

Appendices for RurbanAfrica, Deliverable 2.3: *Mobility and local development in Cameroon, Ghana and Tanzania*

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Annex V. Site report – Njombe case, Tanzania

T. Birch-Thomsen, S. Ørtenblad, E.A. Lazaro, F.J. Mishili, L.R. Msese (2016): The case of Irish Potatoes in Njombe region Tanzania. RurbanAfrica site report.

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Annex I. Data Collection Guide for Deliverable 2.3

Objective

To gain a better understanding of the impact of mobility (in terms of people, capital, goods, information and technologies) on local development.

Research Questions:

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

- How are the inflow and outflow of resources (such as remittances,) being used by the rural household? For consumptive, social and/or for productive purposes? In the rural 'home' region or rather in urban(izing) settlements? (differences between the use of remittances originating from national and transnational migration? Also: differences between individual and collective remittances – e.g. migrant organizations investing in community infrastructure development? 'Roots tourism'?)
- What is the impact of mobility flows in terms of local economic development?
- What is the impact of mobility flows in terms of social, cultural and political dynamics in the rural areas?
- What policies (mechanisms), if any, aim at mobilizing the inflow and outflow of resources (such as remittances; agricultural products; inputs; etc.) for local

Methods

The fieldwork will take place in one of the research sites selected for the household survey on agricultural transformation, livelihoods and mobility (D2.2). In order to be able to answer the above research questions, the collection of data focuses – once again – (1) at the household level, by recording migration narratives; and (2) at the settlement level, making a 'diagnostic' of the main functions of settlement(s) in the research areas on the basis of focus group discussions and a general settlement diagnosis.

A. Migration narratives

1. Select and revisit 15 to 20 families of the household survey who demonstrated interesting mobility patterns: e.g. households with members engaged in daily or weekly commuting activities (for trade or for employment); or households in which one or more members migrated for a short or a long period of time. In the ideal situation, you select those households that use migration inflows for small investments (and not just for consumption) at the household- or community level.
2. Drawing of a mobility map with these selected households. This map should provide a visual representation of the household members' movements within and outside their community (see example and explanation below).
3. The drawing of the mobility maps is instrumental in stimulating the conversation/ provoking the narrative about the mobility and location of the various household members. Ideally, the mobile members of the household (if present) and the household heads (for those who are not present) are the key informants for this mapping exercise.
4. Collection of 15 to 20 migration narratives for the selected research site (please record the interviews and make a full transcription of each interview - in English).

Key points of attention for the migration narrative are:

- Duration, frequency, motivation, when or how did this connection come about
- Role of social capital and networks

- Main migration trajectories
- Positive and negative changes that the different types of mobility have introduced to the household
- Consequences of the different types of mobility for the livelihood strategies of the household
- The kind of investments made with migration inflows (remittances, ...)

B. Mobility Maps

1. The center of the map is the rural home.

- Number the members of the household in the center circle. In notations, add for every member age and sex.
- Mark the head of the household!
- Draw for every member the relevant connections as a line on the map within the right field.

2. Different colors are used to indicate the purpose of travel

- Red → Economic
- Blue → Use of different services
- Black → Visit friends and relatives

3. The type of location is indicated by a symbol at the end of the line

- Triangle → Urban/ city
- Square → trade center
- Circle → Rural/ village

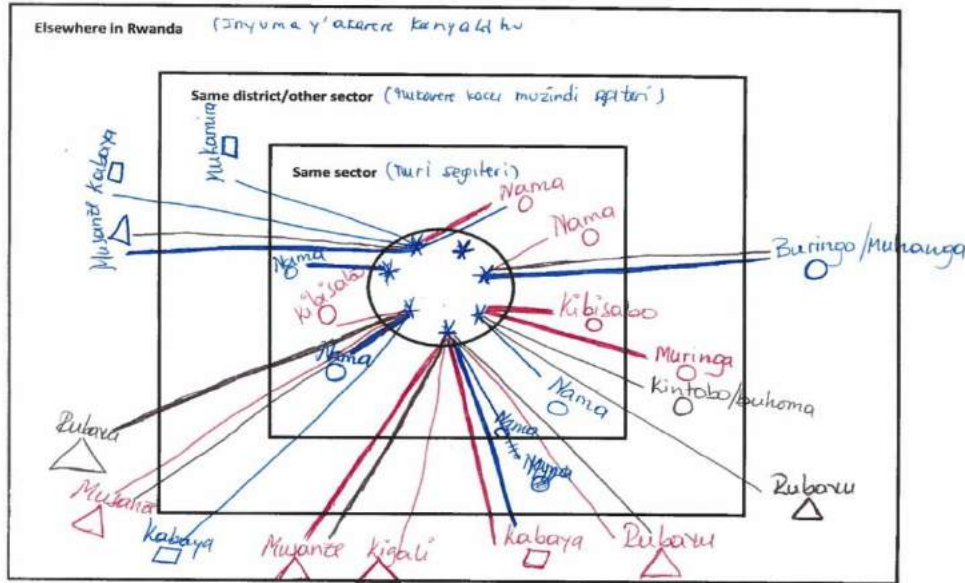
4. The importance of the connection can be indicated by thickness of the line

6

abroad (inyuma y'ijyuye)

Dancille Nyiramakano

Gashyamba



C. Local diagnosis of main settlement(s) in the research sites

This local diagnosis is an empirical substantiation of the “descriptive account of the research area” that is required for the site report for the former Deliverables (D2.1 and D2.2), now zooming in on the urban center(s) in the research area:

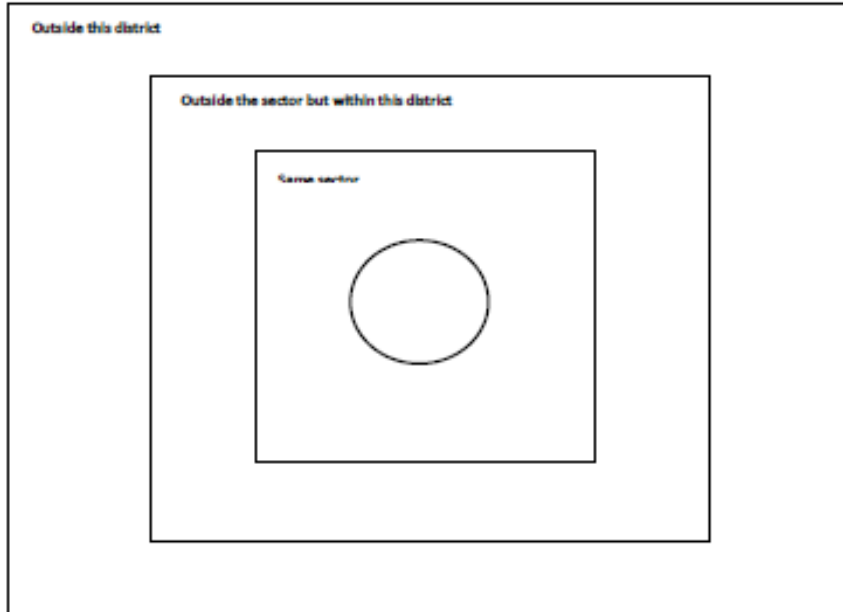
1. Identify the main settlement(s) such as rural service centers and small towns in the research area.
2. Make a local diagnosis of these settlements (based on observation and interviews with local key informants). Main points of attention include:
 - o Analyze the main functions of the settlements (e.g., administrative centers, trading (market-) centers, transport & communication nodes, educational centers, ...)
 - o Inventory of businesses and services (specify according to type of activity; e.g.: bakery; butcher; shops that sell textiles; clothes; shoes; mattresses; construction materials; agro-veterinary products; mobile phone products; airtime; and services like: restaurant/bar; bicycle repair; tailor/seamstress; hairdresser; NGO; Sacco; bank; (etcetera)
 - o If possible, make (sketch) a map of the main land use per plot in the settlement
 - o What are the predominant inflows and outflows of capital, information, people and resources to and from these settlements (with particular reference to the linkages with the rural hinterlands and settlements higher in the urban hierarchy (e.g. district towns; intermediate cities; national capital city)
 - o Describe the role of institutions (e.g.: diaspora networks; producer associations; cooperatives) and services (e.g.: transport and communication facilities; financial institutions;) for such inflows/outflows

D. Focus group discussions

- Conduct focus group discussions with 6 to 10 entrepreneurs (including small-scale and large scale entrepreneurs e.g. retail and wholesale, owners of shops, self-employed, market vendors, craftsmen, traders, transporters, ...) for the selected research site
- Please record the discussion and make a full transcription of each focus group discussion in English (+ include general background information of the participants, contact details and place and date where the focus group took place.
- Key points of attention for the focus group discussions are:
 - Why is the settlement attractive for investment, what kind of investment, who benefits from these investments, ...?
 - What are the predominant inflows and outflows of capital from and to the settlement?
 - How important is it in this settlement to be mobile (being able to move to different locations) for work related purposes?
 - What are main restrictions/constraints that keep people from being mobile?
 - What are the main linkages with the rural hinterlands?
 - What are the connections with settlements higher in the urban hierarchy (e.g. why do people travel to district towns; intermediate cities; national capital city)?
 - How are these linkages sustained?
 - What are the most important changes in this settlement over the past 10 years?
 - What is the general profile of newcomers and which people leave the settlement? (does this imply new flows of money and or resources)?
 - What are the new opportunities and challenges in the settlement?
 - What is the importance of farming versus business or other livelihood activities?
 - What is the role of ICTs in the settlement (mobile phones, internet, transport, finance, ...)?
 - What is the relation between ICTs, mobility and new business opportunities?
 - What is the role of institutions (e.g.: diaspora networks; producer associations; cooperatives) and services (e.g.: transport and communication facilities; financial institutions;) for such inflows/outflows of resources from and to the settlement?

E. Format for the mobility map

abroad



Outputs

The output from fieldwork will be:

- 1) 15 to 20 literal transcriptions of migration narratives in English, including a mobility map of each of the interviewed household. This transcription should end with a reflective account on the limitations of the interview, general observations, sentiments of the respondents and other contextual information.
- 2) Literal transcriptions of the focus group discussions in English. This transcription should include some background information of the focus group (sample method of the participants, location of the focus group, organisation of the focus group, main characteristics of the participants) and a description of the main challenges and observations.
- 3) Extensive elaboration on the local diagnosis of the research site, including a map of the main land use per plot in the settlement.
- 4) Furthermore a summary report with general patterns and findings from all the interviews and focus group discussions, including contextual information. The summary report should give a systematic answer/ analytical reflection on the research questions above.

Annex II. Template for D2.3 site reporting

Background notes:

The specific objectives of WP2 is to explore the importance of multi-activity and multi-locality in household livelihood transformations and poverty dynamics by focusing on the diversification of income sources and the mobility of household members between rural and urban places. (doc p. 7)

WP2

The RurbanAfrica project will build on the growing awareness of the economic importance of rural-urban mobility and migration for rural livelihoods. It will explore how decisions to migrate, migration and mobility practices, and multi-locality livelihood strategies relate to agricultural transformations and changing environments for farming, and how mobility may affect poverty reduction and local development in rural areas. In policy terms these research findings will inform and nuance the overall negative interpretations of the economic role of rural-urban mobility and migration in sub-Saharan Africa. (doc p. 11)

Objective Deliverable 2.3

To gain a better understanding of the impact of mobility (in terms of people, capital, goods, information and technologies) on local development.

Research Questions D2.3

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

- How are the inflow and outflow of resources (such as remittances, ...) being used by the rural household? For consumptive, social and/or for productive purposes? In the rural 'home' region or rather in urban(izing) settlements? (differences between the use of remittances originating from national and transnational migration? Also: differences between individual and collective remittances – e.g. migrant organizations investing in community infrastructure development? 'Roots tourism'?)
- What is the impact of mobility flows in terms of local economic development?
- What is the impact of mobility flows in terms of social, cultural and political dynamics in the rural areas?
- What policies (mechanisms), if any, aim at mobilizing the inflow and outflow of resources (such as remittances; agricultural products; inputs; etc.) for local development in the rural areas?

NOTE: Please send full transcriptions (in English) of interviews and focus group discussions in a separate file. These transcriptions should be provided with the individual mobility maps

Site reporting

1. Executive summary

- Max.2 pages

- What are the key findings from the site study?

2. Methodological background of the study

- When, where and by whom was the research carried out?
- Selection of the settlements for the local diagnosis?
- Which criteria were used for the selection of the households?
- Number of respondents?
- Main profile of the respondents?
- Kind of questions asked?
- Which criteria were used for the selection of the participants in the focus groups?
- How many focus groups were organized, where and by whom?
- General background information of the participants in the focus groups?
- Method for reporting and analysis?
- Main limitations of the research?
- Other comments?

3. Use of inflow and outflow of resources

- Description of the main inflow and outflow of resources in the respective research sites
- Description of the main use of inflow and outflow of resources in the respective research sites
- Main use of remittances originating from national migration
- Main use of remittances originating from international migration
- Main use of inflow of goods, information and technologies
- Different types of investments made with migration inflow

- Consumption
 - Small investments
 - Individual investments
 - Community investments
 - Other
- Differences between individual use of inflows and collective use of inflows
 - Role of migrant organizations for local investments
 - Role of “roots tourism” for local investment

4. Mobility patterns

- Main migration trajectories represented in an overall mobility map of the research site
- Household members’ main movements within the community
 - Objective/ purpose of these movements (economic, use of services, visit friends and relatives, ...)
 - Duration and frequency of these movements
 - Motivation of these movements
 - Main positive changes that these movements have introduced to the household
 - Main negative changes that these movements have introduced to the household
 - Consequences of these movements for the livelihood strategies of the household
- Households members’ main movements outside the community
 - Objective/ purpose of these movements (economic, use of services, visit friends and relatives, ...)
 - Duration and frequency of these movements
 - Motivation of these movements
 - Main positive changes that these movements have introduced to the household
 - Main negative changes that these movements have introduced to the household
 - Consequences of these movements for the livelihood strategies of the household
- Role of social capital and networks
- Typology of the main destinations
 - Rural/village
 - Trade center
 - Urban/ city
 - Other country

5. Main settlement(s) in the research sites

- Map of the main settlements or urban centers in the research sites

- Short description of the main settlements in the research sites
- What are the main functions of the settlements
 - administrative centers
 - trading (market-) centers
 - transport & communication nodes
 - educational centers
 - other
- Inventory of businesses and services (e.g.: bakery; butcher; shops that sell textiles; clothes; shoes; mattresses; construction materials; agro-veterinary products; mobile phone products; airtime; and services like: restaurant/bar; bicycle repair; tailor/seamstress; hairdresser; NGO; Sacco; bank; ...)
- Map (sketch) of the main land use per plot in the settlement
- What are the predominant inflows and outflows of capital, information, people and resources to and from these settlements
- Describe the settlements' linkages with the rural hinterlands and how are these linkages sustained
- Describe the settlements' linkages higher in the urban hierarchy (e.g. district towns; intermediate cities; national capital city) and how are these linkages sustained
- Describe the role of institutions (e.g.: diaspora networks; producer associations; cooperatives) and services (e.g.: transport and communication facilities; financial institutions;) for such inflows/outflows
- What are the most important changes in this settlement over the past 10 years?
- What is the general profile of newcomers and which people leave the settlement? (does this imply new flows of money and or resources)?
- What are the new opportunities and challenges in the settlement?

6. Investments in the main settlements or urban centers in the research sites

- General profile of the main investors in the research sites
- Why is the settlement attractive for investment?
- What kind of investment are taking place?
- Who benefits from these investments?

- What is the importance of farming versus business or other livelihood activities?
- What is the role of ICTs in the settlement (mobile phones, internet, transport, finance, ...)?
- What is the relation between ICTs, mobility and new business opportunities?

7. Conclusion – final reflections

- Main findings
- Answers to the research question
 - How do rural-city connections and livelihood diversification contribute to local development processes in the selected research regions?
- What are the possible policy implications of the main research results?

Annex III. Site report – Bamboutos, Cameroon

Background notes

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SITE REPORTING

1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- Max.2 pages
- What are the key findings from the site study?

The main objective of this draft was to establish the position of diversification of sources of revenue and mobility in poverty reduction and the transformation of the livelihood of household and household members in the rural area.

This draft also set out to understand the effects of the mobility of people, goods, capital information and technology on local development.

In the past decade, it has been a tendency for most household members especially the youths to migrate to the urban centers in search for job opportunities and increase their living standards. This had serious drawbacks on the departure and arrival region:

In the departure zone, the supply of labour drastically reduced with negative impacts on agricultural output.

In the arrival zones, the uncontrolled influx of migrants increased the mouths to be fed and the development of squalid quarters coupled with a degradation of the living standards because the social equipment's could not effectively satisfy the ever growing population.

The economic crisis of the late 1980s did not help the situation and living condition further dropped, pushing many families to develop strategies such as mobility and multi-activity to increase income and living standards.

It is observed that only a few families receive remittances from the national and international spheres but a lot of households have the tendency of undertaking movement to and from the city for agricultural and commercial purposes. The main uses of the proceeds from these journeys have been to better educate their siblings, increase the living condition of the household and invest against the future. The financially able have built obnoxious villas in the country side which have increasingly been calling other type of implantations. Most individuals have concentrated their efforts on individual realizations though others have put in place collective structures like communication routes, rural electrification and water catchments.

Mobile household members have increased for various purposes in the last decade and agricultural production coupled with revenue from this movements have increased living standards and local development. The dynamism of individuals and groups have brought in potential investors in the agricultural and commercial domains. This is seen in areas like Babadjou where at least 5 trucks with a 20 ton capacity are filled every day with central African cities as their principal destination.

The mobility and implantation of migrants in the urban areas have led to the creation and support (moral and financial) of village development committees and the implantation of viable economic entities which has increase employment in the rural areas. The case of Bangang is a glaring example where elites have decide to return to their hometown and create agricultural and livestock plantations.

The state in certain cases have been promoting certain organised groups of the agricultural sectors by gifts of agricultural inputs which has caused more problems than they resolve. This is because most often, the people in charge divert these resources and the target population rarely receive what they are due. The creation of packing centers and stores to help reduce post-harvest loss has also been undertaken by the state in certain areas.

Certain ingenious mechanisms have also been developed and practised by the local population for commercial purposes. This is seen where a business man in the city provides a certain percentage of capital while the rest is provided by those in the rural area. Goods are bought and sent to the towns and it is only after sales that the profit is divided among the stake holders.

In a context where government intervention has been very slow in the domain of poverty and unemployment reduction, mobility and multi-activity have been adopted by most people of the rural area with important positive economic impacts though accompanied by a few social problems.

2. METHODOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

When, where and by whom was the research carried out?

The research teams started interviews from the 10th to the 20th of August 2015 thus, the data collection phase in the field took ten days. Three villages from the Western Region of Cameroon in the Bamboutos Mountain area were targeted. These villages are Babadjou, Bafou and Bangang in Babadjou, Nkong-ni and Batcham sub-divisions.

Three groups of 5 Masters students each, supervised by five teachers from the University of Dschang were sent to Babadjou, Bafou and Bangang.

Babadjou	Bafou	Bangang
Elvis Mbeng	Melachio Martial	Nwagoum Danny Martial
Yenjika Constantine Wiysola	Yaka Laure-ephigenie	Ngankeu Martial
Tchenwouo Raphael	Azemaog Dongmo Dhalin	Nyiniwou Ismaila
Azambou Adéle	Dongmo Herman	Nzeket Koutou chantal
Momo Nadesh	Nguissi Doloresse	Melachio Sophe Nathalie

Selection of the settlements for the local diagnosis?

The villages of the Bamboutos region and its population is characterised by its diversity and for this diversity to appear in our study, (in terms of economic activities, employment, level of investment, level of education, mobility and migration patterns, access to land, level of development or organisation of salaried labour, production practices) we decided to make a synthesis of data from these three montane village sites.

Which criteria were used for the selection of the households?

Our criteria for selection was essentially based on the experience and relationships established during the data collection phase of Work package 1.2 and 2.2. The capacity of households to present the researchers with coherent, relevant and pertinent information, their mobility and migratory tendencies or patterns, their reasons for movements and their realizations with the proceeds from remittances or revenue.

Number of respondents?

A total of 75 households were interviewed i.e. 25 households per site and 25 households were retained for the drafting of the finale reports. These 25 finale households were systematically selected at the end with 09 from Bangang and 08 each from Bafou and Babadjou.

Main profile of the respondents?

For the final selection, care was taken to represent every strata of the population as far as age and gender, economic activity, frequency and reasons for mobility, income and social status of the people are concerned.

Which criteria were used for the selection of the participants in the focus groups?

During the collection of data for the other deliverables, the fluidity of pertinent information, knowledge of the subject matter, the personal experience of these individuals, their activities as well as their availability on the day the discussion was scheduled are some of the aspects that were taken into consideration. The position certain individuals held in village development committees and village administration complimented what has been evoked above.

How many focus groups were organized, were and by whom?

A total of 03 focus groups were organized in the 03 site chosen. Public places in these villages or the chief's palace were used for the organization and the students accompanied by the research teachers cited above accompanied and participated during this discussions.

General background information of the participants in the focus groups?

There are residents with ample intellectual and comprehensive capacities. They were all individuals who had at been to the secondary school and were current on national as well as international matters. People who could defend their views or what they advocated.

Method for reporting and analysis?

The groups were arranged as follows. There was a moderator who asked the questions and gave every one invited the possibility to speak or express his or her views. At the end of every question, the moderator took time to resume all the views expressed concerning a given question. Two or three people who took note of all that was said and these notes were collected at the end for the final draft. During the collection of data for the mobile household members, every team (at least two students) returned with information at the end of the day and the mobility maps were drawn following the information collected by the concerned people.

Main limitations of the research?

The data collection phase was done during the agricultural season and the availability of interested candidate posed a problem. During the focus group discussions, the ambiance was very good and they had no problems expressing their views and problems for those who had the opportunity to attend.

Other comments?

The interviews were done in a very good and amiable condition. The zone was very receptive and friendly.

