

COLONIZATION AND MIGRATION

A summary of border-crossing  
movements in Tanzania before 1967

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Bertil Egerö

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## PREFACE

In 1967 I moved to Tanzania to work on the 1967 Population Census. My direct involvement in the census came to an end in 1973, when the last of the six census volumes was finally printed. Published and unpublished results from the census provided a unique opportunity to assess the population movements in the country, a kind of quantitative yardstick giving the net results of all movements up to the time of the census. This opportunity should not be lost, and my own research on migration started as soon as the first results from the census were available.

The present report covers the last in a series of historical studies of migration in Tanzania. Most of the earlier reports have been published by the BRAPUL research bureau at the University of Dar es Salaam. Even the present report was originally intended to be published in East Africa, but due to unfortunate circumstances this has not been possible. The delay in publication should, however, not detract from the value of the study, which essentially is a historical analysis of international movements during the period from the first colonization up to and through the first few years after independence.

Since the year of the census, conditions have changed both within Tanzania and along its borders. The villagization programme of the last ten years has strongly influenced all local movements. The coup in Uganda in 1971 and the subsequent break-up of the East African Community are events affecting the pattern of border-crossing migration. South of Tanzania, the proclamation of independence in Mozambique in 1975 has made it possible to repatriate tens of thousands of Mocambican refugees from Tanzania alone.

Only a few months ago, a new census was taken in Tanzania. Added to the 1967 census, this census will give the basis for a thorough analysis of post-independence migration and settlement. Let us hope that this opportunity will not be lost to students of Tanzanian development.

The present study was made possible through a grant from the Swedish Social Science Research Council. It was carried out in Dar es Salaam, where thanks to the generous hospitality of BRALUP I could spend a further period of work. The offer of the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies to publish the report was the last support needed. To all these, as well as to the Central Statistical Bureau in Dar es Salaam, I am very grateful.

Lisbon in October 1978

Bertil Egerö

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Viewed in relation to the overall amount of movements of the population of Tanzania, migration across its borders appears to be largely insignificant: while over forty percent of the population have left their place of birth, less than one tenth of these are born outside the country. Emigrants who have settled outside Tanzania are even smaller in number, though for natural reasons the exact number remains unknown.

However, despite the small numbers of international migrants and despite the difficulties in estimating their numbers, this category of migrants is still worth special attention. It was through a small-scale European immigration, started about a hundred years ago, that 'colonialism' was imposed on the people of Tanzania. The growing strength of this system was facilitated by the appearance of another group, the Asian community, whose activities supported the spread of a cash economy over the country.

The far-reaching effects of these immigrations have yet to be assessed in their entirety (Brett 1973, Coulson 1973). Their impact on the economy of the country extended to every corner, leaving no part untouched. In a sense, therefore, they have preceded and largely determined the present pattern of migration within the country, and contributed to the border-crossing migration to or from other parts of colonial Africa. The international system of labour migration is a result of the invasion of the continent by European immigrants, as are the large streams of refugees from one country to another.

The basic character of colonialism remained the same for all countries in Africa, irrespective of the size of immigrant groups. In every case, the colony was regarded as an appendix to the domestic economy, supplying it with certain raw materials for manufacture at minimal cost and to a very limited degree consuming products manufactured in the home country. The specific features of colonialism depended, however, to some extent on the number of immigrants, and especially on the

growth of a settler class in the colony depending for its existence entirely on the contributions of the colonised people.

The present paper is no more than an attempt to bring together available evidence on the size (Table 1) and timing of migrations across the borders of Tanzania. Apart from some data on the geographical location of migrants, the paper does not purport to demonstrate their role in the colonial economy. However, this compilation of data on the migratory flows up to 1967 might provide a useful base document for further research in this direction.

Table 1. Immigrants to Tanzania Mainland, regional distribution and rural/urban residence, 1967

Region	Country of birth		Europe, Amer., Australia	Asia
	Neighbouring country	Other African country		
Mainland total	398,574 ( 7.5)	6,770 (36.2)	15,956 (34.6)	22,601 (67.2)
Arusha	10,183 (19.7)	738 (36.9)	1,273 (31.4)	1,212 (76.2)
Coast incl. DSM	20,042 (53.0)	1,461 (85.8)	5,043 (68.0)	8,199 (91.6)
Dodoma	3,014 (32.8)	806 (18.7)	259 (42.1)	710 (64.8)
Iringa	1,349 (32.2)	169 (29.6)	584 (21.2)	439 (65.8)
Kigoma	44,022 ( 4.9)	86 (41.9)	330 (19.4)	313 (29.4)
Kilimanjaro	19,263 (10.2)	326 (21.5)	1,469 (13.2)	1,050 (79.5)
Mara	46,237 ( 3.9)	161 (23.6)	167 (25.1)	380 (65.5)
Mbeya	16,875 ( 4.2)	662 (15.6)	608 (19.4)	848 (30.3)
Morogoro	9,306 ( 6.0)	409 (15.6)	1,535 ( 6.1)	1,507 (30.2)
Mtwara	80,342 ( 1.8)	92 (21.7)	750 ( 8.1)	1,019 (47.7)
Mwanza	13,466 (22.6)	243 (35.0)	467 (49.7)	1,754 (66.6)
Ruvuma	26,514	263	196	138
Shinyanga	4,710	142	336	590
Singida	1,204	94	149	188
Tabora	8,550 (13.4)	299 (24.7)	829 (15.0)	1,309 (28.6)
Tanga	32,550 ( 7.6)	613 (34.3)	1,315 (35.3)	2,377 (75.5)
West Lake	61,947 ( 1.3)	206 (13.6)	646 ( 9.1)	568 (50.7)

Source: Census Volume 3; unpublished census tables.

Note: Figures in brackets give in percent the proportion of the regional immigrants recorded as resident in the regional capital or gazetted town. There are no gazetted towns in Ruvuma, Shinyanga and Singida. Minor discrepancies in the figures in this and other tables result from rounding in the original census tables.



## 2. ARAB MIGRATION TO TANGANYIKA<sup>1</sup>

The earliest non-African settlers to come in any numbers to East Africa were the Arabs. Their contacts with the east coast of Africa date far back in time. Some 700 years ago settlements were established on Kilwa and Mafia along the Tanzanian coast, by which time Zanzibar already had a settled Arab population (Alpers 1969). By the early 16th century the Portuguese moved in and seized control over a number of the most important Arab towns. The struggle for control of the trade along the coast lasted almost 200 years, a period which also led to changes in established patterns of trade inside the country.

The trade with Arabs and Portuguese was run by people living sometimes far from the coast, like the Yao near Lake Nyasa. Even after they had regained control over the East African coast, the Arabs continued to trade through middlemen. It was not until the beginning of the 19th century, with the assistance of rapidly growing Asian capital, that Arab trade caravans began their regular traffic to the interior of Tanganyika.

