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Mobility in Sub-Saharan Africa: Patterns, Processes, and Policies

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Preface

This report is the first 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 households' 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 provides a state of the art overview of contemporary domestic mobility processes and its main drivers in the context of sub-Saharan Africa, with a special focus on the four selected countries. The researchers delivered four thematic country reports which provide a wealth of in-depth information on mobility patterns and processes in each country. The present report is based on these four country reports and on additional information gathered from other relevant sources on mobility in sub-Saharan Africa.

The authors are grateful to all those who have contributed to the realisation of this report and the respective country reports, in particular: François Bart, Torben Birch-Thomsen, Bernard Charlery de la Masselière, Evelyne Lazaro, Nicolas Lemoigne, Fulgence Mishili, Gery Nijenhuis, Theophile Niyonzima, Michelle Nuijen, George Owusu, Jérémi Pasini, Sylvain Racaud, Nina Tofte Hansen, Maurice Tsalefac, and Laurien Uwizeyimana.

This report and the full country reports are available through the RurbanAfrica website: http://geo.ku.dk/rurbanafrica

Utrecht, 31 May 2013 Paul van Lindert

Executive Summary

Historically, the processes of state formation and the uneven and incomplete introduction of the capitalist mode of production in sub-Saharan Africa have laid the foundation for contemporary spatial distributions of people and their mobility within and across nations in the region. The historical factor has led to distinct forms of path dependence in post-colonial mobility patterns.

In more current times, the absolute numbers of people on the move have escalated and involved increasingly connected spaces and places. In addition to increased mobility, mobility trajectories show highly varied patterns both in terms of origin and destinations and in terms of temporality. Another trend in current mobility is a reduced selectivity in terms of gender and generation.

Among a variety of processes that have a bearing on current human mobility in sub-Saharan Africa, three key drivers are identified for the entire region: the processes of urbanisation, agricultural transformation and globalisation. In addition, specific national-level policies – often triggered by internationally driven regulations, requirements and guidelines – are of vital influence for domestic spatial and temporal patterns of mobility.

Overall, sub-Saharan Africa is home to rural societies with predominantly rural-based livelihoods. In fact, an estimated 67 per cent of the population lives in rural areas. According to the latest national census data, estimated urbanisation levels of sub-Saharan African countries show extreme disparities. While Rwanda (19 per cent) and Tanzania (27 per cent) are among the least urbanised countries, Cameroon (53 per cent) and Ghana (53 per cent) belong to the category with highest urbanisation levels. At the same time, the countries with the lowest levels of urbanisation show the highest average annual urbanisation rates (Tanzania 4.8, Rwanda 4.6, Ghana 3.6, and Cameroon 3.3 per cent respectively).

With an estimated average urbanisation rate of 3.6 per cent per year, sub-Saharan Africa is the world's most rapidly urbanising region. Migration from rural to urban areas obviously contributes to this process of urbanisation. Other factors include high natural population growth in cities and the administrative reclassification of areas from rural to urban spaces. Migrants who settle in urban areas generally are motivated by the better employment opportunities and services they expect to access. People also move for family-related reasons. However, it is a common stereotype that all domestic mobility is a unidirectional movement from rural areas to cities. Nor can such migrants always be characterised as permanent migrants. On the contrary, many people move temporarily, whether on a daily, weekly or seasonal basis. Mobility also occurs between rural areas, between cities, and from urban to rural areas.

Recent transformation processes in agriculture and land distribution have greatly contributed to changes in the livelihoods of rural households. Multiple factors compel rural households to diversify their livelihoods – increasing scarcity of productive land for agriculture, as well as land fragmentation, land concentration, land grabs and new forms of

agricultural production are just a few. National-level policies also contribute to agricultural transformation, for example by prioritising agricultural productivity and the production of export crops, through land tenure reforms and land use regulations, or through agricultural colonisation schemes. Resettlement and other spatial planning policies for rural development also immediately affect population distribution. As such, agricultural transformation and related policies have mixed effects on the mobility strategies of rural households. The commoditisation of agriculture may lead to periods of increased labour demand, whereas both the fragmentation and concentration of land will give rise to out-migration. As a consequence, the resulting patterns and processes of mobility are highly complex and multifaceted.

The process of globalisation is a third important driver of mobility in sub-Saharan Africa. On one hand, globalisation makes itself felt through a capitalist expansion in all fields of economic activity – including agriculture, mining, and manufacturing, as well as within a diverse array of commercial and service activities. On the other hand, the adoption of neo-liberal public policies in many African countries, such as state reforms and associated new regulatory frameworks, are also very much inspired – if not imposed – by global ideologies driven by the Washington Consensus agenda. Structural Adjustment Programmes, Poverty Reduction Strategies, and decentralisation policies have had major impacts on the livelihoods of rural and urban households alike. Again, each holds very mixed results regarding patterns and processes of mobility.

Thus, mobility patterns in sub-Saharan African countries demonstrate a wide variety in both spatiality and temporality. This report presents a typology of internal migration that includes both dimensions. For the time dimension, the typology distinguishes between daily, short term (periodic), medium term (seasonal) and long term mobility. As for the spatial dimension, the scheme differentiates between rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-rural and urban-urban mobility. This typology can serve as a powerful analytical framework for empirical studies on domestic mobility. Most likely, each of the resulting 16 types of mobility will be present in the four RurbanAfrica case study countries. The framework can be further refined by attaching more importance to variations that occur along the rural-urban continuum, while also including aspects of functional differentiation (e.g., by explicitly distinguishing between rural service centres, small towns, intermediate cities, peri-urban areas, and primate cities).

Another trend in current mobility is the reduced selectivity in terms of gender and generation. While traditional migration regimes in sub-Saharan Africa used to be male-dominated, contemporary mobility patterns are becoming increasingly feminised, resulting in ever greater shares of women, particularly younger women, who migrate independently in search of employment opportunities. Conventional gender roles may gradually change as a result of the increasing autonomy of women who break out of their traditional gender straitjackets.

Finally, the report exposes a twofold bias in the current mobility literature on sub-Saharan Africa. The first bias is a result of the often narrow focus of transnational migration researchers. Here mobility is most often studied from a strictly transnational perspective that does not hone-in on linked domestic mobility processes. Moreover, and as far as

domestic mobility research is concerned, a second bias is observed. The majority of research within this topic turns a blind eye to other types of mobility currently occurring outside of rural-urban contexts. This research bias easily leads to a stereotyping of mobility that often suggests a universal rural exodus: a generalised unidirectional movement from rural areas to cities. Recognising the huge variation that occurs within spatiality and temporality of sub-Saharan Africa mobility processes, the RurbanAfrica project aims to avoid such myopia.

Contents

Introduction

Sub-Saharan Africa is often portrayed as a mobile subcontinent. The numerous movements of migrants, pastoralists and traders, in combination with the multi-local strategies of households, challenge the general assumption that sedentary lifestyles are the normal way of living (Hahn and Klute 2007; Baker and Akin Aida 1995; De Bruijn *et al.* 2001; Simone 2003, Schapendonk 2011). Sub-Saharan Africa's population movements 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 connects Africa to different parts of the world. This has resulted in a diversified picture in terms of mobility patterns and destinations (Bakewell and De Haas 2007), both at the national (e.g. Beauchemin 2011; Tacoli 2001) and international levels (e.g., Adepoju 1995; 2008; Schapendonk 2011).

In recent years, 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 in African migration studies to focus on transnational and even transcontinental migration (e.g., Grillo and Riccio 2004; Adepoju 2008b). With such research bias, we easily overlook the fact that domestic migration is much more significant in terms of numbers and volumes compared to international movements (King, Skeldon and Vulnetari 2008); this is particularly true in the African context (e.g., Adepoju 1998; Deshingkar and Grimm 2004; Bryceson *et al.* 2003; Castaldo *et al.* 2012). Similarly, we are also likely to forget that the majority of African migrants who cross international borders remain on the African continent by moving to neighbouring countries (Fischer and Vollmer 2009; Spaan and Van Moppes 2006). In combination with the lack of reliable data on internal and international African migration, this research bias on international mobility tends to strengthen certain popular myths regarding African migration, such as the notion that Africans move *en masse* overseas (Bakewell and De Haas 2007; De Haas 2008). Finally, this focus on transnational migrations tends to omit the analytical link between domestic and international population movements. As we know from several African case studies, migration may have instead a stepwise character in which domestic migration is followed by emigration (see King *et al.* 2008 for an analytical discussion). In other words, from the perspective of moving actors and households, internal and international migrations are often a continuum.

This RurbanAfrica report provides a state of the art overview of contemporary mobility in sub-Saharan Africa. It focuses mainly, but not solely, on population movements within national borders. It thereby particularly aims to identify the changing trends and patterns of mobility for different African countries while uncovering the gaps and biases in current research. The report is based on an extensive literature review and is furthermore informed by country reports of four case countries: Cameroon, Ghana, Rwanda and Tanzania. It is important to note that these four case countries function as empirical illustrations as opposed to providing an exhaustive and systematic comparative overview. In the first section, the report starts with a discussion on the livelihoods approach which functions as the main analytical lens for this research project to analyze mobility processes. Subsequently, in the second section, the demographic context and population trends for sub-Saharan Africa are discussed in more detail. The third section outlines relevant policies that have affected mobility patterns throughout the years, while section four discusses African mobility patterns and their transformations in-depth.

1. Livelihood approaches and mobility: an analytical perspective

While much of this report presents aggregate-level mobility data based on national and international statistics, it is vital to know that these data function as the starting point for a study on mobility dynamics of rural-based households in different African countries. To frame this study in the theoretical and methodological sense, our main analytical perspective – the livelihoods approach – is briefly discussed in this section.

