Final report

International Growth Centre

Urbanisation, growth and poverty reduction

The role of secondary towns

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Research Question

This study was inspired by the question of whether Tanzanian should foster growth through investment in large cities, concentrating on reducing congestion costs there and banking on economies of scale and agglomeration to drive development; or whether the same total amount of investment is best spread more geographically across secondary towns to increase exposure of the hinterlands to urban centres.

The effect on growth and poverty reduction of these competing policy options hinges on the nature of three separate, but inter-dependent phenomena: (i) agglomeration effects and congestion costs, (ii) the economic linkages between urban and rural areas and (iii) the rural-urban migration flows. Each of these three components, as well as the way they interact together, will be influenced by the urbanisation process.

The clustering of a country's urban population in few localities, known as urban concentration, could generate more economic growth and jobs. The new economic geography literature, for example, emphasizes how urbanization fosters economies of scale and agglomeration, which are found to propel economic growth. There is however a tipping point beyond which returns to size may start to decline. Once cities become too big, congestion costs can cause a decline in economic growth. There are also positive spill-overs of urban centres on the rural hinterlands, through consumption linkages, urban-rural remittances, upward pressure on agricultural wages, and the generation of rural non-farm employment. It is unclear whether, in the aggregate, spill-overs are larger when the urban population is concentrated in few large urban centres, or when it is more spread out across a greater number of smaller urban centres. Finally, due to a series of migration barriers, poorer people, who remain largest in number in the rural areas, may find it easier to connect to growth and jobs in and around smaller urban centres nearby than when these jobs are created further away in a limited number of large cities.

The primary contribution of this project lies in understanding the third component, how the nature of urbanisation affects growth and poverty through its effect on rural-urban migration. In Tanzania migration is an important avenue for growth and poverty reduction, but outcomes depend on where migrants move to (Beegle et al., 2011). Whether a migrant farmer moves to another rural area, a

small town or to a mega-city like Dar es Salaam determines her outcomes. At the same time we should expect migrant heterogeneity and spatial sorting: a small town migrant will be different from one who heads to the mega-city.

Research Process

This is a mixed methods study. The quantitative data come from the Kagera Health and Development Survey. This is a data set of migrants from Kagera, a large, remote and primarily rural region in the north-western part of Tanzania. We have information on 4,323 individuals, first interviewed in their baseline communities in the early nineties and then re-interviewed nearly two decades later in 2010. The data set is unique not only with respect to its long time frame, but also because it has tracked migrants to rural areas, towns. More than half of the baseline sample moved out of the origin village, making this data set particularly rich when it comes to looking at internal migration. Our quantitative analysis consists of a decomposition exercise that asks which kind of migration contributes most to growth and poverty reduction. One concern with the quantitative data is that it is representative of just one region in the country. Despite that they give food for thought on this topic and open up the debate. We spend a lot of attention on context and mechanisms, which helps translate the findings to other settings. In any case, this is the best that can be done at this stage while we await an exercise similar to KHDS at the national level. Currently the National Panel Survey (NPS) is still a little short, but with further rounds planned a repetition of this exercise on that data set will be very useful.

This project also collected primary data. We used the 2010 survey data to map migration patterns of all 52 villages in order to purposively select 6 that were geographically close to each other and had similar livelihood systems and socioeconomic profiles, but with different migration levels and different destination choices. In August 2015 we visited these 6 baseline villages to update the whereabouts of all respondents originating from them (as the information on file for them was from the last round in the panel survey in 2010). From this updated list we aimed to enroll in our qualitative sample all KHDS respondents who were approximately 15-25 years old during the 1991-94 baseline and had moved to (1) Dar es Salaam, a mega-city of 4.5m people, 1,600 km away on the Indian Ocean with; (2) Mwanza, Tanzania's second largest city with a population of about 700,000, located on the southern shores of Lake Victoria, about 400 km away (3) to Kagera's regional capital, Bukoba, with a population of about 100,000 and close by (4) to a variety of much smaller rural towns

in the Kagera and (5) those who migrated to towns and cities at some point in our 23 year study window, but were found residing back home by 2015 (return migrants).

