



ACP

OBSERVATORY ON MIGRATION
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SENDING IDEAS BACK HOME:

Exploring the potential of South-South social remittances in the United Republic of Tanzania

Linda Helgesson Sekei

Annette Altvater

Jacob Charles Mrema

Adelaide Kisinda

Development Pioneer Consultants, DPC

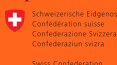


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ACP Observatory on Migration

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Foreword

This study on social remittances, based on the research and policymaking priorities established by the Tanzanian National Consultative Committee (NCC) in autumn 2010, was commissioned by the ACP Observatory on Migration. The study seeks to offer insights to Tanzanian stakeholders and NCC members on how to insert migration in Tanzanian development policies, considering the role played by migrants' social remittances.

Social remittances can be defined as the “flows of ideas, knowledge, attitudes, identities, behaviours and social capital through migrants to family, friends and beyond in the sending communities” (Levitt, 1998). These transfers of knowledge, good practices and behaviours acquired by the Tanzanian migrants during their stay abroad are assets to their home country development in addition to the transfer of financial remittances.

I am therefore honoured and privileged to present the results of this study developed by Development Pioneer Consultants for the ACP Observatory on Migration, investigating the role and impact of social remittances transmitted back home by Tanzanian migrants living abroad. Built on survey results and interviews with Tanzanian migrants living in African and Asian countries, this study helps us to examine the value of the exchanges that Tanzanian migrants have with their relatives and friends in key areas such as education, poverty reduction and health improvement, among others.

The findings revealed by this study will certainly inspire us to reconsider the way in which we look at our own diaspora living abroad. They will also help us to strategically think, not only about the financial role and impact that the diaspora can have on national development, but will also allow us to take cognizance of the important role played by ideas, knowledge, attitudes and behaviours transmitted from Tanzanian emigrants abroad to friends and relatives living in Tanzania.

Suggestions put forward in this study will certainly serve as a basis for policy interventions in the quest to promoting the positive potential of social remittances for Tanzanians returning to their home country with significant knowledge gained through their stay abroad in the South. They will also give us an insight on trends and patterns of South–South migration and their significance for the formulation of relevant national policies and compare and contrast the same with the South–North migration phenomenon.


Mr. Piniel Mgonja

Chair of the Tanzanian National Consultative Committee
Commissioner of Immigration Services (Administration and Finance)
Immigration Services Department
Ministry of Home Affairs - United Republic of Tanzania

Abstract

The term “social remittances” refers to flows of ideas, knowledge, attitudes, behaviours, identities and social capital through migrants to family, friends and beyond in sending country communities. Thus far, this phenomenon has received limited attention in both research and policy. This study explores the potential of South–South social remittances to promote human development in the United Republic of Tanzania, with the following overall objectives:

- (a) To contribute to an understanding of the potential of South–South social remittances for human development, promote more evidence-based policymaking and mainstream human mobility into development planning;
- (b) To improve understanding of the potential of non-financial transfers among migrants and non-migrants for human development;
- (c) To strengthen the migration components of development policies through recommendations tailored to the Tanzanian context.

A mixed-method approach was applied through an online survey, as well as in-depth individual interviews with three categories of respondents: (a) emigrants, (b) return migrants and (c) relatives, friends and colleagues of migrants. Within a theoretical framework of human development, the surveys and interviews covered key themes related to human development, including knowledge, attitudes and practices regarding education, health, employment, business and agriculture; gender equality; governance; income disparity and poverty; the environment and infrastructure; aspects of politics, such as political debate, activism and free media, and information and communication technology. The results show that, to a large extent, social remittances were transmitted to relatives and friends, particularly in the area of education and poverty, where increased knowledge, changed attitudes, as well as changed practices, were reported.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to express their gratitude to the respondents in the United Republic of Tanzania and in other countries in the global South who have shared their experiences and insights on social remittances. The authors also wish to thank the ACP Observatory on Migration in Brussels, the IOM Office in Dar es Salaam, as well as the National Consultative Committee. Mr. Miguel de Lim and Mr. Charles Mkude provided proofreading support. All have contributed valuable comments and inputs in the process of completing this report.

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List of acronyms and abbreviations

ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States
BRN	Big Results Now
CSO(s)	Civil society organization(s)
DPC(s)	Development Pioneer Consultant(s)
GDP	Gross domestic product
HDI	Human Development Index
ICT	Information and communication technology
LGA(s)	Local government authority(ies)
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NCC	National Consultative Committee
TAKNET	Tanzania Knowledge Network
TSh	Tanzanian shilling
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

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Executive summary

In order to effectively integrate human mobility into development plans and poverty reduction strategies, research and reliable data on the interrelationship between migration and development are needed. The United Republic of Tanzania is one of the countries of the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Group of States that have identified a number of research priorities related to human mobility. The forum for this is the National Consultative Committee, supported by the ACP Observatory on Migration. Based on an overview of migration data and information from the United Republic of Tanzania in 2010, research priorities were identified, including the role of social remittances. Social remittances are an aspect of human mobility that have thus far received limited attention in both research and policy, particularly between countries in the global South. As social remittances refer to the flows of ideas, knowledge, attitudes, behaviours, identities and social capital transmitted through migrants to family, friends and beyond in the sending country communities, they differ from financial remittances.

This study explores the potential of South–South social remittances to promote human development in the United Republic of Tanzania. One of its objectives is to improve understanding of the mechanisms of social remittances from a human development perspective and promote evidence-based policymaking, in order to mainstream human mobility into development planning in the Tanzanian context. Three categories of migrants were included in this research in order to explore social remittances: (a) Tanzanian emigrants residing in a country in the global South; (b) migrants who had returned to the United Republic of Tanzania; and (c) relatives, friends and colleagues of migrants. The countries of exposure were mainly other countries in Africa: Botswana, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, South Africa, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Three Asian destination countries were represented: China, India and Malaysia. The methods used were an online survey, with 50 respondents, and in-depth individual interviews, with 15 respondents.

The study is based on a human development framework that emphasizes three essential capabilities: (a) for people to lead long and healthy lives; (b) to be knowledgeable; and (c) to have a decent standard of living. Political, economic and social opportunities are important aspects of human development, allowing people to be creative, productive and empowered. In an online

questionnaire conducted for this study, respondents could select options, such as whether the migration experience (theirs or others') has made them learn something; changed their opinion and/or behaviour as regards education, health, employment, business and agriculture, gender equality, governance, income disparity and poverty, the environment and infrastructure, aspects of politics, and information and communication technology; and told others about it. Interviews conducted for the study illustrate phenomena, explaining reasons and mechanisms behind different views that allow for a more in-depth understanding of the results of the online survey, often through a comparison between the respondents' perception of the situation in the country of migration and that in the United Republic of Tanzania.

The results show that the telephone is the most frequently used method of communication across all three respondent categories. Education is the issue that concerns the respondents the most and receives the strongest impact in terms of social remittances. Health, employment and business, as well as aspects of governance, also concern the respondents to a great extent. Interestingly, the members of the "relative, friend or colleague" category seem not only to be recipients of social remittances but also messengers, suggesting that social remittances are transmitted to a wider community than the migrants' immediate circle of relatives and friends.

Based on the findings of this study, a key recommendation for how to facilitate the role of South–South remittances in promoting human development in the United Republic of Tanzania is to consider migrants and returning migrants, as well as their relatives, friends and colleagues, as human resources that can be used to spread information and contribute to human development, whether through education, health, livelihood, the environment or governance. They can be thought of as agents of change and brokers between the local level and policymakers at the national level through additional exposure, but with real grass root experiences.

Muhtasari

Katika kulihusisha kwa ufanisi suala la uhamiaji kwenye mipango ya maendeleo na mikakati ya kupunguza umasikini, utafiti na taarifa za kuaminika juu ya uhusiano kati ya uhamiaji na maendeleo vinahitajika. Tanzania ni miongoni mwa nchi zilizopo katika ukanda wa Afrika, Caribbean na Pacific (ACP) ambayo imebainisha vipaumbele vya utafiti kuhusiana na suala la uhamiaji. Jambo hili linashughulikiwa na Kamati ya Taifa ya Ushauri ikisaidiwa na Waangalizi wa masuala ya Uhamaji katika ACP. Kulingana na maelezo juu ya takwimu na taarifa za uhamiaji nchini Tanzania za mwaka 2010, kipaumbele kimojawapo cha utafiti kilichobainishwa ni “mchango unaotokana na uhamiaji”. Mchango unaotokana na uhamiaji ni kipengele cha uhamiaji ambacho hadi sasa hakijashughulikiwa kwa kina katika utafiti pamoja na sera, hususan katika nchi zilizopo Kusini mwa Dunia (Global South). Mchango unaotokana na uhamiaji unahusisha mawazo, maarifa, mitazamo, tabia na mitaji inayotumwa na wanaoishi nje ya nchi zao kwa familia, marafiki na wanajamii wengine walioko nchi za nyumbani. Hivyo basi mchango unaotokana na uhamiaji ni zaidi ya fedha kutoka nje ya nchi.

Katika utafiti huu, mchango unaotokana na uhamiaji katika kukuza maendeleo nchini Tanzania umechunguzwa. Miongoni mwa malengo yake ni kuongeza uelewa kuhusu mchango wa uhamiaji kwa maendeleo ya binadamu na kuchochea utungaji sera wa uhakika ili kuingiza masuala ya uhamiaji katika mipango ya maendeleo katika muktadha wa Tanzania. Makundi matatu yaliangaliwa ili kuchunguza mchango wa uhamiaji: Wahamiaji wa kitanzania wanaoishi katika nchi zilizomo “Kusini mwa Dunia,” Wahamiaji ambao wamerejea Tanzania, ndugu, marafiki na wafanyakazi wenza wa wahamiaji. Nchi zilizoangaliwa katika utafiti huu zilikuwa ni Uganda, Afrika ya Kusini, Botswana, Msumbiji, Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, Jamhuri ya Kidemokrasia ya Kongo, Zambia, Zimbabwe na Malawi na nchi tatu za Asia ziliwakilishwa na Malesia, China na India. Njia zilizotumika kupata taarifa katika utafiti huu zilikuwa ni utafiti kwa njia ya mtandao kwa washiriki 50 na mahojiano ya kina ya mtu binafsi kwa washiriki 15.

Utafiti huu unatofautiana na mfumo wa Maendeleo ya Binadamu ambapo mambo matatu muhimu yanayochagiza maendeleo ya binadamu yameelezwa: watu kuishi maisha marefu na yenye afya, kuwa wenye maarifa na pia hali bora ya maisha. Fursa za Kisiasa, kiuchumi, na kijamii ni masuala muhimu ya maendeleo ya binadamu zikitumiwa na watu ili kuwa wabunifu, wazalishaji na kujijengea uwezo.

Katika dodoso la kwenye mtandao, washiriki waliweza kueleza endapo walijifunza jambo fulani, kubadili mawazo yao au tabia na kama wamewaambia watu nyumbani kuhusu mabadiliko hayo, katika upande wa elimu, afya, ajira , biashara na kilimo, usawa wa kijinsia, utawala, tofauti katika kipato na umasikini, mazingira na miundombinu, masuala ya kisiasa na teknolojia ya habari na mawasiliano. Mahojiano yanaonyesha matukio, kuelezea sababu na taratibu za maoni tofauti na hivyo kuruhusu uelewa zaidi wa kina wa matokeo kutoka kwenye dodoso/utafiti mtandaoni, kwa kulinganisha jinsi washiriki walivyoitazama hali ya nchi waliyoishi kulinganisha na Tanzania.

Matokeo yanaonyesha kwamba mawasiliano kwa njia ya simu hutumika zaidi katika makundi yote. Elimu ilikuwa ndiyo mada iliyohusisha washiriki wengi na ambayo matokeo ya mchango wa uhamiaji yalikuwa na nguvu. Afya, ajira na biashara, na masuala ya utawala kwa kiwango kikubwa yalikusisha washiriki wengi, linalovutia zaidi, ndugu /marafiki / wafanyakazi wenza, walionekana kuwa si tu wapokeaji wa mchango wa uhamiaji kutoka nje ya nchi, pia wajumbe walionyesha kwamba mchango wa uhamiaji unafika kwenye jamii pana kwa haraka, zaidi ya ndugu au marafiki wa wahamiaji pekee.

Kutokana na matokeo ya utafiti huu, mapendekezo muhimu ili kuwezesha mchango wa uhamiaji kutoka Kusini mwa Dunia katika kukuza Maendeleo ya Binadamu nchini Tanzania ni pamoja na kutilia maanani suala la wahamaji, wahamiaji wanaorejea pamoja na jamaa, marafiki, na wafanyakazi wenza kama rasilimali watu ambao wanaweza kutumika kutoa taarifa na kuchagiza maendeleo ya binadamu, kupitia nyanja ya elimu, afya, shughuli za kujipatia kipato au utawala. Wanaweza kuchukuliwa kama chachu ya mabadiliko katika ngazi ya mitaa na ya kitaifa kutokana na uzoefu wao wa ziada waliopata nje na ule wa nyumbani.

Resumé analytique

Afin de bien intégrer la mobilité humaine dans les plans de développement et les stratégies de réduction de la pauvreté, des recherches et des données fiables sont nécessaires sur la relation entre migrations et développement. La République unie de Tanzanie est l'un des pays du Groupe des États d'Afrique, des Caraïbes et du Pacifique (ACP) qui a identifié plusieurs priorités de recherche liées à la mobilité humaine. L'instance responsable de ces choix est le Comité consultatif national (CCN), soutenu par l'Observatoire ACP sur les migrations. L'une des priorités de recherche identifiées en 2010, sur la base d'une synthèse des données et informations existantes sur la migration en Tanzanie, était le rôle des transferts sociaux. Les transferts sociaux sont un aspect de la mobilité humaine auquel on s'est peu intéressé jusqu'à présent, tant dans les recherches que dans le développement de politiques, en particulier entre les pays du Sud. Les transferts sociaux désignent les flux d'idées, de connaissances, d'attitudes, de comportements, d'identités et de capital social qui sont transmis par les migrants à leurs parents, leurs amis et autres dans les communautés du pays d'origine. Les transferts sociaux sont par conséquent différents des transferts financiers.

Dans la présente étude, nous étudions le potentiel de promotion du développement humain des transferts sociaux Sud-Sud en Tanzanie. Nos objectifs sont notamment de mieux comprendre les mécanismes des transferts sociaux du point de vue du développement humain et de promouvoir une élaboration de politiques basée sur des données probantes afin d'intégrer la mobilité humaine dans la planification du développement dans le contexte tanzanien. Trois catégories ont été prises en considération en vue d'étudier les transferts sociaux : les émigrants tanzaniens qui résident dans un pays du Sud, les migrants qui sont rentrés en Tanzanie et les proches, les amis et les collègues des migrants. Les pays concernés étaient principalement d'autres pays d'Afrique : Afrique du Sud, Botswana, Burundi, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Ouganda, République démocratique du Congo (RDC), Rwanda, Zambie et Zimbabwe. Trois pays d'Asie étaient en outre représentés : la Chine, l'Inde et la Malaisie. Les méthodes utilisées incluent une enquête en ligne menée auprès de cinquante répondants et des entretiens individuels approfondis avec quinze répondants.

L'étude s'écarte des cadres de développement humain, où il existe trois capacités essentielles de développement humain : (a) la possibilité pour les gens de vivre longtemps et en bonne santé, (b) d'être instruits et (c) d'avoir

un niveau de vie décent. Les opportunités politiques, économiques et sociales sont des aspects importants du développement humain, dont on se sert pour assurer la créativité, la productivité et l'autonomie des gens. Dans le questionnaire en ligne, les répondants pouvaient choisir des options telles que la question de savoir s'ils avaient appris quelque chose, changé d'avis, changé de comportement et s'ils en avaient parlé à leurs proches restés au pays, en matière d'éducation, de santé, d'emploi, de commerce et d'agriculture, d'égalité des genres, de gouvernance, de disparité salariale et de pauvreté, d'environnement et d'infrastructure, et en ce qui concerne les aspects de la vie politique et des technologies de l'information et de la communication. Les entretiens illustrent des phénomènes, expliquent les raisons et les mécanismes des différents points de vue et permettent de mieux comprendre les résultats de l'enquête en ligne, souvent en comparant le phénomène entre la façon dont les répondants perçoivent la situation dans le pays concerné par rapport à la Tanzanie.

Les résultats indiquent que la communication téléphonique était le moyen de communication le plus régulièrement utilisé dans toutes les catégories. L'éducation était le thème qui intéressait le plus les répondants et où l'impact des transferts sociaux était le plus marqué. La santé, l'emploi et le commerce, ainsi que certains aspects de la gouvernance intéressaient également dans une large mesure les répondants. La catégorie des proches/amis/collègues faisait non seulement partie des bénéficiaires de transferts sociaux, mais aussi des messagers, ce qui indique que les transferts sociaux sont transmis à une communauté plus large que le cercle immédiat des migrants, des proches et des amis des migrants.

Si l'on en croit les observations de cette étude, l'une des principales recommandations en vue de faciliter le rôle des transferts Sud-Sud afin de promouvoir le développement humain en Tanzanie consiste à considérer les migrants, les migrants de retour et les proches, amis et collègues des migrants comme des ressources humaines dont on peut se servir pour progresser dans le domaine du développement humain, que ce soit par le biais d'aspects liés à l'éducation, à la santé, aux moyens de subsistance, à l'environnement ou à la gouvernance. On peut les considérer comme des agents de changement et des intermédiaires entre l'échelon local et le national en renforçant l'exposition aux véritables expériences locales.

Resumo executivo

Para integrar efectivamente a mobilidade humana nos planos de desenvolvimento e nas estratégias de redução de pobreza, é necessário dispor de investigação e dados fiáveis no que diz respeito à relação entre a migração e o desenvolvimento. A Tanzânia é um dos países do Grupo dos Estados de África, Caraíbas e Pacífico (ACP) em que se identificaram várias prioridades de investigação relacionadas com a mobilidade humana. O fórum para o tema é a Comissão nacional consultiva (National Consultative Committee, NCC), apoiada pelo Observatório ACP das Migrações. Com base numa descrição geral de dados e informações sobre a migração na Tanzânia em 2010, uma das prioridades da investigação identificadas foi o papel das Remessas sociais. As remessas sociais são aspectos da mobilidade humana que, até agora, receberam atenção limitada, tanto em termos de investigação como de política, particularmente entre países no Sul Global. As remessas sociais dizem respeito ao fluxo de ideias, conhecimentos, atitudes, comportamentos, identidades e capital social transmitidos dos migrantes para os seus familiares, amigos e membros das comunidades nos países de origem. As remessas sociais são diferentes das remessas financeiras.

Neste estudo, é explorado o potencial das remessas sociais Sul-Sul na promoção do desenvolvimento humano na Tanzânia. Dos objectivos constam: aumentar a compreensão dos mecanismos das remessas sociais da perspectiva do desenvolvimento humano e promover a criação de políticas baseadas em provas para integrar a mobilidade humana no planeamento de desenvolvimento, no contexto da Tanzânia. Foram incluídas três categorias para explorar as remessas sociais nesta investigação: os emigrantes da Tanzânia que residam num país do Sul Global, os migrantes que tenham regressado à Tanzânia e os familiares, amigos e colegas de migrantes. Os países de exposição foram sobretudo outros países de África: Uganda, África do Sul, Botsuana, Moçambique, Ruanda, Burundi, Quênia, República Democrática do Congo (RDC), Zâmbia, Zimbabué e Malavi, tendo sido representados três países da Ásia: Malásia, China e Índia. Os métodos utilizados foram um inquérito on-line com 50 inquiridos e entrevistas individuais profundas com 15 inquiridos.

O estudo parte de uma estrutura de Desenvolvimento Humano, em que existem três capacidades essenciais de desenvolvimento humano: as pessoas devem viver vidas longas e saudáveis, ter acesso ao conhecimento e ter um padrão de vida aceitável. As oportunidades políticas, económicas, sociais e políticas são aspectos importantes do desenvolvimento humano, utilizadas

para as pessoas serem criativas, produtivas e confiantes. No questionário on-line, os inquiridos puderam seleccionar determinadas opções, tais como se aprenderam algo, mudaram de opinião, alteraram o comportamento e contaram às pessoas em casa, relativamente a ensino, saúde, emprego, negócios e agricultura, igualdade de géneros, disparidade de rendimentos no governo e pobreza, ambiente e infra-estruturas, aspectos relacionados com políticas, informações e tecnologia de comunicação. As entrevistas ilustram o fenómeno, explicam os motivos e os mecanismos de diferentes pontos de vista, por isso, possibilitam uma compreensão mais profunda dos resultados do inquérito on-line, frequentemente comparando o fenómeno entre o modo como os inquiridos entendem a situação no país de exposição em relação à Tanzânia.

Os resultados demonstram que a comunicação telefónica foi o meio de comunicação utilizado mais frequentemente em todas as categorias. O ensino foi o tema que mais envolveu os inquiridos e aquele em que o impacto das remessas sociais foi mais notório. A saúde, o emprego e os negócios, bem como os aspectos relacionados com o governo também envolveram em grande medida os inquiridos e é interessante verificar que as categorias de familiares/amigos/colegas pareceram ser não só destinatários das remessas sociais, mas também mensageiros, sugerindo que as remessas sociais são transmitidas a uma comunidade mais alargada do que o círculo imediato de migrantes, familiares e amigos de migrantes.

Com base nas conclusões deste estudo, uma recomendação essencial para facilitar o papel das remessas Sul-Sul para promover o desenvolvimento humano na Tanzânia consiste em considerar os migrantes, migrantes retornados e familiares, amigos e colegas de migrantes recursos humanos a que se pode recorrer para informar e fazer progressos ao nível do desenvolvimento humano, quer seja em termos de ensino, saúde, subsistência, ambiente ou governo. Estes intervenientes podem ser considerados agentes de mudança e intermediários entre o nível local e nacional através de exposição adicional, mas com verdadeiras experiências de enraizamento.

I. Introduction

Among governments in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (ACP), there is a desire to effectively integrate human mobility into development plans and poverty reduction strategies. However, a major roadblock is insufficient research and the lack of reliable data on the interrelationship between migration and development. For instance, there is a lack of consistent quantitative data on how many migrants from a certain country are currently living abroad and where they are living; on the magnitude and role of financial remittances; on the impact that young people going abroad to study has on a country's development; and on the impact of the migration of highly skilled professionals for better-paying jobs abroad. One aspect of human mobility consists of the flows of ideas, knowledge, attitudes, identities, behaviours and social capital from migrants to their families, friends and beyond in the sending (or home) communities. This phenomenon has been termed “social remittances” (Levitt, 1998) and has received limited attention in research and policy. Social remittances can potentially contribute to development, but more research is needed on their impact and how they are transferred.

The ACP Observatory on Migration is an initiative of the Secretariat of the ACP Group of States, with a core objective of researching and distributing findings on the impact of South–South migration on development. The United Republic of Tanzania is one of the countries where the ACP Observatory on Migration currently conducts research. An overview of migration data and information was conducted in 2010 based on a desk review of migration research and data. In a national consultation process, stakeholders (policymakers, researchers and civil society representatives) provided input and comments to the National Consultative Committee (NCC). Research and capacity-building needs in terms of South–South migration and development trends were identified and endorsed by the NCC. One of the research priorities identified through this process was the role of social remittances in human development. Consequently, the ACP Observatory on Migration commissioned development pioneer consultants in the United Republic of Tanzania to conduct a study on the potential of South–South social remittances for promoting human development in the United Republic of Tanzania.

1.1 Objectives

The overall aim of this study is to explore the potential of South–South social remittances to promote human development in the United Republic of Tanzania. With this in mind, the study aims to meet the following objectives:

- To contribute to an understanding of the potential of South–South social remittances for human development, promote more evidence-based policymaking and mainstream human mobility into development planning;
- To improve understanding of the potential of types of transfers beyond financial remittances among migrants and non-migrants and their potential to promote human development;
- To strengthen the migration components of development policies through recommendations tailored to the Tanzanian context.

1.2 Outline of the report

The report is structured as follows: Chapter 2 provides an introduction to the concept of human development, which provides the framework for this study and defines the issues discussed in the study. Next is the methodology chapter (Chapter 3), which describes the three main methods of data collection used in the study: (a) a literature review, (b) an online survey and (c) in-depth individual interviews.

Chapter 3 is followed by a literature review of previous research on social remittances (Chapter 4). The subject matter is a relatively new area of research, with very limited literature so far on South–South social remittances in particular, and no studies that focus on the United Republic of Tanzania, justifying the relevance of this pioneering study. Social remittances are one type of migration-related flow, and Chapter 5 provides an overview of the data on other migration flows related to the United Republic of Tanzania, including flows of people through emigration and immigration, flows of money through financial remittances and flows of human capital to and from the country.