They then made their way along well established trade routes. One was the route along Ruvuma River to Lake Nyasa. Another was the central route via Ugogo to Nyamwezi, where the Arabs established a settlement in Tabora, today an important regional capital. This route took them further west as far as Lake Tanganyika, where they again settled in a place called Ujiji. From Tabora, other branches led off north and to the area west of Lake Victoria (Katoke 1970). A third route, possibly established by the coastal people themselves, went along the northern border of Tanganyika, through the Pangani valley in the direction of Kilimanjaro and beyond.

The Arabs settled in selected points along the trade routes, established trade centres and greatly increased the very profitable trade with ivory, hides, etc. and especially slaves. Following their tradition of manipulating potential or existing conflicts between chiefs to get a good supply of slaves, they also sometimes intermarried with important families. These contacts led to the spread of Islam along the trade

routes and settlement areas, resulting in a pattern of distribution of religion clearly discernible even today.

Despite this comparatively early start the Arab population on the mainland never became very large. Compared to the largest alien group, the Asians, they might have been of roughly equal numbers at the time of German occupation, perhaps even a bit larger. But at the end of German rule they numbered less than half of the Asian community, to fall to around one-fourth by the time the British had to leave.

Earliest reasonably accurate figures give the Arab population at around 4,000 when the British entered Tanganyika (Table 2). Since then the average annual growth rate has been in the region of 4-5%, far too high to be accounted for by natural increase alone. It seems likely that a certain extent of immigration has taken place, through the still flourishing dhow trade along the East African coast. But a second explanation is also possible, and perhaps more relevant in recent times. The Arab community, unlike the Asian or European, never cut itself off from contacts with the original inhabitants of Tanganyika. Instead, a very far reaching integration process has taken place. This integration, facilitated by the spread of Swahili and Islam, included settlement in rural as well as urban areas, and intermarriage.<sup>2</sup> Exactly how an ethnically mixed family has been classified in different censuses will never be known, but it seems quite possible that the classification has been in favour of the Arab group, thus apparently adding to their numbers.

How much the Arab community has benefitted from these two types of additions is certainly not easy to say, but it is likely that some amount of immigration has taken place up to recent times. The two 'non-African' censuses of 1952 and 1957 report 5,000 and 7,300 Arabs as born outside Tanganyika respectively. Of the latter, some 2,900 had been resident in Tanganyika for no more than 5 years.<sup>3</sup>

Table 2. Alien groups in Tanganyika by size

Year of count	Absolute number			Average annual incr. %			All aliens as % of total population
	Arabs	Asians	Europ.	Arabs	Asians	Europ.	
1901	?	2,300?	1,200?	?	?	?	?
1913	4,101	9,440	5,336	-0.2	1.0	-5.6	0.50
1921	4,041	10,209	2,447	5.7	9.4	12.9	0.42
1931	7,059	25,144	8,228	2.7	3.6	1.5	0.81
1948	11,074	46,254	10,648	6.2	5.8	7.6	0.94
1957	19,100	76,535	20,598	4.5	-0.2	-1.7	1.40
1967	29,775	75,015	16,884				1.06

Source: Kuczynski (1949),  
Census reports 1948, 1957, 1967

### 3. EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION

Warships from Portugal brought the first Europeans to reach East Africa in modern times. Portuguese presence along the coast north of Ruvuma River lasted for two centuries, during which period they retained a somewhat uncertain control over the coastal areas and especially the trade ports. Interested primarily in extracting profits from the trade with East African resources, the Portuguese never ventured very far inland, and when they were forced to leave at the end of the 17th century, they withdrew leaving no permanent European habitation behind.

Following the Portuguese advances, ships from the major European powers began plying the Indian Ocean, eventually spreading their influence as far as East Asia. However, Arab victory over the Portuguese in East Africa led to some 150 years of uninterrupted Arab control over the coast. During this time trade links were re-established, caravan expeditions started and a major expansion made in the slave trade. Part of the latter was in response to French demands for slave labour to Mauritius and Reunion off the African east coast - a trade which did not come to an end until France could rely on a steady supply of cheap labour from British India instead (Alpers 1967, 1969).

By this time, as a sign of the growing European interest in Africa, European explorers travelled into and across the African continent, 'discovering' the lakes and highlands of East Africa and 'telling the truth' about the slave trade to the western world. The British were looking around for means to gain control over the region, and found it in a form of blackmail of the Sultan of Zanzibar. Ostensible reasons were the slave trade and the taxation of Asian business now 'under the protection' of the British government. An agreement forced upon the Sultan in the 1870's gave Britain de facto political control over the island and its trade (Tandberg 1968).

Soon thereafter, the Germans moved in on Tanganyika under the then common form of a company, the German East African Compa-

ny. The Company met with growing resistance from the mainland population, and was eventually forced out of all coastal towns except for two, Bagamoyo and Dar es Salaam. This gave the German government a justification for entering the scene, and in 1889 its troops moved in to curb the resistance. During the 1880's the boundaries of the East African countries were drawn up by the administrators of Europe, and in 1891 the German government replaced the Company as ruler of German East Africa.

The significance of the German presence, lasting to the end of World War I, was not in terms of numbers. According to a German account troops never exceeded 3,300 men, and by 1913 there were altogether only a little over 5,000 Europeans in German East Africa. The significance of their presence above all lay in the brutal crushing of internal resistance to the German occupation and the build-up of an infrastructure to which for a long time little was added by their colonial successors. The Germans built the two main railways in the country, north along the Kenyan border and west to Lake Tanganyika. They built roads and local headquarters for the colonial administration. They introduced cash crops and started the European large-scale plantations. They charged heavy taxes and forced people out to take paid employment.

By all these actions, the Germans also established the basic framework for future population movements within the country. The start of large plantations in Tanga and Morogoro and small-scale cash crop farming in areas around Kilimanjaro and Lake Victoria provided for a geographical diversification of the economy, leading to fairly well specified center-periphery relations (Iliffe 1971). Some areas were left largely unattended - a sort of labour reserves - or actively exploited in a way which led to famines and depopulation. For instance, in Rufiji south of Dar es Salaam, the famous Maji Maji Rebellion led to the flight of thousands of people before advancing German troops. Further famines and plagues led to more suffering, and during World War I more than 15,000 porters were conscripted from this area alone. Only 3,000 of them returned (Brooke 1967). The area is still today characterised by economic backwardness, low levels of population increase and out-migration.

As a result of World War I, Germany had to withdraw even from its African colonies. Left behind were slightly under a thousand settlers and contractors, many of whom were of Greek origin. A fairly large proportion of these stayed through to the end of European occupation. British colonisation of the country, in the form of a mandate by the League of Nations, largely continued along the lines of the German period. Attempts at building a strong settler economy during the German times had been halted by the War, and a similar movement under British administration was thwarted by the international capitalist depression of the early thirties and the war following.

