in the trade of bamboo goods. This was due to the fact that bamboo trade had not penetrated to the grassroots of the people in Ileje District (Mbonile, 2008). The knowledge of making bamboo goods spread only to Malangali, Kafule and Ikinga wards. Likewise, the bamboo trade exposed the people of Ileje to the outside of the world. This induces some of them to migrate to other areas with better social services and infrastructure such as Mbozi, Mbeya urban and Usangu Plains. Moreover, the trade is still a petty business as it is managed by hawkers, hence not fully developed: it is just used as a survival strategy, or as a supplement activity to agricultural; and hence, fails to minimise or curtail out-migration.

During the post-independence period, the government discouraged labour migration to plantations and mines because there was a strong belief that such migration retarded rural development. Besides, out-migration to mines, especially to South Africa, was stopped due to the apartheid policy, which was not compatible with post-independence politics of independent African countries (Mbonile, 2008). As a result, Ileje residents embraced rural-urban and rural-rural migration to district trading centres and regional capitals such as Vwawa, Tunduma and Mlowo in Mbozi District and Mbeya Town, respectively (Lwoga, 1989; Mbonile, 1995, Mulungu, 2017).

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The Ndali tribe form the majority of people who migrate due to experiencing severe land degradation in Ileje District, especially around Undali Hills compared with other tribes in Ileje such as the Lambya and Malila. This study broadens our understanding on why the Ndali tribe is migrating to Mbozi and not to other neighbouring districts such as Rungwe and Kyela. Various scholars -- particularly Mbonile (1998), Mulungu (2017), and Mulungu & Myeya (2018) -- have examined the determinants of out-migration in Tanzania. Though this is well known, little is reported why Ndali tribe migrates to Mbozi District; and hence the need for this particular study. Therefore, the main objective of this paper is to examine the determinants of migration of Ndali tribe to Mbozi District.

2. Theoretical Framework

This part presents three migration theories and models and their relevance to the analysis of in-migration of Ndali tribe in Mbozi District: the push-pull theory of migration, Ravenstein's laws of migration, and the political economy theory.

2.1 Push-Pull Theory of Migration

The push-pull theory of migration, which was introduced by Lee (1966), served as an explanatory tool in lensing the main factors behind individuals' or groups' decision to migrate (Figure 1). The assumption is that, in every area, there are positive and negative factors that encourage and discourage one to migrate. The main factors that encourage people to remain in their area of origin may include ownership of land and houses, or the existence of suitable physical conditions such as good climate. Factors that tend to push people out of their area of origin include wars, poor climatic conditions, and diseases. These factors make people essentially indifferent or not decided whether to migrate or not like low level education attainment, poor financial capacity, and lack of awareness.

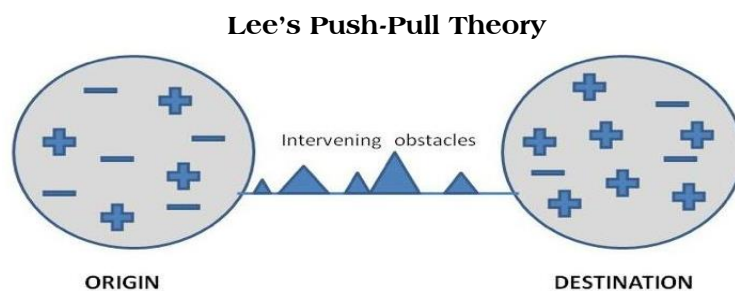


Figure 1: Origins-Destination Factors and Intervening Obstacles in Migration

Source: Lee (1966:48)

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These positive and negative factors such as wage labour, availability of land and availability of social services are found in both areas of origin (Ileje) and destination (Mbozi). However, there are significant differences between factors associated with areas of origin and those associated with areas of destination. For someone to migrate, positive factors in the area of destination must outweigh those in the area of origin. Yet, the actual advantages and disadvantages of an area can be experienced by living in the area of migration, where some migrants may face problems such as the lack of employment, land for settlement, and assimilation in the area of destination, which may discourage them from continuing living in such an area.

