



## **RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION AND RESILIENCE IMPLICATIONS ON THE MAASAI HOUSEHOLDS' IN NORTH- EASTERN TANZANIA**

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### **Abstract**

Most migrants' sending households in rural areas are characterised with a number of threats. Academic literature has focused on impact of migration on households' resilience in terms of how migration replenishes or depletes household capitals, putting little emphasis on how it enhances or depletes households' capacities to cope with households' threats. This paper explores the implications of rural-urban migration on the Maasai pastoralists' households in North-Eastern Tanzania. The objectives are to examine the effect of migration on the households' capacities to cope with households' threats. The paper utilises the multi-layered social resilience framework supported by qualitative approach. It draws on in-depth interviews with 30 households' members, 15 key respondents, two focus group discussions and secondary data. The data was analysed by using content analysis of the transcriptions using MAXQDA 10 [VERBI Software, Marburg, Germany] given its strong ability in handling qualitative data. The findings indicate that youth out-migration facilitated households to develop reactive and proactive capacities to cope with the households' threats and in some instances it eroded the households' capacities to cope with the threats. These findings present both theoretical and policy implications. Theoretically, it suggests that resilience approach based on the threat yields more robust picture of migration implications on households' resilience. Policy wise, it provides researchers and policy-makers with solution-oriented way of thinking about groups faced with threats particularly the indigenous groups like the Maasai pastoralists.

**Keywords:** *Rural-urban migration, Households threats, Maasai pastoralists' youth, resilience qualitative-ethnography.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

Rural-urban migration is increasingly becoming a crucial livelihood aspect worldwide (Sijapati, 2015) to the extent that in 2014 number of migrants worldwide had reached 1 billion people, out of which 250 million lived and worked outside their own countries while the remaining 750 million were internal rural-urban migrants mainly in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) (Aerni, 2016; Dodman, Leck, Rusca, & Colenbrander, (2017). In Tanzania, around 35% of the estimated 42 million people had already moved to urban areas by 2008 (Dungumaro, 2013). Rural-urban migration in Tanzania originates far back in 19<sup>th</sup> Century when Africans were forced to migrate to purposely provide labour to colonies in order to raise tax money for colonial governments (Lugalla, 1995; Karlsson, 2008). After independence in 1961, urban migration was fuelled by improvement of social services in urban areas (Potts, 2012). In late 1960s and early 1970s urban migration slowed down due to introduction of "Villagelisation" policy that encouraged Tanzanians to stay in rural areas to engage in agriculture. "Villagelisation" also



aimed at facilitating provision of social services in the villages. Starting from mid-1980's onwards, urban migration in Tanzania was fuelled by free trade policies that promoted free enterprises in urban areas at the expense of rural agriculture (Potts, 2008).

Maasai pastoralists started migrating to urban areas in large scale in the 1990's due to decline in pastoralism activities, unpredictable climatic variability, as well as loss of land to investments (Fratkin & Mearns, 2003; May, 2003; Munishi, 2017). Indeed, around 5,000-6,000 Maasai pastoralists had migrated to Dar es Salaam city in 2007 (Kweka, 2011; May, 2003), while around 8,000 to 9,000 Maasai migrants were specifically noticed in Kinondoni District, Dar es Salaam by the year 2012 (Riley, Olungurumwa, Olesangale, 2012). Maasai youths have significant social and economic contribution to household livelihoods. The central role of youth is livestock grazing which is the core livelihood of the pastoralists. Moreover, Maasai youth are expected to engage in tasks related but not limited to construction of livestock sheds, dips and preparations of cultural events aimed at enhancing Maasai livelihoods and traditions (National Museum of Tanzania, 2004). In this case Maasai youth are regarded as lifeblood of the Maasai social and economic progress as most matters related to Maasai economic and cultural issues directly or indirectly depend on them (National Museum of Tanzania, 2004).

Maasai societies and households in particular have been experiencing threats related but not limited to financial constraints, food shortages, inadequate health and shelter services as well as cultural decline owing to historical social, political and definitely environmental marginalisation (Fratkin & Mearns, 2003; Munishi, 2013). Specifically, Maasai communities are confronted with remarkable food shortage due to decline in pastoralism and agriculture as a result of draught, inadequate land coupled with lack of agricultural skills and the Government's failure to supply them food (Kweka, 2011). This has consequently, led to frequent famine out cries and acute malnutrition among the Maasai (Dungumaro, 2013).

Social services availability such as health, clean water, education, road infrastructure, clean water and electricity among the Maasai communities are considerably minimal mainly because neither the Government nor individual Maasai can finance them (Kweka, 2011; May & Ole Ikayo, 2007; Munishi, 2017). Indeed, illiteracy levels among the Maasai communities have been rated among the highest in Tanzania as evidenced by the recent Household Census in Tanzania (URT, 2012). A significant number of the Maasai pastoralists live in poor shelters due to economic, political and cultural reasons (Munishi, 2016, 2017). Traditionally, Maasai dwell in less durable houses constructed of grass and soil. The Maasai of Ngorongoro Division can hardly construct durable and modern shelter partly due to financial constraints and conservation policies that prohibit them to do so. This is typified by the fact that, 51% of the whole land in Ngorongoro District is under Ngorongoro Conservation Authority (NCA), while 49% is subjected to Game Controlled Area (GCA), whereby inhabitants do not have full control over the land (Mara & Rosmena, 2013). Moreover, Maasai culture is undergoing gradual extinction following the ongoing globalisation phenomenon and youth urban migration that naturally incline them to lose traditional practices such as extended family, initiations, community life, traditional languages and religious beliefs (May & Ole Ikayo, 2007). Specifically, Maasai are said to embrace alien values such as agriculture and entrepreneurship, while abandoning local ones such as traditional diet namely meat, milk and blood from cattle (May & Ole Ikayo, 2007; National Museum of Tanzania, 2004).



