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Mobility and local development in Cameroon, Ghana and Tanzania

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Preface

This report is the third outcome of the research team collaborating in Work Package (WP) 2: Rural livelihoods, income diversification and mobility. WP2 puts rural households and communities at centre stage. It focuses on the livelihoods and development opportunities in rural areas, as influenced by on-going processes of agricultural transformation (the focus of WP1), urbanisation (WP3, WP4) and new forms of regulation and governance (WP5). Key to the research in WP2 is the analysis of the importance of multi-activity and multi-locality in household livelihood transformation processes. Thus, the research focus is both on the diversification of income sources and on the mobility of household members between rural and urban places. An improved understanding of these processes is crucial toward explaining rural-city connections. The RurbanAfrica research project is implemented in four Sub-Saharan Africa countries: Cameroon, Ghana, Rwanda and Tanzania.

This report is a follow-up to deliverable 2.2 of WP2 that provides an empirical analysis on the relation between livelihood diversification, mobility and local development in Cameroon, Ghana and Tanzania. Due to changes in the structure of the University of Rwanda and the changes in the general rules for hosting and managing international research projects, the Rwandan team could not yet provide site reports. They recently started with the fieldwork phase and will update and submit the site reports at a later stage. Nonetheless, this report is based on four separate site reports written by the country teams in Cameroon, Ghana and Tanzania. The empirical input of these site reports is based on qualitative fieldwork that each team conducted in the study sites.

I am very grateful to all those who have contributed to the realisation of this report, in particular to Griet Steel and the authors of the site reports: T. Birch-Thomsen; B. Charlery de la Masselière; M. Kuete; E.A. Lazaro; J. Lukumay; L.J. Msese; F.J. Mishili; G. Owusu; S. Ørtenblad; R. Santpoort; and R. Vos. Also thanks to M. McLinden Nuijen for final editing of the report.

The site reports are annexed to the main report. All reports, along with more information about the RurbanAfrica research project, are also available through the RurbanAfrica website: <http://rurbanafrica.ku.dk/>

Paul van Lindert, WP2 Leader

Executive summary

The study was conducted within the framework of Work Package (WP) 2 research that explores the importance of multi-activity and multi-locality in household livelihood transformations, poverty dynamics and local development. In order to analyse these mobility and livelihood processes, the research teams conducted qualitative fieldwork in three countries and across four different research sites: the Bamboutos Mountain in Cameroon, the Kwaebibirem district in Ghana and the Njombe and Monduli regions in Tanzania. One common feature of the research sites is that each is a dynamic rural region in which transformation processes are guiding the everyday life of rural households. However, the regions are very diverse in their geographical settings, in the processes driving transformation, and in socio-economic challenges and opportunities, among others. It is through a systematic comparison of households' migration narratives and a systematic diagnosis of the main economic functions of the settlements in the research areas that important particularities and similarities in the relation between mobility and local development in Sub-Saharan countries can be exposed.

In terms of mobility, a large improvement in rural connectivity, through technological infrastructure and the like, has contributed to increased mobility dynamics from, to and within the regions. Migration can no longer be considered 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. Temporary movement – whether daily, weekly or seasonally – characterises the main mobility pattern of rural households crisscrossing the region for social reasons as well as to search for employment, services, commercial goods, and education. These temporary flows of people are complemented and linked with more permanent flows of mobility which makes the areas under study highly dynamic in terms of mobility in- and outflows. While some of these flows are year round, there are also large fluxes at certain times of the year such as during land preparation, harvesting and other key periods on the agricultural calendar. Increased mobility flows also are related to important social events such as public holidays, burial ceremonies and local festivities that lure migrants to their home towns.

These rural dynamics have influenced development processes in the region in significant ways. The introduction of cash crops has for instance drawn a variety of traders and external actors who have turned the sites into attractive locations for investment. Several sites attract traders, businessmen and women who want to invest in land and create additional labour opportunities for local people. In turn, these rural people have a better income through which they can afford to travel to town, to cities or other rural areas to look for additional livelihood opportunities. Others start a business in the community; they open a small shop or a phone booth or buy a Chinese motorbike and become a taxi driver. People also invest in improved housing. These investments in real estate bring along a vibrant market for building materials and informal jobs in the construction sector. These are some of the reasons why increasing local business opportunities can be observed in the different regions under study.

In other words, rural dynamics result in direct linkages in the local economy in terms of non-farm activities, spin-off activities related to agriculture and a clearly observable boost to the local transport and construction sectors. Apart from these developments, we also observe

that additional investments in the agricultural sector have created significant and new employment opportunities for youth and landless farmers. In addition, remittances form the most tangible links between migration and development. Especially in Ghana and Cameroon, remittances form a significant part of household income. Most households engage in mobility as part of livelihood survival or consolidation strategies and use remittances to buy various goods including farming inputs such as fertiliser, as well as cooking utensils, food supplies, clothes, a bicycle or a small solar panel run lights at night and to charge mobile phones. Only a minor few succeed in accumulating wealth as a result of international remittances. When migrants organise themselves through hometown or migrant associations, remittances have the potential to be used for local development projects in infrastructure and services, especially when lobbied for at the national government level as in the case of Cameroon.

However, these positive economic dynamics also trigger challenges in terms of local rural development. At the household level, increased mobility of household members places an extra burden on family labour; this sometimes obliges the households to reduce or even stop farming activities which in turn makes them more dependent on external money flows. Several household members also complained that financial investments in household mobility reduce the availability of cash for daily needs. At the community level, it becomes clear that not everyone benefits to the same extent from the dynamic flows in the area. Certain population groups are very vulnerable within the agricultural transformations taking place. This is especially because fertile land becomes quite scarce in these regions. In addition, the lack of government support for large scale investment projects in infrastructure and regional planning results in villages becoming highly dependent on private investments and the “goodwill” of local elites and local chiefs to initiate development projects. These are often driven by local power games and the availability of funds and as such are very unpredictable and unreliable. For success, these local development initiatives should be embedded in governmental structures.

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Introduction

Contemporary mobility processes in Sub-Saharan Africa are increasingly complex due to domestic, post-independence transformations in demography, urbanisation, and policies as well as processes of economic and cultural globalisation which increasingly connect Africa to different parts of the world. While rural-urban migration is still a crucial component of the mobility patterns in Sub-Saharan Africa, mobility flows within rural areas are also of significant importance in shaping rural livelihoods (Steel, 2015). More and more people living in rural areas travel to small towns and service centres in search of consumption goods, services and labour opportunities. In addition, there are significant urban-rural flows. 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. A growing number of people living in urban areas are farming in dynamic agricultural areas because they see opportunities. These are urban dwellers who farm alongside their professions in the city. They rent land in the rural hinterlands and cultivate in agriculturally dynamic places.

In other words, rural areas have become attractive investment destinations 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 certain rural dwellers decide to stay on and even return to the farm 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.). In this report we further analyse the mobility processes of people, capital, goods, information and technologies as described by Steel (2015) in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the impact on local development. More specifically, this report focuses on the linkages between mobility and local development in Cameroon, Ghana and Tanzania and is structured along the following research questions:

How do rural-city connections and livelihood diversification contribute to local development processes in the selected research regions?

- How are the inflow and outflow of resources (such as remittances, agricultural products, inputs, etc.) used by the rural households?
 - Are resources used for consumptive, social or productive purposes?
 - Are resources used in the rural “home” region or in urban(ising) settlements?
 - Is there a difference between the use of remittances originating from national and transnational migration or between individual and collective remittances?
- What policies and mechanisms, if any, aim to mobilise the inflow and outflow of resources for local development in the rural areas?
- What is the impact of mobility flows in terms of local economic development?
- What is the impact of mobility flows on the social, cultural and political dynamics in the rural areas?

Methodology

This report is based on empirical data collected by the research teams in Cameroon, Ghana and Tanzania. In each country one dynamic rural area was selected on the basis of the household survey on agricultural transformation, livelihoods and mobility (see Steel, 2015). In Cameroon we decided to work in three villages, Babadjou, Bafou and Bangang, located in the Bamboutos Mountain area of the country's Western Region. In Ghana, fieldwork was conducted in Kwaebibirem district with a main focus on three urbanising settlements: Asuom, Abaam and Takyiman. The analysis of Tanzania is based on focus group discussions and qualitative interviews conducted in four villages in the Njombe region: Ngalanga, Iwungilo, Ulembwe, and Igagala. In addition, the report builds on the results obtained by Joseph Lukumay for his PhD dissertation; the research was conducted in Monduli district and largely concentrated on the villages of Meserani, Makuyuni, Mbuyuni, Selela, Naiti, Losirwa and Mswakini Chini.

In order to answer the research questions and to stimulate a comparative analysis between the different areas of focus, we worked with one collective data collection guide. The collection of data focused (1) at the household level, by recording migration narratives; and (2) at the settlement level, through a diagnosis of the main functions of settlement(s) in the research areas on the basis of focus group discussions.

The key points of attention for the migration narrative were:

- The duration, frequency, and motivation of mobility trajectories
- The role of social capital and networks
- The main migration trajectories
- The positive and negative changes introduced to the household as a result of differing mobilities
- The consequences of differing mobilities for the livelihood strategies of the household
- The kinds of investments made with migration inflows (such as remittances, collective investments)

To collect the migration narratives, mobility maps were used as a tool to both structure the interview and to provide a visualisation of the mobility patterns of a household. For the local diagnosis, the analysis zoomed in on emerging urban centre(s) in each of the research areas. The main points of attention included:

- The main functions of the settlements (e.g., administrative centres, trading (market-) centres, transport and communication nodes, and educational centres)
- The types of businesses and services (e.g., bakery; butcher; textile shops; clothes; shoes; mattresses; construction materials; agro-veterinary products; mobile phone products; airtime; and services including: restaurant/bar; bicycle repair; tailor/seamstress; hairdresser; NGO; Sacco; bank)
- The predominant inflows and outflows of capital, information, people and resources to and from these settlements (with particular reference to the linkages with the rural hinterlands and settlements higher in the urban hierarchy (e.g., district towns; intermediate cities; national capital city))

- The role of institutions (e.g., diaspora networks; producer associations; cooperatives) and services (e.g., transport and communication facilities; financial institutions) for such inflows/outflows

In order to gather this type of information and to gain in-depth knowledge and understanding of local dynamics and the impact of mobility flows on the settlement, focus group discussions as well as interviews with key stakeholders were conducted. This latter method allowed insight into the perspective of local investors, businesspeople and governmental stakeholders on the subjects of mobility and rural-urban connections.

The number of interviews conducted varies across the three separate study sites. In Cameroon, a total of 75 households were interviewed (i.e., 25 households per site). In each of these sites a focus group discussion was also organised. In Ghana, 28 formal, in-depth household interviews were conducted. In addition, a focus group discussion was organised in Asuon, Abaam and Takyiman. The migration narratives in Tanzania were collected from 21 households distributed evenly among the four different settlement areas in focus; this resulted in five interviews each in Iwungilo, Ulembwe and Ngalanga and six interviews in Igagala. A focus group discussion was also organised in each of these settlements. In addition, the report builds on results from the PhD dissertation of Joseph Lukumay conducted within the framework of the RurbanAfrica research in Monduli district.

Structure of the report

This report is structured into four chapters. Chapter one, which is partly based on the State of the Art report of WP2, presents the theoretical framework through discussions on local development as well as migration, mobility and small town development. Chapter two elaborates on the rural dynamics in the main areas under study by focusing on the socio-economic characteristics of the research areas, their main linkages and mobility patterns as well as the main changes that have occurred over the past 10 years. Chapter three discusses the mobility patterns in the regions under study by focusing on the inflow and outflow of goods and services, capital, remittances and people. The last empirical chapter analyses the impact of mobility and remittances in terms of local economic development. Finally, the report concludes with a chapter that summarises the main findings.

Theoretical framework

Although migration in Sub-Saharan Africa is an age-old phenomenon, it shows increasing complexity in terms of spatial and time dimensions (Cottyn et al., 2013). Rural-urban linkages and interactions especially tend to play a significant role in local economies and livelihood transformations (Tacoli, 2002). As such, there is an increased need to understand this rural–urban interface and its impact on changing development processes. Toward this end, this theoretically-oriented chapter focuses on the major changes in the development landscape of Sub-Saharan Africa by zooming in on the role of mobility – and more specifically domestic mobility – in transforming local development processes. The chapter begins with a contextual sketch of the major political changes that are shaping the main development processes on the continent. Thereafter the theoretical debate on the migration-development nexus is introduced. Finally, this migration-development nexus is further elaborated by linking it to the role of remittances and small towns in local development processes. With this particular focus the chapter sets the stage for an empirical analysis using data collected during fieldwork in Cameroon, Ghana and Tanzania.

Local development and mobility in Sub-Saharan Africa: a political perspective¹

Over the last three decades the context of local economic development in Africa has changed radically. As Helmsing (2001) indicates ‘up till the nineties, local development conditions were shaped by central government agencies, the lives of peasant farmers depended on parastatal agencies that provided or were supposed to provide key inputs (such as seeds, fertilisers and extension)’. During this time, little was left to the market and peasant autonomy was somewhat limited to decisions about whether or not to grow cash or subsistence crops (Helmsing, 2001). The crisis of the 1970s however forced many African nations towards debt relief provided by international financial institutions. This led to policies that are predominantly characterised by the neo-liberal agendas of the World Bank, IMF and Western governments – also known as the Washington Consensus. These measures have had a profound impact on African economies, political situations and hence, population movements (Rakodi, 1997; Potts, 1995; 2008; Tacoli, 1998; Adepoju, 2008a and 2008b; Beauchemin, 2011). The impacts of structural adjustment influence different migration patterns and locations. For urban areas, some argue a reduction of in-migration as a response to urban economy declines while others see a continuance of rural to urban flows (Beauchemin and Bocquier, 2004; Bocquier, 2004; Potts, 2008). For some, privatisation policies and public expenditure reductions have encouraged informal and non-labour migration mostly from rural to urban areas.

It is also important to recognise that the impacts of structural adjustment also affect rural regions and small urban centres (Simon, 1992). While public expenditure cuts generally had detrimental outcomes, the promotion of small-scale business and access to credit have been more beneficial. In Tanzania, smaller urban centres, where growth has its roots in the value chain of one dominant crop, developed as trade liberalisation began to attract investments across a broader scope of activities. Liberalisation policies, which reduced output as well as employment in certain industries, may also have encouraged a return migration to rural areas (Simon, 1992; Gubry et al., 1996; Potts, 2008). Finally, the required national currency devaluation boosted exports and as such pulled people back into Africa’s main export

¹ Parts of this introduction are taken from WP2’s State of the Art Report (Cottyn et al., 2013).

sectors of agriculture and mining; these sectors are largely located in rural areas (Riddell, 1997; Beauchemin, 2011).

Another influence on local development processes on the African continent are the decentralisation reforms that began, under international pressure, in the 1990s. With a divestment of central economic and administrative power to the lower governing levels, these reforms renewed interest in regional development and the role of small and intermediate urban centres (Tacoli, 1998). Decentralisation reforms also had a positive influence on rural development because infrastructural and service points were placed closer to rural areas. Additionally, decentralised local governance systems are key in supporting positive rural-urban linkages. Land policies and agricultural transformation are impacted by both liberalisation measures and public regulation. Through the liberalisation of regulatory instruments, new land tenure systems were put into place which can ensure security of tenure on one hand, but also large-scale foreign investments on the other.

