

COLLECTION OF ABSTRACTS FOR: RURAL-URBAN CONNECTIONS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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Hany Abo-El-Wafa and Stephan Pauleit

Strategic Landscape Planning and Management, Technical University of Munich, Germany

(Paper Session 5; Agricultural value chain dynamics and urbanisation)

Using urban spatial scenario model: the impact of urban growth on peri-urban Agriculture in Addis Ababa

The built-up area of Addis Ababa is expanding along the major outlets of the city into the peri-urban region due to rapid population growth. This urban expansion, mostly taking place at low densities, causes high losses of farmland directly influencing food provisioning or the urban population. Therefore, exploring options for future urban development that better protect valuable farmland is of critical importance for this city region.

The paper presents the first time application of an urban spatial scenario design model (USSDM) in the Addis Ababa region and examines its potential as a tool to assess the impact of land use transformation caused by the expansion of settlement areas on peri-urban agriculture. Two contrasting population density scenarios were modelled and assessed. High-density, condominium based development as proposed by the planners of the master plan review project was compared with low-density plot based development proposed by the surrounding local municipalities. The model output was analysed against agricultural productivity information, represented by crop suitability maps for the major crops cultivated in the area, estimating the areas of different agriculture suitability levels that would be lost due to the modelled settlement expansion.

Results showed that implementing the high density scenario would require only 45% of the agricultural land converted into settlement areas under the low density scenario. Information on crop suitability of the farmland allowed identification of areas where losses of high quality farmland are to be expected. Most losses would be of land suitable for cultivating important export products such as Niger seed, rape seed and products of high nutritional value such as cabbage, tomato and potato or import substituting products such as wheat and malt. The study showed the potential of the USSDM scenario approach to support more sustainable regional planning for settlement expansion that conserves valuable farmland in the peri-urban and thus contributes to food security of the growing urban population.

Timothy O. Ajayi, Ayodele O. Olomieja, Jacob B. Ajayi, and Grace J. Ajayi

Ogun State Institute of Technology Igbesa, Nigeria

(Paper Session 4; Urban governance, planning and service management)

Sustainable Urbanization (SDG) through Water reuse: the Situation in the Urban City of Lagos-Nigeria

Lagos is the commercial nerve centre of Nigeria experiencing rapid urbanisation. It is one of the mega cities of the world with an estimated population of 17.5 million. The Lagos Lagoon which is a notable water body in Lagos state has been a sewage disposal site for the past fifty years and the quantity of sewage wastes disposed daily into the Lagoon has greatly increased due to rapid population growth. The Lagoon serves as the major source of sea foods and livelihood in Lagos and also confers beauty to the city. Like some other highly populated and sewage rich cities, Lagos state is yet to utilise her abundant sewage resources in scaling-up her energy supply instead of polluting her Lagoon. A largely urbanized city like Lagos implies that sustainable development will depend very largely on the capacity of urban and metropolitan areas to manage the waste disposal systems needed to preserve its environment. The aim of this paper is to elucidate the effects of sustainable urbanization through water reuse and the potential of the state generated sewage waste in meeting her formidable energy challenge which has constituted largely to the its poverty.

Thomas Allen

Economist, OECD Sahel and West Africa Club

(Paper Session 4; Agricultural value chain dynamics and urbanisation)

Changes in the West African Agro-Food Value Chains - Urbanisation, market and consumption

Today 45% of the West African population lives in urban areas. Rapid urbanisation has resulted not only in an increase in the number of non-producing consumers but also in qualitative changes in demand, in particular towards processed foods; these two trends are powerful engines of agricultural transformation. Food value chains are becoming longer and more complex. Agriculture remains essential, but 40% of value added in the food economy is from non-agricultural activities.

Urbanisation is profoundly changing the way in which household access food. In urban areas, the majority of food is accessed on markets, with on average 93% of household food expenditures made on the various distribution channels. In rural areas, almost half of all food expenditure is on markets. Using new disaggregated urbanisation data we estimate that at least two thirds of food needs are provided by the market at the regional level. The market is today the essential vector of food access and plays a key role in food security.

These transformations to the modes and structure of food consumption lead to a new geography of economic exchanges. Food value chains are becoming longer and more complex. Post-harvest activities from farm to table, including transport, processing, distribution, increase in importance relative to agriculture. Accounting for and accompanying the transformation of food systems is one of the major challenges of the coming decades in West Africa.

The paper uses novel urbanisation data and household consumption data to retrace and quantify these trends and provide estimates for current size of the West African food market.

Ebenezer Forkuo Amankwaa

Department of Geography and Resource Development, University of Ghana

(Paper Session 5; Urban governance, planning and service management)

(Un)equal burden of poverty: Water and electricity access and the evolving household economies of poor urban communities in Accra, Ghana

The quest to understand the links between services, livelihoods and poverty has progressed in recent years, but incorporating the poor in an explicitly poverty-focused approach to water and electricity development is under-researched. This paper attempts to address this gap in knowledge by examining the household economies of the urban poor in Ghana within the context of water and electricity access. In-depth interviews and focus group discussions conducted in selected low-income communities in Accra are complemented with available census data, to examine residents' experiences regarding water and electricity access, and their water and electricity dependent livelihood activities. The study shows how a poor water and electricity supply directly affects livelihood activities which has a knock-on effect on the income of the poor. City authorities thus need to develop demand-based programmes that incorporate an integrated poverty-reduction strategy into water and electricity provision.

Manja Hoppe Andreasen and Jytte Agergaard

Department of Geosciences and Natural Resource Management, University of Copenhagen, Denmark

(Paper Session 3; Urban periphery dynamics)

Urban expansion, migration and residential mobility

This paper draws on a study of the migration histories and intra-urban settlement trajectories of residents currently residing in peripheral areas of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Being one of the most rapidly growing cities of sub-Saharan Africa, Dar es Salaam has experienced high population growth rates fuelled by a high natural increase as well as a high in-flow of migrants. Population growth is nowhere as rapid as in the sprawling peripheral areas.

Commonly, migration is seen as an important factor driving the expansion of urban areas in sub-Saharan Africa. This runs the risk of overlooking dynamics of intra-urban residential mobility. Residential mobility often features prominently in analyses of cities in high-income countries, but not much is known about residential mobility patterns in cities of sub-Saharan Africa.

This paper focuses on the role of migration and residential mobility in processes of urban expansion. Who are the people populating the urban periphery? How did they end up living there? Answers to these questions provide an in-depth understanding of how, when and why urban residents settle in the periphery. The paper aims to unpack conventional categories of 'migrants' and 'urban-born', applying a more time-and-space sensitive perspective, when explaining dynamics of migration and residential mobility

The findings suggest that intra-urban residential mobility is a central dynamic in urban expansion processes. Residents settle in the periphery predominantly after rather long urban trajectories. Many are former migrants, though currently well-established urban residents, who have often lived many years in more central and consolidated parts of the city. Direct migration is a less important dynamic in urban expansion. This indicates that the extensive volumes of new migrants, Dar es Salaam receives every year, are not absorbed in peripheral settlements. Most likely, new migrants are instead absorbed in central areas, contributing to densification of already consolidated settlements.

Manja Hoppe Andreasen and Lasse Møller-Jensen

Department of Geosciences and Natural Resource Management, University of Copenhagen, Denmark

(Paper Session 4; Urban governance, planning and service management)

Beyond the networks: Service provision and infrastructure development in peripheral settlements of Dar es Salaam

This paper offers insights from recent case studies of new, rapidly growing peripheral settlements of Dar es Salaam. The study explores how services and infrastructure have developed and improved over time, and how residents have been engaged in this process in various ways. This makes it possible to gain a holistic understanding of how urban services actually work.

The findings indicate that services and infrastructures have emerged and improved significantly over time as the peripheral areas consolidated. Gradual improvements are to some extent created, organized and financed by residents through informal self-help solutions, particularly in relation to water, sanitation and interior access roads. The informal solutions are costly, place huge strains on residents' time and resources and are often not considered attractive solutions by residents.

Residents also put considerable effort into attracting formal service providers through applications, co-financing of network extensions as well as lobbying efforts towards urban authorities and service providers, esp. in relation to electricity, public transport, outlet roads and health and education services. Major improvements have been achieved in relation to electrification, whereas health and education services remain under-supplied and of poor quality. Public transport services and road infrastructure remain highly inadequate, despite a general dependence on access to the central city in relation to residents' livelihood strategies and a widespread dependence on motorized transport, esp. public transport, in relation to this.

The formal service providers primarily take a reactive role, responding to demand, requests and political pressure from residents. Post-settlement network extensions are often complicated and impeded by costly and cumbersome land-acquisition processes, and because of the reactive and often piecemeal approach to network extensions, society may be missing out on potential benefits of scale. The way urban services work means that the provision of services and infrastructure is extremely differentiated and fragmented across the urban territory, creating and reinforcing major inequalities in access to services.