### **Problem statement**

The problem at hand is that, currently Maasai communities and households in particular are facing threats related to financial constraints, inadequate shelter, food and education services, as well as cultural decline, to mention just a few (Munishi, 2013, 2016). Unfortunately, Maasai youth of 15 – 30 years of age who are considered to play critical role in supporting households cope with various threats are instead migrating to urban areas in big numbers (Munishi, 2013). The most crucial question therefore is: “Does the urban migration of the Maasai youth enhances or erodes the households’ resilience? Specifically, does it enhance or deplete households’ capacity to cope with, adjust to, as well as learn through the aforesaid household threats? Right and accurate responses to this question is critical towards facilitating identification of effective ways of supporting migrants’ households enhance capacities to deal with households’ threats.

Literature on impact of rural-urban migration on households’ social resilience has predominantly concentrated on how financial and non-financial remittances by the migrants replenish or deplete household capitals as prerequisites for resilience building. The assumption here is that migration can either reduce households’ vulnerability through accumulation and improvement of households’ capitals or the vice-versa as widely evidenced in sub-Saharan Africa and beyond (de Haas, 2008; IOM, 2005; Ncube & Gómez, 2011; Smit, 2012; UN, 2013). Financial, social, natural, physical and human capitals in the context of this paper are stipulated in the following table to facilitate literature review and subsequent discussions.

*Table 1: Meaning and aspects of capitals in the context of the study*

<b>Assets</b>	<b>Meaning and aspects of an asset</b>
Financial capital	Financial assets include cash money, savings, supplies of credit or regular remittances and pensions
Social capital	Entail social resources notably networks, membership of formal and informal groups, relationships of trust, and access to wider institutions of society that people draw upon in pursuit of livelihoods
Human capital	Encompass skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health
Physical capital	Include basic infrastructure (transport, shelter, water and energy) and communication facilities
Natural capital	Include aspects such as land, water, wildlife, biodiversity and other environmental resources
Symbolic capital	Includes honour, recognition and prestige, showing how power-related resources can influence the ways in which actors (individuals, organisation or systems) can access capitals to overcome threats and thus build or enhance resilience (Bourdieu 1986, 1984).

*Source: Adopted from (DfID, 2000 & Obsrist et al., 2010)*

To start with, migration enhances households’ financial capital through remittances in form of cash money, savings, and supplies of financial credit as commonly known (de Haas, 2006; DfID, 2000), and specifically noted in Kenya where rural-urban migrants remitted up to 50% of their financial income to local households (IOM, 2005). Moreover, migration enhances aspects of natural capital through investment in livestock and agriculture remarkably through purchasing of land and improved seeds as noted in Zimbabwe (ACF International) as well as in Ethiopia and Ghana (Morrissey, 2007). Migration enhances aspects of physical capital through



investing remittances on shelter and different kinds of machines notably water pumps, bicycles etc. as evidenced in the Ethiopia, Zimbabwe and Ghana (ACF International; Ncube & Gómez, 2011). Indeed, quite significant amount of remittances are directed towards improvement of household human capital related aspects such as health, education and foodstuff as evidenced in Ethiopia (Morrissey, 2007) and Tanzania (Tacoli & Mabala, 2010).

Outmigration of households' members further positively impacts on social capital through strengthening of household social networks, unity, relationships etc. as evidenced in South Africa, where migrants connected households with urban based financial institutions that helping the access financial credit (Adams, Cueduecha, & Pages, 2008; Rwelamira & Kirsten, 2003; Tacoli, 2009). Specifically, through "multi-spatial households" rural migrants help households' access health and food support from urban areas as evidenced in North and West Africa (Parnell & Walaweg, 2011; Tacoli, 2009).

In Kenya urban based migrants formed social networks that facilitated articulation of social and economic issues such as the land rights which further helped improve social services, notably education, health and financial aspects, for local households (May & Ole Ikayo, 2007; Ole Kaunga, 2007).

On the other hand, labour shortage resulting from migration depletes financial, natural and physical capitals including aspects of livestock, land, and agriculture at household. It basically deprives household of physically fit people leaving behind the sick and old people, as well as children who can hardly engage in manipulating financial, natural and physical capitals as recently captured in Kenya (Wangui, 2009) and in southern Tanzania (Dungumaro, 2013). Migration also depletes household human capital through overworking of the remaining households' members mainly women, children and the handicapped, as evidenced in Kenya (Wangui, 2009) and Rwanda (Smit, 2012). This scenario has also been well captured among the Maasai and Turkana nomadic migrant local households in Kenya, as well as the Maasai pastoralist migrants in Tanzania, where women burdened extra workload, with children lacking good parenting and education as a result of male out-migration (May, 2003, Ole Kaunga, 2007, 2007). Outmigration of household members further leads to departure of young and educated people with better networks necessary for households' wellbeing, leaving behind those with less effective networks or without networks at all (ACF International; Tacoli & Mabala, 2010).

In conclusion, this literature shows that migration positively impacts on households' resilience by either enhancing or eroding household capitals as critical aspects of resilience. However, this literature puts greater emphasis on how migration either replenishes or depletes households' capitals or resources paying little attention on how migration may enhance or erode household capacities of coping with households' threats. This is to say that, having access to and ownership of capitals alone does not necessarily guarantee households' resilience notably the capacity to cope with threats. People may have capitals or capitals may be replenished but fail to increase household capacity to cope with threats (Obrist Brigit., Pfeiffer, & Henley, 2010). This suggests that aspect of threat is critical in enhancing our understanding of household capacity to cope with the household threats.