Within this context of neo-liberalisation and decentralisation, Helmsing (2001) describes two main implications for local economic development in Africa. First, as a result of declined development aid, local resource mobilisation became very important toward financing public and collective investments. Second, due to the space-shrinking effects of technologies in transport and communication as well as the growing mobility of people, capital, and firms across (parts of) the globe, socio-economic disparities between different locations are likely to increase (Helmsing, 2001: 62). In this chapter, the impact of these changes in the local development framework will be further elaborated through a focus on the link between migration and development.

Migration and development²

Development studies have been the platform for debate on the way mobility can influence development processes in the Global South. However, several studies on the migration-development nexus tend to adopt a place-deterministic approach to migration and so overlook the dynamics and complexities that characterise the migration process itself (Schapendonk, 2011). They often neglect the power-ridden social relations that affect the development potential of migration and analyse local development from a narrow, sedentary perspective which is fixed in a particular time and space (Steel et. al, 2011; Zoomers and van Westen, 2011). Furthermore, migration is generally presented in these studies as either an obstacle in the way of or a solution towards development rather than as an “integral part” of it (de Haas and Rodríguez, 2010). Thus, there is a failure to integrate structural processes and human agency that allows a more realistic interpretation of migration and development (de Haas and Rodríguez, 2010).

With the introduction of the livelihood approach, a growing recognition of the dynamic and multi-dimensional nature of migration and development has emerged; households in fact use all sorts of social and material assets to construct their livelihoods within a broader socio-economic and physical context (Carney, 1998). To build and sustain a livelihood, people attempt to gain access to five types of capital assets (natural, human, social, cultural

² This section is based on the theoretical framework developed in the paper ‘Multi-locality and rural-city connections. The role of spatial and virtual mobility in sub-Saharan African livelihoods’ (Steel, Cottyn and van Lindert, forthcoming).

and produced), which they combine and transform in different ways (Bebbington, 1999). With this kind of attention paid to asset access, the livelihood perspective has been appreciated for focusing on what people have rather than on what they lack, and on the agency of poor people (Kaag et al., 2004; Ellis, 1998; Bebbington, 1999; de Haan and Zoomers, 2005). However, this asset portfolio (Ellis, 2000) is very context specific and changes over time. Moreover, Moser (1998) for example has pointed out that urban households have specific livelihood characteristics and so depend on other types of assets compared to rural households. This is why the debate on the migration-development nexus should be further contextualised by concrete empirical case studies that pay attention to this specific historical and local context (de Haas and Rodríguez, 2010).

In addition, several livelihood studies have focused on multi-locality and migrants' active use of geographical scale as a resource though spatially dispersed livelihood strategies (Bebbington and Batterbury, 2001). However there seems to be a bias on the role of transnationality in these studies. Olwig and Sørensen (2002: 2) point out that, 'the very diffuseness of the notion of transnationalism may narrow the field of investigation to movements and networks of relations that involve the bodily crossing of nation state boundaries, because this is the only explicitly and clearly defined feature of transnationalism'. Especially in African migration studies, partly due to the fact that African migration is often considered a "policy problem" by governments in the Global North, there seems to be a tendency to focus on transnational and even transcontinental migration (e.g., Grillo and Riccio, 2004; Adepoju, 2008b). With such research bias, the fact that domestic migration is much more significant in terms of numbers and volumes compared to international movements (e.g., Adepoju, 1998; Deshingkar and Grimm, 2004; Bryceson et al., 2003; Castaldo et al., 2012) is easily overlooked (King et al., 2008). Similarly, more attention should be paid to South-South migration as the majority of African migrants who cross international borders move to neighbouring countries and so remain on the African continent (Fischer and Vollmer, 2009; Spaan and van Moppes, 2006).

Taking this diversity of linkages, people and places into account, Zoomers and van Westen (2011: 377) introduced the concept of translocal development, arguing that 'local development opportunities are very much determined by what is happening in other places – sometimes directly, as a result of flows of capital, goods, people and information'. This close connection between local development and migration dynamics can be, for instance, illustrated by the global financial crisis of 2008 which seriously affected migrants' capacity to send remittances. Due to a decline in employment opportunities in Western countries many migrants lost their jobs and this had direct implications for local development processes in the Global South as cash flows and local investments decreased significantly (Steel et al., 2011). By highlighting this role of spatial connectedness, the concept of translocal development stresses that households organise themselves in order to benefit from opportunities available in different locations along the rural-urban continuum. Indeed 'in a globalising world, local development is increasingly played out in a matrix of links that connect people and places with other places and people elsewhere' (Zoomers and van Westen, 2011: 379).

Development and the role of remittances³

Remittances form the most tangible links between migration and development and it is generally believed that remittances hold great potential for sustainable development and poverty reduction. A large portion of migrants send remittances back to their places of origin. Major attention is always given to flows of international migration which have been rising in parallel with export earnings and official Overseas Development Assistance. Internal remittances are however believed to be far more significant in terms of poverty reduction potential as flows tend to include more of the very poor (Bryceson et al., 2003; Deshingkar and Grimm, 2004). While international remittances can be estimated on the basis of transfers through formal channels, estimates of internal remittances are very rare to non-existent. While this is due in part to the lower level of attention that is placed upon internal migration in general, it is also due to the fact that remittances often are transferred through informal channels (Kendall et al., 2012). Castaldo et al. (2012) attempt to narrow this research gap in their study conducted in Ghana. On the basis of the Ghana Living Standards Survey, which gathered information from 125,578 households, the research tracked remittance receipts over 12 months in 2005-2006. As these are always considered to be smaller than their international counterpart, earlier studies have always underplayed the significance of domestic remittances. The data for Ghana however show that although the individual amounts remitted by internal migrants might in fact be smaller, the total amount exceeds the amount of international remittances (Table 1). This is explained by the frequency at which these internal remittances occur. Although the amounts are smaller, they reach more households.

Table 1. Number of remitters and amount of remittances in Ghana (2005-2006).

Remitter Type	Frequency	Per cent
Internal	2,614,641	81.8
International	582,073	18.2
Aggregate amount remitted in 12 months	Frequency	Per cent
Internal	US\$ 324 million	53.3
International	US\$ 283 million	46.7

Source: Castaldo et al., 2012

In addition to these findings, it is particularly remarkable that the poorer regions received the highest amount of internal remittances while the Greater Accra and Ashanti regions counted a higher rate of international remittances.

At the household level, remittances are used for different purposes that range from securing daily needs to buying luxurious products. In certain cases the money is used to invest in real

³ This section is based on the work of Cottyn et al. (2013: 27-28).

estate or improvements in agriculture or to set up a small enterprise (Adepoju, 2008a). Remittances also may be converted into tools, machinery or land. At the community level, remittances can be allocated for the construction and renovation of socio-economic infrastructure such as *inter alia* schools, health clinics, and markets (Cross et al., 2006). Another way migration can contribute towards local development is through the organisation of diaspora. This has been the research context of international migration, specifically the participation in co-development initiatives as a new channel for development cooperation (Nijenhuis and Broekhuis, 2010). Although some of these migrant associations do have a domestic variant, there is still a gap in research that considers the existence and contributions of migrant organisations and initiatives in the national context. Some pioneering work in the African context shows that domestic migrant associations can play a significant role for small and medium towns (Tacoli and Satterthwaite, 2002) as they can positively contribute to public infrastructure and services that are generally lacking, such as roads, bridges, schools and health centres (Beauchemin and Schoumaker, 2009).

The role of small towns

The world is urbanising at a rapid pace, yet the majority of urban populations reside in towns and small and medium cities with less than one million inhabitants (UN Habitat, 2010; Satterthwaite, 2007). As small towns are now growing at a faster rate than main cities, policy makers as well as academics have a renewed interest in the role of small towns in regional development processes in the Global South, especially over the past two decades (Hinderink and Titus, 2002; Satterthwaite and Tacoli, 2003; Owusu, 2008; Bell and Jayne, 2006). While there is no international consensus on the definition of small towns (Nel et al., 2011) and definitions vary widely between nations, in general small towns are considered to be regional service centres that maintain strong and direct connections with their rural hinterlands.

In the Latin American literature, some debate has occurred over the potential for small and intermediate cities to contribute to prosperous urban development (van Lindert and Verkoren, 1997; Bolay and Rabinovich, 2004; Herzog, 2006; Klaufus, 2010; Steel, 2013; Berdegú et al., 2014). In the African context, the debate on the role of small towns in regional and rural development is ongoing but tends to embrace a positive stance (Owusu, 2006). Several studies depict the South African case where many small towns, “reinventing” themselves in the post-industrial era, are experiencing great changes (Nel et al., 2011; Donaldson and Marais, 2012; Hoogendoorn and Nel, 2012).

Owusu (2008: 459) describes three dominant views in the discussions on the small town development nexus, namely the functional spatial or optimistic view, the political economic or pessimistic view, and the intermediate view. The functional spatial view follows the positive discourses on urbanisation that argues that urban regions have a supportive trickle-down effect on their hinterland regions. In contrast, the political economic view emphasises the negative or rather the low level of influence towns have on their peripheries due to significant mechanisms of exploitation. Owusu (2008) argues that both views have been extensively criticised for ‘viewing small town–hinterland relationships as one-sided (involving mainly flows from the urban to the rural). Further, both views ignore rural–urban linkages such as the flow of people, goods, trade and cash between rural and urban areas’. A more nuanced picture is embraced in the intermediate view in which these rural-urban

interconnections and interactions are emphasised and in which the particularities of each small town and its hinterland are stressed. This view makes room for an interpretive analysis in which the wider socio-economic particularities are taken into account and in which the role of small towns in regional development processes is considered to be a two-way process involving rural-urban linkages.

This multi-dimensional view is adopted by Tacoli and Satterthwaite (2002) who ascribe four potential roles for small and intermediate centres in local development processes. They argue that small cities can 'Act as centres for the production and distribution of goods and services to their rural region, act as markets for agricultural produce from the rural region, become centres for the growth and consolidation of non-agricultural activities, [and] attract rural migrants who might otherwise move to larger cities' (Tacoli and Satterthwaite, 2002: 2).

The authors show that small towns can operate as gateways to the rural areas by performing a variety of functions; these functions range from exchange sites for goods and services to hubs of non-farm employment and as such have the potential to positively influence the development of their rural region. Owusu (2008: 465) also indicated, in the case of district capitals in Ghana, that small towns perform important roles 'as providers of services such as markets, secondary education, hospitals, banking, ICT, etc., facilitate and promote rural-urban interactions and linkages within districts'. These different functions positively influence the mobility of rural as well as more urban-oriented households, permanently transcending the rural-urban divide in search for socio-economic opportunities. As such, the vast flows of people, goods, services and information strengthen the interaction between small towns and their rural hinterlands and can give shape to a flourishing regional economy (Satterthwaite and Tacoli, 2003).

However, Hinderik and Titus (2001) challenge these optimistic assumptions on the basis of a comparative analysis in Africa, Asia and Latin America showing that the role of small towns in regional development processes is highly dependent on the national and regional political contexts. They argue that general conclusions on small-towns' role in economic development cannot be drawn without paying attention to context-specific peculiarities and the specific functions small towns have in the broader region. This aligns with the argument of Berdegué and his co-authors (2014) who show that only small cities with strong linkages with the rural hinterland have the potential to contribute to poverty reduction. Although some towns operate as distribution centres for services, facilities and infrastructure, other small towns explicitly function as market centres that link local producers to national and international markets. The function of the small towns is thus a critical factor in their potential contribution to local development processes and as such deserves more attention in empirical research (Bell and Jayne, 2006).

Conclusion

This chapter has set the stage for an empirical analysis on the role of mobility in local development processes in Sub-Saharan Africa. The chapter opened with a brief overview of the political context of a strong, decentralised development framework on the African continent. Subsequently, the migration-development nexus was elaborated through the concept of translocal development and the need for more attention to rural-urban

interactions and linkages as they increasingly influence local economies as well as the livelihoods of a significant number of people in Sub-Saharan Africa (Agesa, 2004; Agergaard et al., 2010). Based on this dynamic and empirically-based approach to the migration-development nexus, the chapter has taken a closer look at the discussions on the specific contributions remittances and small towns can make to local development processes. As a result of this brief literature review, it is clear that, due to a transnational bias in the migration-development literature, there is still a dismal lack of empirical data and analysis on the role of domestic remittances and national migrant associations in establishing rural-urban connections and engendering positive change. The same holds true for an analysis of the role of small towns in rural development processes. Although a renewed interest in the role of small towns in rural development processes can be noticed, empirical evidence is still partial and insufficient and so cannot provide a concrete answer on – among other issues – the policy implications of this importance. In response, the following empirical chapters aim to provide a systematic analysis of the role of mobility in general, and remittances and small towns in particular, in development processes in the regions under study.

Rural dynamics in the main study areas

This chapter provides an overview of the main socio-economic characteristics of the focus areas in the WP2 research project. Cameroon, Ghana and Tanzania are far from homogenous countries in terms of socio-economic characteristics and developments (see also Cottyn et al., 2013). Even within the individual countries, huge differences exist between the different regions, households and the places where they are situated. For example, a household that is located close to the main road has different possibilities in access to markets and mobility compared to households that are quite isolated from the main road network. Households in coastal areas pursue different livelihood strategies compared to households in mountainous regions. In general, research has been conducted in dynamic rural areas that act as “hotspots” for agricultural investments. In this chapter the main characteristics of these hotspots are briefly introduced by giving specific attention to linkages and mobility patterns as well as important changes in local economy and infrastructure occurring over the past 10 years.

Socio-economic characteristics of the settlements under study

The research in **Cameroon** targeted three villages from the Western Region in the Bamboutos Mountain area namely Babadjou, Bafou and Bangang. All of the villages or market centres selected for the study are located in the rural milieu. The main activities of these areas are agriculture followed by trade as most villages have evolved to be important trading centres due to their involvement in horticulture and the cultivation of onions, tomatoes, and Irish Potato, and other crops. The individuals living in these areas have a need for basic manufactured products which are bought from the proceeds of agricultural production. The “Westernisation” of housing styles and advances in communication and information technology have pushed business people to open up and develop most villages into trading centres. These villages also relay agricultural products to the cities and serve the hinterland with manufactured goods. Babadjou and Bafou play all of the roles described above and are perfect examples of trading centres.

The research in **Tanzania** was conducted in four different villages surrounding Njombe Town: two in Wanging’ombe District, Ulembwe ward and two in Njombe District, Iwungilo ward (see Figures 1 to 4). The villages are divided into hamlets or sub-villages with a centre for administrative matters, service provision as well as business and social activities. The sub-village centres feature shops selling basic household goods such as cooking utensils, soap, sodas, and other items as well as bars and restaurants. In each of the four villages there is a main sub-village centre which is more active, and which serves as the main service provision centre of the village for construction materials, farming inputs, special clothes, and household furnishings. The service level tends to be higher in Igagala and Ulembwe compared to Iwungilo and Ngalanga. This may be a result of their closer proximity to Njombe Town as well as the fact that these centres are positioned along a well-maintained road. The main social institutions present in the villages are financial associations, such as SACCOS (Saving and Credit Cooperation) or VICOBA (Village Community Bank) that provide loans for business. This indirectly affects the flows of capital to and from the villages.

