

Consequences of Female Migration for Families in Tanzania

Esther W. Dungumaro

Institute of Development Studies, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Email: edungumaro@udsm.ac.tz

Abstract

This is a descriptive study of consequences of migration for families in areas of origin in Iringa region, Tanzania. The study involved interviews with ten families in Iringa and ten female migrants from Iringa working as domestic workers in Dar es Salaam. Families reported no improvements in financial status following their daughters' migration. This observation challenges the popular view that the decision by a family member to migrate contributes to their household's increased income and improved living standards. Whereas migration has not improved household income, it has negatively impacted on migrants' families in rural areas. These impacts range from health, social to economic shortfalls evidenced in, for example, having to care for the HIV positive returning migrants and their fatherless children. Migrants' failure to improve their families' livelihoods is attributed to among other factors lack of terms of service attached to the recruitment and small salary paid to them. The study recommends formulation and effective implementation of policies to protect domestic workers rights.

Keywords: Female migration, Iringa, migration-development, Tanzania

1. Introduction

Migration is widely recognized as a salient feature of contemporary developing economies, and it takes numerous forms (Chant and Radcliffe, 1992). These forms are rural-urban, rural-rural, urban-urban and urban-rural. The most prominent type in most African countries is rural-urban migration. This type of migration has been linked to improved living conditions of both the individual migrants and their families in areas of origin (Goldscheider, 1984; Itzigsohn, 2001). In the African context, migration is more of a family affair than an individual activity, and the sending of remittances by migrants is one of the most pervasive phenomena in Africa's migration systems (Adepoju, 1984; Amuedo-Dorantes *et al.*, 2010). For example, support from Ghanaian migrants to their households in areas of origin is found to be important as it helps in times of sickness and old age (Arhinful, 2001). Migration also contributes significantly to improved livelihood in areas of origin (Adams, 2005; Bryceson *et al.*, 2003; Lockwood, 1990; Mendonsa, 1982). Others hold a dissenting view. For instance, while Rhodes (1977) and Krane (1973) contend that returning migrants show insignificant improvement in earning power and living standards, other scholars argue that rural-urban migration is not closely linked to economic development (World Bank, 2000; Bryceson *et al.*, 2009).

The most cited impetus for migration is economic factors (Thadani and Todaro, 1984). The increase in internal migration associated with economic and political change in Africa, Asia and Latin America has made migration a salient feature of life in developing countries (Gurmu *et al.*, 2000). Worth noting is the fact that migration patterns in Africa are largely influenced by the economic strategy during colonial rule. However, it should be noted that Africa had been experiencing population movements even before colonial rule (Hance, 1970 cited in Adepoju (1977). The remarkable difference between population movements before and after the colonial era is basically in regards to the sex of migrants, pattern, volume, intensity and direction of migration. Adepoju (2008) notes that sub Saharan Africa has historically been experiencing intensive migration, caused by a great variety of factors embedded in the political, economic, demographic and environmental systems. Such factors have resulted in various migration configurations including labor migration.

Apart from economic opportunities, male and female migration has been and continues to be influenced by institutional, historical and sociocultural complexities (Chant and Radcliffe, 1992). Historically, colonial regimes contributed to the dominance of male migration and low coverage of female migration. Male migrants left for urban or plantation areas far away from their villages. Female migration in Africa was discouraged in the colonial period. Mbilinyi argued that in colonial times policies were formulated and effectively implemented to ensure that women could not migrate to towns, plantations and mining areas as illustrated in the quote below:

No woman will be allowed to accompany a contract labourer unless in possession of a valid marriage certificate or letter of authority from the Native Authority and bearing the seal of the same (DC Njombe²⁰, f307, 28.2.46 quoted in Mbilinyi, 1985).

The quote shows that labour recruiters were urged to prevent the illegal movement of women by their contract labourers, by placing a condition to reproduce a marriage certificate, which was a rare item in those days. In Tanzanian towns, single females were rounded up and deported to their home areas since they were considered 'undesirable' (Mbilinyi, 1985). Another reason behind restricted female migration was emphasis on the need to keep their place in society. Women were expected to produce in the farm rather than being 'parasitic' and a 'liability' in urban areas (ibid).

Despite the challenges faced by women, migration was still happening largely because of the overburden of caring for families in the absence of men (Nelson, 1992). Female migration started to increase slowly after independence. Robertson (1984) notes that in Kenya and Tanzania women's migration to town has increased during the post war years. Women migrate more independently for education and economic reasons than as dependants of men (Adepoju, 2004; Robertson, 1984; Thadani and Todaro, 1979).

Despite the historical background, inadequate attention has been paid to the gender differentials of migration (Chant & Radcliffe, 1992). Black (2004) notices the lack of studies on impacts of migration in developing countries, notably those which focus on gender. This feature of research on migration has resulted in a limited understanding of consequences of female migration as an independent aspect. Furthermore, migrants are often considered a homogeneous group, leading to inadequate attention of the constraints faced by female migrants (Fan and Huan, 1998).