The results section of the report (Chapter 6) focuses on how migrants living in another country in the South or back in the United Republic of Tanzania transmit ideas, knowledge and attitudes through communication with their relatives, friends and colleagues. The theoretical framework on which this study is based is human development; the report is therefore structured according to key aspects of this concept. The key issues it covers are increased knowledge, changed attitudes and new practices pertaining to education,

health, employment, business and agriculture, gender equality, governance, income disparity and poverty, the environment and infrastructure, aspects of politics, and information and communication technology. Each section contains data from both the online survey and the individual interviews. The data are exhibited in such a way that all figures are derived from the online survey, while all quotes are from the in-depth individual interviews. Each section first provides an overview of the indicators for whether the interviewee has learned something or changed an opinion and/or behaviour as regards education, health, employment and communication technology, and told people about it. This overview is followed by illustrations and explanations of these phenomena based on findings from the in-depth interviews. For example, an explanation might compare the respondents' perception of the differences between the situation in the country of exposure and that in the United Republic of Tanzania. It should be emphasized that these are personal views and perceptions, not objective measures. Nevertheless, these perceptions are important because they are narrated to (i.e. shared with) other people in the community, which, in turn, leads to the generation of new ideas, knowledge and practices.

The results section also gives the respondents' general profile, which consists of age, gender, livelihood, country of migration exposure in the South, reasons for migrating and for returning to the United Republic of Tanzania, as well as whether or not their migration experience has triggered further migration among migrants or the departure of their relatives, friends and colleagues of migrants. The end of the results section contains an analysis of how the characteristics of the messenger (emigrant or returning migrant) influence the recipient (relative, friend or colleague of the migrant). The final chapter consists of lessons learned, which can be used by policymakers to maximize the potential of South–South social remittances to promote human development in the United Republic of Tanzania.

2. Point of departure: Human development

The focus of this study is the impact of South–South¹ social remittances on human development in the United Republic of Tanzania. This implies that human development is a central concept that needs to be explained. It also implies that the definition of human development should form the core of the framework used to define which issues and questions to include in the survey.

The concept of human development was developed as a critique of the assumption that “development” meant only economic development. In the Human Development Report, launched in 1990, human development is measured through a so-called “Human Development Index” (HDI) with three main indicators: education, health and income. Since 1990 the concept of human development has been further refined and influenced by the writings of, among others, Amartya Sen (1999), who views development as an expansion of freedom, choices and capabilities. Sen defines five types of freedoms as both instrumental means and ends of development: political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security. Poverty is a deprivation of basic capabilities and therefore a much broader issue than just low income (Sen, 1999).

The definition of human development used by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and adopted by the ACP Observatory on Migration is as follows:

“Human development is a process of enlarging people’s choices. Enlarging people’s choices is achieved by expanding human capabilities and functionings. At all levels of development, the three essential capabilities for human development are for people to lead long and healthy lives, to be knowledgeable and to have a decent standard of living. But the realm of human development goes further: essential areas of choice, highly valued by people, range from political, economic and social opportunities for being creative and productive, to enjoying self-respect, empowerment and a sense of belonging to a community. The concept of human development is a holistic one putting people at the centre of all aspects of the development process” (ACP Observatory on Migration, 2011:23).

The annual Human Development Report ranks all countries in the world according to HDI and groups them into “very high,” “high,” “medium” and

1 The “South” is often used as a synonym for all developing countries. The definition employed by the ACP Observatory on Migration, and thereby in this study, is that of the UN Development Programme, which includes all countries, except for the around 42 countries defined as having “very high human development.” For more information, see www.acpmigration-obs.org/sites/default/files/South.pdf.

“low” human development categories. Norway has for several years been ranked highest. The United Republic of Tanzania, which this study focuses on, was ranked 152 out of 186 countries in 2013 and falls within the bracket of “low human development.” Every year the Human Development Report focuses on a different issue. In 2009 the focus was on migration – with the report bearing the title *Overcoming Barriers: Human Mobility and Development* – which was highlighted as an important factor in the development discussion, thereby emphasizing the relevance of gathering data on its various aspects.

Also relevant to this study on South–South social remittances is the latest Human Development Report (2013), entitled *The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World*. The United Republic of Tanzania is mentioned as one of the low-income countries in which the HDI has increased by more than 2 per cent annually, which implies improvements in access to education, increased life expectancy and per capita income (UNDP, 2013).

The eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), to be achieved by 2015, are based on a human development framework. At the global level, the most significant progress has been made toward the first two goals (i.e. to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger and achieve universal primary education), but the achievements have been uneven within and across countries and between social groups. The other six goals have seen slower progress. They include gender equality and women’s empowerment (goal 3); reducing child mortality (goal 4); improving maternal health (goal 5); combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases (goal 6); ensuring environmental sustainability (goal 7); and developing a global partnership for development (goal 8) (UN, 2013).

Because the current set of MDGs will expire in 2015 and not all goals have been achieved, discussions on the “post-2015 development agenda” are underway. In the United Republic of Tanzania, there have been several meetings on this issue with various stakeholders, such as civil society organizations, local government authorities and vulnerable groups. Growing inequalities between salaried workers on the one hand, and small-scale farmers, fishermen, pastoralists and petty traders on the other, are said to be fuelled by a free market system that fosters inequalities in education and health. When the stakeholders in the United Republic of Tanzania painted a picture of “the future we want,” the emerging themes were: (a) social values and moral ethics; (b) quality of education at all levels; (c) access to and quality of health-care services; (d) income, food poverty and productivity; (e) investment and opportunities in the agricultural sector; (f) the role of the private sector in development; (g) management of

natural resources; as well as (h) other issues of concern: climate change, youth employment, special and vulnerable groups, good governance, rule of law and human rights (ESRF, 2013a). An online discussion has also taken place through the Tanzania Knowledge Network (TAKNET), where the greatest challenge put forward for the United Republic of Tanzania and other African countries is to simultaneously bring about sustainable economic growth, sustainable development and poverty reduction. Among the issues discussed on TAKNET were primary and secondary education, health services, water, affordable electricity, infrastructure and skilled personnel, all of which would take the country to the “next level” (ESRF, 2013b). As shown in this report, these are also topics which engaged the study respondents the most.

3. Methodology and research steps

This chapter describes the research methods and sequence of activities employed by, as well as the limitations of the study. The three main methods of data collection were a literature review, an online survey and in-depth individual interviews. The online survey was designed for three categories of respondents – emigrants, returning migrants and relatives, friends and colleagues of migrants. The in-depth individual interviews were conducted in the United Republic of Tanzania and, thus, could include the two latter categories, namely: (a) returning migrants and (b) relatives, friends and colleagues of migrants.

3.1 Literature on migration in the United Republic of Tanzania

There is a growing body of literature on social remittances, but no data or literature has been found on social remittances to the United Republic of Tanzania as a result of international migration, making this study relevant. However, key informant interviews with researchers indicate that there are a few ongoing studies that partly address social remittances in the country. A review of other existing international, migration-related flows to and from the country was conducted – including flows of people (emigration and immigration), flows of financial capital (money and in-kind remittances) and flows of human capital (brain drain and brain gain).

3.2 Online survey

The online survey was partly inspired by a questionnaire recently administered in Kenya within the framework of a study commissioned by the ACP Observatory on Migration on the potential impact of Kenya's diaspora on the South (Kinyanjui Kinuthia, 2013). However, the questionnaire administered within the framework of this study is less focused on financial remittances and instead contains questions relevant to social remittances from a human development perspective (links to the questionnaire are as available in Annex A).

There are three major categories of individuals of interest in this study:

- (a) Tanzanian migrants residing in the global South
- (b) Migrants who have returned from a country in the South to the United Republic of Tanzania
- (c) Families, friends and colleagues of Tanzanian migrants in the South.

Depending on his or her category (as listed above), a respondent was directed to a slightly different version of the questionnaire. The researchers aimed to include online questionnaire respondents from each of these categories.

Statistics on international migration pertaining to the United Republic of Tanzania have been difficult to obtain, but data from the country's latest census should fill in some gaps (NBS, 2013). Available statistics suggest that a majority of Tanzanian expatriates live in other countries in Africa (El Mouaatamid, 2010; World Bank, 2010). The African countries that report hosting the most Tanzanian expatriates, based on calculations by the Development Research Centre at Sussex University, are as follows: Uganda, (58,725), South Africa (52,554), Zimbabwe (25,297), Mozambique, (15,208) Malawi (13,699) and Kenya (4,339) (El Mouaatamid, 2010). Burundi and Rwanda also host a substantial number of Tanzanians (World Bank, 2010). Although not reported in the migration statistics, anecdotal evidence shows that there are a substantial number of Tanzanians in Botswana, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Zambia. In addition, there are a number of Tanzanian migrants residing in the so-called global North, notably Canada, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States (El Mouaatamid, 2010). However, as this study focuses on South–South social remittances, it does not take these countries into consideration.

One strategy used to reach Tanzanian migrants in countries in the South was to send invitations to answer the online questionnaire from the ACP Observatory on Migration to the Tanzanian diplomatic missions in the above-mentioned African countries. To ensure variety, diplomatic missions in a few countries outside of Africa known to host Tanzanians – namely, Brazil, China, India and Malaysia – were also contacted. An electronic letter with a link to the online survey was sent, as well as a letter sent by post.

The use of social media has increased rapidly. Many Tanzanians now have Facebook accounts, and certain blogs are visited by Tanzanians in the diaspora, as well as by non-migrants. Social media therefore offers opportunities for capturing and communicating with Tanzanian expatriates. In addition to Facebook and LinkedIn, the popular social media platform Jamii Forums, a site visited by Tanzanian expatriates and non-migrants alike, was used. One challenge was explaining the concept of the global South, which was necessary in order to make sure that responses from Tanzanians residing in the global North were not received. In the online questionnaire, “global South” was defined as countries in Africa; Asia (except for Brunei Darussalam, Japan, Republic of Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong, China); the Caribbean (apart

from Barbados); Latin America (apart from Argentina and Chile); the Middle East (apart from Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates); and Oceania (except for Australia and New Zealand).

The research team used its personal and professional networks to direct respondents to the online questionnaire. Respondents of different genders, ages and social backgrounds were approached, and those without Internet expertise or access were encouraged to ask for assistance to be able to respond to the questionnaire.

The online questionnaire was designed in-house by DPC using the online application Survey Monkey. The survey results were stored online but could be downloaded for offline analysis in Microsoft Excel and SPSS at any time. As previously mentioned, the online questionnaire was intended for all three categories of respondents. A respondent was directed to a slightly different version of questionnaire depending on the category he or she belonged to.

Directing potential respondents to the online questionnaire turned out to be more difficult than anticipated, and there was a delay in reaching the minimum of 50 respondents required by the terms of reference. Although some contacts were established with the Tanzanian community through correspondence with the diplomatic missions and through social media, notably the Tanzanian Embassy in Mozambique and the Facebook community in Brazil, these did not prove to be successful ways to recruit respondents. The most successful strategy for recruiting respondents was through the personal and professional networks of the research team, including through respondents in the individual face-to-face interviews, who were asked to send the questionnaire link to relatives and friends abroad.

The questionnaire was rather long and required the respondent to spend at least 30 minutes in front of a computer connected to the Internet. In order to increase the response rate, potential respondents were offered an entry in a lottery. Those willing to provide their contact details entered a lottery where 10 respondents would win TSh 50,000 (EUR 23), which would be transferred to any mobile number of their choice in the United Republic of Tanzania. Offering respondents some form of incentive or compensation is a strategy commonly used by consumer research firms. This is particularly relevant in a developing country such as the United Republic of Tanzania, where it is not a given that respondents have free access to a computer or internet, the Internet is often slow and many are self-employed (which would imply an opportunity cost if time is spent outside the business). Given these circumstances, spending 30

minutes online often involves an opportunity cost. The lottery encouragement, indeed, improved the response rate, and the lucky winners received their prizes through mobile money transfers.

An additional hurdle was that even though it was clear which questionnaire was intended for each particular category of respondent – (a) emigrant, (b) returning migrant and (c) friend, relative or colleague of migrant – eight respondents completed versions of the online questionnaire that were not intended for their respective category, specifically:

- (a) One emigrant completed the questionnaire for returning migrants, and one emigrant completed the questionnaire for relatives, friends and colleagues of migrants;
- (b) Two returning migrants completed questionnaires designed for emigrants, and two returning migrants completed questionnaires designed for relatives, friends and colleagues of migrants;
- (c) Two family members completed questionnaires for emigrants.

Table 1: Overview of the questions in the questionnaire and their applicability to the various respondent categories

Question categories	Number of questions	Analysis applied to
Asked of only: (a) emigrants and (b) relatives, friends and colleagues of migrants	2	All
Asked of only: (a) emigrants and (b) returning migrants	25	All
Asked of only: (a) emigrants and (b) returning migrants	8	All
Asked of all respondents	9	All
Asked of only: (a) emigrants and (b) returning migrants	8	Emigrants and returning migrants, separately
Asked of all respondents	33	All
Asked only of relatives, friends and colleagues of migrants	23	Family members
Asked only of returning migrants	3	Returning migrants
Asked only of emigrants	1	Emigrants

Among the abovementioned cases, where a respondent provided his or her contact details, the researchers tried to determine that respondent's actual migration status. At any rate, that these respondents did not complete the appropriate questionnaire is of minor importance because most questions in all three questionnaires were the same or were very similar (the questions are described in summary in Table 1 and more extensively in Annex B). In order to include these respondents in the analysis, a fourth category was created for them.

As a result of the difficulties in recruiting online respondents outlined above, data collection involved substantially more time and effort than was anticipated. Therefore, when 50 online questionnaires had been received (the minimum required by the terms of reference), online data collection was closed and analysis was conducted. Among the 50 online questionnaires received, 29 were from male and 18 were from female respondents. A majority of those respondents (32 out of 50) were relatively young – between 18 and 39 years old. Migrants still living abroad (emigrants) comprised 16 of the respondents; 19 were returning migrants; and 15 respondents were either relatives, friends or colleagues of migrants. A sample of 50 respondents was too small to draw strong statistical conclusions, and, in addition, the sample was not representative of the population with South–South migration experience in and from Tanzania. However, the survey findings may give an indication of possible patterns, and this research effort can be considered a pilot and pioneering study on social remittances. It is one of the first empirical South–South social remittances studies, and it took place in the “real world.” Despite the small sample size, the online survey went beyond the theoretical level, as well as what could be obtained through a purely qualitative methodology.

3.3 In-depth interviews

The online survey was complemented by qualitative research in the form of 15 in-depth individual interviews. Seven respondents were female and eight were male, all between the ages of 20 and 39. The migration experiences of the interviewees were from a variety of countries. Most of the eight different countries of exposure were other African countries, with two in Asia (China and Malaysia). All interviews with these two categories of respondents were conducted in Dar es Salaam:

- (a) Migrants returning to the United Republic of Tanzania;
- (b) Relatives, friends or colleagues of Tanzanian migrants.

The aim was to explore the relationships, trends and patterns emerging from the survey results through new material and, also, to “give voice” to the quantitative data. The in-depth interviews thereby allowed a deeper understanding of the dynamics of social remittances in terms of human development in the United Republic of Tanzania.

The online questionnaire was the planned entry point for recruiting respondents for the in-depth interviews. The last section of the online questionnaire asked whether the respondent was willing to provide the contact details and place of residence of a returning migrant or of a family member, friend or colleague of a return migrant. The plan was that through the online questionnaire, returning migrants (as well as family members, friends and colleagues of migrants), could be reached and approached for face-to-face, in-depth interviews. Another method for recruiting respondents for the in-depth interviews was to tap the research team’s professional and personal networks. Because the process for obtaining online questionnaire respondents had been very slow, all 15 respondents for the interviews were recruited through these networks. Fortunately, the research team had extensive and varied professional and personal networks in terms of gender, age, education and country of exposure in the global South. A semi-structured interview guide (see the links to the interview guides in Annex A) was used, which built upon the questions asked in the online questionnaire but allowed for more in-depth responses on how the process of social remittances transfer occurs and on what types of social remittances and mediums were used. The information from the interviews was compared with the survey results.

3.4 Limitations

As described above, the sample size of 50 respondents in the online survey was too small to draw robust statistical conclusions. In addition, the online respondents were not representative of the three categories of respondents: (a) emigrants, (b) returning migrants and (c) relatives, friends and colleagues of migrants. The sample was too small, and neither were the three aforementioned categories nor countries of exposure proportionately allocated. In addition, the sample is biased towards computer-literate respondents and respondents with internet access.

As mentioned, the use of an online survey excluded eligible respondents who were not conversant with computers or had no access to the Internet. While the use of an online survey method was stipulated in the terms of reference

(and was therefore part of the study design), an online survey, on the other hand, made it possible to reach respondents residing outside the United Republic of Tanzania who would not have been otherwise reached at all. The difficulties finding participants could partly be overcome by offering assistance to returning migrants and relatives and friends of migrants in completing the online survey. Such assistance could obviously not be offered to migrants abroad.

It may be argued that the limitations brought about by computer illiteracy and connectivity were partly offset by the face-to-face individual interviews, which did not impose these requirements on respondents. One final limitation of the study arose from the fact that the in-depth interview respondents were recruited through the research team's professional and personal networks instead of the planned entry point, that is, the online questionnaire. This involved a risk of sample bias. However, as mentioned above, the team endeavoured to obtain a varied sample in terms of gender, education, age and country of exposure.

Because of the limitations described in this section, particularly the small, non-representative sample size of the group completing the online questionnaire, it should be emphasized that this research effort is a pilot and pioneering study which, hopefully, will be a starting point for further qualitative and quantitative research on social remittances in the United Republic of Tanzania, South–South connections and beyond.

4. Previous research on social remittances

The migration-related flow of intellectual and social capital, defined as “social remittances,” has so far received limited attention. According to Levitt (1998:927): “[s]ocial remittances are the ideas, behaviours, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving- to sending-country communities.” The debate about brain drain, put forward by Tanner (2006) and others, needs to be related to brain gain. Certainly it is not just the migration of people that is relevant, but the mobility of ideas through social remittances as well.

Social remittances have not received much attention so far in either research or policy. Aspects of social remittances that have been studied include: (a) religious, political and legal community organizational systems (Levitt, 1998); (b) democracy (Pérez-Armandáriz and Crow, 2009); (c) family norms and social values (Suksomboon, 2008); and (d) technology and information and communication technology (ICT) (Kapur, 2001). Social and cultural remittances have been studied in geographical contexts, such as links between the United States of America and Mexico and the Caribbean (Levitt, 1998; and Pérez-Armandáriz and Crow, 2009), Thailand and the Netherlands (Suksomboon, 2008), and between the Caribbean and East and West Africa (Escribano and Neisa, 2012).

There have been very few studies on South–South social remittances. The most relevant reference is the study on musical remittances (classified as a type of social remittance) and its influence on musical forms and identity (Escribano and Neisa, 2012). A cultural remittance is defined as an ensemble of ideas brought back by returning migrants to their countries of origin or transferred though telecommunications (Flores, 2009, in Escribano and Neisa, 2012). It may be argued that cultural remittance is a form of social remittance expressed through culture.

Peggy Levitt’s groundbreaking research on the transnational links and transnational communities created through migration from the Dominican Republic to the United States and back is often referenced in other research about social remittances, and the definition of social remittances is from her work (Levitt, 1998). Levitt explores the nature of the social remittances sent from Boston in the United States to the community Miraflores in the Dominican Republic. She also explores the mechanisms and determinants of acceptance of social remittances, and their impact on migrants. Levitt identifies three types of migrants in terms of how they interact with the host society, emphasizing

the importance of the socioeconomic position of the migrant for the transfer of social remittances: (a) recipient observers (with few contacts outside the migrant circle), (b) instrumental adapters and (c) purposeful innovators. Levitt also defines three types of social remittances: (a) normative structures (ideas, values and beliefs), (b) systems of practice (actions shaped by normative structures) and (c) social capital (Levitt, 1998).

Levitt states that a variety of factors determine the nature and magnitude of the impact of social remittances, including: (a) the type of remittance (e.g., recruitment techniques and vote-winning strategies); (b) the transnational system (e.g. personal relations or structured social networks); (c) the messenger (socioeconomic status); (d) the target audience (gender, class, income and stage in life cycle); (e) differences between sending and receiving countries (new patterns similar to existing patterns are more easily absorbed than completely new ideas and behaviours, and social remittances from countries perceived as more powerful than the home country tend to have a greater impact); and (f) the transmission process (financial remittances with a message² may have greater impact than only the message itself, while remittances reinforced by other global transfers, such as television, can have increased impact; intensive messages during a short time have greater impact than sporadic messages over a longer period of time) (Levitt, 1998).

It is important to point out, as Levitt does, that the impacts of social remittances are not necessarily positive. Systems of practices, such as corruption and legal consciousness, can either increase or decrease through social remittances. In addition, positive social remittances will not automatically lead to social reform. They are, as Levitt calls them, “a fact of life,” or an everyday feature in the life of that place which may not apply in the other geographic context. However, social remittances could potentially be used by practitioners and planners (Levitt, 1998). An aspect which Levitt does not explore, but which may be interesting to investigate, is how differences and similarities between the home country and country of exposure influence the process of social remittances. If the sending and receiving countries are geographically, socially and culturally removed from each other, would that lead to a greater scope of social remittances (in terms of impact and type) than if the countries were geographically, socially or culturally close?

2 For example, earmarking remittances for school fees gives the message of the importance of schooling; in the case of money sent for home-building, the emphasis is on the importance of investing in home ownership.

Page and Mercer (2012) add interesting ideas to Levitt's discussion of social remittances and social reform. They argue that the migration–development discourse has been little theorized and is dominated by a view of remittances as the choice of the individual that is based on the economic rational choice theory. The authors propose that diasporas can be characterized as “communities of practice” and that remittances, including social remittances, can be better understood as part of everyday life, rather than as the intentional outcomes of choices about “doing development” (Page and Mercer, 2012).

Pérez-Armandáriz and Crow (2009) studied democracy as a form of social remittances in the context of Mexico and the United States. They argued that international migrants are agents of democratic diffusion and differentiated between three different paths of transfer: (a) migrant returns; (b) cross-border communication between migrants abroad and their loved ones in the home country; and (c) migrant information networks. Their findings showed that the strongest effect is among people who receive information directly from migrants who have stayed abroad for a long time. An explanation for this phenomenon is that migrants who stay abroad longer tend to be more successful, and are more likely to integrate into the host society. As a result of this, the messages their family and friends back home receive may be more positive than those communicated by returning migrants, who may not have been successful abroad and, therefore, return home with negative impressions about their former host countries. Although Levitt (1998) did not explicitly make this distinction between a migrant still abroad and a returning migrant, it may nevertheless play an important role. As such, our respondents are categorized into: (a) migrants still abroad, (b) returning migrants and (c) migrants' family members, friends and colleagues in the United Republic of Tanzania. Contrary to Levitt (1998), Pérez-Armandáriz and Crow (2009) did not find that financial remittances reinforce social remittances, that is, that financial remittances may come with a message. This may also be explained by the nature of the data gathered. While Levitt bases her findings on interviews, Pérez-Armandáriz and Crow use survey data. Taking these different findings into account is important in the analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data in this study.

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) argues that skilled migrants are development agents – brain banks who, when properly organized, can become a source of knowledge and technology transfers (UNCTAD, 2012). As discussed also in Kapur (2001), both the Chinese and Indian diasporas are organized into strong diaspora knowledge networks. However, policies in these two countries have adopted different approaches

and, therefore, resulted in different developments in terms of diaspora engagement. While the Indian Government has encouraged the Indian diaspora to send remittances, the Chinese Government has encouraged the Chinese diaspora to make investments. Kapur gives a very illustrative image of how the development of information and communication technology in India has progressed to the point where the Indian diaspora's success in Silicon Valley has influenced how the world views India, which has become a trusted "brand name" in the sector:

The diffusion of knowledge is through a variety of mechanisms. Given the technological frontier in the US there is substantial skill upgrad[e] when Indian technology professionals work in the US, through learning by doing. To the extent that some return while others circulate between the two countries, technology diffusion occurs through imitation, mimicry being an effective way to reduce search costs. Just as [the Republic of] Korea climbed up the technological ladder by importing capital equipment of recent vintage (which embody frontier technologies), diasporic networks embody technologies in human (rather than physical) capital. (Kapur, 2001:273)

It is important to stress that the current policy framework on remittances and diaspora knowledge should not be seen in isolation, but made an integral part of national development strategies. Migrants' knowledge, experiences, engagement and business networks, as well as their savings and investment plans, need to be promoted. However, in order to do so, it is of utmost importance to know the extent and patterns of cross-border migration from and to the United Republic of Tanzania. The census data on migration are scheduled for release during the course of 2013. This data set, together with the findings from this social remittances study, will be important contributions in this promotion process. The right column in Table 2 (UNCTAD, 2012:124) shows possible brain gains from migrants.

Table 2: Possible effects of brain drain on (developing) home countries

Effect types/ Processes	Adverse	Beneficial
Knowledge and human capital	Shrinking human capital base	Brain gain
	Less innovation	Transfer/sharing of skills/technology
	Negative impacts on various, especially health and education	Diaspora knowledge networks
	Brain waste	Accumulation of broader/deeper knowledge/skills/experience
Macroeconomic processes	Slower economic growth	Returnee entrepreneurship
	Declining high-skill labour externalities	
	Lower productivity growth	
	Less entrepreneurship	
	(Fiscal) cost of educating highly skilled persons	
Trade/capital flows	Changing relative resource endowments away from skills	Remittances
		Diaspora savings: bonds, deposits, loans, funds, etc.
		Diaspora effects and business networks
		Creation/strengthening of business flow: merchandise and services (e.g. tourism)
		Creation/strengthening of businesses funded through foreign direct investment
Institutional processes	Lower supply of/demand for institutions	Diaspora assistance in/pressure for institution-building
		Returnee supply of/demand for institutions

Source: UNCTAD, 2012:124.