Generally, between the areas of origin and destination, there are intervening obstacles that may be either slight or insurmountable: these include distance, transport costs, and physical barriers such as lakes, oceans and mountains. Furthermore, personal factors which affect an individual's decision to migrate are associated with stages in the life cycle as one enters the labour force or marriage. Other factors depend on personal characteristics as the desire to migrate needs compelling reasons for some people.

Mabogunje (1970) and Todaro (1970) observed that the pull and push theory of migration is one of the simplest migration models that has attempted to explain why people move, and have introduced obstacles that were ignored by classical models. Todaro builds on his ideas to highlight the importance of the expected rather than the actual earnings differential as pull-factors. His analysis is based on a rational individual who calculates the expected gains of migrating, taking into account the expected wages at the destination point and the costs involved in migrating. However, this model was criticized by Harris (1970) because, in many developing countries, migration is increasing despite the high level of open unemployment in the destination areas; a trend which could not be explained by conventional models such as the Lee model as outlined above.

Furthermore, Lee's model underestimated the capacity of agriculture in increasing labour productivity and absorbing many additional workers, as is the case of Mbozi District. Similarly, the notion of labour reserve has been challenged by several studies such as Nyerere (1968) and Manning (1988) on rural development mainly because, during peak working seasons, labour in agriculture is in high demand, and in most developing countries agriculture is the source of capital in the establishment of non-agricultural activities such as industry and commerce. In addition, the model is criticised for not explaining the factors of migration and the intervening obstacles explicitly (Todaro, 1976). Furthermore, the model does not specify the essential attributes of areas on

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individual behaviours relative to the society as whole (Woods, 1983; Skeldon, 1990). In this study, Ileje is taken as the area of origin and Mbozi as the area of destination. This study support Lee's that, negative factors in Ileje -- such as population pressures, land degradation, and the lack of non-farm activities -- tend to be strong to push people out of the area; whereas positive factors in Mbozi -- such as the availability of land and wage labour -- are so strong that they pull the Ndali ethnic group from Ileje District.

2.2 Ravenstein's Laws of Migration

In his attempt to explain why individuals or groups move, Ravenstein (1885; 1889) asserts that household people migrate from areas with few opportunities to areas with abundant ones, motivated largely by economic considerations. Moreover, he delineated the main characteristics of migration in relation to their physical environment, distance and level of development of an area. With regard to distance, he observed that most migrants cover only short distances, but those who opt for long distances move to greater centres of commerce and industries. Ravenstein also observed that migration was sex-selective. In our case, most of the Ndali who are migrating to Mbozi are men. Females were more predominant in short-distance migration, and males in long-distance migration.

As an age-selective process, migration makes young people to have much greater mobility than older people. This is because their future income streams are longer and discounted back to present has brought a current value, they are flexible in skills and in better position with very few family responsibilities to assume risks and uncertainties (Hance, 1970).

Furthermore, the is correlation between educational attainment and migration has been noted (Caldwell, 1969; Brigg, 1971; Byerlee, 1974; Yap, 1975; Connell et al., 1975). It has been established that those with more years of schooling are more likely to migrate than those with fewer years of schooling. In a study in Tanzania, Barnum and Sabot (1975), documented a positive relationship between the levels of education and propensity to migrate for the 1955–1970 period. Moreover, Barnum and Sabot (1975) show that Tanzania secondary school leavers registered a higher proportion in the migration stream than those with only primary education. This observation is relevant in explaining the situation of migration of the Ndali tribe in Mbozi District.