For each respondent who was eligible to be included in the qualitative sample we obtained detailed tracking information on his or her current whereabouts. This included addresses, telephone numbers, and detailed instructions on how to reach them at destination. Where this information could not be obtained at the baseline village, we sought it in other places, for example with relatives of the migrant whose contact details were known. In total we identified 87 individuals, out of whom we managed to include 75 in the qualitative sample. The remaining 12 could either not be traced or declined to be part of the study.

In addition to these interviews with migrants, we conducted 12 focus group discussions, with on average 8 participants in the villages of origin, with the objective to complement the information received from the actual migrants. These discussions provided insights on the nature of migratory activity from the point of view of rural populations. For similar reasons, we conducted 12 interviews with prospective migrants, people that were identified by others as in the process of considering migration out of the village towards urban areas, either cities or towns.

A life history approach enabled us to identify detailed migrant trajectories and the experiences of these pathways. They are a detailed *perspective* on the world. We used semi-structured interview guides that gathered demographic information, detailed information on all acts of migration and ways of making a living throughout the life course. In addition, we asked respondents questions regarding the personal evaluation of their lives over time, related to the places where they lived and the activities they undertook to make a living. The interviews also inquired about their (changing) links with the places of origin over time, their perceptions of the places they resided and projects for the future, in general and with respect to migration and ways of making a living. Importantly, the interview procedure systematically probed for the factors that informed their choices (to migrate) *and* options considered but not taken. In doing so, we followed approaches that aim to engage migrants into deliberate reflection on their intentions and choices to migrate in a changing environment.

Subsequently, all this material was systematically examined through a narrative analysis and a causation coding approach with the objective to discern recurring themes, mobility patterns and motives. For the analysis, we systematically consider (1) the actual migration patterns; (2) the self-reported reasons determining the choice of destination; (3) the reasons whether and why other locations where considered but not chosen; (4) alternative destination locations considered but not

taken and why not; (5) assessment of 'quality of life' in case one would be migrating to other locations (cities or secondary towns), why such an assessment is made and, in case of a better 'quality of life' in other destinations, why one does not migrate to that location; (6) the changing relationship with the village of origin over time and, in general, (7) prospects for the future.

Research outputs

Decomposition

There was a considerable amount of growth and poverty reduction in the KHDS sample over its 18-year span and Table 1 decomposes total growth and total number of people out of poverty into that realised by people making the transition to (or staying in) the rural areas (further split into its agricultural and non-agricultural sectors), to secondary towns, or to cities (Dar or Mwanza).[1] We find that even in the presence of larger migration premiums from moving to the more distant cities, most people engage in the surrounding nonfarm economy or move to secondary towns. The decomposition analysis shows that moves to secondary towns make up a much larger share of total growth and poverty reduction than moves to cities.

We start by combining the spatial, occupational and consumption data to look at welfare changes for each bin of the transition matrix. The decomposition tables include all respondents, regardless of migration status. The top panel of the table focusses on growth. The average income of those who moved to the cities grew by 206% over the 18 year period, while that of those found in rural farming in 2010 grew by 36%. This translates into an average consumption per capita which is 2.7 times higher among the city dwellers in our 2010 sample, compared to the rural farmers. This wedge appears despite relatively minor differences at the baseline in the early nineties. Those moving to towns and to rural off-farm activities fall somewhere between these two extremes.

These averages, however, conceal the fact that while only 285 respondents ended up in cities, 1,170 were found in towns, 969 in the rural off-farm sector and 1,899 in the farm sector. Despite the much larger growth realised by the city dwellers, the fact that they are so few in numbers implies that they contribute about as much *to total income growth* in the sample as the 1,899 people in rural farming. In these simple decomposition terms towns are somewhat of a growth sweet spot. The 1,170 respondents found in towns in 2010 contributed 41% to total growth, over double that of the 285

[1] These are the only two locations with a population over 500,000 (a commonly used threshold). Tightening the definition to count only Dar as a city or broadening it to include all cities administratively defined does not change the conclusions.

respondents found in cities. Compared to cities, towns attract 4 times more people from our sample and contribute twice as much to total income growth.