3. USE OF INFLOW AND OUTFLOW OF RESOURCES

a) Description of the main inflow and outflow of resources in the respective research sites

All the villages or market centers selected for the study are located in the rural milieu. The main activities of these areas are agriculture followed by trade. These inputs include;

- New agricultural finance institutions like rural microfinance agencies put in place by the local elite which provides funds to farmers at reduced interest rates,
- Bikes made in Asia are sold by some rich elites born in the village to local people at reduced costs or on credit,
- Money also enters the village by family networks (money transfer) through micro-finances institutions
- Elites also participate in the financing of infrastructure and social amenities through the development committee canal.
- Elites build villas of high standing in the village, buying materials in local stores and using local labor.
- There is influx of people from the hinterlands accompanied by the food and cash crops produced. People arrive these areas from towns too for various reasons.
- Rural population behavior changes in contact with the new practices from cities
- Farm inputs, manufactured products, construction materials, especially alcoholic drinks (because according to them they provide quick energy boost), and money from transactions between urban wholesalers and rural producers.

The outputs consist of:

- Agricultural products sold locally and in urban centers,
- food and small animals sent to family members emigrants,
- Remittances : especially to children who continue their studies in the city; to support those family members who live in cities, without jobs.

Conclusively, these inputs and outputs include agricultural and livestock products and the inflows include agricultural inputs like manure, fertilizers, phyto-sanitary products and remittances. Agricultural products leave and what is needed to reinforce production or render the soils productive. There is also capital inflow in the form of transport equipment's and building infrastructures.

Apart from economic capital, there is also the inflow and outflow of people (human capital) for the services of labour and other socio-political reasons. During the post-independence period, a lot of people came to settle in this zone to shelter themselves from political and social insecurity but now most individuals come to settle, marry, invest and make profit. Other individuals also come to acquire professional knowhow on the cultivation of market gardening (agriculture as a whole) and other trades like.

b) **Description of the main use of inflow and outflow of resources in the respective research sites**

Inflows and outflows are made up of people and resources.

Men are employed both in the farms or shops and as security guards in public places and private villas. The Hausa are used by cattle herders as specialized labour. Resources are used for consumption, productive or speculative purposes. Outputs are utilized as capital for the generation of revenue for immediate or future use, individual or collective development and as connections with the outside world.

c) **Main use of remittances originating from national migration**

It will be safe to generalize that national remittances are relatively received more frequently than international remittances though the amount received are more important in international remittances. National remittances are mainly used for consumption and the daily running of the home for the few individuals who receive such monies. They are spent on the education of children the procurement of agricultural inputs and equipments and the payment of debts. Sometimes, they are saved in tontines and meeting houses and serve as bases for investments for the following year.

d) **Main use of remittances originating from international migration**

Due to the important amounts from international remittances, they are mainly used for investment purposes such as the buying of land, increase of restructuring of the family residence or the acquisition of household appliances. Other households use these resources to open a business unit, increase investment or capital of existing businesses and buy transportation equipment.

e) **Main use of inflow of goods, information and technologies**

They are utilized by the immediate family or shared amongst kin. The use of goods depends on who receives the goods and the type of goods sent. Certain goods are used while others might be sold. Other items are used or applied in the various activities like agriculture, rearing and even to change the outlook of the house.

f) **Different types of investments made by migrants and other persons from outside**

Consumption

Food, clothing, education of children, household appliances etc

Small investments

Opening of small commercial units like provision stores, communication centers,

Individual investments

Construction of a house or family residence, buying of plots, transport equipment, collective transport buses,

Community investments

Schools, health centers, churches, water catchments, rural electrification projects, the building of leisure infrastructures

Other

g) Differences between individual use of inflows and collective use of inflows

There is a quantitative difference between individual and collective use of inflows. Individuals have a lot of personal realizations while collective realizations can be counted on the fingers of the hands.

Linked to this, the maintenance of community realizations are usually very difficult due to laxity of management unit put in place or public authorities though their use or exploitation are matters of envy and strategy as everybody likes to benefit without necessarily investing.

h) Role of migrant organizations for local investments

A few of such organizations do exist but they mainly collaborate with the local development committees and traditional rulers in the conception and realization of community development projects. Such projects include the construction of water catchments, road development, construction of community halls and communication centers.

4. MOBILITY PATTERNS

Main migration trajectories represented in an overall mobility map of the research site

The population of the target areas have the tendency to move mainly within their village, movement between quarters or to a lesser extent, among neighbouring villages for agricultural commercial and friendly or family purposes. Rural urban trajectories are most often born from constraint circumstances; benefit from non-existent services in the village, buy or sell certain goods (ostentatious or specialised goods) or to visit other family members living in the towns. Most youths move to the urban areas in search for a better life.

a) Household members' main movements within the community

- **Objective/ purpose of these movements (economic, use of services, visit friends and relatives, ...)**

For economic reasons, mobility are for agricultural and commercial purposes. The use of services include the certification of official documents, filling of official complains to the police and other judicial institutions, solve land problems and make use of other information and communication facilities. Visit to friends and families during important social occasions are also present though not frequent as most individuals are occupied most of the year in the agricultural and business transactions.

- **Duration and frequency of these movements**

Most of these intra-village movements are daily. Most used means of transportation for this to and fro movements are by foot though this form of movement is becoming obsolete. With the increase in transportation equipment most of these daily movements are being achieved through the use of motorbikes and vehicles though distance and the situation of the place plays a great role. The destination and reasons for mobility has a great influence on the duration and frequency of movements because if someone travels to visit his family, his duration there increases but his ability to frequently make such visits are reduced. On the contrary, short duration motives for mobility are usually the most frequent.

Weekly mobility for trade purposes are also frequent as certain producers and businessmen visit neighbouring villages or central markets to sell or buy their goods and services.

- **Motivation of these movements**

The search for agricultural capitalization i.e. in search of fertile soils spatially distributed and represented by the natural milieu. Fertile soils produce better thus an increase in agricultural productivity.

The search for better markets and profit margins. Agricultural products sell better in urban markets than in rural markets thus households transport their good to the urban areas to benefit from greater profit margins obtained. Agricultural inputs and other basic house necessities are bought at relatively cheaper prices.

- **Main positive changes that these movements have introduced to the house-holds**

There has been more food and more financial resources to better take care of the basic needs. The diversification of production due to the fact that every plot does not have the same propensities to produce the same amount of output.

- **Main negative changes that these movements have introduced to the household**

Change in the rhythm of living of household members. Mobile parents rise up early to go about their daily movements and only return late in the evening and the follow-up and education of children are sometimes neglected.

- **Consequences of these movements for the livelihood strategies of the household**

Employment and sources of revenue has been increased as a consequences of these movements. The constitution of family revenue has shifted from the shoulders of the household head or the mother of the house to the affaire of every household members as the youths and younger members now have the possibility to offer their services as salaried labour. Most individuals now do not practice any activity alone. These mobile families have learnt to form and work in groups to better increase their capacity in negotiating the price for the services of labour. Certain unconscious forms of solidarity is being developed between the producers and mobile migrant workers though the process is entirely.

2) Households members' main movements outside the community

- a) **Objective/ purpose of these movements (economic, use of services, visit friends and relatives, ...)**

The reasons for this displacements are practically the same as for those who travel within their communities with a slight difference in intensity and frequency. It is evident that the longer the distance to be travelled the less the number of people involved.

- b) **Duration and frequency of these movements**

Due to the distance to be covered, these migrations are usually of a weekly, fortnightly, monthly or periodical nature. The shorter duration periods are for trade purposes while the longer duration purposes might be for family or friendly visits. The most fundamental differences between these inter and intra community movements are the number (reduction) of household members and households that undertake such movements.

c) Motivation of these movements

Emergencies and trade are the most important reasons behind these movements though in certain areas like Batcham, the female group themselves and look for job opportunities far away where they supply their services as specialised labour. They might spend about a month and only return after the farms have all been planted. Other women have secondary residencies in rural areas where soils are still fertile and they undertake such movement to cultivate better parcels. Movement for agricultural purposes are restrained to a few areas though.

d) Main positive changes that these movements have introduced to the household

An acute increase in food and cash crop production for the households involved, an increase in the profit margin and better social relationships are established. Certain individuals said long term movements paid better than short term movements.

e) Main negative changes that these movements have introduced to the household

Children are abandoned on their own or in the hands of the elderly population for long periods of time without proper family education. These children acquire responsibility at a very early age certain families are prone to separate due to the absence of confidence on the part of their partners taking into consideration that certain individuals live for long periods without contact with their spouses and family.

f) Consequences of these movements for the livelihood strategies of the household

Employment and sources of revenue might increase as a consequences of these movements. The constitution of family revenue and responsibility shifts from the shoulders of the household head or the mother of the house to be the affaire of every household members as the youths and younger members now have the possibility to offer their services as salaried labour.

g) Role of social capital and networks

Social capital and networks contribute toward the reinforcement of social ties between people and villages. This to a great extent encouraged community development through the creation of employment and increase in living standards.

Social capital here makes reference to the size of the household and the strength of relationship between households. Analysis have shown that households have an average of about 4-5 persons who are potentially mobile. The family thus plays a great role the functioning of mobility which could be summarized as:

An increase in the number and diversity of migratory trajectories. Every adult family member has a plan for his existence thus chooses a more or less ambitious destination. This diversity influences the chances of success and the diversity of migrant inflows.

Solidarity is fortified within and among households as the most experienced support the younger and less experienced, help those potential mobile members through guidance in the choice and decisions they will have to take as far as destinations and jobs are concerned.

The constitution and membership in social networks in the departure or destination zones increases the chances of mobility and are transmission bands or straps which maintain and make complex the flux and trajectories of migrants.

h) Typology of the main destinations

o Rural/village

Inter and intra village movements are predominant and made up of the daily movements for agricultural and educational purposes.

Weekly and monthly mobility for trade coupled with seasonal movement are also present for agricultural purposes.

o Trade center

This includes weekly and monthly mobility mainly for the trade (buying and selling) of agricultural and manufactured goods, religious and health reasons. Regular visits (about twice a week) are also frequent for certain individuals who make these movements to meet friends and buy certain food items like fish and meat because of inexistent storage facilities for such products.

o Urban/ city

It is difficult to find this type of mobility in the rural areas where our research site were chosen from though most government workers might be involved in this type of movements.

o Other country

This mostly involves business men and actors in the transport sector who travel about twice a month to deliver their clients with agricultural products.

5. MAIN SETTLEMENT(S) IN THE RESEARCH SITES

a) Map of the main settlements or urban centers in the research sites

b) Short description of the main settlements in the research sites

Due to the fact that these areas had a troubled past due to indigene resistance to colonial rule, most of these villages were founded on defensive sites. The population was obliged to settle around the chief's palace or around colonial forts to assure the security of the villages. Other villages have spontaneously sprung up along road intersections due to the recent development of roads and communication infrastructure. The development agricultural activities, trade and the transport industry coupled with the development of services or the tertiary industry have also seen the implantation of certain villages around collection points for agricultural products.

The villages of the Western highland Region as a whole and the Bamboutos in particular have high density population densities though habitat is sparsely distributed with land holdings demarcated by groves or hedges.

c) What are the main functions of the settlements

○ **administrative centers**

In Cameroon, every divisional headquarter performs an administrative function due to the decentralisation of administrative and judicial authorities. None of the research sites were found in an area with administrative functions.

○ **trading (market-) centers**

Most villages have grown up to be important trading centers. This is because the individuals living in these areas have need for basic manufactured products. These are bought with money from the sale of their agricultural products. The “westernisation” of housing styles and the need of distraction through advance in communication and information technology have pushed businessmen to open up and develop most villages into trading centers. These villages also relay agricultural products to the cities and serve the hinterland with manufactured goods. Babadjou and Bafou play all the roles described above and are perfect examples of trading centers.

○ **transport & communication nodes**

The transport network of these areas are dense though the state of these routes leave a lot to be desired. They become practically impassable during the rainy season except to a certain category of vehicles. Apart from Babadjou which is found along a National road, the other areas are served only by secondary and tertiary roadways. They however play transport functions as these are areas where the trucks serving the central African sub-region with fresh market gardening products.

○ **educational centers**

The concentration and settlement of population around an area coupled with the high population densities of the Western region calls for heavy investments in social services. A lot of private and public primary schools as well as bilingual secondary general and technical high schools also exist.

○ **Other**

A variety of Christian churches are present in these areas thus they perform religious functions. The picturesque landscape, waterfalls and other touristic potentials offer leisure functions.

d) **Inventory of businesses and services (e.g.: bakery; butcher; shops that sell textiles; clothes; shoes; mattresses; construction materials; agro-veterinary products; mobile phone products; airtime; and services like: restaurant/bar; bicycle repair;; NGO; Sacco; bank; ...)**

Garages and vehicle repair shops, tailor/seamstress, readymade clothing resale shops, hairdressing salons, mobile phones and airtime distribution points, micro-finance institutions, transport agencies, loto/gambling points, beer and liquor parlours, restaurants, wholesale shops, phyto-sanitary/agro-veterinary shops, butchery

- Map (sketch) of the main land use per plot in the settlement
- What are the predominant inflows and outflows of capital, information, people and resource

s to and from these settlements

- Describe the settlements' linkages with the rural hinterlands and how are these linkages sustained
- Describe the settlements' linkages higher in the urban hierarchy (e.g. district towns; intermediate cities; national capital city) and how are these linkages sustained
- Describe the role of institutions (e.g.: diaspora networks; producer associations; cooperatives) and services (e.g.: transport and communication facilities; financial institutions;) for such inflows/outflows
- What are the most important changes in this settlement over the past 10 years?
- What is the general profile of newcomers and which people leave the settlement? (does this imply new flows of money and or resources)?
- What are the new opportunities and challenges in the settlement?

6. INVESTMENTS IN THE MAIN SETTLEMENTS OR URBAN CENTERS IN THE RESEARCH SITES

- General profile of the main investors in the research sites
- Why is the settlement attractive for investment?
- What kinds of investment are taking place?
- Who benefits from these investments?
- What is the importance of farming versus business or other livelihood activities?
- What is the role of ICTs in the settlement (mobile phones, internet, transport, finance, ...)?
- What is the relation between ICTs, mobility and new business opportunities?

7. CONCLUSION – FINAL REFLECTIONS

- Main findings
- Answers to the research question
 - How do rural-city connections and livelihood diversification contribute to local development processes in the selected research regions?
- What are the possible policy implications of the main research results?

Focus group : information collected

The diversity of physical environments (mountain wind side, leeward side), the diversity of villages (at least 6 villages) and origins of populations occupying them led us to organize three focus groups (in Bangang, Bafou and Babadjou) in order to understand the logic of farmers all across the Bamboutos Mountains. This is basically to understand how these people operate and manage their quotidian live.

1) Why is the settlement attractive for investment? What kind of investment? Who benefits from this investment

Several factors make the attractive mountain villages and are attracting investment. Among the attractions include among which:

a) Babadjou population insisted on the fact that Physical factors and mostly soil and a mild climate that permit the production of a wide variety of cash and food crops.

At Bafou and Bangang : soil fertility was long the object of attraction. In reality, the soils have become infertile due to a long and uninterrupted exploitation. The capacity to invest in inputs ensures today the attractiveness of these soils. Despite their ability to encourage investment in the village, they are not favorable everywhere. Thus, the most attractive areas are the upper mountains and the marshy areas for agricultural purposes,

b) the presence of pastures for the practice of farming in the mountains,

c) respect for another's property is a stimulant. Indeed, brings investors free of any conflict, especially when it is proven that you are the rightful owner.

d) the dynamism of the population that puts people away from idleness; investors can find the labor they need.

e) the attachment to the native land instilled by traditions that encourages girls and son to continue to stay in their village or keek a tight relationship with the village. Despite their high capacity for migration, back to the village to express one's level of success or after a failure in migration land is a highly praised virtue.

f) the presence of the national electricity grid, waterfalls that some elites exploit to generate electricity is a major attraction factor.

g) Roads exist, despite their poor state. Every corners of the three villages are accessible by car.

h) All the villages emphasis on: the area is also filled with a lot of touristic potentials like waterfalls, plain and mountain sceneries. These have attracted tourist and investors some of whom have finally settled for the exploitation and development of these resources.

i) The cost of living is relatively cheaper and ensures food security.

j) Babadjou is a border village, cosmopolitan (Francophones and Anglophones) rich in diversity and experience. The cost of living is relatively cheaper and ensures food security.

i) Babadjou considers its position as strategic. The area is located halfway between two regional capitals: Bamenda and Bafoussam. It is well connected to national markets by tired roads (National road n° 6 Bamenda-Yaoundé).

2) The types of investment

There are several types of investments:

a) those oriented to agriculture (food retailer) concern the following products: potatoes, beans, maize, beans and tubers.

b) those assigned to raising pigs, chickens and goats because the waste produced by these pets serve as manure to improve soil quality.

c) those for the development of livestock of cattle are mostly a matter of a few wealthy elites and external Bororo herders often working on behalf of the former.

d) supplying the structures of savings and rural credit (microfinance institution outreach such as MC²) by some businessmen from the locality but leaving outside (Douala, Yaoundé). These are indirect investments in rural activities.

e) investments in social institutions (schools, colleges, clinics, construction of roads, water services and churches etc.).

f) The promotion of individual and family housing.

Beneficiaries

- a) The main beneficiaries of these investments are primarily developers themselves and their families,
- b) the whole community in the framework of collective investments.
- c) The workforce through employment opportunities,
- d) family members who leave in cities, thanks to the frequent shipments of food products and money.

3- What are the predominant inflows and outflows of capital from and to the settlement?

The inputs and outputs are multiple and often from cross origins. Entries come from near and remote towns and from other near and faraway campaigns. The outputs follow the same trajectories.

The inputs consist of the local input and especially the input from outside of the village. It is :

- New agricultural financing structures like rural microfinance agencies carried by the local elite,
- Bikes made in Asia are sold by some rich elites born in the village to local people at reduced costs or on credit,
- Money also enters the village by family networks (money transfer)
- Elites also participate in the financing of infrastructure and social amenities through the development committee canal.
- Elites build villas of high standing in the village, buying materials in local stores and using local labor.
- Rural population behavior changes in contact with the new practices from cities
- Farm inputs, manufactured products, construction materials, especially alcoholic drinks (because according to them they provide quick energy boost), and money from transactions between urban wholesalers and rural producers.

The outputs consist of:

- Agricultural products are either sold locally, in urban centers,
- food and small animals sent to family members emigrants,
- Remittances : especially to children who continue their studies in the city ; to support those family members who live in cities, without jobs.

4- How important is it in this settlement to be mobile (being able to move to different location) for work related purposes

The importance of mobility for the villages of the mountain is well established. Over 80% of the workforce is mobile. This mobility is done at several levels:

- the neighborhood, that is to say the hundred meters to two kilometers.
- From the village: up to 8 km. It is at the limit of what a pedestrian can do. The bike is requested.
- On the scale of the district, between neighboring villages. This is still the domain of walking or bike. The movement can be back and forth, but for two or even days.

- Inside and outside the department. This is exclusively the field of motorcycle and car. Mobility can then last for days or weeks depending on the period, themselves a function of the moment activities.

The mobilities have always marked the life of the people of the locality. The mobilities shaped their present appearance and they still need to maintain or improve it. Indeed, it moves to:

a) seek farmland, 90% of whose livelihood

b) research of agricultural and non-agricultural jobs, 10%

c) due to labor,

d) To a certain category (youth in school age), the movement is made for training purposes,

e) The taste of adventure that goes hand in hand with the necessity to find solutions elsewhere for employment or access to land. So it's a livelihood for no other. It is not a new fact because the mountain in particular and in general have always had the Bamileke currents of migration and mobility on different scales either to cities, other rural communities of Cameroon or to the abroad.

The populations of gardeners insist on mobility for short distances across the slope, from bottom to top. Indeed, market gardening and small livestock are the main activities of the area require that one be not far growing areas due to the requirement of these crops requires the effective presence and frequent for control , maintain, source inputs on a fixed frequency, etc. Essentially perishable vegetable crops also require farmers to travel for sale on local or national markets, or to carefully organize the collection and sale. The advent of mobile telephony has revolutionized the business, particularly in the collection and sale, significantly reducing travel. It has, in many cases, set aside the fields of mobility market producers.

The proportion of the population engaged in the commercial food animate recognizes mobility over long distance, inter-district and intra-department especially.

For some, the bike helped better address their time between maintenance of fields and holding their small business (shopkeepers, bartenders, restaurateurs) to the village, in the district or city department. These pluripotent happily cover 30 to 50 km on some days between their home and the field.

5- What are the main restrictions/constraints that keep people from being mobile?

A number of constraints limit the mobility participate in the locality. This is among others:

a) The age and health status,

- b) the poor condition of roads makes the city easily accessible, a situation that draws its explanation in the particular topography and, as such, the development and opening of roads require relatively colossal resources.
- c) Failure incentive cost of labor remuneration. It is generally very poorly paid in the day.
- d) Failure incentive cost of products grown leading to mobilities which are at a loss,
- e) Some behaviors or practices such as those relating to witchcraft which is a real psychosis brakes that prevent some people to go to Mount or to settle there to live near their fields or to build them agricultural workers.

6- What are the main linkages with the rural hinterlands?

The rural road in a very bad state and narrow footpaths network (converging towards Kombou (Babadjou), Baranka-Bafou. Bangang has no concentration point of products) is the first linkage between this area and its hinterlands. The so-call roads on their part bring goods from the hinterlands and supply the interior with industrial goods. Kombou is a rural commercial center and a collection zone for the agricultural products cultivated, an intellectual zone which on its own regroups 06 secondary schools and a good number primary schools with other professional training centers. With religious and money transfer functions, the people of the hinterland move to this area and these links are maintained.

Family relations coupled with marriage are some of the principal links with the interior. Human solidarity between the people of this zone and the relationships that these people make in their various transactions permit the created links to be maintained.

7- What is the nature of your relationship with neighboring villages?