2.3 Political Economy Theory

Political economists analyse migration as a change of social structure in a society. In other word, migration is seen to be the product of overall strategy of development centered on capitalism. By using the centre-periphery theory, Amin argued that the problems of migration in Africa are caused by the

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transformation and disruption of underdeveloped traditional economies (Amin, 1974). This leads to neo-colonialist relationship where certain parts of Africa are geared towards the production of primary export crops like coffee, tea, sisal, etc.; and minerals like copper, gold, iron, etc. Other areas export labour to the export-dominated sector, which together with those areas that are not involved in the capitalist dominated sector, act as labour reserves. The centre-periphery theory sees migration as a by-product of the overall development strategy based on the centre-periphery model. In this context, Ndali are migrating from the periphery district (Ileje) to Mbozi district as a centre of production.

According to the model, development is concentrated at the centre/core, which, however, draws physical and human resources from the periphery. The theory emphasises the centre and the periphery, with the centre pulling people from peripheral areas. In this regard and because of the nature of capitalist economy, one could treat Ileje as a labour reserve (periphery), and Mbozi a production zone (centre). However, it is not entirely true to treat Mbozi as a centre simply because most of the people are migrating from Ileje, as rural area to Mbozi, another rural district: areas that can all be treated as peripheries. Furthermore, the political economy theory fails to explain why even with colonial penetration, migration was still selective and migration streams were not always towards major commercial centres (Gould, 1992).

3. Context and Methods

3.1 Study Area

This study was conducted in Mbozi District (Figure 2). Mbozi District was chosen because more Ndali tribe, unlike Lambya and Malila, migrates to Mbozi District than to other districts; and this is why the Ndali tribe becomes the centre of the study. Generally, Mbozi receives migrants from Ileje and Rungwe districts, who move to the area primarily to establish permanent settlements. The choice of Mbozi District by migrants has been influenced by the relatively low population and availability of land in the area. This study was interested with migrants from Ileje only as a case study to represent other district with the same problem.

Mbozi District is located in the southwestern part of Songwe region. The district lies between Latitudes 8° and 9° 12" south of the Equator, and longitudes 32° 7' 30" and 33° 2' 0" east of Greenwich Meridian. The district share borders with Mbeya District to its eastern part, Ileje District to the south, and Momba District to the west (Figure 2).