Figure 1. Ulembwevillage centre in Tanzania including table of main activities.

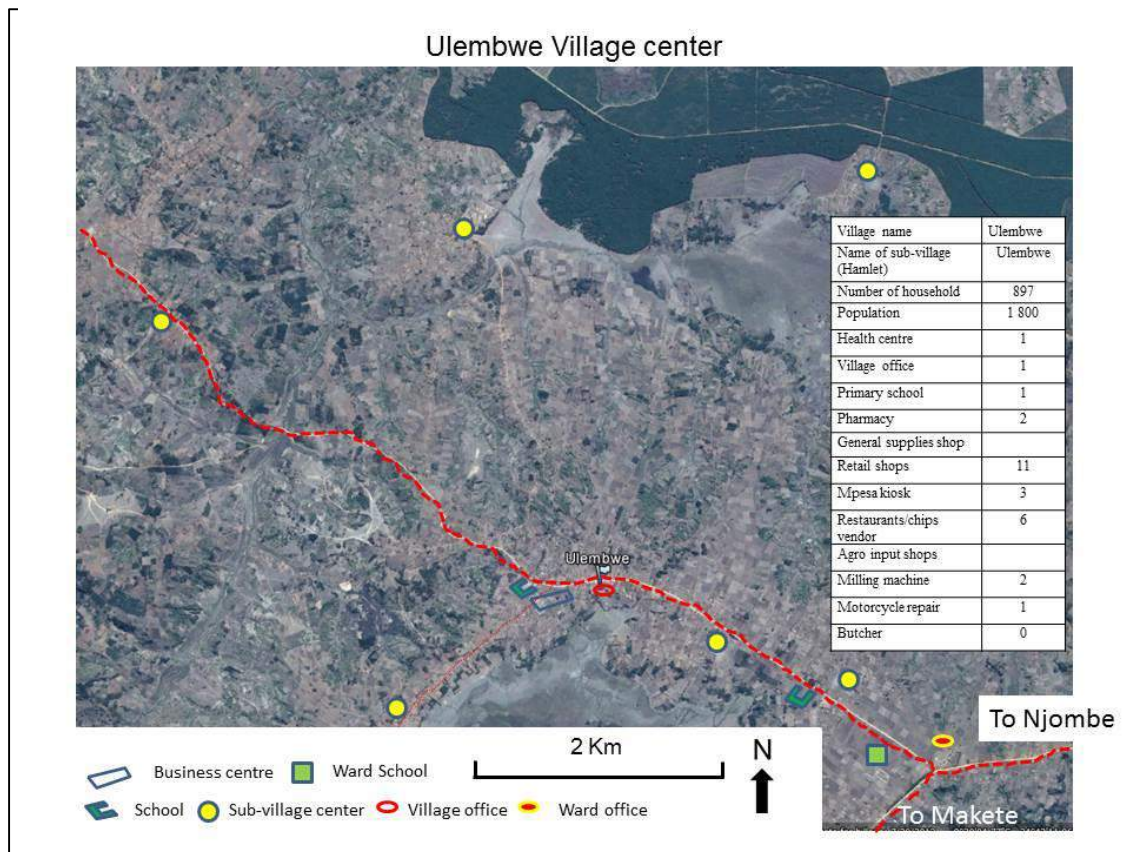


Figure 2. Igagala village centre in Tanzania including table of main activities.

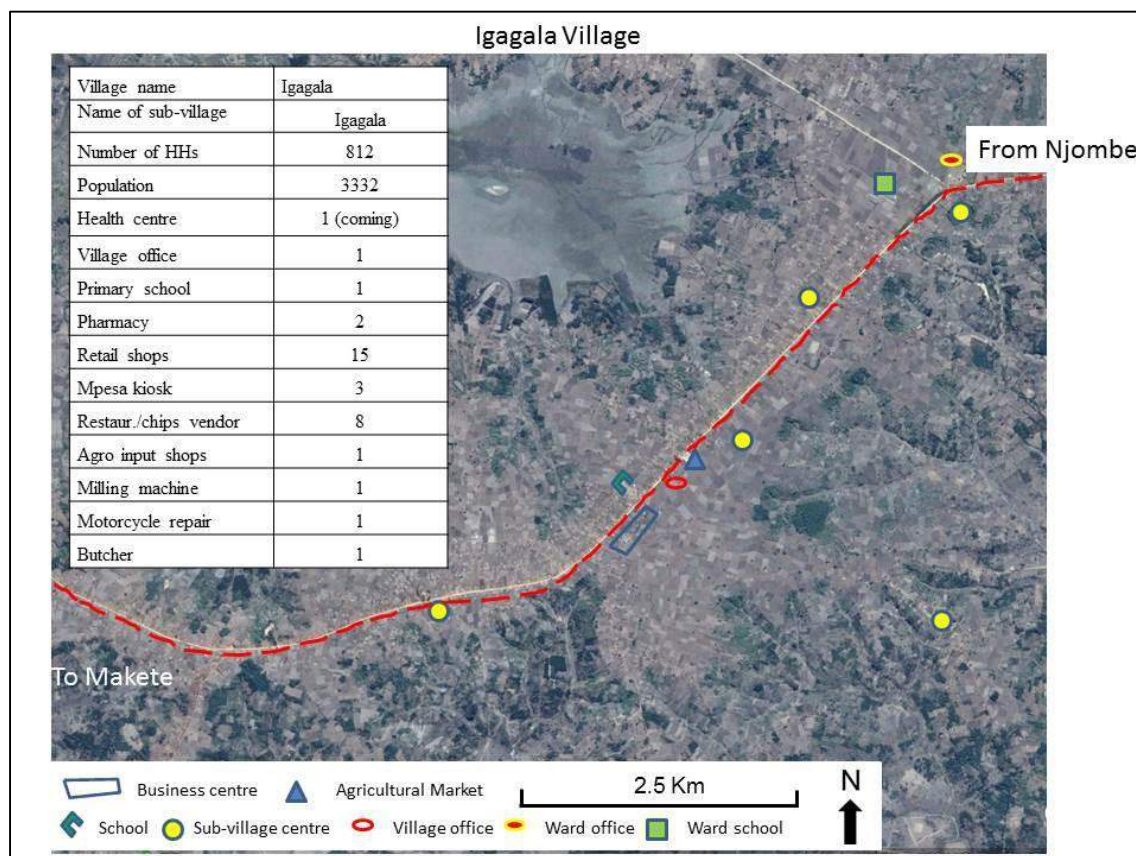


Figure 3. Iwungilo village centre in Tanzania including table of main activities.

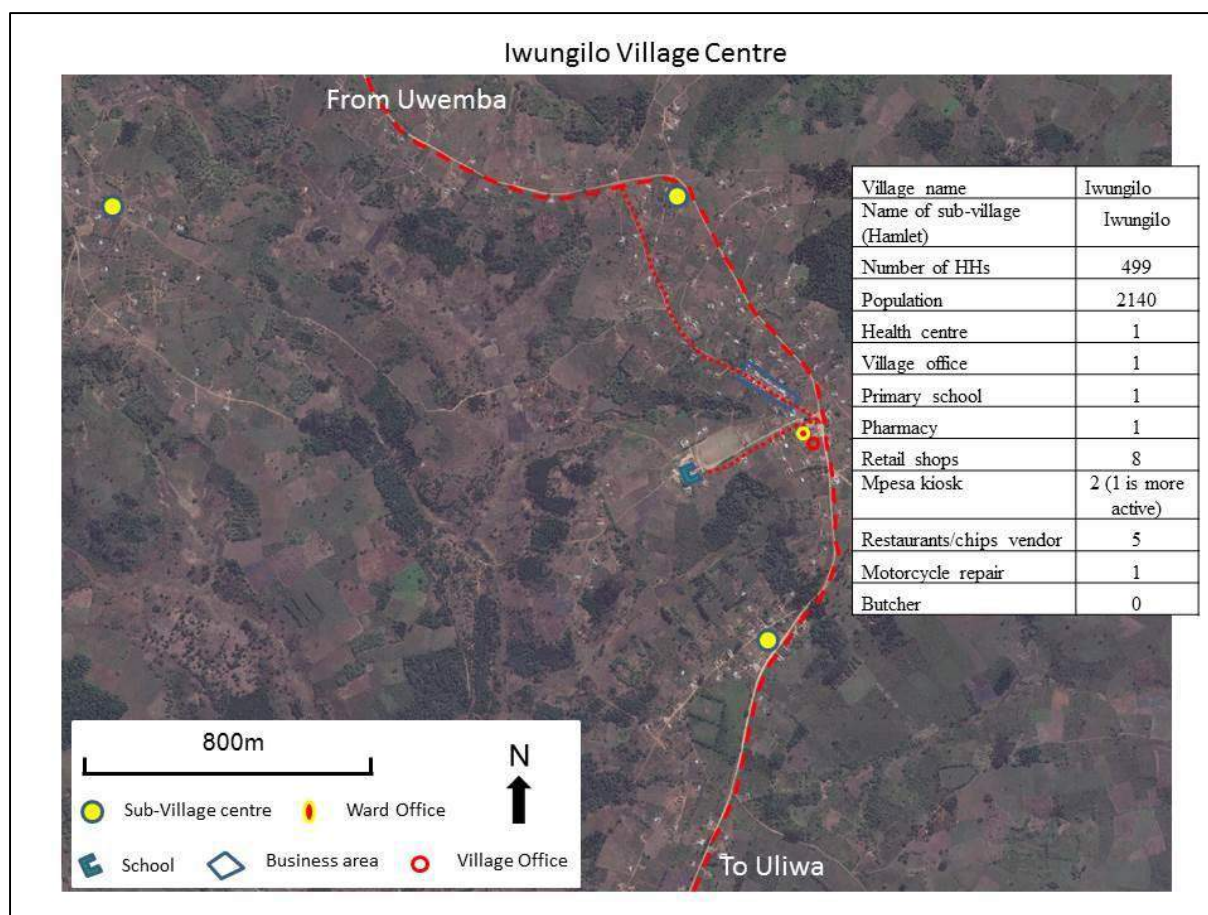
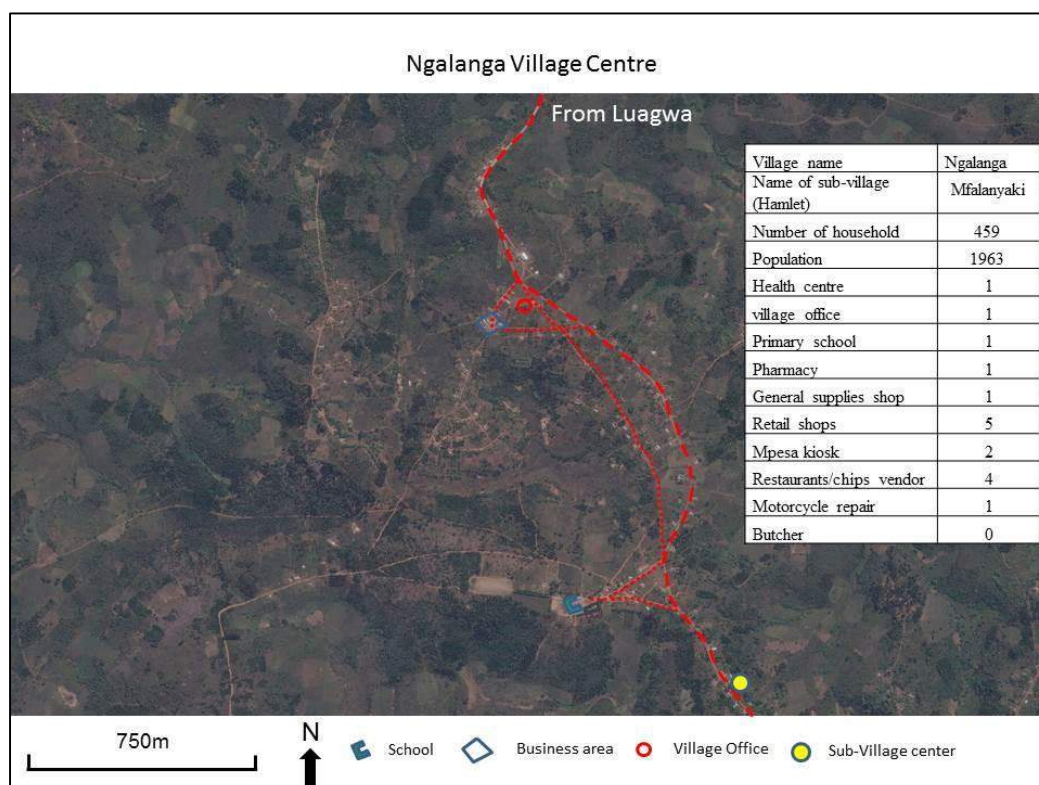
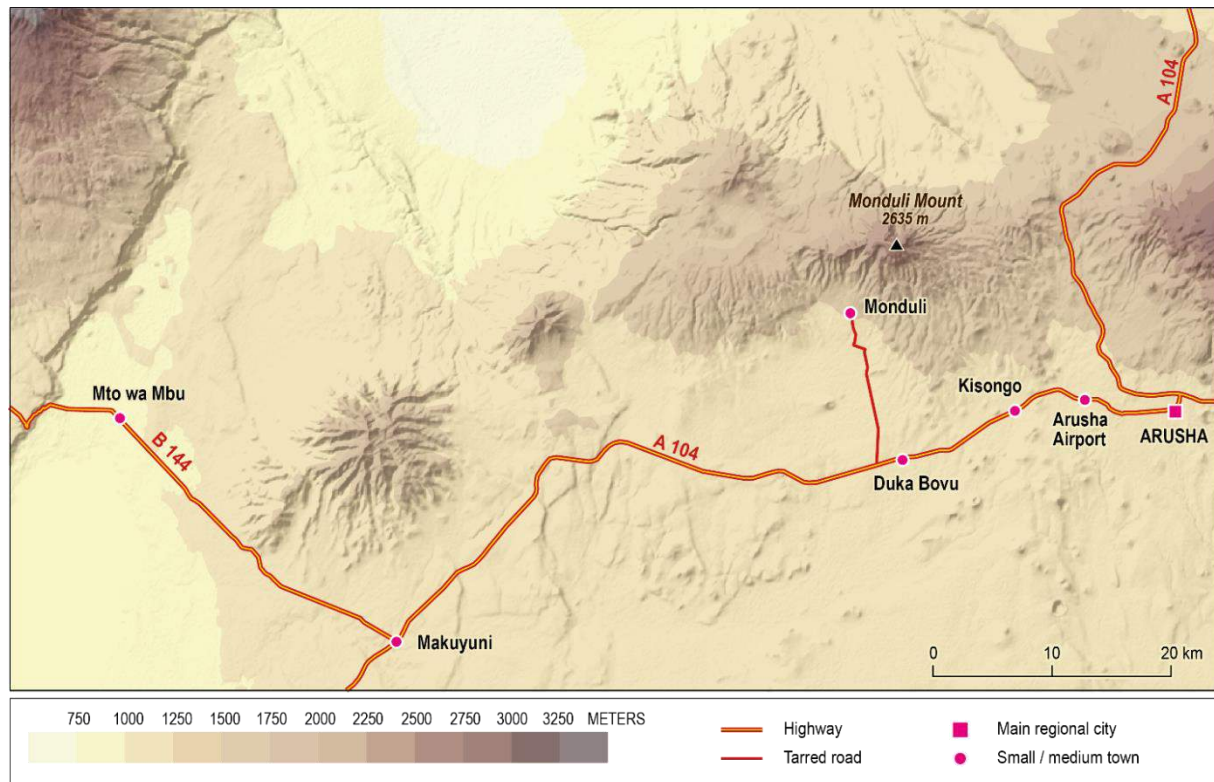


Figure 4. Ngalanga village centre in Tanzania including table of main activities.