The livelihoods approach emerged in development studies (and in development geography in particular), as a reaction to the structuralist perspectives that dominated the field in the 1980s (Chambers and Conway 1992). This approach applies an actor-oriented perspective on poverty dynamics. At the same time, the livelihoods approach does not overlook the structural aspects of development such as power inequalities and distribution of resources. With its fundamental focus on 'the household,' it is considered to be the ideal bridge between atomistic and structuralist explanations of development (De Haan and Zoomers 2005; de Haan 2006; 2007). Livelihood studies place at the centre five forms of capital (including natural, human, financial, physical and social capital) upon which a household's livelihood is built (Ellis 2000; Bryceson *et al.* 2003). Because it pays attention to non-economic dimensions of development it is seen as a holistic toolset. Moreover, it is praised for its explicit attention to diversified activities and the multi-local nature of livelihoods. Its focus on these dynamics has far-reaching consequences in terms of both the sectoral and the spatial analysis of households' development opportunities. First, by paying explicit attention to households' multi-activities in making a living, it goes beyond a sectoral divide of agricultural and manufacturing productions. Furthermore, the livelihoods approach also pays attention to the diversified roles within specific modes of production and economic activities (Ellis 1998). Additionally, with its focus on multi-local activities, this approach goes beyond the household as a social unit residing in a specific place. Instead, it puts the notion of 'stretched households' across space as central to methodologies and investigations (for more discussion see Chambers and Conway 1992; Ellis 1998; Tacoli 2002; de Haan and Zoomers 2005; de Haan 2006; Bakewell 2009; Greiner 2012).

As it is sensitive to the diverse mobilities and connections of households in their efforts to overcome poverty, it follows that a livelihoods approach is an interesting analytical starting point to debunk the rural-urban divide in sub-Saharan Africa. In fact, this approach helps us to understand the transactions of resources (people, money, information, and goods) between different places (Work Package 2), in the light of agricultural transformations (Work Package 1), urbanisation (Work Package 3) and unequal service deliveries (Work Package 4). Moreover, it provides the perfect lens to examine the selectivity of migration processes (i.e., who moves versus who stays) as well as the different outcomes of migration processes in terms of upward social mobility in different places (e.g., who are and where are the winners and losers?). Finally, it helps us to gain insight into the diversity, temporality and circularity of mobility patterns as well as into the linkages between different forms of mobility (e.g., internal versus international migration).

2. Sub-Saharan Africa: demographic background and population trends

While it is important to acknowledge that sub-Saharan Africa is far from a homogeneous subcontinent in terms of demographic and economic developments – as population trends and development levels differ widely across countries as well as between regions within countries – this section identifies some macro patterns in the demographic domain. Special attention is given to the challenges that urbanisation poses for sub-Saharan Africa. Where possible, we differentiate the data according to the four sub-Saharan African regions: West Africa, East Africa, Central Africa and Southern Africa. In Table 1 we outline some key figures on development and population trends.

Table 1: Key figures for selected countries in sub-Saharan Africa

Country	**HDI ranking** (UNDP 2013)	**GDP per capita (US $)** (World Bank 2011)	**Urban population growth rate** (World Bank 2011)	**Urban population Level - % of total population** (World Bank 2011)	**Population density (people per km^2)** (World Bank 2011)	**Birth rate (per 1000 people)** (World Bank 2011)	**Death rate per 1000 people)** (World Bank 2011)	**Population growth (% annual) 2010-2011** (World Bank 2011)
Sub-Saharan Africa		**1258**	**3.6**	**36**	**35.3**	**38**	**13**	**2.4**
	West Africa							
Ghana	135	1570	3.6	52.6	110	31	8	2.3
Senegal	154	1119	3.4	42.8	66	37	9	2.6
Nigeria	153	1502	3.8	50.3	178	40	14	2.5
Burkina Faso	183	613	6.2	27	62	43	12	3.0
	East Africa							
Rwanda	167	583	4.6	19.4	416	41	12	2.9
Tanzania	152	532	4.8	27.2	52	41	10	3.1
Uganda	161	487	6.0	16	173	45	12	3.2
Kenya	145	808	4.4	24	73	37	10	2.7
	Central Africa							
Cameroon	150	1260	3.3	52.7	42	36	14	2.1
Congo DRC	186	231	4.3	34.8	30	43	16	2.6
Angola	148	5318	4.1	59	16	41	14	2.8
Gabon	106	11114	2.3	86	6	27	9	1.9
	Southern Africa							
Zimbabwe	172	757	2.7	39.1	33	29	13	2.2
Botswana	119	8533	2.2	62.3	4	23	13	1.1
South Africa	121	8070	1.9	62	42	21	15	1.2
Malawi	170	365	4.1	15.8	163	44	12	3.2

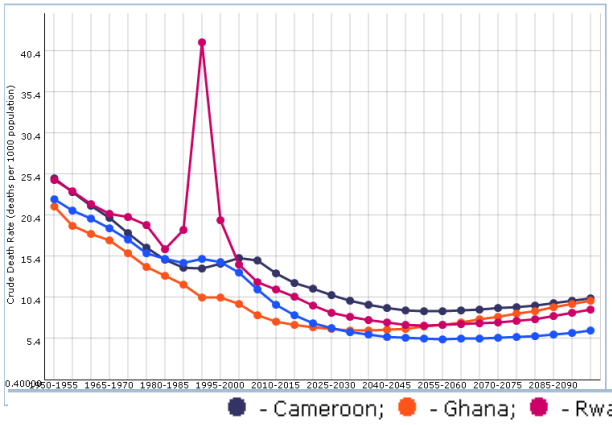
World Bank 2011, UNDP 2013

Compared to the rest of the world, sub-Saharan Africa has become a clear population growth region. The number of people living in Africa has rapidly grown from 183 million in 1950 to almost 875 million people in 2012 (World Bank 2012; Eastwood and Lipton 2011). If the current trend proceeds, it is estimated that sub-Saharan Africa will house 1.7 billion people in the year 2050 (Eastwood and Lipton 2011). At the same time, however, demographic growth has slowed since the mid-1980s. While in 1985 the annual population

growth rate of the subcontinent was estimated at 2.8 per cent, this overall rate is nowadays 2.4 per cent. More significantly, it is projected to decline to 1.7 per cent by 2050 (Zuberi and Thomas 2012; see also Tabutin and Schoumaker 2004; ESA UN 2013). Evidently these trends differ considerably from region to region and country to country. For the period 2005-2010, the Western, Central and Eastern African regions showed higher growth rates – 2.6, 2.7 and 2.5 per cent respectively – compared to the 1.0 per cent growth rate of Southern Africa (ESA UN 2013). Moreover, when we focus on individual countries, four 'African demographic giants' can be identified: Nigeria, Ethiopia, Congo DRC and Tanzania. It is argued that these countries belong to the group of nine countries worldwide that will account for half of the future global population growth (Zuberi and Thomas 2012).

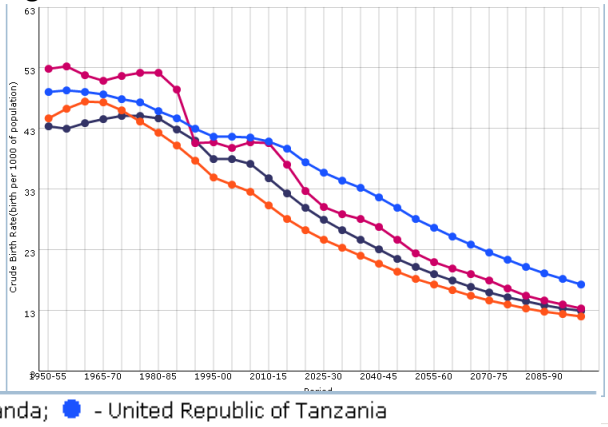
Choi's (2013) study on demographic transition in sub-Saharan Africa illustrates that the transitions occurring in this part of the world are much slower compared to other less-developed regions such as Asia. Nonetheless, although fertility in Africa is on the decline, the highest level in the world is still to be found on this continent. Moreover, birth rates generally decline much slower than death rates. As a result, sub-Saharan Africa is characterised by a very young population. In fact, the total African population younger than 15 years old was estimated at 41 per cent in 2005; however this is also projected to decline a 10 per cent by 2050. On the contrary the middle age segment (15-59 years), which includes the prime working ages, is expected to increase firmly (Velkoff and Kowal 2007; Zuberi and Thomas 2012). This is further illustrated by Figures 1 and 2 which show crude death rate and birth rate trends for the four case countries.

Figure 1: Case countries crude death rates



UN 2011

Figure 2: Case countries crude birth rates



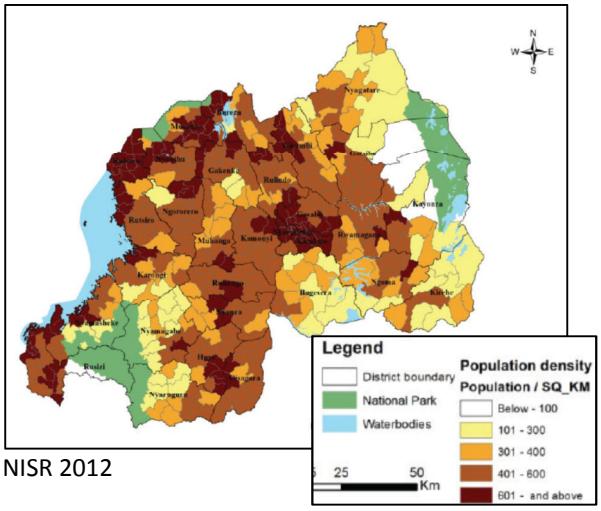
UN 2011

These figures show that Cameroon and Ghana experience the clearest birth rate decline, while Tanzania's death rate is declining rapidly. In the particular case of Rwanda, the 1994 genocide led to a very high death rate and displacement of people which had a severe impact on the country's demographic composition and distribution. Interestingly, while its death rates stabilise, the birth rate of this particular country peaks in the current period 2010-2015 leading to population growth. Any further than 2015 we consider the figures to be very rough projections; we will not include these in our analysis.