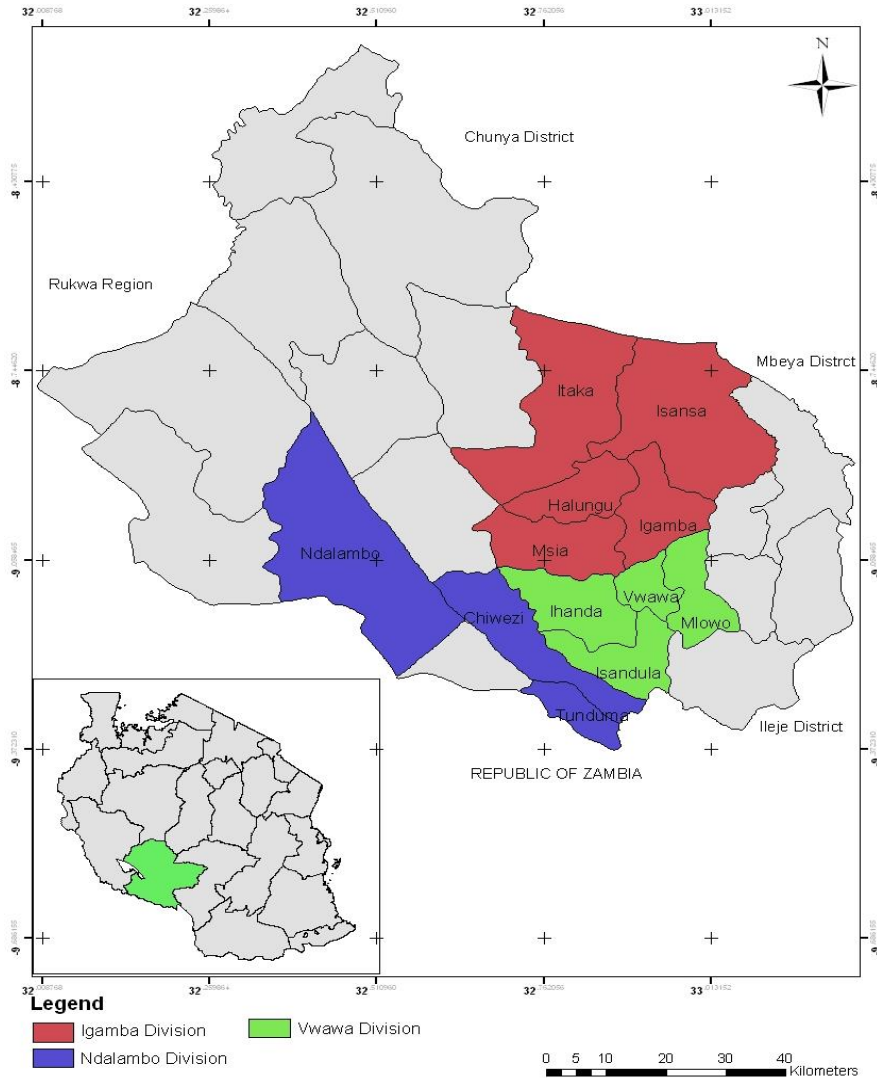


Figure 2: Location of Mbozi District where the Ndali tribe lives.

Source: Mbozi District Socio-Economic Profile, 2015

3.2 Design and Sampling Techniques

Simple random sampling techniques was used to get Ndali migrants in Mbozi district that participated in the study. Simple random sampling was employed because it gives equal chance for each element of a population to be included in a sample (Cohen et al., 2006; Kothari, 2004), as compared to other sampling procedures. Purposive sampling was also used in the selection of key informants deemed to possess crucial information for study. Also, purposive sampling was used to select the area and key informants because of some

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defining characteristics that makes them the holders of important information required for the research problem (Maree, 2007). This was an exploratory study and was not guided by any pre-assumptions such as hypotheses, but rather research question. On the whole, this design was employed to examine determinants of migration of the Ndali ethnic group to Mbozi District.

Several stages of sampling were employed in the study. The first stage involved the selection of the area of study, and hence Mbozi was purposefully selected because the majority of in-migrants are from Ileje District. The next stage was the sampling of divisions, wards and villages where the research was conducted. This was heavily influenced by accessibility and distance from Vwawa town centre. Table 1 shows the wards that were randomly selected.

Table 1: Selected Wards in Mbozi District and Number of Household Heads

Ward	Heads of households
Itaka	55
Isansa	40
Igamba	45
Halungu	30
Msia	21
Ihanda	40
Vwawa	70
Mlowo	60
Isandula	30
Tunduma	70
Chiwezi	35
Ndalambo	20
Total	551

Source: Ndali Migration Survey, 2020

At some point in time snowball sampling was used to trace migrants from Ileje to Mbozi District. The researcher made initial contacts with a small group of people (known as individual migrants) and used them to establish more contacts with other potential respondents. The questions were directed to the heads of households who, in most cases, were the main decision-makers at the household level. Purposive sampling was employed to include key informants deemed to possess crucial information for the study.

3.3 Sample Size, Data Collection and Analysis Methods

The household survey was conducted among 551 heads of households between July and December 2020 in Mbozi District. Focus group discussions were conducted at ward and village levels prior to carrying out household interviews/questionnaires and with key informants and field observations.

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Moreover, focus group discussions were used to validate the information gathered through other methods. A total of five groups with a composition of 6 members each composed of ward/village executive officers, community development officers, members of the community, agriculture extension officers; and representatives of the business community, youth, men and women. In-depth interviews were conducted with 7 selected key informants who were deemed to possess crucial information for the study.