In other words, the existing literature has not adequately and explicitly addressed the questions on how migration either enhances or depletes households' capacity in dealing with household



threats suggesting that a more threat oriented approach needs to be employed in order to unearth this aspect. Another specific critical determinant of resilience that has not been determined by the literature is how migrants sending households adjust to and cope with adverse household threats as well as the ability to reflect, learn and create future options and responses to household threats. These aspects are critical in determining migration role on household resilience given that in contexts of adversity; positive adjustment based on a learning process is an essential dimension of resilience, leading to increased competence in dealing with challenging (Obrist, Pfeiffer, & Henley, 2010). Based on these shortcomings, the multi-layered social framework of (Obrist et al., 2010) explained in the subsequent sections will be relied upon to address the noted literature gap.

### **Conceptual framework**

This paper is guided by the multi-layered social resilience framework (Obrist *et al.*, 2010) as most existing migration theories and frameworks are incapable of examining migration and resilience implications at sending households. In the context of this framework social resilience is regarded as social actors' [households] capacities to draw capitals from migration to cope with and adjust to threats "reactive capacities" and to search for and create options as "proactive capacities" in order to develop competencies of coping with households' threats. The framework borrows heavily from ecological (Carpenter & Walker, 2001; Folke, Colding, & Berkes, 2003) psychological (Luthar & Zelazo, 2003; Masten, 2001) and socio-anthropological approaches (Bourdieu, 1984), as well as from the sustainable livelihoods framework of the UK Department for International Development (DfID, 2000). According to this framework, resilience building must be examined with reference to a threat and to the competencies that need to be developed in dealing with the particular threat. Depending on the threat under examination, different social fields emerge, each of them consisting of a network of actors across various layers of society. These individual, social and societal actors can build resilience by strengthening reactive and proactive capacities to deal more competently with the threat (Obrist *et al.*, 2010).

Capacities enable social actors notably households to cope with and adjust to adverse conditions (reactive), and subsequently create options and responses (proactive) necessary to increase competence, and thus create pathways for mitigating adversity or threat (s) (Obrist et al., 2010). The pro-active capacity to reflect, discuss and learn from past experience is an important dimension of human agency (Giddens, 1984). When faced with a threat positive adjustment based on a learning process is an essential dimension for determining the competence to dealing with such situation. This framework draws the researchers' attention to questions like "resilience to what threat" and secondly "what particular threat or risk is being examined"? (Obrist *et al.*, 2010,) and also recognises capitals as prerequisites for resilience building processes (Bourdieu, 1984; DfID, 2000). It views resilience building as a multi-layered process involving social networks ranging from individual, household, community, meso, national and international levels (Glavovic, Scheyvens, & Overton, 2003). It is a strength-based approach redirecting attention to actors' personal strengths and support emanating from institutions surrounding them. Most works that have examined impact of migration on sending households have been guided deficit approach which emphasizes risk and vulnerability e.g. vulnerability model (Turner Roger, Pamela, James, & Lindesey, (2003, 2003) or the ones that put more emphasis on capitals or assets as exemplified by the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (DfID, 2000).





Applying the framework in the context of this paper, household resilience is defined as the extent to which household member out-migration either enhanced or eroded sending households' capacities to utilize capitals and develop reactive as well as proactive capacities to cope with household threats. Many studies on rural urban migration among the Maasai pastoralists have focused on the causes and consequences of rural-urban migration without considering how the phenomenon affects the lives of the family members left in the sending communities. These studies have employed narrow perspective without looking at the issue more holistically. The objective of this article, therefore, is to investigate the role of rural urban migration of the Maasai youth on the sending households' social resilience. This study employs a more holistic approach to the impact of rural urban migration on the sending households. Employing the concept of threats (defining threat) as well as concepts of reactive and proactive capacities sharpens the analytical scope and focus of the paper. Importantly, former literature on impact of migration on households' resilience has placed greater emphasis on how migration either replenishes or depletes households' capitals/assets or resources paying little attention on how migration may enhance or erode household capacities of coping with households' threats. This is to say that, having access to and ownership of capitals alone does not necessarily guarantee households resilience to household threats.

## **METHODOLOGY**

This paper is based on an empirical research conducted in Ngorongoro District, Arusha region in 2013 and additional data collected in December 2015. The district is situated approximately 180Km west of Arusha City, adjacent south eastern edge of Serengeti National park (SNP) (Terrence, McCabe, Leslie., & Paul, De Luca, 2011). The district is bordered to the north by Kenya, to the east by the Monduli District, to the south by Karatu District and to the west by Mara Region. Ngorongoro District is divided into three divisions, namely Ngorongoro, Loliondo and Sale Divisions. Ngorongoro and Loliondo Divisions are predominantly inhabited by the Maasai pastoralists, while Sale Division is principally inhabited by the Wasonjo/Watemi, who are mostly agro-pastoralists (Ojalammi, 2006) Tanzanian Maasai population is estimated at 646,000 (Ojalammi, 2006), while Ngorongoro District has a population of around 174,278, based on the 2012 National Population census (URT, 2012).

The two Divisions of Ngorongoro and Loliondo were selected to triangulate the data. Firstly, Ngorongoro Division is more severely affected by development policies and particularly conservation programs such as the Ngorongoro Conservation Authority (NCA) that prohibits economic and domestic activities such as grazing, farming and the construction of permanent shelter and roads. However, these same activities are allowed to a greater extent in Loliondo Division, which is predominantly a Game Controlled Area (GCA). The selection was thus expected to guarantee more interesting findings regarding migration related resilience implications such as the investments resulting from remittances in the two divisions. Three of the seven wards in Ngorongoro Division, namely Olbalbal, Enduleni and Oloirobi wards, were purposively sampled given their history of sending migrants to urban areas (Coast, 2007). Secondly, villages in these words were randomly sampled, with Meshili Village in Olbalbal Ward, Enduleni Village in Endulen ward and Misigiyo Village in Oloirobi Ward selected accordingly.