Despite these growth figures, sub-Saharan Africa still has a rather low population density compared to the rest of the world with an average of 35 persons per square kilometre (km) (see Table 1) (World Bank 2012; Zuberi and Thomas 2012). Cameroon has an average population density of 42 persons per square km and Tanzania 52 persons per square km. There are however some exceptions where numbers reach way above the

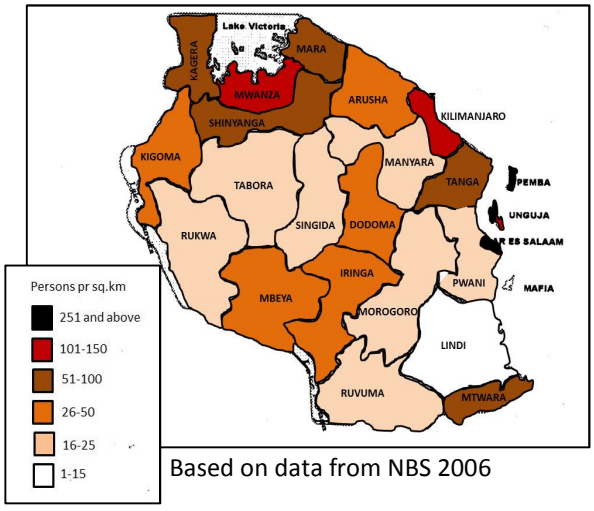
average for sub-Saharan Africa. From 283 inhabitants per square km in 1991, Rwanda's population density passed to 321 in 2002 and 416 inhabitants per square km in 2012. Ghana has also experienced high population growth and by 2012 had an average population density of 110 people per square km (World Bank 2012; GSS 2002). See Figures 3, 4, 5 and 6.

Figure 3:
Rwanda population density, 2012



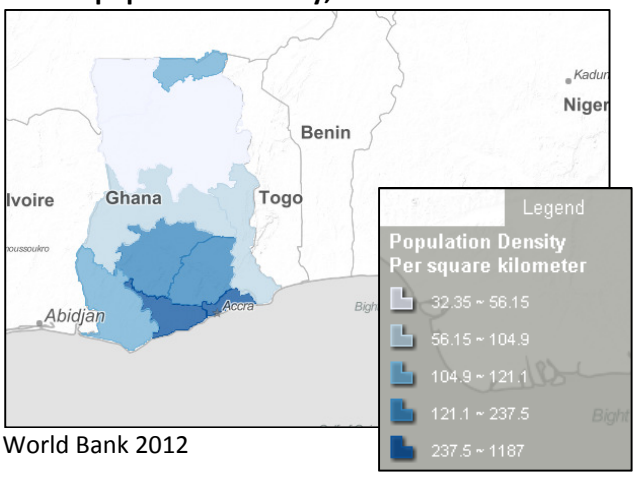
NISR 2012

Figure 4:
Tanzania population density, 2012



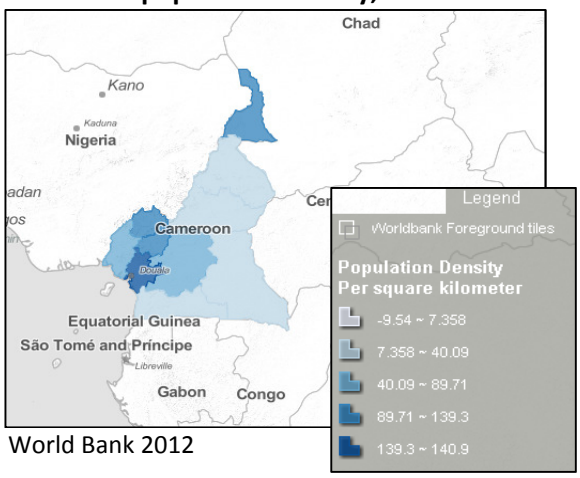
Based on data from NBS 2006

Figure 5:
Ghana population density, 2012



World Bank 2012

Figure 6:
Cameroon population density, 2012



World Bank 2012

It is however important to point out that the densities in question are unevenly distributed. In both Rwanda and Ghana, the capital region is the most densely populated. In Ghana, the Northern region has the lowest density while in Rwanda the Eastern provinces have the least amount of people per square km. In Tanzania, the highest density is concentrated around urban centres where the main infrastructure is found, namely the Dar Es Salaam, Zanzibar and Kilimanjaro regions. There are regional differences in Cameroon as well; the highest density is found around the capital in the Western regions, and in the upper North.

The latter brings us to another population dynamic that is increasingly shaping sub-Saharan African societies - urbanisation processes. At 3.6 per cent, the region has shown the highest urban growth rates worldwide for the last few decades; West, Central and East Africa are the fastest growing regions (Songsore 2003; 2009; Fox 2011; Zuberi and Thomas 2012; ESA UN 2013). While policy-makers are mainly concerned with rural-urban migration

as the predominant driver of urban expansions, critical studies regularly note that the contribution of natural growth (i.e., the urban birth rate minus the urban death rate) is more significant in this respect (e.g., Tacoli 1998; Potts 2008). Moreover, geographical reclassifications (i.e., rural settlements transforming into urban areas in administrative terms, which is often based on demographic and infrastructural characteristics) is another important explanation for the high urban growth rates in sub-Saharan Africa (Fay and Opal 2000; Songsore 2009; Parnell and Walawege 2011). While the region is increasingly urbanised, we must at the same time have a nuanced and diversified notion of the phenomenon. In other words, despite high growth rates, sub-Saharan Africa is still the least urbanised region in the world with an estimated 33 per cent of its population living in cities (Beauchemin 2011; UN 2007). In addition, it is noted that Africa's urban growth rates are declining (Potts 2009; ESA UN 2011). According to UN estimates sub-Saharan Africa saw its highest urban growth rates during the 1950s and 1960s at 5.35 per cent; rates have dropped ever since (ESA UN 2013). Finally, it is vitally important to realise that individual country experiences differ widely. As Table 1 shows, the proportion of the urban population of Ghana (at 52.6 per cent) is by no means comparable with Rwanda (at 19.4 per cent) or Malawi (at 15.8 per cent) (World Bank 2012; see also Zlotnik 20006).

In general, Africa's urbanisation processes have not taken place in accordance with an increased industrialisation or demand for labour (Escallier 1988; Songsore 2003). This continuously results in several major challenges in terms of urban planning and housing as well as service and infrastructure delivery. Because urban expansion is often not in line with employment opportunities, the urban livelihoods of many people become increasingly insecure. In this context, household linkages to rural areas have always been an important safety net for many city inhabitants (Potts 2009).

3. The impact of policies on mobility

Next to population and urbanisation trends, it is vital to take into account policy dynamics in order to understand contemporary African mobilities. While most sub-Saharan Africa countries do not have specific migration or population distribution policies, migration nonetheless is taking place as a consequence of different (re)settlement and development policies. The focus is on three policy clusters that have a direct impact on population movements, namely neoliberal structural reforms, land and agricultural transformation policies and spatial planning policy.

3.1 Neoliberal structural reforms: SAPs, poverty reduction strategies, and decentralisation

In the second half of the 20th century, prosperous global economic conditions led African governments to invest in industrialisation and services. 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 response to urban economic declines while others see a continuance of rural to urban flows (Beauchemin and Bocquier 2004; Bocquier 2004; Potts 2008). Privatisation policies and the reduction in public expenditures have encouraged informal and non-labour migration mostly from rural to urban areas. In Tanzania for example, trade liberalisation played a key role in the development of the informal sector in urban areas as rural migrants were more attracted to the areas (Kanaan 2000). It is important to note that the impacts of structural adjustment also affect rural regions and small urban centres (Simon 1992). While public expenditure cuts generally had detrimental outcomes, promotions 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 within 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 sectors of agriculture and mining; these sectors are mostly located in rural areas (Riddell 1997; Beauchemin 2011).

Another policy measure strongly influenced by the neoliberal agendas of international financial institutions is the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). These papers would seem to be useful vehicles to integrate migration into development strategies. However, in a study focusing on how PRSPs address migration and the potential impact on the development of Sub-Saharan African countries, Black and Sward (2009) argue that despite some progress, this impact often is not recognised. When the country PRSP reports did make reference to the migration-development linkage, it was very often in negative terms, implying that migration is seen as a development problem. When migration is

addressed – in negative or positive terms – the translation into shifts in development policy and activity remained poor. For example in Ghana, the Shared Growth and Development Agenda aimed to transform the Ghanaian economy through industrialisation, agricultural modernisation and the sustainable exploitation of its natural resources (See also Box 3). However, not only did it fail in restructuring the economy, it led to accentuated and even exacerbated regional and rural-urban inequalities (Aryeetey *et al.* 2009; MLGRD/GoG 2010). One case were the migration-development connection is made is Rwanda. Private sector development and urbanisation are considered key drivers for economic transformation and growth. Rwanda's poverty reduction policy is expected to push rural households increasingly toward off-farm activities; this may in turn trigger a movement to rural centres or even departures to the city. Despite its focus on urbanisation, the majority of Rwandans will continue to live in rural areas (Imbs 2002; see also Box 1).

Another influence on rural-urban relations is the decentralisation reforms that began in the 1990s under international pressure. 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 central in supporting positive rural-urban linkages. While some sub-Saharan countries have a longer history of local government, its level of establishment and the nature of decentralisation changed through time. Tanzania for example has a long history of decentralisation with the aim of improving public service delivery and development planning. The local government authorities that existed under colonial administration were abolished in the 1970s; they were however reintroduced in the 1980s with the establishment of rural councils. Between 1992 and 2002, local government reforms were implemented in Tanzania. Through a process of de-concentration, the role of the central government was reduced to a regulatory role while local governments were made responsible for rule of law as well as a variety of other areas *inter alia* the implementation of development activities and services. In Ghana, local autonomy was encouraged and promoted in 1988 through the installation of MMDAs (or metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies, established to give more responsibility to local governments). As a result, each district needed an administrative centre or capital; this attracted public infrastructure as well as people and thus led to rural settlements growing into (semi) urban centres (Owusu 2005 and 2008). Only after the genocide that ended in 1994, a progressive decentralisation process was initiated in Rwanda together with the promotion of private sector development. It is now the responsibility of local governments to plan local economic development (LED) in collaboration with public, private, and non-governmental sector partners (MINALOC 2011: 17). In Cameroon it was not until the constitutional revision in 1996 that the country became a decentralised unitary state with regions and councils acting as regional and local authorities. While a law on the orientation of decentralisation was passed in 2004, it was only in 2010 that the transfer of resources and knowledge from the state to the regional and local levels was implemented. Municipal councils now manage the following sectors: agricultural production and rural development, the promotion of farming and fishing, and the provision of services including water supply and waste management. The impact on mobility patterns, thus, remains to be seen (Box 4).