But even apart from this, British interest in investment in Tanganyika never reached very high levels, despite the convenient closeness to her other East African colonies. Partly this must have been due to the lack of unquestioned control over a 'mandate', but there seems no doubt that the relative poverty of large parts of the land and the general lack of mineral and other resources for easy exploitation played an important role in this respect. Compare the fate of another mandate from 'German Africa', Namibia, which still today is the victim of colonial exploitation on a scale unprecedented in Africa.

The lack of economic interest in Tanganyika had several important consequences for the country. On the one hand, for a long period only a slow expansion took place in sectors like communication, health and education. On the other hand, the colonial economy failed to proletarianise any part of the Tanganyikan people in the way it did in for instance Kenya, creating landless labourers as basis for the nationalist Mau Mau movement and an embryo to class divisions among the colonised Kenyan people themselves. (Ilfie 1971).

Even with this low level of investment, the economy of Tanganyika was the same as for any other colony, an appendix to the home economy supplying raw materials for its industries and a slowly growing market for its manufactured products. This re-

quired the mobilisation of the colonised people in the service of the colonial economy. In the words of a British governor in 1926: "The first object of the government is to induce the native to become a producer directly or indirectly, that is, to produce or assist in producing something more than the crop of local foodstuffs that he requires for the sustenance of himself and his family". (see Iliffe 1971, footnote 9).

Of the two main ways of carrying out this policy, large-scale plantations with employed labour and small-scale cashcrop agriculture, the former never developed on a scale comparable to for instance Kenya.<sup>4</sup> This, together with the relative lack of interest in Tanganyika by international capital, meant that the European population never grew to become any significant proportion of the alien element.

The maximum size of the European community was reached soon before independence. By that time it had reached the size of the Kenyan European population some 20 years earlier, a little over 20,000 people. This was the second peak in the history of this group, followed by a not very impressive decline to just under 17,000 some six years after independence (Table 2).

The first peak was reached shortly before the German defeat; a count in 1913 disclosed a European population of over 5,000 people. The British brought in other colonised people to fight their war in East Africa, and started their own colonisation of the country in a somewhat slow tempo. In 1921 the number of Europeans was still very small, some 2,500 people and not all of them British. Ten years later the number had increased substantially, mainly due to an expansion in the colonial administration. A number of the old German plantations were purchased by the Indian community, others were bought back again by Germans returning during the 1920s. In fact, many Germans returned as soon as they were permitted after the war, to work on their former possessions or where they could find employment.

During the next eight years up to World War II the European population seems to have grown more slowly, from 8,200 to 9,300

persons. The war itself caused a certain turnover in the small community: Germans were either repatriated or interned, Italians came down from Ethiopia to meet the same fate, various European refugees were shipped to the relative calm of East Africa. Soon after the end of the war, however, immigration started again, and in the four years between 1948 and 1952 some 7,000 net were added to the then over 10,000 people strong community.

Independence predictably led to an exodus among the colonial expatriates, even of some of the settlers. A substantial number of the colonial administrative staff remained for some years to serve the new government, gradually replaced by expatriates of other nationalities and a growing indigenous elite. Nationalisations in early 1967 served to further the reduction in the old community, which, however, some months later - the census was taken in August 1967 - still made up between one-third and half of the European component in Tanzania.

A gradually decreasing number of settlers have survived through independence, diminished above all by nationalisations of their plantations. The last settler stronghold, on the western slopes of Kilimanjaro, fell in 1973 when most of the farms were taken over by the government. However, expatriate influence over the economy of Tanzania is not over with the repatriation of the colonial community; the system of technical assistance through 'aid' programmes ensures a considerable impact both in the Government administration and in all sectors of the national economy.



#### 4. 'ASIANS' IN TANGANYIKA

The third important alien group in East Africa is called Asians. Like the word 'European' which more appropriately should be 'white', this label commonly refers to an ethnically distinguishable group in society, the people originating in India, including Goa, and Pakistan. They came to East Africa in basically three different ways. The first group consisted of Asian petty traders who were trading along the coast in cooperation with the Arabs. The trade led to the growth of a wealthy and powerful Asian community on Zanzibar. Extensions of this community reached far into Tanganyika, where European explorers found 'dukas' (Indian shops) set up in important points along the trade routes.

The second group was the immediate result of the railway construction through Kenya to Lake Victoria in the beginning of this century. Of the altogether 32,000 'coolies' brought by Britain from India to build the Kenya railway, over 6,000 stayed and spread over the whole of East Africa. Many of those who returned to India were replaced by a third category, Indian petty tradesmen and artisans who settled along the new railway line and developed networks of retail trade shops. Rules designed to protect the European settlers initially limited their economic activities to the towns, where they soon became a very significant element in all sectors related to the urban economy.

The German colonial government was far more positive than ever the British to the Asian community; they saw their immense usefulness in establishing a rural monetary economy and encouraged both the old and the new communities to spread over Tanganyika. The response was good, and at the end of German rule they had spread along the railways in to the hinterland and as far away as to Ruanda-Urundi in the north-western corner of German East Africa. (Tandberg 1968).<sup>5</sup>

One should in this context not forget to mention the rather extravagant use of her colonial powers made by Britain and, certainly, by the other European nations as well. The war against Germany was fought also in East Africa where the few German

troops turned out to be unexpectedly difficult to come to terms with. Where Germans conscripted Tanganyikans to serve their interests, Britain brought in troops from India; no less than 7,000 Indian soldiers landed in Mombasa in 1914 to fight against men, animals and diseases in Tanganyika. Reports tell a sad story about the fate of these men, as unfit for the fight as the South African troops were for infections,<sup>6</sup> and it remains uncertain whether any of them could later join the growing Asian community or be repatriated.

In the absence of restrictions on their immigration either during German rule or later, the Asian community continued to grow over a long time. Their economic situation was good, not least through the opportunity to buy German plantations after the British take-over. Though some Germans returned later to work on their former plantations and partly buy them back again, World War II led to the same process, thus further increasing the Asian share in the plantation economy.

Their dominance within wholesale and retail trade was at the time of independence overwhelming, equivalent to a monopoly situation for all Africans eager to enter business life. Through their comparatively high education the Asians had a very important position also in the civil service, in the banks and generally in all foreign enterprises operating in Tanganyika. This, together with the almost total absence of educated Africans after over 70 years of colonial rule, gave them a crucial position in the post-independence economy. Thus it was not until several years after independence that steps were taken to break their dominance in the national economy.

Though like the Europeans few in comparison with their counterparts in Kenya, the Asian community has long been the largest of the alien groups in Tanganyika. It started growing rapidly during German rule, and apart from a slowdown during World War I had grown steadily through the whole period of colonial rule. In the words of an authority of the late 1950's: "After the war, Indians were recruited from India to the civil service and recruitment has gone on ever since. They formed part of the rapidly growing stream of immigration from India

which then began. Immigration is now strictly controlled, but, even so, the number of new permanent immigrants has been in the neighbourhood of 3,000 a year for the last few years". (Moffett 1958, p. 300).