The present study examines consequences of female migration to their families in rural areas in Iringa, Tanzania. Although there is a considerable amount of research on the general consequences of migration in Africa (Adams, 2006; Adepoju, 2002; Asiedu, 2004) studies on female migration and its consequences to families of migrants in areas of origin are relatively few. They typically examine impacts of migration involving international or interregional migration and remittances and employment opportunities. These studies do not shed much light on the ramifications of female migration on families. Yet this focus is crucially important, not only for academic interest but also relevant for policy issues. This paper shows that while migration has not improved household income, it has negatively impacted on migrants' families in rural areas. Health, social and economic impacts are evidenced in having to care for the HIV positive returning migrants and their children. Results show that lack of terms of service attached to the recruitment and small salary paid to migrants are among the formidable challenges faced by migrants. The paper begins by providing an introduction followed by migration and development discourse and overview of internal and labour migration. The third section presents the methodology including a brief historical background of migration in the study area. Findings are presented in two sections. The fourth section presents findings on causes of migration and expectations upon migrating while section five presents consequences of migration. The last section presents conclusion and recommendations.

2. Migration and Development Discourse

Development can be both a cause and result of migration. As pointed out by Todaro, potential migrants make decisions to migrate when convinced of the existing economic opportunities in areas of destinations. In other words, places with less opportunity to increase income and improve lives are major migrants sending areas while those with perceived economic benefits largely receive migrants. In this regard, migration can contribute positively to development through increased income, social empowerment and technical progress.

The migration–development nexus largely focuses on the increasing volume of remittances (Rosewane, 2012). A vast majority of literature shows that remittances have a direct impact on poverty reduction and improved livelihood (Adams, 2005; Bryceson *et al.*, 2003; Lucas, 2004). Yang (2004) also points out that remittance is among the 'visible' development effects of migration. UN notices that rural - urban remittances are an important component of rural households' incomes (UN, 2008). Adams (2005) notes that in developing countries, internal and international migration is a result of decisions made by individuals who seek better economic opportunities for themselves and their families. For international migration, migration and development discourse is seen as affording opportunities for alternative sources of household income and stimulating national economies (Rosewane, 2012).

However, little is known about the linkages between female migration and poverty reduction in areas of origin, and whether or not it is policies in place that contribute to poverty reduction. Notably important is the fact that a positive relationship between migration and poverty alleviation is not easy to grasp because of the many factors which come into the equation.

Such factors include (1) the increasing informality of socio-economic life (2) urban deprivation, poverty, inequality and socio-political exclusion; and (3) the uncertainties and fluidities in the governance of urban service provision (Myers, 2011). The mentioned factors impact on female migrants in various spheres of their lives, and are likely to impact on their ability to realize their goals.

Migration-development discourse offers a link between migrants and support to their areas of origin. Migrants work hard and retain connections with their families in areas of origin. Meaningful connections are important in understanding whether or not a migrant significantly contributes to improving lives of family members in the area of origin. Urban-rural linkages are an important part of migration-development discourse (Page and Mercer, 2012). While many African counties are still largely rural, attention should be paid to rural-urban synergies in order to ensure that migration contributes to poverty reduction and improved livelihoods in rural areas.

Many migrants maintain close relations with families in areas of origin. They are reported to return to visit, invest in housing and social amenities (UN, 2008). However, remittance behavior is informed by factors such as labor and development policies and social structures. In order for migrants to contribute to development and improved livelihood of families in areas of origin, development policy goals should be to find out how the government can improve migrants' support to their areas of origin. This is not by changing the migrants' behavior but through ensuring labour policies protect the rights of workers and that there is a mechanism other than banks through which to remit money to rural areas. Poverty alleviation strategies should come up with interventions such as smooth remittance of money to rural areas where the majority of the people in Africa live. Institutional failings and money transfer practices frustrate the flow of remittances and diminishes funds available for realization of development in areas of origin Rosewane (2012). Enhancing and regularizing the flow of remittances could remedy the problem (Rosewane, 2012, p.64).

²⁰ At the time of the fieldwork Njombe was one of the Districts in Iringa Region. The district was, in 2012 Njombe upgraded to region.

2.1 Internal and Labor Migration

Internal migration in Tanzania is not merely a post-colonial phenomenon. People have been migrating before and during colonial period. During this period people migrated in groups from labor reserve areas, mainly the Western and Southern parts of Tanzania, to the Eastern part of the country (Gulliver, 1955; 1957). Migration, during this time was very sex selective. The introduction of 'hut tax' in Tanzania was one of the important factors behind sex differentials in migration. This tax encouraged more male than female migration because the former had pay tax in cash and there were severe penalties for non-payment. This arrangement created forced labor migration for males. People were recruited to work in sisal and tea plantations in the Eastern part of Tanzania along the Tanga –Arusha Railway and in coffee growing areas of Kilimanjaro. Male migrants left for urban or plantation areas far away from their villages. Labor recruitment institutions such as the Sisal Labor Bureau (SILABU) were specifically established for recruiting laborers (Mbilinyi and Omari, 1996). During the colonial era people were recruited for specific periods under pre-prepared and pre-worked out contracts by the employer. There were no negotiations between employer and employee (Lwoga, 1985). Male migrants were allowed to visit their families only at the end of the contract period.

