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Urban transformations, migration and residential mobility patterns in Arusha, a secondary city of Tanzania

Abstract

Urban growth is a significant trend in Africa. Scholarly attention and urban planning efforts have focused disproportionately on the challenges of big cities, while small and medium-sized urban settlements are growing most rapidly and house the majority of urban residents. Small towns have received some attention, but very few studies have focused on secondary cities. This paper offers a study of urban transformations, migration and residential mobility patterns in Arusha, a rapidly growing secondary city of Tanzania. Arusha functions as a major attraction for migrants and in-migration is a central dynamic shaping transformation processes in central areas, which are characterized by high population turn-overs, vibrant rental markets and widespread landlordism. There is also a considerable degree of intra-urban residential mobility between central areas. Intra-urban residential mobility is the most important dynamic shaping transformation processes in peripheral areas characterized by long-term urban residents moving from central parts of the city as part of a process of establishing themselves as homeowners. Overall, the paper provides crucial insights on how migration and residential mobility patterns influence processes of urban growth and transformation in the context of large secondary city, and thereby contributes to fill a significant knowledge gap on secondary cities in Africa.

Keywords: urban transformation; urban growth; migration; residential mobility; secondary city; Arusha

Introduction

Urban growth is a significant trend in Africa. The total number of urban residents in Africa is growing with app. 3 per cent year and is expected to reach almost a billion by 2040 from a level of app. 400 million in 2010 (UN-Habitat, 2014). Urban growth at this scale undeniably represents a formidable planning challenge. However, scholarly attention and urban planning efforts tend to focus disproportionately on the challenges of megacities and large metropolitan areas. Meanwhile, the fastest growing urban settlements are actually of small and medium size with less than one million inhabitants (UN-Habitat, 2016). At present, the small and medium-sized cities absorb as much as 75 per cent of urban population growth (UN-Habitat, 2014) and house the majority of urban residents (UN-Habitat, 2016). Given the magnitude of urban growth in small and medium-sized cities, it seems reasonable to assume that many of these settlements face significant planning challenges, especially as they reach a certain size.

Rapidly growing, large cities commonly give rise to concerns and anti-urban sentiments among African policymakers. However, the small and medium-sized urban settlements are often regarded in a more favourable light as alternative zones of attraction for rural-urban migrants. As African policymakers are increasingly pursuing policies aiming to reduce migration to major cities (UNDESA, 2008), it is noteworthy that such policies commonly seek to achieve this by improving the quality of life in small and medium-sized urban settlements as well as in rural areas (Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2005). Recent studies indicate that

migration out of agriculture and into small and medium-sized urban settlements leads to faster poverty reduction and more inclusive growth patterns than migration to mega cities (Christiaensen, De Weerdt, & Todo, 2013; Christiaensen & Todo, 2014). Several studies highlight how small and medium-sized urban settlements enable livelihood diversification strategies, because of the possibility to combine rural- and urban-based livelihood strategies (Foeken & Owuor, 2001; Lanjouw, Quizon, & Sparrow, 2001; Owuor & Foeken, 2006). In the South African context concerns about how to stem rural-urban migration has generated a growing increasing interest in research concerned with how to promote economic growth and development in small towns in rural areas (Atkinson, 2009, 2016; Donaldson, Spocter, du Plessis, & van Niekerk, 2012; E. Nel & Binns, 2002; E. L. Nel & McQuaid, 2002; Toerien & Seaman, 2014). Furthermore, small and medium-sized urban settlements across Africa are highlighted for their role in regional development processes, i.e. in relation to supporting agricultural production, facilitating market linkages and distributing services to surrounding rural hinterlands (Baker, 1990; Bryceson, 2011; Dorosh & Thurlow, 2013; Larsen & Birch-Thomsen, 2015; Owusu, 2008; Satterthwaite & Tacoli, 2003).

In the literature on small and medium-sized settlements in Africa, the bulk of scholarly attention has gone towards small towns in rural areas. Besides many of the above-cited studies, other small town studies include Davenport, Gambiza, & Shackleton, 2011; Donaldson, 2009; Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2010, 2011; Jaglin, Repussard, & Belbeoc'h, 2011; Kulinkina et al., 2016; Lemon & Clifford, 2005; McConnachie & Shackleton, 2010; Miescher, 2015; Shackleton & Blair, 2013. Very little scholarly attention has gone towards small and medium-sized urban settlements of less modest size, i.e. intermediate or secondary cities (notable exceptions include Foeken & Owuor, 2001; Geyer, Coetzee, Du Plessis, Donaldson, & Nijkamp, 2011; Owuor & Foeken, 2006). While there is no uniform definition of secondary cities, the term is commonly used to denote the cities that in terms of size rank below the primary cities in the urban hierarchy of a given country. Secondary cities are thus neither primary cities, nor are they small towns, but they can be everything in between (Roberts, 2014). Secondary cities commonly have important functional roles within the system of cities. Roberts (2014) identifies numerous different urban functions of secondary cities, including regional markets, service centres, regional capitals, tourist centres, communication hubs and strategic economic location.