With this policy the Asian community grew from 10,000 shortly after World War I to 25,000 ten years later (Table 2). Though World War II must have led to a temporary halt in the immigration, the first post-war census in 1948 showed the numbers to have increased to 46,000. Some ten years later a maximum of some 76,000 was recorded.

Independence seems to have put an end to the influx from the Indian subcontinent. In the period 1957-67 the Asian community remained largely constant in size, a fact which points to a net loss through migration rather than the reverse. Despite a not insignificant excess of births over deaths (Report on the Non-African Census 1957) and a very likely gain from the flow of Asian migrants from Zanzibar, enough people have left Tanzania altogether to turn this trend into a slight decrease.

The decline in size of the Zanzibar Asian community is most likely connected to the 1964 revolution. During the intercensal period 1958-67 the community experienced a net loss of 5,000 members, almost one-third of the total. As on the Mainland, the Asians on Zanzibar have generally been very well off and also tended to retain a cultural identity and exclusiveness. The post-revolutionary climate has not been directly favourable to this type of participation in society, and as in Uganda some years later the Asians have been forced to abandon their privileged positions.

This process was not yet completed in 1967, either on Zanzibar or on the Mainland. Political and economic decisions since then continue to disfavour private capital accumulation, and there are good reasons to expect the exodus from the Asian community to continue well into the present decade.

## 5. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION OF AFRICANS

The colonial system did not introduce long-distance migration as a new feature in pre-colonial African societies. For many of these, movements in one form or another was an integral part of the economic and social organisation. But what happened was that the character of migration and its effects on the local society changed fundamentally as a response to the different demands of the colonial system.

Pre-colonial migration over land in general cannot be discussed in relation to the borders established by the colonising powers. The political organisation at the time of colonisation did not correspond to the new borders, which represented a gross simplification of a pattern developed over many hundred years. In replacing several smaller units with one larger, the coloniser managed to cut right across existing political boundaries and create borders that for a long time were recognised only by the colonial intruder himself. For Tanzania this was true in many cases: Masailand in the north, the large Kingdoms west of Lake Victoria, the area around Lake Nyasa, the people living around Ruvuma River in the south.

But in terms of pre-colonial political boundaries, movements over foreign land were not uncommon before the presence of Europeans. The Yao had established a trade route to the coast at Kilwa as early as 350 years ago. The Nyamwezi from central Tanganyika traded for a long time with the coast, and during the 19th century increased their direct participation in the journeys to the coast. The growing clove economy of Zanzibar created the basis for an increasing labour migration from the Mainland, where the Nyamwezi came to be unusually active (Alpers 1967, Southall 1961).

The Ngoni people's arrival from the south was perhaps one of the most important movements of the 19th century. The Ngoni, trained from many conflicts with other people in present-day South Africa, made their way up to Lake Nyasa and further north, almost reaching Lake Victoria and establishing themselves over a large area of southern and central Tanganyika. Their

high level of military organization gave the Ngoni a strong political influence over the area; they were also the main fighters in the famous Maji-Maji revolt against German occupation early in the present century. The Germans managed to crush the revolt with ruthless and barbaric killings of thousands of people and, realizing the potential threat of the Ngoni, killed the whole Ngoni leadership leaving the survivors to reestablish a subsistence agricultural economy. (Mapunda & Mpangara 1969, Redmond 1972).

Another important form of population movement ought to be mentioned here, even if the term 'migration' does not seem entirely applicable. This is the slave trade, a type of movement generated by force with profound disruptive effects on the affected areas (Alpers 1967). The start of this kind of trade on a large scale was made in the first half of the 18th century with the establishment of plantation economies on the French-colonised islands of Mauritius and Reunion. From then on the trade grew with expanding markets, and when it reached its height in the 1860s between 50,000 and 70,000 slaves annually were brought to the coast for export (Alpers 1967).

The effects of the slave trade in disrupting and weakening existing social systems must in certain areas have been directly disastrous, and its impact was felt over most parts of the country. With the arrival of the Europeans the traffic in slaves came to a fairly rapid halt only to be replaced with other means of extracting labour such as forced labour, taxation and unscrupulous methods of recruitment. The growth of colonial economies both inside and around Tanganyika led to the establishment of new patterns of international migration, completely different from the old patterns both in terms of type of migrants, purpose of migration and direction and length of stay. The growth of the new patterns are the subject of the following sections.

### 5.1 Emigration from Tanganyika

Tanganyika has been the receiver of several fairly large flows of migrants from other African countries, partly in the form of refugees. The internal situation in the country, however, has never led to any corresponding exodus of any format. The main streams recorded are work seekers to the Copperbelt in Northern Rhodesia (present Zambia), to the Rand mining work in South Africa and to the two neighbouring East African countries. To this could be added labour migration to Zanzibar before the two countries formed the Republic of Tanzania.

A government committee made the following assessment of the situation in the late 1930s: "since the time of European occupation the clove industry in Zanzibar and Pemba has obtained its seasonal labour from the mainland, albeit in decreasing numbers, while the gold fields of Kenya now attract labour from the Lake and western provinces. The drain on the Territory's manpower is, however, not severe and the efflux is certainly much less than the influx". (Tanganyika 1938).

Twenty years later a more detailed assessment was made, stating that:

"Viewed on an inter-territorial basis, migratory movements involve journeys from the Southern and Southern Highlands Provinces of Tanganyika to the gold mining areas of the Transvaal and Orange Free State in the Union of South Africa, to the Copper Belt of Northern Rhodesia and, to a lesser extent, to the agricultural areas in the territories to the South of the Tanganyika boundary. There is also an annual migration of workers from the Ngara and Biharamulo areas of the Lake Province to Uganda where they find employment mainly with peasant farmers. Comparatively small movements involve inhabitants of the north-eastern areas of the Lake Province who seek employment in Kenya and the Wanyamwezi from the Western Province who have long sought employment each year in Zanzibar in connection with the harvesting of the clove crop. The members of Wanyamwezi seeking such employment have tended to decrease in recent years but since 1963 their numbers have been augmented by Africans from the coastal areas of the territory. The loss to the territorial labour force occasioned by these movements in an outward direction is compensated by an influx of labourers from neighbouring territories mainly the Portuguese Province of Mozambique, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia to the south and Ruanda-Urundi to the west. There is also the traditional migration of Africans from Ruanda-Urundi when en route to and from Uganda where they custo-

marily engage with Baganda peasant farmers" (Hurst 1959).

In trying to estimate the size of flows out from Tanganyika it is necessary to distinguish the number of emigrants leaving the country from the numbers actually settling outside its borders. To take the case of Zanzibar, in need of extra labour on a seasonal basis for its twice-a-year clove harvest; all censuses before 1967 were taken in February-March, after the November-January harvest. The information in these censuses relates to 'tribe'; and so-called Mainland tribes gives an idea about the size of the migration.

