

5. Pluri-activity, livelihood diversification and transformation

The transformation processes in agriculture and land distribution described in the previous chapter have greatly contributed to changes in the livelihood strategies of rural households. This raises an important question regarding substitution versus diversification: have rural livelihoods transitioned from farming to non-agricultural employment or are non-farming activities considered to be supplementary occupations? This chapter aims to answer this question by first describing the main livelihood strategies of the households under study. We then look at how these strategies have changed over the last 10 years through an overview of the different attempts of rural households to diversify their livelihoods.

5.1 Livelihood strategies

5.1.1 Households' main livelihood activities

In the rural areas under study, agriculture is still the predominant income-generating activity. While farmers produce food crops for subsistence purposes in order to enhance food security, the sale of cash crops and other income-generating activities are important. This becomes clear in table 4.1 which summarises the main income-generating activities of the households in the different research areas.

Table 5.1: Households' main income-generating activity⁷

Income source	Cameroon (%)			Ghana (%)		Tanzania (%)	
	Bamboutos	Moungo	Noun	Ahanta West district	Kwaebibirem district	Njombe case	Lindi case
Agricultural production	69,3	46,8	67,8	48,0	72,0	70,0	55,3
Livestock	9,6	11,4	9,7	0,5	1,0	0	6,7
Self-employed	9,6	3,0	12,1	28,0	17,0	9,1	21,2
Salaried (casual and employment)	7,2	13,2	0,7	18,5	6,5	11,1	2,8
Pension	0,3	6,3	1,8	0,5	1,0	0	0
Remittances	3,3	19,4	7,8	4,5	2,5	7,6	1,7
Other income sources	0,8	0	0	0	0	1,5	12,3 (no Income)

⁷ As most agricultural activities are done under a self-employed modality, the categories may overlap in practice.

Table 4.1 shows that just a small minority of households do not depend on agricultural production as the main source of income. They depend instead on self-employed work (which may also include agricultural activities) or salaried work such as casual wage labour. In the case of Cameroon, and especially in the Moungo region, an increasing number of people work in the construction sector and in so called '*buyam sellam*'⁸ activities. Also in the Njombe case (Borby Ørtenblad, 2015) the number of craftsmen, especially masons but also carpenters and the like, has increased due to increased housing investments. Apart from these activities there are a remarkable number of households whose main income depends on remittances (this is further elaborated in chapter six). However, most of the households for which agriculture is not the main income-generating activity are still involved in agricultural production as a fall-back mechanism. This is why the number of people involved in agriculture is higher than the percentages presented above. In Bamboutos for instance, 88 per cent of the economically-active population works in the primary sector. In the Njombe case, more than 90 per cent of the economically active population is involved in agriculture. In the Lindi case, 82 per cent of the population is involved in farming and 6 per cent in fishing. It is the only case in which several households (6 per cent) solely rely on fishing as a livelihood strategy. These households do not have agricultural land.

5.1.2 Differences in terms of gender and educational level

In terms of gender, there are significant differences in livelihood activities. In general, relatively more women work in the primary sector. This observation was made in the Bamboutos case, but also in the Njombe case where more women than men work in agriculture. In the Njombe and Lindi case, while more women than men work in agriculture we also see more women in business; the high percentage of women selling at local markets explains the higher percentage of self-employed women. Men, on the other hand, are more frequently involved in casual labour.

Another remarkable gender difference is between female- and male-headed households. In the Moungo case for instance, male-headed households were more frequently involved in multiple activities (52,6 per cent) compared to female-headed households (29,5 percent). In the Njombe case, more female-headed households than male-headed households (12,5 per cent versus 4,2 per cent respectively) completely rely on subsistence production. This high dependence on subsistence agriculture and the lack of diversification among female-headed households clearly indicates the vulnerability of female-headed households for shocks and insecurities (Chant, 1997; Horrell and Krishnan, 2006).

In terms of education, there is no significant correlation between educational level and types of income-generating activities of the household members. While most respondents have completed primary or the first grade of secondary education, this does not necessarily exclude these household members from non-agricultural activities or salaried work.

⁸ 'Buyam sellam' refers to traders who buy crops in bulk and then retail in the region.



Picture 5.1: Market women in Njombe

5.1.3 Crop differentiation

In all cases, the majority of farmers cultivate different crops at the same time. In the Bamboutos region, ranked among the largest granaries of Cameroon, farmers cultivate a range of more than 40 subsistence food crops. Especially over the last few decades, there has been an explicit attempt toward crop diversification in the region. This has resulted in the introduction of sunflower cultivation, some varieties of vegetables, new varieties of beans and at least 12 different species of Irish potato (see picture 4.3). On each plot, at least three to five crops are cultivated. Apart from this increased diversification, the main focus of innovation is on intensification through a shift in food crops to cash crops. The producers invest more in increasing the performance of existing crops per yield than in new, but unknown, crops.

Also in the other regions there is an explicit tendency of crop differentiation. Only the Noun case was different in this respect because rice is a monoculture. Irrespective of the cultural system used – irrigation or rainfed - rice is cultivated as a single crop. However, during the off-season, certain farmers rotate rice with other crops such as maize, Irish potato and beans. In addition, some farmers grow cocoyam and plantain at the fringes of the water regulators and footpaths from and to the farms. However, most fields used for rice production are permanently flooded during the rainy season and this limits the practice of other agricultural activities. In such cases, producers cultivate food crops on other farmlands away from the marshes. Also in other cases the dependency of households on food crops for subsistence is an important incentive to differentiate. In the Njombe case for instance, several farmers prefer to cultivate a larger area with maize than with Irish potatoes. This can



Picture 5.2: Irish potato promotion at an agricultural show in Dschang, Cameroon

Box 5.1: Agro pastoralism transformation in the Maasai case

Traditionally, the Maasai have depended entirely on their cattle for food and other livelihood needs. Whenever they needed something that could not be provided by their livestock, they sold or exchanged cattle for the item, product or service they wanted. For the past few decades however, several Maasai have practiced farming when their herd size was too small to satisfy food and other household needs. In fact, a current survey in the Maasai region revealed that 79 per cent of the respondents practice both pastoralism and farming as main livelihood activities. Nonetheless, current farming activities are much different from the previous. For many Maasai households, farming has become the main, and in some cases the only, food source, especially for those who exited pastoralism completely. In addition to growing food crops (whether for subsistence or the selling of surplus), the cultivation of purely cash crops has entered into Maasai lands. The introduction and promotion of jatropha farming for bio-fuel production in Selela and Engaruka villages is just one example. In these areas, many families, households and individuals quickly agreed to cultivate the plant after they were promised good prices and given the necessary inputs in advance (after which costs would be deducted against harvest profits). Another example of the influence of cash crop production derives from the dominance of the Maasai in rural markets. As Maasai farm products started to serve beyond household needs and as excess food crops are harvested and sold for cash, the Maasai have become the main suppliers of food crops in many rural markets.

be explained by the fact that maize is a staple food crop and farmers grow maize both for food security and for income, as opposed to Irish potatoes. Due to the perishability of this crop, it is grown mainly for the market (Borby Ørtenblad, 2015).