The same procedures were applied in Loliondo Division, whereby three out of seven wards namely Ongosoroki, Engusero-sambu and Oloipiri wards were purposely selected based on their relatively large number of migrant households and history of sending migrants to urban areas. Villages in these wards were randomly selected, prompting the focus on Sakala Village in Ongorosoki ward, Ngwarrwa Village in Enguserosambu Ward and Oloipiri Village in Oloipiri Ward. Thereafter, migrants sending households were purposely identified from the randomly selected villages, with between 12 and 20 households identified in each village. In this case the purposively identified migrants' households were subjected to a random sampling, in order that each of the 6 villages was equally represented by 5 households, leading to a total sample of 30 households<sup>1</sup>. Before starting the field work I first obtained the legal research permit No. 2011-291-NA-2011-149, authorised by the Tanzanian Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH).

In addition, written research clearances were obtained from the Arusha Regional Commissioners' (RC) and Ngorongoro District.

*Table 2: Sampling framework of households in Ngorongoro*

<b>Divisions</b>	<b>Ngorongoro Division</b>			<b>Loliondo Division</b>			<b>2 Divisions</b>
Wards	Olbabalbal	Endule ni	Oloiro bi	Ongosoro ki	Engusero-sambu	Oloipiri	6 wards
Villages	Meshili	Endule ni	Misigi yo	Sakala	Ngwarrwa	Oloipiri	6 villages
No. of HHs	5	5	5	5	5	5	30 HHs

Furthermore, a total of 15 key informants comprising of five local government officials at village, ward and district levels, six NGOs officials and four Maasai pastoralist elders who held the first-hand information concerning the research questions were purposefully sampled. Moreover, a great deal of secondary data was reviewed to supplement the primary one.

The field team consisted of a researcher himself and two assistants who were graduates, proficient in Maasai, Kiswahili and English Languages but also well trained in qualitative research interview skills. Before carrying interviews with the households I first cleared any doubts through a consent letter that introduced the researcher, the research topic and its importance. The letter emphasised the household members' freedoms to actively participate in the interviews and the fact that the information being solicited was solely intended for the research. All interviews were carried out in Maa (Maasai language) and Swahili, recorded in audio tapes and later on transcribed and translated into English. Basically the research was guided by three key questions notably What impact does the household member's migration have on the households' assets? What were the migrant's roles before migration? How have the household roles been affected by the household member's departure (migration)? Generally,



is it more of a benefit or loss of the household member migrating to the city? How do you cope with the loss or negative impact emanating from the migration of the household member? During interviews calm environment and privacy was maintained at the maximum. Interviews with most Government and NGO officials took place in their offices, while discussion with the Maasai employers and elders took place either in their homes or at work places. Importantly, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted in very convenient venues where all the participants could easily access and feel comfortable to express themselves. During FGDs one facilitator acted as moderator of the activity, while the other one was responsible for taking notes and later on producing a handwritten transcript. Lastly, the Swahili transcriptions were translated into English and handwritten transcripts were typed and saved as documents in rich text format. Content analysis of the transcriptions was done in MAXQDA 10 [VERBI Software, Marburg, Germany]. Data was grouped accordingly; codes were generated, leading to categories and themes. Quantitative data was analysed using the mixed method function of MAXQDA 10 software.

## **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Migration Influence on Households' Resilience**

In this section I build on the multi-layered social resilience framework to indicate how migration either strengthened or eroded household capacities to cope with households' threats. The threats in question include financial constraints, food shortage, illiteracy threat /inadequate education inadequate health services and ill health, inadequate shelter as well as cultural decline. These threats were identified and defined by the household representatives with the aid of the researcher. Accordingly, section A elaborates on how migration facilitated development of households' reactive capacities to cope with threats, while, section B elaborates on how migration facilitated development of households' proactive capacities to cope with threats. Section C generally elaborates on how migration undermined the households' capacities to cope with the highlighted households' threats.

#### **A: Households' reactive capacities to cope with threats**

**Coping with financial constraints:** It was revealed that, migration of household members considerably facilitated households develop reactive capacities to cope with financial constraints threat as confirmed by household members. Indeed, around 40% of migrants remitted to their local households' average of Tzs 25,000 and above, 30% had remitted between Tzs 10,000 and 25,000, 20% migrants had sent around Tzs 10,000 or less, while 10% (n=30) had not sent any financial support to their households (Munishi, 2013). It was further revealed that 20% of migrants sent remittances to households every one month, 33.3% sent once in every three months, and around 26.7% once every five months. Furthermore, around 20% of respondents either could not remember the last time the migrants sent remittances or did not at all receive financial support from the migrants (n=30). These findings clearly show that to great extent migration enhanced local households' capacity to cope with financial constraint through the financial remittances sent by the migrants. Previous studies in Tanzania (Kweka, 2011; Munishi, and in Dakar Senegal (Vari-Lavoisier 2016), clearly stipulates house migration improved household aspects of financial, natural and physical capitals but have not plainly state how improvement of these capitals enhanced households' capacity to cope with financial constraints threat.





**Coping with food shortage:** It was also noted that urban migrants either directly sent food items to households or financial assistance remitted was directly spent in buying food items such as maize, beans, maize flower, sugar to enable households cope with food shortages as evidenced by over 50 percent of households' representatives. One of them emphasizes it below:

Ever since he went to Arusha [city] he has been sending us various food items. The other day he sent 30 Kgs of beans as well as some few kilos of sugar. From time to time he sends us maize or maize flower. This is important given that we don't have any other reliable source of food. We thank God because, he travelled [migrated] to Arusha [city] and we have his support. Now in this way he ensures our life [food availability at home]. Now I can say that instead of dying [of hunger] today we shall die tomorrow because today I have something to eat.

Some previous literature explains how migration increased various household capitals, thus enabling migrants to secure accommodation and job connections in urban (Adger 2004; Tacoli 2002). However, the literature does not specifically detail how migration supported households' capacities in coping with inadequate food threat.