An additional study in Tanzania, with a special focus on trading centres and emerging towns, was conducted within Monduli (see Figure 5). As these trading centres and emerging towns are strategically located along the highway, their main functions are transforming from villages (administrative units and settlement areas) to trading, transport and communication nodes. Different types of investments, services, and activities such as health centres, financial services and petty trade (which are traditionally regarded as urban-based) are also found in the centres indicating that the centres are urbanising.

Figure 5. The developing towns situated along the main thoroughfare between Arusha and Mto-wa-mbu.



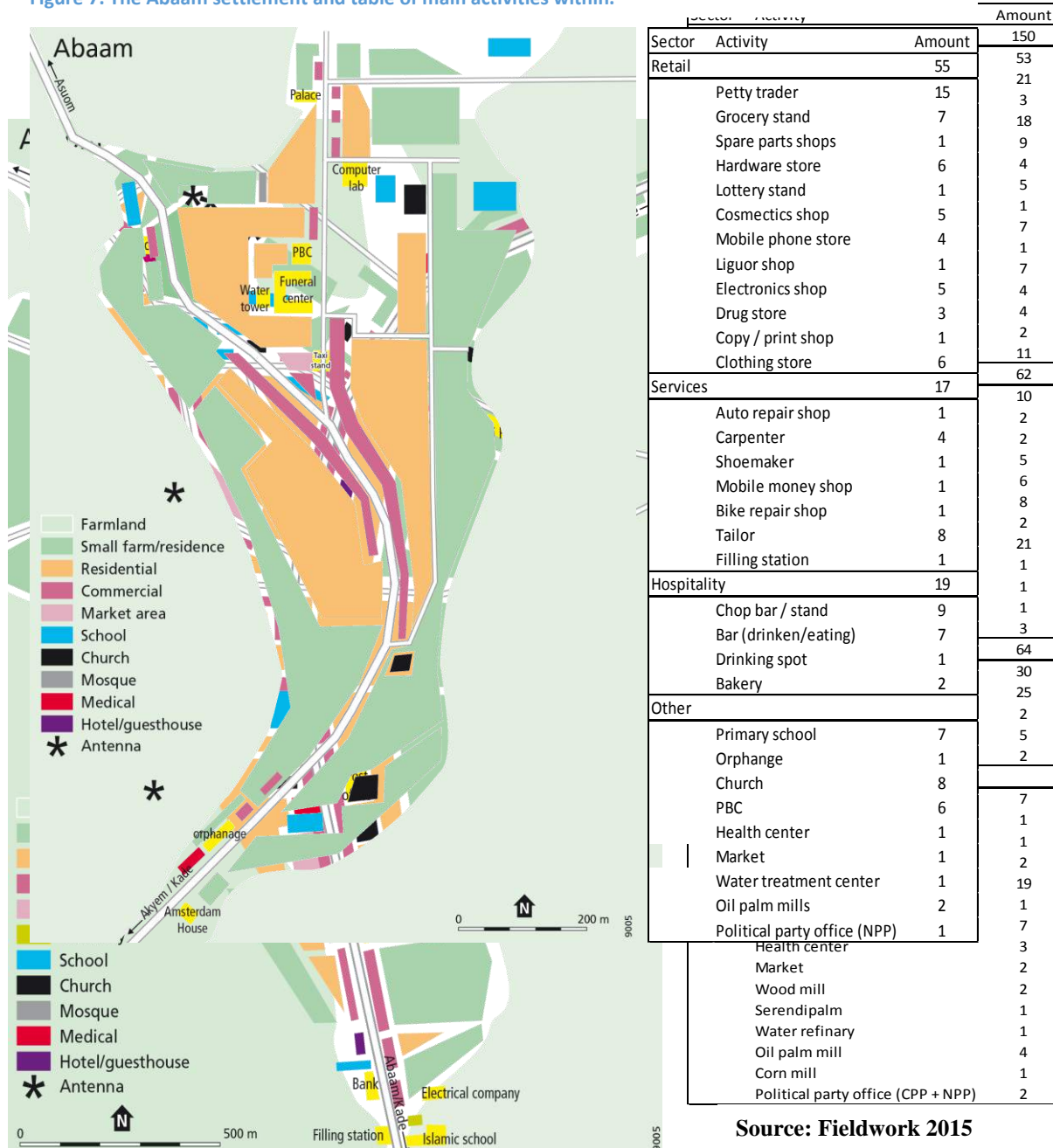
The research in **Ghana** was conducted in three settlements located in Kwaebibirem district, namely Asuom, Abaam and Takyiama (see Figures 6, 7 and 8). The main economic activity in these settlements is predominantly agrarian in which both subsistence and commercial production of food and cash crops are combined. The emphasis today lies on the production of oil palm and cocoa which has created numerous opportunities and economic prosperity. In these settlements, most commercial activities and services occur along the main road while schools and filling stations are placed at the outskirts. Between the investigated settlements linkages are mostly found between Asuom and Abaam; Takyiama is located too far from these settlements to have a significant connection with either. However some work-residential commuting exists between Asuom and Abaam, as Asuom residents farm in Abaam and some market women from Abaam travel to the market in Asuom and vice versa (Key informant interview 14, 03-12-2015). Asuom is also a hub for people who travel to the surrounding settlements such as Tweapease, Amanfrom and Ntronang (Household 18, 14-11-2015). Asuom is developed to such an extent that living conditions are better in comparison with the smaller places. The settlement of Takyiama has a similar connection to

neighbouring settlements including Dotchi and Pramkese (FDG 3, 08-12-2015). Land scarcity and urbanisation in a settlement like Asuom have compelled people to acquire farm land in surrounding villages such as Tweapease and Dotchi. This was clearly mentioned in one of the focus group discussions organised in Takyiman:

We [in Takyiman] have given all of our lands for the settlement, mainly buildings and houses. So people prefer to buy land in Dotchi for farming, rather than in Takyiman. We have used most of our farmlands here for construction purposes. Because of the basic amenities we have here in Takyiman, such as water and electricity, all of the neighbouring villagers prefer to come here and build houses. (Trader from Takyiman, male, 08-12-2015).

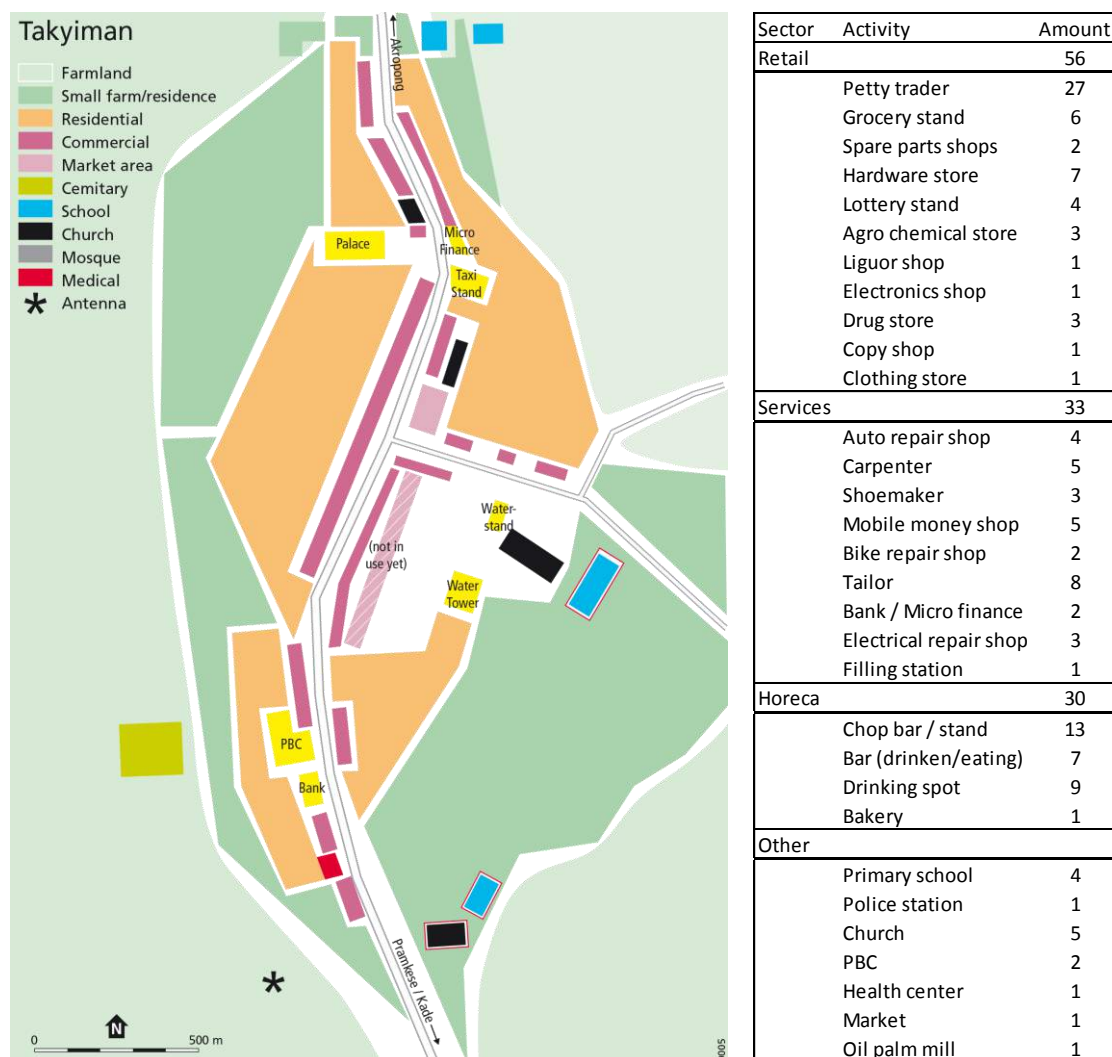
This indicates that the developments in urbanising areas, such as Takyiman and Asuom, have specific effects on mobility flows and developments in more rural areas such as Dotchi and Tweapease.

Figure 6. The Asuom settlement and table of main activities within.
Figure 7. The Abaam settlement and table of main activities within.



Source: Fieldwork 2015

Figure 8. The Takyiman settlement and table of main activities within.



Main linkages and mobility patterns in the study areas

The main migration and mobility trajectories to and from the research areas are represented in the mobility maps (see Figures 9, 10 and 11). It is important to note that these mobility flows are not static; they are also household dependent. Mobility flows continually change over time and result from household specifics. Factors that can contribute to the construction and development of these mobility patterns are many. For example, mobility patterns change as a result of age. Mobility flows also differ on market days and religious holidays. In the Kwaebibirem district in Ghana, for instance, it was found that traditional and contemporary religious beliefs play a major role in community mobility patterns. Farming households in Asuom visit their farms every day of the week, except on Sunday, which is a day for church and rest, in line with widespread Christian beliefs. Apart from Sunday, communities in the district also observe one or two “taboo days” each week. Stemming from traditional beliefs, it is a taboo to go to the farm as traditional spirits come out on these particular days.

Mobility patterns also vary from region to region. In the Tanzanian cases, there are some very remarkable differences in migration and mobility patterns between villages closer to Njombe Town and the more remote villages. However, in general automobile travel is relatively easy and the majority of the rural population in the area commute with varying frequencies to and from Njombe Town. Taxis are the main transport means and include “Noah taxis” (bigger taxis), normal cars, motorbikes, and bikes. The prices range from 2,500 TZS⁴ for a one-way trip from Ulembwe or Igagala to Njombe town and 6,000 TZS one-way from Ngalanga and Iwungilo. Since farming incomes have become lucrative, people have either returned to their home villages or increasingly engage in farming activities in their home villages even though they live elsewhere. According to one key informant, ‘People find that there is good way to get money’ (Key informant from Iwungilo, 07-08-2015). This is particularly the case for the villages further away from Njombe Town, where the crops are grown using irrigation and the land availability is relatively high. People are even coming from outside of the villages to invest in land, since the production of Irish potatoes and timber is a good source of income. Another common mobility destination is Makambako where people start businesses, obtain short term masonry contracts. Or to trade products, such as Irish potatoes or timber, at the market. Some village inhabitants also engage in casual labour (including tree pruning or constructing firebreaks) during certain periods in, for example, Ubaruku and Mkiu.

In Ghana, the main trade and service centre for Kwaebibirem district is Kade, the district capital. However, depending on the type of service needed and their availability in the communities, people either stay in their communities, visit Kade or move to larger urban centres like Accra or Kumasi. For example, with the availability of a medical clinic in Asuom, most people would stay within Asuom for medical care or come for that care from the surrounding communities. However, if the matter is severe, hospitals are located in Kade, the capital district, as well as Pramkese, Nkawkaw and Akwatia, the capital of the neighbouring district. Because of its proximity, people from Takyiman travel to Pramkese for

⁴ 1,000 Tanzanian Shillings = 0.46 USD

medical care. Asuom has both primary and secondary schools, so most children from Asuom and surrounding villages go to school within Asuom. In Abaam and Takyiman, there are primary, but no secondary schools, which leads children farther from home, either in Asuom or Kade, or sometimes even Kumasi or Koforidua where they enrol in boarding school and return home on the holidays.

Figure 9. Mobility flows from Asuom (Ghana) and surrounding villages.