Relations between the villages are close-knit, maintained by good neighborliness, intermarriage, friendships between individuals woven at school or work. There are some blood tie between villages (they belong to a common origin). The links are reinforced by frontier schools and health facilities. They always revolve around agricultural activities through the exchange of experience and trade, associations and tontines that reinforce them. And mobilization during events such as: the funeral; bereavement; family gatherings.

The Bangang of labor relationship to Bafou

8- What is the nature of your links with major cities?

The links are underpinned by the exchange of goods and services. Administratively and politically our villages belong to the district of Kong Ni, the Department of Menoua (city of Dschang), the Western Region, Bafoussam capital.

Bangang belongs to the district of Batcham, Babadjou the eponymous district. The villages of the department Bamboutos (Mbouda) and the Western Region.

In terms of interpersonal relationships, division of almost all families in rural and urban spaces connects. The connections are expressed more in terms of supply. Indeed, we are parents who send money, traditional medicines, food (food, small animals and birds) to our son and daughters living in cities, sometimes they themselves come to the village to refuel. In return, receive money and property of the city; we go for visits to supply us with manufactured goods, to solicit various administrative services (sign a paper, photocopying, receive quality medical care, and quality education and training). It is therefore understood that the city and the countryside rather maintain additional reports.

9- Do you think these reports are sustainable?

These reports are sustainable and strengthened over time. There is a regular meeting of village chiefs at the regional level. It is a link building tool and resolution of potential conflicts. The boundaries between villages have always been porous facilitating communications and exchanges.

10- What are the most important changes in this settlement over the past 10 years?

The main changes recorded in the area over the past 10 years can be summed up in positive changes and negative changes.

Positive changes:

- The quasi-general electrification of the area
- The expansion of Asian brands of motorcycles and the explosion of activity mototaxis democratized transportation and improved the quality of exchanges (speed, they go where cars can not go, you leave to before your House). The motorbike taxi has become the means of transport of the inhabitants of the area has profoundly revolutionized transportation,
- The use of mobile phone is deeply rooted in the habits and became a faithful companion of man, woman or child, whatever the level of education,
- Intensified development activities of rural roads cumulatively by local people and the local community
- Creation of new secondary schools
- The penetration of microfinance institutions in the village such as "Express union MUPECI" money transfer agencies etc. came to improve the business climate and exchanges between populations,
- The creation of new health centers has enabled a significant reduction in morbidity and mortality rates,
- Examination centers (CPCE patent, BAC?) In the resort

- Construction of villas increasingly lavish.
- A Bafou, gardeners insist climate change become increasingly soft.

Adverse changes:

- The rural exodus is becoming more and more momentum,
- Insecurity increases, development of assault and burglary.
- The villas built in the village by elites consume more and more agricultural areas while the narrowness of the space is a real fact in the resort
- The elites, through their financial power, instrumentalize the authorities in charge of the management of village affairs.

11- What is the general profile (age, ethnicity, gender, occupation)...

The local population of Mount consists of Bangang, of Balatchi and Babadjou of Bamboutos Department of Bafou, the Foto and Fongo Tongo Menoua the department. They are majority indigenous populations. We must add some are Bororo, Hausa, Moundang originating from northern Cameroon who are increasingly assimilated; Sawa few Littoral and Bamun.

In terms of occupation, the indigenous live from agriculture, are the Bororo pastoralists (in sedentary for most courses). They also carry out the caretaking functions in elite villas in the village. The other groups are mostly officials serving in the locality;

In terms of age, it should be noted the high proportion of old, or even particularly females aged; a high percentage of young people under fifteen years; a low rate of youths from fifteen to thirty-five years.

Feminine and highly dominant population Bangang. A Bafou in the vegetable area, the trend reverses. Young men aged 25 to 40-45 years dominate.

In terms of foreign profile, they are:

- of officials working in the area,
- transporters and traders came from far away to do business with local
- the Bororo herdsmen in search of pasture and eventually settle.

- A Bafou in Menoua, it indicates a proportion of young people from Bamboutos Division that provide essential labor for crops.

Those who come from the villages are more young people for academic reasons, or adult for family reunions (weddings).

12- What are the new challenges of current concern to the village?

These challenges are multiple ascending order:

- Find internal and external solutions to the smallness of the space
- The fight against insecurity,
- The populations of consolidation in producer cooperatives subject to the establishment of good governance,
- Fight against the exploitation and corruption of traditional authorities by the urban elite,
- The development of the initiative,
- Development of access roads: opening up of production areas, especially roads leading to the mountain, it is the wish to Bangang.
- Adaptation to climate change,
- Grant and better supervision of agriculture and the rural world,
- Trimming of external investments and greater orientation towards social
- Encourage more people to the diversification of income sources through multi activity here.
- Take into account the agricultural aspect in the action plan development committee
- Facilitate the access of peasant farmers to New Information Technology and Communication
- Encourage and support non-agricultural activities in the village
- Value the rural labor force as part of the village elite achievements
- Full electrification of the area would also be beneficial, not to mention the strengthening of health and education coverage through the strengthening of personnel and infrastructure, and the creation of points of supply of drinking water.

Bafou, it is understood that

- "The first challenge is far the most important is the development of roads to finally break the isolation and facilitate the flow of goods and bring real development because it is said" the road goes, development follows "
- A complete electrification of the area which would also be beneficial,
- Strengthening health and education coverage in terms of quality personnel, quantity and diversity (specialists) and infrastructure,
- Intensification of drinking water sources, new water supply.

13- What is the importance of the relationship between agriculture and business or other daily activities?

Reports are complementary relationship and interaction. Agriculture and especially the successful agriculture cannot do without the other activities such as livestock that allows you to save inputs (manure), trade, and transportation. The peasant Bafou the more fulfilled is the one that is multi asset. Trade will launch the agricultural activity and vice versa; it is the same transport that can be upstream or downstream of farming. These activities are linked and entr'alimentent. It is therefore understood that the nature of the relationship between agriculture and other areas of activity are essential to Bafou.

14- What is the relation between ICTs, mobility and news business opportunities

The relationship between ICT and mobility in this locality is real and results in:

In Bangang. The reduction of campaign to city travel numbers. It is becoming easier by the peasant to stay in town and be connected to the outside world. Since the advent of the mobile phone, we are constantly aware of everything that happens in town, we write fewer letters to family members who emigrated to town.

In babadjou all meteeng members agreed that mobile phone has first of all reduced the distance from one place to another in terms of the time taken and the amount spent on that distance. At first there were only a few methods to transport agricultural products to and from the farms and people were obliged to displace themselves to assure the transportation of these products. Today, everything has been facilitated because with a simple phone call, goods and other forms of exchange are taking place without the displacement of people. Transportation cost has reduced and the level of revenue has increased. At first people had to travel great distances to propose what they had to sell to various businessmen but today, all it takes is a phone call to various buyers and even the comparism of the prices offered by each buyer is possible before a choice is made.

Television and radio allow us to know what is happening abroad and in this regard, there is less need to travel. We can know at any moment the prices of agricultural and manufactured goods on different

important markets, to be informed of market opportunities, to know what the climate will look like the next day or all the week.

ICT and business opportunities. The phone facilitates transactions and the exchange of goods between producers, collectors of agricultural products, agricultural input suppliers, vendors. They therefore play a very important role in the system of exchanges between the village and the city and reduces transaction costs.

ICTs also offer services of money transfers through the "mobile money" (ie money Orange, MTN money) as well as phone credit transfer services which has created a new tradesor employments via the « call-box business » and mobile phone repair.

Bafou populations are more explicit: "ICT and especially the mobile phone has become an indispensable tool for any activity in the area. Indeed, it facilitates first money transfers, price negotiation between seller and buyer, setting and harmonization of prices between producers, strengthens interpersonal relations and makes it easy to recruit the hand of artwork. Other types of ICT as media and Internet are still very present but very expected. "

The Bafou assess 2/3 reduced travel generated by the phone. This mobility reduction can save a lot of money and energy.

The introduction of financial institutions such as MC2 and Express Union has permitted a certain portion of the population to easily send and receive money for their various transactions. These institutions have changed the mentality of a lot of people i.e. made people to understand that, it is better to save money in an institution rather than keep them at home, bandits have also been kept at bay as ready cash is quickly saved. This has also helped them save their finances, keeping them save from bandits and dishonest meeting members who have in the past dubbed them and made away with large sums of money. With microfinances and transfer agencies very few money circulate in man's pocket.

The creation of transport agencies have also facilitated movement of people and goods. With a thousand francs or less, people are able to send food to their children or family members in Douala, Yaoundé etc. and even without transport money to travel from where they are, people can pay the fare of their family members from this settlement.

ICTs have greatly reduced the frequency of mobility for certain purposes and has greatly increased the business opportunities offered to producers and businessmen alike. Farmers now harvest, call their suppliers and the products are easily transported and taken to the areas where these products are needed without displacement of one of the two actors.

On the other hand, there are certain people who think ICTs have encourage laziness as a lot of people depend on them instead of doing what they are supposed to do though the availability of information and the opening up new opportunities have been made possible.

At times, ICTs have increased competition as everybody now knows where certain products are to be found and the prices in which they are sold. People flock to these areas to buy at cheaper prices increasing competition. There is now a famous slogan which says "call more and travel less". Most of our daily mobility transactions are now done over the telephone

15- What is the role of institutions (eg. Diaspora, network, producer association, cooperatives) and services (transport and communication facilities, financial institutions) for such inflows/outflows of resources from and to the settlement?

In Bangang ICG, once very common are very few today due to bad governance (recurring embezzlement of funds, goods and people, leadership conflicts, selfishness etc.). This is why many households are more interested in individual initiatives than collective ones. In babadjou as far as producer associations and cooperatives are concerned, most of these are family matters. They are being created and managed just by members of the same family and sometimes when a large portion of the population is concerned, individuals are too concerned about making personal profits within the shortest possible time or the board members reap all the benefits given to them and the masses go empty handed. It should first of all be noted that, it is difficult to assemble the babadjou people because most of them are always thinking about their personal interest rather than the interest of the community.

- The diaspora is an important part of the village development device in Bangang and, to a certain extent in Bafou where :

It is considered as «the guru, the spiritual director of the village», it finances projects initiated by the Development Committee,

- it attracts various projects and NGOs to the village. Elites are involved in the field of health, education, agriculture, maintenance of road infrastructure;

- the developer of individual projects in the field of housing and small business (farm, agricultural farms etc.

In babadjou opinion on elites are diversified «Most of these institutions were used in the past to swindle money out of people. Though things are fact changing and the population is becoming aware on how to better save their finances, it is difficult for a great proportion of the common people to fully trust these institutions. Diaspora networks are practically non-operational because most elites do think only about themselves and their families except for the Balepo and Bachua communities where their main areas of interest are the organization of village committees”.

- The networks of relations between emigrants and their families members occupy a special place that is difficult to quantify.

- Some meeting members argued the role of government and its services is limited as far as local development is concerned, because their projects have proven to be announced just for electoral or political aims.

- Financial institutions will gradually settle on the village market places. They collect savings but also provide consumption and investment credits

In Bafou the focus group has also insisted that state actions are expected fervently : the safety of the backup, the development of public roads and multiple grants. Until these actions are still very few perceptible which betrays the ineffectiveness of government officials and especially the mismanagement of

the few grants that come to farmers level. They regularly catalyze conflicts within groups. It is therefore understandable that a lot remains to be done by the state and much is expected of him by the Bafou farmers.

All these institutions are involved in the improvement of livelihoods across town without being the key drivers.

The Bafou assess 2/3 reduced travel generated by the phone. This mobility reduction can save a lot of money and energy.

16- To what extent do local governments manage/steer/(re)direct mobility flows and mobility related development outcomes?

Village heads through quarter heads have been settling land quarrels and have been charged with distributing the unoccupied areas thus directing the movement of producers and grazers especially in the mountain areas. The senior divisional officer of this area has also played a great role in regulating land use and it has been realized that the soil is the most important factor that regulates human movements.

17- Future prospects

At Bangang in terms of perspective, was unanimity around:

- The mindset change by appropriate education of the population,
- The substitution of hedges by fruit orchards, to diversify production, constitute an anthropogenic forest for carbon sequestration and the fight against climate change.

A Bafou prospects come in:

The rising youth Bafou is a glimmer of hope for the village, especially in terms of:

- job creation,
- creation of a new generation of farmers able to innovate and revolutionize the village economy.

The way forward for the development of Babadjou. The most important factor is the construction of secondary schools especially the creation of secondary technical schools. The development of any area first of all passes through a change in mentality of that area. Most students in this zone are farmers or are involved in the transport sector. They come to school today but the next day, they are engaged in their economic activities thus the most important aspect of development is to change the mentality of people through education and educational programs aimed at changing the mentality of the masses.

The prospects vis-à-vis agricultural mobilities are subdued. The non-agricultural labor mobility will increase while farm mobility will tend to decline. Indeed, locally cramped space and inheritance patterns are forcing those young people who choose to stay in the village to invest in non-agricultural or para agricultural activities; the mentality of young people will rather go in the sense of immediate gains and the least painful possible to work.

It was also found that inside and outside the villages develops selfishness, some "hatred" for the stranger in the land access. It also develops a spirit of land claim once appropriated by non-native. In addition, the widespread practice of leasing over other forms of access to land is a factor that limits mobility hitherto largely based on social solidarity.

Annex IV. Site report – Kwaebibirem district, Ghana

A lot of meat does not spoil the soup

A qualitative study into rural-urban connections and livelihood diversification in Kwaebibirem district, Ghana.



Written by Romy Santpoort and Reinout Vos
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Chapter 1: Executive summary

This report entails a descriptive account of the way rural-urban connections and livelihood diversification has an impact on rural development. The qualitative fieldwork for this research has been conducted in Kwaebibirem district, one of 26 districts in Ghana with a main focus on three urbanizing settlements: Asuom, Abaam and Takyiman.

First, livelihood diversification is on household level is described. Kwaebibirem district is an area in which oil palm cultivation and processing is one of the main sources of income for many livelihoods. Most households however, diversify their income flows to a large extent as part of their livelihood strategies. Many people work as a trader or work in the construction or transportation sector beside their farming activities. Other livelihood strategies for rural households in Kwaebibirem are that of multi-locality and migration, either domestically or international. Being a trader, mason or a driver often makes mobility a necessity. In addition, migration to urban areas such as Accra or Kumasi, or abroad, is also often seen as a way to diversify household income and gain financial security. In order for people to diversify their incomes in these different ways, the ability to move around a lot is of major importance. As people travel around, this research found that the mobility of Kwaebibirem households is affected by four different factors. An economic factor is important: people travel for work and the livelihood strategy of multi-locality affects the amount of travels one has to make. However besides economic factors, culture, infrastructure and new technologies were found to affect people's mobility patterns. These mobility patterns, combined with flows of goods, capital, information and technology create connections of different kinds between rural and urban areas in both directions. This research focused on these flows and dynamics between the three settlements and larger urban areas and how they affect local, rural development.

Within Kwaebibirem district, Kade is found to be an important trade-and service center. Other cities of major importance for the settlements in the district are Ghana's capital, Accra, Kumasi, Koforidua and Nkawkaw, where people go for both economic purposes and the use of different services. Goods that flow from the rural hinterlands of Kwaebibirem district towards the urban areas, are agrarian in nature. Many traders from the larger urban areas such as Accra and Kumasi come to the small settlements of Kwaebibirem to buy foodstuffs and especially palm oil. Goods that flow in the opposite direction, from urban to the rural areas are mainly finished products such as vehicles, essential commodities and provisions. One of the important flows of capital in and out of the rural settlements, are remittances send by and to family members, which is nowadays mostly done through mobile money.

It was found that the livelihood diversification and the described rural-urban connections contribute to development in different ways. On the one hand, the agricultural sector within Kwaebibirem district generates the main source of income and attracts investments from both individual and large-scale investors, such as oil palm producing companies GOPDC and

Serendipalm. These investments create employment, and a competitive local market. In addition, these companies contribute to local development through their corporate social responsibility programmes. It is through these programmes that they build, secure and maintain their relations with the communities, which are important in order to continue their activities in the area. On the other hand, livelihood diversification and rural-urban connections can contribute to local development through migration. Related to an increased level of income, but also due to the emergence of new ICTs, it seems that people are more able to migrate to another place, often the city, and still be able to rely on the original households' income. Because of the greater ease of sending money through mobile money, a culturally embedded system of remittances has evolved. Through these remittances, financial security of households can increase. While remittances from national sources are mostly spend on household consumption, it is mostly the remittances from international migrants that are invested by rural households in order to improve their livelihoods, although not all investments are sustainable. Furthermore, returning migrants have been found to contribute to the community's development through employment generation, knowledge transfer and direct contributions to the community's infrastructure and facilities.

Overall, the growing agricultural sector in the district is perceived to have a positive effect on rural livelihoods and local development. It is important to note though that there are certain challenges within the district that need to be tackled. The bad conditions of the roads are perceived to have a large effect on local developments and livelihoods by, for example, increasing prices on the market. In addition, it is important to note that not every household in the district is able to profit from the described developments in an equal way. Resources such as agricultural land, are not distributed equally and with recent developments, land is an asset that is becoming increasingly expensive and unattainable for poor families, possibly causing increasing inequality. In addition, it has to be emphasized that although many households have been able to facilitate migration of one or more members, there are certainly those who do not have the financial resources or social networks to facilitate migration and multi-locality, or fail in reaching their destinations and come back. A challenge thus lies in making sure that recent developments in the area include those who otherwise might fall behind.

Although governmental actors such as the District Assembly seem to have little influence on the mobilization and direction of these investments and developments in the communities, local traditional leaders are of major importance. Local leaders are the main decision makers within the community and the custodians of a lot of agricultural land, which is an important asset in a district which the local economy relies solely on agriculture. This report therefore concludes with recommendations to take this role of local and traditional authorities into account while facilitating easier movements and rural urban connections.

Chapter 2: Methodology

This research was carried out by Reinout Vos, MSc. and Romy Santpoort MSc. from Utrecht University in collaboration with the University of Ghana for the purpose of deliverable D 2.3 of the Rurban Africa project. It was carried out from the second of November 2015 until the 16th of December 2015 in Kwaebibirem district in the Eastern Region of Ghana. The research site was selected for further qualitative research to gain more in-depth knowledge following the previous research that has been conducted in this district in 2014. Because of prior research, quantitative data and a sampling frame, from which to draw a sample, was already available. Since the previous quantitative study had focused on the emerging town of Asuom and its surroundings, the household interviews conducted during this fieldwork have all taken place in Asuom and its surrounding villages.

2.1 Research design & research questions

The research and fieldwork that was conducted has been following a descriptive design. The overall aim of the research is to describe the role of households' multi-activity and multi-locality within the context of urban-rural dynamics and rural development. It also shows characteristics of a case-study: an in-depth study with a particular and confided research setting. Below, the overall research question is stated, as are the four sub questions:

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

- How are the inflow and outflow of resources (such as remittances,) being used by the rural household?
- What is the impact of mobility flows in terms of local economic development?
- What is the impact of mobility flows in terms of social, cultural and political dynamics in the rural areas?
- What policies (mechanisms), if any, aim at mobilizing the inflow and outflow of resources (such as remittances; agricultural products; inputs; etc.) for local development in the rural areas?

2.2 Used methods

In order to answer the research questions as posed above, firstly, participatory observations have been used and many informal interviews have been held. By participating in daily life of Kwaebibirem district, a better and in-depth understanding of livelihoods in the district is obtained. Furthermore, 28 formal, in-depth household interviews were conducted. These interviews were conducted using mobility maps as a tool to both structure the interview and visualize the mobility patterns of a household (see appendixes for a detailed description of the use

of mobility maps). In case a respondent had sufficient knowledge of the English language, the interview was conducted in English. However, most interviews were conducted in the local language, Twi, and translated by enumerators.

Three urbanizing settlements were selected for local diagnosis of rural-urban connections and in each of these three settlements, a focus group discussion was conducted in order to gain in-depth knowledge and understanding of local dynamics and the impact of mobility flows on the settlements. In addition, land use maps were drawn of each of these settlements. Finally, interviews with key stakeholders were conducted in order to gain insight in the perspective of local investors, businesspeople and governmental stakeholders on the subjects of mobility and rural-urban connections. These stakeholders were sampled according to their positions and availability.

2.3 Sampling methods

2.3.1 Selection of households for migration narratives

A total of 25 households were sampled to conduct interviews. From previous research within Kwaebibirem district, a sampling frame was available from which a first sample of thirty households was selected. Because of the nature of the research questions, households were selected that had an interesting mobility pattern (with at least one household member involved in daily commuting) and incoming remittance flows that they were able to invest. However, due to a high non-response rate only 12 household interviews from this sample were conducted in the end. The remaining 16 households were selected by way of convenience sampling, or snowball sampling. This was necessary in order to keep control over certain characteristics of a household within the sample: households had to be mobile to a certain extent and had to receive remittances. This was necessary because many questions were directed towards these subjects. An additional three households were selected for interviews because of their interesting mobility patterns and remittance flows. However, for these three households, no mobility maps were drawn because of the limited movements of this households within Kwaebibirem district.

The sampled households varied in size from 1-14 members. Most households consisted of a male household head, his spouse and their children. Household heads in the sample varied between the ages of 28-80 years old. Because the sampling frame used for the first 12 households, most households in the sample were located in Asuom and its surrounding villages. More information on the characteristics of the households in the sample can be found in the appendixes.

2.3.2 Selection of respondents for focus group discussions

In order to gain insight in rural-urban connections, flows of goods, information and technology, it was mainly local investors, entrepreneurs, farmers and tradespeople who were invited to join the focus group discussions. In addition, some individuals were invited who had extensive knowledge on the selected settlements. And also these individuals were invited aimed at

influencing the gender-balance of the group to a certain extent. Following traditional entry procedures, local assembly members of the settlements were asked assistance in gathering this group of individuals and were provided in detail with the selection criteria. Overall it resulted in a good composition of respondents according to the selection criteria.