**Coping with ill health and inadequate health services:** Clearly migration also increased households' capacity to reactively cope with ill health and inadequate health services. Households members drew on financial remittances to support households' members acquire health-related services, as evidenced by 12 (n=30) household representatives in Ngorongoro. Migrants directly bought medicine, settled hospital bills for household members with ill health as well as bought food for households' members [patients] who were admitted to hospitals. It was also observed that 3 migrants had managed to take their relatives to cities for health services. Previous literature shows how migration improved the household human capital through investment in education, health and housing and households in Tanzania (Dungumaro 2009), Kenya (Ole Kaunga 2007), Cameroon and Nigeria (Tacoli and Mabala 2010). However, it does not clearly state how migration strengthened household capacities to cope with ill health.

**Coping with illiteracy/ inadequate education:** Youth urban migration also helped households to reactively cope with illiteracy [education] among households' members in some households through investment in education, knowledge and skills of households' members' mostly children. Migrants did this through paying school fees, buying school uniforms, books and stationary, providing pocket money and paying for other educational-related contributions as evidenced by 14 (n=30) household representatives and the testimony below.

Ever since he went there [migrated to urban area], he has sent [us] some money for buying exercise books and other school contributions for his siblings. Initially, we didn't have anything [financial capacity] and so we would always think of selling off cows. But then where are those cows now? [Cattle have died because of draught]. It is thanks to him [migrant] that now we can buy children's [school] uniforms and other school material.  
**(Female household representative (54), Ngorongoro Division, Ngorongoro)**

The findings partly reflect some previous studies which emphasise how migrants' variously supported household improve education, through buying school uniform, paying school fees,



as well to ensuring quality education to children as evidenced in Tanzania (Dungumaro 2009), Kenya (Ole Kaunga 2007), Cameroon and Nigeria (Tacoli and Mabala 2010).

**Coping with inadequate shelter:** Just as it is with the health aspect, migrants also reactively supported households to cope with inadequate shelter threat through construction of new houses and improvement of the existing ones as well as buying beds and mattresses for local households' members. Indeed, the researcher observed around 4 houses recently built by some rural-urban migrants in Loliondo Division. The houses were basically constructed from wood and soil, yet grounded with a cement floor and roofed with new iron-sheets thus considered as modern in the Maasai-land.

Some parents didn't know anything about mattresses, but now they can lie down on beds with mattresses only because their children who have been to cities have bought them. Some of them have bought motorcycles as sources of income. They call them; they use them as taxis for transporting passengers from Waso to Loliondo town. **(NGO's Official Representative Loliondo Division, Ngorongoro)**

### **B: Households' proactive capacities for coping with threats**

**Coping with financial constraints and food shortages:** An important proactive capacity of coping with financial constraints and food shortages brought about by migration was investing in livestock as future strategy of becoming financially secure. First, migrants bought more livestock, and maintained them through provision of veterinary services as a future way of ensuring household food security. This subsequently led to the sustainable increase in meat and milk production for future use by both household consumption and on commercial gains that further helped purchase food items as attested below:

"After the drought [in 2005], we practically remained with one or two goats, so how could we live [survive]? But ever since he got a job as security guard [in a tourist company] in Arusha city, he has managed to buy about four cows. Now we can talk of having some tea in a different taste [milk in tea]. When milk is more than enough we sell it out to get some Ugali (a maize flower dish). We hope the rest [of cows] will also do well soon to give us something to eat." **(Female Household representative (44), Ngorongoro division, Ngorongoro)**

Moreover migrants and households proactively invested in agriculture as capacity of coping with financial constraints and food shortages. Migrants invested in agriculture as a ways of avoiding food shortage in the future. This bolstered households' food status by improving agricultural yield of food crops such as maize, beans, onions and others, used for households' consumption and commercial purposes. This was done through purchasing of more farmland, financing land clearance and cultivation, as well as weeding, buying improved seeds, irrigation pumps, insecticide and fertilizers:

We have seen some young men [and women!] here from cities, who have bought (...), land for their parents, hired tractors to cultivate farms (...) engage in modern agriculture through use of modern [farm implements] seeds, fertilizers and planting. This hugely contributes to food security [availability] because agriculture is [slowly] is replacing



cattle economy. We thus depend on it for food and household income. Cattle are simply profitless! [these days] **(Male key informant (60), Loliondo Division, Ngorongoro)**

During the last season [agriculture season], he [the migrant] sent us some money for weeding and buying fertilizer. The other year he did not have enough money to do so; he only paid for the tractor to cultivate our two acres of land. This was such a big support to us, because we could not do it on our own. (...) Now we can harvest more and in most cases, we sell them as we don't use the whole of it for consumption. **(Male Household Representative (51) Loliondo Division, Ngorongoro)**

Another crucial proactive capacity of coping with financial constraints and food shortages ensured by the migrants at household was investment in physical assets/ machines such as bicycles, motorcycles and other kinds of machines. It was nevertheless encouraging to note that, physical items remitted by migrants' strengthened households' capacities to reactively cope with food and financial constraints. Such equipment included but not limited to maize milling machines and motorcycles for hire, popularly known as *Bodaboda* or *Bajaji*. This equipment eventually replenished households' financial status and food security among others as testified below:

“Having this machine [the motorbike] is of great help. It helps us buy some sugar or ugali [food] (...). For the last season [agriculture season] we used some of it [part of the money generated from the motorbike business] to buy some maize seeds and fertilizer. We subsequently harvested enough to consume for the whole year. “**(Male Local household representative (54), Loliondo Division, Ngorongoro)**

My husband migrated after the drought had killed all the cows. Fortunately, things have worked out quite well for him and got work as security guard and now he has installed a maize milling machine. Now we're assured of availability of food, what else could I wish him? Let him continue working there. It is a good thing for him to continue with the same work in Arusha so that children can get food and be able to go to school. **(Female household representative (25), Loliondo Division, Ngorongoro)**