Jonathan David Baker

Department of Global Development and Planning, University of Agder, Norway

(Paper session 5; Rural livelihood dynamics and small town development)

Connectivity, administrative upgrading and livelihood changes in a small town: the case of Bora in north-eastern Ethiopia

Over the past few decades there has been an ongoing conceptual and theoretical debate as to whether small towns can act as catalysts for rural change. This paper presents recent empirical research conducted between 2003 and 2013 in and around the small town of Bora (in the Oromiya Zone of the Amhara Region), north-eastern Ethiopia, which hopefully will contribute to this debate.

When Bora was first visited in 2003 it was a small, isolated and non-dynamic place providing a few central -place functions. However in 2006, the woreda of Dewe Harewa was created and Bora was upgraded administratively into the woreda (lowest administrative authority) capital town. Prior to this, all decisions affecting the woreda population had to be dealt with in Kemissie – 30 kms away on a poorly constructed road. With Bora’s new status, a new administration including, inter alia, health, education, taxation, and legal affairs was created. Connectivity was vastly improved (including a link to the electricity grid and the erection of a mobile phone mast), as well as substantial upgrading of the only motor road linking Bora to Kemissie and the main north-south highway.

Interviews were conducted with rural and urban households to gauge how these changes had impacted their livelihoods. The results, particularly for farm households, were surprising and clearly reveal a rapid increase in farms adopting new cash crops, especially the mild stimulant khat (*catha edulis*). Most farmers stated that this innovation had greatly increased their incomes and quality of life. The main driver behind this buoyant rural and urban economy appears to be the creation of the new woreda and the upgrading of Bora to woreda capital.

François Bart

Université Bordeaux Montaigne, France

(Paper Session 5; Rural livelihood dynamics and small town development)

The urban dynamics of a rural region in Moshi, Tanzania: a “rurban” continuum?

This paper emphasizes on the rural-urban linkages on the southern side of Mount Kilimanjaro, in Northern Tanzania. This example is quite remarkable in terms of recent urban development in a high rural density mountain area. Mt Kilimanjaro countryside, usually known as Chagga land, is in fact one of the most dynamic rural agro-pastoral systems in East Africa, with very high population densities scattered mainly on the fertile volcanic soils of 1000-2000 meters altitude slopes of the mountain: in some areas, there may be more than 500 inhabitants per sq. kilometre! In fact the growth of the main town, Moshi, now about 200,000 people, first originated from a rural development based on coffee cultivation and exportation. The “new” Moshi town started around the railway station connecting (since 1912) coffee production to Indian Ocean harbours, and the first power equipment (hydroelectricity) was completed in order to reach the coffee factory close to the railway.

In the following decades, the sprawling urban development has created a kind of rural-urban continuum, based on high densities, both rural and urban. Consequently, the main focus of this paper is, from this example, to find different types of indicators of rural-urban connections in terms of continuum or break, in a demographic and economic context where flows and mobility between rural and urban areas increase at a very high pace, so that are emerging some spaces and systems (even socio-spatial systems) based on new paradigms, which may allow exciting discussions about concepts and methodology. Can we talk about rural crisis, “Rural renaissance” (Kayser, 1990), rurban emergence? How to study new territories including both sprawling urbanization and rural densification? How to imagine new methodologies to investigate co-existing strong urban and rural dynamics?

Torben Birch-Thomsen (1), Sinne Ørtenblad (1), Lukelo R. Mseke (2) and Fulgence J. Mishili (2)

(1) Department of Geosciences and Natural Resource Management, University of Copenhagen, Denmark and (2) Department of Agricultural Economics and Agribusiness, Sokoine University of Agriculture, Tanzania

(Paper Session 6; Rural-urban co-development)

Rural transformations in the context of changing rural-urban linkages

Similar to many parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, Tanzania has within the past two decades experienced general economic growth and commercialisation and monetisation, e.g. of agricultural activities, as well as improved investment environment. Moreover, the infrastructure, including road systems and means of communication has improved, among a number of other things causing changing patterns of mobility.

These changes are highly interrelated and affected by and affecting the changing rural-urban linkages, which include flows of people, capital, resources, agricultural commodities, goods, services, technology and information, between rural and urban locations. We emphasise that the rural-urban connections go beyond the spatial dichotomy and that the linkages often occur in a dynamic rural-urban continuum.

Influenced by these changes, this paper sets out to elucidate patterns and dynamics of rural transformation in Tanzania in the context of changing rural-urban linkages, by presenting data from a particularly dynamic region; namely Njombe Region in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. Based on fieldwork conducted during 2014 and 2015, involving household and key informant interviews, focus group discussions and livelihood surveys, the paper gives examples of how the transformations are manifested in this dynamic region, through a broader, regional level lens, as well as through emphasising and illustrating local and spatial variations, e.g. regarding differences in opportunities and challenges. The paper will show how the degree of rural-urban connections and the rural transformations influence the livelihoods of the rural inhabitants, including mobility patterns and socio-economic mobility.

Adriana Blanche and Joseph John Lukumay

Dynamiques Rurales, Université Toulouse II Le Mirail, France

(Paper Session 6; Changing land investment practices)

Foreign investments in land and local livelihood transformations and changes in Tanzania

This participation is a pooling of two researches conducted both in Arusha and Morogoro regions, Tanzania. These researches focused on new forms of land investments with the aim of understanding their effects on small-scale farmers and pastoralists' livelihoods. Indeed, we can observe in these two areas new investments pushed by international and national institutions with the aim of modernizing Tanzanian agriculture or expand conservation areas. We will focus on direct or indirect alterations of land tenure and use brought by these new foreign investments. Since the so-called foreign investors use locals at different stages of implementation, especially to access the land, this strategy makes it difficult to categorize them as either foreign or locally owned. Nevertheless, the evictions of pastoralists and peasants from the land they were using before question the agricultural development model and its effects on the future of small-scale farming and pastoralism. Indeed, while the Maasai were practicing pastoralism as their main livelihood source, the new pressures on land are influencing their relation to nature and land. They engage new strategies of livelihood diversification in order to get access to new resources or maintain access to grazing land, and sometimes, transform completely the traditional livelihood by starting farming. For the peasants, several implications can be described: those who lose their land develop new strategies and can either be employed on the new plantation or adopt mobility strategies, to move either to other urban or rural areas. This "nucleous and outgrowers" scheme brings new forms of land access strategies, increase land conflicts among villagers and forces peasants to change their production patterns to tally with those of the investors: the lands are transformed into large-scale plantations owned by one investor, and the small-scale farmers surrounding the plantation have to change their farming techniques and crops.

Frederik Brønd (1), Niels Fold (1), Darlene Azemao (2), Torben Birch-Thomsen (1), L. Douanla (2), N. Essah (4), R. Frempong (4), Nina Tofte Hansen (1), C. Kaffo (2), S. Kelodjoue (2), Martin Kuete (2), Evelyne A. Lazaro (3), Elvis Mbeng (2), Fulgence J. Mishili (3), Lukelo R. Msese (3), C. Nzeket (2), Robert D. Osei (4), George Owusu (4), Jérémy Pasini (5), Maurice Tsalefac (2) and L. Yaka (2)

(1) University of Copenhagen, Denmark; (2) University of Dschang, Cameroon; (3) Sokoine University of Agriculture, Tanzania; (4) University of Ghana, Ghana and (5) Université Toulouse II Le Mirail, France

(Paper session 4; Agricultural value chain dynamics and urbanisation)

Agricultural transformation and socio-economic dynamics in rural areas: impacts on rural-urban connections

Socio-economic dynamics in rural areas are manifold as the driving factors may differ and vary in importance depending on the context. The aim of this paper is to outline different patterns and trajectories that have been significant for a reduction or strengthening of rural-urban connections in Africa and to discuss the possible driving forces behind these changes: increasing commercialization of agricultural production, changes in land tenure rights and conflicts over access to land, changes in household labour allocation and use of wage labour, infrastructural development, etc. The paper is based on 7 case studies of transformation processes in rural areas in Ghana, Cameroon and Tanzania. These rural areas are characterized by the prevalence of a dominant crop that to various degrees and in different ways shapes a vigorous socio-economic dynamism in the particular research site. It could be either in the form of a newly introduced crop or an expansion of a traditional crop but a common feature is that all the rural areas experience new forms of incorporation in the world market. By zooming in on this type of rural areas it is envisaged that the structure and causes of the agricultural transformation processes are easier to capture and interpret. It is argued that the forms of agricultural commercialization stimulate rural dynamics in the sense that new investment opportunities open up in agricultural production or agriculturally-related processing, servicing and trading. From being spaces characterized by resource drains and households' survival strategies these areas change to attractive places for deploying investments, seeking employment and selling goods - which may lead to reverse resource flows from urban to rural areas.