Another feature of differentiation is complementing agricultural yields with livestock and fishing activities or the other way round (see box 4.1 for the example of the Maasai). While most households keep some livestock, the kind varies from region to region. In the Lindi case farmers keep cattle, goats and chickens. In Bamboutos most livestock holdings are pigs and chickens. In the other regions under study chickens are popular.

5.1.4 Use of external resources

In addition to agricultural inputs, rural livelihoods depend highly on external resources. In this section we elaborate on the role of land, labour and capital in rural household livelihoods. Furthermore, the section includes box 4.2 on the role of national and international markets to elaborate on the broader picture of markets and the role of the demand side.

Land is the key asset in rural livelihoods and a main problem in the different areas under study. In particular, the subdivision of land into individual plots due to successive inheritance procedures makes it virtually impossible for many farmers to live on a farm income. In the Northern Corridor of Tanzania, flexibility has become the operative word when analysing how farmers try to gain access to land. Renting land permanently or for one or two growing seasons (to grow vegetables for example) is more and more common. The price is fixed according to the geographical location and whether there is access to a water supply. Renting is possible because some owners have available land. This availability reflects the extreme complexity of the land question in the Northern Corridor of Tanzania. Some landholders are not able to cultivate; reasons include old age, employment in town, and inability to invest, among others. In these cases, landholders rent their plots, preferably to relatives. National and international investors are also looking for land in order to start farming or to expand the production of one or two specific crops. As available land is difficult to obtain and additional labour is hard to find, investors can realise their goal through contract farming. However, due to land pressure in their homelands some farmers have to move far away to rent a piece of land elsewhere.

In the Ghanaian case in the Kwaebibirem district, an intense competition for land has resulted in part from roughly 21,000 hectares of land being converted to oil palm plantations by the Ghana Oil Palm Development Company (GOPDC) as well as the presence of several thousand small and large-scale farmers participating in the outgrower oil palm schemes. This situation is further compounded by the demand for land to produce other cash and food crops as well as for mining, particularly small-scale artisanal or illegal mining popularly referred to as *galamsey*. This has resulted in a situation whereby communal or freehold tenure arrangements begin to give way to the commodification of land and other tenure arrangements that require either cash or in-kind payments. The implications of the changing land tenure regime from freehold and communal holdings to leaseholds lead to a situation whereby small-scale farmers and the poor are increasingly displaced as they are less able to afford the rising price of land.

Another important aspect in the analysis of rural livelihood strategies is the degree of dependency on hired labour. In general, most households utilise a combination of hired and family labour. However, there are two remarkable cases in this respect. In the Lindi case, there is a slight percentage of both sesame and non-sesame growers that do not use family labour at all and thus completely depend on hired labour. In the Noun region, 99 per cent of the households make use of local labour. Although this local labour is not necessarily hired labour, the proportion of rice producers using hired labour as a principal source of labour is relatively high, especially in comparison with the non-rice producing households. This is due to the fact that rice production is very demanding in terms of labour requirements. Even children as young as seven years of age are to be found in the rice fields; their services are used either as hired or as family labour. In addition, there is an overall tendency for households involved in the rice production to have a higher percentage of hired labour input than non-rice growers.

A final important livelihood strategy that facilitates agricultural production is the use of both formal and informal loans. Especially in Cameroon and Ghana, the use of loans is an important supplement to the available household budget. In the Mounngo region, 38 per cent of households make use of loans. In the Noun case, 45,5 per cent of the households make use of credit or loans. In Ghana, more than half of the loans are obtained through rural banks whereas in the Cameroonian cases the *tontine* and other informal savings and credit associations are very popular among the households. In the Mounngo case, 64,5 per cent of the households that make use of loans participate in tontine, reunion, and association lending schemes. Also in the Noun region, 47,3 per cent make use of tontine or reunion and association loans. Independent of how the loan is obtained, the main use in Ghana as well as in Cameroon is for agriculture. In the Tanzanian regions, there is a relatively low use of loans.

Box 5.2: National versus international demand and regional development

Different crops have very different scopes of diversification and possibilities for actors and spin-off activities. While the international demand for both rubber and oil palm is very strong, an important difference between the two crops is that rubber is a non-food product while oil palm is suitable for food consumption. This is why oil palm, in comparison with rubber, has a more diverse range of international and national actors and why rubber and oil palm differ when it comes to spin-off activities. This compares with the Irish potato and sesame cases in Tanzania. Sesame is very strong on the international market and sesame production is almost integrally exported. For the Irish potato, local market dynamics are more diverse due to several possibilities to add value to the product (for example peeling potatoes at the market, selling chips on the street, among others). In this sense, the production of potatoes creates whole chains of actors and local spin-off activities while sesame largely is directly channelled to the international market. This is comparable with the respective spin-off activities generated by rubber and oil palm in the Ghanaian cases. In comparison to rubber, oil palm has many more possibilities for spin-off activities in the direct region and as such more regional development dynamics and small-scale activities.

5.2 Livelihood transformations

5.2.1 Changes in livelihood activities

This section examines some remarkable tendencies regarding household livelihood strategies in the different research sites over the last 10 years. In general, there are huge differences in the extent to which households have changed their livelihood activities among the different regions (see table 4.2). In the Cameroonian cases, there are high rates of change related to the main economic activity of households. In Moungo region, the change rate is 75 per cent compared to Bamboutos in which the change rate is 78 per cent. Only in the Noun region there are relatively few households (39 per cent) that have changed their main economic activity over the last 10 years. For Tanzania there are change rates of 60 per cent in the Njombe case and 76 per cent in the Lindi case.

In general, positive changes were ascribed to improved agriculture, higher production through better agricultural techniques and income from non-farm activities such as small business. In contrast, negative changes were ascribed to increased agricultural input costs as well as poor soil and land degradation. In the Moungo case, for instance, an increasing dependence on fertilisers and soil degradation are the main challenges for farming.

In the Lindi case, an increasing trend towards employment outside of agriculture is not observed. In addition, non-farming activities should not be considered to be additional occupations especially for those households where fishing and trade are the main livelihood activities. The high change rate can be ascribed to increased adoption of sesame cultivation, or the above mentioned sesame boom. In the Njombe case, extensive rural transformations have been taking place, involving the general commercialisation of agricultural activities, increasing investments, a general business environment and socioeconomic mobility. The inhabitants were facing considerable challenges in maintaining their agricultural activities due to expensive inputs, unreliable rainfall, unstable market conditions and land shortages. However, the dynamics created by the intensification of Irish potato production have also opened up a range of opportunities for livelihood diversification and alternative income generation via small shops or vending stalls and the like (Kinda and Loening, 2008).

For the Cameroonian cases, the high change rates in Moungo and Bamboutos can be ascribed to crop changes and more specifically to the abandonment of coffee cultivation. In addition, since the financial crisis of the late 1980s there has been a transition in the Bamboutos case from subsistence farming to cash crop production. Independently of crop type, surplus harvest is between 50 and 65 per cent. This change from subsistence agriculture to increased involvement in market gardening and cash crops is a tendency that also can be observed in the other regions (see box 4.3). This further explains why change rates in the different regions are quite high.