Social remittances have so far not been studied in a Tanzanian context, which supports the importance of this pioneering study. However, there are ongoing research projects on the contributions of urban migrants to their rural home communities which feature domestic forms of social remittances, although not explicitly. Worth mentioning is Cosmas Sokoni's work on rural–urban interactions and their role in rural development (Sokoni, 2011). Cosmas Sokoni also participated in the study on the African diaspora and development, with Cameroon and the United Republic of Tanzania as case studies (Mercer et al., 2008). The research institute Research on Poverty Alleviation will publish another study by Sokoni on migrants' roles in community development through home associations.

Skeldon (2006) highlights that migration has often come to mean international migration and argues that the relationships between internal and international migration are an area in great need of research, especially in relation to development processes in different regions. In the same vein, it may be argued that there may be parallels between the processes taking place in urban–rural social remittances and those in South–South social remittances. Therefore, although Sokoni's work (2011) focuses on internal migration, there may be parallel processes that are useful when we study the potential of cross-border South–South social remittances to promote human development in the United Republic of Tanzania.

5. United Republic of Tanzania and migration flows

Social remittances are related to mobility and constitute a type of migration flow. To set the scene for the results chapter, this chapter will provide a background on different migration flows in the Tanzanian context.

5.1 Flows of people: Tanzanian emigration and immigration

Africa is a continent on the move. As de Bruijn et al. (2001) recognize, mobility has always been part and parcel of the lives of the people on this continent. The majority of people who migrate do so within the borders of their country of birth. Those who migrate outside the borders of their country represent less than 1 per cent of the total population, and cross-border migration takes place mainly within the continent (Skeldon, 2006). Available statistics suggest that the majority of Tanzanian expatriates live in other countries in Africa (El Mouaatamid, 2010; World Bank, 2010), with 6 of the top 10 migration destinations for Tanzanians within the continent. Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, Uganda and Zimbabwe host about 58 per cent of Tanzanian emigrants (El Mouaatamid, 2010). Burundi and Rwanda also host a significant number of Tanzanians (World Bank, 2010). Outside of Africa, the countries which host the most Tanzanians are: Canada, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States, which all together host another 26 per cent of Tanzanian emigrants. The rest, comprising 16 per cent, are spread all over the world, but are mostly in Africa (El Mouaatamid, 2010). It is estimated that 67.5 per cent of Tanzanian migrants reside in other African countries, while 17.4 per cent reside in Europe, and 2.8 per cent live in countries in Asia (UNDP, 2009). The lack of official data on emigration from the National Bureau of Statistics of the United Republic of Tanzania will soon be remedied with the release of the results of the 2012 Population and Housing Census. One section of the census questionnaire is devoted to migration, with questions about the number of household members (male and female) living abroad and the country (or countries) in which they live, as well as a question about remittances from these migrants (NBS, 2013).

While the East African Community, of which the United Republic of Tanzania is a member, is not yet a border-free community in terms of labour and capital, for instance, there is an intention to decrease mobility obstacles in the near future. It is worth mentioning that South–South migration occurs with destinations outside the African continent; for example, there are Tanzanians, such as those from Zanzibar, who go to work in Oman and other Arab countries that have colonial links with the United Republic of Tanzania. In addition, the

United Republic of Tanzania carries out labour exchanges with countries that have political and economic ties with it – for example, China, Cuba and India. The discussion on dual citizenship is ongoing, and those who argue that the United Republic of Tanzania should allow dual citizenship advocate its positive impact on human and economic development. Tanzanians with dual citizenship would be able to invest in the country as nationals, rather than having to apply for investors' and work permits. The new constitution of Kenya allows dual citizenship, and it was predicted that the new Tanzanian constitution would allow the same. The draft constitution that was released in 2013, however, did not include dual citizenship, sparking debate (Kimboy and Lugongo, 2013). This debate is relevant to the issue of remittances – at least from a statistical point of view – because if a significant number of overseas individuals of Tanzanian origin were to opt for Tanzanian citizenship, the number of Tanzanians living abroad would increase.

5.2 Flows of money and goods: Financial remittances to and from the United Republic of Tanzania

Flows of money are related to flows of people. Remittances have gained attention as an important contributor to countries' economies and human development, since the money people send to their families and relatives back home is used in day-to-day expenditure, schooling and housing.

Compared to other countries, the United Republic of Tanzania receives low levels of remittances. A figure from 2007 shows the amount to be only USD 14 million, less than 0.1 per cent of the gross domestic product (GDP) (El Mouaatamid, 2010). The latest UNCTAD report states that Tanzanian diaspora remittances' share of the country's GDP per capita stood at 0.11 per cent. The largest amounts came from Canada, Kenya and the United Kingdom (UNCTAD, 2012). However, the real figures are most likely much higher since non-formal channels were not included in these data. In the UNCTAD report, it was estimated that for least developed countries (LDCs) in general, two thirds of the remittances are from other countries in the South. It was also observed that the United Republic of Tanzania is one of the few developing countries where the outflow of remittances is higher than the inflow. This can be explained by the international migration patterns of the country, which receives more immigrants than it sends (El Mouaatamid, 2010). This is demonstrated by statistical evidence in the case of remittances between the United Republic of Tanzania and Uganda, where the outflow towards Uganda is higher, explained by a favourable education system in Uganda that attracts Tanzanians to its educational institutions (Lunogelo, 2009).

The possibility to remit money has increased substantially over the past few years with the emergence of mobile money services. Vodacom, for instance, has an agreement with Western Union that allows M-PESA users to receive money from any Western Union agent location in any of over 65 countries (Vodacom, 2012). This offers new possibilities in terms of remittances and research about remittances. A study by Gallup entitled *Payments and Money Transfer Behavior of Sub-Saharan Africans* gives a comprehensive picture of the flows and amounts remitted within countries, as well as internationally. It shows that in East Africa, mobile money is the preferred remittance method and that in the United Republic of Tanzania, fairly large amounts are remitted, with the largest median amount during a 30-day period being USD 66, which is above the regional median of 53 international dollars PPP (Godoy et al., 2012).

Data from the two FinScope surveys in the United Republic of Tanzania in 2006 and 2009 on access to, usage of and perception of financial services show that there was an increase in remittances between 2006 and 2009, most likely due to the introduction of mobile money services in the country (FSDT, 2006 and 2009). Since the 2009 edition, mobile money products have grown rapidly, and the next FinScope survey will most likely show a rapid increase from 2009. The same pattern has emerged in neighbouring countries, not least in Kenya, where M-PESA was first introduced. It therefore seems that mobile money services, to a great extent, have been a response to a deep need for cheap, easy and secure money transfers. The context for this need is a market where banking is not entrenched and a culture where earning family members often provide financially for their parents, spouses and children who live apart from them, in rural areas or across national borders. A new FinScope survey will be conducted in 2013, so new data on remittances to and from the United Republic of Tanzania will hopefully be available at the end of the year. As previously mentioned, the most recent Tanzanian population and housing census in contained a question about remittances, which asked whether the migrant has remitted in cash or in kind during the past 12 months. There was, however, no question regarding the amount or value of the remitted resources (NBS, 2013).

5.3 Flows of human capital: Brain drain and brain gain

Another aspect of migration is the emigration of highly skilled people – a phenomenon often referred to as “brain drain” – from sub-Saharan African countries, not only to Europe and the United States, but also within the continent. UNCTAD data indicates that the migration of highly skilled people

has increased substantially from 1990 to 2000 worldwide, from 16.4 million to 26.2 million. Data from 2010 on the number of highly skilled emigrants is not yet available, but the trend suggests a further increase (UNCTAD, 2012). Tanner (2006) highlights that the cost for the sending country, such as the effects on the health-care system when medical doctors leave the country for careers abroad, has largely been neglected in the analysis. Access to higher education is the most important reason to migrate overseas (de Bruijn et al., 2001). Although the United States, Canada and Europe are important destinations for higher education, countries within the continent and in the global South, in general, should be taken into account. The fact that Uganda is the top destination for Tanzanians is largely explained by its attractive education system, which attracts Tanzanians to its schools (Lunogelo, 2009). Anecdotal evidence suggest that another popular destination for further studies is South Africa, as well as countries in the global South outside the African continent, notably, China, India and Malaysia, which offer scholarships and competitive fees and academic programmes. Statistics show that the emigration of Tanzanians with tertiary education is 15.6 per cent, but that this percentage is higher for those that go to OECD countries (UNDP, 2009). The proportion of Tanzanian emigrants with higher education is higher than that of the general population, which is 1 per cent (FSDT, 2009).

Low-skilled labour migration from the United Republic of Tanzania to countries in the South also occurs, but apart from anecdotal evidence, no data on this has been found. South Africa is a popular destination, and Tanzanians no longer need a visa to go there for visits lasting less than three months. This may facilitate interaction in terms of trade and, possibly, labour. Another geographic area of interest is Zanzibar,³ an archipelago with a small share of the country's population, but has a significant link to Oman and other countries in the Middle East. Labour migration from Zanzibar may therefore be more frequent than from the mainland.

Brain gain stands in contrast to brain drain. While the United Republic of Tanzania may gain from the immigrants who settle in the country, immigration is seen as a negative force. There is a large population of people of Indian origin in the United Republic of Tanzania, a diaspora that started with Gujarati traders in the nineteenth century. Today the Indian population plays an important role in trade and commerce. In addition, Chinese migrants came in waves over the past century. Due to political ties with China during the Nyerere era in the

3 Zanzibar is a semi-autonomous region of the United Republic of Tanzania.

1960s and 1970s, 13,000 Chinese workers were sent to the United Republic of Tanzania to construct railways (El Mouaatamid, 2010). The political and commercial ties between the United Republic of Tanzania and China remain strong, and Chinese migrants are prominent in the construction, trade and health-care industries. South Africans have migrated to the United Republic of Tanzania since the end of apartheid in 1994, when their privileges in South Africa decreased, and are now often found in the tourism sector, mining industry and commerce. Kenyans and Filipinos are often recruited as managers in service professions, namely, in supermarkets, restaurants and hotels. How immigrants contribute to or detract from the development of the United Republic of Tanzania and the capacity-building of Tanzanians has been studied very little and would be an interesting angle for further research.

6. Results

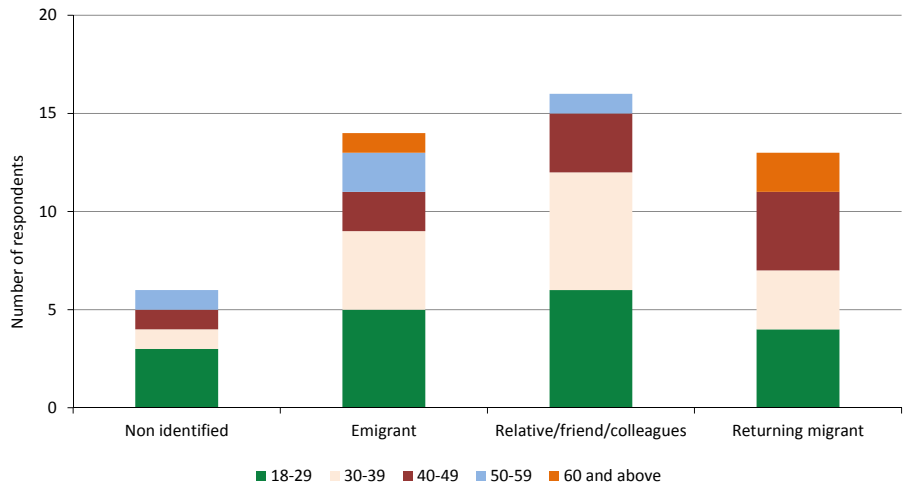
This study explores the potential of South–South social remittances for human development in the United Republic of Tanzania. As explained in Chapter 2, this implies that the concept of human development is at the centre of the study’s framework. This results section is, therefore, structured around key aspects of the concept of human development, such as increased knowledge, changed attitudes and new practices regarding education, health, employment and business, gender, the environment, human rights, governance and distribution of wealth. The results provide an overview of perceptions and personal views and, as such, are not absolute descriptions of realities. However, these perceptions and views are important because they not only reveal respondents’ attitudes, they also influence the social perceptions of migrants’ family members and other people in the migrants’ social networks. Based on the respondents’ experiences, lived or narrated, comparisons are made between the United Republic of Tanzania and the countries of exposure. These comparisons are useful, not only in evaluating how well the country is doing in terms of various aspects of human development compared to others, but because they illustrate that migrants, as well as people their social networks, through the migration experience, have become exposed to alternative views and ways of doing things, whether desired or not.

6.1 Background of the respondents

Respondents to the online questionnaire

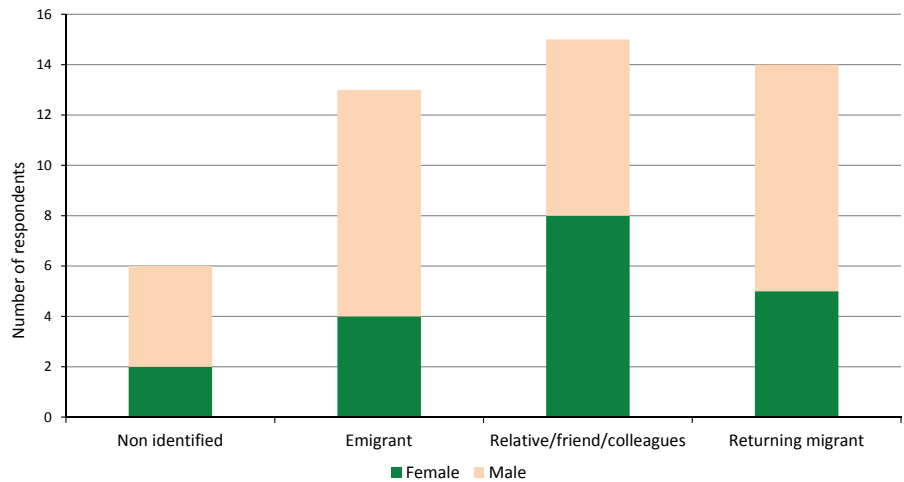
A total of 50 people responded to the online questionnaire. Of those respondents, 16 were migrants still living abroad (emigrants); 19 were returning migrants; and 15 were relatives, friends or colleagues of migrants (Figure 1 shows the age of the respondents). The majority (32 out of 50) were between the ages of 18 and 39 years. The 18–39 age group formed the majority of the sample in all three respondent categories, with only one respondent who was more than 60 years old (emigrant). The first bar (non-identified) shows the age distribution of respondents who did not answer the question about their migrant status; hence, it was uncertain whether they were emigrants, returning migrants or relatives, friends or colleagues of migrants.

Figure 1: Age distribution of online survey respondents



Source: Data from the study (unless mentioned otherwise, data used in this document comes from the survey carried out by the research team).

Figure 2: Gender distribution of online survey respondents



As Figure 2 shows, 29 respondents were male and 18 were female. Three respondents did not mention their gender. Among the emigrants, the majority were men (85%), with greater gender balance among the returning migrants (63% male). Among respondents who were relatives, friends or colleagues of migrants, there were more women than men (nine women compared to six men). This may be an indication that men often migrate, while women stay behind or return home.

Figure 3 shows the respondents' levels of education. Overall, the level of education is high – the majority of both emigrants and returning migrants have university degrees. Only three respondents, all in the “relative, friend or colleague” category, reported reaching the primary education level. This may reflect a selection bias with the survey method. As it was an online survey, there may have been more computer-literate respondents and respondents with Internet access, both of which may be associated with higher education levels. As mentioned in the methodology section, this limitation was partly overcome by offering assistance with Internet access. It is also probable that the seemingly high education level of the respondents is not an accurate reflection of reality and may be due to the fact that respondents with higher education are merely overrepresented in the sample. As reported in Section 5.3, 15.6 per cent of Tanzanian migrants have received tertiary education (UNDP, 2009), a substantially higher proportion than that in the general population in the United Republic of Tanzania (1%) (FSDT, 2009). It is therefore not surprising that those with a primary education are found in the “relative, friend or colleague” category.

The respondents reported a number of professions, as shown in Table 3. There were five civil constructors, four managers, three teachers and three students. Other professions held by more than one respondent each include businessman/woman, economist and information technology specialist. There were a total of 39 responses to this question, which means that 11 respondents did not disclose their professions.

Figure 3: Educational attainment of online survey respondents

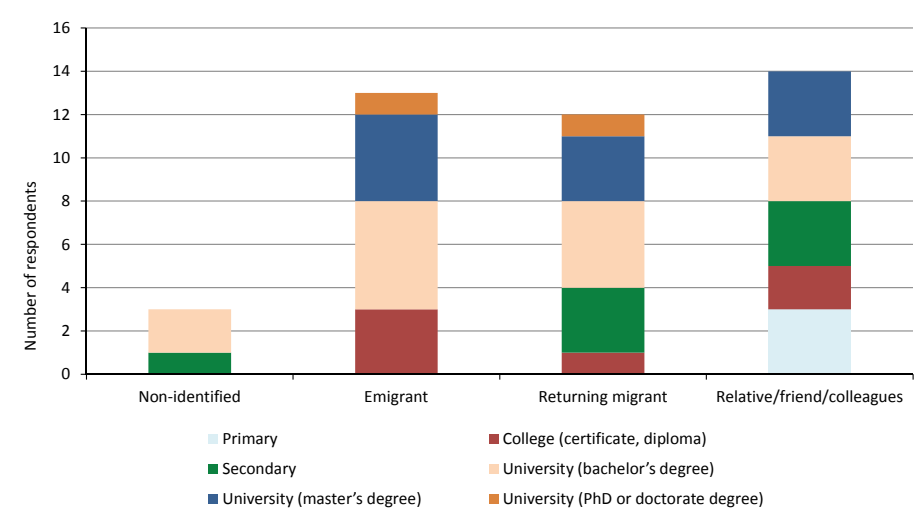


Table 3: Professions of online survey respondents

	Non-identified	Emigrant	Returning migrant	Relative/ friend/ colleague	Total
Accountant			1		1
Business administrator				1	1
Businessman/ woman				2	2
Civil constructor		2	3		5
Development worker		1			1
Economist			2		2
Electrician			1		1
Environmentalist			1		1
Geologist		1			1
Hairdresser				1	1

	Non-identified	Emigrant	Returning migrant	Relative/ friend/ colleague	Total
Human resources manager		1	2	1	4
IT specialist		1		1	2
Lawyer				1	1
Lecturer			1		1
Linguist	1				1
Pastor		1			1
Political scientist		1			1
Public relations and marketing expert				1	1
Research assistant			1		1
Retired			1		1
Social worker	1				1
Student		3			3
Taylor				1	1
Teacher				3	3
Theologist				1	1
Total	2	11	13	13	39

Table 4 illustrates the online survey respondents' country of exposure, with 13 countries in the global South represented. The majority were African countries, apart from two countries in Asia, namely, India and Malaysia. There were 26 responses for this question, which implies that 24 respondents did not mention their countries of exposure.

Table 4: Online survey respondents' countries of exposure

	Emigrant	Returning migrant	Relative/friend/colleague	Total
Botswana		1	1	2
Burundi	1			1
India	1			1
Kenya		1		1
Democratic Republic of the Congo			1	1
Malawi		1		1
Malaysia	2	2	2	6
Mozambique	2	1		3
Rwanda	1	2		3
South Africa		2		2
Uganda		2	1	2
Zambia	1	1		2
Zimbabwe	1			1
Missing	7	6	10	24
Total	16	19	15	50

Respondents in the individual interviews

Table 5 gives an overview of respondent information for the individual in-depth interviews. There were seven female and eight male respondents, all between the ages of 20 and 39, who were either returning migrants or relatives or friends of migrants. There were also eight different countries of exposure for the migration experience. As in the case of the online questionnaire, a majority of the respondents had other African countries of exposure, apart from two countries in Asia (China and Malaysia). In the category of returning migrants, one grew up in Botswana, where her father had obtained employment; two had been construction workers in Rwanda; one had done business in Rwanda; and the rest had migrated for studies. The professions of the relatives and friends of migrants ranged from self-employed (shop owner, electrician and clothes retailer) to architect, PhD student and new graduate.

Table 5: Overview of in-depth interview respondent information

Nr	Gender, age	Category (returning migrant or relative/friend)	Country of migration experience
1	Female, 29	Returning migrant	Botswana
2	Female, 25	Relative of migrant	Botswana
3	Female, 25	Relative of migrant	Kenya
4	Female, 29	Returning migrant	Rwanda
5	Female, 31	Returning migrant	South Africa
6	Female, 23	Relative of migrant	Malaysia
7	Female, 34	Relative of migrant	Mozambique
8	Male, 31	Returning migrant 1*	Uganda
9	Male, 32	Friend of migrant	China
10	Male, 20	Returning migrant 2	Uganda
11	Male, 28	Relative of migrant	South Africa
12	Male, 23	Returning migrant	Malaysia
13	Male, 34	Returning migrant 1	Rwanda
14	Male, 39	Returning migrant 2	Rwanda
15	Male, 32	Relative of migrant	China

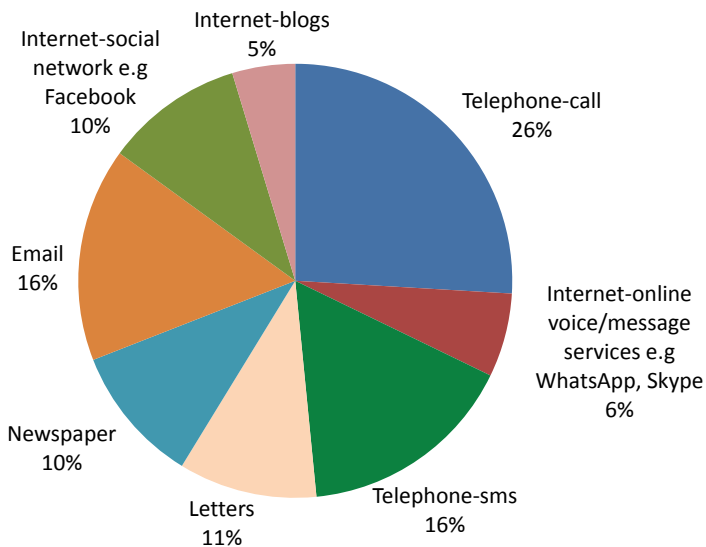
* To differentiate among the returning migrants from Uganda and Rwanda, they are referred to in this table, as well as in the quotes, as “returning migrant 1, Uganda,” “returning migrant 2, Uganda,” “returning migrant 1, Rwanda” and “returning migrant 2, Rwanda.”

6.2 Type and frequency of communication

Figure 4 illustrates the different means of communication used and how many of the respondents who took part in the online survey used them. All respondents reported having communicated with their relatives, friends or colleagues, whether in the United Republic of Tanzania or living abroad. Relatives, friends and colleagues were mentioned much more frequently than emigrant and returning migrants as the target of the communication. The most common means of communication used was the telephone (including both voice call and mobile SMS), with 42 per cent of respondents reporting they had used it. Other means of communication reported included email (15.9%),

social media, such as Facebook (10.3%), and online voice/messenger services such as Skype and WhatsApp (6.3%). Letters, blogs and newspapers were each used by around 10 per cent of the respondents. Blogs and newspapers were not necessarily means of expressive communication (i.e. using these media to convey their thoughts) and were more likely to be means of receptive communication (i.e. relying on these to follow what was going on back home in the United Republic of Tanzania or in the country of exposure).

Figure 4: Means of communication used by online survey respondents and frequency of communication



The respondents in the individual interviews also reported the telephone (landline and mobile) as the means of communication they most commonly used. Often the migrant paid for the calls, although it may have been initiated by an SMS from a relative or friend back home:

"We mostly communicate via telephone, both via landline and mobile phone. We can either send each other texts or call one another. But I have to say that most of the time, he is the one who calls me." – Friend of a migrant in China

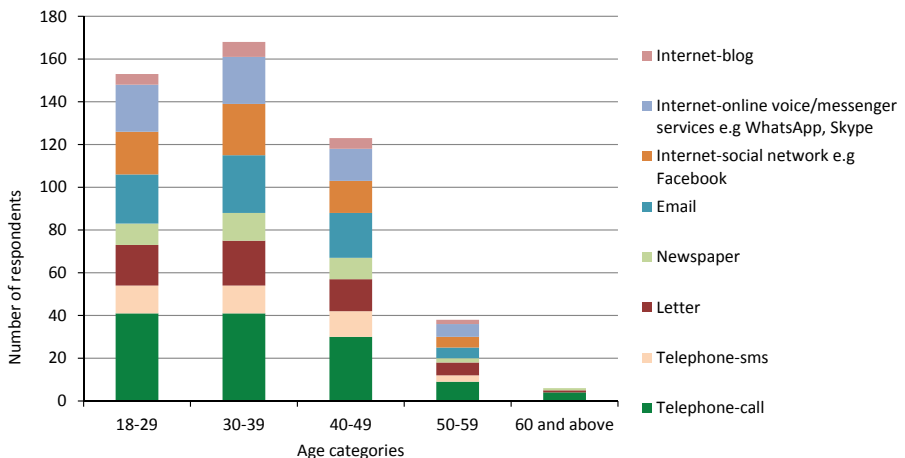
"Aaah, brother. I am in Tanzania and you expect me to call him? He is the one calling. When I need to talk to him, I just beep him." – Male relative of male migrant in South Africa

Some expressed that the emigrant is the one in a better financial position to make the call and it is also seen as his or her responsibility to do so. In addition, returning migrants from several countries said it was cheaper to call than call from the United Republic of Tanzania:

"[With] mobile phones, it's cheaper to call from Rwanda to Tanzania. If you have 500 RWF [less than EUR 1] you can talk for a decent time." – Returning migrant 1, Rwanda

Figure 5 illustrates how frequently different means of communication were used based on the different age groups of all respondents. For all age groups, the telephone (calls) seems to be the most commonly used means. The 30–39 age group reported more frequent use of email and social network sites like Facebook than others. It is also this age group that seems to be the most communicative, at least among the respondents who took part in the online survey. Among all age groups, online blogs seem to be the least common means of communication used.