This paper seeks to contribute to fill the remarkable knowledge gap on secondary cities with a study of urban transformations, migration and residential mobility patterns in Arusha, a rapidly growing secondary city of Tanzania. To our knowledge, no previous studies have explored how migration and residential mobility patterns influence processes of urban growth and transformation in the context of a large secondary city in Africa. An important aspect of understanding urban growth and transformation is to distinguish between migration and residential mobility (Andreasen & Agergaard, 2016; Coulter, van Ham, & Findlay, 2016). While migration is concerned with newcomers to the city, residential mobility refers to shift of residence within the city. These dynamics have particular spatial outcomes, e.g. that certain types of people come to live in certain areas. While this has been a central thread of inquiry in studies of western cities it may also apply to urban transformation processes in cities of Sub-Saharan Africa (Agyei-Mensah & Owusu, 2010). This paper offers insights from recent case studies of three different residential areas of Arusha. These areas have developed at different times and are currently undergoing diverse transformation processes. Collated, these three case studies offer crucial insights into dynamics and processes of migration, residential mobility and urban transformation in a larger secondary city of Africa.

Context: Urban growth and transformation in Arusha

The city of Arusha is located on the slopes of Mount Meru in Northern Tanzania and functions as the regional headquarter of the administrative region of Arusha. The city of Arusha is the largest commercial centre in north-eastern Tanzania. The city is surrounded by lush agricultural land and numerous large plantations and green houses. The most important crops are coffee, flowers, vegetables, banana and

maize. Arusha city functions as gateway and transit point for the Northern Safari Circuit, including Serengeti National Park, Ngorongoro Conservation Area and Lake Manyara National Park, as well as marketing centre for Tanzanite, the precious gem stone mined in areas around Arusha.

The urban system of Tanzania is characterized by a high degree of urban primacy. The primary city, Dar es Salaam, is by far the largest city. With a total population count of 4,4 million people in 2012, Dar es Salaam accounts for roughly one-third of the total urban population in Tanzania (Andreasen, 2013). Arusha is one among a group of larger secondary cities of Tanzania ranking just below Dar es Salaam, including also cities such as Mwanza, Mbeya and Zanzibar City (Gough et al., 2013; Wenban-Smith, 2015). Arusha was one among the nine regional growth centres, which got preference in relation to spatial planning, public infrastructure investments, social services and government-run industries in the decades following Tanzania's independence in 1961. The 1973 master plan for Arusha envisioned a prosperous and rapidly growing secondary city. However, the collapse of the East African Community in 1977, whose capital was Arusha, made the projected population growth unattainable. Moreover, urban growth was constrained by the refusal of landowners on the slopes of Mount Meru north and east of the city to make their land available for urban development, because of the high land value and fertile soils in these areas.

Arusha was a fairly modest-sized secondary city up until the beginning of the 1990s. However census data indicates that population growth has taken up pace since then. It is difficult to estimate the exact size of Arusha's population, because the urban built-up area is spread across two districts (Wenban-Smith, 2015). The majority of the urban area is located within Arusha City Council, which was recently expanded in 2010 to include a larger area of the surrounding hinterland south of the city centre. However, the urban area also stretches into the surrounding Arusha District Council, particularly in the direction north of the centre. See map 1 for an overview of Arusha city with demarcation of district boundaries. According to the 2012 census the population of Arusha City Council has grown from app. 283,000 in 2002 to app. 416,000 in 2012 (NBS, 2013). While some of this growth can be attributed to the recent boundary expansion of Arusha City Council, the figures give an indication about the size and growth pace of the city's population. The municipal figures translate into an average growth rate of app. 4 per cent per year in the 2002-2012 period. Compared to a national population growth rate of app. 3 per cent per year (NBS, 2013), this indicates that a sizeable share of Arusha's growth can be attributed to in-migration. Indeed census data also indicates that Arusha region is a net receiver of migrants and that the proportion of migrants within Arusha region is increasing (NBS, 2015). It is likely that the city of Arusha is attracting the lion's share of the region's migrants.

Population growth in Arusha city has been accompanied by widespread spatial expansion, involving horizontal development of the contiguously built-up urban areas. A GIS-based analysis of dis-aggregated census data has been carried out as part of the research for this paper. This analysis indicates that the peripheral wards of Arusha have grown most rapidly and received quite substantial shares of recent population increases in the 2002-2012 period. This has resulted in significant increases in population densities of the peripheral wards. Recent expansion had been most marked in the areas south and south-west of the city centre. Expansion has been restrained in the Western direction by large-scale plantations and in the Northern direction by the forest reserve of Mount Meru.

Map 1. The city of Arusha

Explanation: Overview map of Arusha city with demarcation of district boundaries.