Box 5.3: The tomato value chain in Northern Tanzania

Due to the worldwide coffee crisis in the 1980s, a rural transformation from a coffee-banana system to a complex and new food crop system has taken place in the Northern Corridor of Tanzania. As a result, Tanzania has become a net exporter of fresh tomato. In 2004 the country's annual export averaged 1.05 million. Although tomato production in the Northern Corridor remains small compared to its production in the Iringa Region, it is significant at local or regional level with 62% of the vegetables and fruits production in the region (NBS, 2012). This regional development of market gardening increased in order to supply the growing demand for food in the towns and cities. This box focuses on the tomato value chain to illustrate the dynamics of this transformation.

Over the last 10 years, tomatoes have become a new cash-earning commodity in the region which attracts especially young farmers who have not received any form of inheritance (for example land or coffee trees). Some tomato farmers explained that they first had to find a way to accumulate primary capital; many did this by selling their labour or by opening a small business. These farmers can get a fast seasonal return on investment from tomato production which allows them to invest again and to grow their business. In addition, more and more women have become involved in the tomato value chain by selling tomatoes in different local markets and especially in Kwa Sa Dala market which is the main market to export tomatoes out of the region. As such, women have become producers and retailers at the same time. These women first sell to middlemen or transporters for wholesale; any left overs subsequently are sold directly to local consumers. When their own production is finished, these farmers also buy tomatoes from other producers for retail sale. These cash-earning opportunities are related to the high demand of tomatoes in city markets and for export.

Although tomato production in the Northern Corridor remains small compared to the Iringa Region, it is significant both at local and regional levels. In fact, yields are even higher than in the Iringa region. The success of tomato cultivation has also led some farmers in the Northern region to grow tomatoes in the Iringa region; this is a result of different seasons and the search for extra income opportunities.



Picture 5.3: Tomatoes at the Kwa Sa Dala market in the Northern Corridor of Tanzania

5.2.2 Changes in income and purchasing power

Although a considerable number of households in the different regions changed their main income-generating activities, this has not necessarily resulted in better incomes or more purchasing power (see table 4.2). In general, the income of most households deteriorated or remained the same. However, for those households whose income increased there was no direct positive effect on purchasing power. In both Tanzanian cases there seemed to be a general decrease in experienced purchasing power regardless of experienced changing income. In the Lindi case, 27 per cent of the households had experienced a decrease in purchasing power with constant income. Furthermore 31 per cent had not experienced an increase in purchasing power despite increased income. Also, the findings in Ghana indicate that for the households whose income increased there were no positive results in terms of purchasing power; purchasing power remained the same. One possible explanation is that inflation might play a role. At least we know that high inflation often is a problem in economically booming places, such as mining areas. In the Ahanta West district of Ghana, for instance, prices are indeed increasing because of oil production; this may be why households experienced an increase in income but not an increase in purchasing power.

Table 5.2: change in main economic activity, income and purchasing power

	Change in activity (%)		Change in income (%)			Change in purchasing power (%)		
	Yes (%)	No (%)	Deteriorated (%)	Same (%)	Improved (%)	Fewer goods (%)	Same goods (%)	More goods (%)
Cameroon								
Bamboutos	78	22	33	39	28	30	40	30
Moungo	75	25	33	36	31	31	36	33
Noun	39	61	27	36	37	29	35	36
Ghana								
Ahanta West district	No info	No info	48	10	42	70	5	25
Kwaebibirem district	No info	No info	55	7	38	64	5	31
Tanzania								
Lindi case	76	24	53	23	24	58	26	16
Njombe case	60	40	45	28	27	39	36	25

In each research site, there is a clear relation between land ownership and change in income. For households whose land size remained the same or did not increase over the last 10 years, income levels deteriorated or stayed the same. Alternatively, in cases where the household acquired more land in the past 10 years, income generally improved. In this sense, more land equated to a significant improvement in income for most of the households. Only in the Lindi case there is no clear correlation in this respect. The households whose income has deteriorated had indeed either lost land or had the same amount of land as 10 years ago. However, there was no clear indication that the households

who owned more land also experienced an improvement in income. In general the study shows very little impact from the sesame cultivation since it was only very recently – one to two years ago - introduced for commercial purpose by the sampled households.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter described the main livelihood transformations in the regions under study. 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. However, for many households subsistence production is still more important than the production of cash crops; not all households succeed in connecting to the booming crops phenomenon in the areas under study. As a result, it is impossible to formulate a straightforward answer to the question posed in the introduction of this chapter. Rural people make an effort to diversify their livelihoods as much as possible in order to reduce vulnerability to shocks and insecurities. Agricultural diversification (or crop differentiation), non-agricultural activities, multi-locality, and resettlement are just a few key examples of rural livelihood strategies. The next chapter further elaborates on the multi-locality of the households under study and the way they introduce relevant mobility patterns to the region.

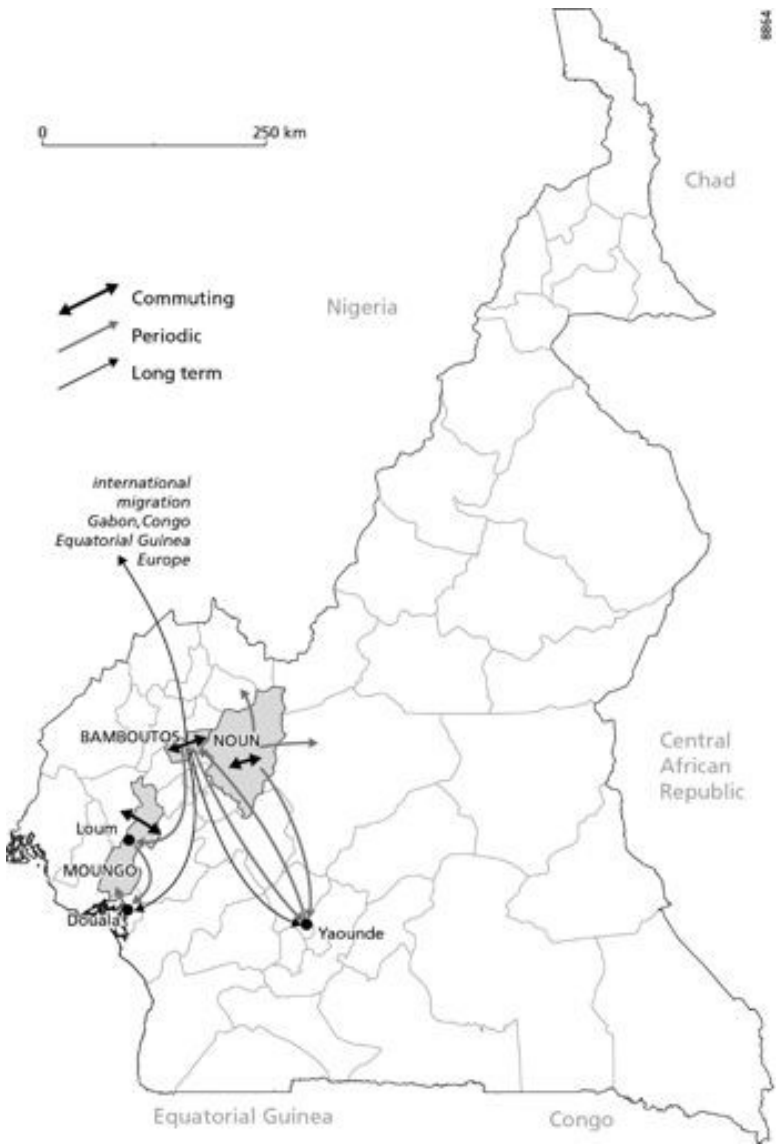
6. Temporality and spatiality of mobility