Frederik Brønd and Niels Fold

Department of Geosciences and Natural Resource Management, University of Copenhagen, Denmark

(Paper Session 6; Changing land investment practices)

Small scale land grabbing? External investment in agricultural land in Ghana

In recent years large scale land investment in particular Sub Saharan Africa has become a prominent area of interest for academics, public media and policy makers. Critically termed as 'land grabbing' the process implies a dispossession of access to land by local people. The public discourse has focused on the acquisition of large patches of agricultural land by Northern based agribusiness companies in collaboration with local elites to the disadvantage of local farmers who lose access to land. Conversely, transnational land investment has also been promoted as a welcome source of capital and technology into African agricultural economies. While many case studies and some comprehensive reports (by e.g. The World Bank) have been published on the subject, limited attention has been granted to external investment of a smaller scale mainly initiated by national citizens. These investments happen 'under the radar' but may concurrently alter the agrarian landscape where in take place. This paper presents the results from a case study of these 'external land investment' in the Kwaebibirem administrative district in Southern Ghana. Oil palm cultivation is prominent in this area which is known for the presence of the largest corporate oil palm plantation in Ghana and a large oil palm production by out-growers and independent smallholders. During the recent decades a comprehensive small-scale oil palm processing sector has developed in the area, widely distributed in smaller rural settlements and intermediate towns. The paper explores the different types of external investments in land and the motivations of the investors. The dynamics of external investments in the palm oil area is positioned within the literature on land grabbing and agrarian political economy literature that deals with questions of land, labour and capital in rural areas. The paper also argues that the external investments can be seen as new forms of rural-urban connections.

Karen Büscher

Conflict Research Group, Ghent University

(Paper Session 4; Rural livelihood dynamics and small town development)

Conflict, displacement and small town development in Eastern D.R. Congo

This paper addresses the complex process of rural - urban transformation in a particular context of violent conflict and displacement in Eastern Congo. Urbanization is one of the very influential effects of the transformative power of violent conflict; but of all social transformations the protracted civil war has produced, this particular one has not received any attention yet. I will focus on a particular aspect of current rural-urban transformation in Eastern Congo, namely the impressive emergence of several small boomtowns in the rural hinterlands of the North and South Kivu provinces. Driven by a combination of several push factors such as insecurity and displacement and pull factors such as lucrative small-scale mining, several isolated villages have over less than ten years evolved into attractive, booming urban centres. These centres offer extremely interesting sites to study mobile and unstable livelihoods in a context of violence and war-economy, but also to study political, economic and spatial power struggles unfolding from the emergence of these boomtowns. Apart from exploring the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of this urbanization process, the paper argues that we also need to understand this rural-urban transformation as a highly political process.

Jean-Louis Chaléard and Évelyne Mesclier

Université Paris I – Panthéon-Sorbonne and Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD) - UMR Prodig, France

(Paper Session 3; Technology and knowledge transfer between rural and urban locations)

The contribution of urban based knowledge, standards and capital flows to the transformation of rural areas: a case study near Takoradi-Sekondi in the Western region of Ghana

The scientific literature usually explains that transfer of knowledge, standards and capital from urban to rural locations contribute to the transformation of the latter. Moreover the decentralization increases the responsibilities of cities. But the reality is more complex. The present paper will discuss these assertions, using field data collected in the area of Sekondi-Takoradi in Ghana.

Firstly, we argue that the institutional actors located in town, such as the Western Region and the Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Assembly, do not show significant interest in the farming sector. Secondly, we argue that national politics favourable to export of rubber play a fundamental role. GREL, formerly a private company, bought by the State and transferred to a French firm, produces rubber from its own plantations, but moreover buys rubber from thousands of producers. Supported by the French Cooperation, the company operates in various domains such as equipping villages in competition with the urban and local authorities.

Finally, we show that there are many private capital transfers from the city towards rural areas, but that their direction is influenced by the rubber business. Indeed, the main part of the private investments in farming from city dwellers are dedicated to the rubber business because of the easy access to land, the technical support from GREL and the purchase and prices guarantees.

Bernard Charlery de la Masselière (1); with François Bart (2), Bénédicte Thibaud (2), Rémi Benos (1), Josphe Lukumay (1) and Adriana Blache (1)

(1) Université Toulouse II Le Mirail and (2) Université of Bordeaux Montaigne, France

(Paper Session 6; Rural-urban co-development)

Continuity or breakdown in the spatial model of development?

In the Northern Corridor of Tanzania, the traditional agricultural systems, which supported the households' livelihoods and determined the forms of rural-urban linkages, are "in transition" if not brought to a breakdown. This specific juncture leads to very complex and diversified situations within the households and farms and among individuals and communities in general. We have to go beyond the rural - urban dichotomy and focus on "the relationship between different types of agricultural transformations and their consequences for rural dynamics, mediated by a plethora of rural-urban connections" where e.g. rural-urban mobility has become increasingly important for rural livelihoods.

The main hypothesis of this paper is the following: Agricultural transformations and rural livelihood diversification on one side and rapid growth and dynamics of urban systems on another side are general indices of the emergence of a new model of development. This model has a spatial dimension which challenges the rural-urban divide through a new division, differentiation, and hierarchisation of areas (of production, of resources, etc.).

This paper seeks to contribute to a debate on what we can call the new reference areas, concerning the resources from which people derive their livelihoods. How do rural and urban dynamics redraw the spatial organization of the territories and in that case of the "rural" mountain itself?

Ine Cottyn and Gery Nijenhuis

International Development Studies, Department of Human Geography and Planning, Utrecht University, the Netherlands

(Paper Session 6; Rural-urban co-development)

Making a living between places: the role of mobility in livelihood practices in the Rwandan rural urban interface

Mobility is an age-old phenomenon in Sub Saharan Africa, which is no different in Rwanda. In its aim to become a middle income country by 2020, the country is in a state of rapid change. Reforms include agricultural transformation through land consolidation and regional crop specialization, and policies aimed at the spatial redistribution of its inhabitants such as villagization and a strong focus on urbanization through the planning of small towns and rural trade centres. This spatial and economic reconfiguration of rural Rwanda is creating a new urban hierarchy and as such it might impact rural-urban linkages and interactions. Against the background of these processes of transformation, this paper analyzes the flows of people between and within the two spheres, including circular mobility and multi-locational household arrangements as linkages of rural-urban exchange at the household level. The significance of both mobility and immobility within rural households in shaping their livelihood trajectories as well as the patterns and composition of such movements is explored. The paper seeks an understanding of these forms of non-permanent migration which, despite them having become the dominant type of migration in the developing world, remain statistically blind spots in most countries with the effect of making them rather invisible. In addition, it aims to link different forms of mobility to the new 'rurban' system created by the aforementioned transformative policies. Empirically, the paper is based on data collection in three different villages situated on different levels along the urban hierarchy. Research methodology consisted of both qualitative and quantitative methods, including a survey conducted among 85 rural households followed by focus groups discussions and in-depth interviews.

Leo de Haan

International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague of Erasmus, University Rotterdam, The Netherlands

(Paper Session 2; Poverty reduction and local rural and urban development)

Urbanization, Inequality and Social Protection in Africa: an itinerary for livelihood research

The number of people living in extreme poverty has decreased dramatically in the past three decades. However, there are still some one billion people living in extreme poverty, with a third of those living in Sub-Saharan Africa. It is striking that most extremely poor people do not live in low-income countries. Nowadays three-quarters of the extreme poor live in middle-income countries. While inequality between countries is decreasing worldwide, inequality within most countries continues to rise.

Poverty rates have declined both in rural and in urban areas, though they are still significantly higher in rural areas. Sub-Saharan Africa shows the highest incidence of poverty in the world, both in rural and in urban areas. Moreover, though all over the world poverty is lowest in the largest cities and higher in small cities and towns, Sub-Saharan Africa shows a different picture. In that region most poverty is concentrated in large cities.

Growing income inequalities weaken a country's potential for sustained economic growth and increases the probabilities of a sharp and permanent societal cleavage between rich and poor. High income inequalities reinforce inequalities in health, in education, in life chances and between men and women. This means that processes of social exclusion and inclusion and social justice deserve even more attention than before and have therefore become the core of our work. Inclusive growth or inclusive development is our new focus.

However, history shows that it needs public social policies to achieve equity, policies supported by a widely carried commitment throughout a society. So social protection policies are required to direct distribution and an understanding of the processes of social exclusion and inclusion indispensable to conceive them.

Over time livelihood research has made a significant contribution to the understanding of processes of inclusion and exclusion and thus to the root causes of poverty and marginalization. Now, livelihood research comes to the fore as part of the broader debate on social protection. The contribution of livelihood studies lies particularly in its holistic perspective on people's lives. It is through its holistic perspective that the mechanisms of social exclusion in various contexts become clear, and the effectiveness of social protection policies and instruments to counteract exclusion can be determined.

However, thus far the attention devoted to processes of exclusion and the accompanying power struggles in people-centred social protection studies preparing for social protection interventions is disappointing. Much attention is paid to reach out to vulnerable people not covered by social protection, without questioning impeding underlying structures. Fortunately, some current livelihood research present a viable itinerary for social protection interventions.