In 1924 and 1931 these tribes constituted around 65,000 people and 1948 51,000 (Zanzibar Census 1948).<sup>7</sup> The 1967 census was taken in August, half-way through the July-September harvest, and showed that in the order of 56,000 people classified themselves as belonging to Mainland tribes. It should be mentioned, that 'Mainland' in this context extends beyond the borders of Tanganyika and includes important contributions from for instance Nyasaland (Malawi). In 1967 the tribal heterogeneity was much greater than in earlier censuses, indicating a certain degree of turnover. But the 1967 data on place of birth tell us that only 16,500 people are born in Tanganyika, and some 4,000 in other African countries, a far lower figure than the tribal classification would indicate. This might be interpreted to mean that in fact many of the former migrants have settled and brought up new generations still responding to the old tribal origin.

Similar problems are encountered in relation to migration to Kenya and Uganda. So, for instance, official Uganda sources mention a fairly heavy flow of job-seekers from Tanganyika in the years preceding World War II: 19,110 in 1936, 14,000 in 1937 and 11,000 in 1938. The sources for these figures are somewhat obscure, evidenced also by a corresponding attempt to estimate migration via number of travellers on the ferries connecting Uganda with the two other East African countries (Kuczynski 1949), and in neither case is anything said about the numbers who succeeded in getting employment and the rate

of repatriation after a period of work. The level of migration is, however, confirmed by a Tanganyikan source which refers to "the 8-10,000 men who are away in Uganda at any given time". (Gulliver 1955, p. ii).

There is no doubt that large streams of migrants have been moving between the East African countries throughout the colonial period. The 1957-62 series of censuses recorded 206,000 residents of East Africa as present in the other East African countries (Hance 1970). Of these, 39% had left Tanganyika and more than half had ended up in Uganda. In the 1967-69 round the figure had increased to 390,000, 24% of whom originated in Tanzania. This represents a slightly higher absolute number, 93,000 against 81,000, but also includes Zanzibar as part of Tanzania. (Table 3).

Table 3. Migration between Tanzania and four neighbouring countries as reflected in census birthplace data

	Moved to Tanzania	Moved from Tanzania	Net migration
<b>KENYA 1969</b>			
males	50 622	22 301	28 321
females	47 241	16 948	30 293
total	97 863	39 249	58 614
<b>UGANDA 1969</b>			
males	7 525	34 930*	-27 405
females	6 455	18 530*	-12 075
total	13 980	53 460	-39 480
<b>ZAMBIA 1969</b>			
males	6 988	13 349	-6 361
females	4 431	9 399	-4 968
total	11 419	22 748	-11 329
<b>MALAWI 1966</b>			
males	11 525	5 329	6 196
females	6 393	5 841	552
total	17 918	11 170	6 748

Source: Birthplace data from national censuses 1966-69

\* Estimated figures



While some of the migration within East Africa might have been in search of land rather than wage employment, migration to southern Africa seems to have been exclusively of the latter type. There, as much as in East Africa, the colonial economy suffered from constant shortage of labour. South African authorities fairly early set up a recruitment office in Nyasaland (Malawi). Later they opened an office in Tukuyu in the Southern Highlands, from where a steady flow of labourers were transported to the gold mines for limited periods of contract work (Niddries 1954). No such direct recruitment was ever done to the Copperbelt in North Rhodesia (Zambia), but its convenience gave rise to an increasing number of labour migrants making their way there on foot especially from the Southern Highlands.

One estimate (Gulliver 1957) gives the size of the labour force away in this direction at any one moment to around 20,000 men, of whom in the order of 15,000 were found in South Africa. Fluctuations must have been common; the draining up of the gold fields in south-western Tanganyika in the 1950s, for instance, led to a direct increase in the number of job-seekers. The labour recruitment office in Tukuyu was closed down shortly after independence, and it is not unlikely that this meant an increase in the numbers seeking employment in the Copperbelt instead - a few years away in paid employment appears to have become an established social institution among some people in this part of Tanganyika (Gulliver 1955).

Field studies made by Gulliver in the 1960s seem to confirm that the migration to the south had only temporary effects on the population in the affected areas. This type of migration was mainly limited to young men, who made one or more time-restricted trips to the mining areas, in order to acquire the money required to establish themselves in the community - a ten-year period of study showed that only a few percent of the migrants had failed to return after up to 4-5 years absence.

Recent studies have begun to question this estimate (de Jonge & Sterkenburg 1973) without however being able to replace it with others. Data from South Africa on the origin of their

black people are not available, but the first post-independence census of Zambia shows that, eight years after the end of British colonisation, Tanganyikan workers still move to Zambia. No less than 22,700 persons in the Zambia 1969 census were recorded as born in Tanzania, of these some 3,300 had arrived during the last 12 months. The sex distribution leaves no doubt about the character of migration; around two-third of the recent migrants were men.<sup>8</sup>

The countries mentioned can be regarded as the main receivers of emigrants from Tanzania. To Mozambique with its slave-like system of forced labour persisting into the 1970's, hardly any labour migration could be expected to have taken place. Nyasaland, or after independence Malawi, had few opportunities to offer paid employment, herself like Mozambique annually supplying South Africa with large numbers of workers. In the Malawi census of 1966 11,200 persons were recorded as born in Tanzania, a figure which points to the level of interaction across national borders cutting right through old political or cultural units: the great majority of the 'migrants' were found in the northern parts of Malawi, and a majority of these were women. (Table 3).

What emerges from the above examination of available information is a strong conviction that only a very superficial picture of the border-crossing movements can ever be achieved. The amount of migration and eventual settlement generated by the conscription of large numbers of men in the two 'world wars' can only be guessed - no less than 25,000 Africans served the British colonial army in 1941 and altogether as many as 92,000 were recruited up to the end of the war (Kuczynski 1949, Moffett 1958). Systematic attempts at preventing the development of a local economy in 'labour reserve' areas, and the sometimes drastic slumps in world prices on the cash crops grown in other areas, are examples of other forces with temporary or longterm effects on international migration whose magnitude cannot be established in retrospect.

We are left with a picture of somewhere above 100,000 people living outside the borders of Tanzania in the late 1960s - in the order of 1% of the total population. This is a small pro-

portion, about the same as that made up by the whole alien community, and also small in relation to the experiences of other countries. Tanzania, a poor country but neither particularly oppressive in its colonial period nor politically unstable, has received far more migrants than it has lost. Subsequent sections will give some details about the immigrants.

## 5.2 Immigration to Tanganyika - Tanzania

The basic difficulties in estimating international migration are the same irrespective of the direction of the movements. Although the access to colonial and other documents in Tanzania facilitates the estimation of certain types of movements the lack of any functioning systematic border checks mean that probably the majority of all immigrants pass the border unrecorded.