The living arrangements of laborers created social problems and disrupted families. Male migrants developed casual relationships with women in areas of destination and created negative impacts on their families left in rural areas (Murray, 1981). On the other hand, male migration created increasing female headed households in areas of origin. Women were overburdened by both productive and reproductive tasks such as taking care of children and the farms (Omari, 1991). These responsibilities were, in some cases, impetus of migration for women as reported by Mbilinyi (1988) that wives and daughters ran away in resistance to the exploitative system.

Today, there are no rules and policies to block women from migration. However, female migrants, particularly those with low level of education, are still challenged by stereotype that portrays them as obedient and willing to provide personal service. Female migrants are grouped in categories which inform whether or not they will achieve their migration goals. Nelson (1992) presents three categories of female migrants as well educated, elite women; second, relatively uneducated married women who migrate to accompany their husbands; and the last group comprise uneducated and unaccompanied migrants. Contemporary changes have resulted in an increase of female migrants in the third group. An increase in independent uneducated female migrants is a result of, among other reasons, a growing number of women's employment opportunities (Kashaija-Kiaga, 2007). Increased women migration is a result of women empowerment interventions. Women empowerment is one of the important issues identified in the United Nation's Programme of Action (PoA) following the International Conference on Population and Development. It was stated that:

The Programme of Action acknowledges that the goal of the empowerment and autonomy of women and the improvement of their political, social, economic and health status is a highly important end in itself and is essential for the achievement of sustainable development (UNFPA, 2004, p. 1). Tanzania has set its own goals and targets for achieving women empowerment. The strategy has resulted into an increasing number of women taking up paid jobs in urban areas. As this happens, working women need others to replace them in taking responsibilities of household chores. Domestic work provides jobs for women from rural areas with limited or no formal education and skills (Peberdy and Dinat, 2005). On the other side, prevailing deeper poverty in rural areas acts as an important push factor among the rural young females to migrate to cities in search for wage labor. Whether or not female migrants realize their dream depends on various factors including recruitment process and terms of service. These issues are covered in section four of this paper.

3. Methodology

3.1 The Study Area

This qualitative study was conducted in Tanzania. The country is located in East Africa, covering 940,000 km². The 2012 Population and Housing Census revealed a population size of 44.9 million, almost equally divided between males (48.7%) and females (51.3%). The study was conducted in Tagamenda village in Iringa Rural district (see Map 1) and Ubungu ward Dar es Salaam (see Map 2).

Based on the 2012 Population and Housing Census, Iringa Region had approximately 941,238 people of which 452,052 are women and 489,186 men. Iringa is predominantly rural with about 95% of the population residing in rural areas. Major economic activities include agriculture and livestock farming. Other activities include forestry, fishing and mining. The major ethnic group in Iringa Rural district is the Hehe. They constitute almost 90 percent of the entire population. Cultural practices in regards to gender allow women to participate in various economic activities. Such practices are different from those in Coastal areas, where women are supposed to be provided for by men.

In Ubungu ward, Dar es Salaam, female migrants working as domestic workers were interviewed. In Tagamenda village in Iringa region, families with a female migrant working as a domestic worker in Dar es Salaam were interviewed. The reason for selecting Iringa as an area of origin stems from the fact that this region is well known as one of the major migrant sending areas in the country (URT, 2002). Analysis of the 2002 ²¹ Tanzania Population and Housing Census shows that Kilimanjaro and Iringa regions were the leading sending areas. The focus on Iringa region as opposed to Kilimanjaro is that the former is known to have independent female migrants popular for working as *house girls*. Kilimanjaro is best known to send young men to Dar es Salaam.

²¹ Migration analysis for 2012 population and housing census data is yet to be completed hence the study uses the 2002.

3.2 Historical background of migration and labour in Iringa Region

During the colonial era, laborers were forcefully taken from southern and northern southern highlands areas to work in coastal regions. It was from these times that Iringa region came to be regarded as a labour reserve. Forced migration ceased after, and people got settled in their villages and engaged mostly in farming. Up until 1980s, markets in Tanzania were state controlled.

The state controlled market eventually collapsed and was replaced from 1985 by the free market in the form of private sector and foreign investment. Liberalization policy created huge income gaps among the people. Due to poor agricultural returns people in Iringa lost their purchasing power (Bryceson, 1999), so they adopted different strategies to cope with the situation. One of the strategies was for the youth to migrate out to earn cash as labourers. Young men journeyed to tea estates for wage labor while young women found their way to Dar es Salaam in search of jobs as house servants. This trend continues to-date. This is why Bryceson argues that Iringa has retained its reputation as a 'labor reserve' (Bryceson, 1999).

3.3. Sample size and data collection method

A sample of 10 female migrants from Iringa working as domestic workers in Dar es Salaam was interviewed. In Iringa region, 10 families with at least a female migrant working as a domestic worker in Dar es Salaam were interviewed²². Snowball approach to sampling was used. The underlying idea behind using the snowball technique is that it would be easy to have access to the desired respondents since members of a rare or special population often know each other (Henry, 1990). The technique was appropriate to the present paper given that not all households have female migrants living in Dar es Salaam. Initially one member was identified through the village chairman. She was then asked to name others. In turn, the newly identified members identified other members, hence the sample increased.