2.3.3 Selection of the settlements for the local diagnosis

Three settlements were selected for local diagnosis: Asuom, Abaam and Takyiman. These small towns were selected after thorough observations and in collaboration with the local district planning office. The settlements were selected on the basis of their rapidly urbanizing and expanding nature in the district. Because of this factor, rural development and the subsequent influence of urban areas were more visible in these settlements compared to others.

2.4 Method for reporting and analysis

First, formal interviews and focus group discussions were recorded, translated and transcribed in English. This data, all qualitative, has been structured and coded using qualitative data analysis software Nvivo. However it is important to note that the researcher is doing the analysis, deciding on which paragraph to code and consequently find and decide on patterns and categories (O'reilly, 2012, p. 190.) With Nvivo, attribute data (location, age of the respondents, main source of income etc.) has been added to respondents in order to quickly reflect on the data by using matrixes. A source classification sheet with the attribute data of the households has been added in in the appendixes.

2.5 Reflections and limitations

Data collection

For data collection in the field, research assistants were hired to assist, finding and contacting respondents, conducting and translating interviews in the local language. Most interactions with respondents have thus been held in the local language and were translated during the interviews. This creates an important role for the translator, who is not only responsible for translation, but also, clarifying information from the respondents and asking follow-up questions. This was the case during interviews, but more so during the focus group discussions: because of an ongoing discussion between multiple participants, a direct translation to the researchers is not always possible and delays the discussion. Therefore, the discussions were led by the research assistants. Although the assistants were extensively informed and guided about the correct methods for heading a focus group discussion, occasionally, some issues were not elaborated on or follow-up questions were not posed. Furthermore, translating a local language, such as Twi, into English creates discrepancies: some data might get 'lost in translation', if there is no English expression for a Twi word, or vice versa. It is important to be aware of this role of translators and the language barrier, since it has a large impact on the research process and the findings.

A second challenge during data collection is related to traditional entry procedures within the community. To access the communities within Kwaebibirem district, communication with the community starts through traditional leaders. Assemblymen- and women act as community gatekeepers, gathering respondents and information. Although this has multiple advantages, such as time efficiency and cooperation of community members, it does mean that the gatekeeper is in control of a large part of the sampling instead of the researchers. For example, this has resulted in a focus group discussion with too many participants, for the location that was chosen by the assemblyman in Takyiman was a very public and central place, accessible to anyone.

A third limitation encountered during the fieldwork relates to the accessibility to key informants of some organizations. Not all initially selected key informants were available or willing to partake in the research and, as lower staff were often not permitted to do an interview, most questions had to be directed towards the person in charge of the organization. These individuals are often preoccupied and therefore difficulties were encountered in scheduling a date for the interview. This resulted in some notable key informants missing, which are the District Chief Executive, the director of the rural bank, and a spokesperson of PSI.

Data analysis

During the household interviews, mobility maps were used as a tool, comparable to an interview guide. By drawing these mobility maps, respondents were guided through their migration narrative. This method was purposefully chosen in order to have an open interview with much input from the respondent. Consequential, due to this open-ended approach of the mobility map, interviews differ from each other to a large extent. This poses a challenge during data analysis, finding patterns, contradictions and similarities, since not all interviews have been structured in the same way. This limitation has not been encountered during the analysis of the focus group discussions since for these discussions, a discussion guide has drafted and data is, to some extent, structured.

Finally, through the methods as described in the above, this study aims to gain in-depth knowledge on rural-urban connections in the local context of Kwaebibirem district. Due to the chosen methodology and sampling, its findings apply solely to this research context and sample. Its findings are thus not generalizable to other populations. For example, household interviews that were conducted among households living in Asuom and its surrounding villages solely reflect onto their perspective and experiences. The same accounts for interviews conducted among key informants. These only show their perspectives and are not generalizable towards other districts in Ghana. Although the findings of this research are not generalizable, this does not mean that the research is not relevant: gained insights and findings may be transferable or applicable to other research or policy-related contexts.

2.7 Conceptualization

Below, important concepts for the research specific to Kwaebibirem are briefly described.

<i>Assembly (wo)man</i>	A local spokesperson who represents the community at the district assembly level and acts as an opinion leader. He or she is elected by the community.
<i>Chief</i>	A chief is the traditional leader of the community, often in charge of community funds and stool lands, which are owned by the community but controlled by the chief. He is supported by sub-chiefs and village elders and selected by a combination of family lineages and elections.
<i>District Assembly</i>	The most decentralized governmental level, presided by the political head of the district, the district chief.
<i>GOPDC</i>	GOPDC stands for Ghana Oil Palm Developing Company. The Belgium-owned company operates a large oil palm plantation of almost 9.000 hectares at Kwae and Okumaning estates and a large oil palm processing mill at Kwae. GOPDC employs about 3000 workers in peak season and has over 7000 out growers under contract who provide the palm fruits for the mill.
<i>Mobile Money:</i>	Users of mobile phones can subscribe for a mobile money account. It is possible to withdraw and deposit money to and from this account, transfer money to other accounts and pay bills with it. Deposits and withdraws are done at small telecom shops or stalls. The maximum amount one can have in a mobile money account is GHC 10.000. Mobile money is used by almost everyone in Kwaebibirem district for the purpose of paying bills, exchanging money and for saving small amounts
<i>Serendipalm</i>	Serendipalm is a private palm oil processing company operating in Asuom. It only processes organically grown oil palm, grown by about 800 farmers in and around Asuom and are known in the area for its contributions to different development projects.
<i>Trotro</i>	Local minivans that are used in the public transport system

Chapter 3: Inflow and use of resources by rural households

In order to describe the way households make use of these income flows, this chapter will focus on the inflows and use of resources by the rural households encountered, Section 3.1 will first elaborate on livelihood diversification and the way households gain income and resources through different ways. Within the district, most households gain income through the cultivation of oil palm and cocoa, but most households also engage in other, non-farming activities to supplement their income. In addition, many households receive remittances from migrated family members, which will be discussed in section 3.2. In section 3.3, this chapter will focus on the way these remittances are used.

3.1 Inflow of resources: household diversification

Within Kwaebibirem district, the main source of income for most households originates from the agricultural sector. However, this is very rarely the only source of income for a household since most households diversify their income to a great extent. This concept has been defined by Ellis (1998) as livelihood diversification: ‘the process by which rural families construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities in order to survive and to improve their standards of living’ (Ellis, 1998, p. 1). For rural households in Kwaebibirem district, it means that on household level, members practice a wide range of economic activities that can be categorized in farming and non-farming activities. Many households own one or multiple farms, on which they grow cash crops (mostly oil palm and cocoa) and crops for household consumption (plantain, cassava, yam and a variety of vegetables). For most, this crop diversification is also part of their livelihood diversification strategy: securing income from different (agricultural) sources. This is also related to the seasonal character of both cocoa and oil palm. While oil palm can be harvested several times per year, cocoa can only be harvested once a year or even less. Therefore, variation in crops is very common: One farmer motivated his strategy to diversify his crops as follows:

If you put both eyes in one bottle, you might lose both at the same time. So if you diversify the sources of income flow, then it puts you in a better position. That way, I always have some money. Like I said earlier, that these are seasonal plantations. Now, it's the season for harvesting cocoa and it will soon be over. Right after Christmas, around March, will be the season for harvesting the palm. So even if you do not have a lot of palm or cocoa, you still have some regular source of income (Farmer, aged 74, 11-11-2015).



Picture 1. Palm fruit and cocoa pods are the main source of income for many farmers in the district

Income generated from farming activities is often supplemented by other, non-farming economic activities, such as (petty) trading or skilled work in construction, service or the transport sector. Some also primarily work as a labourer and have a farm to complement their salary or invest in the future. Initially, it seems contradictory to have your own farm and work on someone else's farm. A permanent worker from GOPDC explains why this is common:

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

Table 1 below shows the number of households that are engaged in farming and non-farming activities. It shows, for example, that 20 out of 28 households that were sampled, engaged in oil palm farming and 15 households engaged in trading.

Table 1. Number of households engaged in different economic activities.

Economic activity		Number of households (N=28)	%
Farming	Oil palm	20	72%
	Cocoa	14	50%
	Rubber	2	7%
	Food crops	16	57%
	Labour work	5	18%
Non-farming	Trading	15	54%
	Construction	5	18%
	Driving	4	14%
	Other	15	54%

Source: Fieldwork 2015.

As described, households can engage in multiple economic activities. Figure 1 below shows the number of economic activities households are engaged in. It shows that out of 28, 18 households source their income from four or five income sources, whereas only 3 households engage in one

Number of economic activities within households (N=28)

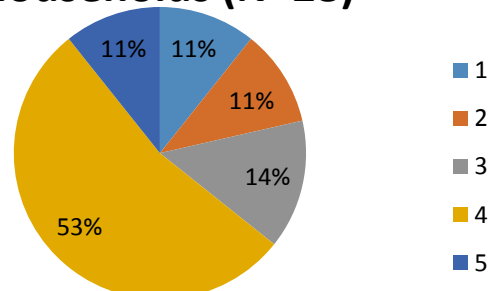


Figure 1: Number of economic activities within households.
Source: fieldwork 2015

economic activity. Note that these numbers do not include income from remittances, which will be discussed in section 3.2.

In short, income from one source, whether it be labour for GOPDC or a farm, is often not sufficient to cover all household expenses and diversification of income sources is necessary to secure a household's income. If this is the case, some venture in non-farming activities or acquire more farmland. But due to urbanization and increasing investments in agricultural land (as discussed in chapter five and six), land has become a scarce resource in Kwaebibirem district. In the past, GOPDC acquired state-owned land, which initially belonged to Kwaebibirem communities. Instead of returning the land, the state sold it to GOPDC, contributing to land scarcity for local communities. It is thus one of the most valuable resources for rural households in the district. Consequently, land scarcity and urbanization in a settlement like Asuom has also caused people to acquire land in surrounding villages like Tweapease:

Here in Tweapease, we have a lot of land. There is plenty here, but for the land in Asuom, they gave most of it to GOPDC. So a greater part of their land has been used for the palm plantation. So because of that, they don't have land. So this is where most of them have come for land and their farming. (Farmer and former assemblywoman Tweapease, aged 54, 16-11-2015).

This indicates that the developments in urbanizing areas, such as Asuom, has specific effects on mobility flows and developments in more rural areas such as Tweapease. Roughly the same connection was mentioned by a respondent in Takyiman, where many households move to Dotchi to do their farming.

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

Once a household has access to land, it can secure a certain income. But it is also an investment in food security, since most farmers also grow food crops on their lands for household consumption. It is mostly those households who do not have access to (sufficient) land, that either work on other people's farms or as labourers for GOPDC doing maintenance, weeding, harvesting or carrying the produce, in addition to trade and skilled work.

While both the men and women within the household are involved in farming activities, often it is the women who are also traders or work at processing mills, called *Krama*'s, in which the oil palm nuts are processed into raw palm oil and then traded on the local market. Men that are involved in non-farming activities often do skilled work in, for example, construction or the transport sector. Most children are in school and sometimes help out on their parents' farms or trading business after school and on the weekends. Older children are often sent off to do an apprenticeship in a larger town or city to learn a trade. In the south-eastern areas of the district around the settlement of Takyiman, mainly the youth are involved in the (illegal) mining sector.

3.2 Multi- locality and flows of remittances

For many households, a significant part of their income consists of remittances: migrants who are living somewhere else in Ghana or abroad who send their families money for various purposes. Many households in Kwaebibirem district have one or more family members who have migrated elsewhere. Oftentimes, this multi-locality is part of a livelihood diversification strategy: securing income from multiple sources, and, locations. Within Ghana, most common destinations for migration are Accra and Kumasi, while abroad, most encountered destinations were Germany, the UK, Canada and the USA. Chapter four will elaborate more on mobility and migration patterns and the consequences and impact these remittance flows have on local livelihoods. In this section, a description of these flows of remittances, as part of a household's income flows, will be discussed.

In Ghana, sending and receiving remittances is part of daily life culture of many Ghanaians: *'Remittances? That's part of our life. Even if you don't have it, they will still ask it from you. (...).Sending remittances is our culture. You cannot run away from that.'* (Returning migrant in Asuom, male, aged 50, 17-11-2015). Remittances often go beyond the nuclear household setting, by way of courtesy or even as social obligations. Remittances are sent and received by other household members, but also parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, further extended family and family in-law. Most remittances come in cash, but sometimes, migrants might also send or bring their relatives support in the form of food or goods.

In this report, a distinction will be made between national remittances, originating from migrants within Ghana, and international remittances, origination from migrants who live abroad, in order to see differences in how these two kinds of capital flows are spent by households. Figure 2 shows that out of 28 interviewed households, a total of 22 households received remittances, among which 20 received national remittances and 8 households received international remittances either currently or in the recent past (note that households can receive multiple types of remittances simultaneously). As national remittances are received more frequently, international remittances often consist of more substantial amounts.

Remittances are often thought of as capital flowing from urban areas into the rural areas where the migrant originates from: migrants who migrated to the city remit to their rural families. This study however, shows that there is also a steady flow of capital from the rural home into the

Type of remittances received by households (N=28)

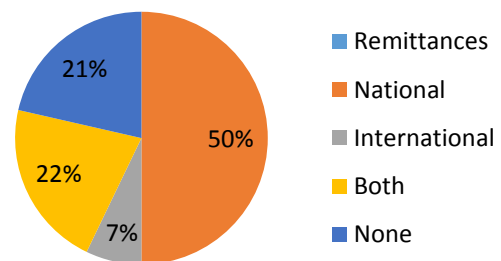


Figure 2. Type of remittances received by households

urban zones or other rural areas. Out of 28 households that were interviewed, 15 households indicated that they not just received remittances, but also regularly send their relatives money for different purposes: a contribution to a funeral, ‘showing love’, or supporting a migrant or child in need: *‘My son in Kasoa? For him, he is doing his national service and the allowance is not good. So I rather send him money that I make with my farm.’* (Farmer, female, aged 53, 27-11-2015). In addition, many children also send their parents small amounts, just by way of courtesy: it is perceived your duty as a son or daughter to contribute a little to your parent’s upkeep. This shows that aside remittances flowing from migrants in larger cities and abroad, there is a steady flow of capital leaving the rural areas too: rural households that use their income flows to send to their families elsewhere.

3.3 Use of remittances

During previous research in Kwaebirem district, quantitative data has been collected on the amount and use of remittances of farming households. Adding to the existing knowledge, this paragraph will have a closer look at the difference between the spending of remittances from international and national sources.

3.3.1. International remittances

During the in-depth household interviews conducted for this study, participants were asked how remittances from both national and international sources were spent. Most of the households that received international remittances were able to invest them into farming, housing, business or their children’s education. Out of 10 households that received international remittances, 9 were able to invest the remittances in their farms, trade or other business. One of these respondents, for example, received a bus from his brother in Italy but competition from government buses made him invest in a tractor:

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

Apart from investing in farms or business, international remittances were also used for household consumption and to pay school fees. And thus not always invested. However, these income flows are not always stable, which makes the spending patterns differ too, depending on the frequency and amount. The following respondent received international remittances from his uncle in Australia:

Sometimes he sends it just to support me. And also to buy a few chemicals for my farm and invest in the farm. I buy more palm seeds to grow to expand my oil palm plantation. And I also buy cocoa seeds to grow. If the amount is huge, then I do that. If not, I only spend it on the household consumption. (Farmer, male, aged 48, 09-11-2015)

Although international remittances are thus often spent on (small) investments, this does not necessarily mean that all investments made with remittances are sustainable investments. The same farmer discussed the remittances his other siblings received from their brother in Italy: although one managed to invest successfully in a trade business, another sister mismanaged the money and had nothing left of her initial investment.

3.3.2 National remittances

National remittances, on the other hand, are mostly used as ‘chop money’, for daily household consumption and are often send through mobile money, which has made these transactions much easier than before. Generally, these amount are smaller than international remittances and are therefore often used for daily upkeep. Out of 14 households that received national remittances, all of them used these remittances for the purpose of household consumption:

Oh, in a day that I don't go to the farm I use these remittances to feed the family. And in time that I don't get much from my farm I use this to support the family, to complement the household expenses. (Farmer, male, aged 80, 19-11-2015)

Remittances, whether national or international, are though often used for multiple purposes. Five households also mentioned using national remittances for investment in a farm, house or business and two spent the money on school fees. In table X below, spending patterns originating from national and international sources are compared. Due to the small sample of households, this table is not representative for all remittance spending. However, it does indicate that in this sample of households, international remittances are more often spend as investments than national remittances.

	National Remittances (N=15)		International Remittances (N=10)	
Household consumption	15	100%	3	30%
Farm investments	3	20%	5	50%
Other business investments	1	6,7%	5	50%
School fees	2	13,3%	3	30%
Housing	1	6,7%	1	10%

Table 2: Use of remittances from national and international sources.

Source: Fieldwork 2015

In short, livelihoods in Kwaebibirem district are diversified to a great extent. The main source of income for most rural households consists of farming activities, for which land is a crucial asset. Farming activities are almost always complemented by non-farming activities, such as self-employed work in trading, construction, transport or other skilled work. Those who do not have access to land increasingly work on other people's farms or large, company-owned plantations.

Income is often complemented with remittances from national and/or international migrants, which is deeply embedded in Ghanaian culture. Though national remittances are often sent more frequently, they are mostly used for household consumption while international remittances consist of larger amounts and are used for investments in farming and other economic activities.

Chapter 4: Mobility and migration patterns

This chapter will describe the mobility and migration patterns of rural households. During the interviews, the term mobility has been used to indicate daily or weekly commuting, while the term of migration indicates permanent or semi-permanent settlement in a different locality. During the fieldwork, 25 households were interviewed in order to map their mobility and migration patterns. Mobility maps for each household were drawn to map the movements of the individual household members. In addition, mobility and migration patterns from the three selected settlements (Asuom, Abaam and Takyiman) were discussed in focus group discussions. This chapter will commence by presenting the findings from these interviews and mobility maps in section 4.1. Section 4.2. will then describe the effects of these mobility patterns on local livelihoods. Migration patterns will be discussion in section 4.3. Section 4.4. will then conclude this chapter by describing the impact of migration, not only for livelihoods but also for local economic development in the research sites.

4.1 Mobility Patterns (local and regional)

Being mobile in different ways is very important to many people in Kwaebibirem district. Whether it is for economic purposes, the use of services or recreational purposes, the ability to move around is an important aspect on which many livelihoods depend. Firstly, mobility and livelihood diversification are strongly related. To secure their incomes, households diversify their economic activities. In particular non-farming activities, make the household members move around a lot. Being a trader, mason or a driver often makes travelling around a necessity. In addition, mobility is important for education, since many children attending secondary school can't go to school in the rural village if there is no school present in the village. Furthermore, mobility is important for food security, since most households grow food crops away from their homes and sometimes, travel long distances to their farms. Finally, mobility is important for maintaining a social network, through the visiting of friends and family and the attendance of church gatherings. In their turn, social networks are of major importance for a household to rely on in times of need.

Below, the encountered mobility patterns are described. During the drawing of the mobility maps, three types of movements were discussed considering the purpose of these movements: economic purposes, the use of services and recreational purposes. According to these three purposes, visualizations of



Picture 2. Commuting by bicycle

mobility patterns are included. Note that these include movements collected through the household interviews in Asuom and surroundings. Information considering Abaam and Takyiman originates from data acquired in focus group discussions.

4.1.1. Mobility for economic purposes

Figure 3 below is a visual representation of the economic movements of households from Asuom and surroundings within the sample. The higher the inflow of movements, the larger the settlements appear. For the purpose of economic activity, it shows that, outside of the community, people move to both rural and urban areas, but a particular focus lies on large cities like Kade, Accra, Kumasi and Nkawkaw.

Economic movements from Asuom communities

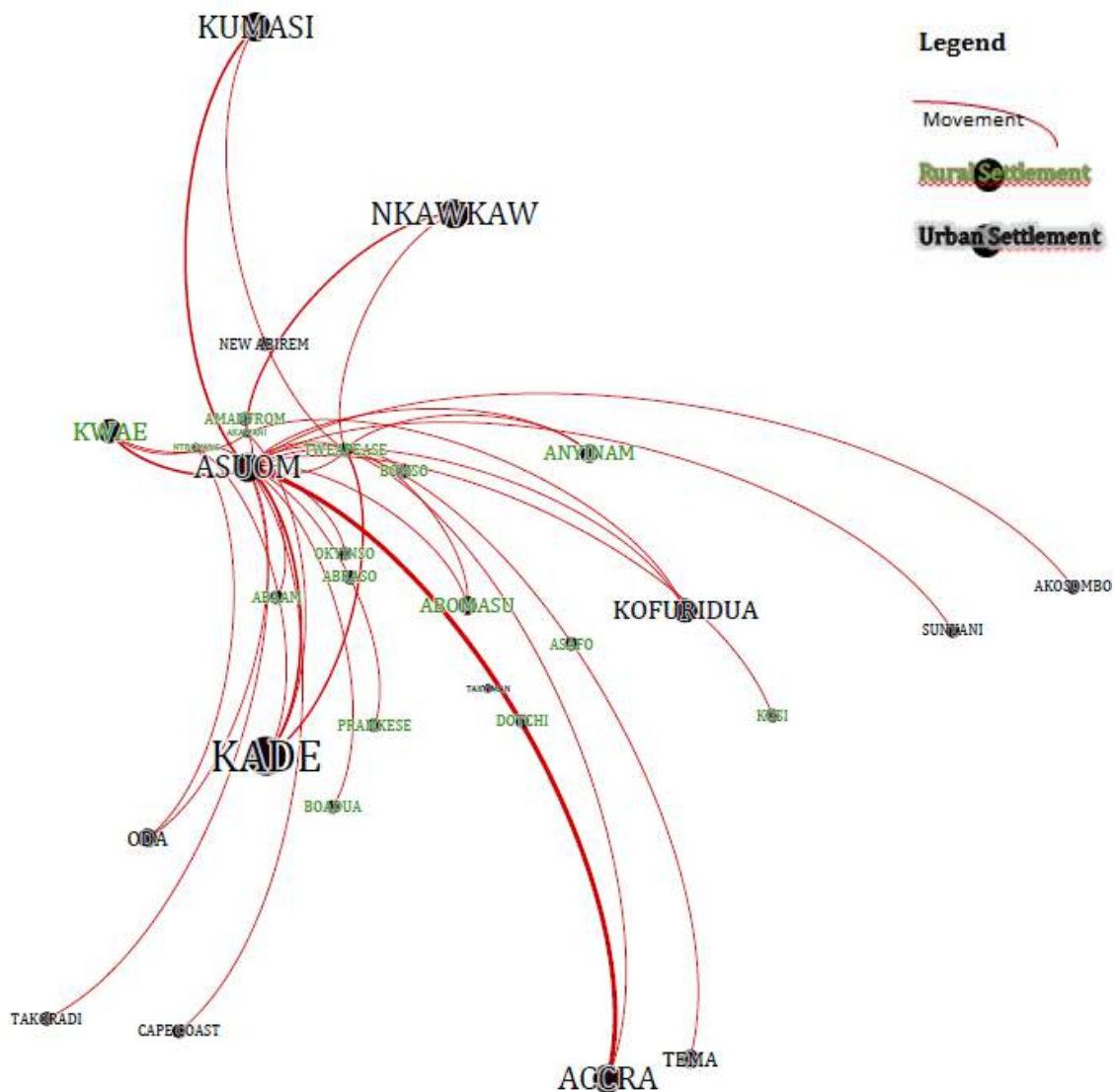


Figure 3. Economic movements from Asuom communities

However, most people commute on foot, or sometimes on bicycles or use public transport, to their farms within the community. These farms are often located nearby: within and around the community or bordering to the neighbouring communities. It is only occasionally that a farmer lives on the same plot where his farm is located. Because of land scarcity, many people from a more urbanized settlement like Asuom also have farmland in neighbouring Tweapease. The same relationship was encountered between the communities of Takyiman and Dotchi. Those who do not own farms, commute on a daily basis to other people's farms or to GOPDC at Kwae, the major employer in the area, for work.. GOPDC provides buses for their workers from the surrounding communities in the district to their plantations at Okumaning and Kwae estates. In addition, many farmers commute to GOPDC to sell their produce, buy seedlings or tools. This is can be seen from the connections between Asuom and Kwae on figure 3.