The collected data were analysed through both descriptive and content analysis methods. Quantitative data from the questionnaires were analysed through descriptive statistics. Frequencies were determined to observe the occurrence of the responses from interviewed heads of households. Qualitative data from focus group discussions, in-depth interviews, and field observation were analysed using content analysis.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Socio-economic and Demographic Characteristics of Heads of Households

4.1.1 Age and Sex

The importance of studying the age structure of a population is because several social relations within a community depend on age. More often it is an important variable in the study of mortality, fertility and migration (Shryock & Siegel, 1976). Indeed, various in-migrations have shown that migration is age- and sex-selective (Newell, 1988). Also, in our case, the age of household's heads also shows the life time duration of migrants in Mbozi District.

An examination of the age structure of the heads of households indicate that 2 percent of the heads of households were aged less than 25 years. The majority were aged 26-35 (49 percent), followed by age group 36-45years that accounted for 29 percent; and above 46 years accounting for 20 percent (Table 2).

Table 2: Age of the Ndali Tribe Migrants in Mbozi District

Age	Percentage (n=551)
< 25	2
26-35	49
36-45	29
> 46	20
Total	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020

When the heads of households were examined by sex, it showed that males were dominant as heads of households, whereby 57 percent were males and 43 percent were females. Out of 551 heads of households, 93 percent were male-headed, and

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only 7 percent were female headed-households (Table 3). On the other hand, in the newly-settled wards, male-headed households are predominant because migration is sex-selective (Chilivumbo, 1985; Mbonile, 1995)).

Table 3: Heads of Households of Ndali Migrants in Mbozi District

Heads	Heads of households
Male headed	93
Female headed	7
Total	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020

4.1.2 Education

There is a relationship between education, development and migration. Furthermore, education can influence the future shape and direction of society in several ways in the area of destination, such as in employment opportunities (Mbonile, 1995).

Using literacy as the principal means of measuring education it shows that most of Ileje migrant heads of households in Mbozi district had completed primary school education (56.6 percent), followed by 17.2 percent with secondary education (Table 3). Despite all these achievements there is a proportion of 14.5 percent who have never attended any formal education. Those who had attended other courses were 11.6 percent. Diploma holders and graduates in Mbozi district were absent because the majority of them had migrated to major urban areas to seek formal employment. In terms of gender, many females in both districts had no formal education, or had just been up to primary school level. In fact, most of the people who migrated from Ileje to Mbozi District were primary school leavers.

Table 4: Education Level of Ndali Migrants in Mbozi District

Education	Percentage (n=551)
Non-formal	14
Primary	57
Secondary	17
Other courses	12
Total	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020

4.1.3 Household Size

Because of strong kinship links and the nature of subsistence economy, rural households are larger and more complex than urban households. In rural areas larger households are desired because of labour requirements to cultivate more

land with the help of extra children (Mwisomba & Kiilu, 2001). Besides this, rural areas support larger household as an insurance for old age security and prestige (Caldwell, 1987; Hoddinott, 1992). Generally, Ndali migrants in Mbozi District show that, 50 percent of the heads of households were had between 3-4 members (Table 4). Heads of households with 5-7 members accounted for 40 percent; and large households with 8-9 members accounted for 10 percent of the heads of households. The mean household size was about 7.2 members. As already stated, agricultural households prefer large families since they need more labour force for cultivation. Information gathered through in-depth-interview revealed that the proportion of single heads of households is higher in major trading centres such Tunduma, Vwawa and Mlowo in the district because young people find urban life difficult, hence delaying making a commitment to marriage.

Table 5: Household Size of Ndali Migrants in Mbozi District

Size	Percentage (n=551)
3-4	50
5-7	40
8-9	10
Total	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020

4.1.4 Occupation

Information from field observation shows that Ndali tribe migrants in Mbozi District were engaged in the cultivation crops as peasants, followed by business and livestock keeping. Other activities included fishing, carpentry, masonry, brewing, brick-making and plumbing. Some migrants came to Mbozi to look for employment in the various institutions established in the district. For instance, some migrants found employment in private farms at Vwawa (formerly owned by NAFCO), Mbozi Mission of the Christian Church, and at the TAZARA station. The study further noted that some women embarked on the business of farming and brewing local liquor of various types, whereas other migrants established small shops in Vwawa, Ihanda, Mlowo, Mpemba and Tunduma, while at the same time growing crops as peasants.