Worth noting is the limitation of the snowball technique, that is, it is not easy to control who is named (Fink, 1995), meaning that recommendations are likely to produce a biased sample. However, this limitation is not likely to have a negative impact on the results of this study because all that was needed is families with female migrants living and working as domestic workers in Dar es Salaam. Data was collected using a semi structured interview guide.

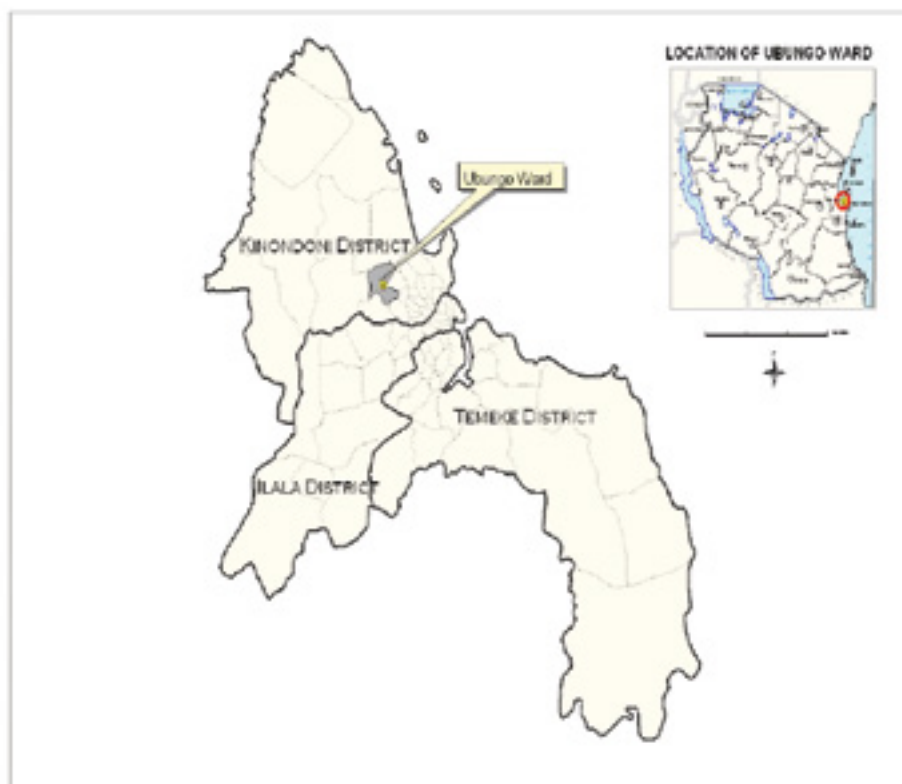
Map 1: Map of Iringa Region Showing Tagamenda Village



Source: Digital cartography by Tanzania Natural Resources Information Centre (TANRIC), Institute of Resource Assessment, University of Dar es Salaam

²² It should be noted that the ten domestic workers in Dar es Salaam and the ten families in Iringa had no connection. Ideally the two groups should have connection. Domestic workers came from different villages in Iringa region. Locating each of the ten domestic workers families in rural areas was not possible given the geographical and financial limitation.

Map 2: Map of Dar es Salaam Showing Ubungo Ward



Source: Digital cartography by Tanzania Natural Resources Information Centre.(TANRIC), Institute of Resource Assessment, University of Dar Es Salaam

4. Findings and Discussion

This section is divided into three major sections. The first section presents characteristics of the sample, while the second section provides causes of migration. The last section presents expectations of migration. In this section, recruitment and terms of service are provided. The terms of services are considered critical determinants of the ability to meet expectations and support families in areas of origin.

4.1 Selected Characteristics of the Sample

Age, education and marital status of respondents are closely linked to migration. These variables are also closely related to the life cycle of an individual, which determines their decision to migrate. Table 1 reveals that the majority of the respondents (50%) were in the 15-19 age group. Respondents aged 20-24 formed 30 percent of the sample, and those aged 25-29 formed 20 percent of the sample. The majority of the respondents were not married (60%) followed by 30 percent who had been separated and 10 percent who were divorced.

Table 1: Age of respondents

Age group	Percent
15-19	50
20-24	30
25-29	20
Total	100
N=10	

Source: Data collected from Dar es Salaam, 2009

The majority of the respondents (70%) had formal education, 20 percent had no formal education, and only 10 percent had incomplete secondary education. None had secondary or post-secondary education. These results suggest that low level of education is one of the characteristics of independent female migrants working as domestic workers.

4.2 Causes of Migration

While economic theories place more emphasis on economic opportunities (see Todaro, 1969), the study finds that social and family-related reasons are some of the important factors behind female migration. This section presents results of data collected from female migrants in Dar es Salaam. Box 1 presents respondents' narrations of the causes of migration, which can be grouped into socio-economic and family related causes.

Box 1: Selected quotes of respondents on causes of migration

Conflict at the household. My family is not in harmony. My husband used to beat me every day. I had no one to support me therefore I decided to leave.

23 year old migrant living in Dar es Salaam

Life was so difficult that I could not even afford body lotion. Farming and wood gathering were a tiring routine. That was my life and I did not like it.

18 year old migrant living in Dar es Salaam

We used to go to bed on an empty stomach. I have a sick sibling and used to feel sorry for her. My parents have no money. I decided to work and support them.