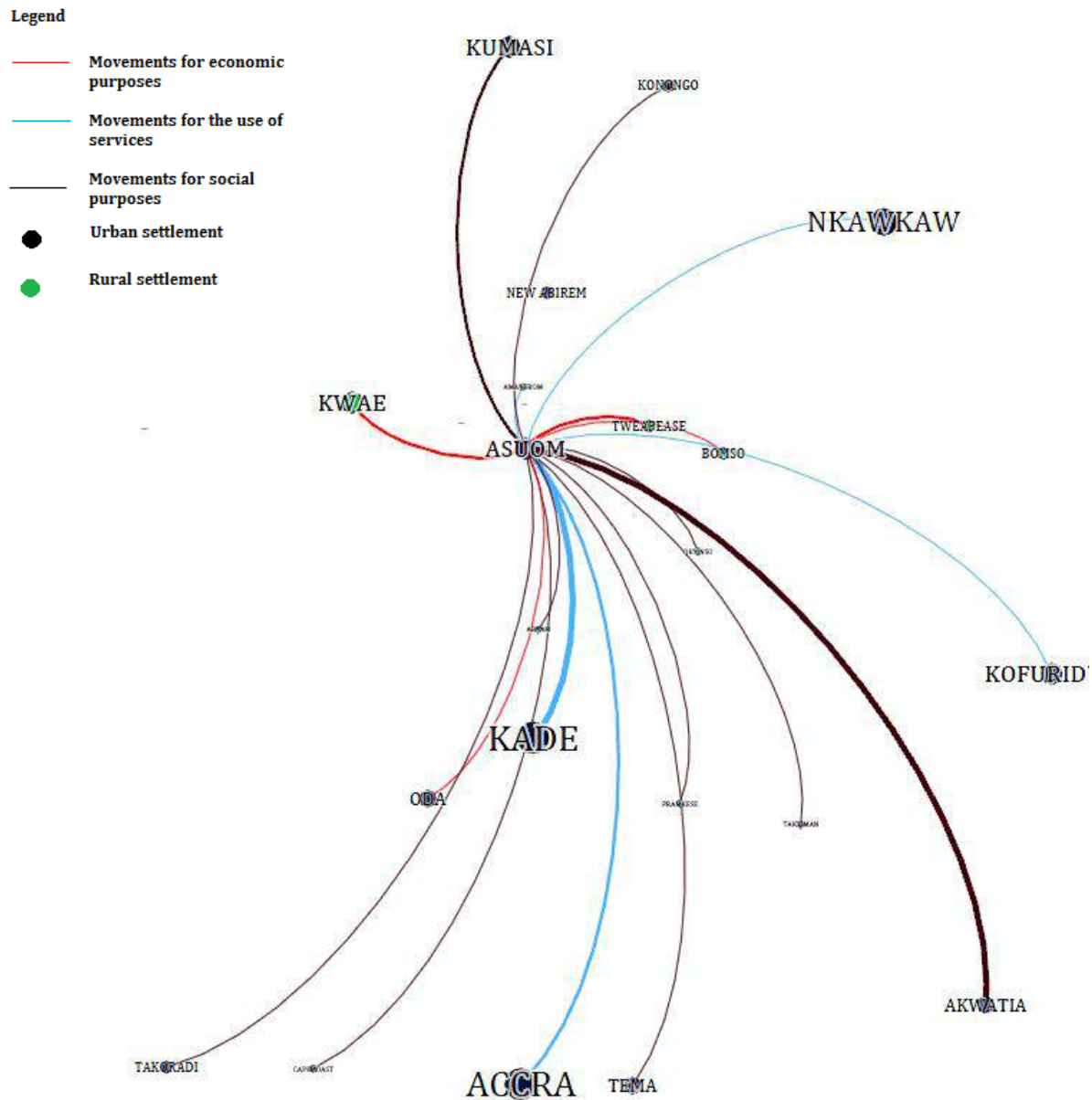


Figure 10. Mobility flows from Igagala, Iwungilo, Ngalanga and Ulembwe (Tanzania).

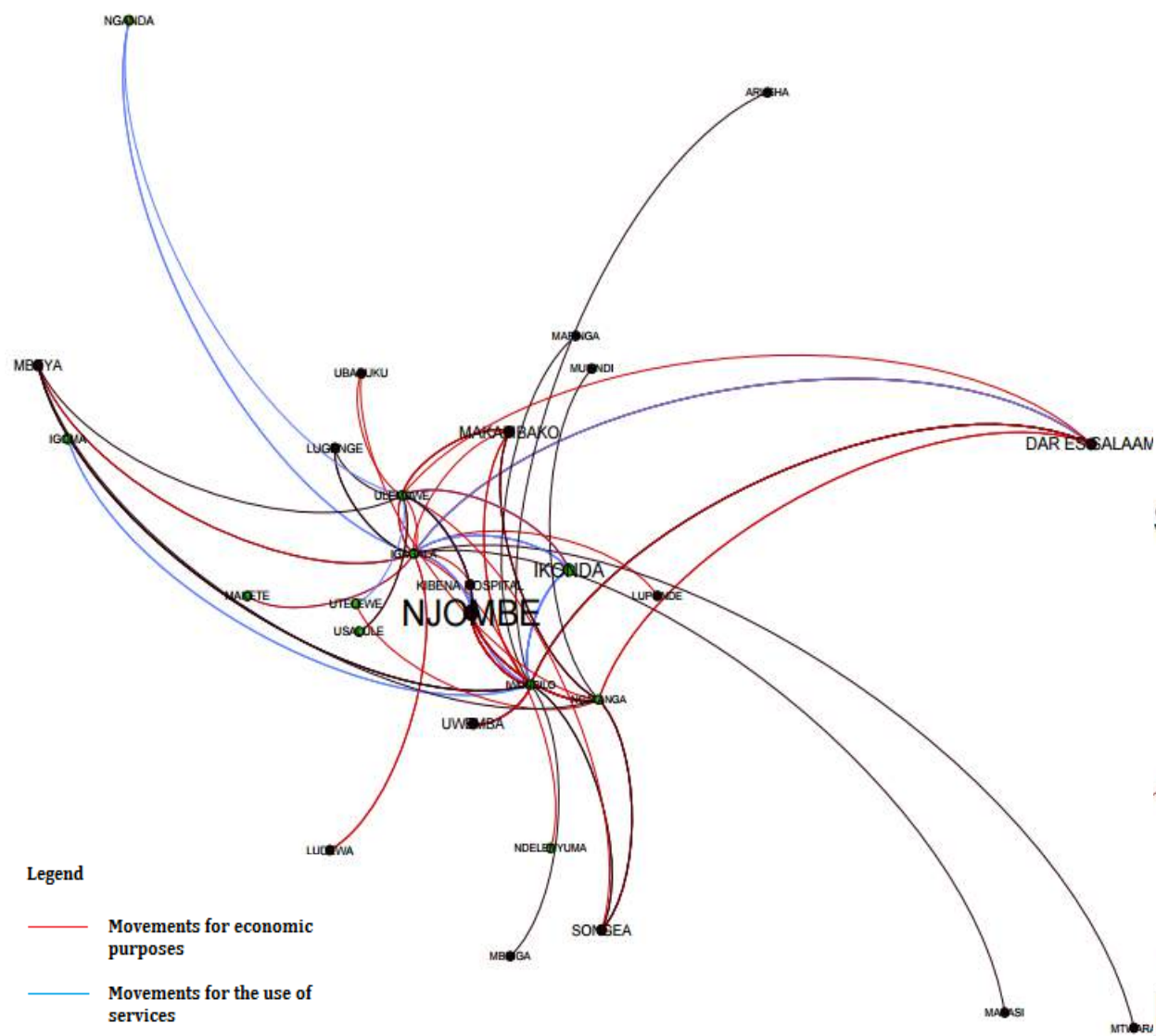
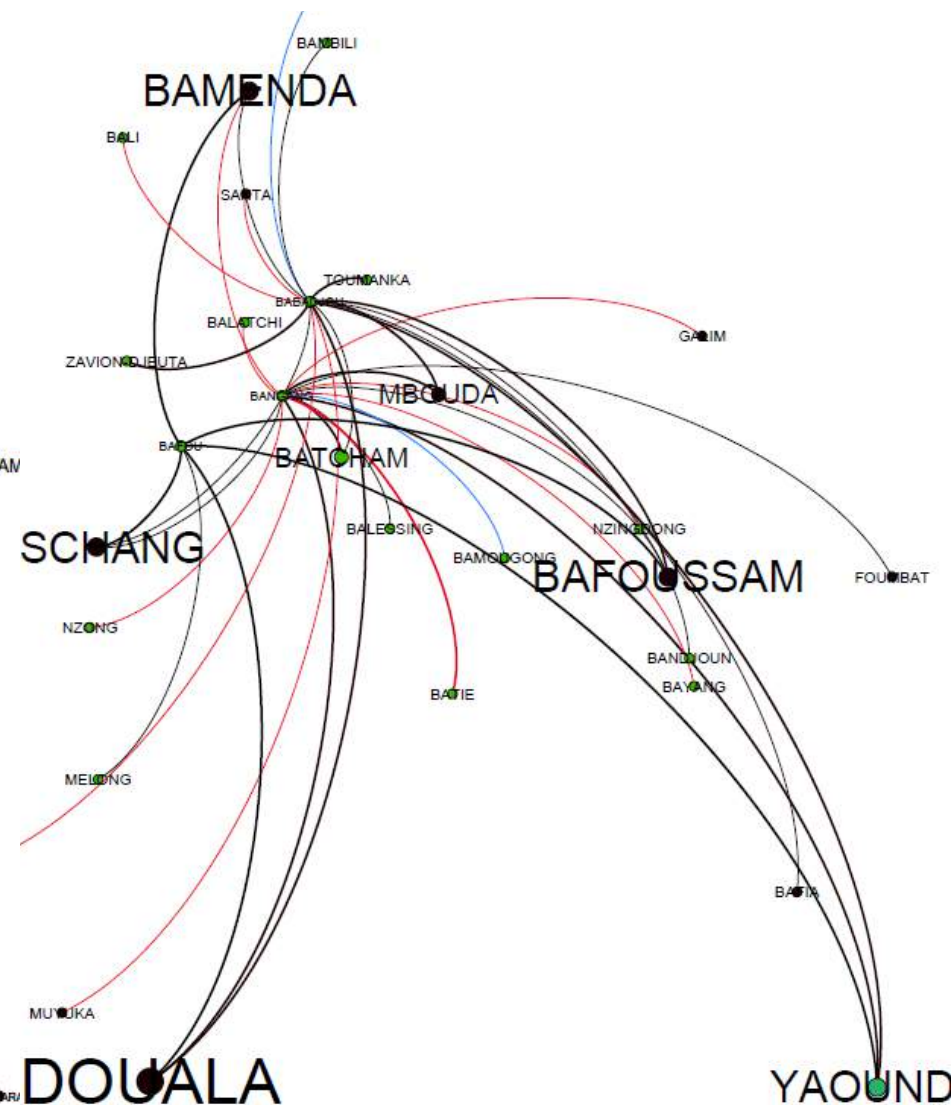


Figure 11. Mobility flows from Babajou, Bafou and Bangang (Cameroon).



Important changes in the study areas

Although main changes in the areas under study are very context specific there are some remarkable general changes shared among the three countries. The first change relates to the local economy, namely the focus on and general rise in the price of cash crops such as oil palm and Irish potatoes. One of the main transformations mentioned in Iwungilo and Ngalanga in Tanzania for instance is the development of irrigation technologies. From the focus group discussions it is estimated that around three quarters of the farmers use irrigation for crop production. This has had a major impact on production systems and has resulted in a boom in the production of Irish potatoes. Following this, there is a remarkable increase in the number of investors coming to the villages and a general perception of increased income generation from potato cultivation. In Ghana, for instance, respondents mentioned that, 10 years ago, oil palm was not the widespread commodity it is now. Because of this, farmers cultivating palm oil in Kwaebibirem district often had to travel farther out of the district and into urban centres to sell their produce at the local market. This however, has changed, since many traders now come from urban centres to purchase produce. According to one farmer:

I used to send oil palm and palm oil to Accra to sell. But for some time I have stopped doing that. These buyers now come here to buy ... And now, there is oil palm in abundance here in this community. So they prefer coming here and buying it in large quantities. (Farmer and tailor, male, aged 40, 09-11-2015).

A consequence of this change is that farmers are not required to transport their production to urban centres. These days, farmers sell much of their production at the farm gate and at trade centres within the district. Many also deliver directly to GOPDC (Ghana Oil Palm Production Company) located in Kwae. To the detriment of GOPDC, small investors are now starting up oil palm processing mills. Due to the growth of the agricultural industry and more steady flows of income, the trade sector has seen new opportunities. People have more money to spend and therefore the demand for finished products has increased (Key informant 10, 01-12-2015). In Tanzania this has resulted in many more village shops than before. Nowadays everything is accessible within the village centres, something unheard of 10 years ago.

Figure 12. Car bringing goods to Ulembwe village from Makambako Town to sell to private parties or shop owners.



Second, the condition of infrastructure has drastically changed overtime. In Tanzania, transport possibilities have improved significantly over the last years. The road systems have been improved (especially to Igagala and Ulembwe) and many cars, buses and motorbikes commute between Njombe Town and the surrounding villages. More people also have private means of transportation, such as a bicycle or motorbike. In Cameroon, a well maintained and tarred road around the Bamboutos plateau connects the plateau with primary cities and neighbouring countries; it is only farther up on the plateau that road networks are poorly developed. Many roads within Kwaebibirem district in Ghana were also paved. However, ever since initial construction, the roads have not been maintained and are full of potholes. With the deterioration of the roads, travel times have increased. Because of this, combined with cars and buses breaking down more often because of the condition of the roads, travel fares for both people and cargo have also increased. According to one Asuom resident:

Previously, the bus charges were OK. Even if you go to the bus, you don't get space, because children will also be travelling. But now, since the fare went up, it has made people not want to travel. (Entrepreneur in Asuom, female, 22-11-2015).

The increase in travel fares consequently has led to an increase in the prices of many commodities which negatively impacts both household expenditures and the income flows of traders. In this regard, one entrepreneur stated:

Because of our roads, the cars get spoiled. So, they charge higher prices and with that charge, we also have to spread it on the goods we sell. Those of us who sometimes want to use the bus, how much we pay for the boot, sometimes it's too much. If we add it to the cost of the item, it becomes too much. It worries us, people who trade, a lot. (Entrepreneur in Asuom, female, 22-11-2015).

This condition of the roads and the consequential increase in prices has been perceived as one of the main mobility hindrances for people from Kwaebibirem district. It is perceived as such because it has a direct effect on the daily lives of a large part of the community, be it drivers, farmers, traders or children going to school. It affects livelihoods in terms of prices and expenditures, but also has made people more reluctant to travel.

At the household level, we see a tendency of markedly improved housing. In Tanzania most households now have corrugated iron roofing where it previously was thatched grass. In Cameroon, there is a growing number of elites that build villas in the areas under study, buying materials in local stores and using local labour which gives a great boost to the rural economy. These building sites obtain construction materials from local shops, employ the local workforce as builders or labourers, and provide trading opportunities to local businesswomen who sell food and other basic necessities there. In addition, school children see these site as means to make pocket money by hawking on the weekends. In Ghana, young migrants have brought new ideas regarding the institution of "the family", for example in the design of new houses; designs have changed from compound style to a more modern, city-like, style. This change is reflected in the building of new houses along the periphery of the settlements' centre. New houses are often one or two stories high and have

straight metal sheeting as opposed to corrugated sheet roofing. It is important to note that most of these new houses are being built by the wealthier families, often backed up with money sent by international migrants. These significant distinctions make it easy to differentiate between the new and old parts of settlement.