Figure 5: Means of communication used by online survey respondents



Frequency of communication clearly varied depending on the target. The individual interviews indicate that communication was more frequent with sisters, brothers or friends than with parents.

"My brothers and I talked twice a week. With my parents it would be once or twice a month." – Returning migrant 1, Uganda

In addition, the medium chosen depended on the target of the conversation, as well as the urgency of the communication:

"I would communicate to my friends through the Internet – let's say social networks to simplify, and then with my parents mostly through the mobile phone because my parents are not so into social network[ing]." – Female returning migrant, Rwanda

"My siblings, friends and I would communicate with each other through social networks like Facebook and [through] phone calls, and my parents only through phone calls." – Female returning migrant, South Africa

"We use two ways to communicate. We use e-mail because it's cheap, but for emergencies we call each other." – Brother of a migrant in China

Smartphones have also made it easier to communicate through BlackBerry Messenger (BBM) and WhatsApp, both of which are free messaging applications:

"Well, before the BlackBerry smartphones were common in our country, Tanzania, we would wait up to two weeks until we communicated again. But now that they are here, we communicate almost on a daily [basis]." – Sister of a female migrant in Malaysia

Limitations to communication

The respondents to the online survey faced various technical and non-technical problems with the different means of communication. As shown in Figure 6, technical problems during telephone calls were the most common limitation (61.3%). Others mentioned that they experienced technical problems while communicating via social networks like Facebook (9.7%) and voice or messenger services like Skype.

As illustrated in Figure 7, the financial cost of communication was the most common non-technical problem faced by participants in the online survey (69%), followed by lack of Internet access, which was mainly reported by respondents in the "relative, friend, or colleague" category. Other non-technical problems reported include the difference in time zone between the emigrant and his relative, friend or colleague, as well as the emigrant's inability to speak the tribal language, as reported by the emigrants themselves. The language barrier is most likely an inability to speak the United Republic of Tanzania's official language, Kiswahili.⁴ This can be the case if a person moves abroad at a very

4 Kiswahili is the official language of the United Republic of Tanzania, spoken by most people, and was used as a tool for unification by President Nyerere after the country declared independence, so that all ethnic groups would also be able to

young age and therefore grows up speaking only English and/or some other language, but not Kiswahili. It can also happen if a person does not maintain their Kiswahili language skills. Another type of language barrier (in particular, with older generations, many of whom have not mastered Kiswahili) arises from the inability to speak the local language of the home village.

Figure 6: Percentage of respondents facing technical problems with different means of communication for all online respondents

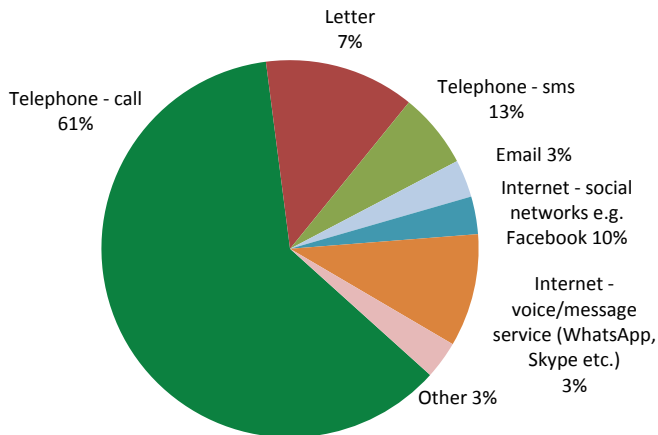
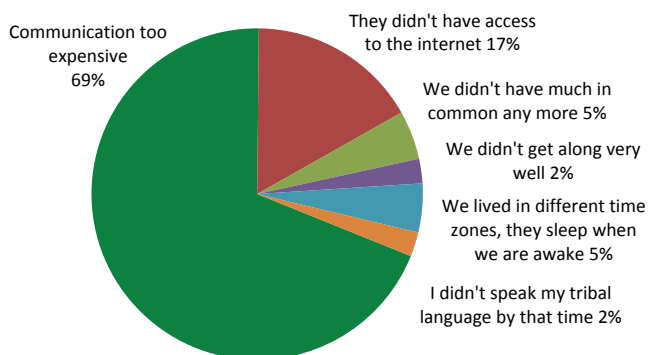


Figure 7: Percentage of respondents reporting non-technical issues with regard to communication



speaking Kiswahili, apart from their local (or tribal) languages, and be Tanzanians first and foremost. English is the second official language and is used from secondary school onwards.

6.3 Push and pull: Reasons for emigrating and for coming back

Reasons for leaving the United Republic of Tanzania

Different reasons push people to move from their country of origin to other countries. The respondents to the online survey mentioned different push and pull factors motivating migrants to leave the United Republic of Tanzania. As shown in Figure 8, the majority of emigrants in this survey left their country of origin to pursue their educational needs abroad (45%). Other reasons for leaving the United Republic of Tanzania included employment-seeking (27%), marriage and business (13.6% each).

Respondents in the in-depth individual interviews mentioned similar reasons for migrating, including taking up studies, pursuing labour opportunities, joining one's spouse or family, and marriage. In the "studies" category, emigrants moved to Malaysia, South Africa and Uganda. This motivation was combined with a desire to "change the environment":

"Actually, I went to Uganda for studies. I had applied in various institutions in Tanzania and Uganda and fortunately I was accepted in Uganda. And the course I took was relevant to the job I had then, because back then I was working with a forest project. We were being taught how to deal with crops and trees, and we were practicing environmental management. So briefly, I could say, education was what took me there." – Male returning migrant 1, Uganda

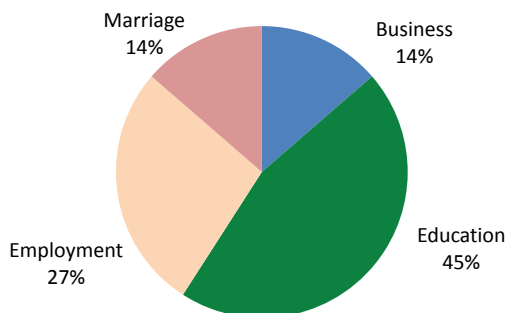
"First it was to change the environment, and secondly, the education structure was modern and advanced compared to Tanzania's. And I wanted to get a certificate that is recognized worldwide and not only in my country. Like you already know, I went to study the ACCA [Association of Chartered Certified Accountants]. They have just started to introduce that course in Tanzania whilst in Malaysia they have been teaching the course for a long time. So I believed that I would get lecturers that were experienced and that they would manage to teach me in modern ways that would help me to develop myself in my life. So, those were the principal reasons – the education structure and environment exposure." – Male returning migrant, Malaysia

"I went to University of Pretoria in 2005 where I did a bachelor's degree in management and after my studies I worked with the MTN [Mobile Telephone Network] group for one year before I came back to Tanzania in 2009." – Female returning migrant, South Africa

Labour opportunities were made available to Tanzanians through social capital in the form of neighbours with mobility experiences:

"Life, there is nothing else that led him to flee apart from looking for a better living, because he believed that there were greener pastures in South Africa due to many job opportunities. [...] There are people in our neighbourhood who used to go and return, so they gave him information on how life is in South Africa. So he was attracted and decided to go." – Male relative of a migrant in South Africa

Figure 8: Reasons emigrants left Tanzania, from the online survey



As illustrated in the quote below, moving with the family in order to assist them in their business endeavours leads to business opportunities for migrants themselves, which continued upon return to the United Republic of Tanzania:

"I basically went to Rwanda to help my uncle, but as time went on I started doing my own business. For example I imported Vikoi, Vitenge and Kanga from Tanzania [materials for women's clothing] because the people in Rwanda loved them a lot. So life in Rwanda was good and the business is also good – that's if you invest your money where it's profitable. Then socially it's a bit different when you compare it with Tanzania's social life." – Female returning migrant, Rwanda

A few cases in this study involved extended migration experiences, that is, first living in one country and then moving on to another. The following quote is from a returning migrant who was a construction worker first in Kenya, and then in Rwanda, for a company, which, according to the returnee, preferred foreign over Rwandan labourers due to the higher skill levels of construction workers from neighbouring countries:

"I went to Rwanda to work. First I went to Kenya, I worked there for five years and I saw that my financial situation wasn't good at all. So we were brought by a company to Rwanda on a contract. We were nine men, but he [referring to a friend] had been there before us. Their economy is different from here because they import goods from Tanzania. They don't farm or produce anything so things are very expensive in Rwanda. We were working and getting high wages but wages were useless to us due to the expenses." – Male returning migrant, Rwanda

There were also examples of moving with a partner or to get married:

"She moved partly because she was following her husband. Her husband got a job in Mozambique as an IT person. The job in Mozambique was paying a little bit better compared to here and he was in a better position there. He was the head of the IT department so he decided to live there. They had first arranged that my sister's husband should go first and my sister would stay behind because my sister

didn't want to go to Mozambique in the beginning. But later after he arrived he said it's okay because of different opportunities for her schooling and that she could also study from there. So she kind of thought back and she accepted to go six months after her husband had moved. So she basically went there because of the company's better package, for her education and her children's education. They were paying fees for kids and also to do her masters, so she decided to move." – Sister of a female migrant, Mozambique

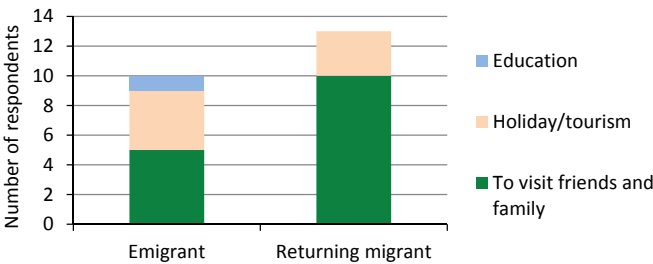
In one instance, the decision to leave the United Republic of Tanzania for marriage reasons was triggered by an earlier visit to Kenya, where the contact was established:

"They went to Kenya as [part of] a choir and there she met my brother-in-law in church. He approached her but she wasn't ready that time. After three months the guy came to Mbeya, by that time we were living in Mbeya [a region in Tanzania], and he was fully prepared to marry. She agreed to marry him and after two days he came home and paid the bride price and everything and they went to Kenya for the wedding ceremony. Within a short time they got married and that's where their life started." – Female cousin of a migrant in Kenya

Reasons for visiting or not visiting the United Republic of Tanzania

Most emigrants and returning migrants who took part in the online survey reported visiting the United Republic of Tanzania after moving abroad. All returning migrants reported visiting the country during their stay abroad, and only three emigrants reported never visiting the United Republic of Tanzania since they had moved. As seen in Figure 9, visiting family members and friends was the most common reason for making a trip to the United Republic of Tanzania, followed by going on a holiday or tourism. Some mentioned staying in the country for education. Six returning migrants and three emigrants did not mention their reasons for visiting the United Republic of Tanzania. High travel costs were the most common reason for not visiting the country.

Figure 9: Reasons for the last (or most recent) visit to the United Republic of Tanzania by emigrants and returning migrants



The individual interviews also revealed motives for visiting or not visiting the United Republic of Tanzania. The quotes show that visiting family and friends was the primary reason, but other reasons included cultural motives (e.g. learning about one's roots, traditions and customs), catching up with language learning and exploring business opportunities:

"And from the way he [her father] was brought up they say Chaggas [ethnic group from the Kilimanjaro region] always come home in December. So we'd try at least to come every two years for a month and see our relatives, friends and go to the village to see our grandparents. That was a culture we as a family had and we would always really try to go back home. It also assisted us in learning Swahili and to catch up with family and friends and see what's happening." – Female returning migrant, Botswana

"Well, I think it's due to the fact that Tanzania is his home, so he comes to see his parents and say 'hello' to his relatives. Nevertheless, the last time I talked to him he was here looking for business opportunities to venture into in Tanzania. I can say he is currently doing some kind of market research, and I have been assisting him in doing that too. We are trying to see the kind goods that we can import from China which can be easily sold here in Tanzania." – Friend of a migrant in China

"He has come [back] twice [since 2007], for emergency purposes. First he came for a funeral and the second time he had to supervise goods he exported to Tanzania. Apart from that he hasn't come [back] since." – Brother of a migrant in China

He usually comes to bring money to open a business, or when he has a plan of doing something in Tanzania. After he is done with his issues, then he comes to visit the family. But family is never the sole purpose of his visits." – Male relative of a migrant in South Africa

As mentioned in the questionnaire, the main reason given for not visiting the home country was financial constraints. This, along with the issue of expired permits and passports, is illustrated in the quotes below. The second quote also indicates that the respondent had not been in touch with his family in the United Republic of Tanzania for a long time.

"So I worked there for six years without returning to Tanzania because of financial challenges." - Male returning migrant, Rwanda

"Returning home became difficult because not only didn't I have a passport, I also didn't pay for those three-month permits for over five years, so my debt was big. What shocked me the most was that my father had already passed away three years ago. It was difficult for me to go and explain my situation at the embassy, so I had to use the professors and elders that were close to the embassy." – Returning migrant, Rwanda

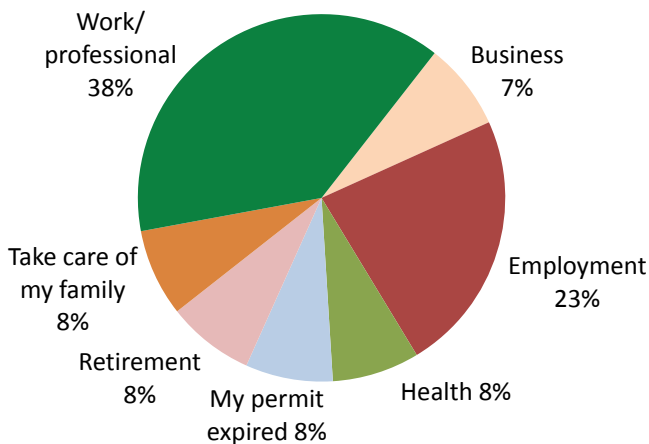
Reasons for returning to the United Republic of Tanzania

Returning migrants reported different reasons for why they had permanently returned to the United Republic of Tanzania. Work or employment was the most common reason mentioned (61.6%). Other reasons were business activities in the country, their health situations, expired permits, retirement and the desire to care for their families. These all form equal proportions in the remaining 38.4 per cent.

The individual interviews show that decreasing economic opportunities in the country to which respondents had migrated, coupled with advice from their families to return, weakened health and responsibilities, pushed them back home to the United Republic of Tanzania:

"[There was] a time when I was getting jobs worth 100–200 million, but due to the inflation rate it didn't help me much. Now people were asking me why I didn't return to Tanzania and I told them I couldn't because my life is in Rwanda. Life in Rwanda is very difficult. I built a house but the house I built and the job I was doing was different. So when I came home they advised me that when I make money there I should send it to Tanzania and invest here. When I left there I did it because I was sick and I said let me return to Tanzania for treatment and I came with my family." – Returning migrant 1, Rwanda

Figure 10: Reasons for returning to the United Republic of Tanzania reported by returning migrants who participated in the online survey



Interestingly, some individual interviewees explicitly stated that a reason to return to the United Republic of Tanzania was to use the knowledge they had acquired abroad for the development of the country:

“I came back because my sister got an accident and lost one of her legs. I, being the first born, had come back to Tanzania and help my family. In addition, she was the one taking care of my son. She really needed my support and it was also high time for me to use my acquired knowledge for the development of my country.” – Female returning migrant, South Africa

Other reasons for returning to the United Republic of Tanzania given by respondents in the individual interviews were the completion of their studies in the country of migration, or the pursuance of studies back home:

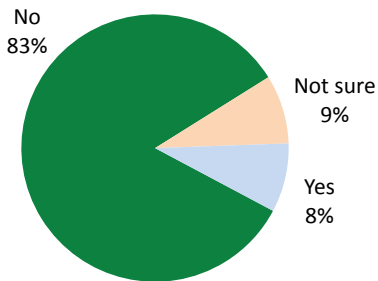
“I finished my high school on 29 November and my results are out. I did well and now am currently applying for universities. To be honest, I am not planning to study from here because I know the troubles you get. I know that people go for lectures even on Christmas Eve. I think the education was just made tight for people. It’s not flexible like the way it’s supposed to be. I am here for holiday and I am applying in Uganda but I don’t want to go there again. Maybe I’ll go to Kenya because I hear there is a lot of tribalism and I want to see other countries.”
– Male returning migrant 2, Uganda

“Partly because my uncle had already established himself well in his business ventures and he was thinking of moving back home which he did shortly after I did. I found it necessary to return home so that I can go ahead with whatever I am supposed to do and then start with school again.” – Female returning migrant, Rwanda

Does a migrant’s experience trigger further migration?

The online questionnaire captured whether the returning migrants intended to move abroad again, and this question was also asked in the individual interviews. As Figure 11 shows, most respondents did not intend to move abroad again. Six returning migrants did not answer this question.

Figure 11: Intentions to permanently move abroad among returning migrants who participated in the online questionnaire



This question was explored further in the individual interviews. Respondents expressed a desire to move abroad temporarily, for work or for studies, but not to the country they had left. Their desire was for only a temporary move because they saw their life as established in the United Republic of Tanzania. This is illustrated below by quotes from three different respondents with experience in Botswana, Malaysia and Uganda:

Interviewer: Do you think of going to live abroad again?

Respondent: Yes, I have thoughts of that but not in Malaysia, [it's] in another country.

Interviewer: Which country, perhaps?

Respondent: I am still searching. I haven't made up my mind yet.

Interviewer: Why would you want to live abroad again?

Respondent: I believe I need the exposure so I can develop my life in Tanzania
– Male returning migrant, Malaysia

Respondent: I'd move for a short period of time, not forever. I'd come back to Tanzania. Maybe for school or just go and live somewhere else for six months or a year, just to better understand what else is going on, and for a change.

Interviewer: And where would that be, you think?

Respondent: I don't know. I don't want to go back to Botswana. I'd go to visit but I don't want to live there. Probably somewhere in Europe maybe, just to see what everyone talks about, but not to live there permanently, I would say no. Even if I were to move to Uganda or Kenya it would not be to live permanently, just a change for a short period of time. – Female returning migrant, Botswana

Respondent: I would prefer to move on a temporary basis because I love Tanzania but if I manage to get a job abroad it would be better for me. I have spoken to my friends who work abroad and they say that income is good. So if I get a job, I would go.

Interviewer: Which country have you thought of?

Respondent: England

Interviewer: Why England?

Respondent: It's because a lot of Tanzanians believe that life there is better. You work a little and your income is big. – Male returning migrant 1, Uganda

Interestingly, one returning migrant explicitly expressed that he would prefer to go live in another country in the global South and not Europe due to social and cost reasons:

“Maybe South Africa. I can’t apply for Europe because I know that life there is quite... everybody has his or her own time. When you really are down and feel like you need somebody, you can get that when you’re here. Unlike there where everyone has his or her own time. Even my friends in London say that the brotherhood we used to have in Uganda is different because everyone has his or her own time. Apart from that I would need...it’s not that I don’t want to work but I would have to work to live and I don’t want to be a burden for my father. Yeah, I was told the living expenses are also high so I think Asia will also be a priority, probably India.” – Male returning migrant 2, Uganda

Some of the respondents were sure that they did not want to move again:

“I do not want or wish to go to abroad to live there permanently, I have settled my life here and will only be going abroad for my business or some sort of holiday because five years from now I will be fully engaged in business.” – Female returning migrant, South Africa

“I don’t expect to live abroad again, I want to be stable here.” – Male returning migrant 2, Rwanda

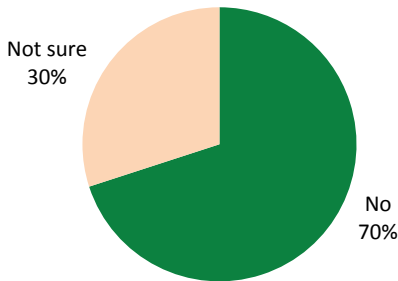
Did migrants’ experiences trigger mobility among friends and relatives?

Relatives, friends and colleagues were also asked if they intended to move abroad permanently in the future. As Figure 12 shows, the majority of respondents (70%) had no such intention.

In the individual interviews, relatives and friends of migrants were asked whether they had visited their relatives abroad and also whether they themselves were thinking about moving abroad. As the following quote from the sister of a migrant in Mozambique shows, migration can trigger the mobility of relatives and friends. Through the visit, she had a chance to explore what life was like in Mozambique:

“It was Easter of last year, it was in April so me and my son went there. To me it was much more of touring, so it was interesting to see how Mozambique looked like because I expected something very different from back home in Tanzania, but unfortunately it was almost the same. The level of infrastructure and the poverty was almost the same. The poor neighbourhoods are very similar to the ones we see here in Tanzania, but the rich neighbourhoods’ infrastructure is very different from ours.” – Sister of a female migrant in Mozambique

Figure 12: Intention to move to abroad on a permanent basis in the future, among relatives, friends and colleagues of emigrants



As the quote below illustrates, a friend of a migrant in China plans to move to that country or establish business relations there. He had never been there before:

"No I haven't, but I have plans to do so. I have to plan and I prepare for it financially and of course decide what I'm going to be engaged in when I get there. I'm really looking forward to that moment, as I see it as an opportunity to expose myself business-wise." – Friend of a migrant in China

Another example is a migrant in China who wants his brother to join him there to learn about farming in order to later implement the knowledge in the United Republic of Tanzania:

"He usually talks about life, saying that life is better in China, he talks about how successful he is and he would like me to go there one day and maybe be convinced to practice farming in Bukoba [district in Kagera region, Tanzania], our homeland. [...] I did my own research and realized that I could work with my brother to do something else apart from agriculture because I wasn't fond of farming. But he has insisted that I do it because it pays so now I am getting persuaded to do it. So I may go to China and see how he does it. Because he knows that I am a hard worker. I also tell people here that he is a farmer in China and people think it's profitable." – Brother of a migrant in China

As the following quote shows, one respondent's mobility was triggered by the migration of a relative, but not to the country where that relative moved to. On the contrary, his relative discouraged him from moving to South Africa:

Respondent: Firstly, he doesn't encourage you to go to South Africa. He would rather you go to any other country but not South Africa. He says life is very hard for people with no jobs there and safety is at risk as well. He says he copes with life because he is used to it and has experience with life there.

Respondent: because he doesn't want us to go to South Africa, I would love to go to Japan.

Interviewer: Why Japan?

Respondent: It's industrially developed and I have a friend who went there and now he is making money. In addition, they are friendly and welcoming, so I wish to go to Japan.

Interviewer: This interest to go and live abroad was it boosted by your uncle going to South Africa?

Respondent: Yes, without him how would I know? – Male relative of a migrant in South Africa

In other cases, the migration experience of a friend or relative did not motivate the respondent to migrate. A sister of a migrant in Malaysia said that she has never thought about going abroad, although her sister has been in Malaysia for many years. As the following quote shows, the fact that another respondent's cousin lives in Kenya has not made her wish to move abroad:

"Myself, I love Tanzania and if it happens that I get a chance to go out of Tanzania it will be because of a certain reason and not my own choice. There are many challenges and weaknesses but running away from the problem is not a solution. The solution is to see the suitable ways to overcome those challenges, but not to run. For example if I leave Tanzania for Nairobi, in Nairobi there are also other challenges." – Female cousin of female migrant in Kenya

6.4 Communication for human development

As already mentioned, this study explores the potential of South–South social remittances for human development in the United Republic of Tanzania. A reminder of the definition of social remittances may be useful here: "Social remittances are the ideas, behaviours, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving- to sending-country communities" (Levitt, 1998:927).

The issues correlate with key aspects of the concept of human development, such as increased knowledge, changed attitudes and new practices regarding education, health, employment and business, gender, the environment, rights, governance and distribution of wealth. It should be emphasized again that the findings of the study provide an overview of perceptions and personal views. Nevertheless, these perceptions and views are important because they express the subjective realities of the respondents and also influence the social perceptions of the migrant's family members and of other people in the migrant's social network. Some narratives contain comparisons between the United Republic of Tanzania and the countries of exposure. They are useful because they show the exposure and agency of this group of stakeholders, facilitated by direct and indirect migration experiences.