26 year old migrant living in Dar es Salaam

I was born and brought up in poverty. I grew tired of it. I therefore decided to migrate and work.

25 year old migrant living in Dar es Salaam

Various factors pushed migrants from their areas of origin. They range from conflicts, hunger and poverty. These factors contribute to certain anticipation which further pushes the migrants from the area of origin. The following section presents migrants' expectations.

4.3 Expectations upon Migrating

Female migrants, just like others, have their expectations when they decide to migrate. The majority of the respondents mentioned that they expected to get money to support their families back in rural areas. Others said they expected to get money and start up small businesses. A few said they were looking forward to going back to school. Some of their utterances are presented in Box 2. Although these expectations can be itemized, they fall into four broad categories namely to improve living standard; support family; foster further education; and gain peace of mind.

Box 2: Selected utterances on respondents' expectations

To find money to take care of my family

25 year old migrant living in Dar es Salaam

To secure a better life

29 year old migrant living in Dar es Salaam

To get money for basic needs

19 year old migrant living in Dar es Salaam

To improve standard of living

24 year old migrant living in Dar es Salaam

To get further education. My aunt promised to take me back to school after two years of taking care of her younger baby

15 year old migrant living in Dar es Salaam

To live peacefully. Conflicts within my family made me run away

26 year old migrant living in Dar es Salaam

Female migrants have their expectations which vary from person to person. Majority of the respondents aimed at improving their lives. This observation underscores the importance of migration for improved lives. Migrants' perception of income differential between rural and urban area is an important factor behind decision to migrate (Todaro, 1969). Quotes in Box 2 suggest that the primary motivation for migration is not development but rather the need to acquire income and improve lives. However, improvements in lives of migrants is likely to be frustrated by the rules of engagement between migrant and employer in urban areas as well as what the former has to offer given that they are not skilled. The following section presents recruitment process and terms of service, pitting them against migrants' expectations.

4.3.1 Recruitment process and terms of service

Domestic work is not only an important employment opportunity for women but also a phenomenon of staggering significance in southern Africa (Cockerton, 1997). This sector offers employment opportunities for males and females from rural areas. Domestic workers find jobs through various ways. In Tanzania, domestic workers are recruited through word of mouth, family connections or through relatives and friends. Others are recruited through companies.

The company recruitment approach is a new phenomenon. These companies ²³recruit young women from rural areas. In some cases, they retain and train their recruits for at least two weeks before bringing them out in the market. Those who hire domestic workers through these companies have to pay an equivalent of a month's salary to the latter. To date, the monthly salary for domestic workers stands at eighty thousands Tanzanian shillings (80,000.00 Tshs), equivalent to forty nine US dollars. However, this salary is payable to maids who do not live in the same households as their employers. Those who live with their employers are supposed to be paid forty thousand Tanzanian shillings (40,000.00 Tshs) equivalent to about 25 USD ²⁴.

A contract is signed between the company and the employer. In fact a domestic worker does not enter into any negotiations with either the company or employer. The employer is given three weeks upon which if unsatisfied by the domestic worker he or she can take her back and recruit another without having to pay an equivalent of a month's salary. In case the domestic worker quits within three weeks, the company is obliged to replace or refund the employer. There are no terms of service attached to the recruitment. The only advantage that domestic workers recruited through companies have over those recruited through a word of mouth is that the former are paid their salary regularly. This is possible because the employer signed a contract with the recruiting company. On the other hand those recruited through families, friends or relatives, sometimes go without pay. There are several cases of exploitation and abuse of domestic workers recruited through friends and families.

In terms of working hours, both company and family recruited domestic workers work long hours with no holidays. Their movements and communication with families in areas of origin are largely restricted. Six out of ten migrants said they have not achieved their migration goals. Asked to explain their achievements, forty percent indicated that they are able to support their families, while sixty percent said that their lives have not changed. Box 3 presents some quotes from respondents.

Box 3: Selected quotes of respondents achievements

At least I can send some money and second hand clothes to my parents.

28 year old migrant living in Dar es Salaam

My life is still difficult. I have not yet achieved my goals, because I am not paid regularly.

20 year old migrant living in Dar es Salaam

How can I change my life while the salary is so small? I get only 20,000 ²⁵ shillings ²⁶

18 year old migrant living Dar es Salaam

The salary is not big enough to improve my life.

29 year old migrant living Dar es Salaam

My intention was to study and do my own business. But this is the second year in Dar es Salaam and I do not have any hopes to realize my goals

19 year old migrant living in Dar es Salaam

I am better placed than I was in the village. My life has improved a little

19 year old migrant living in Dar es Salaam

Although some migrants have achieved their goals, majority have not. The above quotes indicate that failure to achieve the goals is largely attributed to poor working conditions especially in meager salary and irregular payment. Limited savings capacity of most migrants' workers is recognized as an impediment to remit money to families in areas of origin. It is worth noting that, migrants from rural areas are normally unskilled hence failure to get a higher paying employment. However, better recruitment process and terms of service are paramount to ensuring that migrants are able to achieve their goals even if they do not have higher paying employments.

²³ Some companies are registered others are not. This complicates security and rights of female migrant works.