The Masai are an obvious example of unrecorded movements. Originally in control of an area some 500 miles in square extending right across the present border with Kenya, they were gradually forced back from land regarded as valuable in the colonial economy and restricted to a very much smaller area, which however still extends across the border. Though perhaps less freely than earlier, the Masai continue to move back and forth without being entered in any migration statistics.

The same was at least up to fairly recently true for the people living in Northern Mozambique. Societies such as the Makonde or Makua, whose areas of settlement historically extended up to or across the Ruvuma River, began to move in larger numbers to Tanganyika in the latter part of the last century. A later wave of immigrants came to form a substantial part of the migrant labour to the European plantations, and we have no reason to doubt that border-crossings in both directions were commonplace up to the start of the Mozambique liberation war a decade back.

The Ngoni migration has already been mentioned. Moving up from South Africa during the last century they finally settled in Tanganyika, mainly in the southwest but also with strings up as

far north as Lake Victoria. The Ngoni were the driving force behind the famous Maji Maji Rebellion against the Germans in 1905-06. By that time they had "asserted their influence over the whole southern region from the eastern banks of Lake Nyasa to the western shores of the Indian Ocean, and from the country of the Hehe in the north to that of the Yao in the south". (Mapunda and Mpangara 1969: 7).

Though some of the most important, these migrations were by no means the only ones. The slave trade reached people not only in Tanganyika itself, but all over Eastern Africa and as far away as the central parts of Belgian Congo (present Zaire). Some of these slaves remained on Zanzibar, others were kept along the coast or, when later released, settled in the plantation areas. Other movements again, were, of Luo from Kenya into the Mara region east of Lake Victoria, of Rundi people from Ruanda-Urundi to Ngara west of the Lake, and of Congolese into Kigoma region. (Iliffe 1971).

The establishment of colonial administration in East and Central Africa gradually changed the pattern of movements. The imposition of colonial rule meant the replacement of a pattern of social and economic relations already disrupted by trade, especially trade in people, by a national system geared to the extraction of surplus to the metropolitan economy. The exact shape of this system depended on a series of factors including the response of the people in different parts of the country, and various methods were over time put in use in order to derive maximum profits from the country.

In the early days, large numbers of porters and other 'servant' staff were requested in sometimes large numbers. The growth of the plantation economy offered paid temporary employment, and the introduction of cash crops opportunities for trading from their own 'shamba'. In certain periods and places these "opportunities" were offered with a very firm hand; forced labour and enforced cash crop cultivation were legal means of stimulating the economy. A less direct but very effective and widespread form of exploitation was the system of taxation; without parti-

icipation in the money economy the peasant was unable to pay his duties and was open for sanctions at the discretion of the colonial oppressor.

Though the influence of colonisation on migration is beyond doubt, the details of the pattern remain obscure. Only casual observations exist as evidence of the large movements which took place outside the labour employment sector.

Migration for employment is slightly better recorded in the colonial files. An official source from shortly before World War II has to admit that "Accurate statistics is not available, but it is estimated that immigrant labour amounts to 45,000, of which 30,000 are estimated to come from territories to the south and 15,000 from Belgian territory". (Tanganyika 1938, p. 9). More specifically, labour migrants to Tanganyika seem to have arrived not only from Mozambique, Nyasaland and North Rhodesia, but also in perhaps smaller numbers from Ruanda-Urundi and Kenya.

Some years later, Gulliver (1955) gives the estimate of 37,000 alien workers employed in Tanganyika. Unless he underestimated the numbers, this must have been a low period before the return to and above earlier levels. An enumeration conducted in 1958 gave the total of 55,000 'Alien Africans' employed in Tanganyika. Of these, some 30,000 came from "territories to the south", whereof 20,000 from Mozambique alone, and slightly less than 19,000 from Congo and Ruanda-Urundi. Another 5,000 originated in Kenya.

Although the employment figures might be of the correct order, they fail to illustrate either the turnover among the migrants or the total number in the country at any given time. The Belgian administration of Ruanda-Urundi estimated the number of temporary migrants to Tanganyika and Uganda to grow from 7,100 in 1930 to 56,400 in 1938 (Kuczynski 1949, p. 242); this might be a correct appraisal of a trend which resulted in no less than 675,000 people from the Belgian colony living in Tanganyika and Uganda in the late 1950s (Hance 1970). 157,000 were found in Tanganyika.

This is still only part of the total number of non-Tanganyikans in the country at that time. The 1957 census showed that as many as 3.6% of the African population, or around 315,000, was born outside the country. The same type of differences, only a bit more pronounced appear for the ten-year period following upon the census. One source, for 1965, records around 20,000 African non-citizens as being in regular employment, to which should be added another 20,000 in casual employment (Bureau of Statistics 1966). Another source shows a regular decline in the number of non-citizens employed in recent years, from over 23,000 in 1967 to less than 15,000 in 1970 (Bureau of Statistics 1968 and 1970). Again, the 1967 census records almost 400,000 persons in Tanzania Mainland as born in neighbouring countries (Table 4) and another 45,000 to come from more distant countries (Claeson & Egero 1972).

Table 4. Immigrants from neighbouring countries by sex and country of birth, Tanzania Mainland 1967

Country	Males	Females	Total pop.	Sex ratio
Mozambique	67,764	62,560	130,324	108
Kenya	50,169	46,900	97,069	107
Burundi	40,228	35,292	75,520	114
Rwanda	19,714	15,556	35,270	127
Malawi	11,432	6,375	17,807	179
Congo (Zaire)	8,840	8,446	17,286	105
Uganda	7,470	6,398	13,868	117
Zambia	6,954	4,416	11,370	157
Total	212,571	185,943	398,514	114

Source: Census Volume 3, 1971

The growing discrepancy is mainly due to the arrival of large numbers of refugees and job-seekers to independent Tanzania in the period from 1961. One survey, on admittedly shaky grounds, suggests that around 75,000 persons had come to Tanzania Main-

land from other African countries in the period from independence to 1965, of these almost two-thirds originating in Zanzibar, Kenya and Uganda (Ray 1966). The survey is correct in so far as there were large numbers of people entering the country in that period, as refugees over the southern eastern borders. But the exact numbers are still a matter of opinion.

The whole refugee situation is very confused, and estimates of the number of refugees to Tanzania in recent times appear to be heavily on the low side. This is to a large extent a matter of definition - in the case of Tanzania a refugee is a person known and registered as such, and in some way cared for by the Tanzanian Government in cooperation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). There are good reasons to believe that many more enter the country who, on inspection, would qualify for the title of refugee.

Applying the official definition, the refugee situation in Tanzania does not appear very serious. Comparatively speaking Tanzania has a small share in the refugee problems of the continent, some 40,000 out of more than one million (Minja 1971). This figure refers to the late 1960s, and could since then have undergone some changes as an effect of the recent events in Uganda and Burundi.