While the figures are taken from the online survey, the quotes are from the in-depth individual interviews. Online respondents were asked several

questions related to each of the outlined areas of human development and were given multiple answer options. On the topic of education, for example, the respondents could select “Yes,” “No” and “No response” as to whether he or she had “learned something,” “changed an opinion,” “changed a behaviour” or “told people at home about it.” These options were presented for different aspects of education: quality, cost and teaching methodologies. All responses pertaining to a specific topic were displayed in a summary chart. There were, therefore, many more responses to the questions summarized in each chart than there were respondents to the online questionnaire.

Participants in the in-depth interviews often first mentioned that they contacted their families back home to say “hello.” However, both the online questionnaire and the individual interviews revealed that the conversations often also included many other topics, such as business and educational advice, which are aspects of social remittances.

*“He usually wants to know how everyone in the family is doing. Secondly, we speak about business and saving and he insists on us to [sic] going to school.” –
Relative of a migrant in South Africa*

Are there changes in the United Republic of Tanzania because of social remittances?

Peggy Levitt (1998) defines normative structures as ideas, values and beliefs. It was challenging to address the question of how the normative structures and systems of practice in the United Republic of Tanzania were affected. Emigrants, returning migrants and their family members were asked three questions on each of these thematic areas: education, health, income, inequality, poverty, gender, sustainability, political freedom, participation and organization and communication and information technology. The respondents were not merely asked the questions in the aforementioned areas. They were also asked whether they learned something about or changed their opinion or behaviour in relation to these areas, and whether they talked about these issues with people at home. Interestingly, most of the affirmative responses to these questions came from friends and family members of Tanzanian emigrants. This was rather unexpected because they constituted the smallest group of respondents to the online survey.

To assess whether the interaction between migrants and their relatives, friends and colleagues in the United Republic of Tanzania caused ideas, values and beliefs to change in different areas of their lives, “change of opinion” was used

as a proxy. Figure 13 shows that the overwhelming majority of the answers from friends and family members living in the United Republic of Tanzania indicated that they had changed an opinion pertaining to education. About 56 per cent of answers indicated a change of opinion regarding income, and 50 per cent of answers indicated a change of opinion relating to poverty. It is obvious from this analysis that in the United Republic of Tanzania, social remittances do have an impact on the opinions of friends and family members of emigrants.

“Change in opinion” may be interpreted as a change in ideas, values or beliefs. As such, responses indicating changes in behaviour were used to assess whether respondents’ practices or actual behaviour in these areas had changed.

As seen in Figure 14, most of the responses from friends and family members of migrants indicated a change in opinion regarding education and, to some extent, income, poverty, health and community and political participation.

Figure 13: Respondents who indicated their behaviour and/or opinion had changed

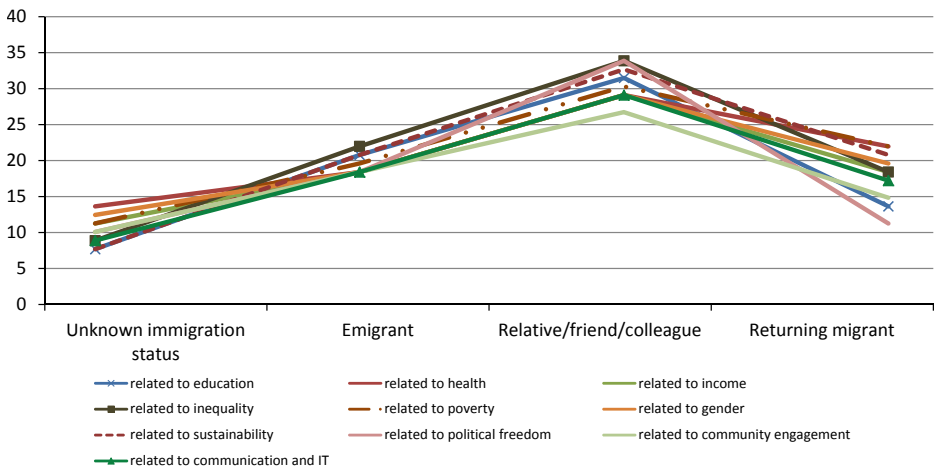
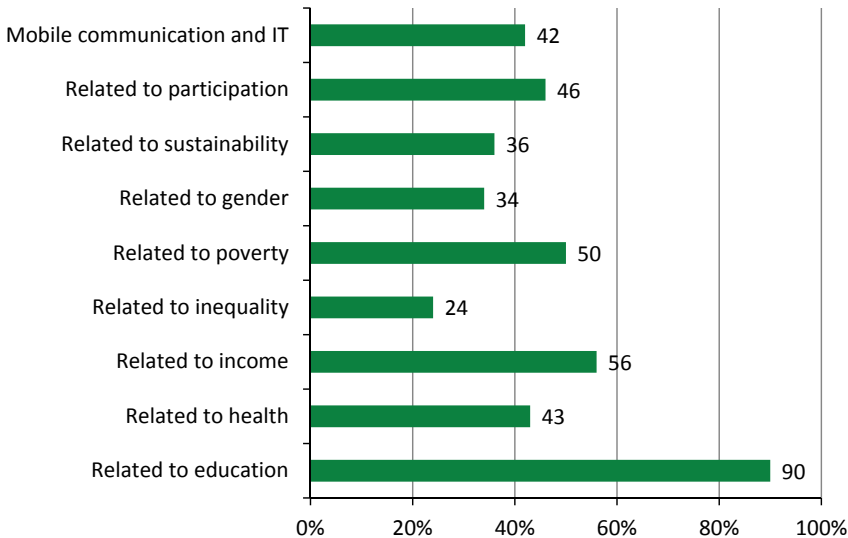


Figure 14: Percentage of friends and family members of migrants* who changed their opinions



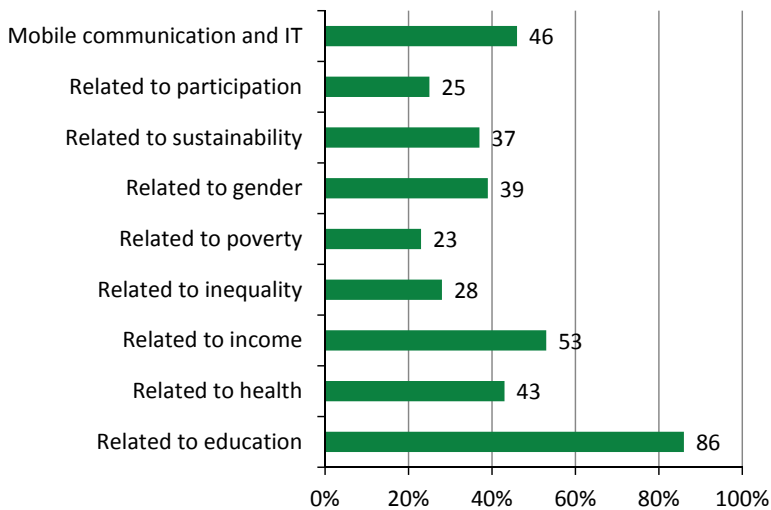
* Colleagues of migrants were included in this category as potential respondents, along with relatives and friends of migrants; however, no colleagues of migrants responded to the online questionnaire nor participated in the individual interviews.

Education-related practices were also the behavioural change most frequently reported by friends and family members, followed by income, mobile communication and information technology, and health practices, as shown in Figure 15.

Online respondents (80% of the emigrants and 82% of the returning migrants) said they would be interested in investing in the United Republic of Tanzania. Instead of making financial investments, however, they prefer to transfer their knowledge and skills. For these respondents, corruption is a major obstacle to investing and can even prevent investments from taking place. Negative social capital⁵ in the form of corruption perception may therefore have an impact on migrants' willingness to invest in the United Republic of Tanzania.

5 Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993:1323) define social capital as: "[t]hose expectations for action within a collectivity that affect the economic goals and goal-seeking behavior of its members, even if these expectations are not oriented toward the economic sphere." Value interaction, reciprocity transactions, bounded solidarity, and enforceable trust are four sources of social capital through which "individual maximizing behavior is constrained" in a fairly predictable way so that these expectations can be utilized as a resource.

Figure 15: Percentage of friends and family members of migrants* who changed their behaviour



* Colleagues were included in this category as potential respondents, along with relatives and friends of migrants; however, no colleagues of migrants responded to the online questionnaire nor participated in the individual interviews.

Education

Figure 16 illustrates how many online respondents reported that they, as a result of the migration experience (lived or narrated by a relative, friend or colleague who has migrated), learned something about or changed an opinion and/or behaviour as regards issues such as the cost of education, quality of education and teaching methodologies, and/or talked about it with other people in their home communities. It was possible to have a total of more than 50 affirmative responses, as, for example, a respondent may have ticked “Yes” (i.e. he or she has learned something, changed an opinion or behaviour, and told others about it) for cost of education, quality of education and teaching methodologies, which are all under the thematic area of education.

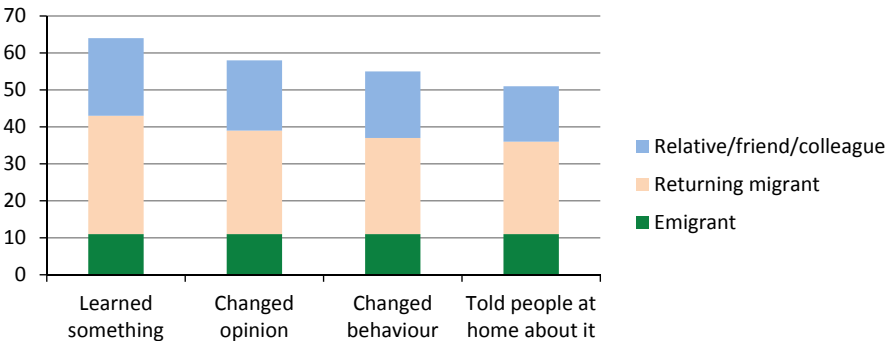
As Figure 16 shows, a total of 64 respondents across the three categories affirmed learning something with respect to education. Half of these affirmative responses were from returning migrants. Out of all online responses, 58 indicated a changed opinion with regard to education, with 55 more indicating a change in behaviour. Eleven respondents said that they had changed their

behaviour with respect to education. It is not possible, however, to know how these respondents changed their behaviours because keeping the questionnaire a reasonable length only allowed for “Yes” and “No” responses to the questions in this section.

The in-depth interviews shed some light on the kinds of behaviour change that the respondents experienced. Among all the thematic areas, education seemed to be a concern of and engage the largest number of respondents. These respondents mentioned issues of quality, teaching methodologies and language of instruction; often, their perception was that the country of exposure was better than the United Republic of Tanzania in these respects. The majority of the respondents in the individual interviews mentioned relatively more affordable education as one of the advantages other countries have over the United Republic of Tanzania. The few exceptions included a returning migrant from Rwanda, who stated that education was more expensive there than in the United Republic of Tanzania. Another respondent – a relative of a migrant in Kenya – had heard from her cousin that her children’s education (in a private school in Kenya) was very expensive. Still another respondent went to Uganda to study, stating the lower cost of education as one of the major reasons for his decision.

“It would be double the price here for the same course I took there. By then I paid USD 500 for the course in Uganda, whilst the fee here was TSh 2,000,000 for the same course.” – Returning migrant 1, Uganda

Figure 16: Social remittances related to education, based on responses in the online survey



Note: Includes the following issues: cost and quality of education, and teaching methodologies.

There were comments made which pointed to higher education costs in other countries, but were still relatively affordable due to the lower cost of living there:

“He says the cost of education is higher than in Tanzania but the living expenses are lower than in Tanzania according to the wages they get. So they can afford it.” – Brother of a migrant in China

In relation to cost, there was also a discussion about private and public schools, which, in turn, led to a discussion about the issue of quality of education in public schools in the United Republic of Tanzania:

“Uganda is cheap and you all get the best. Here [in Tanzania] the rich get the best education and the poor get not-so-good education. Being admitted to a public school in Uganda is more difficult than getting admitted to a private school because government schools are the best-performing schools. When you are asked what school you’re from and you say you are from King’s College Godow, [which] is a government school, you’re surely very ahead and have a grade A pass. Because it’s a government school. But here it’s the opposite. It used to be like that in the past but now it has changed.” – Male returning migrant 2, Uganda

Most of the discussion on education centred on its quality and relevance, which were often mentioned as reasons why migrants leave the United Republic of Tanzania:

“The same applies for education, these guys have a lot of high-quality higher education institutions compared to the ones we have in Tanzania. Actually that’s the main reason he left – to pursue further studies in China.” – Friend of a migrant in China

Respondents also brought up issues of government control and facilitation of the education system. It should once again be stressed that these are respondents’ perceptions, not necessarily the real situation, but they are nevertheless important because perceptions influence practices.

“It is better than here because there are institutes that follow education standards within the country, and you can’t own a school if you can’t prove that you’re able to run it successfully with competence. Unlike here whereby it is easy to own a school.” – Brother of a migrant in China

“In Uganda, I think they value education more than here...and they have had private universities and colleges for a long time. So education is very much favoured there by the government.” – Returning migrant 1, Uganda

Many respondents raised the issue of appreciation for practical approaches in the education system:

Interviewer: Has he [friend in China] shared with you anything about the teaching methodologies that they use in China?

Respondent: Yes he has. He has told me that they are more practical, and they use computers a lot compared to in Tanzania, where things in classes are done more manually” – Friend of a migrant in China

“Well, the difference is that theory consumes almost 95 per cent of the child’s education here in Tanzania while in Malaysia, the students are taught both practical [application] and theories.” – Sister of a female migrant in Malaysia

“We spoke about that; their education is [practice]-based, [as opposed] to our [theory]-based education in Tanzania. They have the facilities to do practicals [sic], apart from our [sic] [theory]-based education.” – Relative of a migrant in South Africa

Respondents also discussed aspects of learning regarding teachers’ commitment and an environment conducive to learning, as in the two narratives below, both referring to Malaysia. One is related by a returning migrant and the other by a sibling of an emigrant:

“The teachers are experienced and are willing to help you learn, even if it means in private [and at] no extra charge. That is something I haven’t seen in Tanzania. In other words, if students fail, the teachers are held responsible for that failure, whilst in Tanzania, the blame is on the students.” – Returning migrant, Malaysia

“Yes, it’s different compared to Tanzania because they are more modern than us and their classes are always not filled up with big numbers of students so it’s easier for the instructor to pass on the information and get to know at least every student’s weakness or strength which is awesome and fantastic for the graduates!” – Sister of a female migrant in Malaysia

Rwanda was mentioned as the only country of exposure where education was considered poor:

“Education-wise, Rwanda’s education is poor...even in the past years a Rwandan university student would go to Uganda and re-do his secondary education.” – Returning migrant 2, Rwanda

As the following quote shows, education is one of the issues migrants discuss with their relatives and friends back in the United Republic of Tanzania. One of the issues is the medium of instruction in school. A respondent compares the situation in Uganda with that in the home country.

Interviewer: “Do you use some of your experience of Uganda in your daily life here?”

Respondent: Yes, I do, and that is being open and telling people what things are like with the education system [in Uganda]. Yes, I tell [...] my father’s assistant that for the education system to change, it has to be really completely [reformed] from the [lowest level] because, [as] I used to tell him and [...] my dad, [...] it’s pretty hard for a student to do primary in Swahili [Kiswahili] and then secondary in English. But according to research I did, I realized that some subjects are

instructed in Swahili but the exams are in English and people fail. I think however much hard [sic] we try to promote Swahili, I think English is a necessity” – Male returning migrant 2, Uganda

However, for other respondents Kiswahili is a valued aspect of education in the United Republic of Tanzania, as is the case for this relative of a migrant in Kenya:

“[...]she only talked about Kiswahili language that is a problem in Kenya. It’s possible for a person to graduate but he/she doesn’t know how to speak Kiswahili perfectly. Also, in schools [in Kenya], students fail Kiswahili as a subject.” – Cousin of a female migrant in Kenya

At the same time, the same respondent values the knowledge of English in Kenya:

“In Tanzania a person can be a university graduate but he/she doesn’t know English; this is a disadvantage because it can cause people to lose employment opportunities. Also, it will be difficult to communicate or interact with people from other nations. One day I met some Nigerian guys who had been attacked by robbers, and they were looking for a police station for help. But from Ubungo to Riverside [locations in Dar es Salaam] nobody helped them because every person they asked said ‘I don’t understand what you’re talking about.’ So in Tanzania, English language is a problem.” – Female cousin of a female migrant in Kenya

In addition to being a factor in the quality of private vis-à-vis public schools, a returning migrant from Botswana also mentioned the issue of language as something that the United Republic of Tanzania can learn from:

“Here and there, it’s the same. It’s just that the level of education in government schools is better than in Tanzania. But probably because they’re a smaller population – a very small population – so they’ve been able to handle it better. But I think there’s something we can learn from how they’re doing it because people can speak and converse in English even if they didn’t go to secondary school.” – Female returning migrant, Botswana

The individual interview respondents put forward a number of aspects to which they had been exposed while staying in another country and which they thought would benefit the United Republic of Tanzania if implemented in the country:

“The government should focus on education, because the standards are lowering. You may find a Form IV student⁶ who can’t [even] write his name correctly.” – Returning migrant, Rwanda

6 Secondary education in both Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania is divided into four years of lower education (Forms I–IV) and two years of upper secondary level (Forms V–VI). Primary education lasts seven years in both countries.

“Well, I think, for me, it is education, because I know education is really something that can benefit our country, that is why the way an ordinary level student thinks is different from a [bachelor’s degree holder], so we should emphasize on that to get to where we want.” – Sister of a female migrant in Malaysia

“The first thing I noticed was education. You know he left here with A-level education and when he arrived in South Africa he took a course [related] to his work and now he is hired. So what I suggest, because he admitted that the A-level education he got was time-wasting and wasn’t relevant to him, that our education should be broadened into various fields. Not just basic studies, it should also reach out on developing talent. There should be more organizations supporting such strategies.” – Relative of a migrant in South Africa

“You know, I was based in education [sic]. Education there was good, and the requirements were low, so I think Tanzania should loosen their requirements and pass marks to help everyone get a chance to study.” – Returning migrant 1, Uganda

Respondent: “I think the teachers should be given what they really want in terms of shelter. It’s also a problem in Uganda but they are trying very hard to fix it. I am seeing them trying to fix it here but that’s in vain. You know the bad thing is that the teachers we train here are failures, people that failed high school are the ones trained to be teachers. So I was impressed with the education system in Uganda.

Interviewer: Okay, so do you have suggestions on what the government should do?

Respondent: Everything should be re-structured from the bottom. Making the minister resign won’t help and the students need to be willing to study and not blame the government. They should remove compulsory subjects and let people do what they want and love.” – Male returning migrant 2, Uganda

Health and sexual and reproductive health

Like education, access to quality health care is an important aspect of human development. Figure 17 illustrates how many online respondents reported, as a result of the migration experience (lived or narrated by a relative, friend or colleague who migrated), learning something or changing an opinion and/or behaviour as regards the cost of health care, quality of health care and uses of health insurance, and/or talking to people in their home communities about it. As mentioned in the previous section, multiple responses were possible with each respondent, which means that there could have been more affirmative responses than the total number of 50 online respondents. For example, a respondent may have ticked “Yes” (i.e. he or she learned something, change his or her behaviour, etc.) for cost of health care, quality of health care and health insurance use, which all fall under the thematic area of health. A total of 61 online responses talked about respondents’ experiences with other people in

their home communities as regards health-related social remittances. Overall, 59 online survey respondents reported learning something; 54 related changes in behaviour; and 49 indicated changes in opinion pertaining to health.

As was the case with education, many participants in the individual interviews were inspired by returning migrants and relatives and friends of migrants. They mentioned cost of health care, service, health insurance and corruption in the context of a “who you know” culture, as depicted in this quote by a returning migrant from Rwanda:

“When it comes to that I raise my glass of wine and ask for cheers to the people of Rwanda because they have the best health services I have seen so far. The people are health-insured [sic] and there are no long queues before you see the doctor and they are fast in serving the patients. Also, there is no knowing each other. For example it’s now becoming a habit that when you know someone in an institution then you will want to be served first which is totally different in Rwanda.” – Female returning migrant, Rwanda

Figure 17: Social remittances related to health, based on responses from the online survey



Note: Includes the following issues: cost of health care, quality of health care and use of health insurance.

A relative of a migrant gave a similar response in the case of Kenya:

“The health centre workers are more systematic in Kenya than in Tanzania because they know their duties and responsibilities. For example, if you go to the hospital and you meet a big queue, you must wait until the queue [shortens] and then you get the service, which is different from Tanzania. In Tanzania, if you know somebody in the hospital, no matter how late [you are], [you go straight] to the doctor to get services.” – Female cousin of a female migrant in Kenya

Several respondents brought up the issue of access to health care from a rights perspective, including knowledge of rights and claiming those rights:

“He [brother in China] says that the country is ruled by rights, and if it is your right to be treated you will get treatment. The only difference is class that will distinguish facilities and accommodation but the service is the same. Because the government has taken care of that issue.” – Brother of a migrant in China

Health insurance, which is not very common in the United Republic of Tanzania, was frequently mentioned in the individual interviews, with different countries of experience as examples:

“He told me, because he is sick – he was shot when he was working so he has scars and he says health services are cheap because they have insurance in their salaries. The deductions are compulsory because they know misfortunes occur.” – Brother of a migrant in China

“He says that the costs are normal there. In short, he says that all social services are fair and affordable. There are many health insurance companies that make health care affordable to people.” – Relative of a migrant in South Africa

There were also those who put forward the United Republic of Tanzania as better than other countries in terms of health care. For instance, a returning migrant from Rwanda said that Rwandans get access to free health care because they are required to be insured; foreigners, however, cannot avail of this insurance. Furthermore, this individual also noted that health services in the United Republic of Tanzania are better, both in terms of cost and quality:

Respondent: “Health services in Tanzania are better, because in Rwanda it was expensive. Many hospitals were private and government hospitals didn’t have satisfying services. And most of the doctors there are from Muhimbili University. Interviewer: Are they Tanzanian or are they Rwandans – those who studied in Muhimbili?

Respondent: They are Rwandans who studied in Muhimbili. Many people who are educated there studied in Tanzania.” – Male returning migrant 1, Rwanda

The above quote is interesting from a South–South migration perspective. The respondent says that many Rwandan doctors trained at the United Republic of Tanzania’s national university for health – the Muhimbili University of Health

and Allied Sciences – and refers to the country as the place where many Rwandans have been educated. Muhimbili accepts students from other East African countries, including Rwanda. Also, many Rwandans and Burundians took refuge in the United Republic of Tanzania during the civil war and some of these refugees may have pursued their education in their host country. This South–South education exchange and circulation would be interesting to explore further.

Another returning migrant from Uganda stated that the United Republic of Tanzania is better off in terms of health care, describing private health care as more affordable in the home country, even for poor people, than in Uganda.