The third observed change in the study areas is the widespread use of mobile phones and an improved accessibility to new ICTs in general. Overall there has been a jump in the number of people that have access to mobile phones. The increased availability of mobile phones started from around the year 2000, when few villagers had access. During the last 10 years however accessibility has escalated and nowadays it is common for almost everyone to have a mobile phone. As a result, access to communication and information have improved substantially; increased access aids in developing and keeping networks (for economic and social interests) and allows people to save and transfer money through the use of mobile money. During the last couple of years, mobile money agents have emerged in Tanzanian villages; the rising importance of mobile money was observed in Ghana and Cameroon as well. While only a few agents provide mobile money services in the villages and people use it to a varying degree, it seems that almost everyone is aware of the service and uses it for some purpose. For example, some use it for personal matters, such as to transfer remittances. Other use it to purchase farming inputs, for paying rent, as well as to purchase craft services from tailors and masons among others. Mobile money is also widely used by businesses, such as commodity shops and agricultural businesses. Shops mainly use mobile money (and mobile phones) to transfer money for orders placed in urban areas whereas agricultural businesses use it to transfer money from the brokers to the farmers after produce sales, for example at urban markets.

Figure 13. Mobile money services in Tanzania.



Mobile phones are also used to disseminate market information including issues related to supply and demand and crop prices. Mobile phones also facilitate product stocking as well as money transfers between business associates (see also Overå, 2006). Previously, closing a deal, checking product availability or collecting money required travel; in many cases, all of that is now only a phone call or a money transfer away. In Ghana, one respondent stated that:

ICT has helped a lot, for example, I am in the water business and mostly call my suppliers in Accra. Instead of me travelling daily to Accra, I just pick a phone and do all transactions via my mobile. (Trader in Takyiman, 08-12-2015).

Thus, mobile phones and mobile money ease the processes related to doing business, through the reduced transaction costs of sellers, buyers and transporters.

Comparable situations were witnessed in Tanzania. Tito, a shop owner from Ngalanga, stated that he started his business in 2004. At this time he had to travel to Njombe himself to purchase stock for the shop. Nowadays he can use his mobile phone and M-Pesa account to order supplies and transfer money. This way he saves significant amounts of time with which he can instead use in the shop to earn more money.

In addition, being able to transfer money into a mobile money account is perceived to increase safety on the roads in Ghana. According to one Asuom research participant:

Recently, I went to do a job in Ashaiman and there were a lot of thieves around where I was staying. So when I was paid, I saw some of them around, I just put the money on my phone through mobile money. So I was safe, even if they harass me on the way, they can't get my money. (Carpenter in Asuom, male, 22-11-2015).

In other words, in the three countries under study, mobile money services like M-Pesa have become a very important component of capital flows. It has become the most important banking service in the study areas both for saving and transferring money, especially in regard to marketing of agricultural produce. In fact, Tanzania is currently leading globally in mobile money transactions (Tanzania Daily News, 30 September 2015). Trading centres are increasingly becoming money dispensing points whereby the locals receive the remittances sent by their relatives residing in different places. Although the implications of these changes on local development have not been fully addressed in the present research, it can be argued that mobile phones contribute to local economic development by boosting the business environment and networking possibilities and by strengthening the connections between the villages and the nearby urban areas as well as larger urban areas in the country (or even beyond).

Conclusion

Rural transformations have turned the sites under study into very dynamic rural areas that have changed tremendously, in terms of local economic profile and infrastructure, over the last 10 years. These dynamics have triggered a variety of mobility flows and rural-city connections. The introduction of cash crops have turned the sites into attractive locations for investment. Several sites attract traders, businessmen and women who want to invest in land and create additional labour opportunities for local people. In turn, these rural people have a better income through which they can afford to look for additional livelihood opportunities in towns, cities or other rural areas. Others start a variety of productive business in the community; they open small shops and phone booths or buy a Chinese or Indian motorbike and become a taxi driver. This is why increasing local business opportunities can be observed in the different regions under study. The next chapter zooms in on these rural dynamics by focusing on the inflow and outflow of resources, capital, labour, and knowledge.

Inflow and outflow of resources

As households spread their economic activities across rural and urban spheres, the transformation processes in agriculture and regional production structures described in the previous chapter have in turn greatly influenced the livelihood strategies of rural households. In this chapter we describe how these dynamics are related to the inflow and outflow of resources and more particularly, goods and services, capital, remittances, and people.

Goods and services

The main flows of services to and from the villages in the research areas include banking facilities (as a result of the increased role of mobile money services), health services, inputs for farming and business activities, and household goods such as pots and pans, second-hand clothing, shoes, cooking staples, soap and other toiletries. In Ghana and Cameroon there is a growing importance of microfinance organisations. Similarly in Tanzania, the Savings and Credit Cooperation (SACCO) has an important role in Igoma, Uliwa and Nanda.

Building materials also flow into the researched settlements from other urban areas. In Tanzania, a growing number of Maasai invest in buildings as the younger generations perceive these investments as signs of modernity whereas investments in cattle are perceived to be high risk and backward. In Ghana, all three settlements are rapidly urbanising which means much construction is taking place. Building materials are mostly bought in Accra or Kumasi because of their sufficient availability and lower price, although some small shops sell cement at a set price as well as small tools and ironware. If one is in desperate need of specific materials, one might be able to find it in Kade, however, for a higher price compared to Accra, since the seller of the materials, who is likely to have bought it in Accra, will add transportation costs. In addition, larger goods such as cars, motorbikes, bikes and even tractors flow into the settlements, whose presence brings along a vibrant market for mechanics and spare parts.

Goods that flow out of the researched settlements are mainly agrarian in nature. In Ghana, for instance, foodstuffs such as maize, rice and cassava are transported to Kade or even directly to the larger cities such as Kumasi and Accra. As the dominant agrarian activity in the district is palm oil and cocoa production, these products flow out of the settlements and into urban markets. Most of the palm oil and cocoa are bought by GOPDC and PBC (Produce Buying Company for cocoa), who sell it on the global market. Smaller traders from Accra or Kade also come to the researched settlements to buy the palm oil and other agrarian produce in order to resell it in Accra. Apart from agricultural production, the most important outflow or service is transport. In Ghana for instance, mainly taxis and *tro-tros* are available in all of the researched settlements for travel to Kade. From there one can travel onwards to the bigger urban areas. Other than providing transport to Kade, the emergence of motor-bike transportation (or *boda-boda*) in Tanzania has transformed the centres into parking sites for the *boda-boda* which wait to transport customers from the public buses to various destinations surrounding the centres. Likewise, the *boda-boda* are on stand-by mode in the rural villages as well, waiting to be called upon by customers wanting to travel to the centre for various purposes including catching the public buses.

Figure 14. Motorbikes, cars and trucks in central Njombe, transporting people, goods and products to and from the rural hinterlands.



Capital

In all research areas the main flow of capital originates from the agricultural sector. In the Tanzanian case, the most important inflows of capital into the villages occurs through the selling of Irish potatoes, timber, and maize to brokers or buyers. The main buyers are brokers or middlemen who originate locally or from urban areas across the country, such as Njombe Town, Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar, Makambako, or even from international markets such as Kenya.

In Ghana, most households earn income through the cultivation of oil palm and cocoa. While oil palm can be harvested several times per year, cocoa can only be harvested once a year or less. Therefore many farmers diversify their cash crops incomes with the cultivation of crops such as plantain, cassava, yam and a variety of vegetables for household consumption.

Figure 15. Palm fruit and cocoa pods are the main source of income for many farmers in Kwaebibirem district, Ghana.



The income generated from farming activities is often supplemented by other, non-farming activities, such as (petty) trading or skilled work in construction, services or the transport sector. Others, primarily working as farm labourers, farm on the side as a means to complement their salaries or invest in the future. One research participant explained that:

Maybe when you go on pension, maybe your pension pay cannot pay enough to feed your family. So when you retire, you can rely on your farm and harvest. That is why. And your kids, they will also grow up; there are school fees and everything. That is what we use the money from the farm for. So sometimes when you are working with the company, you have to get at least your own small farm for some extra money. (Farmer and permanent worker GOPDC, aged 36, 20-11-2015).

Across all areas, inflows of capital occur through spin-off activities. In Ghana for instance, oil palm nuts are processed into raw palm oil and then traded on the local market. At the same time, the main source of capital inflow is the Corporate Social Responsibility projects of large companies and local investors. For example, GOPDC has invested in various projects including a new clinic, schools, and settlement electricity supply. They also provide scholarships to students who perform well during secondary school. Because of their ties with the national government it is no surprise that they work in close affiliation with the District Assembly of Kwaebibirem (Key informant 15, 17-11-2015). The second largest palm oil production company, Serendipalm, works in close relation with NGOs to initiate joint development projects such as a computer lab, the construction of a clinic in Abaam, and a new police station in Asuom. They also provide organic farming knowledge to oil palm farmers. Next to the involvement of these palm oil production companies, small investors and migrants also act as vehicles for resources and capital in Kwaebibirem. This includes a Turkish gold miner in Takyiman, an investor from Accra who has a large plantation in Tweapease, and a retired police officer from New Jersey, who is currently running a private school in Asuom. Each has invested and mobilised resources and capital to develop the settlements. Other improvements include a clinic, a new palace for the chief, several water towers, and road upgrading.

Figure 16. Spin-off activities in Ghana: oil palm processing at a local mill.



The outflow of capital is also very much related to agriculture. In Tanzania for instance, the main outflow of capital from the villages to areas and settlements higher up the urban hierarchy derives from purchases including farm supplies such as fertilisers, chemicals, seedlings as well as boots and harvesting tools. These supplies are mainly purchased from wholesalers in Njombe Town however some farmers source from village retailers. It is common however for farmers to either travel to Njombe Town themselves or join together in groups to order farm supplies at a reduced cost from the cheaper wholesalers. Sometimes the joint purchase is sufficiently large to fill a transport truck (hired in Njombe). The purchase of farm supplies in Njombe Town instead of at village level seems to be less pronounced in Igagala and Ulembwe, which lay closer to town. In Ghana, to the contrary, many farmers commute to the GOPDC (located in Kwae) to sell their produce, to get access to free seedlings or to buy tools and fertilisers. Apart from these farm supplies, construction materials, household commodities, and education fees rank high in the discussions on main capital outflows. In fact, education fees are reported to be a major household expenditure in Tanzania, Ghana and Cameroon.

Remittances

As observed by Steel (2015), remittances form a significant portion of household income in the study areas. One Ghanaian informant clearly indicated that sending and receiving remittances is integral by stating, 'Remittances? That's part of our life. Even if you don't have it, they will still ask it from you ... sending remittances is our culture. You cannot run away from that' (Returning migrant in Asuom, male, aged 50, 17-11-2015). Table 2 indicates the percentage of households receiving remittances in the three countries.⁵

⁵ In general, quantitative data on remittances should be used with a certain precaution as respondents do not necessarily share sensitive information on capital flows. In addition, as mentioned in the case of Cameroon, the reliability of remittances data as provided by the household head should be questioned because household heads are not necessarily aware of the remittances other household members receive. Remittances are often secretly transferred money from abroad.

Table 2. Per cent of households receiving national remittances.

<i>Country</i>	<i>National remittances (%)</i>
Cameroon	
<i>Bamboutos</i>	49
<i>Moungo</i>	43.5
<i>Noun</i>	66
Tanzania	
<i>Lindi case</i>	20
<i>Njombe case</i>	21.5
Ghana	
<i>Ahanta West District</i>	No info
<i>Kwaebibirem District</i>	72

Source: Household survey in Cameroon (Mount Bamboutos, the Moungo corridor and the Noun region), Ghana (Ahanta West district and Kwaebibirem district), and Tanzania (Lindi and Njombe).

The table shows that the percentage of households receiving remittances in Cameroon and Ghana is much higher than in Tanzania. This is related to the fact that in comparison, the Tanzanian households were more sedentary than the households in the other two countries. In addition, the households in Tanzania hardly receive international remittances while a considerable number of households in Cameroon and Ghana receive international remittances. In the Kwaebibirem district, 29 per cent of the households indicated that they receive international remittances.

During the in-depth interviews, participants were asked how remittances from both national and international sources were spent. In general, the contingent flow of remittances is used for household consumption; most households use the money and the goods that they receive for household nutrition and upkeep. According to one Ghanaian farmer, 'On a day that I don't go to the farm I use these remittances to feed the family'. He also stated that, 'In times that I don't get much from my farm I use this [money] to support the family, and to pay the household expenses'. (Farmer, male, aged 80, 19-11-2015).

In Tanzania, many households use remittances to buy farming inputs as well as household commodities. For example, one middle-aged farmer, who has children sending remittances from the income they make in Njombe, buys farming inputs such as fertiliser to grow crops on her plots in the wetlands. The children also buy household necessities in town such as couches for the living room, or salt for cooking. Through these means, the children ensure their parents have a stable access to resources. (Farmer from Iwungilo, female, aged 53, 5-08-2015).

Moreover, an elderly farmer in Igagala reported that his son, who is working in Makambako, regularly sends money for farming inputs. This is particularly important for the household as it is not possible to obtain a good harvest, or 'to get any crops', without applying fertilisers.

Moreover, the family needs money for home improvement and maintenance. (Farmer from Igagala, man, aged 81, 4-08-2015).

Finally, a farmer from Iwungilo stated that he has a few donkeys that were bought by his sons and sent to him as remittances. The animals are used to transport potatoes from remote areas; the family also earns income from renting them out. The money sent from the children is also used to hire farm labour. The family has also used remittances to buy home improvement materials as well as a solar panel to run lights at night and to charge their mobile phones. (Farmer from Iwungilo, man, aged 54, 5-08-2015).

As observed in the other cases, many households invest their remittances in farming. Materials for constructing or improving the house also appear to constitute an important household expenditure from remittances. In Ghana, five households also reported that they use national remittances for investment in a farm, house or business while two spent the money on school fees.

In Cameroon and Ghana international remittances are more often invested – in farms, trade and businesses – than are national remittances. One Ghanaian respondent, who receives international remittances from his brother in Italy, for example, used the money to buy a bus. However, competition from the government-run buses eventually compelled him to invest in a tractor:

The whole thing is that my brother, who used to live abroad, bought me a van from Italy. A 207 bus to work with. Through that, I was able to save to buy a tractor. But at a point, the government introduced certain buses and it wasn't helping my business. So it made me sell the 207 bus to get a tractor ... now, the tractor even brings in more money than my farm. (Farmer, male, aged 45, 30-11-2015).

In this sense, remittances are generally used for multiple purposes ranging from daily consumption, home maintenance as well as larger investments in small businesses or land. Apart from these productive and consumptive purposes, money from remittances is also used for educational or health purposes, namely for paying school fees and medical treatments.

Another important feature is the reverse flows of remittances from the countryside to the “usually absent” household and family members who live elsewhere. In Ghana it was clear that there is a steady flow of capital from the rural home into the urban zones or other rural areas. Neither in the Cameroonian case are the exchange of goods and people 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 by goods and more particularly food transfers. In all areas under study a considerable number of the rural households send a part of their agricultural production to people living outside of the community. In Tanzania, reverse flows, basically agricultural products such as maize and potatoes, are sent by hand.