The bottom panel of Table 1 looks at the same phenomenon through a poverty lens. We see again that despite relatively small differences in baseline poverty rates, poverty is virtually non-existent among those who are in cities and increases as one goes over towns (16% poor) and rural off-farm (30% poor) to rural farm (42% poor). Once more these average poverty rates hide the importance of the number of feet making these transitions. The last two columns of Table 1 show how cities account for only 12% of all respondents who have transitioned out of poverty between 1991-94 and 2010, while those in rural farming and in towns in 2010 between them account for 55% of total poverty reduction.

Table 1: Decomposing growth and poverty reduction by 2010 location

2010 Sector	*N*	Growth (yearly consumption per capita in 2010 TZS)			
		1991-94 average	2010 average	Change in average	Share in total growth
Rural farm	1,899	329,768	449,013	119,245	0.19
Rural off-farm	969	345,829	590,277	244,448	0.20
Town	1,170	395,229	805,466	410,237	0.41
City	285	400,836	1,229,495	828,659	0.20
TOTAL	4,323	355,863	628,604	272,741	1.00
		Poverty headcount			
		1991-94	2010	Change in headcount	Share in total net poverty reduction
Rural farm	1,899	0.60	0.42	-0.18	0.33
Rural off-farm	969	0.57	0.30	-0.27	0.25
Town	1,170	0.43	0.16	-0.27	0.30
City	285	0.45	0.02	-0.42	0.12
TOTAL	4,323	0.54	0.30	-0.24	1.00

How migrants define and assess urban areas

Whereas experts will define urban locations based on the size and density of the population or on administrative divisions determined by government officials, it is insightful to take a migrant's perspective on the definition of what is urban and what distinguishes urban locations from each other. How do migrants themselves distinguish the continuum of urban areas that ranges from small rural towns to megacities like Dar es Salaam? Three main characteristics emerge that typify the urban environment: vibrancy, monetary exchange and anonymity.

The first identifying element, vibrancy, was most frequently expressed by the Swahili notion of "*mzunguko wa pesa*", which literally means the circulation of money and the an abundance of transactions between buyers and sellers. In the broadest sense, it refers to the vibrancy of a particular place in terms of the circulation of goods, people and ideas. Migrants are initially attracted by a general sense that some potential destination has a high *mzunguko wa pesa*, not so much by concrete information on jobs or price differences. A second identifying element is the monetized nature of transactions. Money mediates most transactions and, at least compared to the village life, less is obtained for free or through reciprocity. The third identifying element is anonymity. Perhaps surprisingly, anonymity is often seen as a good thing. The lack of anonymity in the village environment is a two-edged sword. On the one hand the personal relationships are what makes the home village an important safety net and refuge for those who are down on their luck during a move. On the other hand it is often experienced as a suffocating and stifling environment.

Human agency shaping migration

We place the factors that shape migration in the human agency framework of Emirbayer & Mische (1998), EM henceforth, which groups factors into those that are influenced by imagination, judgement and habit. In this framework human agency consists of an aspirational component that is forward looking, which needs to be balanced against a practical evaluative component that takes actual constraints into account. A third component is the iterative one, where the agent is on autopilot and follows norms and established routines. Every move a migrant makes has some combination of these three dimensions that shapes it, even if the extent to which each one weighs through will differ.

A principal factor shaping migration decisions is the projective component of human agency, which constitutes "the imaginative generation by actors of possible future trajectories of action, in which received structures of thought and action may be creatively reconfigured in relation to actors' hopes, fears, and desires for the future" (EM). This aspect of human agency is closely related to aspirations.