3.2 Policies on land and agricultural transformation

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 in place which can ensure security of tenure on one hand, but also promote large-scale foreign investments on the other. At the same time, development programmes implemented by the government at the national and local levels are put in place to tackle the socio-economic marginalisation and exclusion of vulnerable groups (Cotula 2007; FAO 2012). Attention should be given to the various implications of agricultural transformation for rural households, including income diversification.

Small scale farmers' incomes from agriculture may diminish as a consequence of increasing land scarcity, climate variability, soil degradation, population growth and competition from large-scale commercial agriculture (Bryceson 1999; Chukwuezi 1999). On a more positive note, access to non-farm employment and alternative income generating activities has increased for rural residents (Bah *et al.* 2003). This does not mean that the importance of agriculture should be underestimated; the majority of households still depend on agricultural activities for their livelihood sources (Madulu 1998; Tacoli 2002; Bah *et al.* 2003). In their discussion of the relationships between mobility and agrarian change in Kenya, Greiner and Sakdapolrak (2013) hold that virtually all rural households are somewhere on a continuum between subsistence and commoditisation. Official figures in Rwanda state that 80 per cent of the population lives in rural areas while 90 per cent of the population cultivates at least one parcel of land (NISR, 2012; see also Charlery de la Masselière 1992 and 1993).

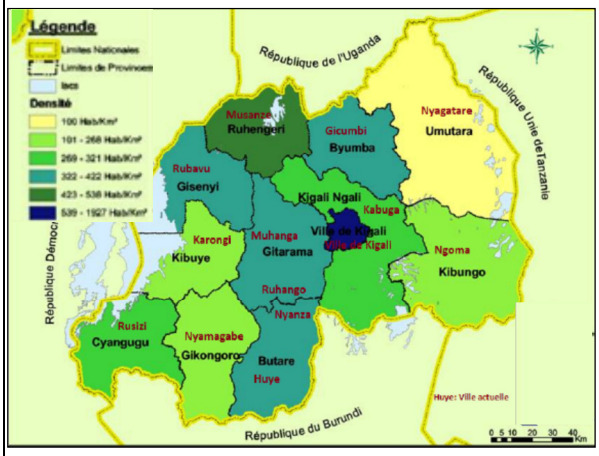
Agricultural production systems are undergoing significant transformations following economic reforms of the past two decades as well as the increasing commercialisation and globalisation of African agricultural production. The globalisation of African agricultural production also involved an influx of large agricultural businesses which absorb the surplus agricultural labour. As such, members of the rural household engage in agricultural activities as wage labourers (Tacoli 2002). With global trends of increased use of agro-energy and a rise in world market food prices, large scale investments in land started at the turn of the 21st century. Because of the favorable conditions and very low land sale and lease prices, many such deals take place in sub-Saharan Africa (DevNet 2011). This agricultural land grab has major impacts upon the rural population of many sub-Saharan African countries who are engaged in small scale farming. As in the case of Cameroon where land tenure regulations facilitate the sale of large plots of land to foreign investors and many rural households have been evicted from their land. In other cases, the buyers have been rural residents investing in commercial farming. Examples from Tanzania and Mali are given by Bah *et al.* (2003) where higher income urban residents as such displace less well-off small farmers.

Land continues to be a sensitive issue in different sub-Saharan African countries in post-colonial times. The unequal distribution of land during Apartheid in South Africa for example has led the way to comprehensive land reforms as well as redistribution plans that are being implemented today. In Rwanda and Cameroon, a growing competition over access to land results from scarcity and government interventions. Moreover, national policies have influenced the populations' mobility. With Rwanda and Cameroon as examples, some impacts of land policies and agricultural transformation on migration patterns are illustrated below.

Box 1: Migration in Rwanda

Throughout history, Rwanda's population has been engaged in various migratory movements. The regional differences within the country were the main drivers behind these population movements. Rural to rural movements, motivated by the search for better land and a more sustainable livelihood has been the most common flow in the past. However a shift in Rwandan way of living has manifested in movements towards urban centres. During colonial rule, migration first took place towards smaller centres. After independence these flows continued; however increased movement from rural areas and these intermediate cities towards the capital of Kigali starting taking off. By the 1980s, Rwanda began to cope with a land shortage and in the 1990s this became a major challenge for the rural population. With 60 per cent of the Rwandese population owning less than 0.5 ha of land, migration eastward and to urban areas became an alternative livelihood strategy for many rural households (Uwimbabazi and Lawrence 2011). Between 1991 and 2002, Rwanda experienced an urban growth rate of 12.1 per cent. For example, in 1996, 400.000 inhabitants were counted in Kigali; by 2012 this number increased to 1.135.428 inhabitants. Next to the mentioned flows it is important also to acknowledge returnees' contribution to this phenomenon. Despite a current urban growth rate of 4.6 per cent, the majority of the Rwandan population still lives in rural areas. In fact, the latest numbers indicate that 19.4 per cent of the population is living in urban areas (Table 1). Retiring people are now returning to their rural origins while more recently a new type of migration from urban to rural areas also has been observed. Kosten (2012) explains that Kigali's growth has attracted investors who started to replace old buildings. As a consequence, land prices increased as well as urban construction standards, which evicted and relocated urban inhabitants to surrounding rural regions. In Rwanda forced migration has constituted an important part of the migration patterns. At the start of 1995 about one million or more persons were displaced within Rwanda's borders as a result of the Genocide in 1994. Other movements include the forced displacements that occurred during the '*Imidugudu*' or villagisation programme implemented since 1995. This programme partly addressed the resettling of the internally displaced (MININFRA 2009; also see policy chapter) as well as the state-led land colonisation in the Eastern province. The use of marshland for cultivation has been a practice since the 1950s, but intensification has become a necessity to cope with both an increasing population as well as the shortage of arable land (Republique Rwandaise 2002). The spatial analysis of migration patterns in Rwanda is complicated due to the restructuring of administrative units in 2006 when Rwanda went from 10 prefectures to 4 provinces and from141 communes to 30 districts (Figures 7 and 8).

Figure 7: Old administrative units (bearing names of current District cities)



MINECOFIN 2002

Figure 8: Current administrative units with Provinces and Districts

CGIS-NUR 2006

One of the major challenges Rwanda faces is land scarcity and land fragmentation (see also Box 1). In fact, it is estimated that approximately 80 per cent of households hold less than one hectare (ha) of land (World Bank 2011). When it comes to agricultural production, one ha is considered to be too small to earn a living (REMA 2009). Agricultural transformation – notably the up-scaling of production – and land management are therefore two important pillars of the country's ambition to reach a middle income status. In fact, the government aims to transform its economy from largely agrarian to a knowledge-based economy (Republic of Rwanda 2000). On one hand this has resulted in institutional and legal reforms to ensure security of land tenure as well as the development of a land market. The recent Land Tenure Regularisation Programme is considered to be one of the most thoroughly designed programmes in Africa (Ali *et al.* 2011). Special cases in this respect are Rwanda's landless people (who mostly are refugees of 1959 and their relatives), repatriated refugees of the genocide, women and female orphans (Uwayezu and Mugiraneza 2011). It is the government's ambition to reform the unjust land distribution of the pre-1994 regimes and to provide land to repatriated refugees, women and genocide orphans as well as assist them in developing their land. These policy measures have the potential to reduce outmigration from rural areas. On the other hand, however, the up-scaling of agricultural production means that fewer Rwandan households can solely rely on agriculture to sustain their livelihoods. With the Government's Crop Intensification Programme as the main guideline, many smallholders are required to cultivate certain crops in specific areas and in a collective way. This 'modernisation' of agricultural production may force rural households to engage in more diversified livelihood practices, including non-farm activities. This process can lead to an increase in circular rural-urban migration patterns.

In Cameroon, the agricultural sector has always been a priority for the government and thus central to its economic policies. The different agricultural policies together with the country's land tenure system had an impact on the mobility and migration patterns of its population. Between 1972 and 1986, the state invested massively in rural development through the establishment of state-owned agro-industries, rural corporations and various support programmes. The main expenditures however went to the state plantation sector; smallholders were almost completely neglected. Many smallholders thus had to look for non-farm employment as a consequence (Bamou and Masters 2007). After the crisis of 1986, caused by the price collapse of export commodities (e.g., coffee and oil, among others), liberal reforms were initiated. This New Agricultural Policy (NPA) liberalised the trade in agricultural products and restructured public enterprises (Ondoa-Manga 2006). As these measures once again had disastrous consequences for rural small-scale farmers, many opted for diversification. Kaffo (2005) gives the example of coffee farmers in West Cameroon; some gradually converted to growing vegetables while other town dwellers returned to the village to engage in market gardening. Additionally, both private and foreign investment in the sector were promoted and enabled through Cameroon's land tenure system. This system dictates that privately-owned land must be registered and titled, while all unregistered land is either public land (held by the state on behalf of the public) or national land (unoccupied land and land held under customary law) (African Development Bank 2009; USAID 2011). These laws were intended to promote foreign investment, as private property rights were clarified and all unregistered land was made available for investment. Rural land is generally held by communities under customary law, with local leaders assigned as land administrators. The state can allocate user rights of national land to individuals or groups or convert this land into public property. One example is the eviction

of traditional landowners to construct the Chad-Cameroon oil pipeline between 2000 and 2004 (COHRE 2002; USAID 2011). Because of the high number of conflicts related to land, the government launched a land reform programme in 2011 with combined objectives: to audit the management of state-owned land as well as propose a profound reform on land tenure. As in Rwanda, farming women are a particularly vulnerable group as access to land is difficult to secure.