James Esson (1), Katherine V. Gough (1), David Simon (2), Ebenezer Amankwah (3), Olivier Ninot (4) and Paul W.K. Yankson (3)

(1) Department of Geography, Loughborough University, England; (2) Royal Holloway, University of London, England; (3) Ghana University, Accra, Ghana; and (4) Université Toulouse II Le Mirail, France

(Paper Session 1; Rural and urban mobilities)

Livelihoods in motion: linking mobility, transport and income-generating activities in Accra

During the past decade, there has been an increased focus on mobility in the social sciences linked to the so-called 'mobility turn', which claims that as mobility is so pervasive it should not be viewed as a rupture in society but as a normal way of life. This is certainly the case in urban contexts of sub-Saharan Africa where mobility forms an integral part of livelihood and income-generating activities. Drawing on research conducted in Accra, the capital of Ghana, this paper explores the mobility of urban residents in differing parts of the city in relation to their livelihood strategies. Through illustrating the ways in which the mobility of urban residents is aided or hindered by Accra's transport system, and by examining how this in turn influences their livelihood strategies, this paper contributes to an alternative new mobilities paradigm that is more considerate of, and builds upon insights from, the global South, where such research has a longer pedigree than in the global North.

Katherine V. Gough (1), Manja Hoppe Andreasen (2), James Esson (1), H  l  ne Mainet (3), Ally Hassan Namangaya (4), Paul W.K. Yankson (5), Jytte Agergaard (2), Ebenezer Amankwah (5), Robert Kiunsi (4), Lasse M  ller-Jensen (2) and Aristide Yemmafou (6)

(1) Loughborough University, England; (2) University of Copenhagen, Denmark; (3) Universit   Toulouse II Le Mirail, France; (4) Ardhi University, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; (5) Ghana University, Accra, Ghana; and (6) University of Dschang, Cameroun

(Paper Session 2; Rural and urban mobilities)

City dynamics in sub-Saharan Africa: mobility and livelihoods of urban residents

The aim of this paper is to assess the mobility of urban residents highlighting how their mobility and links to rural areas form part of their livelihood strategies. Using a three-way categorization of mobility into migration, residential mobility and regular mobility, we examine who is moving into and out of cities, where they are moving from and to, and why they are moving, focusing in particular on how livelihood activities and links to rural areas feed into mobility. The paper draws on extensive qualitative data collected in a range of neighbourhoods in six cities: Accra and Sekondi-Takoradi in Ghana, Bafoussam and Douala in Cameroon, and Arusha and Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. The paper shows how mobility to and within cities is widespread and occurs at a range of scales and temporalities. Migration to cities and regular mobility are closely linked to livelihood activities, whereas intra-urban residential mobility is more connected to the search for cheaper land/housing/rents in the peripheral areas. Whilst some urban residents, especially those living in the peripheral areas of the smaller cities, have links to rural areas, these tend to be fairly limited though remain important for a minority. As cities expand and as increasing numbers of urban residents are born and grow up in cities, this paper argues that their links to rural areas are likely to decrease over time.

Abdul Alim Habib

Queen's University, Kingston Ontario, Canada

(Paper Session 2; Transnational connections)

Rethinking rural-urban nexus in Africa: evidence from Ghana

Referencing globalization and planetary urbanisation, some (geographical) scholars have jettisoned the traditional notion of 'place' as bounded geographical unit. Yet, the related conventional understanding of 'urban' and 'rural' as two different and even mutually exclusive places persists. In this presentation, I draw on a case study from Ghana to interrogate this rural-urban divide by exploring ways that forces of globalization are resulting in ever more intimate rural-urban nexus in ways that defy neat categorization. Specifically, I study the rural settlement of Aboaso in proximity to Ghana's two premier cities, Accra and Kumasi, to highlight the increasing dynamism and simultaneity that characterize rural-urban relationship in the West African country. I argue that the 'rural' is no longer connected with the 'urban' merely through periodic local migration but interacts with it rather in nearly 'real time' fashion; and that this intimacy is driven not only by the ever expanding national transport and telecommunication infrastructures but also by transnational practices that subsidize the cost of human flow between and residence in rural and urban spaces. What the paper highlights then is the view that current rural-urban relationship exists at the intersection of a three-way processes of globalization, transnationalism, and local flows/migration. Again, it shows that both transnational and translocal are deeply intertwined processes.

Eric Hahonou

Roskilde University, Denmark

(Paper Session 2; Transnational connections)

Nomadic fishermen connecting rural to urban areas in the Niger river basin

The capitalist penetration of fisheries along the River Niger began in the nineteenth century and has carried on into the twenty-first. In this dynamic, fish markets have been particularly important for the provision of food and the generation of income in urban centers and rural areas. This contribution examines the role played by a group of nomadic fishermen in the rural-urban dynamic of the Niger River basin. Twice a year, the Kebbawa fishermen commute between Northern Nigeria and Eastern Mali. The paper shows that these fishermen have played an important role in rural labour markets by providing jobs to local unemployed youth. By doing so, they have also transferred fishing and conserving techniques to local populations of Niger and Mali, as well as fishing devices and various goods brought from Nigerian urban markets. The paper argues that the Kebbawa nomadic fishermen are 'frontier encounters' (Geiger, 2008) who connect the rural areas of Niger and Mali (where fish is abundant) to the city of Yauri in Nigeria where the market provides economic opportunities. The paper then examines the reasons why this group is vanishing and the consequences of this. Despite the growing recognition of freshwater fisheries to economic growth, state authorities have done very little to promote this important sector. To the contrary. For decades, "laissez-faire" (lack of enforcement of existing legislation) and prebendalism (excessive informal taxation) have characterized the management of fishery in the Sahel. The author argues that the penetration of capitalism, the development of fish markets and everyday petty corruption have led to the over-exploitation of fish stocks and the undermining of rural development. Finally, the author concludes the paper by policy recommendations that include precautionary management to minimize risks of ecosystem collapse and contextual diagnostics to assess options for the governance of fishery.

Stig Jensen

Centre of African Studies, University of Copenhagen, Denmark

(Paper Session 2; Poverty reduction and local rural and urban development)

Can growing urban ecotourism create new opportunities for rural livelihood?

The purpose of this paper is to present, discuss and reflect on livelihood opportunities for rural societies located near natural reserves. In the light of growing urban-based demands for and investments related to ecotourism, using Mikumi in Tanzania as case. This is based on recent fieldwork in Tanzania as well as comprehensive experience with ecotourism, nature conservation and pro-poor development issues in The Global South.

Mikumi has in recent years seen an increase in both Dar Es Salaam-based ecotourists and growing external investments in small-scale tourism facilities, which has affected communities in the area in different ways.

The aforementioned issue is compelling and can possibly challenge conventional wisdom based on the assumption that nature conservation and ecotourism enhance poverty in rural societies in Africa.

The paper will focus on the following three aspects:

- Firstly, highlighting and reflecting on the new trend in The Global South of growing urban-based demands and investments recreation-related activities in rural societies.
- Secondly, describing and discussing implications for rural livelihood opportunities in Mikumi related to growing urban-related tourism.
- Thirdly, concluding and reflecting on perspectives on the future for rural communities located nearby conservation areas and livelihood opportunities related to growing urban-based tourism.

Kristine Juul

Institute for Humans and Technology, University of Roskilde, Denmark

(Paper Session 1; Transnational connections)

“The crisis has changed people’s lives”: West African migrants between agricultural exploitation and homelessness

In recent years new forms of mobility flows have emerged between West African societies, Southern Europe and the Nordic countries. Due to the economic recession in Southern Europe, that disproportionately affects certain segments of society, West-African migrants who left their societies of origin to find better opportunities in Spain, Portugal or Italy are now increasingly present on the streets of the Nordic capitals. Here they try to make a living through bottles collection and other types of informal street work while upholding their responsibilities as providers of remittances to their families in the country of origin. Characteristic for these new migration patterns are the circular and ‘hypermobile’ movements between the home in community of origin, seasonal activities in the horticultural sector of southern Europe and temporary survival activities in the Nordic capitals.

By combining interviews with West-African migrants working in the greenhouses in southern Spain with life stories of job-seeking migrant worker attending homeless shelter and charities in Copenhagen, the paper seeks to trace how the economic recession and structural changes in the agricultural sectors of Southern Europe has contributed to the emergence of new survival strategies based on hypermobility, circular migration and the ability to combine highly diverse forms of economic activities.

**Hanna Karg (1) , Imogen Bellwood-Howard (2), Edmund K. Akoto-Danso (3),
Takemore Chagomoka (1), Johannes Schlesinger (1) and Axel Drescher (1)**

(1) Institute of Environmental Social Sciences and Geography, University of Freiburg; (2) Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Göttingen; (3) University of Kassel; Germany

(Paper Session 4; Agricultural value chain dynamics and urbanisation)

Rural-urban market connections in Northern Ghana

This paper shows the importance of village and small-town markets in food provisioning and income generation in a city-region, using data on the spatial configuration of northern Ghanaian markets and flows of agricultural goods between rural and urban areas.

The study area is Tamale, a rapidly growing city of over 300,000 people in Northern Ghana. A substantial proportion of people in this metropolis make a living from agriculture.

The paper synthesises results from a farm-household survey, a consumer survey and a market survey carried out in the urban-rural interface of Tamale. The farm-household survey recorded farmers' production and commercialisation; the consumer survey examined household food sources. The market survey systematically recorded the sources of food products traded in Tamale's main markets and surrounding peri-urban and rural markets. The food provisioning area for different crops and seasons was thereby determined.