The practical-evaluative element of human agency is "the capacity of actors to make practical and normative judgements among alternative possible trajectories of action, in response to the demands, dilemmas, and ambiguities of presently evolving situations" (EM). In the context of our migration histories they form a list of resources, broadly defined, that one needs to acquire in order to migrate. They also form a catch-22 in that one needs to acquire the resource in order to migrate, but one needs to migrate in order to obtain the resource. So, while many of these resources are

obtained through migration, the lack of them often impedes migration in the first place. The first move is often an attempt to shake things up and find a way to break the vicious circle. Here we will discuss the need for money for the fare, a network at destination to get set up, professional skills to obtain meaningful employment and the ability to function in a cash economy. This not an exhaustive list, but these do constitute the most important practical hurdles to rural-urban mentioned by our research participants.

The iterative element of human agency refers to "the selective reactivation by actors of past patterns of thought and action, as routinely incorporated in practical activity, thereby giving stability and order to social universes and helping to sustain identities, interactions, and institutions over time" (EM). This dimension of human agency relates physical mobility to custom, habit, established ideas, norms and socially sanctioned ways of acting.

Action space and cumulative causation

The analysis of our respondents' migration trajectories and life histories demonstrates that each migrant has a certain action space. This action space defines the manoeuvring room open to the migrant. It consists of the range of possible destinations a migrant can move to and, intimately linked to this, the set of possible livelihoods at destination. Migrants can only move within this action space, but the very act of migrating serves to alter the action space, leading us naturally to the notion of cumulative causation (Myrdal, 1957), which emphasizes the importance of endogenous feedback mechanisms that alter the structural conditions that perpetuate migration, such as the creation of networks. While this channel has been recognized in the literature, our project has put the cumulative effect of migrating on the agentive side in the spotlight: the updating of resources and aspirations results in an adjustment of the iterative, projective and practical-evaluative components of human agency. The ability to imagine future trajectories of action and ways to judge these trajectories alter while migrating.

The first move

The first move is different. This is the move that gets a person out of the home village and is possibly the first step in a longer and more complicated migration trajectory. A distinguishing feature of this first move is that it is primarily motivated by the desire to leave the village and leave agriculture. The village environment and agricultural labor are not just considered to constitute a hard life; in some sense they are considered to be no life at all. The dominant theme when respondents discuss their first move is their desire "to look for life" (*kutafuta maisha*), a life which can only be imagined to

take place outside of agriculture. Where exactly one moves to is of secondary consideration – at least at this moment in time.

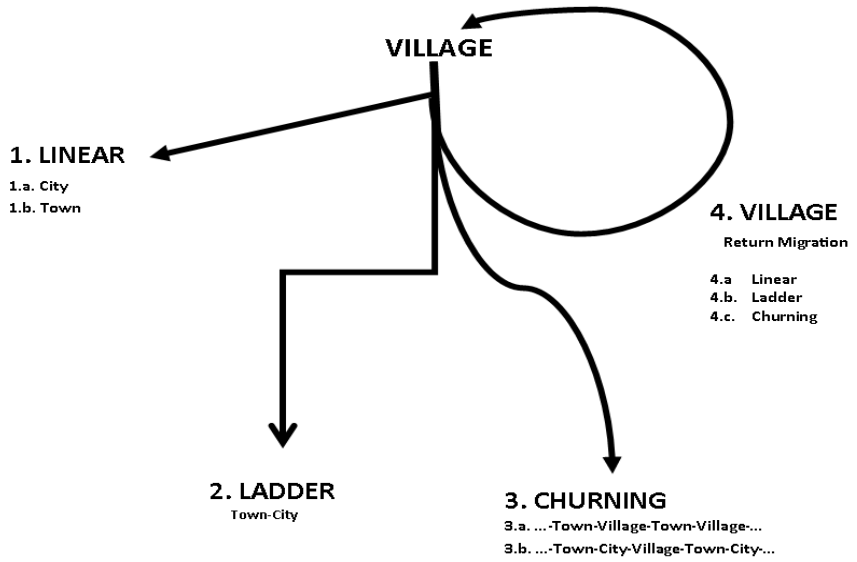
The very explicit and specific desire of leaving the village, combined with the near-lack of specificity in terms of what the first destination should be, gives these moves very much a bold, come-what-may character. The first move shakes thing up; it changes seemingly inalterable conditions and creates openings and opportunities where there were none before. Finding the 'good life' continues to animate the migration process also in subsequent migration instances, but now with the benefit of the experience and learning gained through the first move. The most important consequence of the first move is therefore to change initial conditions. Once any urban space is entered, even if it is 'merely' a nearby secondary town, aspirations are challenged, networks are strengthened and often finances improve. Here the new migrant also gains access to more concrete information on prospects beyond his or her original horizon, like wage levels, cost of living and potential job opportunities. Gradually, the specificity of the destination and the means or the plan to get there become more concrete.