Data collection

The paper is based on case studies of three different residential areas of Arusha. These areas have been selected based on the above-mentioned analysis of spatially disaggregated census data. The three

settlements developed as urban residential areas during different time periods and are currently undergoing diverse transformation processes. However, all three settlements could be considered as “typical” residential areas in Arusha, in the sense that they are informally developed, ethnically and socio-economically mixed and offer a variety of housing for predominantly low- and middle-income people. See map 2 for the locations of the selected settlements.

- Murriet is a *newly developing, peripheral settlement* located in the northern corner of Terrat ward. Murriet is characterized by low population densities, though densities increase closer to the main outlet road. The area has experienced very rapid population growth, above 10 per cent per year, and significant increases in population density during the 2002-2012 period. Prior to 2002 the area was a sparsely populated area characterized by bush, grazing land and agricultural land-use. At the time of fieldwork Murriet formed part of the contiguously built-up urban area.
- Madukani is a *consolidated peripheral area* located in the northern end of Sokoni I ward in relative proximity to the city centre. Transformation processes in Madukani took pace during the 1990s. Before that the area was characterized by agricultural land use. During the 2002-2012 period population growth rates have been around 5 per cent per year, which has translated into increasing population densities, especially in the parts closest to the city centre.
- Olmatejo is an *old and densely developed inner-city area* located in in south-western corner of Ngarenaro ward in close proximity to Arusha’s commercial business district. The area initially developed during the 1970s and 1980s and is today characterized by very high population and housing densities. Olmatejo has experienced slightly negative population growth rates in the 2002-2012 period, though population densities remain very high. The population is characterized by a high turnover and sizeable volumes of both in-movers and out-movers.

Data collection was carried out during 2014-2015 by a team of Tanzanian junior research assistants under the supervision of the two Tanzanian authors of this paper. The main bulk of data consists of semi-structured interviews with individual residents regarding their settlement preferences and intra-urban settlement trajectories. The interviews also included issues of livelihood activities, access to services and daily mobility practices, as well as migration trajectories to the extent that it was relevant to the resident in question. A total of 93 residents participated in individual interviews spread fairly evenly across the three settlements. The sampling targeted adult household heads paying for housing expenses of their households i.e. land purchase, house construction, rent payments etc. The sampling ensured geographical coverage and inclusion of households with varying degrees of access to roads and public transport services.

Data collection also included focus groups with residents in each settlement. Sampling for the focus groups sought to ensure variation among participants in relation to characteristics such as gender, age, occupation, ethnicity and length of residence in the settlements. The focus groups were primarily concerned with creating a shared narrative of the various changes that the settlements had undergone in relation to building types, density of settlement, accessibility, population composition and access to services. Additionally, data collection included interviews with relevant local key informants in each area, such as local leaders and civil servants at ward and sub-ward level, as well as “wazee”, elderly long-term residents with in-depth knowledge of the settlements.

Map 2. Case study areas

Explanation: Map of Arusha city with demarcation of ward boundaries and locations of the selected case study areas.

Urban transformations, migration and residential mobility patterns

This section presents an analysis of migration, residential mobility patterns and urban transformation processes in the three selected residential areas of Arusha. The analysis seeks to unfold how these settlements have developed and transformed over time and what has characterized residential mobility patterns and residents' motivations for moving in and out of the settlements during these transformations.

Arusha is a major attraction for migrants. The findings indicate that migrants form a majority of residents across all three settlements, though a complex mixture of people populates all three settlements, including indigenous residents, children of migrants and both long-term and more recent migrants. In Tanzania's 2012 census a migrant is defined as someone born in another region than their current region of residence (NBS, 2015). By this definition, most residents in all three settlements are migrants, though many are long-term urban residents, who have lived more than 10 years in Arusha. There is also a significant share of residents, who were born inside Arusha region, residing in all three settlements. This group includes people who consider themselves indigenous to Arusha region, either Maasai or Waarusha people, as well as descendants of migrants originating from outside Arusha region. Some are urban-born, i.e. born and raised in Arusha city itself. Others are better conceived of as intra-regional migrants, because they were born within the larger region of Arusha, though not in the city itself.