The refugee contingent is made up of three major streams from Mozambique, Rwanda and Congo (Zaire), plus several small groups especially from white-minority countries in southern Africa. The first to come were the Watutsi from Rwanda, who arrived in small numbers in 1959 and by 1961 had grown to a size of about 5,000. During the next three years another 10,000 people fled to Tanzania, and since 1965 the country has a fairly settled community of around 13,500 Rwandese refugees (Hamrell 1967).

The second group consists of refugees from northern Mozambique. Within a few months after the start of the liberation struggle of PRELIMO in 1964, some 10,000 refugees had crossed the border in attempts to escape from Portuguese retaliations in the form of indiscriminate killings and massacres of innocent people.

Since then the number has continued to grow to reach some 29,000 in 1969 where it appears largely to have levelled out. The level of development and popular involvement in the liberation struggle now seems to be so high that not even the extremely severe Portuguese military effort in 1970 called 'The Gordian Knot', with heavy assistance of the South African air force, managed to add much to the number of refugees.

The third large group consists of Congolese fleeing during the Mulele uprising of 1964. Originally about 3,000, there now remains probably less than 600<sup>(9)</sup> - the remainder returned home as soon as they could without risk for physical danger. Apart from these three streams there are small groups of refugees from countries like Malawi and Kenya, some of the latter remaining from the colonial period of white oppression and land alienation.

But official figures might give only part of the overall picture. Census data from 1957 and 1967 show a net increase of some 80,000 'Africans' among those born in neighbouring countries, the result of a higher influx balanced against deaths and emigration of those resident in Tanganyika in 1957. Before proceeding to examine the alien population in 1967, it is worth noting that those born in other African countries than the neighbours make up a completely negligible proportion of the migrants, and that immigrants from further away make up significant numbers only within the three alien minority groups in Tanzania. Further, as only about one percent of the border-crossing immigrants are non-Africans, any results for the total group must relate equally to the African component only. In other words, whatever movements of Asians, Europeans or Arabs that have taken place - and these could be quite substantial in terms of the minority groups themselves - the numbers are too small to have any impact on the national results.

In all, virtually 400,000 persons in the 1967 census appear to have been born in one of the eight countries bordering on Tanzania and, at some stage in their life, to have moved across the border to Tanzania Mainland. Of these the largest number,



130,000 have come from Mozambique, followed by 97,000 from Kenya and 76,000 from Burundi (see Fig. 1 and Table 4).

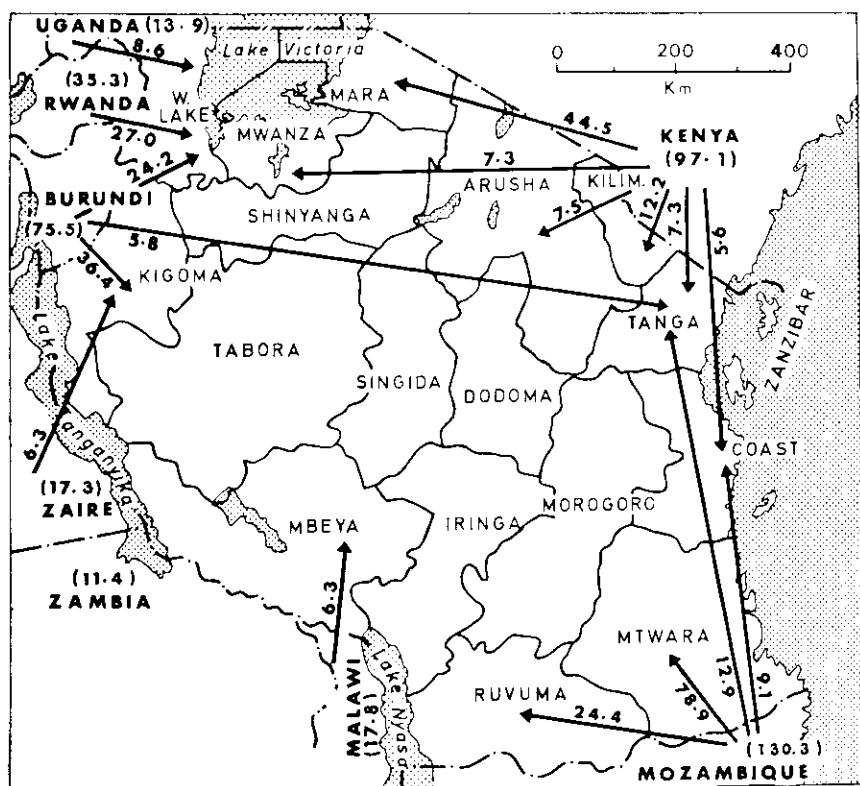


Figure 1. Immigration streams exceeding 500 persons

Sex ratios are often used to distinguish labour migration. Of the eight countries only two, Malawi and Zambia, have the high sex ratios characteristic of a male-dominated flow of job-seekers. Despite this, the overall demographic character of the immigrant population shows that selective mechanisms are a work similar to those in a labour-type of migration, a large proportion of young adults and among the adults a certain excess of men (Fig. 2).

Among the immigrants, the excess of adults as compared to a more 'normal' age distribution extends all the way up in old ages.

Taken together with the large numbers of foreign-born in the 1957 census, before the major waves of refugee migrants, this shows immigration to Tanganyika to be of old datum and apparently leading to a permanent settlement there for a certain proportion of the migrants. How long would they then remain aliens to Tanzania?

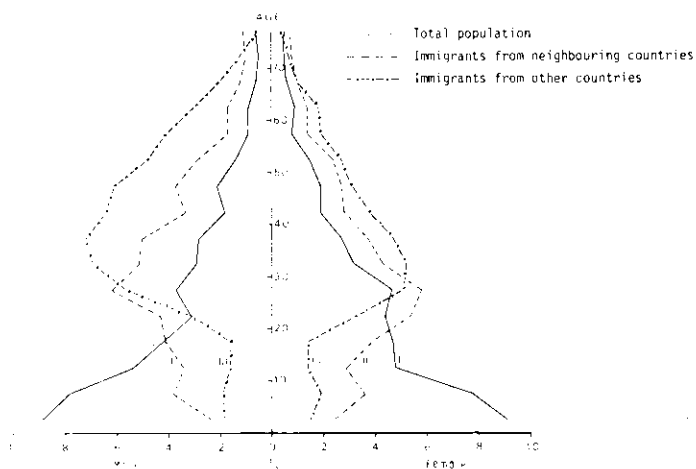


Figure 2. The age distribution of the total population and two immigrant categories

The latest census had a question about citizenship, obviously a question to which few accurate answers could be expected. 'Citizenship' requires the definition of a nation and recognition of legal adherence to this nation. It also requires rules for the status of immigrants and a machinery to implement these rules. Therefore, for the majority of the people of interest here, this question will disclose no more than the personal identification with the country of origin or residence.