4.2 Determinants of Migration of Ndali Tribe to Mbozi District

This section discusses the main research questions concerning the determinants of migration of the Ndali tribe to Mbozi District. To do so, the study commenced with several research questions, namely: What are the reasons for the choice of Mbozi District? What makes Mbozi District so attractive as the area of permanent settlement?

The study findings reveal that the determinants of migration in Mbozi District can be categorised into push and pull factors.

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4.2.1 Push Factors

One of research question was why the Ndali migrates to Mbozi District. The Ndali migrants gave several reasons why they move out of their own district, and out of all the reasons, the most common was land degradation and loss of soil fertility at home. It was established that land in Ileje District is not fertile to support agricultural production. The current study results concur with that of Mulungu (2017) and Mulungu and Myeya (2018, 2020) who observed that, as a response to increased poverty levels due to low agricultural returns, people have decided to move from one place to another searching for better life; with Mbozi District being one the major destinations.

4.2.2 Pull Factors

Mbozi District has been facing the influx of various ethnic groups like Nyakyusa, Ndali, Sangu, Malila and Kinga from Rungwe, Ileje and other districts in the Southern Highlands. These migrants are attracted by opportunities that the district offer. These include good fertile soils that support many crops. This result is in line with that of Msokwe (2020) who observed that large-scale plantations were created in Mbozi during the colonial period due to the need of raw materials to feed metropolitan industries in Europe, leading to the influx of different tribes such as the Nyakyusa, Ndali and Kinga. The finding also concurs with those of other studies which established that one of the factors that pull people to migrate to the area is the availability of land for cultivation (Lee, 1966; Chilivumbo, 1985, Mulungu, 2013 and 2017). The study also established that type of migration to Mbozi District was mainly an inter-district one, i.e., the migrants residing in Mbozi District during the survey were the Ndali tribe originating from Ileje District.

Thus, the study findings show that the main reasons that made the Ndali migrate to Mbozi District included the availability of land for cultivation (73.6 percent); availability of social services such as schools, hospitals, water and telecommunication (8.2 percent); and the possibility of getting wage employment (8 percent). Others migrated to the area because of socio-cultural reasons (5.2 percent), and because they had relatives in Mbozi District (5 percent). We discuss each in detail.

1. Availability of Land

The Ileje district is known in Tanzania for out-migration: its people have been moving from their mother land to other places within and outside the region (Mbonile, 2002). As mentioned earlier, this has been caused by environmental stress caused by population pressure that increased land degradation in the district. As such, out-migration of the Ndali is a survival strategy to search for other opportunities for survival due economic difficulties, with Mbozi District being the immediate area of destination as it had open spaces for cultivation

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and settlements. This is supported by Mulungu (2017), Mulungu and Myeya (2018) who observed that out-migration is one of the strategies adopted by individuals, households or communities to enhance their livelihoods. Historically, out-migration from the densely populated region of the southern highlands began during the colonial period. Also, according to Mulungu (2017), population increase in Ileje district during the 1930s, especially around Undali Hills, puts many questions regarding the effect of rapid population growth on ensuring secure livelihoods and sustainable resource utilisation.

In this regard, Msokwe (2020) noted that, as early as the 1950s the Mbozi District has been facing an influx of various ethnic groups such as the Nyakyusa, Ndali, Malila, Sukuma and the WW II veterans due to the availability of land for the cultivation of coffee. Information from in-depth interview indicated that the majority of heads of households own not more than 3 acres of land in Ileje District, while in Mbozi they own not less than 5 acres. The soils are fertile and hence, allows for the cultivation of crops such as maize, beans and coffee, which ensures quick income for migrants. Also, Mulungu and Myeya (2020) had similar observations: that the shortage of land in Ileje due to increased population triggered high competition for land resources, which culminated in out-migration in search of areas to expand agriculture in other rural areas. This was also reported by one respondent during an in-depth interview:

Out-migration, especially among the youth, exists in Ileje District. The main factors behind this problem is that, after completing their primary education in their villages, most of the youths find themselves under-employed since their parents cannot give them land. This reason is causing most of the young and energetic people to decide to migrate to Mbozi District. (Male respondent with primary education, aged 48 years, at Ihanda ward).