3.3 Spatial planning policies

Large parts of Sub-Saharan Africa are characterized by increased population pressures and urban centres that are expanding. Through the years different spatial planning policies were implemented in order to influence the distribution of people and activities, either by keeping people in place or by mobilising the population. Spatial planning plays a key role in coordinating sectoral policies such as agriculture, urbanisation infrastructure and transport. To spread socio-economic growth and development, which is often concentrated in the cities, integrated rural development (IRD) plans are developed and implemented in several countries (Okafor 1980). IRD strategies are formulated to facilitate rural transformation and development as well as to essentially keep people in rural regions. Rural Centre Planning strategies and Rural Growth Centre approaches have also been implemented in order to improve rural dwellers' access to services and employment (MDG Centre, East and Southern Africa 2007). Spin-off effects to non-agricultural activities often develop in these centres. This often leads to growth both in economic terms as well as in population, which attracts rural migrants (Agergaard *et al.* 2010).

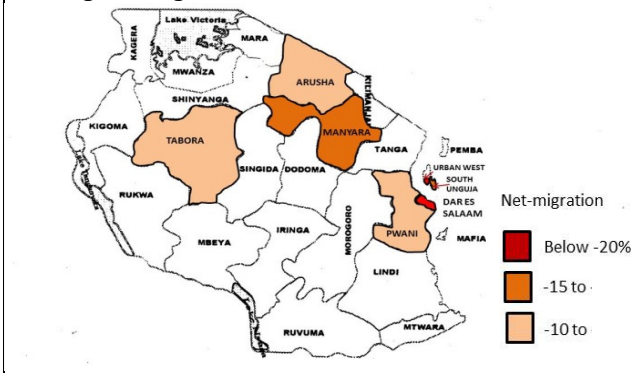
Peasant cultivation is often regarded as an obstacle to agricultural modernisation and higher productivity. One way to solve this is the 'villagisation' or collectivisation of small scale farmers (Young 1998; Agergaard *et al*. 2010). Villagisation policies as implemented in countries such as Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania and Rwanda resettled considerable amounts of people, while at the same time it reduced the need for migration through the centralisation of infrastructure and services and promotion of rural economic development. We will further discuss villagisation as implemented in Tanzania during the socialist regime, as well as in Rwanda since the mid-1990s. In Tanzania (see Box 2), widespread population redistribution of remote rural populations to '*Ujamaa'* villages took place over the period of 1974-1982 (Osafo-Kwaako 2011). These populations were resettled in communal villages, often along a main road. The aim of this policy was to provide better access to services and infrastructure and as such reduce rural-urban migration. Around one half of the total population, or roughly 13 million inhabitants, have been affected by the resettlements. These forced movements were implemented without regard for the carrying capacity of the newly occupied land, availability of water or the impacts upon rural households' livelihoods. In fact, many of those who were resettled transitioned from being economically self-sufficient toward a dependency on government support. Despite the policy failing in Tanzania (Osafo-Kwaako 2011), a similar system was implemented by Rwanda in 1995 (Box 1). Villagisation (or *Imidugudu*) was to promote economic development and improve delivery of services to the population as well as serve as the development centre for non-agricultural income generation. Rural inhabitants were resettled in planned settlements or 'clustered habitats'. By late 1999, 94 per cent of the population of Kibungo and 60 percent of the population of Umutara, both prefectures in the east, as well as 40 percent of the

population of the prefecture surrounding the capital of Kigali had been moved into these villages. This clearly suggests that some population movements are directly imposed by government policies. The programme also made it possible for those Rwandans who returned from outside the country as well as the internally displaced to settle on planned sites (Global IDP Project 2005**;** Isaksson 2011).

Box 2: Migration in Tanzania

Tanzania has a history of inter-rural and rural to urban migration. During colonial times, the export-oriented agriculture shifted towards cotton and coffee plantations in the Bukoba and Kilimanjaro regions. During the socialist regime in the post-independency years, longer distance inter-rural migrations slowed due to policies that focused on community farming. During harvest time and in case of labour shortages some seasonal migration still occurred. In the 1970s some forced migration moves took place when the villagisation programme was introduced. Under the programme, people from remote areas were resettled in communal villages (called *Ujamaa* villages) in order to more easily provide them with services and infrastructure as well as to put a hold on rural to urban migration. With the implementation of liberalisation policies in the 1980s, rural to urban migration returned with an increased intensity. Main attraction areas were Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar and Mwanza, but at the same time smaller urban centres developed. In Tanzania it is clear that the majority of the migrants are attracted to regions where infrastructure is well-developed. Migrants also prefer places with connections to urban centres or those with opportunities in mining and agriculture. For example, Mwanza, the second busiest commercial centre after Dar es Salaam, attracts migrants due to its opportunities in cotton production and gold mining. Another flow that can be detected is the movement of people from Dar es Salaam to the Shingyanga region; migrants hope to find work in the gold mines there. Transformations in the agricultural sector also initiate new seasonal migrations. The expansion of rice production in the Usanga Plains is an example of how a dynamic region with new opportunities in agriculture can attract migrants. In recent years, Tanzania has moved into new markets of fresh produce for export such as flowers and vegetables grown in the Arusha region. Although still rather small, there seems to be future potential which might again attract people to the area.

Figure 9: Areas of attraction: Top 7 regions of high in-migration



Based on data from NBS 2006

Figure 10: Areas of expulsion: Top 10 regions of high out-migration

Based on data from NBS 2006

According to Tacoli (2002), 50-60 per cent of all households in Tanzania indicated that they currently have or had at least one migrating household member. Moreover, the number of young migrants appears to be increasing. In addition to employment opportunities, socio-cultural changes also are occurring in Tanzania as well as the rest of sub-Saharan Africa; this is also observed in the changing aspirations of young Africans. While in Tanzania the majority of the migrants are still male, it is also becoming more common for women to migrate. As women have insecure land tenure and are often engaged in unpaid farm labour, they are also attracted by employment opportunities in urban areas that increase their financial security.

4. Mobility patterns and processes

Although migration in sub-Saharan Africa is an age-old phenomenon, it shows increasing complexity. Due to the scarcity of reliable data, and due to the fact that many spatial movements occur with minimal formalities, only estimates of the total number of migrants can be given (Adepoju 2000; Bakewell and de Haas 2007). Moreover, in cases where migration records exist at the national level, they fall short when it comes to describing the short-distance, circular and temporary movements that are omnipresent in Africa. These migration records regularly present migrants as 'stable stocks' at the destination points (Schapendonk 2011). In other words, migrants estimates may remain relatively stable over time in the numerical sense (e.g., migrants' share in the total population) while the qualitative characteristics of these stocks are highly dynamic. Outgoing migrants can be constantly replaced by return migrants or immigrants in a specific period of time (and vice versa). Thus, where population numbers are static, the livelihoods of the people that form the population can still be highly mobile (Schapendonk 2011; see also Trager 1995).

Although this chapter focuses on domestic mobility patterns, we argue that these patterns should not be analysed in isolation from international movements. There are at least two analytical reasons for this. First, Africa's colonial borders not only produced an artificial distinction between internal and international spaces, ethnical groups were divided between two or more states. As a result, many individuals that move across national borders today are, in the technical sense, international migrants. However, this connotation is often lacking in social discourses as migrants move within familiar ethnic and spatial environments. Second, as the stepwise migration model suggests (e.g., Riddell and Harvey 1972), many of the international flows start as short distance movements toward nearby towns; they eventually extend to national cities and international destinations. Internal and international mobility thus often appear as a continuum (King *et al.* 2008). In the following section, we therefore start a brief discussion of international mobility before we focus on domestic mobility types and trends.

4.1 International mobility: regional patterns and diversifications

UN global estimates (2011) put the total number of international migrants at 214.2 million in 2010; 18 million originate from sub-Saharan Africa (Table 2). This cross-border African migration constitutes a wide range of people, including labour migrants, refugees, traders, highly skilled workers and students, as well as trafficked women and children (Deshingkar and Grimm 2004; Spaan and van Moppes 2006; Schapendonk 2011). Research shows that more than two-thirds of all international migrants from sub-Saharan Africa migrate to other countries within sub-Saharan Africa (De Haas 2008; Fischer and Vollmer 2009). Several emerging economies, such as South Africa (Adepoju 2008a), Nigeria, Ivory Coast (Spaan and Van Moppes 2006), Botswana (Nyamnjoh 2006) and, more recently, Angola[1], are particularly prominent for attracting regional migrants.

[1] News reports indicate that an increasing number of irregular migrants enter Angola in order to seek employment opportunities in the oil sector. See for instance: http://www.afrol.com/articles/33294, and http://www.monitor.co.ug/News/World/Angola-repatriates-76-illegal-immigrants-from-DR-Congo/-/688340/1678788/-/a2jdc0z/-/index.html

Table 2: Sub-Saharan Africa: International migration stock 2010

Sub-Saharan Africa: International migrant stock by age, 2010 (thousands)							
Total	**0-9**	**10-19**	**20-39**	**40-64**	**65+**	**15-24**	**60+**
18 006.6	2 249.5	2 876.7	7 639.6	4 464.7	775.7	3 496.6	1 332.5

Female migrants as a percentage of the international migrant stock by age, 2010			**Percentage distribution of international migrants by age, 2010**			**Median age of international migrants**
0-19	**20-64**	**65+**	**0-19**	**20-64**	**65+**	
51.9	**45.5**	**43.7**	**28.5**	**67.2**	**4.3**	**29.8**

UN 2011

Evidently, various violent conflicts in different regions have affected population movements considerably. Although it is estimated that in the whole of sub-Saharan Africa the total number of refugees declined from 3.4 million in 2000 to 2.1 million in 2008 (UNHCR 2009), recent conflicts in the Kivu region of Congo DRC, as well as Mali and South Sudan have displaced many people across borders. According to UNHCR statistics, refugee populations in Eastern Africa[2] (1.2 million) and Central Africa[3] (628 thousand) are relatively higher compared to West Africa (168 thousand) and Southern Africa (146 thousand) (UNHCR 2012).