“I think I would go a step back, the income inequality gap in Uganda is very big so the rich can get the best health services and the poor have the worst health services. Unlike here if people can afford TSh 20–30,000 (EUR 9–14) you can really get treated for malaria.” – Male returning migrant 2, Uganda

Respondents made the following suggestions for aspects of health care which would benefit the United Republic of Tanzania if implemented there, namely, eliminating the “who you know” practice in health facilities and providing health insurance:

“Another thing is health matters. Workers [in] health centres must look at the time which patients come. If he or she comes late and finds other people waiting to be attended by the doctor for services, he or she must wait until his [turn] to get the service. Not respecting the arrangement because the doctor is your friend or you know him or her in any way – it is not good.” – Female cousin of a female migrant in Kenya

“There is something like health insurance that covered every citizen...it didn’t choose amongst people (i.e. no one is favoured). This insurance is separate from the ones that cover office staff. Everyone could afford it, some paid 3,000 RWF (EUR 3.50) and others, 1,000 RWF (around EUR 1–2) per year. So people were in groups, someone could afford 3,000 and others could afford 1,000, and there were others who couldn’t afford it at all and were covered by the government.” – Returning migrant 2, Rwanda

Returning migrants and relatives and friends of migrants in China, Rwanda and South Africa also discussed sexual and reproductive health and family planning:

“They are advanced because contraceptives are free in Rwanda, and they wanted to pass a new law that families shouldn’t exceed three children, but it isn’t [in force] yet.” – Returning migrant 2, Rwanda

“He [brother in China] says that family planning is very prominent in China. He said that when one has a partner, they are always extra careful when it comes to sex, as most of them use condoms for the purpose of both family planning and prevention of HIV/AIDS transmission.” – Brother of a migrant in China

“Yes, he [relative in South Africa] said that South African women are careful when having intercourse. They avoid pregnancies a lot. They use condoms or take pills...the women there want to have children when they are 28 or above, unlike in Tanzania where planning is made by a few people that are aware but not in the streets.” – Relative of a migrant in South Africa

The following quote shows that a respondent considered advice from her cousin in Kenya about family planning. From a human development point of view, however, it should be stated that not all social remittances are positive. They can, indeed, also have negative impacts and give rise to myths:

“Those ways of family planning are not good at all – this is the advice that I got from my cousin. And apart from my cousin in Kenya, I have another sister of mine who was affected by one method of family planning (medicine) and she died because of it. She used the medicine but she didn’t meet with her husband sexually daily [sic] [...] they say that the power of medicine weakens the sperm [and] because she didn’t have sex with her husband it led to her death. The doctor proved that the source of her death was the medicine which was used as a method for family planning. So what my cousin advised me was that the suitable way of family planning is to know well my menstruation cycle and to know the days on which it is possible to get pregnant.” – Female cousin of female migrant in Kenya

Tanzanian migrants abroad and the relatives and friends they left behind commonly discussed issues such as relationships, marriage and sexual and reproductive health. This indicates a constant exchange of information on these topics, which might have a social impact, whether positive or negative. HIV/AIDS prevention was mentioned by respondents with exposure to Botswana and Uganda:

“What else? ... About relationships: Last year, in 2012, when they came they told me about the HIV [statistics], that for every three people one is positive and that most girls get pregnant before marriage in order to maintain [sic] their men. Even the parents there don’t care about marriage; all they want is for their girls to get a man. The marriage thing is just something else. They say there are lots of single mothers and the sugar mummies are many – this thing [about] older women being with young[er] men.” – Female relative of migrants in Botswana

“The Ugandan Government has tried harder to fight HIV/AIDS than Tanzania, because they have more anti-HIV NGOs than in Tanzania. They have tried to spread awareness and have reduced the spread of HIV.” – Returning migrant 1, Uganda

As the quote below shows, this returning migrant used the knowledge and experience she gained in Botswana to take action when she came back to the United Republic of Tanzania to attend university:

Respondent: *“In “uni” (university) they (condoms) were everywhere. [There were*

also] posters, ads, video lessons to see how different STDs (sexually transmitted diseases) look like. They would actually show you a video of how gonorrhoea looks like; it was scary to see. But I think it was a campaign at that time which started because AIDS was very serious. “We want you guys to know” – there was a flood of all this information, from videos to just general talk.” – Female returning migrant, Botswana

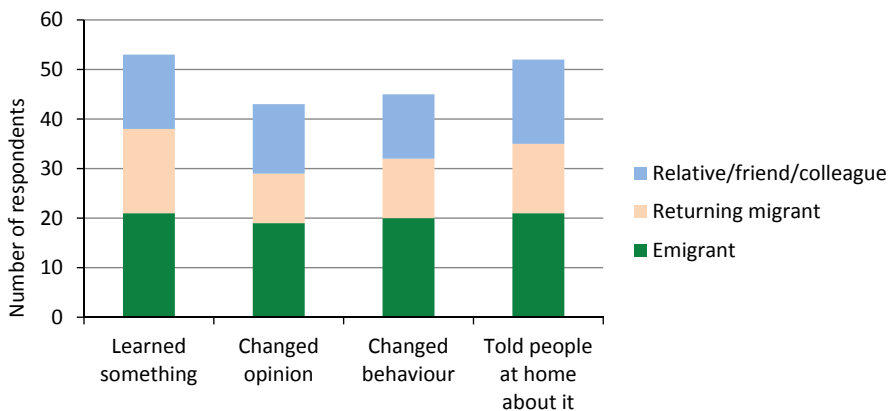
Interviewer: “And what about the way it was done there? Is that also something that you’ve communicated with friends and relatives here as something positive? Respondent: I tried it at university. It was very difficult. I joined a group of university peer educators who worked with SPW (Student Partnership Worldwide) ... we had an AIDS – what’s it called? In “uni” (university) we would deal with Femina and PSI [Population Services International].⁷ I decided to join that group because of what I saw. It actually had very good effects in Botswana, where people were more aware about having different partners and using condoms. So I thought it was something I could be a part of, which I did.” – Female returning migrant, Botswana

Employment, business and agriculture

The ability to generate income is a central aspect of human development, and income is one of its indicators. Figure 18 shows how often online respondents reported, as a result of the migration experience (lived or narrated by a relative, friend or colleague who had migrated), learning something and/or changing their opinion and/or behaviour as regards availability of employment, the business environment and productivity in agriculture, and/or talking with other people in their home communities about it. A total of 53 online respondents reported learning something about income; on the other hand, 45 reported that they changed their behaviour, and 43 reported a change in opinion regarding employment, business environment and agricultural productivity. Multiple affirmative responses were possible, which explains why there can be more affirmative responses than the total of 50 online respondents. For example, a respondent may have ticked “Yes” for availability of employment, business environment and agricultural productivity, which all are categorized as related to income.

⁷ In this quote, the respondent is referring to different organizations who have been working on sexual and reproductive health and HIV/AIDS prevention in the United Republic of Tanzania, targeting young people in particular.

Figure 18: Respondents who learned something, changed opinion, changed behavior or told people at home about income related issues



Note: Includes the following issues: employment, business environment and agriculture productivity.

The individual interview respondents discussed employment and business opportunities, as well as innovations in agriculture, such as modern farming through irrigation. In terms of employment, the respondents compared the employment opportunities between the country of exposure and the United Republic of Tanzania, with varying opinions about where the employment situation is better. A significant aspect of the comparison between the United Republic of Tanzania and Uganda is that, due to Uganda's education system, which produces many university graduates, people there are prepared to do work for which they are overqualified, or which does not necessarily match their education. The respondent below started a stationery shop upon his return from Uganda, even though he has a university education in environmental science. This is an example of how, due to his exposure, he changed a behaviour compared to peers who had studied in the United Republic of Tanzania:

"In Uganda, people work hard because of [fewer] opportunities [for] employment. And some of them are self-employed. It's a normal thing to find a person with a degree being a shopkeeper, whereas in Tanzania, you can't convince a degree holder to do the same." – Returning migrant 1, Uganda

A relative of a migrant in Kenya described a similar situation where educated people are running small businesses:

"The business environment is very conducive. Even people with their higher level of education are doing small business, and this is due to the fact that there is [a] lack of employment opportunities." – Female cousin of a female migrant in Kenya

Another returning migrant who has lived in in Uganda mentioned that knowing somebody in order to get a job (“know who” as opposed to “know how”) was more important in that country than in the United Republic of Tanzania:

“I know here it’s quoted as “technical know-who”: You have to know someone to get a job and it’s worse in Uganda because of the tribes.” – Male returning migrant 2, Uganda

The discussion included comparisons between getting a job as a citizen and getting a job as a foreigner in a destination country. Some respondents stated that as long as you possess qualifications, job opportunities are available. This is illustrated in the quote below by a relative of a migrant who talks about job availability in South Africa, where his uncle warned him that a foreigner must come to South Africa with an education:

“He always says that in South Africa there is work. The only problem is that people (foreigners) go [there] without anything. No certificates, education nor [sic] creativity. When they arrive they just end up in the streets, and they start selling drugs and stuff like that. But in South Africa, work is available.” – Relative of a migrant in South Africa

Other respondents gave examples that illustrate that in some countries it is very difficult to get a job if you are a foreigner. This account is from Botswana:

“For foreigners to get a job there is very difficult. They were giving me an example of this Tanzanian guy who was leading at the university and he has graduated but up to now he has gotten no job and the rest of the class have jobs. The citizens are given priorities more than foreigners when it comes to job opportunities but the opportunities are there. And they are very few in number. I think the Dar es Salaam population is the [same size as the] national population [of Botswana].” – Female relative of migrants in Botswana

In other countries, the situation sometimes seems to be the opposite: it is easier to get a job if you are a foreigner. One of the respondents is a construction worker who went to Rwanda was employed by a foreign company that preferred foreigners. In the respondent’s view, there were two likely reasons for this preference of employers: (a) low skill level of construction workers in Rwanda and (b) a way of avoiding tribalism. Whether these were the actual reasons is less not important; his views are important because he shares these with his relatives and friends as part of his account of his migration experience, and those friends and relatives may or may not adopt these perceptions.

Interviewees also discussed doing business, mentioning it was sometimes a conversation topic with relatives, friends or colleagues:

“Well, mostly is to get to know how each of us is getting on. We also talk about different business propositions that we could venture into. As we all know, China

is a source of many goods for our local markets. So being a businessman myself, I'm interested in venturing into markets where I can get goods at cheaper prices, so as to increase my profit margin. China is a good source of cheap but durable electronic products." – Friend of a migrant in China

"I can say the Chinese are very active in development activities and they are very cooperative with one another. They are courageous enough to start their own companies and have good national policies geared towards attaining economic growth. If Tanzania could do the same by harmonizing policies, especially in the agricultural sector, -improving our tax system, and for the Tanzanians themselves to be more cooperative with one another so that we can harmonize [sic] the small capital we have as individuals to start up good and firm businesses." – Friend of a migrant in China

The issue of conducting business between the two countries by capitalizing on the presence of a Tanzanian migrant in another country and a relative or friend back in the United Republic of Tanzania, is illustrated in an interview with a relative of a migrant in South Africa:

"[...] he also wants to do business between Tanzania and South Africa but their government is very strict [with] taxes and revenues. But he has said that according to his cost calculations, taking products to South Africa from Tanzania pays. The major issue is getting a permit from the South African government. [...] He wanted to export coffee, because he said the coffee we have is the best. So he linked with people in South Africa and he took a small sample and his boss loved it. So the issue was to take a large quantity to South Africa." – Relative of a migrant in South Africa

A returning migrant from Rwanda, who was engaged in business while living there, stated that Rwanda has a favourable business environment. As the quotes below show, the discussion about opportunities to make a living through business leads to a discussion about taxation, from different points of view:

"The way business activities are going on is good and it's worth it to invest in a profitable business there. The government has had a lot to do with that, for example, when it comes to taxes – they are not being imposed heavy taxes by their government. And there is that freedom a businessman or woman has when doing their business, unlike here where you will be doubted for maybe dealing with illegal businesses, while you are earning your good money [honestly]." – Female returning migrant, Rwanda

While this respondent found the taxation system to be favourable, another returning migrant from Rwanda stated that a strict tax regime makes it difficult for small businesses owners:

“It is hard, unless you want to do big business, but small businesses are difficult. Because they charge taxes on everything. Even if you are selling tomatoes or have a teashop, you owe tax to the government.” – Male returning migrant, Rwanda

One female returning migrant from Rwanda is now studying, but she is using her experience in Rwanda to coach others in business. She explained that the friends whom she coaches have changed their attitudes towards business to some extent:

“Yes, I [am able to] use most of the business experience I got from Rwanda here, especially [when] trying to help the just-emerging entrepreneurs. Now, because I’m more tight and fixed with school work I don’t often use that experience myself, but instead I help other people to also do well in various business ventures. But the people in Rwanda are doing it in a better way.” – Female returning migrant, Rwanda

“Most of them [are] more in a business way of thinking and operating because now they are thinking big and how they can also widen up their businesses and get ahead with life so that really changed them!” – Female returning migrant, Rwanda

The potential to learn from agriculture was put forward, especially with experience from China:

“Yes, there are lot [sic] of things that have impressed me, for example, encouraging and enhancing creativity, so as to start up small industries like [what] China has done. Moreover, promoting modern agriculture. This will first and foremost solve the problem of unemployment and enhance economic growth.” – Friend of a migrant in China

“He [brother in China] says that farming is a sure business because they depend on irrigation systems and not rain. So when a farmer farms on 100 acres of land, he will use all the necessary requirements and will know how much he [can come up] with when harvesting. So everything is calculated and not guesswork.” – Brother of a migrant in China

Rwanda was portrayed by one of the returning migrants as not very advanced in terms of agriculture, as compared to the United Republic of Tanzania.

“They have good soil but they don’t practice farming at all – they are lazy farmers. There are certain areas where they have plantains and maize and cassava because that’s their main food. But agriculture-wise they are far behind.” – Returning migrant, Rwanda

There were other respondents who portrayed people in the country of exposure as lazy, as illustrated in a discussion on employment in Botswana. Spreading the image of other people as lazy is a form of social remittance which can be problematic. It may cement stereotypes about people in other countries acting in certain ways, rather than looking at what has created particular outcomes.

As already shown, returning migrants have gained new knowledge and ideas which have enhanced the lives of people back home in the United Republic of Tanzania. Friends and relatives have stated that exposure through the migrant made a big difference in their lives. The positive changes were in various areas of their lives, including planning, timekeeping and work ethics, while the relationships have also improved business opportunities:

Interviewer: "In your opinion, has the communication between you and Rashid⁸ enhanced your life here in Tanzania or changed your perspective towards certain issues?"

Respondent: Yes, I would say that it has, as the exposure I get from just talking with Karim is very massive. The free information on the availability of affordable goods that I can import from China to Tanzania for business purposes helps me a lot in improving my businesses. I get to learn why our counterparts in China are doing so well in comparison to us. For instance I know that they export a lot of goods because they have a lot of small industries. Information like this enhances my knowledge in business and even my dimensions of thinking for the future."

– Friend of a migrant in China

In terms of the migrants' influence on other people's lifestyles, the individual interviews indicate that the influence on behaviour may be higher among the relatives and friends who frequently meet with the migrant, be it an emigrant who comes for a visit or a returning migrant.

"No, my lifestyle has not changed because I'm not in physical contact with the lifestyle that exists in China. He [friend in China] may tell me how people live and behave in China, which may be the way that he behaves right now, but it's hard for that to influence me who lives here in Tanzania." – Friend of a migrant in China

"You know when he comes, he changes many things. You know I sell things at a shop. So, when he arrives, he comes with new ideas on how to develop my business. When you listen to him you would think it's time-wasting and expensive, but when you do it, it pays off. For example, when he came last time, he told me: '[i]n your shop, try to do M-PESA, Tigo PESA and sell LUKU and try to have a separate office for that business in your shop.' Now, to me, it sounded expensive because it would cost me up to one million TSh, so he pledged to help me with half the capital, but I still found 500,000 too much. However, I still did it with hesitation. But now that business is what I rely on." – Relative of a migrant in South Africa

"I have learnt many things from him; the first is being serious with everything I do. I see that when he is doing his things he is determined and before he does it we discuss it. He writes it in a diary and then he does it. Secondly, he is punctual, very efficient with time. Thirdly, he is smart and clean; he lets no one clean his room. The other thing is friends, he doesn't keep friends that are idle, and he

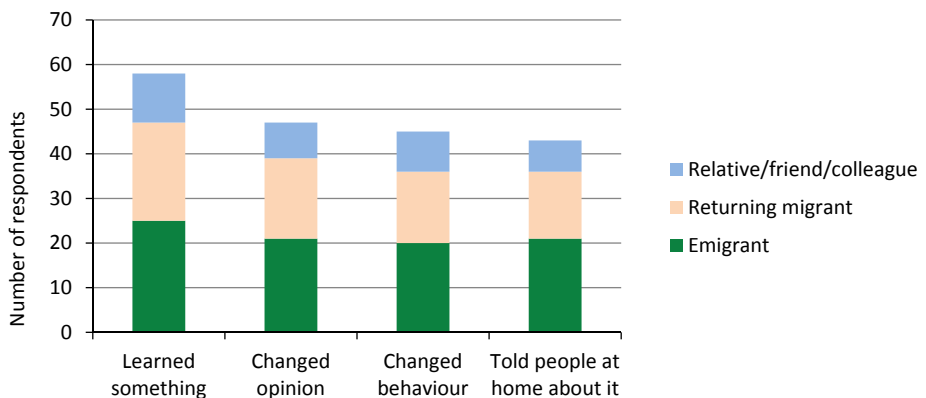
8 All the names have been changed in order to guarantee the confidentiality of the respondents.

would always speculate on my friends and tell me to leave the friends that don't have plans [for] success. If you find him with someone, then he is beneficial." –
Relative of a migrant in South Africa

Gender equality and women's empowerment

Gender equality is a central aspect of human development. Figure 19 shows how many respondents reported, as a result of the migration experience (lived or experienced through a relative, friend or colleague who has migrated), learning something and/or changing an opinion and/or behaviour as regards gender issues, and/or talking to other people in their home community about it. The indicators used were: (a) the proportion of girls who attend secondary school, (b) the share of women who are economically active and (c) the use of family planning methods. The majority of respondents seem to have learned something about these aspects of gender. Most of those who stated that they had learned something were emigrants, comprising 25 out of 58 responses. Nearly half of all respondents who reported a change in opinion and behaviour with respect to gender issues came from emigrants.

Figure 19: Social remittances related to gender, based on responses from the online survey



Note: Includes the following issues: secondary school attendance among girls, economic activity and use of family planning methods.

Individual interview respondents discussed aspects of gender equality and women's empowerment related to education, business and economic empowerment and, to a certain extent, the discrimination of women. There were quite diverse views regarding gender equality – some gained inspiration from other countries in the areas of education and economic empowerment, while others saw the United Republic of Tanzania as more progressive in comparison to the country of exposure. Discussions between migrants and relatives and friends about these issues can lead to a fruitful exchange, revealing alternative pathways for the United Republic of Tanzania and highlighting both the positive and negative points at home and abroad. Therefore, these kinds of discussions constitute a constructive process, regardless of whether the United Republic of Tanzania is put forward as a positive or negative example.

Regarding education, the discussion in interviews was stimulated by questions about girls in comparison with boys in school:

"Well, the number of boys exceeds that of girls by a very small margin compared to the Tanzanian situation, as the awareness of girls is much higher than here in Tanzania." – Friend of a migrant in China

"Well it's different from here because it's clear that the level of girls going to school here is less when compared to Malaysia." – Sister of a migrant in Malaysia

One returning migrant proposed single-sex schools, along with sexual health education, as an explanation as to why girls in Uganda do well in school:

"I think the girls here are doing quite well due to the number of single-sex schools; there are so many and they are also passing very well. In Uganda, it's stable and there are times where girls are doing better than boys and there are times it's vice-versa. But girls that pass here [in Tanzania] are from good families and in Uganda the subject of sex education has been very much emphasized." – Male returning migrant 2, Uganda

Another returning migrant from Uganda stated that there were many girls on the student board and that when he was there pursuing his studies, women were also very active in Parliament.

For Rwanda, the demographic effects of the genocide explain the higher rate of girls than boys in school:

"There are many girls in school in Rwanda. They have more girls than boys population-wise, because the genocide had killed many boys to avoid the next generation of the tribes that were victims. Even at work we used to get girls to help us with light [construction] work. So you may have like 3,000–4,000 students coming to help you." – Returning migrant, Rwanda

In terms of economic empowerment, there were a variety of responses that involved a comparison of the United Republic of Tanzania with other countries. While some respondents perceived the United Republic of Tanzania as better off than other countries, others expressed the opposite view:

“Well, like I told you before, the women in Rwanda are really not interested in working so most of them become dependent to their husbands. If there are some women working then it’s because their husbands let them get involved in their businesses. So I give credit to the women of Tanzania, they work really hard to make ends meet unlike the women in Rwanda.” – Female returning migrant, Rwanda

“Well, he told me that women are highly involved in many economics activities. They work as hard as men to provide for the family, and they also take part in business activities. But that is not the case in Tanzania.” – Male friend of a migrant in China

“They are willing to do anything to get money, and when you find them working they are serious. Unlike here, where the women work hard but don’t earn [according] to the[ir] work effort.” – Male relative of a migrant in South Africa

“A woman who is a qualified professional can live independently 100 per cent. Whilst here it is hard to do so unless they are married and they slightly depend on their husbands.” – Male returning migrant, Malaysia

“The first thing she [sister in Mozambique] said was that she didn’t see too many women in public offices; all she saw were women being used as secretaries, but she also said that the women that side were always confident with themselves and that they loved to look beautiful and also talked about how much the women that side loved to be in control of their houses. They are almost the heads of their households because they love to do what they do and she was wondering why it’s not the same in Tanzania, because the women there were free to show how they feel towards something. But she was only wondering why the same type of mentality and attitude is not used in offices because even the expatriates that were coming to Mozambique were almost all of them male.” – Sister of a female migrant, Mozambique

The sister of a migrant in Mozambique described another aspect of gender dynamics. Her sister had experienced a shift in gender roles as a result of migrating as a spouse. In the United Republic of Tanzania she used to work as an accountant, but after migrating, she became economically dependent on her husband:

“It was quite difficult for her because she was not working, and the thought of borrowing money from her husband was quite annoying since she was used to being independent.” – Sister of a female migrant, Mozambique

Regarding discrimination of women, a relative of a migrant in Kenya perceived Kenya as better off than the United Republic of Tanzania. She gives her Kenyan brother-in-law as a good example:

“In Kenya there is not much of women discrimination [sic] compared to Tanzania. In Tanzania we have different tribes that discriminate women completely, for example, the Kulyas, who always look at women as weak creatures. A good reference is my [Kenyan] brother-in-law; he does not have discriminatory behaviour against women.” – Female cousin of a female migrant in Kenya.

Botswana, on the other hand, was described as worse off than the United Republic of Tanzania by another female relative of a migrant, who cited the latter country as a positive example:

“Men mistreat women in relationships and men kill women in relationships. There are many killing cases in relationships.” – Female relative of migrants in Botswana

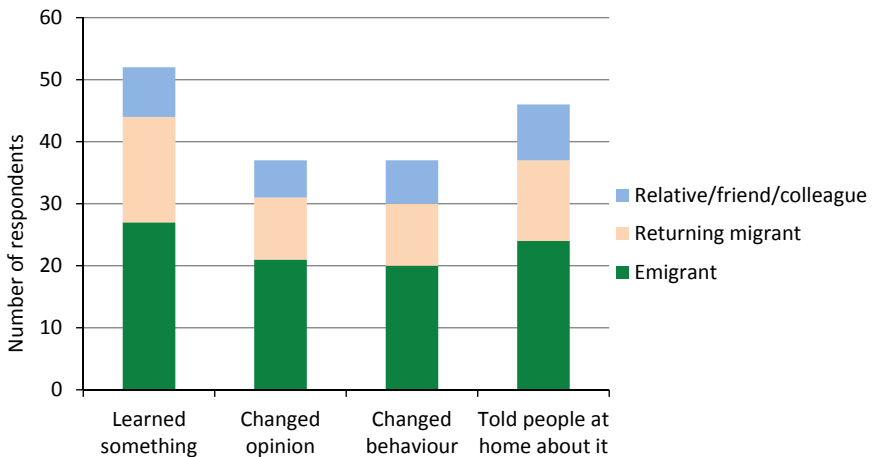
A returning migrant from Rwanda explains that the case is similar in that country, but that a new law against the discrimination of women had recently been passed:

“Do you know they passed a new law, now? It’s due to women being killed by their men...and now men can’t sell anything, especially land, without consent from the lady.” – Male returning migrant 2, Rwanda

Governance and transparency

As described in the human development framework section (Chapter 2), expanding freedoms is a central part of increasing capabilities and a way to decrease poverty. One freedom is related to transparency and governance. Figure 20 shows how many respondents reported that they, as a result of the migration experience (lived or narrated by a relative, friend or colleague who migrated) had learned something and/or changed an opinion and/or behaviour about the distribution of wealth, the willingness to pay taxes and corruption levels, and talked about it with other people in their home communities. The majority of respondents reported having learned something about taxation and corruption, and most of the responses on this topic came from emigrants. Out of 52 affirmative responses (i.e. they had learned something) in the online survey, 27 came from emigrants. As previously explained, multiple responses were possible, which means that there could have been more than 50 affirmative responses (corresponding to the total number of respondents). A respondent may have ticked “Yes” for wealth distribution, willingness to pay tax and level of corruption, which means that this one respondent gave three affirmative responses.

Figure 20: Social remittances related to taxation and corruption (distribution of wealth, willingness to pay tax and level of corruption), based on responses from the online survey



Note: Includes the following issues: distribution of wealth, willingness to pay tax and level of corruption.

Issues surrounding taxes were also tackled in the individual interviews. A strict system for tax collection in other countries impressed several respondents. Botswana, China and Rwanda stood out as examples, both among relatives and friends and among returning migrants:

“Well, he [friend in China] says that people are more willing to pay taxes in China than they are here in Tanzania. Moreover, as a business man he is required to be registered with certain authorities, which means he becomes a part of the system; hence, it’s easy to monitor if he has paid taxes or not. It’s near to impossible to evade taxes in China. If Tanzania could also improve its tax collection systems then they could collect a lot of revenue.” – Friend of a migrant in China

“The Chinese are already used to paying tax[es], it’s their responsibility and if you are known to be escaping taxes, no matter how wealthy you are, you may find yourself broke the next day so people are very scared of such scenarios. Even businessmen are afraid of avoiding taxes because the penalties are big.” – Brother of a migrant in China

Respondent: “They say that the system there is very strict that everyone has to pay tax[es]; paying tax[es] is not something that you can easily escape [from].

Interviewer: And what are they saying about it? Is it a good thing or a bad thing?

Respondent: They say it is a good thing because they see what the money is used for.” – Female relative of migrants in Botswana

One respondent spoke of how the repercussions of not following regulations motivate many to pay taxes in Rwanda:

"You know it's very different in Rwanda compared to Tanzania because here the tax officers will impose heavy taxes on you so that they also have some for their pockets from that much you are paying them, which is not the case in Rwanda."

– Female returning migrant, Rwanda

In the case of Uganda, a returning migrant proposes that people in Uganda are more willing to pay taxes than people in the United Republic of Tanzania because the taxes there are lower and some businesses are exempted from paying them. However, as can be seen from this conversation, taxes are not among the issues he talks about with his family and friends:

Respondent: "In my opinion, I think, yes, they are more willing tax payers than Tanzanians; but it's because their taxes are low. Here, many people dodge taxes because they are high."

Interviewer: Is this information you share with your family, friends or relatives?