Results suggest that a considerable share of rural farmers produced goods for sale. This produce is sold directly to the Tamale market, or channelled to the city through a traditional hierarchical system of small-town and village markets. Nearly the entire cereal supply of Tamale is provided by the rural hinterland through this system. The consumer survey corroborated that household food demand is largely met through the market.

An associated trade flow is the reverse movement of goods from central Ghana, such as cloths and fruits, to villages, through these small town markets, generating additional income for traders. Observational data indicate that existence of food markets also strengthens the development of related infrastructure, such as roads and public transport.

Thus, village and small-town markets are critical in linking urban and rural people through flows of good and capital, and simultaneously they experience infra-structural and economic change. Tamale's rapid growth suggests that the market towns examined here may experience further development in the near future.

Martin Kuete

University of Dschang, Cameroon

(Paper Session 2; Transnational connections)

The role of the Cameroonian diaspora in local development projects and its impacts on spatial reconfigurations: the case of West Cameroon

Generally, the Cameroonian Diaspora has claimed to be an important economic actor and actor of development of its country and has managed to receive full recognition of Cameroonian citizenship accompanied by civil rights (voting right and right to be elected) regardless of place of dwelling. This claim is based on the Diaspora's degree of participation in all sectors of the economy, including improvement of the infrastructure and investments in social development. The Diaspora intervenes in many ways; either directly as individuals, collectively as part of associations or Development Committees, or through the family and governance structures (local to national state), by promoting and financing development projects. Indirectly, the Diaspora actors intervene by acting as consultants, counsel agents, providing technical assistance or through their capacity as a link between different operational partners (development committees, decentralised territorial councils, certain state or private structures and international partnerships etc. In this presentation we want to explore whether these actions reinforce the decentralization-international cooperation relationship and if so how do they impact the 'home environments' or reception zones and reconfigure these areas? In order to understand how the Diaspora contribute to the development of its 'home environments', we make use of a number of maps, in order to: 1) localise Diaspora embodiments; 2) show their spatial distribution, and 3) investigate the relationship between the locations of the projects and the ambitions of their promoters. Subsequently, we will examine if these projects fit or not with the general planning of activities of decentralized territorial communities or if they create distortions in the 'home environment' and socio-spatial imbalances that generate inequalities. Finally we ask: When the majority of the development projects take place in rural areas; do they then reinforce urban-rural connections or do they strengthen the disconnection of the two areas, making the former less dependent on the latter?

Martin Kuete

University of Dschang, Cameroon

(Paper Session 6; Changing land investment practices)

Actors in rural development, production systems, socio-economic changes and new forms of rural-urban relations in Cameroon

The mountain areas in the West of Cameroon are facing two different states of economic development as regards to nature, poverty and rationalities of the actors.

The first one is a situation facing the poorer, sometimes landless, rural residents. The introduction of the New Agricultural Policy (NAP) from 1990 by the State promoted certain crops considered to be formative of the economy and guarantors of food sufficiency. Since then, there has been a profound decomposition and reconstruction of the production and consumption systems and of the functioning of society, controlled by access to land and the need for hired labour superseding the capacity of traditional family labour.

The second situation concerns the urban elite organised in associations or as individuals, who have benefited from the reallocation and registration of lands in the mountain areas, now having land and financial capital that allow them to invest in areas from 10 to 200 ha. In this area, the rationalities of the state, the urban residents and the rural residents, sometimes organised in groups in the villages, have been confronting each other since the colonisation, envious and never agreeing on or satisfied with the territorial boundaries.

Our objective is to show how much social structures, once thought of as solid and unalterable, have been compromised by the power of money, at the same time regulating and cleaving society.

More specifically, it is a matter of:

- new forms of social relations established between urban migrant employers, local employers and agricultural workers residing in the villages
- exploring whether the upsurge, acceleration, increase in and diversity of directions and geographical zones of agricultural mobility challenge the concepts of geographical territories in favour of a more united economic space
- investigating new meanings in the concept of «the family farm»; now influenced by the increased number of employed farm workers, the relations among the workers and between the workers and employers and the way the workers intend to support their interests regarding improving their living conditions
- In a context where local farmers see an unfair competition to be fought concerning the rural investments of urban elites, what future can there be for medium and larger farms?

Evelyne Lazaro (1), Jytte Agergaard (2), Torben Birch-Thomsen (2) and Jeremia Makindara (1)

(1) Department of Agricultural Economics and Agribusiness, Sokoine University of Agriculture, Tanzania and (2) Department of Geosciences and Natural Resource Management, University of Copenhagen, Denmark

(Paper Session 4; Rural livelihood dynamics and small town development)

Agriculture value chains: Dynamics of Emerging Urban Centres in Tanzania

For the past decade, Tanzania has experienced a remarkable growth in urban centres located in rural regions. These Emerging Urban Centres (EUCs) are characterized by rapid population growth related to continuous and diverse flows of migrants from rural hinterlands and more detached rural locations. Many of these centres are also characterized by economic dynamics related to agricultural sector activities that have been stimulated by Tanzanian market liberalizations and its long term effects on private enterprise. Interesting to observe is also how the EUCs are growing beyond the economic dynamics of the agricultural sector and becoming commercial and service centres of their own. This paper is based on a study of four EUCs in Tanzania (Ilula, Igowole, Madizini and Kibaigwa). The paper will show how agriculture plays an important but also changing role for the dynamics of these centres, as other factors, including establishment of important infrastructure e.g. construction of highway road, electricity, market and agriculture processing facilities also contribute to center dynamics. Moreover, the paper will present some of the similarities and differences in change dynamics of the four EUCs and how the EUCs, through migration flows, investment strategies, and role as local centres, are of critical importance for contemporary development dynamics in Tanzania. Finally, the paper will discuss how planning and implementation of adequate governance structures can have positive consequences for the EUCs and many nearby and more distant rural locations that are connected with and benefitting from the EUCs. Key issues suggested to exploit further the potential of EUCs include: i) Land use planning that identifies and protects agricultural land in EUCs to encourage among others youth engagement in agriculture; ii) Institutional (financial, administrative) support for establishment of activities in higher levels (beyond production) of agricultural value chains to increase marketing and employment opportunities.

Hélène Mainet

Blaise Pascal University, Clermont-Ferrand, France

(Paper Session 2; Rural and urban mobilities)

Urban citizens in their networks: urban-rural mobility and households' strategies in Cameroon

The objective of this paper is to analyze how urban citizens manage to develop and use their rural connections in contemporary African towns. The role of regular mobility and linkages with rural places, specifically regions of origins, are important in urban households' strategies as they combine economic and social aspects, food supply, access to land and community building.

The proposal is based on the Rurban Africa program fieldwork conducted in Cameroon, specifically in Douala and Bafoussam, in the Western region. The case of Cameroon may be specific as many Douala residents originate from the Western highlands and as family linkages as still important with rural "villages" (funerals are key moments of mobility), but it is also representative of important contemporary patterns of urban-rural transformation in Africa.

The paper will present detailed analysis of mobility configurations with rural places (maps of urban-rural networks, reasons and periodicity of this mobility) but will also develop examples of individual life trajectories. Beyond general trends, it is important to take into account gender and age differentiations as the forms of networks seem to be quite different. A spatial and scale differentiation will also be considered in elements of comparison between Douala and Bafoussam urban-rural networks. With around 240,000 inhabitants, Bafoussam is the main city of the Western Region, when Douala is the largest city in Cameroon that surpassed 3,000,000 inhabitants. The intensity and typology of flows are different.

**Fulgence J. Mishili (1), Evelyne A. Lazaro (1) and
Torben Birch-Thomsen (2)**

(1) Department of Agricultural Economics and Agribusiness, Sokoine University of Agriculture, Tanzania and (2) Department of Geosciences and Natural Resource Management, University of Copenhagen, Denmark

(Paper Session 3; Technology and knowledge transfer between rural and urban locations)

Contribution of Technology to rural-urban connections and Livelihood strategies

In the past few years, many developing countries have experienced accelerated urbanisation and urban growth. Most of the said growth is contributed by changes and introduction of new technologies such as cell phones and motorbikes that facilitate rural-urban connections.

This paper is based on a study conducted in rural Tanzania, Njombe region. A total of 202 household involved in potato value chain were interviewed supplemented by Focus Group Discussions (FGD). The overall objective is to provide an analysis of the contribution to livelihoods in rural area as more households increase use of cell phones and motorbikes. More specifically to determine the level of cell phone use and motorbike; to determine level of household activities created by the use of cell phone and motorbike in study region.

Initial findings suggest that cell phones and motorbikes have contributed to household members' mobility and transformation of livelihood patterns of many households and the way they make decision for rural as well as those in urban. Motorbikes has become the most convenient means of transport for relatively short distances and carrying supplies such as inputs to the farms as well as to take agricultural commodities to the market. The observed trend which is observed in rural areas suggests that livelihoods are changing because of introduction of these technologies. A key take of all these changes in technologies observed in terms of policy debate is the need of government and non-government facilitation of the changes and ensure that players are not reaped off by the few. This can well be coordinated through the local government in the respective localities. However, further analysis is needed to be able to quantify the monetary value of these contributions and identify the distribution of the gains between different segments of population.