Despite the continuation of regional migration, different researchers have pointed to important transformations regarding African migration (Adepoju 2000; Bakewell and de Haas 2007; Zoomers *et al.* 2009). First, the destinations of international migrants within the African continent have strongly diversified. Important examples are post-Apartheid South Africa which receives migrants from all African regions (Nyamnjoh 2006; Manuh 2006), and Gabon which receives migrants from, among others, Nigeria and Mali (Adepoju 2000). In the decade before its revolution of 2011, Libya became an important destination for migrants originating from West, Central and East Africa (De Haas 2008). Second, this diversification trend also applies to extra-continental migration. Whereas post-colonial pathways are still important in explaining migration from Africa to Europe, intensified globalisation processes have directed more and more Africans to other destinations such as the United States (Hagopian *et al.* 2004), China (Politzer 2008), and the Gulf states (Pelican and Tatah 2009). In this respect, there is a particular concern regarding the brain drain that results from the emigration of skilled workers, and especially of medical personal such as nurses and doctors (Hagopian *et al.* 2004; Adepoju 2005; Dovlo 2007). A third transformation is that sub-Saharan African women are increasingly on the move (Adepoju 1995; Lobnibe 2009). Table 2 shows that in all age categories women constitute almost half of the total migrant stock in sub-Saharan Africa. A final transformation concerns the age of the migrants. Related to the rejuvenating African population, more and more younger Africans are involved in international migration. As shown in Table 2 the majority of the migrants are found in the age category between 20 and 39. Female migrants are even younger; more than half are under the age of 20.

[2] This includes the Horn of Africa.
[3] This includes the Great Lake Region.

4.2 Domestic mobility: towards a typology

As Jonsson (2008) indicates, migration dynamics in Africa can be understood as different historical continuities and discontinuities; often pre-existing patterns re-emerge or shape contemporary mobility. Hence, to understand the evolution of current African migration patterns, it is essential to comprehend the changing global context and the many micro- and macro-level factors that have shaped the trends and patterns of migration in sub-Saharan Africa (Adepoju 2008; Bakewell 2011). Throughout history, processes of colonialism, state formation and capitalist development initiated new migration patterns and trends in an already mobile continent.

Various colonial administrations initiated and enforced new migration patterns within newly established borders. One of the most significant forms of migration at that time was the (forced) displacement of labor migrants to large-scale plantations and mines in rural regions (Byerlee 1974; Arthur 1991). Although it is of minor importance in quantitative terms, it is important to note that the colonial development of new centres of administration and export also triggered rural-urban mobility. Workers were recruited to urban areas for the construction of infrastructure, the provision of private services and as workers in the administration sector. Some migrants moved voluntarily and spontaneously to cities, many other Africans, however, were forced to move under colonialist rule (Byerlee 1974; Arthur 1991).[4] Evidently, this migration to urban centres was rather small in comparison to current trends.

After independence, rural-urban migration intensified and contributed to the growth of urban areas in sub-Saharan Africa. Export-oriented development and the concentration of investments in the cities led to increasing inequality. Economic motives were considered the main driver; people from disadvantaged rural areas moved to the city where they expected to find better opportunities (Byerlee 1974; Adepoju 1995). Next to the biggest cities and capitals, small and medium-sized urban centres also experienced high growth rates (Akin Aida 1995; Tacoli 2001). After the crisis in the late 1970s neoliberal policies reduced both government spending and public sector employment which in turn reversed urban livelihoods and incomes and slowed the urban in-migration. The rural-urban gap narrowed and in fact almost vanished as urban incomes drastically fell (Potts 2008; Beauchemin 2011).

In many African countries, this fall generated what Potts (1997) terms the 'new urban poor'. These people are forced to adjust their livelihood strategies according to the new economic context. A counter movement from urban to the rural home was identified (Simon 1992; Tacoli 1998; Beauchemin 2011) as well as migration flows between different urban areas. In some cases, secondary and small towns took over to be the destination of choice for rural to urban migrants as economic stagnation and the decline in expenditures in the public sector discouraged a move toward national capitals (Akin Aina 1995; Tacoli 1998 and 2002). Bryceson (1997) gives the example of Tanzania where migration during the 1980s shifted from the primate cities towards smaller towns. Much city growth today is due to natural growth, rather than migration. This does not mean that mobility is on the decline; circular migration instead has intensified in recent years.

[4] Under British rule, for example, many rural families in West Africa were confronted with poll and hut taxes which encouraged migration from the informal rural labour market to the urban wage sectors (Arthur 1991).

Table 3: Typology of domestic mobility in Africa

Time dimension	Spatial pattern			
	Rural-rural	*Rural-urban*	*Urban-rural*	*Urban-urban*
Commuting	Daily circular mobility of workers to plantations/mines, petty traders/self-employed and school children to rural nodes.	Daily circular mobility of workers to manufacturing and service sectors, petty traders/self-employed, school children/students to urban nodes.	Daily circular mobility of workers to plantations/mines.	Daily circular mobility of workers to manufacturing and service sectors, petty traders/self-employed, school children/students to urban nodes.
Periodic / short term	Traders to markets, pastoralist movements	Traders of agro-products and cattle to urban markets, children moving to boarding schools	Traders of manufacturing products	Traders of manufacturing products.
Seasonal / medium term	Mobility of workers to plantations/mines, transhumance systems, pastoralists' movements, displacements due to environmental hazards.	Movement from rural areas to cities during agricultural low seasons	Return migration during harvest seasons	Temporary labour migration and transfer of workers. Migration of self-employed.
Long term	Labour migration, retirement migration, family migration	Labour migration, movement of self-employed.	Repatriation of unemployed migrants, family migration, retirement migration.	Long term labour migration, return migration.

Partly based on the typologies of Oucho and Gould 1993

Patterns that gradually have been introduced or enforced throughout history are still prevalent in contemporary sub-Saharan Africa. Based on Oucho and Gould (1993), in Table 3 we present a typology of internal population mobility in Africa in which we distinguish different patterns with regard to direction and time. The table illustrates the different population movements taking place in sub-Saharan Africa. It is likely that all these patterns are present in a country at one time. Four broad categories of spatial patterns can be distinguished: rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-rural and urban-urban. These movements can be daily, periodic, seasonal or long term, depending on the subject and reason for migration.

4.3 Contemporary trends in mobility

While the African population has been on the move for ages, we can state that African migration patterns become more complex with an increasing diversification in destination and actors. Although a few among many, two factors in particular influence these mobility

patterns: first, the decrease in the real cost of travel by the development of transport infrastructure that brings distant places closer and second, the spread of new information technologies which expand the horizons of potential migrants (e.g. Fortes 1971; Hart 1971; Adepoju 1977; Arthur 1991; Tacoli 2001; Preston-Whyte *et al.* 2006).

From our literature study, we are able to identify at least three main trends of African domestic migration:

- Diversified spatial patterns
- Increasing circulation, connectivity and temporary mobility
- Changes in migration selectivity: the role of gender and generation

Diversified spatial patterns

As illustrated before, internal migration in Sub-Saharan Africa has always involved different spatial and time dimensions. Being embedded within the globalised political economy, which gives rise to different rural and urban transformations, African migration dynamics have become even more complex and varied. Challenges and concerns that rapid urbanisation processes posed for policy makers have resulted in an existing research bias towards rural-urban migration. Though, many case studies show the existence of migration patterns in other directions that often even surpass the rural-urban streams. Throughout history often one pattern dominated; in contemporary sub-Saharan Africa, different patterns prevail at the same time.

One pattern that has the longest history in sub-Saharan Africa, but has often been overlooked, is rural-rural migration. Although the empirical evidence is thin (as a consequence of the research bias on urban areas), it is often stated that much African domestic mobility occurs between rural areas (e.g. Riddell and Harvey 1972; Stucki 1992; Adepoju 1995; van Dijk *et al.* 2001; Tacoli 2001; de Haan and Rogaly 2002; Mberu 2005; Abdul-Korah 2006; Oucho 2007). Some illustrative indication of the significance of rural-rural migration is given by a recent case study of Nigerian internal migration. Based on a national survey, the study shows that the majority of rural out-migrants (64 per cent) had rural instead of city destinations (Mberu 2005). The same pattern is found by Broekhuis (2008) in censuses of Burkina Faso and by Cleveland (1991) in a study of northern Ghana[5]. Often this concerns the daily or seasonal circular movement from traditional agricultural activities to modern sectors such as commercial agriculture and mines (Adepoju 1998).

Although urban growth rates are declining and it is generally understood that the contribution of natural growth is more significant for current urban growth (Potts 2008), rural-urban flows continue from the perspective of trade and labour and in terms of livelihood adaptations. The circular mobility of workers to both the formal and informal sectors in urban areas on a daily or seasonal basis as well as traders moving towards urban markets are examples of such flows. In many cases public and private investment is concentrated in cities and considerable discrepancies exist between urban and rural areas with regard to access to services. Urban electricity coverage in 2005 was five times higher

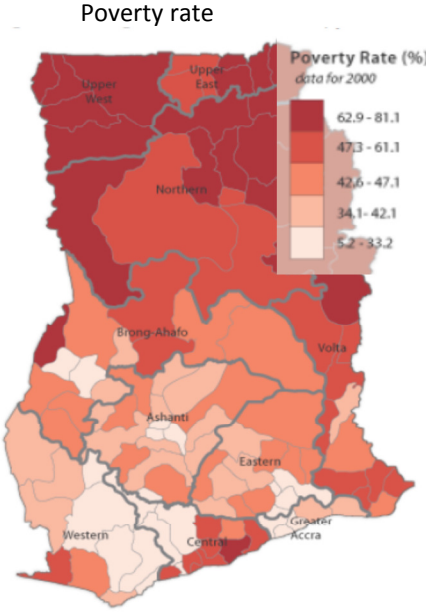
[5] In this study, some 77 per cent of the out-migrants from the Zorse village headed to other rural destinations, instead of to urban areas.