Firstly, the 'citizens' of each of the neighbouring countries present in Tanzania Mainland in 1967 were far less than the numbers born in the respective countries. In all but one case they number no more than about half, and in one case - the Congo - only

one sixth of the numbers born. The exception is Rwanda, where the citizen group is very large, three-quarters of the numbers born there.

The difference becomes clearer with a comparison of country of birth and defined citizenship (Table 5). Usually around two-thirds of those born in the neighbouring country now regard themselves as citizens of Tanzania - a fact which points to the historical spread of movements between the countries and the permanent character of a large part of the migration. Again Rwanda stands out as the exception: over 60% of those born there have retained their identification with Rwanda.

Table 5. Population resident on Mainland born in or citizens of countries neighbouring on Tanzania

Neighbouring country (NC)	Citizen of NC			Total	Citizen of Tanzania	Total born in NC
	Born in NC	Born in Tanzania	Born elsewhere		Born in NC	
Mozambique	49,311	11,544	42	60,897	81,013	130,324
Kenya	33,772	2,715	172	36,659	36,297	97,069
Burundi	25,655	3,950	1	29,606	49,865	75,520
Rwanda	21,461	4,526	1	25,988	13,809	35,270
Malawi	7,044	2,085	40	9,169	10,763	17,807
Congo (Zaire)	1,895	790	9	2,694	15,391	17,286
Uganda	5,007	440	22	5,469	8,861	13,868
Zambia	3,820	1,759	141	5,720	7,550	11,370
Total	147,965	27,809	428	176,202	250,549	398,514

Source: Unpublished tables, 1967 census.

Note: Available tabulations did not permit the separation of people born in NC but citizen of a non-neighbouring country. This group, which totals 3,195 persons for Mainland, is included in the last column of the table.

The specific character of the Rwandese community appears related to their historical situation. Migration from the densely populated Ruanda-Urundi to areas in West Lake and Uganda were not uncommon already before the imposition of colonial rule. Colonisation did not make things better, and Belgian administration of the mandate led to movements "on a scale which in some years have assumed very large proportions". The words come from

an official report on labour conditions in East Africa (Orde Browne 1946), which also complains that "during the last twenty years there have been several of these large scale migrations causing grave embarrassment to the Tanganyika administration...".

Thus periods of severe food shortage have forced starving people to cross the border in search of the minimum subsistence requirements denied them by their own colonial government. Hardships in their own country rather than attractive prospects in the new country was what led to the movements. Essentially the same survival problems, though caused by political rather than economic factors, is what gave rise to the refugee streams of the early sixties, which furthermore largely consisted of members of the class in power after independence. Taken together, these factors seem to make for strong links with the old country and an orientation to the situation after migration as of only temporary nature.

In comparison, the largest immigrant group in Tanzania, the Mozambiquans, have a very different history. Historically the Ruvuma river has been regarded as a link rather than a barrier; the same people were living on both sides. Movements in search of employment in Tanzania started early, and by the 1930s large numbers were making their way up to the opportunities offered by the plantations along the coast (Orde Browne 1946). At the same time, "a large part of the population in the south-east is in a continuous state of movement, due partly to economic reasons, and partly to the migration backwards and forwards across the Ruvuma River" (Hailey 1950).

Thus, for the Mozambiquans movements across the colonial border did not imply a break with 'home' in the same way as it did for the Ruanda-Urundi people. It seems reasonable to assume that many of them found it natural to identify with Tanganyika at the time of independence, especially as no similar progress was in sight for their own country. The start of armed liberation in 1964 might have given rise to nationalistic feelings even in the old migrant community, as in 1967 many more than the recognised number of refugees identified with the country where they were born.

## 6. CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The picture of international migration as given above essentially reflects a historical situation. Events such as the independence of former colonies in Africa, increasing polarisation in minority-ruled countries in southern Africa, changes in national policies and economies, are all contributing factors influencing individual decisions to migrate, whether within or between countries.

In terms of international migration, the most significant post-independence events in Tanzania are the ending of all labour migration to southern Africa, the establishment of the East African Community and the emphasis on rural development through Ujamaa Vijijini. While these steps primarily influence the development of migration within the African continent, the nationalisation of the economy and the growth of a national educated elite have direct implications for the size and turnover among the ethnic minorities in Tanzania.

The Asian community, declining in size already before the 1967 census, has since had further restrictions imposed on its economic freedom; more rigid control of imports and exports, nationalisation of major buildings, further extension of the nationalised sector of the economy. The result is a continued exodus of members of this community, perhaps at a fairly high rate. How far this trend will continue is a matter of speculation; events similar to those forcing most Asians out of Uganda are unlikely in the context of Tanzania, a very substantial number of the community are Tanzanian citizens and not so few are already active in the public sector.

For the European minority the permanently settled community is likely to continue to decline from its already small numbers. The highly unstable 'expatriate' community brought here mainly through so-called aid programmes can be expected to fluctuate more or less in line with the size of these programmes. Foreign aid has shown a sharp increase in financial terms over the first part of the present decade, if this trend continues there are

good reasons to expect the expatriate community to grow rather than decline in size.

1978 is the year for the next national census. This census will give a good opportunity to measure the effects of national policies in the post-Arusha period. Patterns of migration are useful indicators of the functioning of the economy; let us hope that the census allows for adequate observations of these patterns.

## NOTES

1. The presentation of migrants categorized into ethnic communities has been chosen primarily because of the very different relations of these communities to the colonial economy. Only the very commonly used broad groups are mentioned in the text. In addition to these, various small groups have entered the country at different times, e.g. the 1,600 Japanese and Chinese imported in the 1890s to alleviate labour shortage in the Usambaras (Mihalyi 1970) or the German Russians brought in during 1906 to strengthen the settler community (Iliffe 1969).
2. The 1952 census found 61% of the Arab community in rural areas, compared to 49% of the European and 17% of the Asian community. (Report on the Non-African Census 1952).
3. In 1967, the total number of Arabs born outside Tanzania was reduced to around 3,600, a sign that immigration has come to halt especially as a certain redistribution must have taken place within the Republic - many Arabs are thought to have fled from Zanzibar during the 1964 revolution.
4. The timing of European settlement in various parts of Tanganyika is well described in Gillman (1952). For a more recent account of European estate economy see Ruthenberg (1964).
5. The extent of the Asian trade monopoly already at this time is quite clear from the fact that even the colonial poll tax was expressed in rupees; Indian monetary terms were used extensively in the first decades of colonial rule (Hydén 1968, p. 101).
6. "By the beginning of 1917 no less than 12,000 out of the 15,000 South African troops had had to be evacuated because of disease" (Moffett 1958, p. 85).
7. No tribal classification was possible in 1958. See Blacker (1962).
8. Census Office, Lusaka, personal communication.
9. Repatriated during late 1973.

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