Prospective migrants lacking links with a city will find it feasible to move to secondary towns. Here the migrant's action space expands and, in some cases, will come to include a move to a further-away city.

Migration typologies

We identify a range of trajectories that articulate the linking and sequencing of internal migration with rural villages, towns and cities as nodal points. There are four major mobility patterns discernible, which are illustrated by Figure 1: (1) a linear pattern into an urban environment, either cities or towns; (2) ladder migration through secondary towns into a city and (3) what we refer to as a process of churning that connects cities, towns and villages; (4) return migration. We have each of the 75 qualitative respondents categorized in these 4 types and are currently linking in their quantitative data to look for patterns regarding who is more likely to follow which path. This part of the analysis is still under development.

Figure 1: Mobility Patterns



Expanding action space through secondary towns

Our study demonstrates how the initial migration out of rural areas is primarily conditioned on the desire to move into an urban cash economy, irrespective of location (city or secondary town). The dominating theme here is the desire "the look for life" outside of agriculture. Most people that consider migrating want to move to the (mega-) city since this urban environment is considered the locus of high opportunity. In practice, initial conditions, mostly resources, define where one end's up going. However, many migrants undertake multiple moves and the factors informing the choice of destination alter with the passing of time and the experience of migrating.

Furthermore, our close examination of the lives of Tanzanians that come from the same region of origin illustrates how migrants deprived of the factors that make them travel to the city move into secondary towns because they have to but also because they can. This is a consequence of the fact that secondary towns occupy a unique space in between rural livelihoods based on home production and reciprocity, and the capitalist economy based on monetary exchange in the city.

Without secondary towns, the action space or the range of probable destinations would be inexistent for many. The findings thus demonstrate how secondary towns allow migrants to progressively acquire the ability to become physically – and ultimately also socially and economically - mobile. Secondary towns play an important role in this process of expanding the migration horizon

and the life trajectories for the 'multi-dimensionally' poor, thus not only those who lack financial capital but equally connections, skills, information and aspirations.

The emergence (or development) of secondary towns alter the structural conditions under which migration processes take place. In particular, they constitute an action space – the range of migrants' probable destinations – for those who are constrained in their ability to be physically, economically and socially mobile due to limited resources and/or aspirations. Subsequently, migration to secondary towns alters the social and economic structures – by gradually establishing networks and altering exchange relations – that allow for others to follow a similar path using their limited resources but increased aspirations through contact with others that made this travel before.

Academic outputs

The main academic paper, which is outlined under research outputs section above, will be titled "urbanisation, secondary towns and the expanding horizon of rural-urban migrants in Tanzania". It will be a co-authorship between Luc Christiaensen, Joachim De Weerdt, Bert Ingelaere and Ravi Kanbur. It will be written in a more qualitative register.[2] It aims to resonate with a development studies audience and also intends to provide inspiration and background materials to the burgeoning field of quantitative research on this topic. In fact the qualitative work was borne out of the desire for better contextualisation, which the authors felt was missing from the quantitative literature.

The results from this paper have been presented already on various academic seminars and conferences:

1. University of Dar es Salaam, Economics Department internal seminar, 26 January 2017.
2. Brown Bag, Jobs Group, World Bank, 24 January 2017.
3. University of Antwerp, IOB internal seminar, 20 October 2016
4. African Studies Association of the UK (ASAUK) biennial conference, University of Cambridge (Robinson College), 7-9 September 2016.
5. World Bank – Cornell Conference on Secondary Towns and Poverty Reduction. Held at the World Bank in Washington DC on 18-19 May 2016.