Another household proactive capacity of coping with financial constraint brought about by migration was the households' capacity to reflect and build on migrants' ideas and information to ensure financial security. Specifically, it emerged that knowledge and ideas transmitted by migrants into their local households and communities based on the exposure and experience gained from urban areas prompted the household proactive capacity to cope with financial and food constraints among others. This knowledge gained and shared included advising households to diversify economic activities such as agriculture and entrepreneurship rather than only relying on the declining cattle economy. Specifically, in some occasions, migrants advised households to sell off livestock when prices are still high to avoid losses that could stem from drought and diseases. Such skills enabled households' members, learn more about the threats, organised themselves better and more effectively engaged in agriculture by growing marketable crops such as soya beans, which were likely to fetch much higher prices in the market. Consequently, households' members became more financially and food secure and also be able to invest in health and education as shown below and will later on be detailed.



“When he came from Nairobi, he encouraged us to cultivate soya beans. He insisted that it matures relatively faster and it has good price in cities like Arusha, Dar es Salaam and Nairobi. Our problem was money but he bought us the seeds and showed us how to plant them in a modern way [in rows and good spacing, fertilizers etc.]. Consequently, last year we managed to harvest enough for consumption and sold the surplus in Arusha City”.  
**(Female household representative (48) Loliondo Division, Ngorongoro)**

The above noted scientific revelation confirms the argument that resources related to relevant knowledge, skills and information accessed from different social layers are vital to building ‘layers of resilience’ against specific threat (s) (Glavovic, Scheyvens, & Overton, 2003). The results also correspond well with (Giddens, 1984)’s argument that the pro-active capacity to reflect, discuss and learn from past experience is an important dimension of human agency. Indeed in contexts of adversity, positive adjustment based on a learning process is an essential dimension of resilience and leads to increased competence in dealing with challenging livelihood conditions such as migration-related threats being referred to in this paper.

### **How migration eroded households’ capacities to cope with household’s threats**

**Eroding households’ financial and food base:** On the other hand, however, migration exasperated the households financial and food constraints in some households, because labour loss resulting from urban migration of the youth led to the decline of livestock and agricultural production that were core determinants of households’ financial and food security. Moreover, migration also undermined households’ capacities to cope with financial constraints, through spending considerable financial and non-financial resources crucial to maintaining households’ food security. For example, households sold out land and livestock to pay for debts left behind and damages done by migrants in urban areas as further put below:

At the moment we cannot reliably claim to have enough food. You know we depend on livestock for almost everything [financial income, food etc] ..., But when he [migrant] was still away many of them [livestock] died as they did not have someone to attend to them. (...) Normally, when there is drought the MORAN [youth] are responsible for moving with cattle to look for pastures [and water]. So our cattle died partly due to lack of pasture [water] and this is because he [the migrant] was not here to move with the cattle [in search of pasture and water]. **(Household Representative Loliondo Division, Ngorongoro)**

He left behind a lot of debts [financial debts]. It seems he owed some money to some people (...) consequently, up to now we have paid around three goats [Tzs 90,000/= [45 euro] and still some other people are coming to demand for more [financial compensation]. This means a big loss to us, as we have to sacrifice other household needs [food, health, shelter, resulting from financial loss]. **(Male household representative (37) Loliondo Division, Ngorongoro)**

This is obvious [compensating for damages made by migrants]. At times, these young people are implicated with serious [financial] frauds at work places, which they themselves cannot pay. So parents [local households] are forced to finance such losses even by selling plots of land, more especially now that our livestock have been struck by



drought and diseases, households have to real constrain themselves financially or sell piece of land to pay for such loses. (**Male key informant (61), Loliondo Division, Ngorongoro**)

Some existing studies have also reported how a labour gap resulting from migration may reduce households' economic capital (Nwokocha 2008; Tacoli 2002). However, it does not specifically state how labour loss resulting from urban migration exasperated the households' financial and food constraints in some households, because of the youth led to the decline of livestock and agricultural production that were core determinants of households' financial and food security. The ability by this study to unearth this reality could be due to the employment of multi-layered social resilience that emphasises on the concept of threat.

**Weakening of household social networks:** It was also noted that, migration of the Maasai youth to urban areas weakened some household's social networks further jeopardising agriculture as one of the most important financial and food security determinants. This reality is further detailed below:

In the past [before migration] we could cultivate much bigger piece of land because he was here and his friends could support us. He belonged to the group of his colleagues who would work for each other in turns. This really simplified [accomplishment of] agriculture tasks. He worked for them today and they would work for him the following day. But, ever since he left his friends can no longer come here and help us, (...) it is pity that we have got no more energy to cultivate (**Female Household Representative (60), Loliondo**)

Previously studies among some migrants' sending households in Ethiopia (Morrissey 2007) Zimbabwe (ACF International 2012; Ncube and Gómez 2011), Ghana and Uganda (Mazzucato 2008) as well as Kenya (Ole Kaunga 2007), have observed that migration ruined some aspects of social capital notably useful networks for households' resilience

**Eroding households' ability to deal with illiteracy:** Migration enormously eroded households' capacities to cope with illiteracy and inadequate education as evidenced by around 17 (n=30) households' representatives in Ngorongoro district majority of them, women and the elderly. They felt that the departure of the household members to urban areas had negatively affected their children's academic progress thus exasperating the illiteracy threat at household rather than alleviating it. They iterated that the education-related assistance did not arrive on time and was inadequate when it was eventually forthcoming. Moreover, whereas old people were too weak to finance and follow up on their grandchildren's' academic progress, women specifically argued that children were more likely to be disciplined and successful in academics when guided by two parents and most particularly by the male parent, as stated by a wife to a migrant below:

No! Leave apart this other support [buying school uniforms and paying school fees]; a man will always be listened to by a child. If I tell him/ [her] [a child] about being more responsible at school s/he will [most likely] not listen to me in the same way [S/he] would listen to his/her father, because a man is a man [means that a father gives more effective orders]. For me I [also] need to deal with the young ones and so where do I find time?