The migrants originate predominantly from surrounding northern and central regions such as Kilimanjaro, Manyara, Tanga, Dodoma, Singida, Shinyanga, Mara and Kagera. Sending areas include rural villages, small towns and other secondary cities. Their migration histories are characterized by a vast diversity. Both men and women migrate, both independently or as part of families. The majority migrated in their youth, but there are also some who migrated as children or mature adults. The predominant motives for migrating to Arusha are related to the pursuit of urban-based livelihood opportunities and revolve around searching for work, pursuing education or migrating for specific jobs. Futari, a 44-year-old, female migrant from Dodoma region, is a good example of this. She grew up in a small village in Kondoa district and migrated to Arusha in her youth a few years after completing primary school. Her primary motivation was to look for work: *"Where I came from, we had a very difficult life. I only have one parent and there was nobody to help us. That's why after completing school I decided to move out of the village, because even if I had gotten married in the village, I would still have the same problems. So it is better to make a living somewhere else. At first I lived for some time with my aunt in Ngarenaro. Then I found work as a house maid with a Somalian woman in the centre."* Futari worked as a housemaid for several years in different households in Arusha as well as in Nairobi in Kenya. After five years working as a housemaid, she met her husband in Arusha and got married. Together they settled in Olmatejo, at first in a rented room, and later they were able to build their own house. While livelihood opportunities feature prominently in people's motivations for migrating, many also migrate as part of families or to find lodging with and seek support from relatives residing in Arusha. Leonia, a 45-year-old female migrant from Kilimanjaro region, migrated to Arusha twice in her life, first as a young girl to live with relatives in Arusha after her mother's death, and later as a mature woman to follow her husband. *"I was born and grew up in Moshi, but after my mother passed away, I moved to my uncle's place here in Arusha in Sokoni I. After some years I moved to Rombo [near Moshi in Kilimanjaro region] to stay with my cousin there. We were doing some small business together. After some time I met my husband and got married in Rombo. My husband was doing his business in Arusha, so after the birth of our first child I moved to Arusha with him."* At first Leonia and her husband lived as tenants in the centrally located Kaloleni area, but in the early 1990s they were able to buy a piece of land in Madukani, not far from her uncle's place, and build their own house.

Migration is a central dynamic shaping transformation processes in central parts of the city. The findings indicate that new migrants initially settle in central and consolidated parts of the city and commonly join existing households as relatives or tenants. The majority of migrants in this study initially started out living with relatives, when they first arrived in the city. This suggests that social ties to existing residents of Arusha are important in enabling a move to the city. Many later moved out and established their own households after some years. The old inner-city settlement of Olmatejo is a good example of a central

settlement accommodating many new and recent migrants in the city. Olmatejo is conveniently located near to the facilities and livelihood opportunities offered by the city centre. While some are able to find formal employment in private companies or public agencies, most residents of Olmatejo rely on self-employment in informal small-scale business and trading activities. Many such activities rely on regular exchanges in central markets, such as the nearby Kilombero market. Olmatejo residents commonly highlight that they are able to walk everywhere for most of their daily trips. Olmatejo is also relatively well-served, which was highlighted by a local leader as an important attraction of Olmatejo: *“People are attracted by the availability of schools and water services here in Olmatejo. In that respect we are fortunate. We are also very close to Arusha city centre.”* Olmatejo is serviced by formal electricity and water provision networks, though provision is notoriously deficient and unstable, as it is in most parts of the city. There are several primary schools within Olmatejo and public hospitals quite close by in neighbouring central areas. Though the interior roads are rough and narrow, the settlement is close to several large all-weather main roads and good public transport services.

Olmatejo has a vibrant informal rental market with a wide selection of affordable rental accommodation on offer. The rental market is highly commercialized and characterized by widespread small- and large-scale landlordism. The informal and unregulated nature of the rental market has contributed to the very high population and housing densities of the area. Olmatejo is characterized as *“overcrowded, unplanned and disorganized”* by focus group participants. Despite the central location, rental prices remain quite affordable for lower income segments of the population. The low rental prices reflect the old and dilapidated character of the houses and the poor environment characterized by high densities, severe waste management problems and a somewhat unfortunate reputation, as a local leader explained: *“This neighbourhood is known for providing the cheapest rental accommodation, simply because of the nature of the materials used for construction, mud and poles, and the old age of these houses. Unfortunately our neighbourhood is also known for preparation and selling of home brew and drugs like marijuana.”*

Residential mobility patterns in Olmatejo are characterized by a high population turnover and large volumes of both in- and out-movers. Current in-movers are predominantly new migrants arriving in the city as well as non-owners moving from other parts of the city. There is a considerable degree of intra-urban residential mobility within and between various central areas. Both migrants and urban-born residents are very mobile and commonly spend a considerable number of years moving around within and between various central parts of the city, either living with relatives or in rental accommodation. Residential mobility within and between central areas is commonly motivated by a search for affordable rents or housing improvements, such as more space or better access to services, as well as opportunities to live with relatives. Mariam, a female migrant from Singida, moved to Olmatejo in search of more spacious rental accommodation: *“We used to live in Makao Mpya [in Kaloleni ward], but it was just in relation to my husband’s work place. He works in a guest house. After we got married and had our first two children, then we thought the room back there was very small. So we found a room here in Olmatejo. Even if it is still only one room, at least it is a big room.”* Another tenant in Olmatejo, Amina, a 42-year-old female migrant from Manyara region, has spent the past 20 years moving around between various rental houses in Olmatejo and other nearby central settlements. She explained the tendency of tenants to move around: *“You might rent a room somewhere, but then the house is not so nice. Or maybe you don’t get along with the landlord. Sometimes perhaps the services are not accessible, like water services or electricity. Sometimes you need money, if you have children in school, so you may need to look for cheaper rooms.”*