Rural transformations in Sub-Saharan Africa have influenced mobility patterns across the region. Decreased possibilities in the agricultural sector and the fragmentation and concentration of land have resulted in an increasing importance of multiple and multi-local livelihood strategies. Households employ multi-local livelihood strategies in order to gain access to resources in rural as well as urban areas and to extend their networks across the particular community where they reside. This is why Berdegúe et al. (2014: 5) argue that “the livelihoods of the majority of rural households, including smallholder farmers, are hardly only rural; ‘rural’ defines the main places of residence, but no longer encompasses the spatial scope of livelihoods.” This study (and the RurbanAfrica project in general) analyses these multi-local livelihood strategies by focusing on domestic mobility patterns and processes. Cottyn et al. (2013) indicate that it is a common stereotype to perceive that all domestic mobility is unidirectional movement from rural areas to cities and that migrants can always be characterised as permanent migrants. Instead, mobility trajectories show highly varied patterns both in terms of origin and destination and in terms of temporality. This chapter illustrates that many household members in the areas under study move on a daily, weekly or seasonal basis. Many household members crisscross between urban as well as rural areas thus mobility patterns occur in a variety of directions. In order to convey these complex and multi-faceted flows of people, the chapter ends by presenting a typology of mobility.

6.1 Mobility patterns

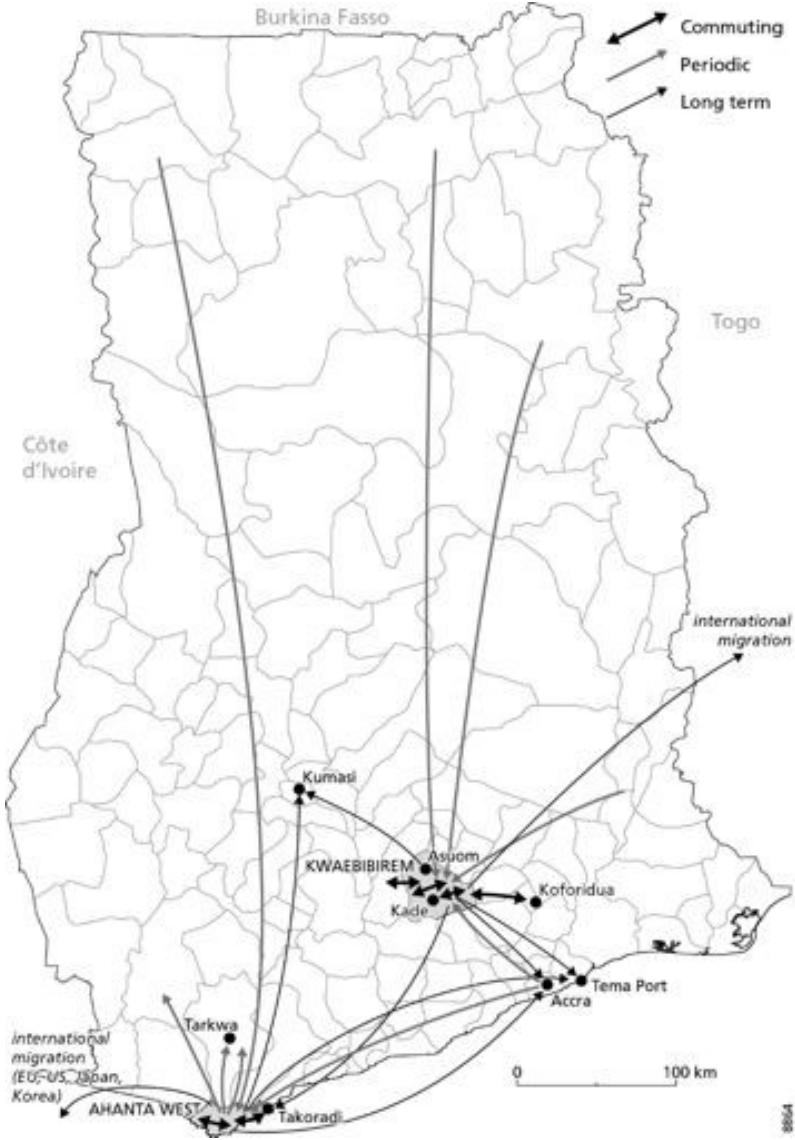
In order to analyse the mobility patterns in the regions under study, a distinction is made between long-term mobility, periodic mobility and commuting. Long-term mobility refers to migrants who leave their home region for a longer period of time (e.g., months or years). Periodic mobility includes all types of temporary mobility; this includes for example farmers periodically leaving to cultivate land elsewhere or students attending university and college in cities. Commuting varies between daily, weekly or even regularly commuting between for example the countryside and the city. It also includes traders visiting markets and farm gates on a weekly or otherwise regular basis. We present these different mobility types and patterns, including those found in the Maasai case in the Northern Corridor of Tanzania, in maps (see figures 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3); these types and patterns are analysed further below.