[2] For example the projective and practical-evaluative components from the EM human agency framework that we summarize above could have been framed differently as utility maximization under a resource constraint if the audience were limited to economists. We hope that the language used now will open up the paper to a wider audience, while still being relevant to those specialized in these issues within their own discipline.

6. RIMISIP International Conference on Territorial Inequality and Development, Puebla, Mexico, Jan 25-27, 2016

Policy engagement

The project has paid particular attention to produce materials that are relevant for policy makers and used those as vehicles to actively engage them.

1. A position paper written upon the request of the planning commission to feed into the five year development plan. This is now out as an IGC policy brief. Available at http://www.theigc.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Christiaensen-et-al-policy-brief-2017-English.pdf
2. A Swahili language IGC policy brief. It was felt that we could reach a wider circle of policy makers if we made a Swahili language brief. The ideas were similar to the brief done for the planning commission, but it presented the ideas and data in much plainer and more direct language with the intention of broadening the audience reached. Available at http://www.theigc.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Christiaensen-et-al-policy-brief-2017-Swahili.pdf
3. An entry in MO magazine, a Dutch-language on-line magazine that is widely read by development practitioners (and a wider audience interested in development) in Belgium. Available at http://www.mo.be/analyse/hoe-met-urbanisatie-de-armoede-verminderen
4. An IGC blog post early on in the project.

There has been substantial engagement with people who influence Tanzanian policy. We have also engaged with people from various levels of government. Below is a list of people we met:

1. Dominic Rutatinisibwa, Town Planner Bukoba District Council – meeting in Bukoba on local urban policies
2. Catress Rwegasira, Urban Planner, Bukoba Municipal Council – meeting in Bukoba on local urban policies
3. Charles Mariki, Urban Planner, PMO-RALG – meeting in Dar on local urban policies
4. Jacques Morisset, Lead Economist, WB – meeting on existing work and data sources on our topic
5. Elisabeth Talbert, Statistical Advisor, WB – meeting on existing work and data sources on our topic
6. Per Tideman, Private Consultant – meeting over Skype on decentralization in Tanzania

7. Benno Ndulu. We travelled to Zanzibar to meet with the Bank of Tanzania (BOT) Governor Benno Ndulu, who requested a private debriefing on the research project. The Governor gave very specific insights on our work from a Tanzanian policy perspective which we are integrating into our research and write-up. The Governor was very supportive of the research project and stressed its primary importance within the current policy context of the country.
8. John Mduma, senior lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam, dept. of economics
9. Mudith Cheyo, Ministry of Finance, Assistant Director, Poverty Reduction
10. Paul Maduka Kessy, the Deputy Executive Secretary of POPC requested a meeting to discuss the preliminary findings from the BOT seminar, which he attended. Some of the insights on secondary town development are particularly pertinent for the upcoming Five Year Development Plan (FYDP), which Kessy requested us to feed into. We agreed to extend and write up our findings in a position paper for that purpose. This position paper was later transformed into an IGC policy brief and an abridged version was produced in Swahili.
11. Prof. Lusagga Kironde, Ardhi University
12. Frederick Mbuya, private consultant specialising in drone photography

We have also done a number of outreach events in Tanzania

1. BOT seminar. Upon the request of Governor Benno Ndulu, we were asked to give a seminar at the BOT on Saturday 21 August which was attended by 60 participants from government, think-tanks and universities (BOT, MoF, UDSM, REPOA, NBS, POPC, Mzumbe, TIC, Uongozi Institute). The seminar was titled 'Poverty and Urban Composition' and was delivered by Luc Christiaensen, Joachim De Weerdt and Ravi Kanbur. The slides and list of participants are attached
2. Johnson Nyella, BOT research department manager requested us to meet with himself and group of researchers from BOT to discuss their study on contract farming. About 15 BOT researchers attended and they were particularly interested in practical advice on how to organize the next round of surveys. While the topic was clearly outside the immediate scope of the research project per se, this was a good example of a very concrete demand from policy makers that we could respond to. It is also testimony to the wider interactions and good relations that have been built up with the BOT.
3. An internal seminar at the economics department of the University of Dar es Salaam, attended by about 35 faculty members and PhD students.