Alongside the high population turn-over, there is however also a sizeable share of very long-term residents in Olmatejo. Many of these are homeowners, who settled in the area during the 1970s and 1980s, when Olmatejo first started developing as an urban residential area. During those years formerly agricultural land was piecemeal and informally developed with mud-and-pole Swahili-style houses, which were fashionable at the time. Long-term residents narrate how the indigenous landowners back then either gave away or sold off small plots of land to aspiring homeowners, many of which were migrants originating from outside

Arusha. Current homeowners in Olmatejo include both non-indigenous and indigenous people, who either built their house during the 1970s or 1980s or inherited their house from parents or in-laws. Omari is a 2nd generation homeowner in Olmatejo, who inherited his house from his parents: *“I originate from Kilimanjaro, but I was born here in Arusha. My parents came to Arusha, so when I was born, they were living in Daraja Mbili [in Arusha]. Later they bought land and built this house here in Olmatejo, so this is where I grew up. I went to Ngarenaro primary school not far from here, but I went to study form one up to four [secondary school] in our home place in Mwanga [in Kilimanjaro region]. After that I came back to town to look for work.”* Present-day aspiring homeowners cannot easily establish themselves in a central area like Olmatejo, as a local leader explained: *“Nowadays it is very difficult to access land in this place, simply because there is no vacant land. Every part of this neighborhood is a built-up area, and it is very congested. If you want land here in Olmatejo, then you have to buy a full property, a piece of land with a house on it.”* In a context where housing finance is almost non-existent (NHC, 2010), only the wealthiest are able to buy a whole house in cash. Instead, aspiring homeowners have to look towards the periphery for undeveloped land.

Consequently, intra-urban residential mobility is a central dynamic shaping transformation processes on the periphery of the city. The findings indicate that residents of newly developing, peripheral areas are mainly long-term urban residents, both migrants and urban-born, moving from central parts of the city as part of a process of establishing themselves as homeowners. Buying cheap, undeveloped land in the periphery allows aspiring homeowners to construct their own house incrementally, often over several years, and according to changing economic priorities of the household and the variable income flows associated with self-employment and informal economic activities. Incremental construction is the only way to become homeowners in the city for the vast majority of the urban population. A recent study of peripheral settlements of Dar es Salaam also highlight the importance of homeownership aspirations and processes of incremental house construction in shaping transformation processes in peripheral parts of the city (Andreasen, Agergaard, & Møller-Jensen, 2016).

Murriet is a good example of a newly developing, peripheral settlement, where today’s aspiring homeowners are able to find a piece of undeveloped land for their house. Prior to 2000 the area was sparsely populated and characterized by bush, grazing land and agricultural land-use. In the early 2000s the Arusha livestock market was officially moved to Kwa Morombo near Murriet (in the most northern corner of Terrat ward). In relation to this, the road connecting the city centre with Kwa Morombo was improved. This in turn sparked a growing interest in the land surrounding Kwa Morombo, such as in Murriet, and catalysed informal land subdivision processes, where former landowners started selling off small plots of land to aspiring homeowners. Transformation processes in Murriet are characterized by construction of self-built, owner-occupier, single-family houses of modern building materials like bricks and iron-sheets. The main attraction of Murriet is the availability and affordability of land. This is highlighted by Zainab, a 32-year old migrant from Manyara region, who recently established as a homeowner in Murriet: *“I moved here with my husband and our three children. The main reason why we settled here is just the availability of land. This is the place where we got a plot.”* An emerging rental markets has also developed in Murriet. Some homeowners have started subletting a few rooms in their houses. Rental prices are very low because of the peripheral location and general lack of services and infrastructure.

Murriet is characterized by severe deficits in relation to services and infrastructure. The area is not serviced by formal water provision or electricity networks. For electricity, some residents are able to make use of solar power or generators, while others simply live without electricity. For water, residents rely on local groundwater resources from predominantly private wells and boreholes. John, a 50-year-old migrant from Kagera, established himself as a homeowner in Murriet in the early 2000s. He considers that the practice of drilling private boreholes has improved water provision considerably since then: *“When we first settled here, it was very difficult living here. There was no water by that time. Nowadays people drill boreholes, but in those days it was very difficult to get water. Now there are taps everywhere. At least we can see the taps,*

even if they cannot provide water all the time. So water is still a problem today, but it is a different kind of problem.” Though water provision has improved over the years, residents complain that the ground water is very scarce in supply during the dry summer period. Furthermore, public health services are only available in the centre and the nearest public primary school is located at the Kwa Morombo Market. Most children in the interior parts of Murriet have to walk far on poor roads to reach school. Zainab, who recently settled as a homeowner in the interior parts of Murriet, is also a mother of two school-going children. She worries much about their way to school: *“Sometimes you will be discouraged, because the school is very far from here. There are no public schools down here. And behind us is a low-lying area. If there is a rainfall, then the teachers have to release the children immediately, so they can go home. Otherwise they cannot pass through that area, because it will be flooded.”* The interior roads in Murriet are notoriously rough and commonly become un-trafficable during the rainy season. The settlement is poorly serviced by public transport and services tend to retract seasonally in relation to road deteriorations. Interestingly, urban-based livelihood activities predominate among residents. Despite the poor accessibility of the area, the majority of households nonetheless rely on one or more breadwinners regularly travelling to the centre in relation to his or hers livelihood activities.