Figure 6.1: Cameroon research sites: main mobility patterns



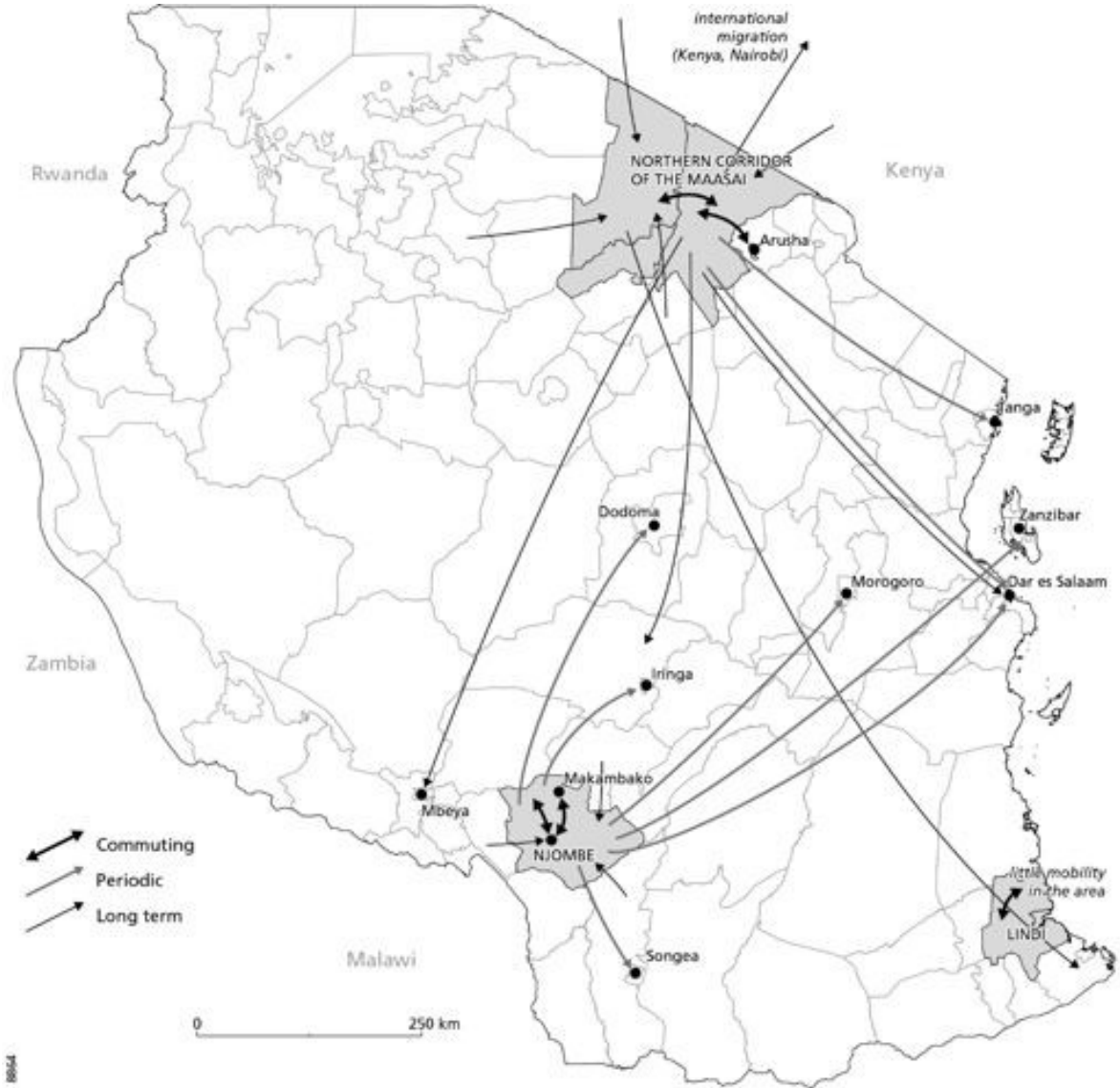
Source: C&M-carto - Department of Geosciences - Utrecht University

Figure 6.2: Ghana research sites: main mobility patterns



Source: C&M-carto - Department of Geosciences - Utrecht University

Figure 6.3: Tanzania research sites: main mobility patterns



Source: C&M-carto - Department of Geosciences - Utrecht University

6.2 Long-term mobility

In order to gain a better understanding of the long-term mobility patterns in the different research sites, the household survey collected information on the so-called 'usually absent' household members.⁹ The prevalence of usually absent members varies from region to region. In general, the research areas in Ghana and Cameroon have the highest number of usually absent household members. Some of these members migrated abroad to neighbouring African countries as well as Europe and Asia. In Cameroon, the Bamilike are the most dynamic population group. They have an important diaspora in Guinea (as a result of the petrol boom) as well as all over Sub-Saharan Africa, Europe and elsewhere. In contrast, there was no reference to international migration in the Tanzanian cases; even the number of usually absent household members is very low. In the Lindi case, only four per cent of the households have a usually absent member. In the Njombe case, few household heads are usually absent because they have to stay for the potato cultivation. Nevertheless, 42 per cent of households indicate that they have one or two usually absent members. These members are generally youngsters that travel for employment, business, farming and education opportunities; they also move for social reasons such as a marriage. There is also an important inflow of permanent migrants to the Njombe region. These newcomers are rural producers who come from other rural settings in order to access land.

In the Cameroonian cases, long-term migration to big cities such as Douala and Yaoundé takes place within a system of mobilities. This system can be defined as a kind of stepwise migration in which linkages in the city and in the countryside are developed along the road. These networks facilitate rural-urban connections and so increase a migrant's chances of making a living in the city. In this sense, rural and urban lifestyles cannot be considered as contrasting, opposite or incompatible. The rural and urban have to be considered as complementary ways of making a living or as Paerregaard (1997) indicates, people just try to make the best of both worlds.

In general, the usually absent household members are the children of the household heads. In the Moungo and Noun regions, for instance, this comprised more than 80 per cent. Some of these children have reached an adult age and migrate to nearby towns and cities in search of better employment opportunities. Many are (temporarily) employed in the construction and transport sectors. Another significant segment of the usually absent category are school-age children who periodically move to the city for educational reasons.¹⁰ These members are enrolled in boarding schools or they stay with family members in the city in order to access secondary education. As such, work and education are the main reasons household members leave rural regions. Outside of this, usually absent household members also move for family reasons and business related activities.

Most of long-term migration takes place in the direction of towns and cities (see also box 5.1). Only in the Noun region there is a higher number of household members working in

⁹ As explained in the methodological chapter, 'usually absent' household members are defined as those household members who live elsewhere but contribute in cash or in kind to the household budget.

¹⁰ In the survey these children are categorised as a usually absent household member, although their type of mobility can better be defined as periodic.

villages than in towns. In all research sites, no significant patterns are evident regarding the duration of time the usually absent households members are living elsewhere. The period of absence varies widely between several months and a couple of years. However, during this time the long-term migrants regularly visit their home regions for family reasons or for holidays. In addition, as will be further elaborated in chapter six, a constant, bidirectional flow of remittances, both in cash and in kind, connects these usually absent members with other household members in the rural areas.

In terms of gender, Sub-Saharan African women are increasingly on the move and thus migration regimes are no longer male dominated (Adepoju 1995; Lobnibe 2009; Cottyn et al., 2013). An increasing number of women migrate in search of employment opportunities. This observation is confirmed by the empirical results found in the Bamboutos case as more women than men are usually absent (52,7 per cent versus 47,3 per cent). However, in all other cases men use to migrate for a longer period of time. Women tend to be more frequently involved in periodic mobility or commuting activities.

Box 6.1: Maasai mobility patterns

The Maasai currently use migration as an important diversification strategy. In general, Maasai households move for a long period of time from rural to urban areas with the general aim to permanently settle and make a livelihood in cities (Archambault 2013). They move to nearby or big cities to work as watchmen and servants or in petty trading activities and the like. Meserani is one of the small but growing trading centres found in the Monduli district. Due to its population, especially on market days, it has become a popular destination for many migrants, especially those who are unable or do not want to migrate to bigger towns and urban areas far away from home villages. A similar concentration of migrants could also be found in other small towns like Mto Wa Mbu. Migration is often influenced by age and gender; young children and women tend to move to urban areas closer to home while men are more likely to move to big cities such as Arusha, Dar es Salaam and Nairobi.

Apart from these types of rural-urban migration, there are also several cases of rural –rural migration for grazing and farming and driven by land and water shortages. This is particularly the case for Mti-Mmoja village pastoralists who were forced to move with their cattle to villages adjacent to Manyara Ranch, Kigongoni and Selela. This is a result of a big portion of their land being taken by the military (Tanzania People Defence Force) for training and exercise purposes. The government promised to allocate them alternative land, but thus far this promise has not been fulfilled. Those Maasai who have not moved to other villages still graze secretly - especially at night - in the now military-controlled land. This is an illegal and risky endeavour especially during the training seasons when the soldiers use live ammunition.