Respondent: I have already talked to them about business but I haven't talked to them about taxes as much." – Male returning migrant 1, Uganda

The narratives about paying taxes are similar to the narratives around corruption. Both narratives bring forward aspects of having a strict system, laws and regulations, and penalties if people try to avoid paying taxes, for example, through corruption. The countries mentioned as enforcing a strict tax regime are the same countries that are talked about in terms of low tolerance for corruption – Botswana, China and Rwanda:

"Well he [friend in China] says that the Chinese are very serious about combating corruption. They have even gone further by passing a law to hang all corrupt personnel. It's still existent but in very small proportions [sic]." – Male friend of a migrant in China

"When it comes to the corruption issue, our country's current state of corruption is quite scary and very alarming, which is not the case in Rwanda. The Rwandan leaders are quite systematic, starting from their head of state, and so all his subordinates follow the trend and even the laws against corruption are really tight. If you are caught [on either the giving or receiving end of corruption] then you are in big trouble, which is not the case in Tanzania because here there is too much technical 'know-who.'" – Female returning migrant, Rwanda

After having lived abroad for 12 years, one respondent talked to people in the United Republic of Tanzania about corruption:

"I hadn't known that there was corruption here until I arrived. I was explaining to them that there was no corruption in Rwanda and they failed to believe me."

– Male returning migrant 1, Rwanda

Another respondent, a relative of a migrant in Botswana, put forward a similar narrative, based on what she had heard about Botswana:

“They are very serious with it, and not by words but by actions. Once you are found corrupt you are chased and taken to jail.” – Female relative of migrants in Botswana

Respondents also mentioned that there is corruption in China and Rwanda, but on a different level:

“He says that corruption is very high in China, but the way they do it is different. The corruption there doesn’t deprive you of your rights, because most times the ones taking bribes are the powerful and the poor don’t suffer. It is not like you have to bribe in a hospital to get services, that doesn’t exist in the society. So you will get all your necessities without bribing.” – Brother of a migrant in China

Corruption is there, but not as open as it is here. Like a few days ago when someone was arguing with a traffic officer and telling him to take TSh 5000 [EUR 2.50] and then leave. That is something you can’t see in Rwanda. But it’s there. Using my own experience as an example, I paid RWF 100,000 [EUR 116] to get a Rwandan I.D., and paid RWF 350,000 [EUR 407] to get a driving license. So it’s there. – Male returning migrant 2, Rwanda

A similar example was given in the case of South Africa:

He [relative in South Africa] says that in Tanzania, corruption [involves] stealing from society, but in South Africa the corruption is on an individual level and less disclosed than the corruption here. – Male relative of a migrant in South Africa

Uganda was the only example cited as having more corruption than the United Republic of Tanzania:

“They are quite ahead of us, in terms of much corruption.” – Male returning migrant 2, Uganda

Income disparity and poverty

Figure 21 illustrates how many respondents reported, as a result of the migration experience (lived or narrated by a relative, friend or colleague who migrated), learning something, changing an opinion or behaviour about level of poverty, access to health, education for poor people and strategies to reduce poverty, and talking about it with people at home. The majority of respondents reported that they learned something about the aforementioned aspects of poverty, and many reported a change in opinion. Nearly half of these respondents were emigrants. As previously mentioned, each respondent gave more than one response since several questions were asked related to income disparity and poverty. Out of 58 affirmative responses from online respondents

who reported to have learned something on poverty levels, access to health and education for poor people and strategies to reduce poverty, 28 responses came from emigrants. There were 52 online responses mentioning a change in opinion and 38 responses mentioning a change in behaviour with respect to level of poverty, access to health and education for poor people and strategies to reduce poverty. Most of these responses came from emigrants. More than half of responses from those who perceived the poverty situation abroad as better than in the United Republic of Tanzania came from returning migrants.

While respondents perceived the United Republic of Tanzania as worse off than most other countries of exposure in terms of corruption, the results were more mixed when issues of income disparity and poverty were discussed. In terms of poverty, Rwanda was portrayed as worse off than the United Republic of Tanzania:

"The poverty level in Rwanda is higher and worse than in Tanzania. If you go to the rural areas here, people will do farming and have food to feed them and also sell a few [sic]. But in Rwanda the people can't afford to do that. It's only recent [sic] that Kagame has tried to motivate people to farm, and also keep livestock by giving them cattle to try to reduce poverty levels in the rural areas." – Male returning migrant 2, Rwanda

"Yes, there is poverty, but the poor there do eat and dress. We can't think they are poor, there are thieves and hooligans." – Brother of a migrant in China

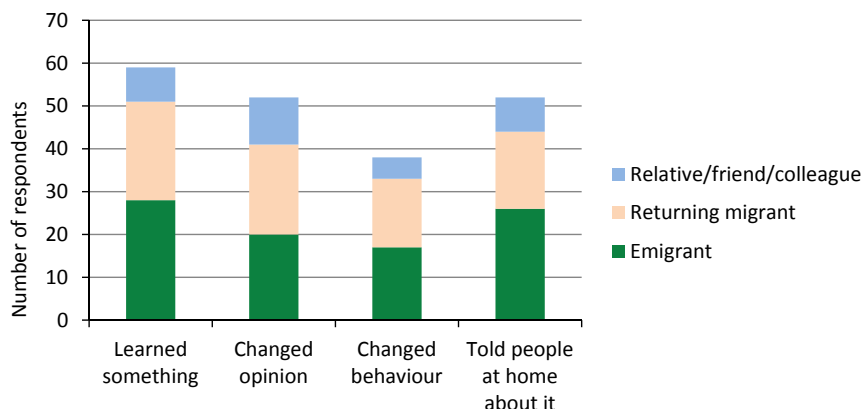
"Well, the poverty levels aren't as high as they are here, as there are opportunities for self-employment and there are a lot of small industries that employ people." – Male friend of a migrant in China

"He [relative in South Africa] says that poverty exists, but on the individual scale, and the government there (South Africa) doesn't care about the poor [...], unlike here. He says that if you're poor in Tanzania then it's because you choose to [be], because you can see the leaders and talk to them and organizations here reach even the rural areas. But in South Africa there is nothing of such kind." – Relative of a migrant in South Africa

The main poverty reduction strategy in Rwanda was to encourage agricultural production:

"That is what they are focusing on now, they are trying to motivate people to venture in[to] agriculture and the farmers get subsidized. They want to grow maize, beans, things they didn't used to grow. They depended on cassava and sweet potatoes." – Male returning migrant 2, Rwanda

Figure 21: Social remittances related to poverty, based on responses in the online survey



Note: Includes the following issues: poverty level, access to health and education for poor people, and strategies to reduce poverty.

A respondent suggested that the situation for poor people in the United Republic of Tanzania was better than in South Africa because of the many organizations in the country:

“He says that plans for poverty reduction are there but he has never witnessed actions to reduce poverty. Unlike here, you see organizations helping communities that are less privileged.” – Relative of a migrant in South Africa

“What I heard is that in Kenya there is scarcity of land and lack of employment opportunities, so what the government of Kenya is doing is encourage [sic] people to work hard in order to overcome those economic hurdles.” – Female cousin of a female migrant in Kenya

A returning migrant from Uganda stated that the fight against poverty is more recent there than in the United Republic of Tanzania:

“In Tanzania I have noticed that the government is recently trying harder to fight against poverty, whereas in Uganda, their government has put strategies in place for a long time. But they haven’t privatized many institutions like in Tanzania.” – Male returning migrant 1, Uganda

Regarding income disparity and the gap between the rich and poor, interviewees described the following situations, with examples from China, Kenya, Rwanda, and South Africa:

“The gap here [in Tanzania] is also big but what I like about here is that there is cooperation between the two. But in Rwanda they don’t have that.” – Male returning migrant 2, Rwanda

“He (migrant brother in China) said that the situation there is the same as here but the difference is that the rich there are few, but own many businesses, unlike here where the rich are many but own a few businesses.” – Brother of a migrant in China

He [(relative in South Africa) said that the gap in Tanzania is lower than [that] in South Africa, because in South Africa, there are the extremely rich and extremely poor.” – Male relative of a migrant in South Africa

“The real situation in Kenya is that if you have something you’re good economically and if you don’t have anything you will remain as you are. The rich people are extremely rich and poor people are also extremely poor. The gap between them is very big.” – Female cousin of a migrant in Kenya

Environment and infrastructure

Figure 22 shows how many respondents reported, as a result of the migration experience (lived or narrated by a relative, friend or colleague who migrated), learning something and changing an opinion and/or behaviour as regards access to electricity, use of different sources of energy and the availability of pit latrines, and talking about it with people at home. As previously explained, one respondent can generate more than one response because he or she could, for instance, give affirmative answers to all of the aforementioned issues. Most of the affirmative responses to the question about learning were from emigrants (25 out of 57 responses), followed by returning migrants. A change in opinion regarding the aforementioned issues was reported by 46 respondents, while a change in behaviour was reported by 41.

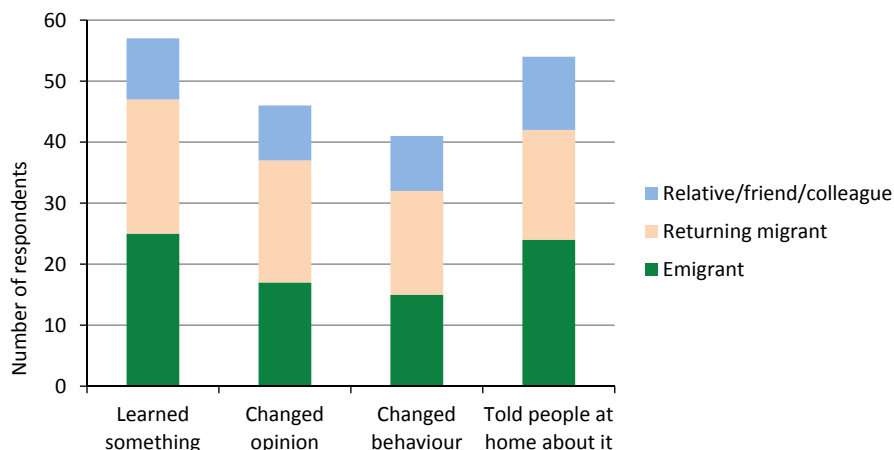
Respondents in the individual interviews who had been exposed to Botswana, China and Rwanda were impressed by many aspects of environmental management and infrastructure development, notably strict measures, planning and a clean environment:

“Well, he [brother in China] just says that they planned their cities more systematically, and they are very clean. There are a lot of by-laws to ensure that the cities are clean.” – Male friend of a migrant in China

“He [brother in China] says that there are cars that sweep the streets every day and you can’t find litter around in the streets. Sometimes you may not even see dust.” – Brother of a migrant in China

“One thing I noticed about Rwanda is that the people in Rwanda are very clean people, they have been strict with cleanliness and even their city is very clean. Everyone was responsible for their area’s cleanliness. People would do cleanliness from street level to city level, by law, after every two weeks I believe, if my math didn’t slip away.” – Female returning migrant, Rwanda

Figure 22: Social remittances related to sustainability of the access to electricity*, based on responses in the online survey



* Includes the following issues: access to electricity, use of various energy sources and availability of pit latrines.

Environmental policies adopted in destination countries do have a positive impact on the way of thinking and on the practices of returnees and relatives in the United Republic of Tanzania, as shown by the quote below from a respondent who had the following advice for her home country:

“Well, I think we already talked about this but I will just have to add more emphasis on the issue. The issue of cleanliness should really be adopted because Rwanda, as a country, is a very clean country and this can even be proved by the government’s refusal to make polythene bags because they cannot be recycled and instead use paper bags.” – Female returning migrant, Rwanda

Another respondent discussed infrastructure in terms of buildings and roads, as well as obtaining a mortgage to build or buy a house, something that has not been widely available in the United Republic Tanzania:

“The other thing is that it’s more developed in terms of the infrastructure, which is a lot better – buildings and roads. A lot of problems we face here with housing for instance, there it is tackled better. So finding a house is not a problem. They accept loans. A lot of people live on loans or you can pay a certain amount of money every month for a good, from a house to clothes to phones, anything. So there is a system that is more organized than it is here in Tanzania.” – Female returning migrant, Botswana

The following quote shows that one respondent perceived city planning as better in the United Republic of Tanzania than in Uganda:

"The infrastructure in Uganda is very bad. We aren't having the best infrastructure but we are ahead of them. The city in Uganda is small and there are many people there, but the roads are small and the infrastructure is poor. So here we are trying to improve infrastructure in the city and there they are focused on highways. So I think for an investor it will take [long for you] to succeed. The government is trying to improve the business climate and reduce the taxation system and reduce tax evasion. But I would advise a business person to invest in Tanzania." – Retuning male migrant 2, Uganda

Interviewees also discussed infrastructure such as power supply:

"According to him (relative in South Africa), you can choose which company to buy your power from just like the way you're selecting a mobile network. And some people use large solar panel systems. He gave me his boss' example saying that in his farms he uses bio-gas for power." – Relative of a migrant in South Africa

"What I noticed is that they depend on oil, and their economy depends on the oil business. I have seen them use the oil export revenue to build schools, hospitals and other infrastructure." – Male returning migrant, Malaysia

"Now they have invested in bio-gas. In the rural areas, for anyone with more than two cattle, they will install a system for them. In all the prisons and secondary schools in Rwanda, that's the gas they are using." – Returning migrant 2, Rwanda

As shown in the next quote, this interviewee was inspired by rural electrification through bio-gas in Rwanda, and it is something he might use himself in the United Republic of Tanzania, with livestock manure as fuel:

Respondent: "Yes we talk about it but people don't have that technology here. But it is easy because it's something I have tried making in Rwanda and it doesn't cost much.

Interviewer: Are you planning to have that system in your home?

Respondent: Yes, but it's just that we are in town, but in the villages it would have been fantastic because people there are livestock keepers and they have plenty of cattle, opposite to Rwandans." – Returning migrant 2, Rwanda

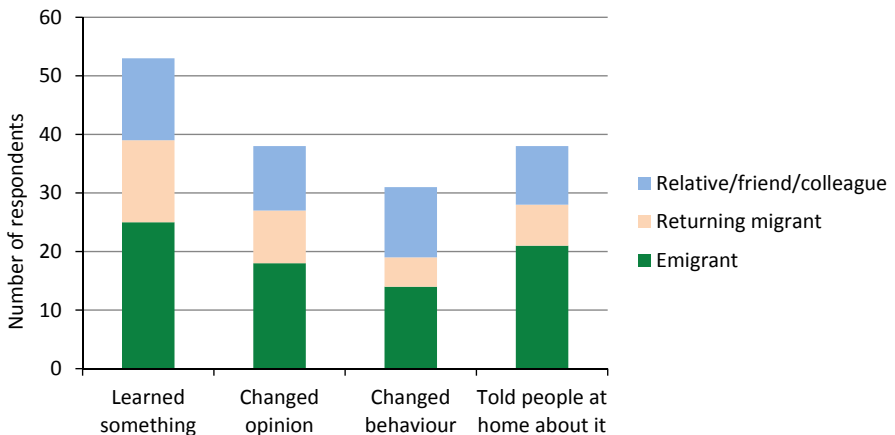
Regarding South Africa, one interviewee highlighted safety as an issue based on communication with his relative who was working in a supermarket:

"Life there is better than here. Food is cheap and social services are better than here. The only problem is safety...but you can earn money and work. But security, especially for black people, is low because when they are rotated at work they are taken to places where he [sic] doesn't feel safe at all, but goes there because he has to. And [he] even calls home to pray for him to be shifted from the area." – Relative of a migrant in South Africa

Aspects of politics

As described in the human development framework section (Chapter 2), expanding freedoms is a central part of increasing capabilities and is a way to decrease poverty. Political freedom is one such freedom and was therefore included in the survey. Figure 23 shows how many online respondents, as a result of the migration experience (lived or narrated by a relative, friend or colleague who migrated), reported learning something and/or changing an opinion and/or behaviour regarding the debate between different political parties, free press and the media, and political activism among ordinary people, and/or talking about it with people at home. The majority of the online respondents reported learning something about the aforementioned issues. Most of these affirmative responses came from emigrants (25 out of 53 responses). Relatives, friends and colleagues seemed to change their opinions and behaviours more than returning migrants. Out of 15 online respondents who were relatives, friends and colleagues of migrants, 11 reported a change in opinion, while there were 9 respondents who reported a change in opinion among the 19 returning migrants.

Figure 23: Social remittances related to political issues, based on responses in the online survey



Note: Includes the following issues: debate between different political parties, free press and the media, and political activism among ordinary people.

Differences were observed when the political situations in the country of exposure and the United Republic of Tanzania were compared – differences such as a perception of more political freedom in one country than the other. Stimulating a tolerant and dynamic political debate is part of human development. The political situation in the country of exposure was part of the discussion with family and friends when migrants returned to the United Republic of Tanzania, which indicates that aspects of politics and political debate are a form of social remittance which can stimulate political discussion:

“Yes, I tell them how surprised I am that people here talk about politics and can even criticize the government, something that you can’t do in Rwanda... When I compare Rwanda and Tanzania I think Tanzania has many political parties and [people] have the right to speak what they feel is right, unlike [in] Rwanda. In Rwanda the ruling party of RPF is very popular among the Rwandese [sic] so the small organized political parties are competing with the ruling political party.” – Female returning migrant, Rwanda

The following quotes from relatives of migrants in South Africa and Mozambique are another example showing that the political situation tends to be discussed between migrants and their family members and friends:

“He (relative in South America) says that politics in South Africa are developed, they are very strict. If they want something done they do it and they don’t tolerate leaders that aren’t hardworking. And if they notice that you’re supporting such corrupt leaders they kill you. Unlike here, where we support such leaders just because they are rich and powerful.” – Relative of a migrant in South Africa

“Well to begin with, the Mozambican president is very powerful, and there was a [running] joke that if the president wanted your wife he could have her. But, on a good note, it’s that the government was very concerned about their [sic] people to an extent that the president would go to the villages where no one would imagine a state leader to reach because of [their] being remote. He could actually spend a night or two and listen to their problems so that was a good indicator for the politics of Mozambique.” – Sister of a female migrant in Mozambique

“I can’t really remember much but all he (her brother-in-law) used to say is that the relationship between the ruling party, FRELIMO, and RENAMO, the opposition political party, is really tense and then the relationship between the central government and the provincial government is also very tense.” – Sister of a migrant in Mozambique

The sister of a migrant in Mozambique also had the opportunity to visit her sister, and this increased her awareness of the political situation in Mozambique and her to compare it with that in the United Republic of Tanzania:

“The people in Mozambique are politically aware. Even taxi drivers are aware about the political situation in Mozambique. The people are also aware of the

high bureaucracy levels in Mozambique and they have this anger that they want to end it and also be a pure[ly] democratic country, which is different from the people of Tanzania because the people are aware of the bad political situation here but they are all like ‘to hell with it, it’s none of our business.’” – Sister of a female migrant in Mozambique

In other instances of communication between emigrants and relatives and friends in the United Republic of Tanzania, politics is not in the agenda:

“He [brother in China] is not interested in politics so we have never spoken about politics. Except for the fact that he said that the [number] of people voting for a president in Tanzania, 9 million, is very small for a country like China. But I guess what he also tried to say was that many people in China participate in elections.”
– Brother of a migrant in China

When emigrants come back to the United Republic of Tanzania for the holidays, they observe aspects of the political life in the country and comment on them to their relatives and friends, as shown in the quote below about common practices among politicians and leaders:

“They were also surprised to see that almost all the government officials have big cars with a driver; they said they do not have this [sic] thing in Botswana. If you are a minister you are given a car and you are supposed to drive it yourself. You cannot find a government leader using the government car after working hours and you can’t find their president with an escort of many cars like here, maybe two or three, maximum. He is free to go to any institution, at any time.” – Female relative of migrants in Botswana

Rights and responsibilities were an aspect that made an impression on some relatives and friends of migrants in Tanzania, especially this brother of a migrant in China:

“He talked about rights, saying that most Tanzanians don’t know their rights whilst the Chinese know their rights. He said that if the government helped people to know their rights, life would be good to citizens [...] Even the police have to be aware of your rights before they capture you because many people are aware of the law and rights. So if you offend someone you can easily get sued.” – Brother of a migrant in China

As the following quote illustrates, this returning migrant who had been to Uganda to study brought with him the practice of letting other people know if something is not right.

“My sister finished her high school in 2007 when I went for my Form 1 and I used to tell her how things are happening and there is one thing in common with Ugandans – that people don’t tolerate injustice. Yeah, okay, it’s common in every African country that people are unjust. But we were taught at our school how to stand up for ourselves so right now I will stand up and say “mum, dad this is not

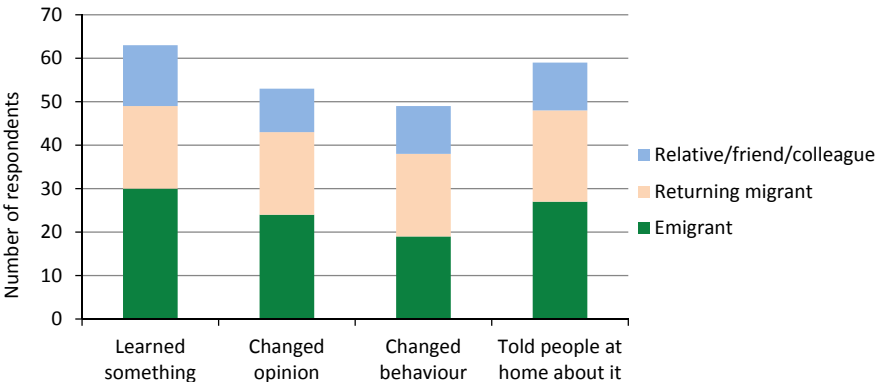
right!” So now I will tell them that you’re my parents but what you’re doing is not right and this is my right...When I do something and they find it strange I tell them that I learnt it in Uganda.” – Male returning migrant 2, Uganda

Information and communication technology

Figure 24 shows how many online respondents, as a result of the migration experience (lived or as narrated by a relative, friend or colleague who migrated), reported learning something or changing their opinion and/or behaviour as regards mobile phone access, use of the Internet and mobile phone payment and savings systems, and talking about it with people at home. The majority of online respondents reported that they learned something about communication and information technology. Almost half of these affirmative responses (30 out of 63) came from emigrants. As previously explained, each online respondent can give more than one affirmative response. A change in opinion and in behaviour regarding communication and information technology was reported by 53 and 49 respondents, respectively.

Individual interview respondents did not particularly engage in conversation about information and communications technology (ICT). When compared with the other countries of exposure, the United Republic of Tanzania was seen as having more access to mobile phones, but higher costs to make phone calls. The Internet was said to be used less in the country, but then it was already seen as relatively advanced in terms of mobile payment systems.

Figure 24: Social remittances related to information and communication technology, based on responses in the online survey



“There are many phones here in comparison to Rwanda and they use [the] Internet more in Rwanda than here.” – Male returning migrant, Rwanda

“It is easier in Rwanda than here. There is no tax for communication devices in Rwanda and even Internet services are cheaper than in Tanzania.” – Male returning migrant 2, Rwanda

There were diverse views among the respondents in Rwanda about the use of payment services using mobile phones. The first quote shows that these payments are not commonly used because the technology is new and there is good access to banks. The second quote illustrates how this technology is being used to some extent and gives an example of the sector, namely the construction industry.

“The interface is more often used here than there. People are often scared to use the interface there because it has just been introduced and they also have many banks.” – Returning migrant, Rwanda

“Tigo and MTN have that service and even construction companies had already gone into that system to pay their workers.” – Male returning migrant 2, Rwanda

The relative of a migrant in South Africa conveys his lack of trust in mobile money services in South Africa, citing his uncle’s experience as a reason:

“That M-PESA program was there but many people were robbed due to hacking. So now people are very scared. Because they have robbed him as well, his whole salary was gone.” – Relative of a migrant in South Africa

Respondents exposed to China and Malaysia noted advanced communication in terms of networks, the cost of calling and the use of the Internet and neither mentioned anything about mobile money services or said they were not used. The following quote compares China and the United Republic of Tanzania in terms of costs for calling:

“Yes, the networks are stable, they use very advanced phones compared to Tanzania. Moreover, it’s much easier for him to call me rather than me calling him. When he calls you can talk for a much longer time than when I call him from here as the costs are much higher here than it is there in China.” – Friend of a migrant in China

The following quote is a comparison between Kenya and the United Republic of Tanzania in terms of use of social media, based on a conversation with this respondent’s Kenyan brother-in-law:

“I talked to my brother in law and he said: “I wonder why for you Tanzanians the issue like Facebook is still a very big problem to you. You don’t communicate through Facebook while in Kenya most of our communications are done through Facebook. We don’t use much of phones to call somebody but we use Facebook.”
– Female cousin of a migrant in Kenya

One relative of a migrant in South Africa suggested encouraging communication by reducing mobile phone charges, all in order to help development in the United Republic of Tanzania:

"You know, communication is very important, so mobile charges should be low. People use a lot of money in Tanzania on mobile phones compared to other important things. So if the government wants us to develop, they should reduce mobile phone charges." – Male relative of a migrant in South Africa

Characteristics of messengers and recipients of social remittances

Peggy Levitt (1998) raises the point that the characteristics of senders and receivers do have an impact on social remittances. For example, age and economic independence are characteristics of both senders and recipients likely to make social remittances successful. Older men and economically independent women who play a role in society through participation in community initiatives tend to be the best messengers and receivers of social remittances. In this study, we explored the characteristics of the respondents to investigate the type of social remittances they either send or receive.