[No time to follow up on her boy's education progress] (**Female Household Representative [wife to a migrant] (29) Loliondo Division, Ngorongoro**)

On top of that, academic progress of children was negatively affected by engaging them in households' productive work, due to labour shortage resulting from households' members' out-migration. Observation showed that children of a school-going age (7-14 years old) were involved in livestock grazing-related tasks, even during school days and hours. This naturally denied them the right to education, which could have most likely jeopardized their future ability to deal with various threats. Some previous studies have also noted that, coping with migration eroded human capital in some households' members' social resilience, namely through the overworking of women leading to lack of good parental care and education for children as established among Maasai migrant-sending households in Kenya (Ole Kaunga 2007) as well as in Pakistan (Siegmann 2010).

**Eroding household's capacity to cope with ill health/ inadequate health services:** On the other hand, 18 (n=30) households' members, majority of them women, felt that households' health needs were negatively affected by migration or inadequately met by the migrants. In this case, migration undermined households' capacities to cope with households' academic issues. This is because male household members were always regarded as physically and economically powerful in facilitating household health-related services. For example, owing to lack of transport service, men were responsible for carrying patients to hospitals that were located relatively far away from their households as further stated here:

Here household members either never receive or do receive too little health support from migrants. Women especially prefer their husbands to be at home when it comes to their own illness or for one of the households' members. This is because compared to women men especially the husbands are thought to have more economic power and physical strength necessary to access health services for their households' members. Men can for example assist in carrying a patient to health facilities as these facilities are usually located relatively far away from home. (**Male NGO official (45), Loliondo Division, Ngorongoro**)

**Eroding households' capacity to cope with inadequate shelter:** It was also observed that in some households the departure of migrants had exasperated the remaining households' members' capacities to cope with shelter (threat) simply because households depended upon migrants as far as constructing shelter was concerned. Indeed, 4 out of 30 surveyed households did not have reliable shelter, mainly as a result of the rural-urban migration of more productive household members, as attested by a household member below:

(...) If he were here, he could have supported us to build a [much] better house, because as you can see this one is basically not in good order. The one [house] you see here was built by him some years ago. But now it is [already] dilapidated and too small to accommodate all of us. (...) As you can see it is already having too many holes on it, and it's leaking, and so it could collapse at any time (**Female household representative (66) Loliondo Division, Ngorongoro**)



**Overworking of the sending household members:** It was indeed noted that, labour shortage resulting from migration lead to an extra workload among some household members, majority of them women, the elderly and children. For example, on top of their day to day household chores, women engaged in male-related tasks, such as grazing, attending meetings and providing labour for public work. These findings are in line with former in Ghana and Zimbabwe (Nwokocha, 2008; Tacoli & Mabala, 2010). These findings are strongly supported by (Siegmann, Karin, Astrid, 2010) in his study on the role of international migration for women and men in Northwest Pakistan. One of the women whose husband had migrated to the urban area accounts for this situation as below:

As you can see for yourself he [husband] left me alone. At the moment I have no one to help me with households' responsibilities. In the morning I have to wake up early enough to prepare something to eat [breakfast and lunch] for both myself and the two kids. Then I have to rush either for *kibarua* (manual labour for pay) before taking cattle to pastures. On some days I am really occupied here. These are days when I am supposed to attend some public meetings on behalf of my husband. If you don't attend some of these gatherings they punish you [e.g. paying fine]. If my husband were here, he could at least assist with grazing and attending meetings so that I would only concentrate in some households' chores such as cooking and taking care of kids. **(Female households' representative, Ngorongoro Division)**

**Eroding cultural practices:** Youth out-migration enormously jeopardised the Maasai cultural practices and traditions. Firstly, it must be remembered that Maasai society is based on age set groups that among other things require youth to undergo initiations to assume new social responsibilities after every certain period of time. Therefore, overstaying of the youth in cities would lead to delays or inconsistencies in some cultural events [rituals]; aimed at facilitating the existence and transmission of the Maasai cultural aspects from one generation to the other. Such delayed cultural events included but not limited to circumcision an event that marks a transition from youth-hood to adulthood, and subsequent marriage life as further stated below:

Maasai youth from the age of 25 *Morans* onwards become junior elders or the *Olmorio*. (...) among the elders there are different sub age groups the most senior being the oldest. Those people who were born and circumscribed one time are supposed to compose and sing songs of their warrior stage, what they achieved and their other experiences. But, increasingly, this is becoming almost impossible because a big number of these people [15-35 years] are in cities. **(Male Key informant (65) Dar es Salaam)**

(...) I recently attended one of our important traditional ceremonies; and as a Maasai I took my camera with me expecting to capture a number of typical Maasai traditional displays by the *Morans* [youth]. But, to my surprise I did not see any of them. The elders were bitterly complaining, as the boys were singing about the wonders of the cities. Oh!! Discos and many others, typically modern Kiswahili music! I wondered whether these were also part of Maasai traditions **(Male key informant (65) Dar es Salaam)**

During various traditional ceremonies junior elders (25-35) are supposed to sing some victory songs, typically of what they did when they were still *Morans* (youth). But when it comes to your time for being a junior elder and you cannot sing songs of your warrior



stage, and you don't really have or know anything that you did it becomes a big problem and that is exactly where the Maasai are moving towards!! You don't know who brave man is or who is a coward. So this loses the meaning. **(Male key informant (60), Ngorongoro Division, Ngorongoro)**

Secondly, while in cities, Maasai youth acquired some socially undesirable behaviour that was against Maasai culture. Such habits were over-consumption of alcohol, smoking, eating pork and fish along with illegally engaging in sexual affairs or intermarrying with non-Maasai women. Migrants were also responsible for transmitting these habits to their peers in the rural areas hence jeopardising Maasai youth's role as future parent stock. The decline of Maasai culture could in the long run be detrimental to the Maasai households' income and food security, given that most of the Maasai social and economic aspects such as pastoralism are deeply imbedded in Maasai culture and traditions. Indeed, a secondary source also warns that, any negative impact on Maasai culture has a fundamental influence on the Maasai livelihoods and resilience in particular (Lukumay, 2008; National Museum of Tanzania, 2004).