²⁴ Exchange rate if 1USD equivalent to 1615 Tshs (as of July 2013).

²⁵ The observed under payment is quite common in the country.

²⁶ This is equivalent to 13 US dollars.

5. Consequences of Female Migration to their Families

5.1 Social and economic consequences

A pervasive feature of urban economies is the large population segment employed in the informal sectors. Given their low level of education, young female migrants are left with no option than joining the informal sector (Acharya and Cervantes, 2009). Some jobs in the informal sector require no formal training. Working in a household as a maid is one of these jobs. These jobs fall outside the legal tax system, leading to poor working conditions such as working longer with low and irregular pay without any legal protection (Hugo, 2006). This section presents results of data collected from Tagamenda village, Iringa region, which is migrants' area of origin.

Problems experienced by migrants in urban areas translate into failure to adequately support their families in rural areas. The study found that female migration did not result in improved household income or improved livelihood through remittances. Migrants visit their families in rural areas once or twice in two years. They cannot visit home more often because they cannot afford it with salaries too small and irregular. Furthermore, they cannot possibly travel without their employers' consent which, due to lack of terms of services between the employer and employee, remains unpredictable. Sometimes migrant workers visit home only after a fallout with their employers, marking the expiration of their service in a household.

Some families indicated negative consequences of their daughters' migration. Due to hard working conditions which go with non-payment of wages, some of the migrant workers become a burden to their families in the village when they cannot function in town anymore. A mother of one of the returning migrants had this to say:

The girl has come back and she is very weak because she led a hard life in town where she worked without getting any wages. It is now my responsibility to take care of her until she fully recovers.

(45 year old respondent, Tagamenda village)

Some families in the village regret their daughters' decision to migrate. The migrants used to assist with household chores and farm work. Now that they are not at home, a lot more manual activities fall on the shoulders of their aging parents, as one of the parents says below:

I miss my daughter for farm work because I am now old. If she had enough money there, she would send me some to hire people to help me.

(50 year old respondent, Tagamenda village)

This brings up yet another important perception of the value of children in Africa. Children are expected to assist parents in household chores and farm work. If the child is not in the village, there has to be financial support to help parents. In many instances, this financial support is not forthcoming.

On the other hand, some families receive support from their daughters who are lucky enough to land into the hands of benevolent employers. Such workers are able to support their families, and their migration is considered to have positive consequences to their families in the areas of origin. Below is testimony by one of the beneficiaries of female migration, a mother of the migrant worker:

My daughter comes home every December. She brings us money and other goods. She says she cannot send money regularly because it is not easy. She has to give the money to someone who comes home. It is not easy to meet with someone in town who comes from our village.

(49 year respondent from Tagamenda village)

The above testimony is also more revealing about another problem facing female migrant workers who wish to send money to their families in areas of origin. At that time most domestic workers did not have access to banking services, which made it difficult to send money home. With multiple mobile phone companies operating e-cash transfer services now, remittance should not be a headache any more. The advantage of the mobile service is that one does not necessarily have to own a mobile phone to remit cash. They can use a friend's phone and collect the money through an agent. This could be a mechanism that can assist migrants and their families in rural areas. Another family also indicated they benefit out of their daughter's migration. The following statement indicates that some parents receive economic assistance that makes a difference in their lives:

The girl remits money that helps me and her younger siblings who are in school. One is in Standard Seven, while the other is in Form One. The money is not much, but it helps, and it is better than nothing. When she sends the money, I am able to pay the school fees and small expenses for her siblings. But I must also add that this girl returned with a pregnancy from the city. She had to live in the village again as she waited for the delivery of her baby. She then decided to return to the city, leaving behind her baby whom I am looking after. The money she remits helps me take care of her baby too. On the other hand, it is difficult going to the farms with a baby. With my advancing age, taking care of a small baby is a bit hard.

(60 year old respondent, Tagamenda village)

The respondent feels that she receives support from her daughter. She, however, acknowledges the challenge of having to take care of babies at an advanced age.

Some parents support their daughters' migration for non-financial reasons. To these parents whether or not the daughter sends money is immaterial, provided the former is safe in town. In cases where girls are forced to migrate to seek refuge from conflicts within their families, towns and cities become havens. In the following quoted utterance, a 45 year mother does not receive any money from her daughter but she is happy that her daughter has been able to escape from her step father's mistreatment.

My daughter was born out of wedlock and she went to town because of the abuses she was experiencing from her stepfather.

(45 year old respondent, Tagandema village)

Among the majority of supporters of migration, the movement to town should help families in the village to improve livelihood. When this goal is not realized, then migration becomes a burden to the migrant's family due to her sickness. Parents also suffer from poor or lack of communication with their daughters.

We do not have a telephone at home and therefore I do not communicate with my daughter. That is a problem for me since I would like to know how my daughter is doing and how she lives in the city.

(55 year old respondent, Tagamenda village)

Another respondent also indicated how stressful it is for her not to know how her daughter is doing in the city.

I do not know whether they are paying her a salary or not, and I am not sure whether they are refusing her permission to come home or she has simply decided on her own not to come back. In short I have no communication with her, and this stresses me a lot. I would be very glad if I got help to get my daughter back home. If she came back, I would do my best to send her to a vocational training college.