Emigrants and returning migrants were regarded as messengers, and their friends and family members as receivers. There were six emigrants and returning migrants who partially matched the characteristics described by Peggy Levitt. We drew conclusions about their levels of wealth based on their educational attainment and professions – for example, university professors or PhD holders were expected to have decent incomes and to be economically independent. Respondents with this type of profession reported that they learned something with respect to education, health, the level of corruption and political freedom. They talked about these aspects of life to their relatives at home, although they were not sure if the situation was better in their host country than in the United Republic of Tanzania.

The characteristics of the recipients of social remittances are equally important for the success of those remittances. Individuals with access to resources, and, therefore, with control over more aspects of their lives, could independently accept or reject social remittances (Levitt, 1998). Thematic areas such as gender, age and life cycle position may determine the impact of social remittances on the recipient side. We therefore explored the characteristics of the recipients of social remittances with respect to this assumption. Respondents who were relatives, friends and colleagues of migrants were considered recipients of social remittances. Recipients were men, young, unmarried women and married women. Young, unmarried women seemed to respond more than married

women to social remittances by changing their opinions and behaviours. The majority of men in this group seemed to respond equally to social remittances regardless of their economic status, age or marital status.

7. Concluding discussion and lessons learned

This study has explored the potential of South–South social remittances to promote human development in the United Republic of Tanzania. Social remittances refer to the transfer of knowledge, ideas, attitudes and behaviour by migrants to family and friends in the home country. It is a type of migration-related flow that so far has received limited attention in research and policy, in particular between countries in the global South. The study is based on a human development framework focused on a process of widening people's choices. The framework is founded on three essential human development capabilities: (a) for people to lead long and healthy lives, (b) to be knowledgeable and (c) to have a decent standard of living. Political, economic, and social opportunities are important aspects of human development used by people to be creative, productive and empowered.

This research used three respondent categories to explore social remittances: Tanzanian emigrants residing in a country in the global South, migrants who have returned to the United Republic of Tanzania, and relatives, friends and colleagues of Tanzanian migrants. Social remittances related to central aspects of human development were explored through an online survey with 50 respondents and in-depth individual interviews with 15 respondents. The study covers increased knowledge, changed attitudes and new practices regarding education, health, employment, business and agriculture, gender equality, governance, income disparity and poverty, the environment and infrastructure, aspects of politics and information and communication technology.

Out of 50 online respondents, 16 were emigrants, 19 were returning migrants and 15 were relatives, friends or colleagues of migrants. A majority were young – 32 were between 18 to 39 years of age. Males comprised 29 out of 50 respondents. Respondents were relatively highly educated – only three respondents had at most a primary education. This is likely to be a result of the format of the survey (i.e. online), which could have skewed the sample towards respondents with higher levels of education, but is also due to the fact that international migrants tend to have higher levels of education than the general population. The in-depth interviews were with people from two of the categories: (a) returning migrants ($n=8$) and relatives, friends and colleagues of migrants ($n=5$). The interviewees were also relatively young – between 20 and 39 years old. There was a mix of educational levels, but a majority were degree holders. The countries of exposure in both the online survey and in the individual interviews were mainly other countries in Africa: Botswana, Burundi,

the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Three Asian countries were represented: China, India and Malaysia.

The major reasons for moving abroad were education (45%), followed by employment/labour opportunities, business and family reasons, such as joining a spouse or other family members or marriage. The major reasons for returning to the United Republic of Tanzania were work/employment (62%), followed by business, health, retirement, responsibilities to take care of the family and expired permits, all in equal proportions. The migration experience did not trigger widespread further intention to migrate among migrants (83% said that they did not intend to migrate) or among relatives and friends (70% said they had no intention to migrate). The individual interviews revealed that for those who wanted to pursue migration, the relatives and friends saw the country of exposure of their migrant contact as the possible destination, while returning migrants preferred another country. Most planned a future in the home country, and some explicitly expressed that they wanted to use their migration experience for the benefit of their own country.

Communication between migrants and their relatives, friends and colleagues took place through various means, with telephone communication (both voice and SMS) being the most frequent in all categories and age groups (42%). Other methods of communication included Internet communication, including email (16%), Facebook and other social media (10%) and online voice/messenger services such as Skype and WhatsApp (6%). Communication also took place through face-to-face meetings, either when a migrant came for a visit or had returned permanently.

The online questionnaire followed a human development framework and allowed the respondents to select whether they had learned something, changed an opinion and/or a behaviour and told people at home about it as regards education, health, employment, business and agriculture, gender equality, governance, income disparity and poverty, the environment and infrastructure, aspects of politics and information and communication technology. For each thematic area, three indicators were selected. For example for education, the respondents were given the option to select “Yes,” “No” and “No response” regarding whether they had “learned something,” “changed an opinion,” “changed behaviour” and “told people at home about it” for various issues: quality of education, cost of education and teaching methodologies. All responses related to, for instance, education, were displayed on a summary

chart. There were therefore many more responses to the questions summarized in each chart than there were respondents in the online questionnaire.

To assess whether interaction between migrants and relatives, friends and colleagues changed ideas, values and beliefs in different areas of their lives, “change of opinion” was used as a proxy. An overwhelming majority of the answers from friends and family members living in the United Republic of Tanzania indicated that they had changed an opinion related to education. About 56 per cent of answers reported a change of opinion related to income, and 50 per cent of answers reported a change of opinion regarding poverty. It is obvious from this analysis that social remittances do have an impact on the opinions of emigrants’ friends and family members in the United Republic of Tanzania. There is reason to assume that behaviour related to income, health, mobile communication and ICT, gender and sustainability changed substantially as well (more than 30% of the answers). A change of behaviour is less evident in the areas of poverty, community and political participation and inequality.

The characteristics of recipients of social remittances were explored with respect to the above assumption. Respondents who were relatives, friends and colleagues of the migrant were considered recipients of social remittances. Young, unmarried women responded more often to social remittances by changing their opinions and behaviour than married women. The majority of men in this group seemed to respond equally to social remittances, regardless of their economic status, age or marital status. Since the sample size of the online survey was rather small, it did not allow for a robust statistical analysis, and the findings are not representative. However, the findings nevertheless suggest that it would be interesting to further analyse how the characteristics and geographical context of the messengers, as well as the recipients of social remittances, influence the impact. For example, is there a difference if the messenger is an emigrant or a returning migrant? And does interaction between geographically, socially or culturally close countries increase or lessen the impact of social remittances? This study shows that a transfer of knowledge also exists between countries that are similar. For instance, Uganda was referred to as similar to the United Republic of Tanzania in many ways, yet Uganda was a strong source of social remittances as far as education is concerned.

The online survey established the extent of increased knowledge, changed attitudes and new practices related to key aspects of human development. However, since the online survey is not based on a representative sample,

these patterns should be seen as merely an indication of the extent of change among emigrants, returning migrants and relatives, friends and colleagues of migrants due to migration experiences. The in-depth individual interviews were also structured around key human development issues. The interviews illustrate phenomena and explain reasons behind and mechanisms of different views and, therefore, allow for a more in-depth understanding of the results from the online survey. Often respondents compared their perceptions of a phenomenon between the country of exposure and the United Republic of Tanzania.

The responses are personal views and perceptions, not descriptions of realities. Nevertheless, these perceptions are important because they express the views of the respondents and influence the social perception of the migrant's family members and other people in the migrant's social network. Based on the respondents' experiences, lived or narrated, people make comparisons between the United Republic of Tanzania and the countries of exposure. These comparisons are not useful for evaluating how well the country is doing in terms of human development compared to other countries, but they do illustrate that migrants, as well as people in the migrants' social network, have become exposed to alternative pathways through the migration experience, whether desired or not. It shows agency and that individuals directly or indirectly exposed to migration have gained awareness that can be used as a positive force in the struggle for human development.

As mentioned, the online survey indicated a substantial change in opinion regarding education for the following indicators: cost of education, quality of education and teaching methodologies. Of all the thematic areas covered in the individual interviews, education seemed to receive the most concern and engagement. The respondents were inspired by the education system in other countries in the global South to which they had been exposed and believed that the Tanzanian education system could benefit substantially from innovations seen in these countries in terms of cost, quality, language of instruction, course offerings (practically oriented versus theoretically oriented), a more conducive learning environment and greater priority given to education.

Issues related to health were also prominent among respondents. The indicators were cost, quality and use of health insurance. It appears from the online survey that everyone who learned something about health through his or her exposure – either by being a migrant, a returning migrant or a relative, friend/colleague of a migrant – also shared the information with people in

his or her community, which suggests the wide impact of social remittances. In the individual interviews, some respondents expressed appreciation for a health-care system operating on a first-come, first-served basis rather than what was referred to as a “who you know” culture. Sexual and reproductive health was discussed in the individual interviews. One of the returning migrants was inspired by HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns in Botswana and, after returning to the United Republic of Tanzania, became an HIV/AIDS prevention activist during her university studies. This case is an illustration of a social remittance being transferred through a public campaign, with a potentially large audience. Not all social remittances are positive, however. They can also have a negative impact and spread wrong ideas and myths, as was seen in one of the interviews in which a relative of a migrant had been told that family planning for women had a negative impact for the man and had caused somebody’s death.

Employment, business and agriculture were covered in the online survey. The indicators were availability of employment, business environment and productivity in agriculture. In some of the individual interviews, business was mentioned as a driver of the conversation when a relative or friend communicated with an emigrant. In this regard, topics included accounts and plans in relation to an emigrant’s business being overseen by a relative or friend, or plans for the relative or friend to travel or move to the country where the migrant was residing. Online respondents (80% of the emigrants and 82% of the returning migrants) said they were interested in investing in the United Republic of Tanzania. They preferred to make this investment by transferring their knowledge and skills rather than financially. They considered corruption to be a major obstacle to investing. The unlawful expectations of investment partners seem to have an impact on the investment decisions of migrants and could even prevent investments from being made. Negative social capital in the form of corruption may, therefore, have an impact on migrants’ willingness to invest in the United Republic of Tanzania.

The online survey included gender equality and women’s empowerment issues, although these issues were little discussed in the individual interviews. The indicators for governance and transparency were distribution of wealth, corruption and poverty, and some individual interview respondents expressed that they had been inspired by strict tax regimes and action against corruption in some of the countries of exposure in the South. As regards the environment and infrastructure, some respondents were impressed by the city planning and cleanliness in urban areas in some foreign countries, while some respondents raised the issue of safety in the country of exposure as a concern. The online

survey covered political topics through questions regarding political parties, freedom of media and political activism among the general population. These topics also engaged the respondents in the individual interviews, with responses about political engagement in the countries of exposure and political freedom. The online survey covered information and communication technology through questions about mobile phone access, use of Internet and mobile phone payment and savings systems. Respondents expressed that high mobile phone charges for international calls prohibited communication between the migrants and their family and friends back home.

Interestingly, relatives, friends and colleagues of migrants constituted a substantial share of the affirmative answers in the online questionnaire in terms of increased knowledge, changed attitudes and changed practices. The same pattern materialized in the individual interviews, where it was apparent that the relatives and friends of migrants had gained a lot through communication with migrants. This hints at the potentially wide impact of social remittances. These people have not migrated, yet they have gained significant experience by communicating with their migrant contacts. If the relatives, friends and colleagues of migrants, in turn, continue to talk to other people in their community about the migration experience and the information and knowledge they have gained, this could have quite a substantial impact on a society.

The United Republic of Tanzania, along with many other countries, is currently in the process of reviewing the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which were set for 2015 and which are based on a human development framework. At the global level, the most significant progress has been made towards the first two goals (eradicate extreme poverty and hunger and achieve universal primary education); however, the achievements have been uneven within and across countries, and among social groups. The other six goals have seen slower progress. They include: (a) gender equality and women's empowerment (goal 3); (b) reducing child mortality (goal 4); (c) improving maternal health (goal 5); (d) combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases (goal 6); (e) ensuring environmental sustainability (goal 7); and (f) developing a global partnership for development (goal 8) (UN, 2013).

Because the current set of MDGs will expire in 2015 and not all goals have been achieved, there is a post-2015 development agenda being developed. In Tanzania, several meetings have been held on this issue with various stakeholders, such as civil society organizations (CSOs,) local government authorities (LGAs)

and vulnerable groups. Growing inequalities between salaried workers versus small-scale farmers and fishermen, pastoralists and petty traders are said to be fuelled by a free market system causing inequalities in education and health. When the stakeholders described the future they wanted, emerging themes were: (a) social values and moral ethics, (b) quality of education at all levels, (c) access to and quality of health-care services, (d) income, food poverty and productivity, (e) increased investment and opportunities in the agricultural sector, (f) the role of the private sector in development, (g) management of natural resources and (h) other issues of concern, including climate change, youth employment, special and vulnerable groups, good governance, rule of law and human rights (ESRF, 2013a). An online discussion has also taken place through the Tanzania Knowledge Network (TAKNET), establishing that the greatest challenge for the United Republic of Tanzania and other African countries is to simultaneously bring about sustainable economic growth, sustainable development and poverty reduction. Among the issues included in the online discussion were primary and secondary education, health services, water, affordable electricity, infrastructure and skilled personnel who will be able to take the country to the next level (ESRF, 2013b).

The discussion on the post-2015 development agenda in the United Republic of Tanzania largely corresponds to the issues highlighted by the emigrants, returning migrants and relatives and friends of migrants in this study. This group of people, who, through the migration experience, have acquired a lot of knowledge, new attitudes and changed practices, could be an important group of stakeholders in these discussions. South–South mobility and social remittances could also be included in the process, coordinated by the Economic and Social Research Foundation (ESRF), of producing a human development report for the United Republic of Tanzania. The report could include a section on South–South mobility, capturing the ways in which emigrants, returning migrants and relatives, friends and colleagues of migrants contribute to human development in the United Republic of Tanzania through their migration experience.

This study has shown several examples of changed practices, which could potentially be used by practitioners and planners if returning migrants and relatives, friends and colleagues of migrants were included in the process. The Big Results Now (BRN) initiative aims to adapt the Malaysian development model to the United Republic of Tanzania in order to make the transition to a middle-class economy by focusing on six areas of priority outlined in the Tanzania National Development Vision 2025. The six areas are: (a) energy

and natural gas, (b) agriculture, (c) water, (d) education, (e) transport and (f) mobilization of resources (United Republic of Tanzania, 2013). Malaysian policy experts have coached Tanzanian experts in their home country and through study tours in Malaysia. There could be an opportunity to use the experience of Tanzanian migrants who have lived in Malaysia in this process. They would potentially have a lot to contribute to this process because of their deep awareness of the different contexts and could add value, from a grass-roots perspective, to the knowledge gained in the policymakers' study tours and the ideas provided by the Malaysian experts.

Based on the findings of this study, some key recommendations can be made in order to facilitate the role of South–South social remittances in promoting human development in the United Republic of Tanzania. Many migrants and returning migrants have gained knowledge and changed their attitudes and practices as a result of their exposure to other countries in the South, and they are talking about their experiences to people in their community. Most of the returning migrants do not intend to migrate again; if they do, it would only be temporarily. Therefore, they have a lot to contribute in local, regional or national discussions on human development. The study has also shown a significant impact on relatives and friends, which implies that there are also people who have gained knowledge and changed attitudes and practices through an indirect migration experience (i.e. as narrated by migrants that they know). These people are also human resources that can be used to spread information and make progress in terms of human development on issues such as education, health, livelihood, the environment or governance. They can be considered agents of change and brokers between local and national levels – they have additional exposure but with real grass roots experiences. Potential entry points for their participation are the post-2015 development agenda and the BRN process.

In terms of research, a recommendation is to use the rich migration data recently obtained through the 2012 Population and Housing Census. By analysing this data, it will be possible to ascertain how many household members are living abroad, their gender, and their country of residence. Because the census contains rich demographic data, it would make it possible to analyse emigrants in terms of age, gender, education, livelihood, as well as the socioeconomic and geographic backgrounds of their households. In terms of the impact of social remittances, the census data will also make it possible to create a representative sample for the country of exposure and do further research on whether the transmission of social remittances varies depending

on whether the messenger is somebody who still lives abroad or is a returning migrant, whether the socioeconomic status of the messenger and recipients matter in terms of impact, and whether countries geographically, socially and/or culturally distant from the United Republic of Tanzania have more to offer in terms of social remittances. At the NCC stakeholders' meeting in Dar es Salaam on 23 August 2013, where the study was presented, a participant posed the question of whether social remittances differed depending on whether the migration (out of or back into the United Republic of Tanzania) was voluntarily or forced. This was not explored in this research but could indeed be an interesting question for further research.

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Annex A : Links to research tools

Questionnaire for Tanzanian emigrants

<http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/Emigrants>

Questionnaire for returning migrants

<http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/Returningmigrant>

Questionnaire for relatives/friends or colleagues of migrants

<http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/familymemberofemigrants>

Interview guide for returning migrants

<https://docs.google.com/a/dpc-tz.com/file/d/0B8cUKMU2fXJddC0tRUM1MGg3SG8/edit>

Interview guide for family members/friends/colleagues of migrants

<https://docs.google.com/a/dpc-tz.com/file/d/0B8cUKMU2fXJdOGZWtGgWnKowWTA/edit>

Note: A DPC (Development Pioneer Consultants) account is needed to access the documents listed above.

Annex B: Questions from the online questionnaire

Questions from the online questionnaire asked of all respondent categories

Demographic and communication

1. What is your gender?
2. Please indicate your age from the categories specified below: *(list of age brackets follows)*
3. What is your marital status?
4. Do you have any dependants?
5. How many dependants are . . . ? (Please enter the respective number of dependents.)
6. What is the highest level of education you have achieved?
7. What is your current employment status?
8. What is your professional expertise?
9. Can you use your professional expertise in your current occupation?
10. You earlier replied that you don't use your professional skills. What is your current occupation?
11. Which of the following statements apply to you?
12. How often did you use these means to communicate with family, friends or colleagues?
13. In which country were you born?
14. What is your current nationality?
15. Did you face technical problems using these means of communication?
16. There may be issues (other than technical) with communicating with family/friends and colleagues in Tanzania. Which statements apply to you?

Social remittances

1. Education
2. Health
3. Income
4. Inequality
5. Poverty
6. Gender
7. Sustainability
8. Political freedom
9. Participation/organization
10. Communication and information technology

11. Please state your full name here.
12. Phone number
13. Email address
14. What is your relationship to him or her?
15. If you have additional comments that you wish to make on any aspect of the survey, please write them in the space below.
16. What are these barriers?

Questions from the online questionnaire similar asked of all respondent categories

Note: Question wording adapted as necessary to be appropriate for a particular respondent category.

1. *(If married or has a long-term partner)* What is the nationality of your spouse/long term partner?
2. Did you use to communicate with friends, relatives and colleagues in Tanzania?
3. Did you face technical problems when you communicated with people in Tanzania?
4. *(If a relative)* You replied earlier that you were Tanzanian migrants sent by an institution. Can you please specify which institution sent you? Please provide the cell phone numbers and email addressed of friends or colleagues who still live abroad
5. What is [Q72] telephone number?
6. What is [Q72] email address?
7. In which country does [Q72] live?
8. What is the name of your relative, friend or colleague who still lives abroad that you suggest we contact?
9. Would you be willing to share with us your contact details (a requirement if you want to participate in the lottery) or the contact details of other Tanzanians who are still living abroad or other returning migrants?

Questions from the online questionnaire asked of emigrants and returning migrants

Note: Question wording adapted as necessary to be appropriate for a particular respondent category.

1. *(If a returned migrant)* Do you intend to move back abroad on a permanent basis in the near future?
2. If yes, when do you expect to move back abroad?
3. Are there any reasons for you not to move back abroad?

4. If yes, what are the reasons for not moving back abroad? (specify all that apply)
5. Did you use to remit funds to Tanzania?
6. Why did you remit funds to Tanzania?
7. Do you think the funds you sent contributed to the development of the following in Tanzania?
8. Did you belong to a network or organization for Tanzanians in the country where you lived?
9. If yes, which network or organization for Tanzanians in the country where you lived?
10. How was information shared among members of the Tanzanian network which you were a member?
11. How often did you use to meet?
12. Was there a contact person/focal point for the network or organization for Tanzanians?
13. If yes, please indicate contact details.
14. Did you belong to other networks or organizations (outside the Tanzanian) community?
15. If yes, what kind of network or organization?
16. What was the primary reason for your last visit to Tanzania?
17. On average, how long did you stay in Tanzania when you visited?
18. On average, how often did you visit Tanzania?
19. If you had never visited, please specify the reasons why you hadn't visited Tanzania.
20. Did you visit Tanzania when you were living abroad?
21. How did you get information on what was happening in Tanzania when you were abroad?
22. Did you use to receive information about what was happening in Tanzania when you were abroad?
23. What was your primary reason for leaving Tanzania?
24. When did you leave Tanzania?
25. In which country did you live before returning to Tanzania?
26. You replied that you were a Tanzanian migrant. Were you a short-term migrant, long-term migrant, seasonal migrant or office bearer?

Questions from the online questionnaire asked of migrants and returning migrants

Note: Question wording exactly the same across all respondent categories.

1. Do you have private investments in Tanzania?
2. Are you interested in making private investments in Tanzania?

3. Are there any barriers or restrictions that exist that could stop you from investing?
4. You earlier responded that you are interested in investing in Tanzania. What type of investment is of interest to you?
5. Are you currently interested in contributing or donating to development projects here in Tanzania?
6. Which development projects are you interested in supporting?
7. What type of support would you be interested in contributing?
8. Are there any barriers or restrictions that exist that could stop you from contributing to national development?

Questions from the online questionnaire asked of emigrants and relatives, friends and colleagues of migrants

Note: Question wording adapted as necessary to be appropriate for a particular respondent category.

1. When did you (or your relative/friend/colleague) leave Tanzania?
2. What was your (or your relative/friend/colleague's) primary reason for leaving Tanzania?

Questions from the online questionnaire asked only of emigrants and returning migrants

1. Did you belong to a network or organization for Tanzanians in the country where you lived?
2. If yes, which network or organization for Tanzanians in the country where you lived?
3. How was information shared among members of the Tanzanian network of which you were a member?
4. How often did you use to meet?
5. Was there a contact person/focal point for the network or organization for Tanzanians?
6. If yes, please indicate contact details.
7. Did you belong to other networks or organizations outside the Tanzanian community?
8. If yes, what kind of network or organization was this?

Questions from the online questionnaire asked only of relatives, friends and colleagues of migrants

1. You replied that you have a family member, friend or colleague who is a Tanzanian migrant in a country of the Global South. Is he or she a ...?

2. What type of relationship do you have with the person living abroad?
3. Do you receive information about what is happening in the country where your migrant relative, friend or colleague lives?
4. How do you get information on what is happening abroad when you are not there?
5. Did you ever visit your relative, friend or colleague abroad?
6. If you have never visited, please specify the reason(s) why you haven't.
7. On average, how often do you visit abroad?
8. On average, how long do you stay in abroad when you visit?
9. What was the main reason for your most recent visit abroad?
10. Do you intend to move to abroad on a permanent basis in the future?
11. Are there any barriers or restrictions that exist that could stop them from contributing to national development?
12. What type of support would they be interested in contributing?
13. Which development projects are they interested in supporting?
14. Are they currently interested in contributing or donating to development projects in Tanzania?
15. You earlier responded that your relatives, friends or colleagues abroad are interested in investment in Tanzania, what type of investment is of interest to them?
16. Are there any barriers or restrictions that exist that could stop them from investing?
17. Are your relatives, friends or colleagues interested in making private investments in Tanzania?
18. Does your relative, friend or colleague abroad have private investments in Tanzania?
19. What are the funds from abroad used for?
20. Do you receive funds from abroad?
21. If yes, what are the reasons for not moving abroad?
22. Are there reasons for you not to move abroad?
23. If yes, when do you expect to move abroad?

Questions from the online questionnaire asked only of returning migrants

1. When did you return to Tanzania?
2. What was your primary reason for returning to Tanzania?
3. Do you intend to move back abroad on a permanent basis in the future?

Question from the online questionnaire asked only of emigrants

Do you intend to move back to Tanzania on a permanent basis in the future?

While the relevance of financial remittances for developing countries is well documented and has gained attention during the last years as an important and stable source of external development, the flows of ideas, knowledge, behaviours and social capital transmitted by migrants to their families, friends and communities in their home countries, defined as “social remittances”, is still overlooked.

This study on migrants from the United Republic of Tanzania in countries of the global South, their relatives and their friends, explores the potential of social remittances. Through an online questionnaire and interviews, the study analyses how migration impacts emigrants’ behaviours, beliefs, ideas, opinions and knowledge, and to what extent these changes have an effect on several spheres of their families’ and friends’ lives back “home.” The findings of the research reveal that social remittances in the United Republic of Tanzania have a strong impact and influence on education, health, employment, business and governance.



ACP Observatory on Migration

20, rue Belliardstraat (7th floor)

1040 Brussels - Belgium

Tel.: +32 (0)2 894 92 30 - Fax: +32 (0)2 894 92 49

ROBrusselsACP@iom.int - www.acpmigration-obs.org



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