Residential mobility patterns in Murriet are characterized by a large in-flow of new residents. In-movers are predominantly long-term urban residents, both migrants and urban-born, moving from central and consolidated parts of the city. Though many originate from outside Arusha region, only few are new migrants in the city. Many are first-time homeowners in Arusha, who previously lived as tenants or with relatives elsewhere in the city. Notably, a recent study identified similar intra-urban settlement trajectories among residents in the periphery of Dar es Salaam (Andreasen & Agergaard, 2016). In-movers in Murriet are moving from a broad range of central and consolidated areas, i.e. wards like Elerai, Sombetini, Levulosi, Kaloleni, Sekei, Unga Limited and indeed Ngarenaro, where Olmatejo is located. See map 2 for an overview of Arusha city with demarcation of ward boundaries. For an example Yasmeen, a newly established homeowner in Murriet, previously lived as a tenant in Olmatejo. Her parents originate from Tanga region, but Yasmeen was born in Arusha region and grew up in Usa River a bit outside the city along the Arusha-Moshi road. Yasmeen’s husband is a migrant from Kilimanjaro region. After getting married they lived together as tenants in Olmatejo for more than 10 years. However, in 2010 they were able to buy a plot of land in Murriet and build their own house: *“It was just because of our family growing bigger. We needed a larger house for our children.”*

Land purchase and house construction requires a careful management of household resources and accumulation of savings over an extended period of time. Homebuilders commonly spend a number of years on incremental house construction, before they are able to move into their own houses. While Yasmeen and her husband were able to establish themselves as homeowners while they were in their early 30s, others are much older before they are able to buy land. Jacob is a migrant from Shinyanga region in his late 50s. He migrated to Arusha as a young man in the early 1980s to look for work. He has spent roughly 30 years living as a tenant in the central area of Makao Mapya located in Levulosi ward, before he was able to buy land and build a house in Murriet: *“Because of the expenses related to paying rent, I decided to find a place to build a house. Also when you are married, the family grows and children come along, so you need more space. And there are just so many people in Makao. So that was when I got this plot of land here in Mbuga ya Chumvi in Murriet. I bought the land back in 2001, but it took me a long time to build my house. I was not able to move into my house before 2009.”*

The aspiring homeowners commonly have a strong affinity for homeownership as a tenure form, often surprisingly unaffected by considerations concerning the ill-served and poorly accessible nature of the area. Homeowners prefer living in their own house, rather than as tenants in the centre, because homeownership is considered as a source of security in the context of a highly unregulated private rental market, an informal economy and the lack of formal economic safety nets. Dora, a migrant from Kilimanjaro region and a well-established homeowner in Murriet, greatly values her position as a

homeowner: *"I do not wish to move anywhere else, because in other places I will not have my own house. Here I am blessed to have my own house and I don't pay any rent. So I do not wish to live anywhere else. Only I wish for all the services to be available for us here in Murriet."* The possibility to supplement urban incomes with farming is also part of the attraction of Murriet for some of the homeowners. For an example John and Zuhaira, a young migrant couple from Kagera, have recently established themselves as homeowners in Murriet. They engage in small-scale trading activities in relation to the Kwa Morombo market and supplement their incomes with farming on a nearby piece of land in Terrat ward.

Transformation processes, quite similar to what has been going on in Murriet during the 2000s, took place in Madukani during the 1990s. Prior to 1990 the area was characterized by bush and agricultural land use, but aspiring homeowners were attracted by the availability and affordability of land during the 1990s. Most in-movers were long-term urban residents moving from central and consolidated parts of city, i.e. wards such as Kaloleni, Sombetini, Ngarenaro and the nearby Unga Limited. As in Murriet, housing developments were characterized by self-built housing of modern building materials, as a local leader explained: *"This area used to be characterized by these big farms owned by a few indigenous owners. There were only two shops, which gave the name to this area [the Swahili term Madukani can be translated into "shop area"]. The environment changed over time, because a lot of people came and bought land in the 1990s. Now there are so many houses everywhere. Previously houses were of mud and poles, but today the vast majority are modern houses made out of bricks and iron sheets."* Initially developments were characterized predominantly by single-family, owner-occupier housing. However, in recent years commercial houses for tenants are becoming increasingly prevalent in the area. Many established homeowners sublet rooms in their own house or have developed separate housing compartments for tenants on their properties. At present Madukani is a consolidated peripheral settlement with a flourishing informal rental market.