It is mostly the non-farming economic activities that makes people move elsewhere in Ghana. While most trading and mining is mostly done within the district, skilled work, like construction work, carpentry or work as a driver, brings people to larger urban centres like Accra, Kumasi and other large urban centres in the area, such as Nkawkaw and Kofuridua. The connections with these urban centres show evidently in figure 3 above.

4.1.2 Mobility for the use of different services

Figure 4 below shows a visual representation of mobility patters for the use of different services, such as commercial services, banking, education, medical care and so on. As the figure shows, the main trade and service centre for Kwaebibirem district is Kade, the district capital. Kade offers a commercial centre, different types of schools and a hospital. However, depending on the type of service needed and their availability in the communities, people either stay in their communities, visit Kade or move to larger urban centres like Accra, Nkawkaw or Kumasi. For example, with the availability of a medical clinic in Asuom, most people would stay within Asuom for medical care or come for that care from the surrounding communities. However, if the matter is severe, a hospital is found in Kade, the capital district, Pramkese, Nkawkaw and Akwatia, the capital of the neighbouring district. Because of its proximity, people from Takyiman go to Pramkese for this medical care. Asuom has both primary and secondary schools, so most children from Asuom and surrounding villages go to school within Asuom. In Abaam and Takyiman, there are primary, but no secondary schools, which leads to children schooling further from home: Asuom or Kade, and sometimes even Kumasi or Koforidua, where they enrol into boarding school and come back home on holidays. School activities like excursions or soccer matches makes children sometimes travel without their parents. Banking services are mostly acquired in Kade. Although most people use mobile money for financial transactions, banking services are used when amounts go over a certain amount or when a loan in required. Although there is a Kwaebibirem Rural Bank present in Asuom, it is not considered very reliable, which causes people from all settlements to go to Kade for banking purposes, where sufficient banks are located:

It is for Kade, most of them go for commercial duties. For example banking, because in this town Kwaebibirem is the only bank here and sometimes if you go there, they tell you their machines are not working or something. So most of us who have some little money, save in other banks which is not Kwaebibirem bank like Ghana commercial bank. (Local investor, male, 22-11-2015)

Apart from banking and medical care, people from Kwaebibirem communities commute to Kade for its vibrant market, held on Wednesdays and Fridays, and availability of different items. Some traders indicate that prices in Kade are relatively high and prefer to buy their stock directly from Accra. It should also be noted that people from communities on the borders of the district, have a slightly different mobility pattern when it comes to the use of different services. Because of its

Mobility for the use of services from Asuom

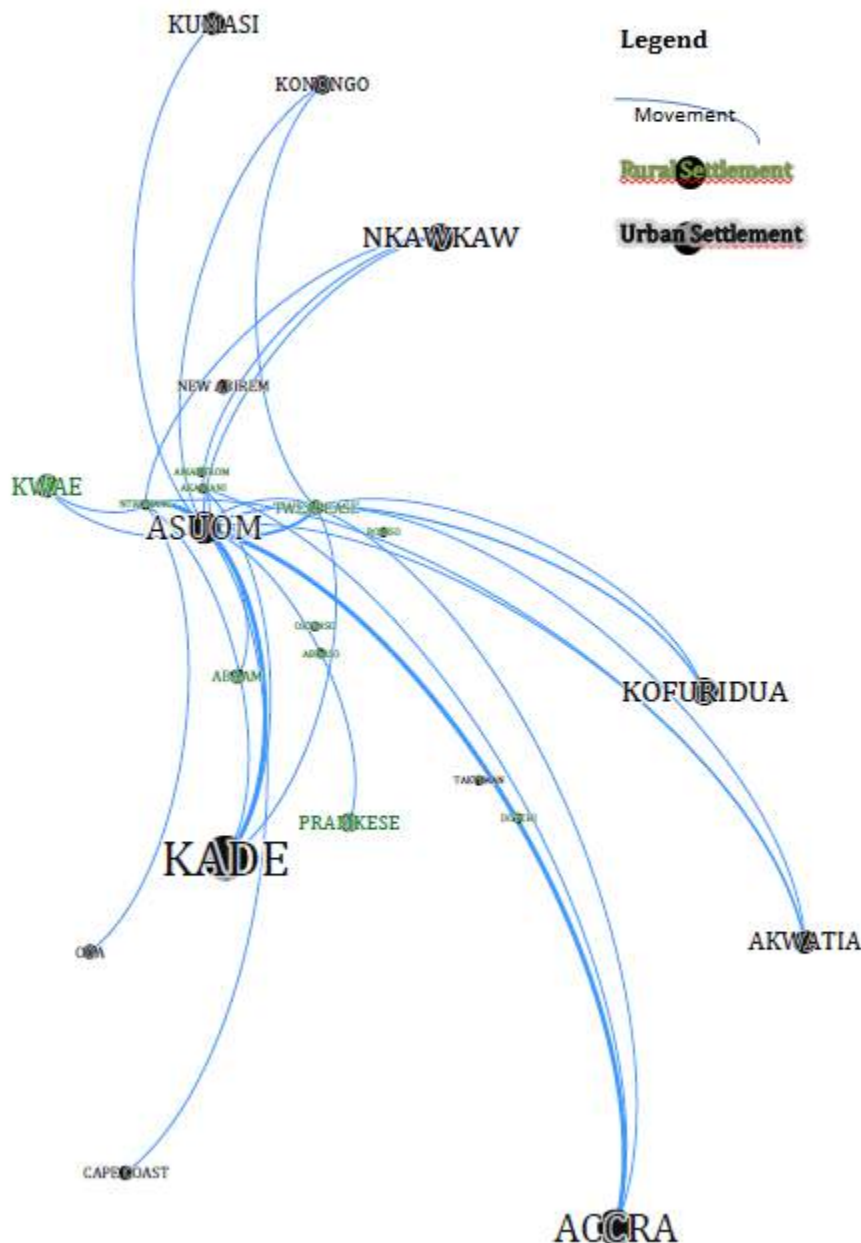


Figure 4. Mobility for the use of services from Asuom

proximity, they would rather go to other district capitals or trade centres than Kade. People in Akawani, for example, visit Nkawkaw more often to trade and for the hospital, whereas people from Takyiman visit Akwatia or Koforidua more often.

4.1.3 Mobility for social purposes

Figure 5 below shows a visual representation of movements from Asuom for social purposes, meaning visits to family and friends, church visits and other recreational mobility. As figure 5 shows, movements for social purposes are less concentrated on particular settlements than movements for the use of services shown above. Social visits from Asuom and surrounding communities are made to both rural and urban areas. Concentrations can be seen at rural communities around Asuom (Tweapease and Bomso) and at cities like Kumasi and Accra. As mentioned, these movements not only consist of visits to family and friends, people move around a lot for religious purposes too. Apart from regular church visits within the community (varying from every Sunday to every day), irregular church gatherings in communities both within and outside the district are very common, and the whole family comes along. Furthermore, people make visits to their relatives. Many of them are living within the same communities, but many also visit their relatives who are living elsewhere in Ghana: parents visit their children who migrated, or migrants visit their hometowns frequently. This is often done to maintain relationships, but also for social events like weddings and funerals, which are considered social obligations.

Mobility for social purposes

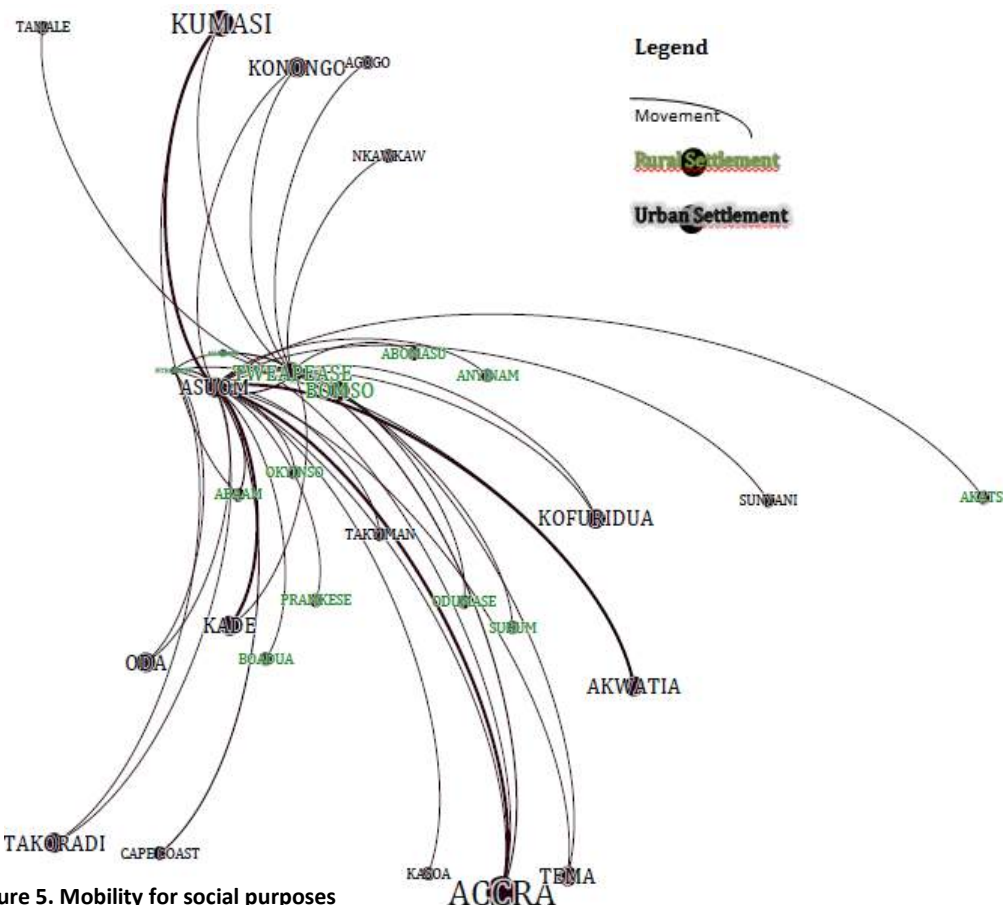


Figure 5. Mobility for social purposes

4.2 Recent changes in mobility patterns and their impact

In section 4.1, the importance of mobility and the mobility patterns of 25 households in Kwaebibirem district were described. It is important to note that the mobility patterns as described are not static patterns: they continually change over time. Factors that can contribute to the construction and development of these mobility patterns are many. With a person's age, his or hers mobility patterns change: the elderly stay around the house more than youngsters. Mobility flows on a Thursday, which is a busy market day in Asuom, can differ highly from mobility flows on a Sunday. Apart from the days of the week and personal factors, other factors, it was found that traditional and contemporary religious beliefs play a major role in the foundations of mobility patterns of communities in Kwaebibirem district. Farming households in Asuom visit their farms every day of the week, except for Sunday, which is a day for church and rest, in line with widespread Christian beliefs. Apart from Sunday, communities in the district know one or two 'taboo-days' each week. These days stem from traditional beliefs, meaning that it is a taboo to go to the farm on these days, since traditional spirits will come out on this particular day. In Asuom, it is believed that the settlement was founded on a Friday, upon the finding of the central river, which is believed to be one of many Gods.

So, in Asuom, the river is the main reason they don't go to the farm on Friday, and it is called Apaam Kofi. I could say that its birthday is a Friday. It is the reason why it also says they shouldn't spoil its day, which is Friday. (Famer and village elder Abaam, 03-12-2015)

Another example of the influence of traditional beliefs on mobility patterns was found in Abaam. It is believed that the settlement of Abaam was located elsewhere, until a mysterious and divine golden pot was found by a hunter on a Thursday:



What happened next is that the chief one day came with some people to see the thing. And after seeing it, they decided to stay here. So they migrated from where they were and resettled close to the pot, so that they would get something from the pot. True to that, one day, the spirits spoke to someone. So it was the person the spirit spoke through, who said that, according to the spirit, if our people would live with it, then these are my rules: on Thursdays, no one should go to the forest, if only you would stay with me. On Thursdays, nobody should go there so that I will stay with you peacefully. So they continued to live by that those days, when there was no Christianity. Up to this time. (Famer and village elder Abaam, 03-12-2015)

So, the people of Abaam resettled to the location of the golden pot, which is the reason why people don't go to their farms on Thursday in Abaam. The golden pot, though a little wary and blackened, is still at the same

Picture 3. The golden pot of Abaam

place and is now considered shrine for worshipping traditional spirits.

Traditional beliefs thus have an important effect of mobility patters of the community and the way mobility patterns are structured. Furthermore, market days are often held on taboo-days, enabling people to go and trade their produce. Conveniently, taboo-days differ from town to town and so do market days, which also enables people to visit multiple markets per week. During this research, three other factors were encountered that significantly impacted mobility patterns and livelihoods in Kwaebibirem district, namely: changes in the way agricultural produce is traded, the condition of the infrastructure and the increased use of ICT's. This section will argue that, through these factors, people from Kwaebibirem are more aware of their mobility and use it in a more efficient way than before.

As of ten years ago, respondents mentioned that oil palm was not a widespread commodity as it is now. Because of that, people growing palm oil in Kwaebibirem district often had to move out of the district into urban centres to sell their produce to the local market. This however, has changed, since a lot of traders now come from urban centres to buy the produce:

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



Picture 4. The bad conditions of the roads impacts local livelihoods in several ways.

A consequence of this change is that farmers don't have to transport their produce themselves to these urban centres. These days, farmers sell much of their produce at the farm gates, at trade centres within the district or bring it to GOPDC at Kwae. Secondly, the conditions of the infrastructure has drastically changed overtime. In the 1990's, many roads within Kwaebibirem district were asphalted. Back then, it was seen as a great development, but ever since, the roads were not maintained as they should have been by the national

Ministry of Roads and Highways, leading to an increasing amount of potholes. With the deterioration of the roads, travel times increased. Because of this, combined with cars and buses breaking down more often because of the condition of the roads, it is perceived that travel fares for both people and cargo increased:

Because of our roads, the cars get spoiled. So, they charge higher prices and with that charge, we also have to spread it on the goods we sell. If the roads were good, their car parts would not be faulty and it would make the fare reduce (...). Those of us who sometimes want to use the bus,

how much we pay for the boot, sometimes it's too much. If we add it to the cost of the item, it becomes too much. It worries us, people who trade, a lot. (Entrepreneur in Asuom, female, 22-11-2015)

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

Thus, it is perceived that increasing travel fares consequently lead to an increase in prices of many commodities, negatively impacting both expenditures of households and income flows of traders. This condition of the roads and the consequential increase in prices were mentioned by respondents as one of the main hindrances of people from Kwaebibirem district to be mobile. It is perceived as such, because it has a direct effect on a large part of the community: be it drivers, farmers, traders or children going to school. As shown in the above, it affect livelihoods: it has an effect on prices and expenditures, but also has made people more reluctant to travel.

Third, the increasing use of new ICT's has impacted mobility patterns and livelihoods in many ways. In particular the use of mobile phones and mobile money has made travelling to make certain transactions unnecessary. For farmers and traders, communication with sellers, buyers or transporters has been made a lot easier with the use of mobile phones. Whereas someone had to travel to Accra for example to close a deal, check for availability of a product or collect money, nowadays all that needs to be done is a phone call or a money transfer:

ICT has helped a lot, for example, I am into water business and mostly call my suppliers in Accra. Instead of me travelling daily to Accra I just pick a phone and do all transactions via my mobile. (Trader in Takyiman, 8-12-2015)

In addition, being able to transfer money into a mobile money account is perceived to increase safety on the roads:

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

In short, this section has shown how not only cultural factors, but also changes in the local economy, infrastructure and technology can have a major impact on mobility patterns. Because of these changes people move around in a more efficient way than before: they only make the journey when it is necessary and cannot be replaced by a phone call or transaction through mobile money by affecting these mobility patterns it is shown that it also affects rural livelihoods. The next section will discuss, in the same way, migration patterns and the effects these movements have on rural livelihoods.

4.3 Migration patterns (permanent and semi-permanent)

Many households within the research sample mentioned one or more members that migrated elsewhere on a permanent or semi-permanent basis. Figure 6 below shows the percentage of households with migrated household members. It shows that out of 28 interviews, almost 40% of the households had one or more members who migrated nationally, about 22% of households had a member who migrated internationally and 14% of the households had both types of migration, while 25% of the households had no members who migrated elsewhere. In section 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 respectively, this section will describe and discuss national and international migration flows.

4.3.1 National migration flows

A total of 15 households mentioned having one or more household members who migrated elsewhere in Ghana for longer periods of time. Out of the 28 interviewed households, 12 out of 15 households mentioned that members migrated in order to work, while 5 households also mentioned apprenticeships or schooling to be a reason for migration. Two households also mentioned marriage as a reason for migration. The most popular destination, mentioned by 11 households was Accra, while other cities like Kumasi, Cape Coast, Oda and Koforidua were also mentioned a couple of times. All these places are urban centres, indicating that migration flows from Kwaebibirem are mostly rural-urban movements. Apart from the household interviews, these migration flows were discussed in the focus group discussions. From these discussions, it seems clear that it is mostly young people who just finished school that migrate to the city in order to find a job:

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

It is perceived that the booming oil palm industry has opened employment opportunities in the district, but, according to many in the focus group discussions, not enough. In addition, some mentioned that the youth are not interested in working on the farm or for on a plantation, but rather go into the city:

It has brought about hardship here and the youth are not interested in it anymore. Those who do it also, are not permanent workers, they are casuals. So if you get hurt, they don't care about you.

Type of migrants within households (N=28)

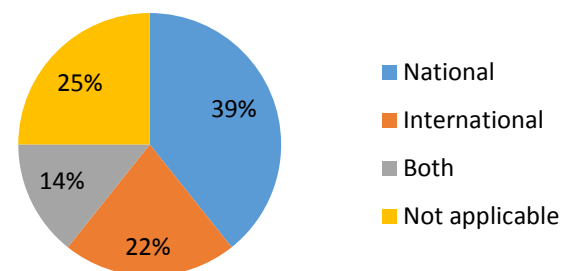


Figure 6. Type of migrants within households

Anything that happens to you, they are not concerned. So why would they even do it? So, now it's not even necessary for one to do that job (Shop owner Asuom, female, 22-11-2015).

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

Many of the youngsters who migrated to a larger city find a job or an apprenticeship and are able to make a living, sometimes with the help of their parents. However, not all these migration movements are considered successful. The following citation originates from a farmer and his wife, whose 18-year old son migrated to Accra for an apprenticeship:

He didn't want to go to school. We took him to learn an apprenticeship in Accra. He still didn't do that too.(...) When he moved to Accra, we were quite hopeful that he was going to come back with something better for the family. But now that he returned, we are disappointed. (Farmer, male, aged 48, 09-11-2015)

Apart from the youth migrating to the larger cities, patterns of national migration can be found with a relation to government work. For example teachers, police workers and nurses, are assigned and transferred by their departments regularly to other districts.

4.3.2 International migration flows

Apart from household members migrating within Ghana, some take their chances by migrating outside Ghana. As shown in figure 6 above, ten out of 28 households that were interviewed had one or more members who migrated abroad, now or in the recent past. Destinations of these migrants were mostly the USA (2), Canada (2) the UK (2) and Italy (2), followed by one respondent with household members who migrated to Germany and one to Russia. In particular the USA, Canada, the UK and Italy were also mentioned in the focus group discussions as common destinations for international migrants. In line with national migration patterns, it is mainly young men who just finished school who migrate abroad. When asked for the reason of these migration flows, most respondents mentioned a search for 'greener pastures' abroad: jobs and wealth which they could not find in their home countries. When asked why these particular countries were chosen as migration destinations, most respondents mention the importance of social networks. Migrants often follow the same routes which friends or family members have passed before.