People

As has become clear in the sections above, being mobile in different ways is very important to the household members under study in all the three countries. Although mobility and migration are encountered by all household members, the younger members are by far the most mobile population in the areas. There is at least an overall tendency of youth moving outside their rural areas to establish new networks and search for alternative ways of generating an income. In Tanzania we saw that many of these younger migrants considered a livelihood outside agriculture, although there was a slight difference between the two areas of research, in other words in the areas of irrigation versus rain-fed farming. In the rain-fed areas, land was scarcer; some of the older respondents reported that, as a result, many youth moved outside of the villages to establish new networks and search for alternative ways of generating an income. This did not occur to the same extent in Iwungilo and Ngalanga where it is more feasible to make investments in land and to make good money from these. As a result, most youth stay as they prefer to be involved in farming. However some young people move out of the village to search for alternative income sources. An older farmer from Iwungilo explains:

I think it is very normal that the young people want to go to town to try to make some money and to pursue opportunities in other places and to meet new people and ways of doing things. These young people often get inspired by seeing others moving and making money from other activities than farming. (Farmer from Iwungilo, male, aged 58, 5-08-2015).

The focus group discussion in Igagala revealed that some of the young people use the capital earned from agricultural production to invest in businesses outside the village, mainly in urban areas. These young farmers, generally linked to destinations and activities through family and friends, become inspired by others who earn money through alternative means. The youngsters with alternative income opportunities do have an incentive to stay in the villages as they can combine farming income with other business activities, thus not moving the focus entirely away from farming and their home village. Thus connections between farming and other economic activities remain.

From the focus group discussions in Ghana it became clear that despite the employment opportunities generated through the booming oil palm industry, youngsters still attempt to migrate to the city. As illustrated by the quotes below, youth are not interested in working on the farm or for a plantation. According to a shop owner and a carpenter in Asuom:

It has brought about hardship here and the youth are not interested in it anymore. Those who do it also, are not permanent workers, they are casuals. So if you get hurt, they don't care about you. Anything that happens to you, they are not concerned. So why would they even do it? So, now it's not even necessary for one to do that job. (Shop owner Asuom, female, 22-11-2015).

When they don't pass their exams and you tell them to stay here and learn an apprenticeship here, they will not. But they would rather go to Accra. For instance, recently, when I opened a shop in Accra, I got about eight people from Asuom who wanted to do that apprenticeship. But in Asuom they would not. So most of them who go to Accra, get into an apprenticeship. (Carpenter in Asuom, 22-11-2015).

Especially when there are no specific local labour opportunities for the youth, migration might be viewed as a valuable option. This becomes clear from the following statement of a respondent from Nanyori whose migrant son is a park warden with the Ngorongoro Conservation Authority:

It is good for young people to move around and look for alternative lives instead of pilling up here at home doing nothing and fighting over nothing. Look at what he has achieved after getting the job: took his wife and children, constructed a modern house in Karatu town and built this one for me also. His brothers are doing nothing here, I have to feed them and their families. (Interview details are missing here: occupation, gender, age, date and place of residence).

Although youth indeed migrate to find employment opportunities outside of the community, in general household members commute on a regular basis for a variety of reasons. The first is to gain access to farmland. In Ghana, most households grow food crops away from their homes and sometimes travel long distances to their farms. It is only occasionally that a farmer lives on the same plot where his or her farm is located. Because of land scarcity, many people from a more urbanised settlement like Asuom also have farmland in Tweapease. The same relationship was encountered between the communities of Takyiman and Dotchi. Those who do not own farms commute on a daily basis to work on other people's farms or at GOPDC, the major employer in the area. For their workers living in the surrounding communities, GOPDC provides transportation to their plantations at Okumaning and Kwae estates. In Tanzania, the farmers also have access to plots that are dispersed within the village. The plots can be close to home or even kilometres away, meaning that the farmers travel a great deal on a daily basis within the community for farming activities, especially during the peak seasons.

Non-farming activities also compel household members to move around a great deal. Being a trader, mason or a driver often makes travelling around a necessity. In Tanzania it is also very common to commute between Njombe Town and the villages on a daily or weekly basis. Although these household members live in the villages with the family and participate in farming activities, they also run businesses in Njombe Town. Occupations vary and include, among others, driving a taxi, running a brokerage business, or having a stand at the market where it is possible to sell crops for higher prices. In Ghana, people move within the district for casual farm labour, trading, and mining while others travel to larger urban centres like Accra and Kumasi for skilled labour such as construction or carpentry work, or work as a driver.

In addition, mobility is important for education. This is because many children attending secondary school cannot go to school in the rural village if there is no school present; despite the increased costs, some parents also seek higher quality education. In addition, people travel to larger district capitals for health and banking services. In Ghana for instance, people visit the district capital of Kade for banking services. Although there is a Kwaebibirem Rural Bank present in Asuom, it is not considered to be very reliable. According to a research participant:

Most go [to Kade] to take care of commercial duties. For example banking, because in this town, Kwaebibirem is the only bank here and sometimes if you go there, they tell you their

machines are not working or something. So most of us who have some little money, we save in other banks, not Kwaebibirem bank, like Ghana commercial bank. (Local investor, male, 22-11-2015).

Apart from banking and medical care, people from the Kwaebibirem communities commute to Kade for its vibrant market, held on Wednesdays and Fridays, and the availability of various items. Some traders indicate that as prices in Kade are relatively high, they prefer to buy their stock directly from Accra. It should also be noted that people from communities located along the borders of the district have a slightly different mobility pattern when it comes to the use of different services. Because of the distance to Kade, they would rather go to other district capitals or trade centres. People in Akawani, for example, visit Nkawkaw more often to trade as well as to visit the hospital, whereas people from Takyiman more often visit Akwatia or Koforidua.

Finally, mobility is important for maintaining a social network, through the visiting of friends and family and the attendance of church gatherings. All of the respondents reported that they travel occasionally to visit mainly relatives, especially when there is a special event such as a marriage as well as during times of illness or family problems. As such, social networks are of major importance for a household to rely on in times of need. There is no uniform mobility pattern in relation to the destinations; households travel to visit relatives and friends can be anywhere in the country and entails both rural and urban locales. In addition, in Ghana, people move around a great deal for religious purposes. Apart from regular church visits within the community (which varies from every Sunday to every day), irregular church gatherings in communities both within and outside the district are very common, and the whole family comes along.

In general, and especially in the Tanzanian case, people mostly commute temporally and return back home to farm. However, there is also a tendency of longer-term migrants heading to urban areas located throughout the country; as many different destinations are mentioned, there is no unambiguous pattern for migration locales. However, the majority tend to migrate “closer” to urban areas, for example Njombe, Makambako, and Mbeya. Nonetheless, people also migrate to Kigoma or Dar es Salaam for example. Migrants in Dar es Salaam hold jobs at the airport, in banks and hotels and as taxi drivers. In addition there are also a few people who migrate more permanently for casual labour on farms outside of the research areas. Some village inhabitants also migrate to access secondary or higher education, for example migrants travel to Dar es Salaam to attend the nursing college, while others migrate to Tandala in the Makete District to study at the teachers college. Migrants also aim to access various vocational training opportunities, such as the mechanical courses in Njombe Town, the tailoring courses in Njombe Town and Makambako, or the masonry and engineering courses in Njombe Town.

In Ghana, people migrate in order to work, study or to complete apprenticeships. The most popular destination is Accra, while other cities like Kumasi, Cape Coast, Oda and Koforidua were also mentioned a couple of times. As all of these places are urban centres, it indicates that most migration flows from Kwaebibirem are rural-urban movements. Many people also migrate to cities to work for the government as teachers, police men or nurses that have been assigned and transferred by their departments to other districts. Recent graduates also

migrate to cities in order to find jobs. This was described by a research participant in Takyiman who stated:

They are predominantly the youth that migrate from this community to Accra basically in search of jobs. They are mostly those who have completed their education and seem not to be able to find a job here. So they go to Accra and Kumasi to look for jobs. There are others too who have learned a trade, such as artisans, hairdressers, carpenters who cannot get a job here. So they go to Accra, Kumasi or Koforidua to find a job. (Elder and opinion leader Takyiman, 08-12-2015).

Apart from the youth migrating within Ghana, some take their chances by migrating outside of Ghana to destinations such as the USA, Canada, the UK or Italy. Some migrants try to migrate internationally, but never reach their final destinations and come back home after a short period of time. Most international migrants travel through “transit zones”, or those zones or countries through which migrants travel to their final destinations. In a few cases, Togo and Nigeria were reported to be easy transit countries for reaching Europe or the US. For example, the following respondent attempted to reach Europe through Lome, the capital of neighbouring Togo. He stated:

I wanted to travel outside to Europe. And I got to know that going through Lome was a lot easier. So, I wanted to go and work there for a while and then continue to Europe. But because of the language barrier there and also not finding jobs to do, I spent only three weeks there and then returned to Ghana. (Farmer and driver, aged 39, 9-11-2015).

Migration narratives are thus not always success stories; some migrants return home without the expected livelihood outcomes. Others, however, do reach their final destinations and find work as mechanics, cleaners, or shop attendants. Some, over time, even start their own businesses. Yet this second group of migrants stays connected to their home communities and their families. A village elder of Abaam in Ghana summarised this connection with home as follows:

We have a saying that no matter how bitter your gum is, you would always lick it. So if you were born in this town and both parents come from here and you travel, no matter what, you will come back to visit your parents and your siblings you left behind. Because your home is always your home. (Village elder, Abaam, 03-12-2015).

In terms of reverse flows of people, the research revealed that the booming agricultural sector in the areas under study attracts many external investors (see also Brønd and Fold, 2016). Whether these investors settle down in the areas under study depends on the accessibility of the region and the proximity to towns. In Tanzania for instance, outsiders who invest in land in Igagala and Ulembwe, the villages closest to Njombe Town, mainly rent a piece of land to cultivate crops while maintaining a residence in their home town or village. On the other hand, over the past five years in Ngalanga and Iwungilo, many people migrate to the villages to invest in land, mainly to cultivate trees or Irish potatoes. Some also grow maize or invest in businesses, such as shops. There is a general perception that the interest of these external investors escalated after the introduction of irrigation and Irish potatoes. Investors originate from many different places including Njombe Town Igagala and places further away such as Iringa and Mafinga. In Ghana, however, most large oil palm plantation investors come from urban areas. They have earned money in a different sector and want to

reap the benefits of palm oil. Smaller investors are often return migrants who aim to make a good living in Ghana again and leave a legacy for their village of origin or for their children (Household 20, 17-11-2015; Key informant 7, 18-11-2015). In Cameroon we also see a number of foreign investors in the agricultural and commercial domains. For example, in areas like Babadjou, at least five trucks with a 20 ton capacity are filled every day; their principal destinations are central African cities.

Conclusion

This chapter has elaborated on the different resource inflows and outflows in the areas under study. The main sources of income for most rural households consist of farming activities. Most of these farming activities are complemented by non-farming activities, such as self-employed work in trading, construction, transport or other skilled work. Income is often complemented with remittances from national and international migrants. National remittances are often sent more frequently and mostly used for household consumption while international remittances consist of larger amounts and are used for investments in farming and other economic activities. As rural livelihoods depend highly on external resources, these different resource inflows and outflows induce various mobility dynamics. Many household members crisscross between urban as well as rural areas in order to gain access to resources and to extend their networks across the particular community in which they reside. In the next chapter we address how these complex and multi-faceted flows of people, goods, and services open up new opportunities for rural development.

Impact in terms of local economic development

In this chapter, the impact of the inflow and outflow of resources are discussed in terms of local development opportunities. We focus on changes and impacts at the household and community levels to finally elaborate on the role of institutions in these transformations.

Livelihood strategies

In general, the mobility dynamics in the study areas have a positive impact on the livelihood strategies of the households. First, the mobility or migration of one or more household members for economic purposes often results in increased income generation or a reduction in household expenses due to the diversification of income sources and purchase options, or in the relevant cases, as a result of the remittances sent by migrating household members. As the following quotes from Ghana illustrate, it is mainly through increased financial security that the households feel the impact of migration:

It has given me a little security. For example, when I am financially broke I call them to send me money to use it for eating. (Farmer, aged 80, 09-11-2015).

It has broadened the scope of the number of people I can rely on in times of need. I have gained security; at least at difficult times I rely on these children. (Farmer, female, aged 42, 11-11-2015).

Increased income generation boosts the ability of households to pay for daily household expenses and needs and thus the ability to sustain a moderately good standard of living. For example, a farmer from Ulembwe, Tanzania stated that, 'Our children are sending money for various expenditures at home which helps their parents have a stable income' (Farmer from Iwungilo, male, aged 54, 05-08-2015). Many respondents also reported that through increased mobility, their household can save significant amounts of money by making household purchases in town – either in bulk or at a cheaper price – rather than in their home villages. However, as clearly mentioned in the Tanzanian case, some people cannot take full advantage of the opportunities brought about by the liberalised market and the resulting economic opportunities. This is possibly a result of the increased need to cover livelihood basics through casual labour employment in comparison to the other, more “wealthy” or accumulative, farmers. It can also be argued that it relates to the higher dependence on mobility for household income diversification. This division in people – those who meet opportunities versus those who meet challenges– thus shows different reasons for livelihood strategy diversification; one seeks new income accumulation opportunities whereas the other seeks new alternative income sources to “secure” household income.

Second, in some cases the mobility or migration of a household member can bring improved skills to the household as a result of learning new things outside of the village. One potential consequence can be more efficient or more profitable household activities. The mobility of household members also improves the business environment and opportunities for entrepreneurship. Moreover, if a household member migrates for longer periods of time to attend school, the result is an improved educational level and whether or not the migrant is willing to participate in household activities after graduation.

The third impact concerns a rather negative change in the sense that, especially in Ghana and Tanzania, household mobility or migration can delay other household activities, especially farming. For example, the majority of the respondents reported that mobility and migration can result in household labour shortages. As a result, households must scale back farming activities or hire outside labour. It was also mentioned that money used for travelling is unavailable for the daily use or sustainability of the family. The following vignettes describe experiences in Tanzania:

An entrepreneurial woman from Igagala farms alongside her restaurant business while her husband is a broker who collects rice in Ubaruku to sell at various markets. When she travels to purchase restaurant supplies and her husband leaves to conduct business in Ubaruku, the restaurant business and farm activities 'do not go very well'. In order to cope, she hires someone to run the restaurant while she is gone. The situation is not ideal as the person makes less money than her and even uses more food supplies for the same amount of costumers; she explained that she can make 100,000 TZS per day whereas the worker can only make 70,000 TZS. (Farm and restaurant owner, female, aged 29, 4-08-2015).

Another female farmer, whose husband transports potatoes to Njombe Town, Songea and occasionally to Dar es Salaam explained that even though it is a good thing that her husband is making money, she has to work alone on the farm when he is away. (Farmer from Ngalanga, female, aged 31, 5-08-2015).