6.3 Periodic mobility and commuting

The frequency for periodic mobility and for commuting is considerably high in the different study areas. Rural dwellers crisscross the region to gain access to crops, markets, services and labour opportunities. When certain goods and services are not available in a specific locality, people go to look for them elsewhere. For example, over the last few decades there has been an increase in mobile phone use, but as certain communities lack access to electricity they travel to nearby service centres to recharge phone batteries. Throughout the

different research areas, many people move from one place to another to buy and sell food crops at periodic markets. This is one of the many reasons why commuting in particular and temporal mobility in general is an indispensable livelihood activity for all of the households under study. Whether household members commute on a daily, weekly or monthly basis depends on the purpose of mobility and factors such as the agricultural cycle, distance to plots, and transport facilities, among others.

The average distance from the households' compound or house to the plots of land differs highly from region to region. In the Njombe case for instance, the highest perceived time to get to the plot is 60 minutes. In Moungo, people living in the trading centre of Loum have land at 30 to 40 kilometres away from town because nearby land is not available. In the Lindi case, agricultural land is typically located some few kilometres away from home; this is equivalent to an average of 20-30 minutes' walk. However, some households have invested in additional land that is more than four hours travel distance from their home. In this case the farmers do not travel back and forth each day, but instead construct a temporary shelter and live there during the busy months of cultivation.

In general, the total amount of farmland of one household can be scattered over several plots and located in different areas. Not all plots may be cultivated every season. In Ghana, there is a difference in average distance to plots for outgrowers and non-outgrowers. The non-outgrowers usually reside in the farming communities while most outgrowers reside in towns and cities and only visit the farm area during certain periods a year (for instance during harvesting season). The average distance to plots is thus quite high for outgrowers. Especially in the Ahanta West region, outgrowers cover more distance to a plot than non-outgrowers. This is because most rubber plantations are located outside of the area of residence where larger areas of land generally is available. In comparison, food crop plots are located closer to the village.

These findings indicate that, in contrast to the long-term mobility patterns described above, the periodic mobility and commuting patterns in the research areas occur outside of a generalised unidirectional mobility pattern from rural areas to cities. In spatial terms, short-term mobility patterns are far more complex and multifaceted than the long-term mobility patterns. They include rural-rural, rural-urban as well as urban-rural mobility. Apart from rural commuting between plots, there is also a significant number of household members travelling to rural areas in search of day labour or business opportunities (e.g., participating in temporary markets). Especially in the Bamboutos case, there were more temporary migrants travelling to rural destinations (68,8 per cent) than to urban destinations (31,2 per cent). This is because producers in the region are still in a permanent search for substitution activities for coffee production. As land is scarce (see box 3.2), several people - especially youngsters - move temporarily uphill on the Bamboutos mountain to experiment with new crop production.

In all the other cases, the most significant mobility pattern was rural-urban. However, short-term migrants tend to move to other types of urban areas compared to long-term migrants. Long-term migration moves in the direction of primate and cosmopolitan cities whereas short-term mobility circulates along rural service centres, small towns and district capitals. In Ghana for example, the mobility of people, goods, services and information takes place

between the rural communities in Kwaebibirem district and the nearby district capital or administrative centre, Kade, as well as to other urban centres in Ghana. These linkages are greatly aided by the oil palm industry which has large national, West African sub-regional and global markets. The oil palm industry has contributed to the formation of heterogeneous rural communities as it attracts populations from all over Ghana and beyond which in itself contributes to the intense flows in and out of the Kwaebibirem district.

Although urban areas are a popular destination for commuting and periodic migrants, household members still spend the majority of their time in rural areas. The outgrowers in the Kwaebibirem case are the only exception in this respect; these outgrowers spend a higher proportion of their time in urban localities. This is due to the above-mentioned fact that most outgrowers reside in towns and cities and only come sporadically to the area to farm.

Another significant contrast with the usually absent household members who migrate for a longer period of time is that the temporary migrants are mainly household heads and spouses rather than their children. In the Moungo case for example, 57,9 per cent of the temporary migrants are household heads and 24,8 per cent are spouses of the household heads. Also in Noun, 63,2 per cent of the temporary migrants are household heads and 27,9 per cent are their spouses. In the Bamboutos case there is also a significant gender difference between the temporary migrants. The majority of the women move daily – especially the female household heads – while the majority of males move only weekly or monthly.

Comparable to the case of long-term migration, the majority of the temporary mobility flows is inspired by the search for labour opportunities. However, the type of labour these temporary migrants are involved with is quite different from the kind of labour opportunities usually absent household members are looking for. The household survey indicates that the mobility of temporary migrants is far more commercial and business oriented. Especially the temporary mobility of women is quite frequently for commerce and market trade whereas men move more frequently for work and agriculture.

In the Lindi case for example, several households migrate seasonally to other regions to cultivate cash crops such as sesame and rice. The other way round, an increasing number of households from the rural parts of the neighbouring districts have begun migrating to the rural parts of Lindi during the sesame cultivation season that runs January-June. These reverse migration flows were also noticed in the other research areas. In southern Ghana, people move from the city to the rubber and palm oil areas as urban investors seek to cultivate land. In the Ahanta West district especially there is a high number of people living in Takoradi and moving to the rubber area to cultivate land. It is just a two hours' drive and the road is in perfect condition. In Tanzania, as the mobility map also clearly illustrates (see figure 5.3), the Njombe region is highly attractive for traders. These mainly Irish potato traders, coming temporarily to the Njombe region, connect rural areas with intermediate towns and Dar es Salaam.¹¹

¹¹ There are also a number of traders who are working for bigger trade agencies and have come to settle in Njombe town.

Finally, the means of transport that temporary migrants use to commute between places of work and living vary from region to region. In the Moungo region, as much as people move by bus as on foot, another popular means of transport is the motorbike. This transportation method has further integrated the transfer of goods and people between the different parts of the countryside as well as the countryside and the city. In the Bamboutos case, the majority travel on foot, but beyond a distance of 10 km, daily commuting on foot is rare. It is often replaced by short-term weekly stays. However, in current times the advent of the motorcycle taxi has changed this pattern. While travelling distances to the fields are becoming longer, travelling times become shorter; with the motorcycle, daily mobility distances of more than 30 km can be covered in only one hour. In addition, due to bad roads, motorcycles are often faster than cars in covering a certain distance; even the bicycle is faster on these kinds of roads. In the Njombe case most temporary migrants take the bus or go by bicycle. In Noun the main means of transport is the car. In the Ahanta West district most of the households in the outgrowing scheme move by privately owned cars, while the bus is the second most important mode of transport for the households in this district. In the Kwaebibirem district, the bus is by far the most important means of transport.