**Fulgence J. Mishili (1), Evelyne A. Lazaro (1) and
Torben Birch-Thomsen (2)**

Department of Agricultural Economics and Agribusiness, Sokoine University of Agriculture, Tanzania and Department of Geosciences and Natural Resource Management, University of Copenhagen, Denmark

(Paper Session 5; Agricultural value chain dynamics and urbanisation)

Rural-Urban connection and mobility: Does Food value chain matter?

Like other sub-Saharan African countries, Tanzania is caught up in a process of rural transformation caused by changes and introduction of various government policies on one side. And on the other side, dynamism of rural community itself caused by changes in technology and life styles both in rural, immediate towns and urban areas. The key to all these changes is the phenomenon connectivity that can be observed amongst rural centers, rural-urban centers and beyond.

To understand the implication of these changes and connectivity that exists, a study was carried out in rural Tanzania, Njombe region. The motivation behind this study was the quest to understand the transformations in rural area and how they are influenced by linkages that exists between rural and urban areas. The question of how does inclusion/exclusion of actors in main crop value chain influence the connections and or opening up new connections. A cross section survey design was employed and a total of 202 potato value chain actors were interviewed together with Focus Group Discussion (FGD) to few key stakeholders in the value chain.

While we support the existing knowledge on existence of very important linkages between rural and urban centers we make an attempt to provide insights on who are the key actors in this process and identify inclusionary/exclusionary factors. There exist both rural and urban based actors that exert different opportunities and challenges for rural transformation. Irish potato value chain is identified in this paper as the main commodity (food) that is attractive to a varied type of actors. Despite positive outlook of rural-urban linkages from the study area, key challenges identified were imperfection in marketing information and weak linkages between rural actors (e.g. farmers) and urban actors (e.g. traders).

Lukelo Roden Msese, et al.

Department of Agricultural Economics and Agribusiness, Sokoine University of Agriculture, Tanzania

(Paper Session 1; Poverty reduction and local rural and urban development)

Rural-city connection: Economic importance of migration and mobility on poverty reduction

Rural-urban connections entail interrelationship between rural and urban areas through the flow of people, capital and resources. Moreover, flows of ideas, information and innovation are considered. The trends and patterns of mobility and migration are complex and the drivers of these are varying widely. Population growth and urbanization have resulted in changing the agricultural production systems and livelihoods of rural households. This paper examines the economic importance of mobility and migration to household income as proxy to poverty reduction. The analysis is based on data collected in Njombe Region, Tanzania. A household survey and focus group interview were conducted in four different villages in the two wards, Ulembwe and Iwungilo. The results confirm the hypothesis that migration and mobility have a significant effect on the households ($p < 0.01$) in terms of agricultural productivity, household income and household expenditures. The study concludes that the estimated returns to input use are about 14% overall and 47% for 'upper class' household. Self-employed (non-farm) activities related to connectivity between rural and urban areas are significantly influencing the household income in all wealth groups ($p < 0.01$). Rural-urban connectivity increases the mobility and commuting activities of the rural residents, which consequently enables them to take advantage of among other things the labour market, financial market and agricultural product market in both rural and urban areas. Results indicate that the importance of migration and mobility are context specific, and their contribution varies according to wealth group. Integrating rural-urban connections in development approaches will ensure income opportunities, increase agricultural productivity and hence contribute to poverty reduction in rural areas.

Ally Namangaya (1), Robert Kiunsi (1), Jytte Agergaard (2) and Manja Hoppe Andreassen (2)

(1) Ardhi University, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and (2) Department of Geosciences and Natural Resource Management, University of Copenhagen, Denmark

(Paper Session 5; Urban governance, planning and service management)

Influence of Service Provision on Intra Urban Mobility and Spatial Development Pattern

Urban design models using concepts such as those by Ebenezer Howard, Le Corbusier and Clarence Perry have furthered the argument that city development pattern can be determined by the planning models. The argument has been somewhat valid in the context of strong states (financially, technically and politically) especially in the Global North. Planners in the Global South have been trying to apply the same concepts, but more often their plans, as expressed in the master plans, have registered little successes as the case with Dar es Salaam City. To contribute in understanding what transpires in the process of city spatial growth in the contexts of weaker states, the study of Rural and Urban Mobility in relations to livelihoods has observed that individuals and households as agents of city development have their first landing from rural areas in the inner city areas and only when they have become more affluent and have large family they seek residence in the city peripheral. The results from Dar es Salaam City have shown that livelihoods issues have marginal influence in selection of residential areas. Further, the results have shown that despite households owning land in planned and unplanned areas as their first assets towards own residence development, their actual construction and occupation will depend on the accessibility of services. Moreover, it was established that as more services become available, proportionally, number of people settling in these peripheral settlements increases. At advanced stages of services accessibility, tenants too settle in. Since this process happens equally in planned and unplanned (informal) settlements, this study indicates that it is availability of services and not land allocation that determines actual development and de facto city structure. The implication of the findings is for planners in the Global South where resources are scarce, to understand that strategic investments in improving access to basic services such as public transport, portable water and electricity is the way to determine actual city development pattern rather than providing plots and zonings.

Olivier Ninot

L'Institut de recherche pour le développement (IRD) - UMR Prodig, France

(Paper Session 2; Rural and urban mobilities)

The evolutions of transport systems between urban and rural areas in SSA: increasing accessibility and more differentiations

Although the transport systems have, generally speaking, remarkably evolved during the last decade in SSA, moving in rural areas and between rural and urban areas still remains challenging. Transport costs remains higher and conditions of transport tougher in rural areas where the transport offer is less efficient than in cities or between cities. Of course, the growth of demand (due to demographic growth, higher consumption, etc.) has contributed to the development of transport offer. But we will argue, in this paper, that this development has not only positive effects and thus, has to be questioned.

After a brief state of the art on recent transports systems evolution in SSA, this paper will critically discuss the specific evolution of the R-U transport offer in SSA in order to highlight some local processes accompanying a general increase of accessibility such as social and spatial differentiation, isolation reinforcement cases, etc. Examples will be taken in different West African countries.

Ambe J. Njoh

School of Geosciences, University of South Florida, US

(Paper Session 2; Poverty reduction and local rural and urban development)

Socio-economic development implications of urbanization in Africa

Introduction. A dominant source of urban growth in sub-Saharan Africa is rural-to-urban migration. This implies that shrinkages in rural populations result in corresponding demographic and spatial expansions of urban areas. This important rural-urban connection and especially its implications for efforts to combat Africa's nagging poverty problem remain largely unknown. Conventional wisdom suggests that urbanization is a propellant of economic growth. This, as the World Bank (Online) contends, is because productivity levels are higher in urban than in rural areas. However, there is a preponderance of evidence suggesting that economic growth does not always result in poverty reduction or human development. Noted development economist, Dudley Seers drew attention to this fact more than four decades ago. For Seers (1969), developing countries should not be concerned solely with economic growth. Rather,

The questions to ask about a country's development are: What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? (p. 5).

One indicator that captures the essence of Seers's concern and complements economic growth as a measure of development is the Human Development Index (HDI). Therefore, an important question that needs to be addressed in order to understand the implications of urbanization for development in sub-Saharan Africa is as follows. What is the impact of urbanization on economic growth and human development in the region?

Main Objective and policy implications. My main aim in the proposed paper is to tackle this perennial question. I plan to summon quantitative data and commensurate quantitative analytical techniques, especially multivariate analysis to attain my avowed objective. In particular, I employ the General Linear Model (GLM) to analyze the effect of one predictor variable, urbanization on 3 dependent variables, namely GNI per capita, GDP per capita and human development (HDI). This analysis is necessary not only to understand urbanization trends but also as a sound basis for policies to reduce poverty and promote development in sub-Saharan Africa.

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Martin Oteng-Ababio (1), Paul Yankson (1) & Ian Smout (2)

(1) University of Ghana, Legon Accra, Ghana and (2) Department of Civil and Building Engineering, Water Engineering and Development Centre, Loughborough University, England

(Paper Session 3; Urban periphery dynamics)

Poverty politics and modes of governance of public infrastructure: the core – periphery syntax in water services in Metropolitan Accra, Ghana

In most developing countries, increasing urbanization and urban sprawl in the face of chronic financial challenges sharply constrained city authorities' ability to evenly plan, implement and monitor infrastructural services. This tends to potentiate the evolution, proliferation and complex networks of policies and governance that remained largely understudied and therefore not clearly understood. This article examines the provision and governance of potable water in Metropolitan Accra through the SDG lens: "Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all". Based on the analysis of responses from approximately 56 government officials, private firms and opinion leaders (users) about structures, processes, technologies, and ultimately, multiplicities of governance activities, it is demonstrated that the private sector (formal and informal) played a significant role in shaping water availability in most peri-urban and poor communities. In creating additions to public modes of governance, the private sector is able to introduce their own desired modes for managing water services that usurped the preferences of public provisions even in some affluent communities. It is argued that differences in both legal authority and functional proximity to the current practices and processes of water management in Accra have spurred the deployment of and competition between multiple modes of governance, with some private firms playing leading management roles. Ultimately, the fragmentation of water management practices has resulted in somewhat indecisive outcomes for sustainable potable water supplies, management and issues related to Sustainable Development Goals.