Residential mobility patterns in Madukani are characterized by a sizeable in-flow of new residents. While aspiring homeowners formed the majority of in-movers in the 1990s, present-day in-movers are predominantly non-owners attracted by the availability and quality of rental accommodation or by the possibility to live with or near relatives in Madukani. Rental accommodation in Madukani is perceived to be of higher quality than in central areas like Olmatejo. Rental rooms are more spacious and the surrounding environment is perceived as relatively safe and pleasant. This is highlighted by Yasinta, a 29-year-old migrant from Manyara region. She migrated to Arusha in her youth and initially lived a few years with relatives in Sombetini. In Arusha she met her husband, who is a migrant from Mara region. After getting married, they first rented a room together in the nearby Unga Limited area. However, six years ago they moved to a rental house in Madukani in relation to the birth of their first child: *"We just moved because of the environment, to get more space for our family and also a place, which is safer and more secure, especially for small children like ours."* Rental prices in Madukani are higher than in Murriet, because Madukani is relative closer to the centre and better serviced. Interestingly the narratives of Madukani tend to parallel those of Murriet in relation to the lack of services at the time when the early homebuilders arrived. However services have improved considerably over time. At the time of fieldwork Madukani was serviced by formal water provision and electricity networks. This is appreciated by Madukani residents, though electricity supply is notoriously unstable and piped water supply is highly deficient. Additionally, public primary schools are accessible locally, and while the interior roads are very rough and subject to seasonal water-logging, Madukani is still comparatively better serviced by public transport than Murriet.

The relative proximity and accessibility towards the city centre is also an important attraction of Madukani. This is highlighted by Christian, a 28-year old migrant from Singida region, who recently moved to Madukani. Like Yasinta he migrated to Arusha in his youth. Initially he lived a few years with relatives in Unga Limited. Later he found rental accommodation near Kwa Morombo Market in Murriet. However the strain and costs of daily transport from a poorly accessible peripheral area caused him to look for accommodation closer to town: *"I am tenant here in Madukani, and I moved here just a few months ago from Kwa Morombo. It was because of the distance to my work. I am working in town, and Murriet is very*

far from there. It was very exhausting. Every day you have to spend money of the bus fare. Therefore I decided it is better to come live nearer to my activities". Like Christian, most residents in Madukani are self-employed in informal small-scale business and trading activities and regularly need to travel to the centre. Though Christian values Madukani's relative proximity and accessibility towards the centre, he imagines that he will move back to the peripheral areas around Kwa Morombo in the future, because he hopes to be able to establish himself as a homeowner: *"There at Kwa Morombo somehow you can get a piece of land. Here in Madukani you cannot get any land. All the land is already full."*

Concluding remarks

This paper has presented a study of urban transformations, migration and residential mobility patterns in Arusha, a rapidly growing, secondary city of Tanzania. The paper is based on case studies of three very different residential areas in Arusha. The ambition was to bring together findings from these different case studies to illustrate how processes of urban transformation are inextricably linked with migration flows and residential mobility practices.

Arusha is a major attraction for migrants, especially from the surrounding northern and western regions. The findings indicate that migrants form a majority of residents across central as well as peripheral settlements, though the populations are mixed and include indigenous residents, children of migrants and both long-term and more recent migrants from near and far. This certainly supports the view of small- and medium-sized urban settlements as alternative zones of attraction for rural-urban migrants. A significant finding is that migrants constitute a highly diverse group with regard to age, gender, socio-economic status and reasons for migrating. The pronounced diversity in migrant profiles and histories calls for caution in making generalisations about migrants, especially in assuming that migration is an important factor in relation to increasing urban poverty. The predominant motives for migrating to Arusha are related to the pursuit of urban-based livelihood opportunities and education as well as relations to migrants or residents of Arusha. Nothing suggests that migrants are particularly attracted by the possibility to engage in mixed rural and urban-based livelihood activities, highlighted in some studies as a benefit of small- and medium-sized urban settlements (Foeken & Owuor, 2001; Lanjouw et al., 2001; Owuor & Foeken, 2006). This indicates that the attraction of migrant flows to Arusha must be understood primarily in light of the city's own economic and social dynamics.