(50 year old respondent, Tagamenda village)

Yet other respondents have different views on the money and other goods that their daughters bring when they return to rural areas. The respondent below says she had been selling local brew before her daughter migrated to town, and she still is engaged in the same activity. She said the reason behind selling local brew is that she is yet to receive significant amount of money from her daughter to free her from that business. As shown below, she does not view migration as a move that can significantly improve living standards.

*You know, I am surprised at why parents rejoice when their daughters go to cities to work. This is the truth: when a girl returns with a pair of **khanga** or **kitenge**, in addition to about twenty thousand shillings²⁷, some people view that as a major thing. I think that is not a major thing compared to the time the girl stays in the city.*

(60 year old respondent in Tagamenda village)

Unlike the other respondent, also 60 years old, this old woman does not see why one should be in town if there is no much money to send home. This respondent, however, positions herself as better off and even more progressive compared to other villagers who view a pair of khanga and kitenge plus 13 USD as a big deal.

5.2 Health consequences

There are various health consequences of migration to families in the areas of origin. HIV/AIDS is one of the profound challenges facing migrants' families upon their return to rural areas. Migrants' health problems lead to negative consequences to individual migrants and their families in areas of origin. Vulnerable young female migrants from rural areas living in cities are likely to get infected with HIV and AIDS. Whenever they get infected with HIV/AIDS or get pregnant and return to the village for support, care and protection, they become a burden to their families in areas of origin. This observation is reflected in the statements below:

I first did not know what was wrong with my daughter. I was concerned because she seemed to be sick, quiet and lonely all the time. When we took her to the hospital they said she had to test for HIV. She agreed and was found positive. Now she is my problem because her father does not care.

(55 year old respondent, Tagamenda village)

The fact that the young female agreed to the HIV test says a lot about her. First is that she was not aware that she had been infected with the virus. But having lived in town where information overload is almost becoming the norm, especially on HIV/AIDS, one is likely to hold the view that migrants do not receive and make use of the information about HIV/AIDS. It may also suggest that migrants are kept away from any such information, especially through being barred from watching TV. All this notwithstanding, one is also likely to argue that the girls know a bit about HIV/AIDS, but being unable to cope with the meager salaries in line with great expectations of them by their families in the village, they need money too bad to let things go men's way. Getting infected with HIV/AIDS through rape would be another possibility. Another explanation, though a remote possibility, is that some of the workers contact the virus as they take care of children from infected parents. There have been reported cases of infections from house girls to children and vice versa. In such circumstances these girls are not likely to suspect their health status, most of them being aware only of unprotected sex as the sole means of transmission of HIV/AIDS. When female migrants return pregnant or infected, they are also stigmatized by their community. In rural communities catching HIV/AIDS is a shame to the young female and her parents. This observation is reflected in the statements below:

People laugh and point fingers at us because our daughter returned with HIV. They also do not want to interact with us. Our daughter is always alone as she has no friends.

(48 year old respondent, Tagamenda village)

People laugh at others in misfortune whether because they are not close enough to the victim to understand the nature and gravity of the problem facing the other person, or because, from existing sour social relations, they are only happy to see the other person on their way down. All this, however, points to lack of information among community members on the nature and devastating effects of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. One who is well aware of the pandemic will not, for instance, accuse victims as having caught the virus through their promiscuity. There are more ways than one of catching the virus. Education would help them understand that the fight against HIV/AIDS is not a single family business but the responsibility of an entire community. Another respondent also indicated how stressful it is for her not to know how her daughter is doing in the city.

²⁷ 20,000 Tanzanian Shillings is equivalent to about USD 13.

I do not know whether they are paying her a salary or not, and I am not sure whether they are refusing her permission to come home or she has simply decided on her own not to come back. In short I have no communication with her, and this stresses me a lot. I would be very glad if I got help to get my daughter back home. If she came back, I would do my best to send her to a vocational training college.

(50 year old respondent, Tagamenda village)

Yet other respondents have different views on the money and other goods that their daughters bring when they return to rural areas. The respondent below says she had been selling local brew before her daughter migrated to town, and she still is engaged in the same activity. She said the reason behind selling local brew is that she is yet to receive significant amount of money from her daughter to free her from that business. As shown below, she does not view migration as a move that can significantly improve living standards.

*You know, I am surprised at why parents rejoice when their daughters go to cities to work. This is the truth: when a girl returns with a pair of **khanga** or **kitenge**, in addition to about twenty thousand shillings²⁷, some people view that as a major thing. I think that is not a major thing compared to the time the girl stays in the city.*

(60 year old respondent in Tagamenda village)

Unlike the other respondent, also 60 years old, this old woman does not see why one should be in town if there is no much money to send home. This respondent, however, positions herself as better off and even more progressive compared to other villagers who view a pair of khanga and kitenge plus 13 USD as a big deal.

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Many girls return with pregnancies and that is a problem. It appears as if they go to cities to get pregnant and come back. They bring with them fatherless children because these children's fathers are in cities and we do not know them. We end up working for them since they are now pregnant and fend for their children as fathers are not known.