Jérémy Pasini

Université Toulouse II Le Mirail, France

(Paper Session 3; Technology and knowledge transfer between rural and urban locations)

Mobility, telecommunication and livelihood strategies in the Moungo urban corridor (Cameroon)

This paper will examine the way in which smallholders try to reinvent their subsistence and accumulation strategies in the aftermath of the collapse of the rentier economy and the freezing of the “market-gardening” model. Research has focused on inhabitants of three districts, namely Loum, Manjo and Éboné, located along a vital road corridor connecting the economic capital of Cameroon (Douala) to the Bamiléké highlands. These research sites have been selected for two reasons: Firstly, these areas have undergone sharp changes in the agricultural sector (e.g. transition from a family-based system of production to contract farming, weakening of the cooperative movement); Secondly, they concomitantly show an impressive rise of relatively new income generating occupations (petty alimentary trade, drivers of motorcycle taxis, employees cell phones repair shops, managers of call boxes, etc.), which is often correlated with urbanization. This work starts from the hypothesis that agriculturists can no longer build a resilient livelihood only from village resources (like the monetary salary arisen from the plantation) and are forced out of familiar environment (this entails people transcending the rural-urban dichotomy and the boundaries of the household) to take risks and to be more flexible both in mobility pathways and in the portfolios of remunerated informal activities. In this respect, the rapid diffusion of the cellular phones in Cameroon (there were roughly 16 million users in 2013) has been seen as essential for those who would like to be more reactive vis-à-vis jobs openings and/or enrichment opportunities. This also means that individuals’ life spaces (all the places with which a given person has links) are increasingly unsteady and discontinuous. The results presented in the essay have been obtained using both qualitative and quantitative methods: 30 semi-structured interviews were conducted in 2014 as well as 60 standardized questionnaires administered in early 2015.

Sylvain Racaud and Charles Raphael

French Institute of Research in Africa, IFRA Nairobi, Kenya and Mzumbe University, Morogoro, Tanzania

(Paper Session 1; Transnational connections)

Circulations of Chinese Products, Street Grabbing and Booming Market Places: Linking Villages and Cities in Tanzania

Chinese junks (e.g. plastic sandals, fashion accessories, cheap clothes) have flooded African markets from busy metropolitan commercial areas to small periodic markets in agricultural mountains. This communication deals with the circulations of the Chinese items of low value, from Dar es Salaam to the remote villages located in the Uporoto mountains, south-western part of Tanzania. The objective is to analyse the new urban-rural connections and the insertion of rural and urban areas to transnational networks and to globalisation. How the structuring of the merchant roads of Chinese junks results in further connections between a more varied range of places and a newly diversified class of private actors? The communication proposes the following hypothesis: the merchant networks of Chinese junks integrate town and countryside in a complementary space that enables to read locally the globalization. Interviews with a wide range of traders, from rural hawkers to importers were used, as well as observation of the commercial areas and mapping of the connections. The research shows that, the development of these merchant networks is an answer to rural blockages, e.g. the lack of land, especially for the youth. This sector enables livelihoods diversification as junks sellers can start with very little capital. Agriculture and junks trade provide complementary livelihoods; the capital is circulating between both activities which support each other. Moreover, the junks sector development results in the increase of the mobility, particularly that of the hawkers. Therefore, a mobile way of life between urban and rural areas develops in merchant territories. The structuring of the junks network leads to the development of periodic markets in rural areas. In town, it results in the booming of trading centres and in a street grabbing effect by the “marching guys”.

Inês M. Raimundo

Eduardo Mondlane University, Mozambique

(Paper Session 5; Rural livelihood dynamics and small town development)

“Rural-urban” households and the transformation of small cities in Mozambique

This paper aims to elucidate how rural-urban livelihood practices impact in development of small towns of Mozambique, involving analysis of urban population growth and population distribution using data from the National Institute for Statistics and the UN-Habitat as well as interviews collected from different urban studies across the country.

Although, the population is registered to be largely rural, with only 30% of the population living in urban areas (INE op cit), Mozambique, like other sub-Saharan countries, has shown a general increase in population particularly in the so-called cities. Rural to urban migration is caused by a combination of factors that include the worsening of rural conditions e.g. related to drought, floods and the permanent threat of political instability and land grabbing. Moreover, after the 1992 General Peace Agreement, the Mozambican economy has increased significantly but, as scholars say, without significant impacts in rural areas. Territories surrounding rural areas were developing steadily in the aftermath of the civil war and were to respond to the new socioeconomic environment in a short period of time. This new environment shaped people into an urban lifestyle - they were transformed from peasants to people who live as city dwellers. Some of these people are part of two households: rural as a back-up and urban as the alternative for life. New groups of families are then formed: Rural-urban households who struggle for survival in difficult urban and rural environments.

To what extent have socioeconomic changes impacted the dwellers of small cities and how are people responding to these changes? Very little empirical research has been done on urbanization of small and medium-sized cities in Mozambique with the existing material emphasizing large cities, such as the capital of the republic of Mozambique, Maputo. Many of the city dwellers in the small and medium-sized cities live in informal settlements where the services are very limited. Their livelihoods have been impacted by an informal market economy, but concurrently many try to survive as peasants since their way of life is traditionally shaped by agriculture. These people are still struggling with the so-called “urban rights”, which are comprised by the right to live and enjoy decent life in a city, while they still depend on their rural background.

Charlie Shackleton (1), Johannes Schlesinger (2) and Axel Drescher (2)

(1) Department of Environmental Science, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa and

(2) Physical Geography, Institute of Environmental Social Sciences and Geography, University of Freiburg, Germany

(Paper Session 5; Agricultural value chain dynamics and urbanisation)

Use of wild biological resources along rural gradients of mid-sized African towns

Wild biological resources (such as firewood, wild foods, medicines and fibres) play important roles in African livelihoods, especially of the urban and rural poor. Yet, little is known about the impact of urbanisation on the socio-spatial dynamics of the use of wild biological resources. Here we examined the importance of these resources for livelihoods, along the urban-rural continuum of six mid-sized towns in five countries ($n = 1,158$ households) and their contribution to poverty alleviation for a subset of sites. The results indicated that although peri-urban and rural households were more likely to use wild biological resources than those in the urban areas, the use of these resources was generally high along the entire urban-rural continuum. The rate of decline in prevalence of use from rural to urban was usually higher for male-headed households than for female-headed ones. The period of residency in urban areas did not influence the proportion of households making use of most wild resources. The contribution to total household income varied between towns and location on the continuum, but was as high as 48 % in some rural sites. If the contribution of wild resources was excluded 15 – 20 % more households would fall below the national poverty line. These findings confirm that wild biological resources are a vital component of livelihoods for many irrespective of their position on the rural-urban continuum, which has policy implications for ensuring their availability as towns grow and densify.

Ian Smout (1), Chrétien Ngouanet (2), Martin Oteng-Ababio (3), Robert Kiunsi (4), Julie Fisher (1), Aristide Yemmafouo (2), James Esson (5), Ebenezer Amankwaa (3) and S. Amekudzie (3)

(1) Department of Civil and Building Engineering, Water Engineering and Development Centre, Loughborough University, England; (2) University of Dschang, Cameroon; (3) University of Ghana, Accra, Ghana; (4) Ardhi University, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and (5) Department of Geography, Loughborough University, England

(Paper Session 4; Urban governance, planning and service management)

Strategies for coping with poor services in low-income communities of African cities.

The paper considers water supply, electricity, sanitation, access roads and mobile phone services, and focuses on the six cities studied under the RurbanAfrica project. Analysis of secondary data (including Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) data) shows that while overall access to services has increased, the improvements have not been spread evenly, and low income households have seen little increase in access to these services. Focus groups of residents in the six cities together with key informant interviews provided qualitative data on the quality and acceptability of each service, and how residents cope with poor services. These strategies are described in the paper, together with their shortcomings.

Griet Steel (1), Paul van Lindert (1), Martin Kuete (2), George Owusu (3), Evelyne A. Lazaro (4), and Theophile Niyonzima (5)

(1) Utrecht University, The Netherlands; (2) University of Dschang, Cameroon; (3) University of Ghana, Ghana, (4) Sokoine University of Agriculture, Tanzania and (5) University of Rwanda, Rwanda

(Paper Session 6; Rural-urban co-development)

Mobility and livelihood transformations of households in rural Cameroon, Ghana, Rwanda and Tanzania

Rural transformation processes in agriculture and land distribution have shaped the livelihood strategies of many rural households in Cameroon, Ghana, Rwanda and Tanzania. On the one hand, we observe a growing tendency of de-agrarianisation and livelihood diversification. On the other hand, there are clear indications of agricultural intensification and extensification. Crops are no longer cultivated by subsistence farmers but are highly commercialised and integrated with manufacturing and services. This paper focusses on the importance of multi-activity and multi-locality in household livelihood transformations and poverty dynamics. The general objective of the study is to understand how changes in farming practices, access to markets, and livelihood diversification and mobility transform livelihoods and the economy. Based on a comparative analysis of qualitative data and a rural household survey that was conducted in ten different research sites in Cameroon, Ghana, Rwanda and Tanzania, the paper aims to provide an in-depth understanding of the particularities and similarities in livelihood transformation and mobility of rural households in Sub-Saharan Africa countries. The results show that rural-urban linkages are a crucial feature in the livelihoods of the rural households under study: for many rural households, rural-urban linkages are part of the daily reality of household members carrying out diverse tasks of producing income on and off the farm, in maintaining a living space in the village, and in going to local and even distant towns to shop, market, work, and seek specialised services. Based on this empirical evidence the paper argues that migration can no longer be considered as a unidirectional movement from rural areas to cities; it has instead been shaped by a chain of connections in which rural and urban livelihoods interact on a movement continuum.