2. Availability of Social Services

One of the other main reasons that made Ileje people out-migrate to Mbozi District was the availability of social services such as hospitals, shops, milling, and sewing machines and in the district. These social amenities are more readily available in Mbozi than in Ileje district. Unlike Ileje, Mbozi District has a good number of hotels, clubs and other social services that are distributed in towns and rural centres. FGDs with the Ndali ethnic group migrants on factors that influenced them to migrate to Mbozi District revealed the following reasons: availability of social services, favourable physical environment with rich soils and abundant space, easy adaptation of mechanisation in agriculture, ready markets and accessibility of the district as well as the strategic location along the major trade routes linking Lusaka/Lubumbashi and Dar es Salaam via the nearby Mbeya City. Furthermore, information from in depth interview reported that the district provides an important market for agricultural produce in addition opportunities for local businesses and non-farm employment. The choice of Mbozi District has largely been influenced by the relative low population and availability of social services.

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3. Wage Labour

In the past, Ndali tribe migrated to Mbozi District to work in coffee plantations. This was common during the colonial period, and in the immediate post-independence period. By 1938, about 65 percent of the employees in the coffee plantations in Mbozi were the Nyakyusa and Ndali. They migrated into this area despite strong resistance from the local population and the native authority of Mbeya District (Tanganyika, ARPC, 1938; Brock, 1966; Mbonile, 2008). Mbonile (2002) observed a similar situation on casual labour: that poverty in periphery districts, such as Ileje, made the people adjust their means of livelihood from subsistence farming to casual labour in small-scale plantations. Regarding job opportunities, Niboye (2019) also observed that out-migration seems to offer a pathway for people to escape poverty as migrants try and find better job opportunities elsewhere.

During the study survey, Ndali migrants in Mbozi District were asked about wage employment opportunities in Mbozi District. The heads of households identified the scarcity of wage employment in Ileje District as one of the major reasons behind their migrating to Mbozi District. The current study results concur with that of Mbonile (2008) who reported persistent out-migration in Ileje District due to low agricultural production, few employment opportunities, and low per capita income. However, employment opportunities in Mbozi District are fewer than the number of youth seeking wage employment from within Mbozi, and from Ileje migrants. Nonetheless, the majority of the respondents were reluctant to return to Ileje despite the lack of permanent employment opportunities in Mbozi District. Many Ndali migrants are employed as watchmen in private primary/secondary schools, and hospitals and as barmaids in hotels in Tunduma, Vwawa, Mlowo, Ihanda and Mpemba. Despite the employment problem in the area of destination, Ileje youth still migrate in search of these scarce employment opportunities or try their hands at petty trade in Mbozi district.

4. Relatives at the Areas of Destinations

One of the most neglected determinants of migration, particularly as a pull factor, is the presence of close relatives/friends who readily provide assistance to the migrants (Oucho, 1996). This study revealed that the presence of relatives and friends who migrated earlier to the district played a great role in influencing the Ndali to decide to migrate to, and settle in, Mbozi district. This shows that the presence of relatives and/or friends, who can assist in early accommodation and job-search, is one of the factors in potential migrants' decisions of destination areas. This is supported by White (2010) who argues that out-migration requires information and experience from friends and relatives who have migrated and managed to change their livelihoods. The knowledge of destination areas is normally communicated through visits by or to close relatives/or friends or through conversations on mobile phones.