Box 3: Migration in Ghana

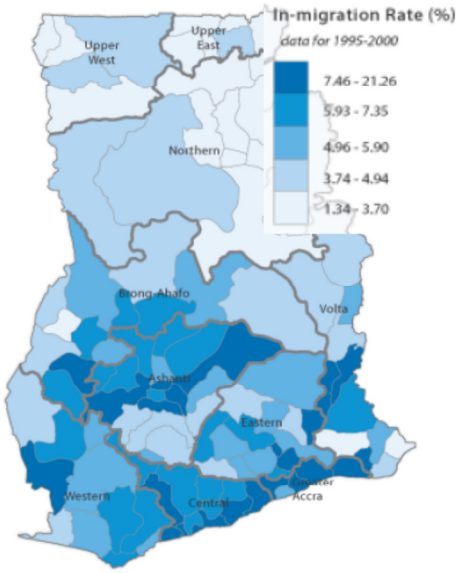
Migration in Ghana has been studied extensively since the 1960s (Ackah and Medvedev 2010). During the 1960s, heavy investment in infrastructural development triggered a rural to urban movement. By the 1970s and 1980s this movement slowed down due to fewer opportunities in the cities. However, due to the uneven distribution of benefits from economic growth following the SAPs, it did continue. As Bilsborrow (2002) illustrates, based on the 1988 census, there was a first movement in the opposite direction in addition to people moving between urban areas (Table 3). Over the past decades, new dynamics have developed along with global shifts and the stabilisation of the country (Jonsson 2009). Most migration now occurs in a North-South movement with the southern provinces being the destination for about 88 per cent of all internal migrants. Greater Accra and Ashanti appear to attract most of these migrants, while the North accounts for the lowest proportion. Ghana's Western region, with its cocoa plantations and mines, also attracts many migrants from the North due to the fact that there are fewer economic opportunities there. Many of these movements may be considered seasonal migration where people from the North move southwards during the dry season for jobs in the cash crop and mining sectors. Migration patterns seem to be fed by livelihood opportunities which are connected to ecological regions; they also correspond with the poverty map of Ghana (Figure 11).

Figure 11: Migration and Poverty in Ghana, District Level

Poverty rate



Migration rate



Castaldo *et al.* 2012

Ghana has become a predominately urbanised society which reached its critical point in 2010 with over 51 per cent of its population living in urban areas (Owusu 2012). A recent analysis of the 2005 census by Castaldo *et al.* (2012) shows us that return migration, or the movement form urban to rural areas, is still prevalent. This is followed by inter-rural and inter-urban flows. This may indicate that the majority of urban growth in the country is due to natural increase rather than migrant influx.

Males still dominate the migration field in Ghana, but an increasing number of young women are moving to the big cities such as Accra and Kumasi (Tetteh 2009; Addai 2011; Castaldo *et al.* 2012).

than in rural areas and 83 per cent of the urban population had access to water supply and sanitation against 47 per cent of the rural population (Banjeree *et al.* 2008; WHO/UNICEF 2010). This in itself can direct significant migration flows. However, a note on the availability and accessibility of services is pertinent here. Despite the better provision in cities, services may not always reach low income urban communities. The number of people with access to services often does not keep up with the urban population increase. In the case of Tanzania, many migrant flows seem to be directed towards these concentrations of infrastructure in

the main cities, however opportunities in the gold mines and plantations, as well as transformations in the agricultural sector, initiate migration flows in different directions (rural-rural, urban-rural and inter-urban) (see Box 2).

While rural-urban migration is important in order to understand mobility dynamics in this part of the world, the reality does not reflect the image of rural migrants moving *en masse* to Africa's primate cities (Oucho and Gould 1993; Potts 2008). Bilsborrow (2002), for instance, illustrates on the basis of national censuses in the 1970s and 1980s a great deal of urban-urban migration in Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana (Table 4). With the emergence of different medium to large cities in sub-Saharan Africa, inter-urban migration is purported to increase. This includes traders and migrants who might be involved in step-wise migration from smaller to bigger cities (Oucho 1998).

As already illustrated with the case of Tanzania, urban-rural migration has become a rather important pattern since the introduction of neoliberal restructuring. In his 2011 article on migration trends in West Africa Beauchemin articulates the importance of urban-rural migration for Cote d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso. For Rwanda, Box 1 explains a very specific type of urban to rural migration that is taking place. As Table 4 illustrates for Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana, already in the 1980s this return migration appears to be a significant flow.

More recent data from the GLSS 2005/2006 survey analysed by Castaldo *et al.* (2012) seem to reconfirm the urban-rural trend for Ghana observed by Billsborrow (2002), as this pattern is found to constitute the largest percentage of internal migrants (Table 5). This analysis also illustrates the high incidence of rural-rural migration in Ghana. A remark we want to make here concerns the importance of the definition of migration that is used when comparing different studies. In the case of Ghana, both Bilsborrow (2002) and Castaldo *et al.* (2012) use previous residence as a census aspect to measure internal migration. In the case of Castaldo *et al*., the definition only captures movements that occurred five years prior to the census.

Table 4: Migrants by type of flow and direction

Country	**Census year**	**Type of data**	**Percentage**			
			Rural-urban	*Urban-urban*	*Rural-rural*	*Urban-rural*
Botswana	1988	Place of birth	60.0	8.0	29.0	3.0
Cote d'Ivoire	1986	Previous place of residence	14.8	44.2	20.3	20.7
Ghana	1988	Previous place of residence	4.6	48.5	9.5	37.3

Bilsborrow 2002

Table 5: Frequencies of different types of internal migration by gender, Ghana [6]

	All migrants (%)	**Males (N=)**	**Females (N=)**
Rural-urban	6.5	238	307
Urban-urban	24.2	970	1,053
Rural-rural	33.0	1,154	1,602
Urban-rural	36.3	1,480	1,559
Total		**3,842**	**4,521**

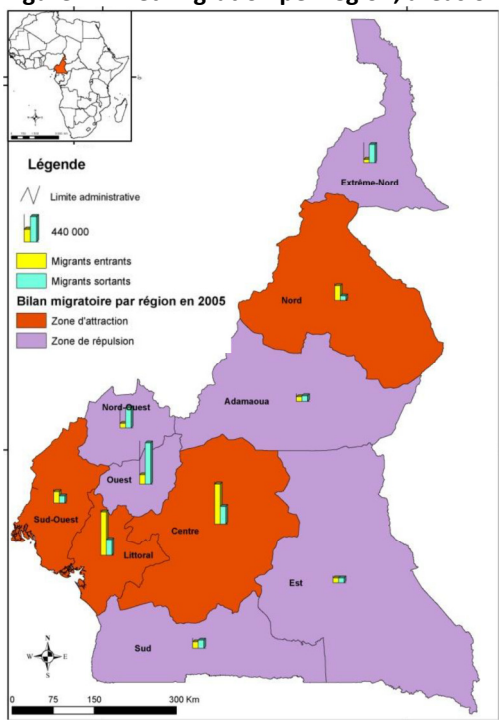
Adapted from Castaldo *et al.* 2012

[6] On the basis of GLSS 5 (2005/2006) survey of 125,578 households. Within these households, 8,890 migrants are identified of which 8,363 internal (3,842 male; 4,521 female).

Box 4: Migration in Cameroon

Cameroon has a very mobile population. Different internal migration flows are important as an adaptive strategy to intra- and interregional differences as well as in securing livelihoods (Schrieder and Knerr 2000). Located in rural areas, opportunities such as employment on plantations and mines led to a substantial intra-rural migration flow in colonial and post-colonial times (Adepoju 1998). As such it served as an alternative to rural-urban migration, especially for unskilled and uneducated people. However, between 1960 and 1970 internal migration was dominated by major flows towards the city as indicated by Gubry (1996). The first flow is fed by a rural outmigration towards the big cities of Douala and Yaoundé. Attracted by the fast development of the cities in the South and the economic strength of the Western province, other flows occur from West to East and from North to South. However, low wages on the plantations and the fast rate of city development, characterized by high labour demands and a concentration of socio-economic infrastructure, shifted the old pattern from rural-rural to city ward migration. This rural-urban flow has been reversed as a consequence of the structural adjustment programmes implemented in the early 1990s. Cuts in public expenditures and a drop of roughly 70 per cent in public employee salary levels meant that a large number of people could no longer afford to live in urban areas. This initiated a significant counter-urbanisation movement whereby people returned to their village of origin (Gubry 1996). Today, all regions of the country are involved either as zones of attraction or repulsion. The Far North, North-West and West are regions with a negative balance as they supply four times more interregional migrants than they receive. A high population density compared with few livelihood opportunities is considered to be the main cause of this migration flow. About 60 per cent of these migrants move to the economic centre of Douala, the plantations in the Littoral province or the capital Yaoundé (Schrieder and Knerr 2000). Thus, the Littoral, Center and North are net receivers of domestic migrants.

Figure 12: Net migration per region, areas of net in-migration and net out-migration, Cameroon 2005



BUCREP 2010

In the national census of 2005, of the total population of 17.5 million people, 5.5 million indicated they had changed place of residence at least one time. This means 31.2 per cent could be regarded as internal migrants (BUCREP 2011).

Again it is pertinent to stress that measurement of migration must be treated with caution. Although such anecdotal evidence gives an indication of the complexity and connectedness of the different migration patterns that occur in sub-Saharan Africa, there is a lack of overview studies. The differing definitions of migration make the data multi-interpretable; this is then reflected in the often contradictory findings in literature.

Increasing circulation, connectivity and temporary mobility

Circulation seems to encapsulate the essence and specificity of migration dynamics in sub-Saharan Africa as it is characterised by the multiple backward and forward movements of people (Baker and Akin Aina 1995; Preston-Whyte *et al.* 2006; Adepoju 2008a; 2008b). The impacts of structural adjustment policies, population growth, urbanisation and declining returns from agriculture for small farmers in sub-Saharan Africa have affected both rural and urban African populations. Overall, non-farm employment and alternative income generating activities have become more important for rural households. At the same time, the increased cost of living in urban areas affects both formal as informal sector workers. In urban areas, agriculture is found to be an important occupation for a relatively high proportion of urban dwellers (Simon *et al.* 2004). Additionally, domestic trade liberalisation and the industrial development in peri-urban areas offer new opportunities for income diversification (Bah *et al.* 2003). These processes are the drivers behind the higher circular mobility and connectivity between and within rural and urban areas

Through circular movements, destinations are linked to places of origin. Rural-urban interactions and linkages 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). The result is a change in livelihood strategy that is manifested along two main lines. First there is a higher level of multi-activity especially among younger generations. Second, there is an increase in mobility that maintains strong social and economic links with the area of origin. Migration is an important strategy for households to promote and diversify their livelihoods. Moreover, the sending of remittances is considered the main mechanism by which migrants enhance household incomes.