(55 year old respondent, Tagamenda village)

One does not expect her daughter to go to town and bring home a child whose father is not known and will not be responsible. That is why, according a 55 year old female respondent at Tagamenda:

The community does not see any problem with girls working in cities, except where the girls get pregnant and come back. But when the girls live in the city and return home safely to see us, there is no problem.

(55 year old respondent, Tagamenda village)

Pregnancy and childbearing are not seen as a negative consequence of female migration by migrants' families alone, but also by the former. Young women stand multiple risks associated with childbearing, such as possible complications at delivery. Their vulnerability is accelerated by lack of education, limited job possibilities and poverty. Whereas lack of education and limited job possibilities face young male migrants as well, living in poverty strikes harder on female migrants than it does on their male counterparts. In most developing countries, little is done to legally bind fathers to provide financial support for the mother and the child. In rare cases, families of fathers who have acknowledged paternity provide support to the child. However, this does not seem to be the case for returning female migrants, as the fathers of the children might not have officially acknowledged paternity.

In many African societies, Tanzania included, social consequences of child bearing differ across societies. In some societies, it brings respect and increases social status of not only a young female but also her family. In eastern and southern Africa a woman who does not have a child was viewed as being punished by the gods or the ancestors or as the result of witchcraft (Kershaw, 1973; Mwambia, 1973; Ngubane, 1977). However, this does not seem to be the case with Iringa region as respondents clearly indicated that they do not find it right for unmarried women to have children. The following statement reveals the conflicting views of the community about returning migrants, which also reflect the social relations in the village. In this context the returning migrant has now become both a victim and liability:

People do as they please. Others laugh at us for sending our children to cities only to get pregnant and come back home. Others laugh at us when our children contract diseases and come back. Yet, others burn with jealousy when they see our daughters returning home well dressed and with presents. As I have said, community as a complex entity has no single position, but each individual reacts differently.

(55 year old respondent, Tagamenda village)

In addition, the above quote reveals a divided community, which cannot stand as one in the upbringing of the youth. Some respondents attest to this view as they report that parents and the community at large contribute to the plight of children getting pregnant. This observation is in line with Raynor *et al.*, (2007)'s, which questions how well children are equipped with life skills and knowledge including awareness and prevention of HIV/AIDS.

Sometimes, we parents contribute towards the plight of our children getting pregnant and returning home. When a girl comes back with many expensive presents the parent does not ask her whether the salary she gets is proportional to the presents. That parental silence results into pregnancies and diseases like HIV/AIDS.

(50 year old respondent, Tagamenda village)

From the findings and discussion, it is not convincing that independent female migrants most of whom are uneducated and unskilled can make a difference in poverty alleviation for their families in rural areas. Rosewarne (2012) also argues that there is little evidence that remittances improve women's lives. This finding contradicts others documented elsewhere. For instance, in his study in Ghana, Obeng-Odoom (2010) finds formidable evidence that, overall, rural-urban migration is beneficial to both migrants and families in rural areas. While positive correlation is reported, Obeng-Odoom (2010) acknowledges consequences that migrants' families in rural areas suffer. He calls them 'costs to the rural areas'. He reports the loss of farm labor and human capital in areas of origin which impacts on food production. Some of the perceived and documented benefits of rural-urban migration to families in areas of origin include remittances, knowledge transfers and the creation of political consciousness from returning migrants. More recent research by Turok and McGranahan (2013) supports these conclusions in other African countries, but this study clearly shows that the situation in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania is rather different.

6. Conclusion and recommendations

This paper has offered an overview of consequences of female migration to families in areas of origin. The paper has covered causes of migration as reported by female migrants from Iringa who work as domestic workers in Dar es Salaam as well as consequences of migration as reported by migrants' families in Tagamenda village, Iringa.

While benefits of female migration have been reported, findings are not convincing that female migration has significant role in poverty reduction and improved livelihood to families in areas of origin. Some of the reasons behind this observation include the type and terms of employment for domestic workers. This workforce has for a long time been left out of the employment policy. Lack of policy leaves them vulnerable to various forms of exploitation and abuse. Lack of terms of services which is a result of lack of policy suggests that employers are at liberty to treat domestic workers as they wish. The low level of education among female migrants exacerbates their vulnerability. They cannot claim their rights because they are not aware of them.

The present study finds more negative than positive impacts of female migration for families in rural areas. The case study of female migration presented here is perhaps not sufficient to generalize that female migration is not beneficial to families in areas of origin. However, it sheds light and opens new grounds for more studies on consequences of migration to individual migrants and families in areas of origin. There remains a lot to be done to make female migration beneficial to migrant workers and their families in rural areas. In order to make this happen, the study recommends formulation and effective implementation of policies to protect domestic workers rights. Such policies are also critical factors in ensuring that migrant workers can achieve their goals and are part of the development process.

Esther W. Dungumaro, the East Africa Regional Representative for the Union for African Population Studies (UAPS), is a demographer by training and holds a PhD from Tokyo, Japan". She is also a research fellow of the University of South Africa, UNISA. She is currently working as a Senior Lecturer at the Institute of Development Studies and Demographic Training Unit, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. She also serves as the Director of International Relations of the University of Dar es Salaam. She has been teaching and researching in areas related to population and development throughout her career. Among her important areas of teaching and research include demographic methods; family and households; population and development; population and environment, and migration and urbanization.

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