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The relatives and friends who migrated earlier provided them with accommodation in initial days and helped in searching for plots. In this study, it was established that some Ileje out-migrants moved because their relative had already shifted to Mbozi. Indeed, the Ndali tribe in Mbozi motivated others to join them due to available land. The current study results concur with that of Holm (1992) and White (2010) who observed that migrants who get information from others who had already migrated and managed to change their livelihoods can also join the bandwagon. These informants tell them about land, space for settlement, agricultural production, business and employment opportunities available in the expected area of destination. Therefore, the decision to migrate is often influenced by the availability of information about the conditions prevailing in the area of destination (Fayissa & Nsiah, 2010). The current results are in line with that of Ouchou (1996) who noted that the determinants of migration to a particular destination area include the presence of close relatives and friends who can provide assistance to the new migrants. His study revealed that the decision to migrate to a particular area was reached based on some existing information about prevailing favourable conditions in the destination areas. This was also reported by one respondent during an in-depth interview:

My brother migrated earlier from Kafule, then when he informed me about available land for settlement for agriculture; I decided to come and establish settlement here and am still convincing my young brother from Ileje to come (Male respondent with primary education aged 25 years at Vwawa ward).

The means through which knowledge on Mbozi was obtained was through visits paid to relatives living in Mbozi or vice versa, since migrants have frequent contacts with their respective home areas of origin

The majority of migrants pay visits to their relatives in the former villages. By this means information about Mbozi is spread to the people who may like to migrate to Mbozi. Visiting traders also spread information about the area to the people in the place of origin.

5. Socio-cultural Reasons

Mbozi also offers the advantage of being near Ileje, making it easy to maintain contacts with homeland. Some household respondents explained that the Chindali culture was taking root because its speakers did not feel intimidated by their hosts, and were proud of their linguistic and cultural heritage. The study findings established that in different situations and places such as farms, village paths or roads, burial and marriage ceremonies, both languages, Nyiha and Ndali, are spoken. In fact, areas such as Vwawa, Mlowo, Ihanda and Igamba, the two languages are used interchangeably in a diglossic situation. In Mbozi, the Nyiha and Ndali often communicate with each other in Nyiha,

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Chindali, and Kiswahili. Similarly, Schiff (1999) noted that although the term is not widely applied, social analyses of migration demonstrate how the access to migration depends on social capital or contacts, and how the links between home and host community are maintained; as well as how migration helps to increase the migrants' social capital through experience gained in the area of destination. It is further observed that Chindali speakers who settled in Rungwe and Kyela Districts were intimidated and easily assimilated by the Nyakyusa, the largest group in south-west Tanzania, and who often did not want to learn languages of other ethnic groups; but instead expected others to learn Nyakyusa (Swila, 2005).

5. Conclusion

This paper has addressed a research question associated with the determinants of in-migration of the Ndali tribe to Mbozi District. Indeed, the study reveals that proportions of out-migrants from Ileje District are rural-rural migrants, and still engage in agriculture. The study has established that the major underlying determinant in Mbozi District were the availability of arable land for agriculture in this largely rural district. As such maize and coffee cultivation became one of the major determinants of migration in Mbozi District. More determinants of in-migration in the district were the availability of business and employment opportunities in trading centres of Vwawa, Mlowo and Tunduma. In this study, the presence of relatives and/or friends has been found to be one of the determinants of the Ndali ethnic group to migrate to Mbozi District. In short, the conditions that attract in-migration include favourable physical environment, viable local and international markets, as well as the ability of small-scale farmers to benefit from the markets, and diversification due to favourable policies in the district. Furthermore, Mbozi District has the necessary conditions that make the area irresistible for people in Ileje, including youths to migrate to the area. Finally, out-migration is the viable means that the Ndali ethnic group adopt to survive.

6. Recommendations

The study recommends that the government should ensure inter-district planning authority incorporating planners from the ministries of land and environment to look into how to plan for inter-district resources to enhance migration while promoting equitable development such as investing in Ileje and enhancing opportunities in the area of origin to minimise out-migration, and keep population in the area of destination at a manageable size since by the increase in-migration will inevitably lead to population pressure and land crisis. At the same time, intensive resource use technologies should be explored and introduced in both the areas of origin and destination.

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