I have some friends who travelled to Nigeria to Libya and now they are in Europe. So it is easier through those countries. Three friends succeeded in reaching Europe. Some of them got to Italy, and others got to London. So that is why I decided to use the same routes. (Construction worker, aged 35, 9-11-2015)

A friend who went there [Ivory Coast], came back and spoke to me about the place. At the time I had finished school and wasn't working, so I decided to follow him. (Farmer, aged, 30-11-2015)

Some migrants try to migrate internationally, but never reach their final destinations and come back home after a short period of time. Most international migrants travel through what is called in some literature 'transit zones' (for example, in Baldwin-Edwards, 2006): zones or countries through which migrants travel to their final destinations. Togo and Nigeria were mentioned a couple of times as countries through which it is easier to reach Europe or the US. The following respondent tried reaching Europe through Lome, the capital of neighbouring Togo:

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

Migration narratives are thus not always success stories: some migrants return home without the expected outcome on his and his family's livelihoods. Others, however do reach their final destinations and get work as mechanics, cleaners, shop attendants or, over time, start their own businesses. Through this, they are able to have a certain impact on their and their families livelihoods back home. This will be discussed in section 4.4.

4.4 Impact of multi-locality, migration and remittance flows

As shown in the previous section, many households encountered have household members who have migrated elsewhere. In most cases, migrants stay connected to their home communities and their families. Many of them often visit their hometowns, support their families and stay in touch regularly. A village elder of Abaam summarized this connection with home as follows:

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

This connection between the migrant and the rural home is often very important. Chapter three discussed that these migration flows are part of livelihood strategies and income from migration of great importance to the households through remittance flows. Thus, it is apparent that multi-locality of rural households and remittance flows have a certain impact on livelihoods in the rural homes. This section will elaborate on the impact of migration patterns and remittances on household livelihoods and local rural development.

4.4.1 Impact of migration on livelihoods

In the first place, it is the families of the migrants that profit from the remittances and their own multi-locality. When asked about the impacts of migration on their households, respondents

mention that migrants are often missed at home in several ways, losing help on the farm or around the house and losing social interaction:

The consequences are many. Assuming if they were here, they would have weed my bushy compound for me. And also, I'm not very happy, because if they are here, we chat. We all cook and eat together (...). One the other side, when they were not working, I was taking care of them [financially]. But now that they are gone, I no longer have to do that, except for the one doing his national service. (Farmer and single mother, aged 53, 27-11-2015)

However, most responded that migration of a member had predominantly brought improvement to the household:

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

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

It is thus mainly through increased financial security that households feel the impact of migration, through flows of remittances. As discussed in section 3.3, most of the national remittances are spent on household consumption, these capital flows do often not have a significant effect on increasing the livelihood of the household, but rather maintains it. It seems though that remittances that are invested into a farm, other business, or even school fees, are more likely to give some returns to the household to improve livelihoods. For example, in case international remittances are spent to acquire a new piece a land or more seedlings for a farm or a child is able to further education to secondary or even tertiary school. This seemingly twofold between households that use small amounts of remittances for securing and maintaining their income and households with the ability to improve their livelihoods on the long term, has been described in the literature by the terms of consolidation and accumulation strategies (Zoomers, 1999; de Haan and Zoomers, 2005). Consolidation strategies 'involve investments to stabilize the household's well-being improve quality in the short term (de Haan and Zoomers, 2005, p. 39-40), while accumulation strategies 'involve establishing a minimum resource base and preparing for future expansion'(de Haan and Zoomers, 2005, p.40). As is the case in Kwaebibirem district, it is stressed that these strategies are not static, but rather flexible: the same household might apply different strategies at different times (de Haan and Zoomers, 2005, p.40).

4.4.2 Impact of migration on local development

Remittances that are invested can thus have a positive effect on the livelihoods of the household, but indirectly, they also contribute to the development of the community in which they are invested. For example through collective spending of remittances by migrant associations abroad that invest in their hometowns, remittances can have a direct benefit for the development of the sending communities. Current cases of this collective spending of remittances were not encountered in any of the three settlements in Kwaebibirem, but on a small scale, such investments have occurred in the past. Around 1998, a group of migrants from Asuom in Canada,

named Asuom Nkosow Kro, provided funds for street lights. Some migrants from Accra funded a 'Welcome to Asuom' sign at both entrances of the town, just a few years ago and in Abaam, migrants living in Accra collectively provided roofing sheets for the funeral grounds. In Takyiman, street lights were provided by migrants from Canada in 1999. Apart from the street light projects, most of the collective spending of remittances are minor projects on which the community does not rely and these migrant associations are said to be no longer active. This absence of contribution from migrant associations is explained by respondents by the hardship migrants face in recent times: a shortage of jobs, difficulties reaching their destinations and the global economic crisis. In short, recent collective spending of remittances did not have a significant impact in either one of the communities.

4.4.3 Impact of return migration

During the fieldwork, there were several individual investors encountered that were being done by return migrants who have lived abroad, but returned to Kwaebibirem to do their investments. It was observed that many migrants still live abroad or in Accra, but built structures in their home communities for different purposes: for their families to live in, to make an additional income by making it a guesthouse or renting the place out on a permanent basis. Many of these migrants also invest in oil palm plantations. Perhaps indirectly, these investment impact the community through for example capital inflow and employment generation. However, multiple cases of returning migrants were encountered who did not conform to this more general profile, either building a house or investing in agriculture, but directly contributed to community development in different ways. This was done through investment in the community's infrastructure and facilities, education, knowledge and information transfer and employment generation. Three of these cases will be highlighted below.

Direct contributions to the community's infrastructure were made by two returning migrants. The first migrant came from a poor farmers family in Asuom, who migrated to Italy and worked a long time for Zanussi, a large manufacturer of washing machines. He started a family in Italy, but returned alone to set up a petrol station in Asuom, in order to secure his income during his retirement, leave the investment for his children but also, to invest in the town's infrastructure and facilities:

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

In addition, for the purpose of building this station and earning some extra money, he bought and imported a tractor from Italy, with which he contributed greatly to several community works: works that are carried out by the community members and involve mostly projects on community infrastructure. The second migrant who contributed to the community's infrastructure and facilities was a lady who migrated to the UK when she was 18 years old and married an

Englishman. When they retired, the couple decided to spend their retirement in Asuom. They acquired some land from the lady's family and built a house. After building their house in 2003, they contributed significantly to the community's waterworks, which is located right next to the house and to the street lights, which were all defect at the time of their arrival.

Secondly, contributions to community development through knowledge and information transfer were made by a migrant who previously lived in the USA and was a retired police officer. When he returned permanently to his home town in Ghana, he started investing in a secondary school.

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

This return migrant is investing in the availability and quality of education in his hometown. Furthermore, by implementing parts of the US curriculum in his school, this makes it an explicit case of how migrants transfer ideas and knowledge they have gained elsewhere.

Third, contributions to the local economy and employment generation can also be made by a returning migrant. This was done, for example, by a young returning migrant, son of a former chief, who recently finished higher education in Russia. Upon his return to his hometown Asuom, he decided to start a palm oil processing mill with the money he earned working in a Moscow supermarket. By doing this, he was securing his own income and that of others by purposefully creating employment:

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

Aided by an Italian partner, this return migrant now employs over twenty workers at his mill.

This section has started to discuss both national and international migration patterns and the ways in which these flows of people can have an effect on rural livelihoods in Kwaebibirem district. Summarized, these migration flows were perceived by respondents as predominantly positive by increasing financial security and facilitating investments. Furthermore, the limited impact of collective spending of remittances was discussed as well as the impact of return migration. The three cases of return migrants and their investments in their hometowns, shows examples of the different ways how migration, can have an effect on local rural development, namely: through capital inflow, investment in a community's infrastructure and facilities, education, knowledge and information transfer and employment generation.

Chapter 5: Main settlements in the research sites

In this chapter the main emphasis will be on three selected settlements called Asuom, Abaam and Takyiman. The reason for focusing upon these settlements is because of their significant development through time. These settlements are growing and can therefore provide an interesting perspective on local development through migration, mobility and remittances.

The chapter is structured as follows, first a short description will be presented of the main research sites and its place within the district called Kwaebibirem. Second the general flows of goods, services, capital and resources will follow. Furthermore the general linkages and role of institutions will be displayed, describing the political dynamics and the role and impact of major investors in the area. The chapter ends with a discussion of the main changes within the last 10 years, and from there on, the main opportunities and challenges to the researched settlements and the district.

5.1 Description of settlements and main linkages

As has been mentioned before the field work for this research took place in Kwaebibirem district. It lies in the Eastern region of Ghana and is one out of 26 districts. The structure of Kwaebibirem district is relatively new. In June 2012 the district was split into two separate districts, namely Kwaebibirem and Denkyembour district (Ghana statistical service, 2014). Because of this restructuring it is somewhat difficult to say something about the overall development of its population, and also the last census report dates back to 2010. However, according to the physical planning officer of the district assembly, the municipal office of the district, a rise in population is occurring in all the settlements that now fall under the district of Kwaebibirem (key informant interview 5, 17-11-2015).

The main economic activity of the district is predominantly agrarian. As chapter three shows, both subsistence and commercial production of food and cash crops occurs. The main cash crops that are being cultivated are palm oil and cocoa. The main foodstuffs are vegetables such as cassava, yam, maize, citrus and rice. Furthermore, gold mining and trade are major economic activities in the district as well.

The main emphasis today lies on the production of palm oil. The prominence of palm oil production started in the early 1970s when general Acheampong adopted a strategy of diversification, as GOPDC communication manager explains (key informant interview 15, 07-12-2015). At that time, cocoa production was the main focus of Ghana. However, due to crop deceases great losses caused economic hardship and uncertainty. To combat this general Acheampong initiated a company which is now called the Ghana Oil Palm Production Company (GOPDC), located in Kwae. At the start, the GOPDC gave out free seedlings to persuade farmers to get into the palm oil business. They negotiated a large portion of land at Kwae, close to Asuom, and made contracts with local farmers to grow the oil palm and provide the produce.

Their introduction of the palm oil business to Kwaebibirem has created a lot of opportunities and economic prosperity. More on this however in the subsequent paragraphs.

The map below gives an overview of the district of Kwaebibirem. The capital of the district is Kade, which is indicated on the map with a red square. The position of the capital used to be in the center of the district, however, due to the split in 2012, the capital now lies down south. As Kade is the capital of the district, it serves as the main location for government offices, services such as banking and insurance companies, and services as an important hub for transporting goods and people. Kade's market is frequently visited by many people living in the district.

As can also be seen on the map, in the center of the district lies Asuom, one of the research areas. A bit more south from Asuom is Abaam, the second research area, and at the east of the district lies the third research area, called Takyiman.

Map 1: Kwaebibirem district



Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2014

Similar to that of the whole district the population of Kade is growing and the city is expanding. Though this increase is not unlike the past. The capital used to be renowned for its diamond industry, attracting many investors and migrants looking to benefit from this opportunity, according to the district Assembly office. However now, due to the near depletion of the natural

resources, the diamond industry has collapsed. And, although some mines still exist around Kade, this is no longer the main economic activity and driving force behind Kade's growth. Rather it is the agricultural industry which has regained its position as the main economic activity in Kade, again similar to the trend of within the district. Because of the important position of Kade as a hub in the network of trotro's (local mini vans) and taxis, trade is also a significant economic activity.

5.1.1 Description of Asuom

After Kade, Asuom is the second largest settlement in Kwaebibirem district. It is the only other settlement with a population of more than 10,000 inhabitants (Ghana statistical service, 2014).

Map 2: Asuom + table of main activities within the settlement



Source: fieldwork 2015

Similar to Kade, the settlement of Asuom has many traders, the production of palm oil and cocoa are the main economic activities and, because of its central location in the district, Asuom serves as a transport hub to other, smaller villages in the area. In contrast to Kade, Asuom does not have government offices or an extensive presence of services.

The map on the previous page displays the layout of Asuom. Significant is that most commercial activities are alongside the roads, especially the main road. A similar view can be seen by looking at the location of services, such as the bank, post office and churches. Schools are commonly placed at the outskirts of the settlement, and as such are also the filling stations. Dense residential areas are found alongside the main road and at the main junction. The houses situated at the center of the settlement, indicated by the cluster of the dense residential areas, are most commonly compound houses, meaning they are built in a square shape with an open area in the middle. These houses generally cater to the needs of extended families living together. However as time progresses, so does the composition of a household. Due to the migration of young people and the influx of new ideas regarding the institution of ‘the family’ the design of new houses is changing from that of compound house to that of a more modern, city-like, style. This change is reflected in the building of new houses a bit further away from the settlements’ center. New houses are often one or two stories high, have a straight metal sheets as roof, as opposed to the corrugated sheet roofing, and have a rectangular shape. Important to notice also is that most of these new, city like, houses are being built by the more wealthy families, often backed up with money send by international migrants. These significant distinctions make it easy to differentiate between the new and old part of settlement.

5.1.2 Description of Abaam

The picture below is taken from a water tower near the main junction of Abaam. From this picture a good view is given of how settlements like the ones discussed in this report look like.

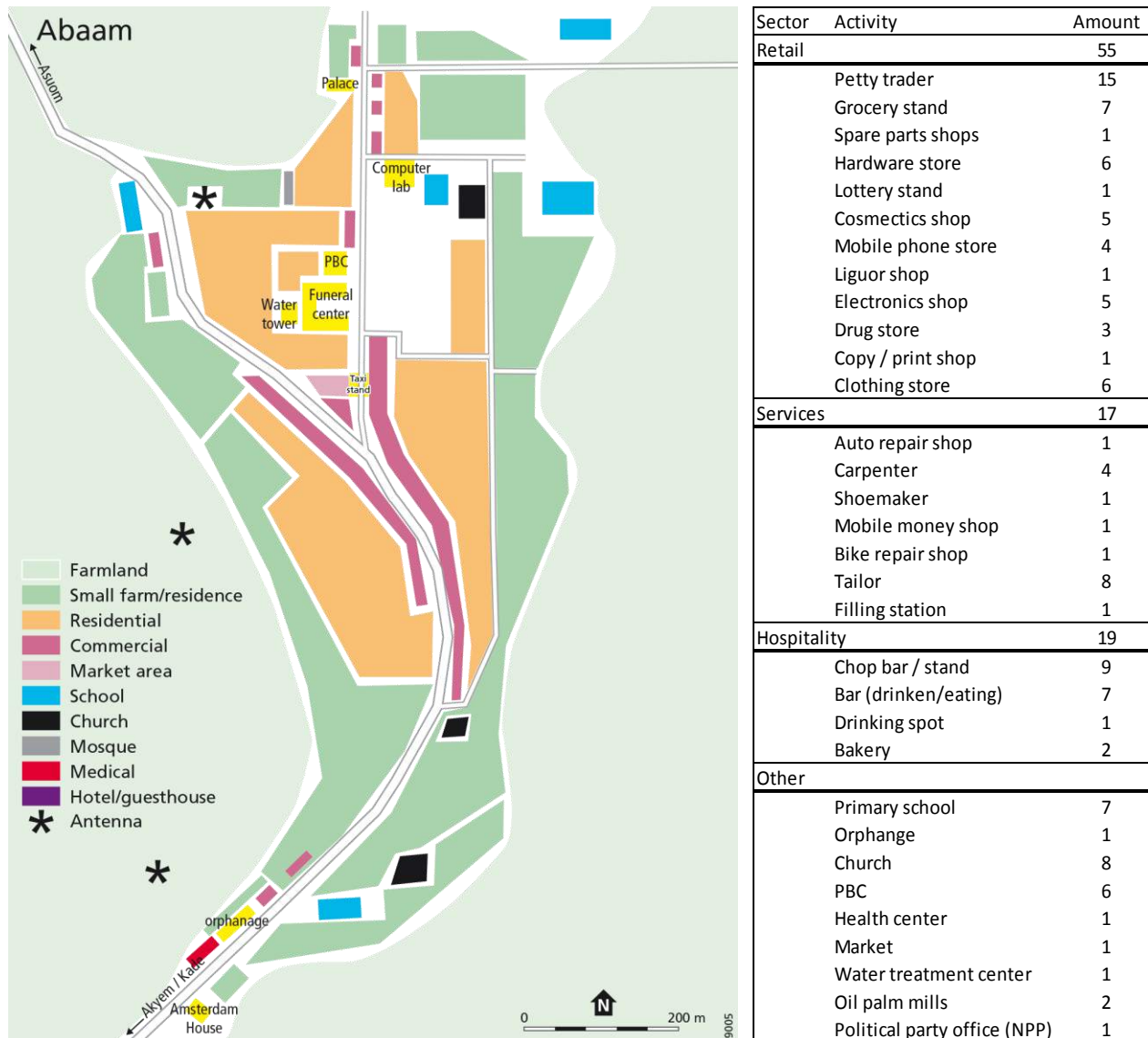


Picture 5. The view of the main junction in Abaam

The map on the next page is that of Abaam, the second research location. A similar kind of differentiation between the new and old part of settlement, such as is describe in regard of Asuom, can be made. Also in Abaam, the main commercial activities can be found alongside the roads and at the main junction.

Different to Asuom however is that Abaam is much smaller in size. Asuom for example, already has different neighborhoods, while Abaam is simply divided by two main roads. With 5,284 residents the population size of Abaam is also much smaller than Asuom (Ghana statistical service, 2014).

Map 3: Abaam + table of main activities within the settlement



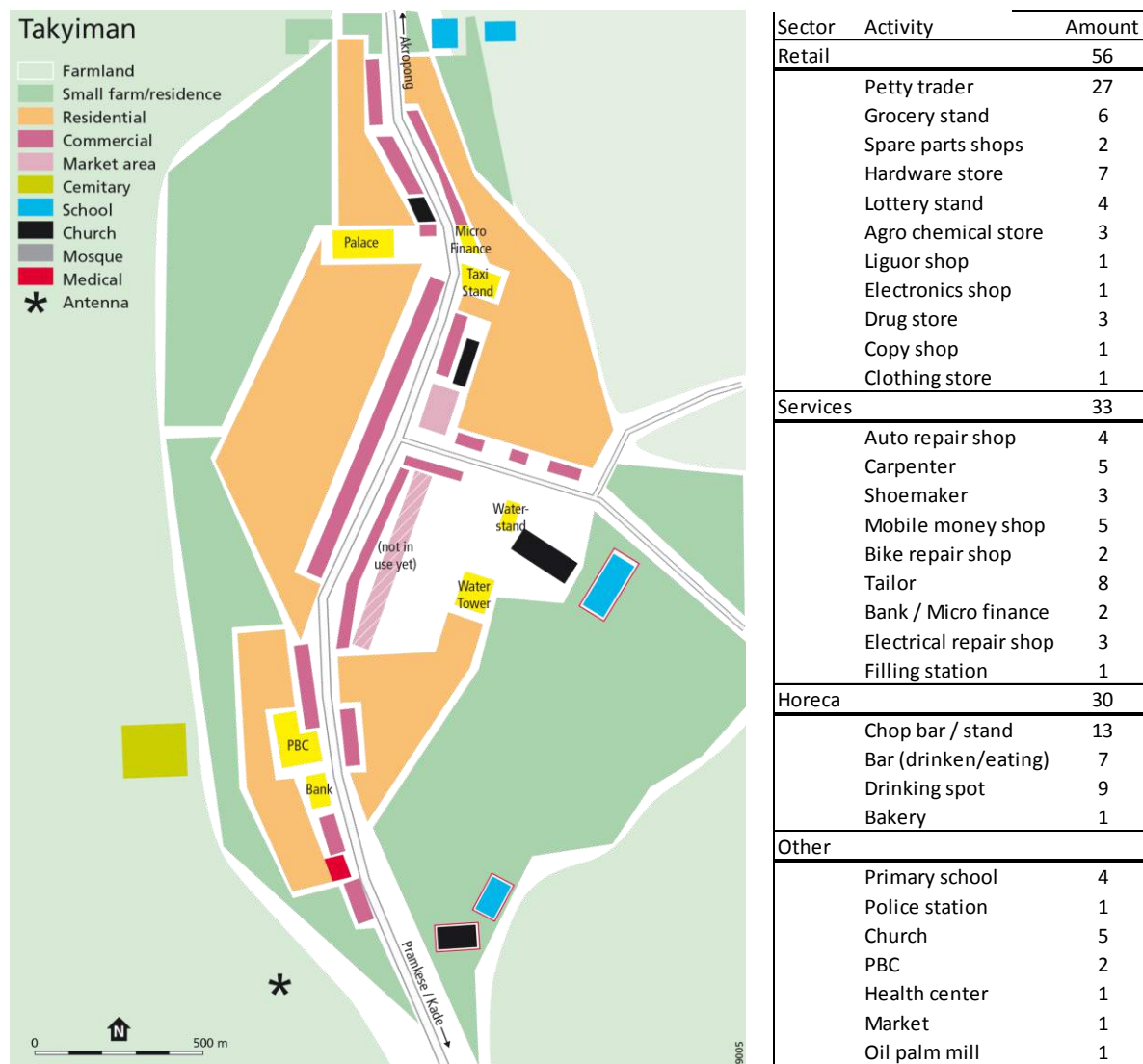
Source: fieldwork 2015

In terms of economic activities, Asuom and Abaam don't differ much from each other. Given the smaller size of Abaam compared to the size of Asuom, the amount of commercial activities and services are fewer. Interesting to mention is that, due to its location between Asuom and Kade, especially local traders in Abaam notice they are increasingly less able to attract customers from outside the settlement. Prices are rising due to higher transportation costs and customers rather go either to Kade or Asuom to do their household consumptions. More on this in the subsequent paragraphs.

5.1.3 Description of Takyiman

The last map is that of Takyiman. Looking at the position of the main commercial areas and services a similar trend can be seen as compared with Asuom and Abaam. Also in terms of size the settlement is more like Abaam, instead of Asuom. Different to Abaam however, is that Takyiman has a whole new neighborhood laying in the south-west of the settlement.

Map 4: Takyiman + table of main activities within the settlement



Source: fieldwork 2015

Reason for this development has to do with the location of the water tower and the river. As those are situated more convenient to the newly build houses. However data on this matter is non-conclusive, as the assemblyman and the village elder were not completely sure about people's motivations.