Links between rural and urban areas is believed to hold great potential for sustainable development and poverty reduction. A large portion of migrants send remittances or money transfers back to their place 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 (ODA). 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 fill 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 shows that although the individual amounts

remitted by internal migrants might in fact be smaller, the total amount exceeds the amount of international remittances (Table 6). This is explained by the frequency at which these internal remittances occur. Although the amounts are smaller, they reach more households.

Table 6: Number of remitters and amount of remittances in Ghana (2005-2006)

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

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. In his research on the livelihoods of rural households in Rwanda, Smit (2012) found that 74.4 per cent of these households[7] received money from a migrant household member in Kigali. Another outcome of this research was that the better-off households appeared to receive significantly more money transfers than the poorer households.

Whether these transfers will have an impact on poverty reduction and local development will depend on an interaction of economic, political and social factors. Schutten (2012) comes to mixed outcomes for his sample of 'stretched households' with members living both in the city of Kigali and in surrounding rural villages. In fact, most households engage in mobility as part of livelihood survival or consolidation strategies; only a minor part succeeds in accumulating wealth as a result from money transfers. One critical point for poor sub-Saharan Africans that Kendall *et al.* (2012) point out in their study on 11 sub-Saharan countries is the ability and ways to transfer money. As informal channels – which are most pervasive – are rather slow and risky, they explore alternative ways to send remittances, such as mobile phones and formal bank accounts.

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 estate, to set up a small enterprise or improvements in agriculture (Adepoju 2008). 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 schools, health clinics, markets, etc. (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). However we encounter a gap in research considering the existence and contributions of such organisations and initiatives in the national context.

[7] Data based on a sample survey of 260 rural households (Smit 2012).

Changes in migration selectivity: the role of gender and generation

An important feature of internal migration is the selectivity of migrants by demographic and socio-economic characteristics. In this section the changes in age and gender selectivity are considered. In earlier times pioneer migrants consisted of a selected group of mainly the young and entreprising males; more currently, mass migration entails the involvement of a wider range of migrants. Selectivity of migration is decreasing (de Haas 2010). In fact, the current complexity of African migration patterns is in part a result of an increased proportion of the population having the opportunity to migrate, including the young ones, females and the elderly (Falkingham *et al.* 2012).

The role of women in migration has been much broader than the one traditionally ascribed to them. For a long time, women, - whose experiences have not been taken into account - have remained invisible in migration studies. Thus, a dependent role was ascribed to them in migration theories. Moreover, migration was portrayed as a purely male phenomenon. Today it is recognized that more and more women are migrating independently (Baker and Akin Aida 1995; Gugler and Ludwar-Ene 1995); a phenomenon which is often designated as the 'feminisation of migration' (Castles and Miller 2003; Adepoju 2005). This might be a fairly misleading term, as it seems to suggest that migration is now becoming a female phenomenon (UNDP 2009). Here we use the term insofar as it indicates an increase in the proportion of women migrants. Currently women constitute half of the total number of international migrants. Women now migrate independently in search of secure jobs as well as a survival strategy to augment family incomes. Although young men remain the bulk of migrants, the independent movement of young women has greatly increased in recent years. For example in case studies on Mali, Nigeria and Tanzania researched by Tacoli and Mabala (2010), all three cases illustrated this trend. In Tanzania 1 in 3 of all households had at least 1 female member migrating. In the research of Castaldo *et al.* (2012) discussed earlier in this report, it is clear that even more women than men are involved in migration over all four translocal patterns in Ghana (see Table 4). A particular example is the young women who move to bigger cities such as Accra to work as head porter (Addai 2011). Female migration is often explained as an emancipationist escape from social obligations and traditions (Pittin 1984; Gugler and Ludwar-Ene 1995; Ouédraogo 1995). Within the household, power inequalities between gender and generation can be a decisive factor. One example can be found in rural farming households where the younger generation members pursue greater independence and thus engage in non-farm activities (Mutandwa 2011). For young women, whose access to land is often very limited, employment opportunities in urban centres are particularly important (Bah *et al.* 2003; Tacoli and Mabala 2010).

When discussing African domestic mobility, special reference must also be made to the widespread migration of children. Child migration is triggered by child fosterage (or the relocation of children from biological or natal homes to other homes where they are raised and cared for by foster parents) (Isiuogo-Abanihe 1985; Mafukidze 2006; Greiner 2012) and child labour (Dottridge 2002; Broekhuis 2008).[8] Furthermore, for many of Africa's youth, migration is a kind of *rite de passage*, implying that one may gain adulthood or freedom by migrating (de Haan *et al.* 2002; Thorsen 2006; 2007). On top of this we have to step away from the stereotype of immobile elderly people (Falkingham *et al.* 2012).

[8] Child labour is a relatively accepted phenomenon in many African societies, and partly because of this, children are believed to be frequent victims of exploitative trafficking activities (Dottridge 2002; Adepoju 2005b).

5. Conclusion

This RurbanAfrica report provides a state of the art overview of contemporary domestic mobility processes and its main drivers in the context of sub-Saharan Africa. Such overview reports always run the risk of making particularly generalised statements. As shown by our contextual chapters, Sub-Saharan Africa is a highly diverse region in terms of demographic and economic development. For this reason, we first and foremost emphasise that mobility patterns in this part of the world are characterised by a wide variety in terms of spatial and temporal patterns, of which rural-rural mobility is certainly not the least important. We then come to the conclusion that sub-Saharan Africa is indeed a mobile region (de Bruijn *et al.* 2001) and that its inhabitants move in diverse directions. Evidently, this conclusion is almost a truism. But this truism is easily overlooked by international, national and local policy-makers because, as far as they are dealing with human mobility, they mostly concentrate on rural-urban movements.

Notwithstanding, the general process of urbanisation that is occurring on the continent is an important driver for mobility processes as it leads to increased mobility and interconnectivity between places. However, on the basis of an extensive literature review, we contest the pivotal image of a unidirectional movement from rural areas towards major cities. Instead, we have observed that many population movements take place between different urban spaces (including small and medium-sized cities). Furthermore, several case studies point to processes of counter-urbanisation and urban-rural migration as significant social phenomena. What is even more important is the fact that circulation and translocal connectivity is rather the rule than the exception in this mobile African landscape. In other words, urban actors often maintain links with, and move regularly to, rural areas. Vice versa, rural households are closely connected to their household members living in urban areas and their multi-local livelihoods often have an urban dimension. As a consequence of such translocal dynamics, conventional categories of migration research (e.g., origin/destination, push/pull, and departure/arrival) are not always helpful toward understanding African mobility (Greiner and Sakdapolrak 2013). Grasping these rurban dynamics is therefore not only an empirical, but also a conceptual challenge for the next phase of the RurbanAfrica programme.

Besides the process of urbanisation, there are two other important drivers that affect mobility processes in sub-Saharan Africa. First, the general process of globalisation, being fed by the neoliberal development policies of national governments, has undoubtedly had a significant (and sometimes contradictory) impact on mobility patterns. On one hand, the global capitalist expansion has led to a labour mobility toward the service and production sectors, but also to more spontaneous and informal mobility to, and between, urban centers. On the other hand, as this African urban life is often characterised by high levels of socio-economic insecurity, it has also resulted in counter movements from urban to rural spaces.

The final driver, agricultural transformation, is partly linked to this globalisation argument. Next to rural planning policies of national governments, agricultural changes are often caused by transnational land acquisitions (Zoomers 2010) and foreign direct investments in agricultural production and beyond (e.g., mining operations). In many instances this leads to emerging economic opportunities within and outside of the agrarian sector which triggers people's movements towards rural areas. At the same time, other people are forcibly displaced and/or their day-to-day livelihoods are disturbed by these

global forces, making outmigration more likely. In sum, all three main drivers bring mixed outcomes in terms of human mobility. This results in an increasingly diversified picture of mobility patterns.

In this context, we have unfortunately identified a general lack of systematic overview studies on mobility processes and drivers in sub-Saharan Africa. Countless case studies exist albeit with a bias towards rural-urban movements. At best, these case studies provide a fragmented picture of population movements. At worst, they present a confusing and sometimes contradicting picture. Studies of the latter go as far as claiming that rural-urban migration is the most important spatial pattern in quantitative terms in a specific country, while other sources conclude the opposite in the same context. To make matters worse, sometimes these contradicting observations are based on the same census data. This lack of consistent interpretations of data is a major challenge for any research on African mobility. Sound research requires researchers to be explicit about their spatial and temporal definitions upon which their analyses are based. When analysing mobility patterns, it matters greatly, for instance, whether the place of birth or the previous living place is taken as the starting point.

Clearly one of the opportunities presented in the next phase of the RurbanAfrica programme is potentially gaining more systematic and unbiased insights into ingoing and outgoing flows of people by carefully analysing mobility dynamics from the perspective of both rural and urban areas. To achieve this, we need a careful quantitative methodological design in which survey questions pay explicit attention to frequency, multi-directionality and time durations of people's movements. Moreover, in terms of reaching relevant qualitative insights, we might think of more dynamic research tools, such as following households' mobility trajectories through time and space. With such a mixed methods approach, we overcome the problem of fixated mobility dynamics presented as 'stable stocks'.

Our final conclusion, related to one of the central aims of this RurbanAfrica Work Package, is to analyse the local development impact of domestic mobility. In this framework, it is striking that the debates on international and internal migration are highly segregated (King *et al.* 2008). Whereas, in the international context, migration is closely related to development issues (e.g., Adepoju *et al.* 2008), this link is barely present in the domestic context. In the next steps of this research, we aim to fill this knowledge gap by paying explicit attention to the transfer of knowledge, goods and financial remittances between places as the direct effects of the mobility of people. The notion of the stretched household that is central to our livelihoods approach is particularly useful for analysing development opportunities as the chain effects between people and places.

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