Picture 6.4: Motorcycle boom Cameroon

6.4 Conclusion: mobility typology

As became clear in the discussion above, mobility patterns in the research areas demonstrate a wide variety in both spatiality and temporality. Table 5.1 summarises the influence of these two mobility dimensions on prevalent mobility patterns in the region. For the time dimension, the typology distinguishes between daily, periodic and long-term mobility. As for the spatial dimension, the scheme differentiates between rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-rural and urban-urban mobility.¹²

¹²The framework shows relatively few urban-urban mobility patterns; this is probably the result of the rural bias in our data collection. As the starting point for this analysis was the rural areas, it is to be assumed that this dimension of the mobility typology can be further enhanced by the urban-oriented research team.

Table 6.1: Mobility typology

Time dimension	Spatial pattern			
	<i>Rural-rural</i>	<i>Rural-urban</i>	<i>Urban-rural</i>	<i>Urban-urban</i>
Commuting	<p>Cultivating the land (family farming and cash crops)</p> <p>Daily wage labour</p> <p>Trading e.g., selling and buying on (rotating) local markets</p> <p>Social reasons and responsibilities</p> <p>Accessing financial and health services and mobile phones.</p> <p>Non-agricultural activities</p> <p>Education (primary school)</p>	<p>Trading (selling and buying) to small service centres and on periodic markets</p> <p>Access to financial and health services</p> <p>Buying of consumption goods</p> <p>Education (primary and secondary school)</p> <p>Non-agricultural activities</p> <p>Services such as domestic work</p> <p>Transporters</p> <p>Salaried work</p>	<p>Trading on periodic markets (e.g., middlemen and urban traders selling fertilisers)</p> <p>Intermediaries (buying food at the market) or urban traders for selling and buying in different villages</p> <p>Buying consumables</p> <p>Getting information on the rural areas, controlling livestock</p> <p>Farming (urban residents such as small and medium scale investors and families living in town)</p> <p>Social reasons e.g., family assistance (especially in dry season), funerals</p> <p>Teachers</p> <p>Transporters</p>	<p>Wholesale traders</p> <p>Public and private sector servants living in big cities and going to smaller cities for salaried work</p> <p>Teachers</p>
Periodic	<p>Social reasons and responsibilities (family visit)</p> <p>Seasonal wage labour (women and men)</p> <p>Cultivating the land (in harvest, sow and plough seasons)</p> <p>Livestock herding</p>	<p>Education (boarding secondary school, university and college)</p> <p>Access to health facilities (e.g., hospital)</p> <p>Salaried work (e.g., construction and domestic)</p>	<p>Seasonal wage labour and assisting relatives)</p> <p>Cultivating the land (in harvest, sow and plough seasons)</p> <p>Education (university students)</p>	<p>Education (secondary school and University students)</p>

Periodic	Education (secondary schools) Assisting relatives to cultivate the land (in rainy or farming season)	Social assistance (such as maternity assistance, child care)	Assisting relatives with land cultivation (in rainy or farming season) 'Artisans' for construction work (carpenters, brick workers, electricity workers, qualified people, professionals)	
Long-term	Resettlement and displacement of rural households (especially Maasai - in the Northern Corridor in Tanzania) Rural people moving from Northern Ghana and Volta Region to oil palm region for agricultural reasons	Employment (e.g., domestic work, moto taxi) Skills acquirement Stepwise migration and trade	Return migrants (e.g., due to booming agricultural activities, becoming the family head) Retirement migration	From small towns to bigger cities for higher aspirations and business
	Rural-rural	Rural-urban	Urban-rural	Urban-urban

This typology has served as a powerful analytical framework to further explore the mobility dynamics in the various regions under study. However, the different mobility types are not exclusive and they could be further refined for instance by attaching more importance to variations in urban destinations. As indicated above, commuting to urban areas tends to be limited to movements to urbanising areas in the countryside such as rural service centres and small towns. In contrast, long-term mobility will rather take place in the direction of primate cities and capital towns.

Despite these restrictions, the typology allows us to draw some important conclusions in relation to mobility patterns in the regions. Table 5.2 gives an overview of the most important distinctions between short-term and long-term defined on the basis of the empirical data. In spatial terms it becomes clear that the most significant mobility dynamics take place within the rural areas through the high frequency of daily commuting and the attraction of regional towns. According to the time dimension, migration to rural areas is much more likely to be weekly or monthly, whereas migration to urban areas is more dominantly limited to a few times a year or to periodic mobility.

Table 6.2: Short-term versus long-term mobility

	Long-term mobility	Commuting and periodic
Type of household members	Children of household head	Household heads and their spouses
Reasons to migrate	Education and work	Education, work, commerce and business
Destination	Large cities	Rural areas and regional towns
Gender	Mainly men	More women than men

In other words, the areas under study are highly dynamic in terms of mobility in- and outflows. Some of these flows are year round, but there are also large fluxes during certain periods of the year such as during land preparation, harvesting and other key periods on the agricultural calendar. Also, increased mobility flows are noticed on important social events such as public holidays, burial ceremonies and local festivities that attract migrants to their home towns. In addition, the commoditisation of agriculture leads to periods of increased mobility of temporary wage labourers attracted to the region. The agricultural dynamics in the regions under study also provoke other types of mobility. In the Bamboutos region for instance, the cultivation of Irish potato is among those practices that trigger daily, weekly, monthly or seasonal mobility between residential and production areas. In the Njombe region the extent of long-term migration flows has decreased in the last years. People tend to stay in the region due to increased opportunities in Irish potato production and related activities (such as selling chips, peeling potatoes, among others), but commuting to urban as well as rural areas remains a common mobility practice in the region.

7. Importance of remittances

Social scientists have recognized that remittances are crucial for the livelihoods of many African households (Gupta et al., 2009; Anyanwu and Erhijakpor 2010). Especially in the rural areas remittances form an important feature of the livelihood strategies of rural households since they can complement farm income. Table 6.1 indicates what percentage of the households in the three different countries receives remittances.¹³

Table 7.1: Per cent of households receiving national remittances

		National remittances (%)
Cameroon	Bamboutos	49
	Moungo	43,5
	Noun	66
Tanzania	Lindi case	20
	Njombe case	21,5
Ghana	Ahanta West district	No info
	Kwaebibirem district	No info

Table 6.1 shows that the percentage of households receiving remittances in Cameroon is much higher than in the case of Tanzania. This is obviously related to the fact that the Tanzanian households in the regions under study were more sedentary than the households in the other two countries. Other observations on mobility patterns (as made in chapter 5) are confirmed in the quantitative data on remittances.

In both Tanzanian cases, none of the households receive international remittances while in Cameroon and Ghana a considerable number of households receive international remittances. This is in line with our observation that there is hardly any international migration from the Lindi and Njombe regions in Tanzania. In Cameroon and Ghana there is international migration from the regions under study and these international migrants tend to send remittances to the rural households we surveyed. However, for these households, national remittances are far more important than international remittances. In the Ahanta West case in Ghana for instance, the average total of national remittances from family members is as twice as high as international remittances. In contrast, in the Kwaebibirem district households generally receive higher average remittances from international sources than from national sources (see table 6.2).