Interesting about Takyimans' development is that a lot of facilities have been built by one investor, a migrant gold miner from Turkey, who wants to "brighten his corner" (key informant interview 18, 08-12-2015). He has built the water tower, the chiefs' palace, a clinic, continuously improves the roads and is currently working on a new marketplace. Often he finances the projects by himself, but sometimes he also cooperates with other investors, such as the Attila rural bank. More on these development projects will be presented in the subsequent paragraphs and in chapter 6.

Main economic activities in Takyiman are also farming and trading. Different to Asuom and Abaam is that near Takyiman is a large gold mining operation. The mining however takes place on the land of neighboring settlement of Dotchi, but owner lives in Takyiman and is therefore more focused upon the development of his settlement of residence. Due to the presence of the gold mining company also illegal mining exists in Takyiman, much to the dislike of most local people. The biggest problem with illegal gold mining is the manner in which the miners leave the area after operations are finished. Drilling holes are, for example, not closed down, creating dangerous pitfalls in which some people have even died (FDG 3, 08-12-2015).

5.1.4 Main linkages

Between the investigated settlements linkages can mostly be found between Asuom and Abaam. The location of Takyiman is too far from these settlements to have a significant connection with either Asuom or Abaam. However between Asuom and Abaam some work-residential commuting exists, as people in Asuom have a farm in Abaam and some market women from Abaam go to the market of Asuom and vice versa (key informant interview 14, 03-12-2015).

The settlement of Asuom is also a hub for people to go to smaller settlements around Asuom such as Tweapease, Amanfrom and Ntronang. People living in Asuom sometimes have a farm in these places, as farmland is no longer available in the close vicinity of Asuom. The settlement is however developed to such an extent that living conditions are better compared to the smaller places. The better living conditions are mainly reflected in the large amount of services and the availability of a wide variety of shops. The settlement of Takyiman has a similar connection such as between Asuom and Abaam, only with neighboring settlements such as Dotchi and Pramkese (FDG 3, 08-12-2015).

Looking at the overall picture of the district all settlements in Kwaebibirem have a strong link with the capital Kade. It is the closest largest city, and the availability of a large market, the high amount shops and services, government offices and being the central node in the commercial transport network cause a big draw towards the district capital, particularly on market days.

As can also be concluded out of the previous chapters, within the district, Kade is the place most people commute to in order to make use of its services and shops. In terms of linkages with places outside the district, neighboring city of Nkawkaw and Accra are the foremost mentioned places. The use of services and shops are most commonly mentioned as main reasons for going to

those places. Urban-rural connections from Accra, Kumasi or Koforidua to settlements in Kwaebibirem are mostly migrants with roots in the district. Some come back to visit their family or a funeral. Besides the connection with the settlement of origin, people also come to trade, farm or do any other kind of investment.

5.2 The main inflow and outflow of goods, services, capital and resources

As the main linkages have been discussed on the district level and between the main settlements, it's interesting to hone in more specifically on what resources flow back and forth between the rural hinterlands and the urban areas. Goods, capital and other resources regularly move to and from rural hinterlands to settlements higher in the urban hierarchy.

It is important to note that one of the main resources, or assets, in the research site of Kwaebibirem district is (agricultural) land. Within Kwaebibirem district, most land is owned by the community and managed by traditional authorities, for which no land title but rather a memorandum of understanding is given out. These stool lands are thus 'leased' by families, individuals or companies. To a lesser extent, there is private land, in which a person, family or company holds official land titles to a specific piece of land. With a booming agricultural sector in Kwaebibirem district, land as a commodity has become scarce and relatively expensive. During the field research, many land litigations between communities, community members, families, individuals and companies were encountered. It has become clear that land is one of the most, if not the most, significant resource in the research area. Despite being a liquid commodity, changing owners and purpose on a regular basis, land is not a resource that can, physically, 'flow' and is therefore not specifically mentioned in the paragraphs below. This does not mean that is not an important resource, because land is the main resource on which many livelihoods in Kwaebibirem district depend on in many ways: for shelter, agriculture, investments and so on.

Mainly resulting from household interviews and focus group discussions, several resources have been described that flow in and out of the settlements. The predominant flows of resources will be described in the following order. First, resources such as goods and services flowing in and out of the settlements will be discussed. The second part will focus on the in-and-outflow of resources and capital will be described. The in-and outflow of people has already been discussed in chapter four.

5.2.1 Inflow and outflow of resources: goods and services

Goods that flow from larger settlements into Asuom, Abaam and Takyiman first and foremost consist of small *essential commodities* or *provisions*, as one respondent called it (FDG 1, 22-11-2015). These goods are mostly imported from urban areas and sold in the settlements by petty traders or small supermarkets from Accra or district capital Kade. Among these commodities are small manufactured goods or (processed) food items that are not locally produced. Some examples of these commodities are pots and pans, second-hand clothing, shoes, flower, sugar, margarine, tomato sauce, rice, soap and other toiletries.

Secondly, building materials flow into the researched settlements from other urban areas. All three settlements are rapidly urbanizing which means a lot of construction is taking place. The building materials needed are mostly bought from Accra or Kumasi because of their sufficient availability and price, although some small shops sell cement (that is sold for a set price), small tools and ironware. If one is in desperate need of some specific materials, one might be able to find it in Kade, however, for a higher price compared to Accra, since the seller of the materials, who is likely to have bought it from Accra, will add transportation costs.

Third, larger goods like cars, motorbikes, tricycles and even tractors flow into the settlements. These vehicles mainly come from Accra, although the encountered tractors were imported from Italy by a returning migrant (Returning migrant, aged 50, 17-11-2015). As Ghana does not have big vehicle manufacturing companies, most vehicles are second hand and are imported from China, Korea, the US or Europe. Often markings of the original buyer still remain on the vehicle, making it easy to spot its origin.



Picture 6. Trotro with Dutch address

Although the vehicles are bought by community members occasionally, their presence brings along a vibrant market for spare parts and mechanics. Again, most of the spare parts are bought directly from Accra in order to get the lowest price. The owner of a spare parts shop in Asuom motivated his choice to make this 5-hour trip (one way) regularly:

'I often go to Accra to buy my spare parts whenever there is a demand for it, because that is the only place I can get most of these spare part items. The price in Kade is the same as I sell it here. So it's cheaper in Accra, but I sometimes also go to Kade when I need these spare parts urgently.' (Trader in Asuom, aged 48, 16-11-2015).

A fourth significant category of goods that flows into the settlements consists of farming materials such as fertilizers, chemicals, seedlings, boots and harvesting tools. These items are often bought from Accra and Kumasi. However, GOPDC in Kwae and the palm oil research center in Kusi often give out free seedlings and also sell tools and fertilizers for which many farmers go to these places. For Takyiman, which is a farming and a mining community, tools for mining are also a significant inflow (FDG 3, 08-12-2015).

Goods that flow out of the researched settlements are mainly agrarian in nature. Foodstuffs such as maize, rice and cassava are transported to Kade or even directly to the larger cities such as Kumasi and Accra. Given the dominant agrarian activity in the district is that of palm oil and cocoa production, logically these products flow out of the settlements into the markets of urban areas. And of course, most of the palm oil and cocoa are being sold by the GOPDC and PBC (Produce Buying Company for cocoa), who sell it on the global market. Also smaller traders from

Accra or Kade come to the researched settlements to buy the palm oil and other agrarian produce in order to resell it in Accra.

In terms of services that flow out of the researched settlements there is not one service that truly flow towards the urban areas other than transport. Mainly taxis and trotro's are available in all of the researched settlements to go to Kade. From there on one can travel onwards to the bigger urban areas. Other than providing for transport to Kade an argument can be made for education. Crafts workers can develop their skills and use those as a livelihood strategy when migrating to urban areas. Examples are hairdressers, seamstresses, masons and construction workers (FDG 1, 22-11-2015). But in sense of being a service directly extended to urban areas this has not been mentioned by any of the respondents.

Service that flows into the settlements are mainly services such as banks and microfinance organizations, telecommunication and knowledge transfer from research institutes such as the one in Kusi and the ministry of food and agriculture. The bigger settlements such as Takyiman and Asuom have a bank and use this service to either save money, transfer money or use the service of microfinancing.

Important is also the transfer of knowledge, which is the main flow of services coming indirectly or even directly from the government. The ministry of food and agriculture and the research institute in Kusi help farmers to improve their practices and yields and help to protect and even cure their produce from deceases, as such was mentioned by the plantation manager of the Oil Palm Research Institute at Kusi (Key informant 9, 19-11-2015).

The knowledge transfer is mainly done during district level or national farmer events. Scientists of the ministry and of the research institute have a stand at these events and are available for consultations. Also they spread out leaflets informing the farmers of new knowledge or providing contact details for later consult. Other sources of information flow via national and international migrants, as described in chapter four, however these cannot be considered a specific 'service'.

5.2.2 Inflow and outflow of resources: resources and capital

The outflow of capital and resources can mostly be seen in terms of monetary transactions and aid towards relatives who have migrated to somewhere else within Ghana. The culturally embedded support system, as is described in chapter three, can be considered the main outflow of capital. Also important to notice is that, due to the new mobile money system and the availability of telecommunication networks it has become much easier for people to order and pay for products from a distance (FDG 1, 22-11-2015).

In terms of inflow of capital and resources the corporate social responsibility projects of large companies and local investors can be regarded as its main source. GOPDC has for example invested in projects such as a new clinic, schools, electricity in settlements and they provide a scholarship to those student performing well during secondary education. Because of their ties

with the national government it is of no surprise they work in close affiliation with the District Assembly of Kwaebibirem (Key informant 15, 17-11-2015).

The second largest palm oil production company, Serendipalm, works in close relation with NGOs and initiates joint development projects such as for example a computer lab, the construction of a clinic in Abaam, and a new police station in Asuom. Also they provide knowledge to farmers on how to produce palm oil in a more organic way.

Next to the involvement of these palm oil production companies, also small investors and migrants act as a vehicle for bringing in resources and capital. Migrants who have come to Kwaebibirem such as the gold miner from Turkey in Takyiman, an investor from Accra who has a large plantation in Tweapease and a retired police officer from New Jersey, who is currently running a private school in Asuom, have all invested and mobilized resources and capital to develop the settlements. Examples are the realization of a clinic, a new palace for the chief, several water towers, and improvements to the roads. The retired police officer also invests in providing relatively cheap primary education and makes sure this is also accessible to children living in more remote areas (Key informant 7, 18-11-2015). Difficulty however exists for small investors who start a plantations. Most come with good intentions but are faced with unexpected difficulties such land litigations, theft and wasted crops, as was mentioned by a large scale farmer in Tweapease (Key informant 2, 16-11-2015). In general, as opposed to investors with no prior connection to the settlement, it are often the return migrants who have the initial intention of bringing development.

Although there have been some coordinated efforts in bringing, for example, streetlights to one of the settlements, no migrant organizations and NGOs are currently providing support in the researched settlements. This has already been mentioned in chapter three, as also does the inflow of capital and resources coming from remittances. Therefore no further elaboration is necessary regarding two points.

5.3 Role of institutions

As has already been brought forth in the previous paragraphs the large palm oil processing companies, GOPDC and Serendipalm, and also local investors play a major role in the development of the researched settlements. Due to their CSR activities, but also because of their presence and gateway to the global market, these companies provide a solid base for general progress. The development planning officer of the district Assembly even argues that the presence of these companies are the cause for stability of income levels and allow for farmers to send their children to tertiary level education. According to the district Assembly office and in the words of the development planning officer, because of the palm oil business, extreme poverty and famine are no longer present in Kwaebibirem (Key informant 8, 19-11-2015).

The national government, who is mainly represented by the District Chief Executive (DCE), and who heads the District Assembly office, plays a much smaller role in the development of

settlements compared to the aforementioned investors. Primarily due to lack of capital and resources, the District Assembly of Kwaebibirem is unable to truly regulate construction activities and effectively construct the envisioned development projects. Although some projects exist, such as a new secondary school in Takyiman, the involvement of the district Assembly office is rather low.

As a local investor in Takyiman describes it, the chief and council of elders can be seen as a local government (Key informant 18, 08-12-2015). Their position is firmly anchored in Ghanaian law as the custodian of stool lands. The chief is the local ruler and therefore plays an active role in the decision making process. Without his support no land can be used for development. Chiefs and elders act as a mediator in conflicts and regulate the flow of money and resources coming into the settlements. In terms of impact to the development of a settlement, as such was mentioned during the focus group discussion in Takyiman where the chief has died and for three years now there has not been a real ruler aside the queen mother, the absence of the chief is a major hindrance (FDG 3, 08-12-2015). A quote,

The passage of our chief has affected this community a lot. Because if he was to be alive there was no way people would have resisted or be reluctant to release their land for the projects. You would dare not to prevent him. But right now there is no one doing that. There is no one resuming this responsibility. So I will say his death is a big blow to the development of our community. When he was alive he even motivated the youth to work hard. He sometimes gave us money when we were doing the communal labor. Right now members of this community hardly meet to discuss relevant issues regarding the development of Takyiman. (Assemblyman of Takyiman, 08-12-2015).

In regard to the governments' position, this situation is becoming somewhat problematic, as chiefs and local elders can often only be motivated by large sums of money, according to the district development officer (Key informant 8, 19-11-2015). Chiefs are socially obliged to redistribute the funds they get from the government, or from royalties paid by individuals and businesses owners for the use of stool land for that matter, towards people living in the settlements. However at times, this does not happen in the way most villagers like to see. And when funds are not being spend on development projects, villagers start to wonder who would help them and where the funds had gone to instead. If chiefs don't spend the funds according to the needs of the settlement it creates tensions and shifting animosity between the government, large companies and towards the chiefs themselves.

In order to strengthen the connection and communicational ties with the government of Ghana the position of assembly man / woman was created during the 1990s. He or she is the spokesperson for the settlement at the district assembly level and also informs and negotiates with the chief and council of elders. An assembly person is elected among the local villagers and therefore also has to have a good view on local opinions and issues. They act as an intermediary between the chief and village elders, the government and the people. The assembly man and women who were consulted during the fieldwork have also been very helpful in regard to the

entry procedure to each village and in selecting participants for the focus group discussion and some key informant interviews.

To sum up, the Ghanaian political system is structure in such a way that two main systems exist. One system originates from the traditional way of living and has its basic hierarchy with a tribal king at its head, followed by paramount chiefs, local chiefs and sub chiefs (usually elders that act as chief when the formal chief is attending other business). Basically the chiefs are in charge of all the land and rule all aspects that have to do with their lands. They are formally recognized by the national government and even receive an allowance and money to redistribute. The other system is the more formal government system, which has a president as its head, ministers and a national government and district offices to represent these institutions locally. The connection between the chief of the settlement, the lowest in the hierarchy of the traditional system, and the district office, the lowest of the more formal governmental system, is made by the assembly person.

5.4 Important changes in the settlements

Coinciding with the general rise of the price for palm oil, one of the biggest changes in the last 10 to 15 years in Kwaebibirem district has been the increased interest in agriculture, and oil palm plantations in specific. Starting a plantation is currently the main reason for people migrating to the researched settlements and to the district. Also, it has attracted investors from urban areas who have started a plantation and see it as a solid investment. In line with this development the processing of oil palm fruits is becoming more prominent, according to the development planning officer of the district assembly (Key informant 8, 19-11-2015). To the detriment of GOPDC, who has invested a lot to increase the interest in oil palm production, small investors are now starting up oil palm processing mills, as has been described in chapter three, and attract some of the oil palm production that was originally meant for the GOPDC (Key informant 15, 07-12-2015).

Due to the increase of the agricultural industry and a more steady flow of income, the trade sector has seen new opportunities. People have more to spend and therefore the demand for finished products has increased, as is stated by the development planning officer (Key informant 10, 01-12-2015). Also related to the steadier source of income is that households have become more able send their children to a private school and even further their education towards the tertiary level. This has caused an increase of children going to private schools, as that is a requirement in order to get into the university and migrating towards other settlements for the purpose of education. Along with the introduction of the mobile money system the impact of these changes are more significant upon the household level, which have been discussed in earlier chapters.

Another significant change can also be seen in the increased price for transport, affecting traders' profits, the price of agrarian produce and therefore also the profit of farmers, and people's movements as well. The latter has already been discussed in chapter four, therefore no further elaboration will be given on that subject.

Regarding the increase of transport prices, the impact of these rising costs can be well viewed by looking at the case of the market of Abaam. There they see a steady decline of traders and a rise in the general price of finished products, a development which is lowering the capacity of the market to attract customers from outside the settlement. Due to the increased transport fares potential customers from neighboring settlements are becoming more sensible and calculated in regard to how often and where they travel to. Instead of going to the market of Abaam, it's a wiser and more cost effective decision to either go to the market of Asuom or that of Kade. The market of Kade tends to be cheaper and the market of Asuom is more diverse, compared to the market of Abaam, as Abaams queen of the market explains (Key informant 13, 03-12-2015). This is supported by the data that was collected on the amount of traders and commercial activities in the area. In Asuom this accounts for 276 businesses compared to only 91 businesses in Abaam. Of course in terms of size and population number Abaam is a lot smaller than Asuom, yet this difference as is presented here, does show a similar kind of trend as is described in reference to the market of Abaam. The settlement is currently not a good place for business.

The same rise in prices of finished products occurs in the other two research settlements, although there the market and local traders are not such much affected as in Abaam. This is either due to their remoteness from Kade, in the case of Takyiman, or due to the sheer size of the population and central location in the case of Asuom.

In short, four major changes in the research site were encountered, the first being the increased presence of the palm oil business. Second, due to the palm oil business general levels of income have increase, and have also become more stable. This has led to many people being able to send their children to better schools and further their education. And fourth rise in transport prices, mainly due to the bad nature of the roads, prices of finished products have risen, which has put a dampening effect on the profit of traders and farmers.

5.5 Main challenges and opportunities

Coming from the household interviews, the focus group discussions and from interviews with key informants as well, the main challenge to Kwaebibirem district and the researched settlements is the bad nature of the roads. Mainly due to lack of maintenance the roads have deteriorated thus far that drivers, either running a taxi or transportation service, have had to increase their prices continuously, mostly because of high repair costs and the extended travel times. Also, as already mentioned in chapter three, drivers are becoming more reluctant to go to the more remote places, as the roads to these kind of places are even worse than the main highway. The increase in transportation costs have caused people to be more conscious about where and how often they travel. And regarding the impact on local traders, the price of transportation has risen, making their products more expensive. Furthermore farmers have to walk more carrying their produce, as cars are unable or unwilling to get up all the way to the farm. (Key informant 14, 03-12-2015). Also the bad roads are a cause for not attracting more big investors from urban areas (Key informant 5, 17-11-2015).

Other challenges affecting the development of the district and the researched settlements are land litigations, youth unemployment, lack of funds at the district assembly office, lack of funds at new investors, and the presence and support of local chiefs in regard to initiating new development projects.

As can be seen in the previous paragraphs the main opportunity within the district is the palm oil business. Due to favorable soil and climate conditions Kwaebibirem district is a very good place for the cultivation of palm oil. And also due to the presence of GOPDC and Serendipalm there are strong connection with the world market (Key informant 09, 19-11-2015). Besides the palm oil business the production of cocoa and now also the rubber plantation business are good opportunities in Kwaebibirem district.

Other opportunities, outside of agriculture, are in the hotel business and in trading (FDG 2, 26-11-2015). Because of the strong family ties and connection with the village of origin, many people who have migrated in the past regularly come back for visiting relatives or for funeral events. This development has created new opportunities for guesthouses and hotels. Regarding the trade sector more opportunities present themselves because of the steady rise and stability of income of many farmers.

Chapter 6: Investments in main settlements of Kwaebibirem

This chapter is regarding the main investors and their activities in the researched settlements and at the district level. As most of the main players in Kwaebibirem district already have been discussed, only a small recap will be given of the main investors in the area. Second the kind of investments and investors motivations will be discussed. The chapter will end with a concise view on those who benefit from these investments.

6.1 General profile of main investors

The two biggest investors in the Kwaebibirem district are most clearly GOPDC and Serendipalm. GOPDC has been initiated by the Ghana government in the 1970s, but is now completely in the hands of the Siat group, a company based in Belgium. Serendipalm is a company funded by an American company called Dr. Bronner. Specific to Serendipalm is that they give importance to values such as production chain transparency, organic production and a good workplace environment, as is explained by an official of Serendipalm (Key informant 6, 18-11-2015). These companies are the two main palm oil production companies and both act as a gateway for local farmers towards the global market of palm oil. Another large oil palm processing business is PSI, which stands for Presidential Special Initiative. However due to bad management and other difficulties they are currently out of business.

Looking at a more local level other big investors can be distinguished. Good examples are banks and micro finance companies, such as the Attila rural bank. In Takyiman there is a gold mining company, which is a Turkish family business who started mining in Kwaebibirem around 1995. In Asuom, but also in and around other settlements investors have started filling stations and schools. Although it depends heavily on the type of resource available locally, but in general most large investors have large palm oil plantations. These investors come from urban areas, have earned money in another sector and want to reap the benefit of the production of palm oil.

Smaller investors are often those with small plantations or those who are return migrants and who want to make a good living in Ghana again and leave a legacy for their village of origin or for their children (Household 20, 17-11-2015 / Key informant 7, 18-11-2015). Some also invest in building structures or a guesthouse.

6.2 Kind of investments and motivation for investing.

The kind of investments made by big investors that flow from their CSR policies have already been discussed in paragraph 5.2.2. However their motivation for investing and doing these activities is still interesting to mention. Clear is that these kind of investments are being made for the benefit of the local people. Nevertheless, the direction in which these investments flow are mostly geared towards those actors that are most favorable to influence. Serendipalm for

instance, is investing in Asuom and Abaam in order to gain support of local farmers and of the local chiefs. The gold mining company in Takyiman invests in a similar way. And GOPDC has strong ties with the government and therefore regulates its CSR policy with the development projects of the District Assembly and invests in and around the settlement of Kwae.