Maurice Tsalefac, Hassan Umaru, Darline Azemao Dongmo, Larissa Njampouop Nanhou

University of Dshang, Cameroon

(Paper Session 1 ; Poverty reduction and local rural and urban development)

Mobility, and livelihoods transformation in the Western and the Littoral region of Cameroon

It is shown that mobility in the West and the Littoral regions of Cameroon are characterized by movements at different spatial scales. From the statistical analysis of survey data from the field, mapping of mobility of those involved and confrontation interviews conducted with resource people, it is shown that in order to alleviate poverty and increase their livelihoods, farmers are forced to go from one village to another, from town to town and sometimes out of the country. The main activities they are engaged in are agriculture, commerce, transportation and small businesses in the informal sector. If women are generally involved in the diversification and specialization of crops based on ecological zones, in contrast, men prefer multiple activities leading them to end up in different localities. The Common Initiative Groups (CIG) and meeting groups however are a common denominator for both sexes. The ages of the people involved usually ranges between 15 to 30 years.

If rural mobility in the Littoral are performed in the context of the major agro-industrial plantations, in the highlands, volcanic soils, water availability and easy access to communication channels are very crucial in the choice of immigration areas. These rural mobilities overlap rural exodus which decreases the population of the countryside of western Cameroon in their youthful workforce leaving in place very old people who survive sometimes from the support of their emigrant youth. However, this youth participate in the modernization of the habitat that hides widespread poverty.

Thus, in the Western Highlands of Cameroon, and according to the particularities of the site and the situation in relation to communication channels, peasants displayed a variety of strategies to improve their livelihoods since the coffee crisis of the 1980s. The financial power is no longer concentrated in the hands of men. Women and children migrants in town and outside the country that playing an ever greater mobilization of financial resources needed to the household in a general context of increasing rural poverty. To overcome this situation, it is urgent to open up areas of agricultural production, support prices, and accompany peasants with scientific and technical knowhow.

Cristina Udelmann Rodrigues

Nordic Africa Institute (NAI), Uppsala, Sweden

(Paper Session 4; Rural livelihood dynamics and small town development)

New rural urban sites in Angola and Mozambique: theoretical and methodological approaches

The paper aims at defining the appropriate theoretical and methodological tools for examining both the tangible and the subjective features of movement and settlement of people from the cities in the rural areas today within a global context of massive urbanisation. Using as case studies rich and highly urbanised Angola and poor and less urban Mozambique, it also aims at discussing the possible comparisons to other worldwide cases. While looking at and triangulating important causalities – economic crisis, overpopulation, major ‘rural’ ventures and opportunities – the paper interrogates the trends in terms of what has been seen as “counter-urbanisation” regarding the urban-to-rural migrants, aiming at locating them in the global world and today’s multivariate movement of people. Moreover, it brings to the discussion the interrelated subjective features of urban-to-rural migration, namely perceptions and sociabilities, in an attempt to explore the possibilities of understanding their multiplicity. Despite the reduced literature or accounts on urban-to-rural movement in Africa, the discussion will bring to the fore the main theoretical perspectives on this subject and the relevance and validity of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies to address this innovative research.

Christian Ungruhe

Department of Public Health, Aarhus University, Denmark

(Paper Session 1; Rural and urban mobilities)

Beyond “Waithood”: Youth mobilities and the meaning of rural-urban connections in Ghana

Alcinda Honwana’s concept of “Waithood” has recently gained strong attention among scholars dealing with youth in Africa and beyond. Accordingly, due to seemingly increasing intergenerational tension, armed conflicts and ongoing economic decline today’s youth all over the continent seem to face a permanent state of social immobility. Indeed, marrying and achieving social adulthood, getting means for an education or finding job opportunities is difficult for a large part of today’s young generation. In my paper, however, I will depict the limits of “Waithood” and show that this concept is based on a constricted urban perspective which excludes other possible approaches (e.g. rural and rural-urban) that could draw a more nuanced picture of today’s young generation beyond social exclusion. Empirically, I will focus on a group of northern Ghanaian male youth working in the informal load carrying business in Accra. At first sight, in the urban setting, those young circular migrants may fit perfectly well into the concept of “Waithood”: facing a massive decline of money-making opportunities, a downfall of social relations in their group, an increasing disconnection from a modern youth culture and a fear of not being able to meet parental and peer expectations at home they seem to be excluded from social participation and mobility. However, upon return to their rural home communities most of them are able to negotiate higher social positions with peers and parents and thus give meaning to their seemingly disappointing urban experience. Far from romanticizing “village life”, this rural-urban perspective depicts both the meaning of disillusion in the urban context beyond a state of “Waithood” on an empirical level and, from a conceptual point of view, the meaning of rural-urban connections in studies on youth, migration and beyond in African contexts.

Aristide Yemmafouo, Chrétien Ngouanet, Romeo Keumo Songong, Sophie Ariane Djuidje and Patrick Nicodème Djikeng

University of Dschang, Cameroon

(Paper Session 3; Urban periphery dynamics)

Towards the integration of villagers into the city. Residential mobility and housing in Douala and Bafoussam

Background. Housing is part of the first three items of expenditure of urban households in Cameroon. That explains why during their sojourns in the city, migrants are constantly moving in search of housing solutions compatible with their socioeconomic status that are also changing. The objective of this paper is to analyze the trajectory of residential mobility of villagers from their arrival until final integration in to the cities of Bafoussam and Douala.

Methodology. The survey was conducted from Semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, field observations and questionnaire. The sites were selected based on their history, income level, growth rate and location in the city. Finally, 115 semi-structured interviews were carried in Douala, 103 in Bafoussam and fifteen focus groups in each city. The questionnaires were addressed to 421 households in selected sites in Douala, 265 households in Bafoussam. Results. It is difficult to draw up a unique model taking in consideration all forms of residential mobility. On the contrary, it is possible to model major trends to better organize housing supply in Douala and Bafoussam. The study shows that during the socio-professional life cycle of integrated villagers in the towns, the construction of a personal house ends their residential mobility. This final stage to integrate the city begins with the accommodation of the young migrant into peri-central settlements that welcomed the previous migrants. After, the single or newlywed begins by renting in the settlements with the same standing or more, according to his income level. The mobility toward suburban or periphery, while still renting, is a strategic and transitory stage until he find a plot to build a personal house. This residential mobility profile has been known since the 1970s in African cities, though it is constantly renewing itself in its forms and processes.

Interest. Understanding the actual residential mobility trends lead to a better orientation of public policies and an emerging private supply.

Aristide Yemmafouo, Chrétien Ngouanet, Guy Charly Dzalla Ngangue (2), Solange Fadjeu, Tidane Stella Donfack Nkenzem and Julie Mekamgnou Tsayong

University of Dschang, Cameroon and (2) University of Douala, Cameroon

(Paper Session 5; Urban governance, planning and service management)

Service access strategies in urban low income communities: between the procrastination of public authority action and unsustainable initiatives of city dwellers in Douala and Bafoussam, Cameroon.

Nowadays, more than 50% of the population in Cameroon resides in urban areas. Douala and Bafoussam, respectively the 1st and the 3rd town of Cameroon in terms of population, present a colonial structure with basic services concentrated in central and planned quarters. The majority of the population is thus essentially concentrated in marginal zones, with serious difficulties to access quality services. All things considered, access to basic services is a real challenge for urban authorities. Cities are no longer the “Eldorado” gleamed so much by the rural population. Living conditions have been progressively deteriorating during the last twenty years.

Research undertaken through focus group discussions (15), interviews (115) and questionnaires (686) in five settlements both in Douala and Bafoussam clearly demonstrate the degradation of the quality of services. Water supply, sanitation and transport are most concerned; access to electricity is still low though it remains the most accessible.

Faced with this critical situation of the renunciation or delay of public authority actions, city dwellers have developed many strategies to improve their living conditions: road digging, bridge construction, water supply initiatives, etc. These initiatives of self-management without suitable tools and expertise plunges them into a cyclic dependency, as they have to restart to maintain the poorly built structures. The unwillingness or reluctance of a certain portion of the population to support these community projects raises tensions that may sometimes affect social equilibrium. They are investing a lot of money and energy for unsustainable solutions. The role of public authorities is indispensable for long term solution to basic service access.