¹³ In general, quantitative data on remittances should be used with a certain precaution because informants do not necessarily share information on capital flows. In addition, as mentioned in the case of Cameroon, the reliability of the data on remittances provided by the household head should be questioned because household heads are not necessarily aware of the remittances received by other household members. Remittances are often secretly transferred money from abroad.

Table 7.2: Average amount of national and international remittances in Ghana in GH¢¹⁴

Remittances	Ahanta West district	Kwaebibirem district
National	328.32	384.43
International	158.44	947.10

Cash remittances are still the most important form of national as well as international remittances. In Ghana, the majority of households receive their remittances through informal channels.¹⁵ In Tanzania the growing popularity of mobile money is clearly reflected in the way the households transfer remittances. In the Njombe case mobile money is as popular as informal channels for receiving remittances. In the Lindi case there is a clear trend of transferring remittances through mobile money although the use of informal channels for sending and receiving remittances by hand is still more common. Remarkably, in the Cameroonian cases most of the remittances are transferred through formal channels. In the Bamboutos case, for instance, 72,7 per cent of the national remittances and 72,7 per cent of the international remittances are sent through formal channels. It is not clear from the household surveys whether this percentage is high due to the growing popularity of mobile money in the region.

The frequency that people receive remittances varies between 'sometimes' and 'regularly.' The majority of households indicate that they sometimes receive remittances while only a small proportion of the households report that they receive remittances on a regular basis. In the Njombe and Noun cases, the percentage of households receiving remittances on a regular basis is significantly higher than in the rest of the study sites. For the Njombe case this is possible due to the farming activities of the usually absent household members.

The contingent flow of remittances is basically used for family consumption. Most households use the money and the goods that they receive from migrants for household nutrition and upkeep. Several households also invest their remittances in agriculture. For Cameroon and Ghana there is no significant difference between the use of national and international remittances. Both are used for daily consumption needs.

Another important feature is the reverse flows of remittances from the countryside to the usually absent household and family members living elsewhere. In the Bamboutos region, the exchange of goods and people are no longer one-way as before. While the countryside continues to give more than it receives, the gap seems to disappear and the two spaces become complementary. This complementarity is illustrated by the way reverse flows are not dominated by cash transfers, but instead goods and more particularly food transfers. In all the areas under study a considerable amount of the rural households send a part of their agricultural production to people living outside the community. In Tanzania, reverse flows in the Njombe case are more common than in the Lindi case. For each region, the agricultural products - basically maize and potatoes - are sent by hand.

¹⁴ 100 Ghanaian Cedi is the equivalent of US\$ 26 (March 2015).

¹⁵ The fact that the bulk of remittances (both national and international) pass through informal channels suggests that true remittance values may not be captured by official data.

To conclude, remittances are clearly bidirectional flows of money and goods that support households in stabilising and reducing consumption costs. In this sense they are an important feature in which the rural-urban connections are established and engendered by a reciprocal exchange of goods. However, these general observations on the influences of remittances for the rural households in the study areas have to be further scrutinised. The household survey introduced some general trends and tendencies; these should be further elaborated upon via qualitative data collection.

8. Conclusion

With a keen eye to the historical component, WP2 research looks into the current processes driving agricultural and rural livelihood transformation. In addition, WP2 takes into account the general economic development processes, policies, crop changes, land use changes, livelihood diversification, and the role of global and local market demands. This report has focused on these components of rural transformation processes by scrutinising the role of mobility, increased rural-city connections and livelihood diversification. The results, deriving from eight different research sites in Cameroon, Ghana and Tanzania, clearly indicate that rural-urban linkages - which refer to a multitude of spatial linkages such as flows of people, goods, services and information – are a crucial factor in the livelihoods of the rural households under study. Indeed, 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.

Whether short-term or long-term, mobility flows increased because more and more people living in rural areas go to small towns and service centres in search of consumption goods, services and labour opportunities. In addition, there are significant urban-rural flows of for instance urban residents who either on a regular or irregular basis seek livelihood opportunities in rural areas or engage in rural (or non-urban) based activities. In certain areas in the countries under study there are all of a sudden more urban-based businessmen and women investing in rural land. A growing number of people living in urban areas are coming to farm in dynamic agricultural areas because they see opportunities. These are urban dwellers who do farming as an additional activity to their profession in the city. They rent land in the rural hinterlands and cultivate in places with high agricultural dynamics.

Consequently, the increasing competition for land can be considered one of the main constraints in the livelihood activities of the households under study. Due to the commercialisation of land, large cash crop plantations compete with peasants who need the land for the cultivation of food crops. In certain study areas, especially in Ghana and the Northern Corridor of Tanzania, this results in a situation whereby small-scale farmers and the poor are increasingly displaced as they no longer have access to land or cannot afford the rising price of land.

Nevertheless, new opportunities, as a result of the increasing commercialisation and diversification of crops, emerge in the rural areas. These come in the form of new labour as poor farmers are displaced from the land and find employment on plantations and large scale farms especially. Even for small-scale and other subsistence farmers, evidence from the study areas indicates that some of these poor farmers continue to engage in farming while earning wage labour on the plantations and large farms. However, for some poor farming households, restrictions in access to production assets and common pool resources, particularly land, can have significant negative impacts on household poverty and general well-being. For such households, especially the young members, migration can be used as both a short and long-term response.

So on the one hand, the areas under study have become attractive investment sites due to increased agricultural and non-agricultural opportunities as well as better basic infrastructure and services that were formerly only found in cities. This is why a certain amount of rural dwellers decide to stay on and even return to the farm and to relate to agricultural dynamics in the region. On the other hand, rural dwellers remain connected to cities but also neighbouring urban centres, towns and service centres. In this sense mobility flows in the region are no longer one-way, but constitute very complex and fragmented processes of inflow and outflow of resources (be it people, money, goods, services, etc.); these processes still need further analysis. To gain a more in-depth understanding of these mobility processes (in terms of people, capital, goods, information and technologies) and their impact on local development, this report suggests further research on the role of small towns. A better understanding demands sound insight into rural development processes, the links of rural households with urban settlements, small town development and migration histories. This is one reason why more qualitative, in-depth information on inflow and outflow of resources will be collected in the next WP2 research phase. Moreover, a greater understanding of these processes is tantamount within the overarching research focus of the RurbanAfrica. From the rural side of the continuum, emerging urban centres appear to be crucial in the chains of connections between rural and urban places and in driving development processes overall.

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List of appendices

Annex I.

RurbanAfrica Agricultural and Rural Livelihood Household Survey

Annex II.

Template for WP1-WP2 site reporting.

Annex III. Site report – Bamboutos, Cameroon

Kuete, M.; Kelodjoue, S.; Douanla, L. and Kaffo, C. (2015): *Agricultural Change and Rural Livelihoods in Bamboutos, Cameroon*. RurbanAfrica site report.

Annex IV. Site report – Moungo, Cameroon

Kuete, M.; Kelodjoue, S.; Pasini, J. and Yaka, L. (2015): *Agricultural Change and Rural Livelihoods in Moungo, Cameroon*. RurbanAfrica site report.

Annex V. Site report – Noun, Cameroon

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Annex VI. Site report – Ahanta West district, Ghana

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Appendices III to XI are available from the RurbanAfrica web page:

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