Seminars at BOT and UDSM were followed by a lunch, which led to further interactions with attendees.

Policy impact

Urbanisation will be central to government policy in the next decade, especially in the light of the Tanzania 2025 Development Vision in which Tanzania formulates its aspiration to become a middle-income country by 2025. But there is currently little guidance on what kind of urbanisation the country should envisage. Important choices will be made in the coming years about the spatial allocation urban investment. Choices made today will determine the urban landscape for many years to come. Our project adds to this debate the consideration that different types of urban growth have different rural poverty reduction implications. We aim for this argument to become an important consideration in Tanzania's structural transformation agenda. There are a number of positive signs that this message is getting across. First there was the request by the planning commission for this work to feed into the Five Year Development Plan (FYDP). Secondly, we believe the Swahili language policy brief will receive a lot of attention. We believe that the use of Swahili will make this brief more accessible and attractive to policy makers. We have not yet disseminated this brief, but plan to do so in collaboration with the IGC country office in Tanzania, who can tap into the networks of their local partners. In particular TACINE has indicated their desire to disseminate the results to their regional coordinators, who can further link to district level officials. During the encounters with policy makers, ranging from the governor of the Bank of Tanzania to an urban planner is a small secondary town, we have found the basic premise and research question to resonate with our interlocutors.

Next steps

The most important next step is to get the main academic paper out (the outline of which was presented under research outputs in this final report).

Another next step is to disseminate the Swahili policy brief more widely and also to lower levels of government. This brief has only been completed this month and serious dissemination of it has not happened thus far.

Another output will be a purely quantitative analysis of the drivers of destination choice. Our estimation strategy will consist of forming all destination-migrant pairs and constructing variables that measure the utility differences between the migrant's origin and the various potential destinations. The migrant's origin will be a location within Kagera. The actual final destination of the migrant is known in the data. The potential other destinations – the counterfactual destinations the migrant could have gone to but did not – are not known. Fortunately, 95% of our migrants move to the same 20 districts in Tanzania. It is therefore reasonable to make a 'limited horizon' assumption and restrict the analysis to ask why someone has moved to the current district and not to any of the 19 alternatives. We have already linked the KHDS destination data to Tanzania census data on each of the potential destinations. Initial results suggest that distance plays a key role. We are now trying to unpack this result further in order to tell an interesting and complete story.

Follow-up work

TACINE is an NGO created by all urban authorities in Tanzania. They have had a keen interest in our work and requested to partner with us in follow up work to construct a database of all cities, towns and urban centres in Tanzania, which will allow each to be characterised and monitored over time.

Small urban centres have mushroomed in Tanzania. Much of this urbanization is not formalized or legally acknowledged, which prevents any serious or sound urban policies in these areas. Tanzania currently lacks a firm empirical base that records, characterizes and tracks these urban localities sprouting up across the country.

The partnership takes advantage of several complementarities between the two partnering institutions. TACINE through its intimate knowledge of urban issues in Tanzania is able to identify what information is available. Furthermore, it can harness its extensive network of regional coordinators, present in all 25 Tanzanian regions, to gather that information and populate the database with it. That same network will ensure that future research findings can reach policy makers at the local level. The role of the University of Antwerp will be to provide a platform for this data collection process and to ensure that it is available in usable format. The platform will be accessible on-line through a secure cloud-based platform so that the regional coordinator can access and update the data remotely.

TACINE would become the custodian of the database and assume responsibility for keeping it as up to date as possible. The database will serve a dual function. On the one hand it provides TACINE and other organisations the tools to analyse and monitor progress on all urban centres in Tanzania, ranging from cities to smaller urban localities. On the other hand TACINE will ensure the availability of the data in the public domain, so that it can be used by researchers and help foster a dialogue on urban growth in Tanzania.

From a research perspective these data will allow us to investigate whether growth in urban areas reduces poverty in the surrounding rural areas and whether some types of urban growth more conducive to rural poverty reduction than others.

We have put in a funding request with IGC and hope to be working together with IGC on this project.

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