Young people among the Maasai are not allowed to drink alcohol. But once they go to cities develop habits of drinking and they even at times drink with the elder's once they come back here. To be precise, morals have totally declined here to the extent that at times you're incapable of distinguishing between an elder and a youth. So, giving orders according to our culture becomes extremely difficult here. **(Male key informant, (60) Ngorongoro Division, Ngorongoro)**

Looking at the Maasai youth migrants in terms of future parent stock; firstly, they can no longer make good fathers as they don't really take part in the traditional practices. What kind of teachings will they give to their children? Are they going to teach them about discos and other kinds of city life? **(Male key informant (56), Loliondo Division, Ngorongoro)**

### **Theoretical implications**

Finally, a few theoretical implications worth being explained; It must be acknowledged that this is a qualitative study based on the small sample of only 30 household representatives and 15 key informants. Therefore, it was naturally incapable of offering a robust picture on rural-urban migration impact on the migrants' households' resilience. A much larger-scale study, drawing on various Maasai Districts and utilising both the quantitative and qualitative approaches would help provide a more holistic picture concerning this subject matter.

Nevertheless, employing the concept of "*threat*" as highlighted in this framework helped the researcher to more specifically and analytically focus on the contribution of migration in improving or degrading the lives of the households' members based on the specific threats. This is because remittances both in terms of cash and in kind may not necessarily improve the lives of the household members on equal basis unless we are aware of the exactly kind of the threat being experienced by households and the extent it's being either alleviated or not alleviated by migration. By employing resilience approach the paper is capable of showing how flows of ideas, norms, and practices reshape households' resilience which is well aligned with the concept of "social remittances (Vari-Lavoisier, 2016).



Though the concept of capitals was implicitly used, it nevertheless, provided a more robust way of understanding the impact of migration on households as made clear in the framework. Indeed, defining capitals clearly enabled the researcher to more logically organise the findings and also more broadly examine the impact of migration on the households' resilience through examining how various aspects of capitals had been positively or negatively affected by the urban migration of the youth.

Including the concept of "*proactive capacity*" facilitated exploration of household members' capacity to learn through migration process enabling them organise themselves much better to cope with household threats such as food and financial constraints, such as being able to more effectively engage in the production of more marketable crops to maintain food and income security. Therefore, based on the multi-layered social resilience framework (Obrist et al., 2010), can be concluded that, on the one hand, the rural-urban migration of the Maasai youth strengthened households' resilience through remittances that were invested in livestock, agriculture, physical equipment and subsequently improve shelter, education and skills, food and health services. However, on the other hand, migration depleted households' resilience by creating shortage of labour and subsequent overworking of the remaining households' members eventually exasperating financial, shelter, education and food inadequacy at household.

## **CONCLUSION**

This article investigated the role of rural urban migration of the Maasai youth on the sending households' social resilience. The findings have shown that Migration significantly enhanced households' capacities to cope with household threats of financial constraints, food shortage, ill health and inadequate health services as well as illiteracy/ inadequate education Migration also facilitated households develop proactive capacities of coping with household threats. Household developed reactive capacities of investing in livestock and agriculture as future ways of alleviating food insecurity threat as well as financial constraints. Moreover, migrants strategically invested in physical assets/ machines such as bicycles, motorcycles and other kinds of machines helping households develop proactive ways of coping with financial and food shortages.

Another household proactive capacity of coping with financial constraint facilitated by migration was the households' capacity to reflect and build on migrants' ideas and information to ensure financial security. Indeed, knowledge and ideas transmitted by migrants into their local households and communities based on the exposure and experience gained from urban areas prompted the household proactive capacity to cope with financial and food constraints among others. How migration eroded households' capacities to cope with households' threats. On the other hand, migration eroded households' capacities to cope with threats because male household members were always regarded as physically and economically powerful in facilitating household health-related services. It eroded household's capacity to cope with inadequate shelter because departure of migrants simply because households depended upon migrants as far as constructing shelter was concerned. It leads to overworking of the sending household members due to labour shortage resulting from migration. It also eroded cultural practices through, overstaying of the youth in cities would lead to delays or inconsistencies in some cultural events and acquiring of some socially undesirable behaviour that was against Maasai culture.



Accordingly, this paper recommends a number policy implications aimed at revitalising the resilience of the Maasai local households. Firstly, future policies should build on the Maasai households local strategies of coping with various threats. Such strategies as suggested in the findings include but not limited to honey production, local brew production, engagement in agriculture, as well as selling labour in pastoralism and agricultural activities. Policies should further enhance local solidarity and affiliations deeply rooted in the Maasai culture since it proved to be helpful in enhancing household resilience. Such strengths should be retained in various ways.

Secondly, policies should empower young Maasai generation with more comprehensive formal education and skills to help them compete with other non-Maasai Tanzanians in the job market. Consequently, this would guarantee them a more reliable future livelihood as well as minimising their chances of falling victims of inadequate income, unemployment, exploitation and oppression, as well as physical insecurity. Thirdly, Maasai local communities should be made aware of the existing public and private institutions including the ways in which these organisations operate in order that they can effectively make use of them in coping with the aforementioned threats.

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