Migration is a central dynamic shaping transformation processes in central parts of the city. The findings indicate that new migrants initially settle in central and consolidated parts of the city and commonly join existing households as relatives or tenants. Catering for the housing demands of migrants offers livelihoods opportunities for low- and middle-income property owners in the central areas. Residential areas near the centre are characterized by high population turn overs, vibrant rental markets and widespread landlordism among property owners. However, the private rental market is widely unregulated; tenants live on the grace of their landlords and in uncertainty of future rent increases or when a lease agreement might be terminated. There is also a considerable degree of intra-urban residential mobility between and within central areas. Both migrants and urban-born residents commonly spend a considerable number of years moving around within and between various central parts of the city in search of affordable and attractive rental accommodation or to find lodging with relatives. The findings indicate that rent and housing quality are important factors in household locational decisions and major drivers of intra-urban residential mobility. However, the structures of the rental market means that it is difficult to measure and compare housing expenditure across households. Housing costs are incurred in numerous different ways and with different timing and speed. This highlights the need to develop methods that are accurately able to capture this heterogeneity in housing expenditure across households.

The informal practices of subletting in central areas have wider implications for urban planning and policy. The unregulated nature of the private rental market contributes to increase population and housing

densities in central areas and intensify pressures on the local environment. In the central case area of Olmatejo densification processes have continued beyond the bearing capacity of services and infrastructure and well beyond what would be considered a safe and healthy urban environment by most standards. This finding is in line with a recent study of central settlements in Dar es Salaam, which documents how densification processes result in excessive plot coverage, in-house crowding, poor sanitary conditions and dysfunctional settlement structures (Sheuya, 2009). This draws attention to the pertinent issue of regulation of informal rental markets in urban planning. Regulation of informal subletting practices could ensure that rational decisions at the household level about subletting are not allowed to render settlements dysfunctional and unhealthy at the accumulated level. Measures need to ensure safe and regulated densification of central settlements, without eroding subletting as an important source of income for landlords or destroying the easy access to affordable accommodation in the city for migrants. Intra-urban residential mobility is the most significant dynamic shaping transformation processes on the periphery of the city. Commonly, migration is seen as an important factor in the expansion of urban areas in sub-Saharan Africa, and peripheries are often portrayed as arrival zones for new rural migrants to the cities (Beauchemin & Bocquier, 2004). However, the findings from this study indicate that residents of newly developing, peripheral areas are mainly long-term urban residents, both migrants and urban-born, moving out from central parts of the city as part of a process of establishing themselves as homeowners. Transformation processes in the periphery are catalysed by aspiring homeowners engaging in incremental construction of houses on undeveloped, ill-serviced and poorly accessible land. In a context where housing finance is almost non-existent, this is the only way to become homeowners for the vast majority of the urban population. Homeownership is considered as a source of security in the context of a highly unregulated private rental market, an informal economy and lack of formal economic safety nets. These findings imply that transformation processes in the periphery are associated with well-established, long-term urban residents improving and consolidating their position as urban residents through homeownership.

The processes of informal urban expansion have wider implications for urban planning. While un-surveyed land in the periphery offers opportunities for homeownership for low- and middle-income urban residents, the widespread lack of transparency in land transactions is a source of concern. As argued by Durrand-Lasserve et.al. (2015) land issues in cities of sub-Saharan Africa are highly asymmetrical in regard to access to information and to administrative and political power. The increasing land prices, high transactions cost and time-consuming procedures may combine to reduce affordability of informal land in the periphery and result in unequal access to land as well as inefficient land-use (Durand-Lasserve, Durand-Lasserve, & Selod, 2015). A key challenge is how to overcome this situation when formal urban planning standards in Tanzania are highly unrealistic and likely to be unenforceable (Kironde, 2006). More appropriate and flexible planning tools are needed to support, rather than exclude, the large share of urban residents making a home for themselves through incremental house construction in the periphery.

The deficiency of basic services and infrastructure is another source of concern. When housing development is happening without services and infrastructure in place, it is both technically challenging and costly to provide these services post-settlement (Andreasen & Møller-Jensen, 2016). This underlines the urgent need to engage in infrastructure development and service provision more proactively. Moreover, the peripheral areas are characterized by very poor accessibility, while the growing number of residents in the periphery has to travel long distances to reach work places and livelihood opportunities concentrated in the centre. In that sense, the informal urban expansion processes contribute to a 'spatial mismatch', where low-income people suffer from poor access to relevant employment and livelihood opportunities, which consequently contribute to maintaining them in relative poverty (Gobillon, Selod, & Zenou, 2007). While this concept has hardly been applied in the context of cities in sub-Saharan Africa, it points to the importance of planning for transport infrastructure, access to and affordability of public

transport services as well as location of employment and livelihood opportunities in a way that diminish the effects of spatial mismatch, even in a modest-sized secondary city like Arusha.

Overall, the paper provides crucial insights on how migration and residential mobility patterns influence processes of urban growth and transformation in the context of a large secondary city and thereby contributes to fill a significant knowledge gap on secondary cities in Africa. The case of Arusha demonstrates, how a secondary city can fulfil a number of functions at the same time, such as regional market, service centre, regional capital and tourist hub (Roberts 2014), and how it becomes a place of attraction of migrants, who perceive the city as an important economic centre and a favourable location from where to pursue non-agricultural based livelihoods.

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