Education and services

Increased income also results in the ability of households to develop educationally; this is because households can better afford school fees (especially for secondary schools), books and uniforms and in some cases to send children to better schools (even private schools in the case of Ghana). Apart from this, many respondents also have been able to construct new homes or better maintain and improve their existing houses; a few also report the increased ability to afford proper medical treatment in case of poor health. Mobility also results in increased accessibility to the better services that are located outside of the village including health, mechanical, and supply services, among others. Especially in the case of Ghana and Cameroon, where remittances are collectively spent by migrant associations or individuals, migration seems to have a positive influence on the provision of services and infrastructure. In Ghana, for instance, a group of Asuom migrants in Canada, (named Asuom Nkosow Kro), provided funds for street lights in 1998. In Abaam, migrants living in Accra collectively provided sheet roofing for the funeral grounds. However, most of the collective spending of remittances are minor projects on which the community does not rely. Moreover, these migrant associations are said to be no longer active. In this sense, recent collective spending of remittances did not have a significant impact in either one of the communities. Currently, it was the individual investments of return migrants that had a significant impact on community infrastructure and service provision. One of the return migrants from Canada described his investment in a secondary school by stating:

I stayed there for 30 years, I have done it and seen it all. And I needed to have some impact on the people here. And I think all of the knowledge I have acquired, I thought it would be beneficial to my country and the people here more than in the US. So I decided to move, I have had enough. (Return migrant, aged 72, 18-11-2015).

This return migrant is investing in the availability and quality of education in his hometown. Furthermore, by implementing parts of the US curriculum in his school, this case makes explicit the manner in which migrants transfer the ideas and knowledge they have gained elsewhere. Another return migrant from Italy set up a petrol station in Asuom in order to secure his income during his retirement, to leave the investment for his children but also to invest in the town's infrastructure and facilities. He stated:

I made up my mind that I wanted to do something that will take more than a hundred years to collapse or something like that. Here, plenty of people buy cars, build houses for rent and all. But I know, this filling station, it will last me more than a hundred years. Even when I'm gone, the children of my children can continue, continue and continue. So it will help them, not to start where I started from, you know. (Return migrant, aged 50, 27-11-2015).

In the process of building the station and earning extra money, he bought and imported a tractor from Italy, with which he has contributed greatly to several community projects; these projects are carried out by community members and largely address community infrastructure needs.

In Tanzania, Maasai migrants, although they may be physically absent from the villages, also contribute to community investments including the construction of roads, dams, and social services centres (e.g., schools and dispensaries). Donations for these projects are collected from eligible individuals within the community; in turn, migrants learn about the call for donations through relatives and friends and consequently donate. Such participation and donation reassures migrants of their belonging to the community and that they remain important in political, identity, and rights claiming issues.

Investment in agriculture

Increased income resulting from mobility and migration is commonly invested in farming activities. Such investments include the purchase of land and livestock for production as well as on measures for improving productivity, such as fertilisers or farming equipment. Moreover others acquire new knowledge and practices learned from their experiences in other places outside of their own villages. In Ghana, some return migrants invested in agriculture and as such generated local employment opportunities. For instance, the son of a former chief who recently finished higher education in Russia decided to start a palm oil processing mill with the money he earned working in a Moscow supermarket. By doing this, he was securing his own income and that of others by purposefully creating employment. He described his motivation by stating:

I wanted to come back and establish a business here, for myself. Work for myself. I don't like other jobs, working for other people. And I want to do something here, start a business and create some employment. So I have started a business to operate a mill now ... My father's vision was to create jobs for people and to help the community develop. I want to finish his mission, and I try. (Return migrant, male, aged 36, 01-12-2015).

Aided by an Italian partner, this return migrant now employs over twenty workers at his mill. Many others also generate employment by hiring labour for various tasks, largely a

consequence of being absent at certain times. Apart from these farming investments, the mobility to and from the nearby urban areas also supports business development in the villages. In Ghana we see a positive impact in the hospitality sector as a rising number of hotels and guesthouses host migrants who temporarily return to their home towns for festivities, funerals and family visits.

Expanding networks and ideas

It seems to be the general idea that being mobile and therefore seeing different places and meeting different people outside of the villages provides a basis for obtaining inspiration and new ideas. The people travelling state that they can learn different styles, techniques and designs by seeing different places and interacting with different people; they can also expand their knowledge on new opportunities, such as for business. They have the possibility to develop their networks and sustain already existing networks, both for business and social purposes.

Role of institutions

In Ghana, the large palm oil processing companies, GOPDC and Serendipalm, as well as local investors play a major role in the development of the researched settlements. Due to their Corporate Social Responsibility projects, but also because of their presence as a gateway to the global market, these companies provide a solid base for general progress. The development planning officer of the District Assembly even argues that the presence of these companies are the reason for stable income levels that allow local children to obtain tertiary level education. According to the District Assembly office, because of the palm oil business, extreme poverty and famine are no longer present in Kwaebibirem (Key informant 8, 19-11-2015).

Figure 17. GOPDC processing mill and plantation of in Kwaie, Ghana.



The national government, who is mainly represented by the District Chief Executive, and who heads the District Assembly office, plays a much smaller role in the development of settlements compared to the aforementioned investors. Primarily due to a lack of capital, resources and support from local chiefs, the District Assembly is unable to truly regulate construction activities and effectively construct the envisioned development projects. Although some projects exist, such as the new secondary school in Takyiman, the involvement of the District Assembly office is rather minimal. Rather, chiefs and elders influence local development processes. This became clear in a focus group discussion in Takyiman where, after the death of the chief three years ago, the community has not benefitted from a real ruler. The following quote illustrates that the absence of the chief is a major hindrance for the community:

The passage of our chief has affected this community a lot. Because if he was alive there was no way people would have resisted or be reluctant to release their land for

the projects. You would dare not to prevent him. But right now there is no one doing that. There is no one resuming this responsibility. So I will say his death is a big blow to the development of our community. When he was alive he even motivated the youth to work hard. He sometimes gave us money when we were doing communal labour. Right now members of this community hardly meet to discuss relevant issues regarding the development of Takyiman. (Assemblyperson of Takyiman, 08-12-2015).

In Cameroon the role of institutions in local development processes was also clearly observed. Some of these informal institutions, such as the village development committees, came into existence at the hands of migrants. These committees have implemented viable economic entities in the region and so have had a positive effect on employment creation in the rural areas. The case of Bangang is a glaring example where elites have decided to return to their hometowns to create agricultural and livestock enterprises. These elites have also established migrant associations that have important linkages to the regional and national governments. These associations realised several capacity building projects in which they instructed farmers in useful farming techniques as well as service provision in the form of health services supply and the construction of schools and financial services in the area. Through lobbying efforts at the national government level, the associations now have devised a concrete plan to construct a road that will open up the whole Bamboutos area to external markets. Nonetheless, the role of elites in local development processes has also resulted in several disagreements with the local population who want the elites to invest in infrastructure and development projects without interrupting their direct means of production. In general these elites compete with the local population for resources. Moreover, their projects are often accused of being disguised as philanthropy in order to be used as a political instrument to acquire more power in the region.

In Tanzania, there are two main large scale investment projects operating in the villages, namely Panda Miti Kibiashara (“planting trees for business”) and Njombe Outgrowers Service Company (NOSC) which provides an incentive and the means for farmer organisation. These projects operate outside of Njombe Town where land scarcity is not an issue. These projects play a role in the flows of information, knowledge, and farming inputs. Moreover, the projects affect the flow of inputs for farming as well as in the outflow of agricultural produce from the villages. Such projects also have an effect on available services. Indirectly, increased local incomes as a result of the projects could have an effect on the availability of services such as shops, restaurants, tailors.

Conclusion

This chapter has clearly illustrated that the mobility dynamics in the areas under study have created a range of opportunities for local development. In general, household income has increased and become more stable. This results in direct backward linkages in the local economy in terms of non-farm activities, spin-off activities related to agriculture and a clearly observable boost to the local transport and construction sectors. Apart from these developments, we observe that additional investment in the agricultural sector have created significant and new employment opportunities for youth and landless farmers. Nonetheless, these positive economic developments also trigger challenges in terms of local rural

development. Due to the lack of government support for large scale investment projects in infrastructure and regional planning, the villages become highly dependent on private investments and the “goodwill” of local elites and local chiefs to initiate new development projects. These are often driven by local power games and the availability of funds and as such are very unpredictable and unreliable. For success, these local development initiatives should be embedded in governmental structures.

Conclusion

With a keen eye for the historical component, WP2 research looks into the processes currently driving agricultural and rural livelihood transformation. In addition, WP2 takes into account general economic development processes and policies as well as crop and land use changes, livelihood diversification, and the role of global and local market demands. This report has focused on these components by scrutinising the role of mobility in local development processes. The results, deriving from four 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 both 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. It is shown that most households complement their incomes from agricultural activities by also engaging into non-farming activities such as trade, construction work or other skilled work.

As a result of the increasing commercialisation and diversification of crops, new opportunities 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 on 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. For such households, especially the youngest members, migration can be used as both a short and a long-term response. In these cases, remittances from migrated household members are an addition to households income. It was found that remittances from national sources are more frequently sent and received, but mostly spent on household consumption, while remittances from international resources are less frequent, but more substantial and more often spent on long-term investments. When migrants organise themselves through hometown or migrant associations, remittances have the potential to be used for local development projects in infrastructure and services, especially when lobbied for at the national government level as in the case of Cameroon.

The mobility patterns of people, goods and capital have shaped the different connections that occur between rural and urban settlements. While farming activities take place within rural settings, it is mostly non-farming activities that are important for the rural-urban mobility of people. The trade of agricultural produce and skilled work form important economic flows from rural to urban settlements. On the other hand, urban centres generate trade in the rural settlements through manufactured products and the provision of services, along with the technology and capital of urban investors who invest in agriculture. In this sense, mobility flows in the region are no longer one-way, but instead constitute very complex and fragmented processes of inflow and outflow of resources (be it, among others, people, money, goods, and services).

The impact of these mobility processes on local development is manifold. First, investments in the agricultural sector have created employment, and a competitive local market of non-farm activities in a flourishing service sector as well as increased petty trade. The increased

purchasing power of households affects agricultural production (such as through increased land holdings, new farming equipment and livestock or the ability to apply more fertilisers). Increased purchasing power also impacts households' level of education, the expansion of networks and ideas and the possibility to better afford household expenditures and services. In Ghana, the large scale investments of companies such as GOPDC and Serendipalm also contribute to local development through their Corporate Social Responsibility programmes. It is through these programmes that companies build, secure and maintain good relations with neighbouring communities, which are important in relation to continuing their activities in the area.

Livelihood diversification and rural-urban connections have also contributed to local development through migration. Because of the greater ease of sending money through mobile money, a culturally-embedded system of remittances has evolved. Remittances form a significant part of the income of the households under study, especially in Ghana and Cameroon. Most households engage in mobility as part of livelihood survival or consolidation strategies and use remittances to buy various goods including farming inputs such as fertiliser, as well as cooking utensils, food supplies, clothes, bicycles or other tools. Only a minor few succeed in accumulating wealth as a result of international remittances. When migrants organise themselves through hometown or migrant associations, remittances have the potential to be used for local development projects in infrastructure and services, especially when lobbied for at the national government level as in the case of Cameroon. Finally, return migrants have been found to contribute to community development through employment generation, knowledge transfer and direct contributions, either monetary or in-kind, to community infrastructure and facilities.

However, these positive economic dynamics also trigger challenges in terms of local rural development. At the household level, increased mobility of household members places an extra burden on family labour; this sometimes obliges households to reduce or even stop farming activities which in turn makes them more dependent on external money flows. Several household members also complained that financial investments in household mobility reduces the availability of cash for daily needs. At the community level, it becomes clear that not everyone benefits to the same extent from the dynamic flows in the area.

Certain population groups are very vulnerable within the agricultural transformations taking place. This is especially because fertile land becomes quite scarce in these regions and markets do not always function as they should. In addition, the lack of government support for large scale investment projects in infrastructure and regional planning results in villages becoming highly dependent on private investments and the "goodwill" of local elites and local chiefs to initiate development projects. These are often driven by local power games and the availability of funds and as such are very unpredictable and unreliable. For success, these local development initiatives should be embedded in governmental structures.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Comparison of migration and mobility patterns between the villages.

		Villages proximal to Njombe without irrigation	Villages more remote from Njombe with irrigation
Mobility	<i>Njombe Town</i>	Common to commute to town regularly for different purposes, e.g. economic activities or purchase of household commodities Well-functioning roads and villages are close to town (app. 15-20 km's) People do not consider the prices of household commodities, supplies or farming inputs to be more expensive in the villages than in town as much as is the case for the more remote villages and therefor do not travel as much to Njombe Town for purchases. Household needs and supplies are mostly covered in the villages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Same Roads are less well-functioning, especially during rainy season, and villages are more remote (app. 40-60 km) Household commodities are considered to be cheaper in Njombe Town and it is common that people regularly go to town for purchasing commodities or order them through commuting taxis
	<i>Other destinations</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Common to travel to various destinations, both rural and urban, for different economic and agricultural activities (farming, casual labour, trading) 2. There are many commuting activities between the surrounding villages in the area, both for different services, social networks and economic activities 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Same 2. Villages are more dispersed and the commuting activities between the villages in the area are less prevalent, however still important to some
Migration	<i>Economic activities</i>	Njombe is the main destination for migration for economic activities, but people also migrate to other areas, particularly urban, for various economic activities	Same
	<i>Farming activities specifically</i>	Some farmers migrate for farming activities, however usually not permanently as was the case years ago. The main destinations are Songea Region and Ubaruku/Usango Plains on the way to Mbeya due to a perception of availability of land and increased soil fertility in these areas. Masasi and Mtwara are also mentioned	Migration for farming activities is also found in these villages, however it is less pronounced. Moreover Mtwara and Masasi were not found as migration destinations for farming
	<i>Education</i>	Some people migrate for certain periods of time for educational purposes, such as attending secondary school, college or vocational training centres (tailoring, mechanics, masonry, etc.)	Same

	<i>Marriage</i>	Common to migrate to other locations due to marriage. This applies to rural as well as urban areas. Mainly there is a patterns that people meet someone from the neighbouring villages or from villages close in the area, however it is moreover very common to move to towns and villages throughout the country	Same
Migration into the villages		No clear pattern of specific purposes for people to migrate to the villages. People from outside who invest in land in these villages mainly hire a piece of land for crop cultivation while they still live in their home town/village	Within the last approximately 5 years it has become a very common pattern that people are migrating from different places to the villages investing in land, mainly for growing trees or Irish potatoes, but also for investing in businesses, such as shops. As a consequence of the increased interest in farming activities in these villages, external labour it applied to an increasing extent, which results in labour migration for varying periods of time
Mobility into the villages		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. People primarily come into the villages due to agricultural business; mainly for buying crops which they send to larger markets in towns/cities around the country. Moreover transport businesses, both for people and goods, is another reason for commuting to the villages 2. Slightly more possibilities for transport between Igagala/Ulembwe and Njombe Town compared to between Iwungilo/Ngalanga and Njombe Town, due to the short distance, good road systems and many means of transport 3. It seems that less people from outside the villages hire land for crop cultivation here due to less opportunities in farming (solely relying on rain fed fields) and less land available, however when it occurs they might come for certain periods as is the case with the more remote villages 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The same pattern is prevailing in the more remotes villages, where many external agricultural traders commute to the villages during harvest for collecting Irish potatoes and maize. The harvest season is more spread over the year in these villages compared to the villages closer to Njombe, due to the possibility of irrigating the fields and harvesting “off rainy season” 2. Less frequent transport possibilities and fewer means of transport to/from these villages 3. People hiring land for crop cultivation who live elsewhere sometimes travel into the villages in certain periods of time according to the respective farming activities for working on the farms or supervising hired workers