Similar to the bigger investors, most of these smaller investors have the intention to invest in general development as well. Different to the bigger investors though is that the smaller investors are usually already tied to the settlement prior to investing. This can be because of relatives or friends living in the area or because of the settlement being the place of upbringing. When moving back to the hometown, in order to get respect for the family and the investor himself, investing in development is seen as expected and the right thing to do. However, due to theft, higher expenses and unforeseen difficulties, helping the development of the settlements is usually a goal for the long run.

Other investments are more related directly to local business activities. GOPDC for example, maintains the roads around Kwae, their base of operations, and, in the past, has given seedlings for palm trees for free to local farmers in order to facilitate the production and support for palm oil.



· **Picture 7. Migrants invest in building structures**

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Through this research, knowledge and insights are gained on the way rural-urban connections and livelihood diversification contribute to local development in Kwaebibirem district. This report started by describing livelihood diversification strategies of rural households in Kwaebibirem district in chapter three. It can be concluded that most households are involved in farming activities, cultivating mainly oil palm and cocoa. Most farming households practice crop-diversification and grow, besides these cash crops, a range of food crops for local trade or household consumption. It is shown that most households complement their incomes from their agricultural activities by also engaging into non-farming activities, such as trade, construction work or other skilled work. Another form of livelihood strategies applied by households in the district is migration: by being economically active in multiple localities, households diversify their income sources. In these cases, remittances from migrated household members are an addition to the income of the households. It was found that remittances from national sources are more frequently sent and received, but mostly spend on household consumption, while remittances from international resources are less frequent, but more substantial and more often spend on long-term investments.

Secondly, chapter four and five have described mobility patterns of people, goods and capital, which lead to different connections between rural and urban settlements. While farming activities take place within the rural settings, it is mostly the non-farming activities that are important for the rural-urban mobility of people. Trade of agricultural produce, mostly oil palm and cocoa, and skilled work form important economic flows from rural to urban settlements. On the other hand, trade of manufactured products that are not produced in the rural settlements and different services flow in the rural settlements from urban centres, along with technology and capital from investors who invest in agriculture. It was discussed that these mobility flows are not static patterns and have changed over time because of cultural, economic and technological factors. Through a combination of these factors, people in Kwaebibirem district have become more conscious of their movements and seem to structure their movements in a more efficient way.

It was found that the livelihood diversification and the rural-urban connections contribute to development in different ways. On the one hand, the agricultural sector within Kwaebibirem district generates the main source of income and attracts investments from both individual and large-scale investors, such as oil palm producing companies GOPDC and Serendipalm. This was described in chapter six. These investments create employment, and a competitive local market. In addition, these companies contribute to local development through their corporate social responsibility programmes. It is through these programmes that they build, secure and maintain their relations with the communities, which are important in order to continue their activities in the area. On the other hand, livelihood diversification and rural-urban connections can contribute to local development through migration. Related to the increased level of income, but also due to the emergence of new ICTs, it seems that people are more able to migrate to another place, often

the city, and still be able to rely on the original households' income. Because of the greater ease of sending money through mobile money, a culturally embedded system of remittances has evolved. Through these remittances, financial security of households can increase. While remittances from national sources are mostly spend on household consumption, it is mostly the remittances from international migrants that are invested by rural households in order to improve their livelihoods. Furthermore, returning migrants have been found to contribute to the community's development through employment generation, knowledge transfer and direct contributions to the community's infrastructure and facilities.

Although governmental actors such as the district Assembly seem to have little influence on the mobilization and direction of these investments and developments in the community's, local traditional leaders are of major importance. Local leaders are the main decision makers within the community and the custodians of a lot of agricultural land, which is an important asset in a district which economy relies solely on agriculture

Policy recommendations: opportunities and challenges

Looking at the district of Kwaebibirem as a whole what can be concluded is that the main economic activity, the production of palm oil, can as well be regarded as its main opportunity. Flowing from the cultivation of oil palm, other businesses and opportunities are being created. Furthermore these opportunities have an exponential impact on the development of local people and settlements: increased incomes, better opportunities for trade and farmers being able to send their children onward to tertiary levels of education Examples can also be seen in new opportunities for oil palm processing mills and the increased trade of palm oil. Large investors in the area, GOPDC and Serendipalm, both act as a gateways towards the global market and provide the local farmers with a steady market to sell their produce to. The pitfall is of this connection is the fact that the price for palm oil is connected to the global market as well, and thereby connected the income of farmers. But overall, looking back at the last 10 to 15 years, the palm oil business is perceived to have created many opportunities for business in Kwaebibirem and has been good to the development of traders, farmers and the local settlements in which they live.

It is important to note though that not every household in the district is able to profit from these developments in an equal way. Resources, such as agricultural land, is not distributed equally and with recent developments, land is an asset that is becoming increasingly expensive and unattainable for poor families, possibly causing increasing inequality. In addition, it has to be emphasized that although many households have been able to facilitate migration of one or more members, there are certainly those who do not have the financial resources or social networks to facilitate migration and multi-locality. Overall, a challenge lies in making sure that recent developments in the area include those who otherwise might fall behind.

Another important challenge to development, is the worsening of the Kwaebibirems infrastructure network. This change is perceived to have created a dampening effect on incomes and profits, mainly because of the increased transport costs. The increase is however somewhat mitigated by the steady rise of the palm oil business. However the rise of transport costs does

have an impact on daily life in Kwaebibirem. For instance, the finished products that flow from the urban areas into the rural hinterlands are becoming more expensive. Also people are being more conscious and efficient about where to and how often they travel, showing a clear effect on peoples mobility.

Regarding the opportunities mentioned in the above, policy recommendations are directed towards facilitating the described mobility flows. Improvement of rural infrastructure and services would stimulate trade and facilitate stronger rural-urban connections. For this, it is important not to consider these connections as flowing in one direction, but to recognize mobility flows that continuously move both ways. This research has shown that social interaction takes place more and more through telecommunication systems, it is thus important not to oversee the role of new ICT's, such as mobile phones, the internet and mobile money. Secondly, it is important to take into account the unequal benefits of recent development. As discussed in the above, not all rural households benefit equally from the investments and developments in the agricultural sector in the district. By doing this, it is of major importance to take into account factors that might not be evident but not less important: the role of cultural and traditional factors. As this report has shown, traditional beliefs and customs, still play a significant role in the lives of many people in Kwaebibirem district, influencing mobility flows, social and financial interactions, investments and resource management.

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Appendix 1: Overview participants

1.1 Household interviews

1. Household 1, Asuom, 09-11-2015
2. Household 2, Asuom, 09-11-2015
3. Household 3, Asuom, 09-11-2015
4. Household 4, Asuom, 09-11-2015
5. Household 5, Asuom, 10-11-2015
6. Household 6, Asuom, 10-11-2015
7. Household 7, Asuom, 11-11-2015
8. Household 8, Tweapease, 11-11-2015
9. Household 9, Tweapease, 11-11-2015
10. Household 10, Asuom, 11-11-2015
11. Household 11, Asuom, 11-11-2015
12. Household 12, Akawani, 12-11-2015
13. Household 13, Akawani, 12-11-2015
14. Household 14, Asuom, 12-11-2015
15. Household 15, Asuom, 13-11-2015
16. Household 16, Ntronang, 14-11-2015
17. Household 17, Ntronang, 14-11-2015
18. Household 18, Ntronang, 14-11-2015
19. Household 19, Asuom, 16-11-2015
20. Household 20, Asuom, 17-11-2015
21. Household 21, Asuom, 17-11-2015
22. Household 22, Asuom, 19-11-2015
23. Household 23, Kwae Estates, 20-11-2015
24. Household 24, Asuom, 25-11-2015
25. Household 25, Asuom, 27-11-2015
26. Household 26, Asuom, 30-11-2015
27. Household 27, Asuom, 01-12-2015
28. Household 28, Asuom, 09-12-2015

1.2 Focus group discussions

1. Asuom, 22-11-2015
2. Abaam, 26-11-2015
3. Takyiman, 08-12-2015

1.3 Key respondent interviews

1. Assembly woman, Tweapease 16-11-2015
2. Investor / large farmer, Tweapease, 16-11-2015
3. Opinion leader, Asuom, 16-11-2015
4. Investor, Asuom, 17-11-2015
5. Physical planning officer, Kade, 17-11-2015
6. Field officer Serendipalm, Asuom, 18-11-2015
7. Investor / school director, Asuom, 18-11-2015
8. Development planning officer (1), Kade, 19-11-2015
9. Plantation manager (oil palm research institute), Kusi, 19-11-2015
10. Development planning officer (2), Kade, 01-12-2015
11. Queen mother, Abaam, 03-12-2015
12. Assembly woman , Abaam, 03-12-2015
13. Queen of the market, Abaam, 03-12-15
14. Farmer/shopkeeper Abaam, Abaam, 03-12-15
15. Community relations officer GOPDC, Kwae Estates, 7-12-15
16. Queen mother, Takyiman, 8-12-15
17. Bank manager Attila Rural Bank, Takyiman, 8-12-2015
18. Investor / gold miner, Takyiman, 8-12-2015

Appendix 2: Source classification sheet

	Size hh	Location	Position in hh	Age head	Migrants in hh	Remittances	Main source of income
Household 1	6	Asuom	Head	80	Both	Both	Farm
Household 2	8	Asuom	Head	40	Not Applicable	None	Tailor
Household 3	10	Asuom	Head	48	National	Domestic	Farm
Household 4	1	Asuom	Head	35	National	Domestic	Construction
Household 5	6	Asuom	Head	34	Not Applicable	Domestic	Farm
Household 6	6	Asuom	Head	39	Not Applicable	Domestic	Driver / Farmer
Household 7	8	Asuom	Head	75	National	Domestic	Farm
Household 8	4	Bomso	Head	57	National	Both	Farmer
Household 9	6	Tweapease	Wife	42	National	Both	Farm

Household 10	5	Asuom	Head	55	National	Both	Pension deceased husband
Household 11	6	Asuom	Head	74	Both	Domestic	Farm
Household 12	4	Akawani	Head	35	Not Applicable	None	Farmer
Household 13	7	Akawani	Head	28	Not Applicable	Domestic	Farm
Household 14	4	Tweapease	Head	62	International	International	NGO work
Household 15	6	Asuom	Head	49	National	Domestic	Farm
Household 16	14	Ntronang	Wife	Unassigned	National	Domestic	Bar
Household 17	8	Ntronang	Head	42	National	Domestic	Farm
Household 18	6	Ntronang	Head	80	National	Domestic	Oilmill
Household 19	7	Asuom	Head	48	Not Applicable	None	Trader
Household 20	1	Asuom	Head	50	International	International	Tractor
Household 21	6	Asuom	Head	40	Both	International	Driver / Farmer
Household 22	2	Asuom	Head	80	National	Domestic	Farm
Household 23	4	Kwae Estates	Head	36	Not Applicable	None	Labour
Household 24	1	Asuom	Head	76	International	None	Pension deceased husband
Household 25	5	Asuom	Head	53	National	Domestic	Farm
Household 26	6	Asuom	Head	45	International	Both	Farmer
Household 27	1	Asuom	Head	36	International	International	Oilmill
Household 28	6	Jamestown	Head	63	International	Both	Farm

Appendix 3: Focus group discussion guide

3.1 Introduction

- Purpose of the research
- Purpose of the FGD
- Confidentiality
- Feel free to speak
- What we'll be talking about today
- Use of recorder
- Introductory round

3.2 Part I: Flows of people

1. People move around for various purposes. How important is it for people in Asuom to be able to move around?
2. To what towns and villages do people from Asuom go to? And for what purposes do people go there? What are the most frequent mobility flows between Asuom and other towns? Rank them according to their importance to Asuom.
3. What are the hindrances to being mobile in and around Asuom?
4. Why do people move to Asuom, for both visiting and permanent stay? From which places do they come and for what purposes do they come to Asuom?
5. What kind of people leave Asuom (permanently or for longer periods of time), to what places and for what purposes?

3.3 Part II: Flows of goods

1. What sort of goods, resources come into Asuom from other places? What are these resources used for and which are the most important ones? Importance or significance to Asuom. From what places do these goods come?
2. What sort of goods, resources leave Asuom and go to other places? What are the main goods that leave Asuom and to what places are they exported?
3. Does Asuom have any other strong connections or exchange processes with other towns in Kwaebirem/Ghana we might have missed?

3.4 Part III: Flows of money

1. What are the main sources of income for people in Asuom? What are examples of economic activities within a household?
2. We noticed a lot of people receiving remittances. (if not already mentioned in the answers to the previous question) Where do the remittances come from and for what purposes do people use these flows of money? How do they spend/invest them? Is there a difference between international and national remittances and how they are spend?

3. Are there any collective remittances being invested? (This could also be migrant collectives or networks contributing to the community)
4. Why is Asuom attractive for investments? Who are the investors and what are their motives, challenges and push and pull factors?
5. Who benefits from these investments and who don't?
6. The previous questions were mainly about flows of money. How did the change of ICT's in the previous years (think of mobile money) change them?

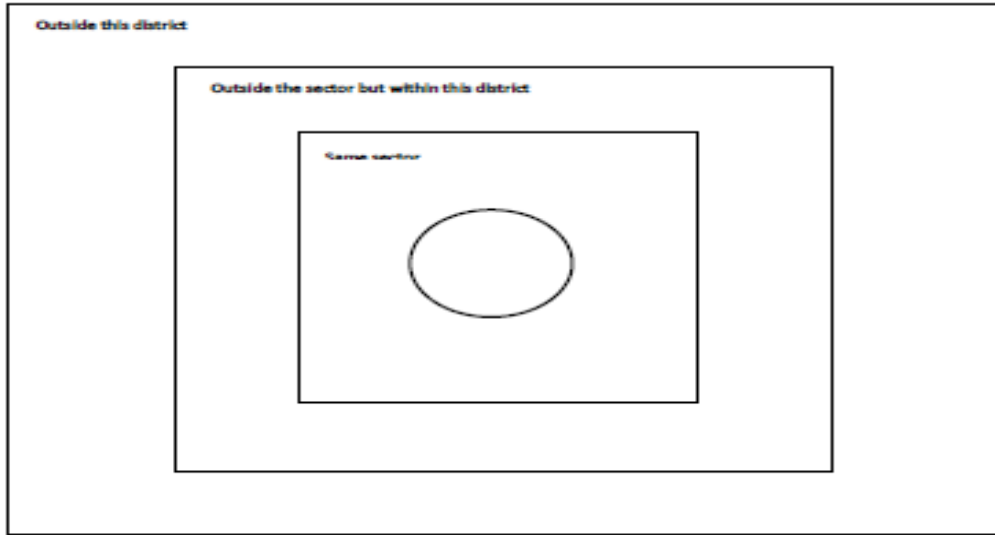
3.5 Part IV: Last general questions

1. For now, what are the main challenges to the local development of Asuom?
2. What are the main opportunities to local development of Asuom?
3. What are important changes that took place in the last 10 years? For example, the market for oranges has collapsed.
4. What has been the role of the (local) government? For example, in setting prices, as buying companies and policymakers in different sectors? Has this role changed in the last 10 years?
5. Who benefits from the role of the government and who doesn't? What is the missing link?

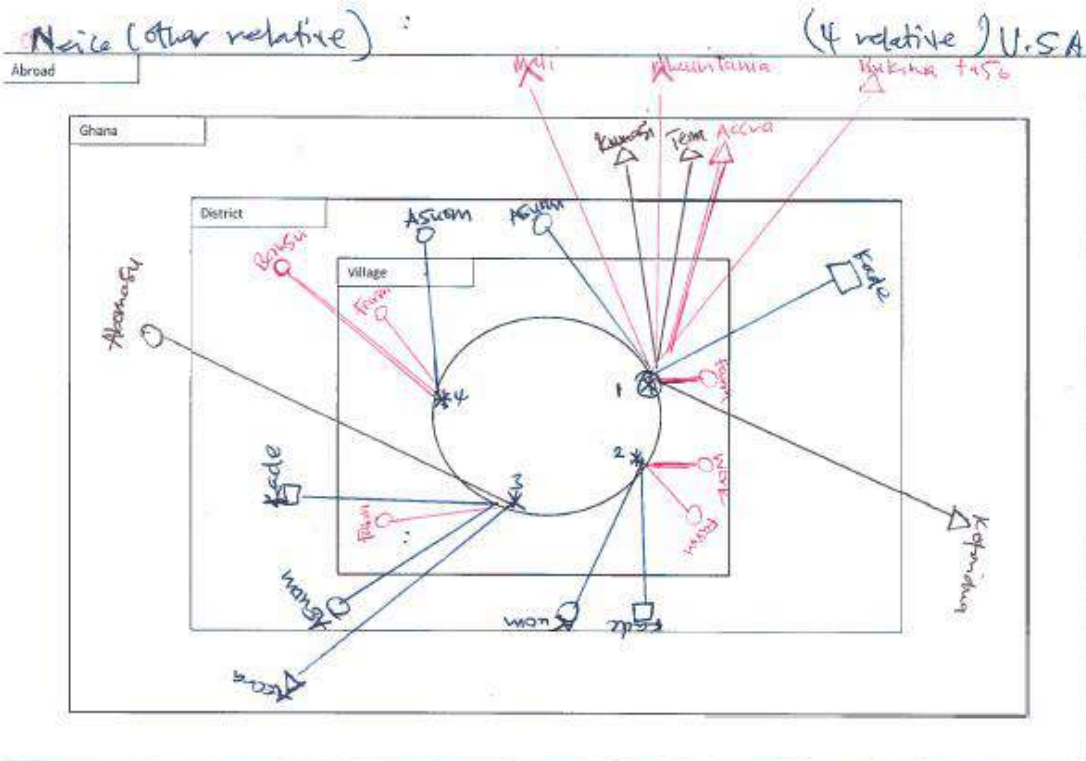
Appendix 4: Mobility map

4.1 Format mobility map

abroad



4.2 Example mobility map



4.3 Explanation mobility map

The Mobility Map is a schematic representation of the various movements of all members of the household. The below figure may serve as an example of such mobility map for a household in Rwanda. The figure identifies for all household members: destination; purpose; type of location; and importance of the mobility.

1. The centre of the map is the rural home.
 - a. Number the members of the household in the centre circle. In notations, add for every member age and sex.
 - b. Mark the head of the household!
 - c. Draw for every member the relevant connections as a line on the map within the right field.

2. Different colours are used to indicate the purpose of travel
 - a. Red → Economic
 - b. Blue → Use of different services
 - c. Black → Visit friends and relatives

3. The type of location is indicated by a symbol at the end of the line
 - a. Triangle → Urban/big city
 - b. Square → regional trade- or service centre
 - c. Circle → Rural/ village

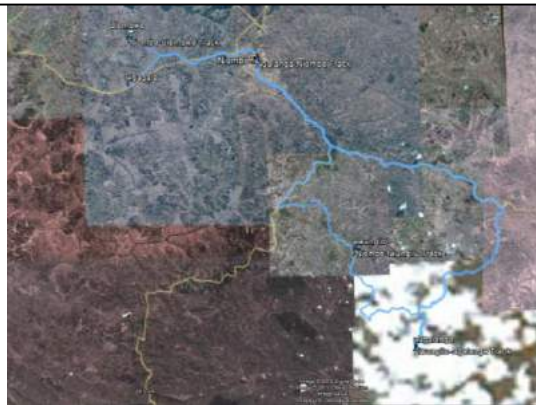
4. The importance of the connection can be indicated by thickness of the line.

Annex V. Site report – Njombe case, Tanzania



African Rural-City Connections (RurbanAfrica)

Deliverable D2.3



The case of Irish Potatoes in Njombe Region Tanzania



University of Copenhagen (Denmark):

Torben Birch-Thomsen
Sinne Ørtenblad

Sokoine University of Agriculture (Tanzania):

Evelyne A.Lazaro
Fulgence J. Mishili
Lukelo R. Msese

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1. Executive summary

In this report, a descriptive analysis of the impact of mobility (people, capital, goods, information, and technologies) on local development is done. The analysis is based on qualitative interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) conducted in four villages (Ngalanga, Iwungilo, Ulembwe, and Igagala) in Njombe Region in Tanzania. Focus research areas include; patterns of mobility and migration, general changes of importance in the research sites, inflows and outflows of capital, information and resources – remittances, role of institutions and local government are determined.

The two terms mobility and migration are used for analytical purposes to respectively distinguish daily or weekly commuting or short period movement and long period movement from the village to other destinations (rural and/or urban). From the household point of view, a household with one or more members engaged in daily/weekly commuting activities or migrated were identified and selected for the interview. Data was collected through household interviews of 21 households selected purposely, and 4 focus group discussions; one in each of the four villages with participant numbers ranging from 3 to 10 participants. Pre-designed interview guides were used for data collection.

Findings indicate that the primary destination of mobility and/or migration is often Njombe Town. Njombe Town is the regional headquarter and nearest “urban” area for all the four study villages. Ngalanga is the furthest village from Njombe town (with a distance of 60 Km), and the other villages, Iwungilo, Igagala and Ulembwe, are respectively 37Km, 21Km and 17 Km from Njombe Town. Economic activities and purchase of household commodities are the main purposes for commuting to Njombe Town. Other commuting/migration destinations include Makambako town, (which is at a T-Junction tarmac road joining the Southern highland regions of Mbeya, Ruvuma and Iringa, with a Tanzania–Zambia Railway (TAZARA) line station) and distant urban areas including Songea, Mbeya and Dar-Es-Salaam. Education and marriage are also important reasons for migrating and being mobile. Migration to other rural areas for farming purposes, including Madaba in Songea Region and

Usangu plains in Mbeya region, is also common. Commuting /migrating to the villages from other rural or urban areas is also a common practice. Labour demand in Ngalanga and Iwungilo villages, where it is possible to use irrigation for the production of Irish potatoes, is a reason for people from other rural areas to commute or migrate to these villages. For all villages Irish potato trade is an important reason for people to commute especially from urban areas to the villages. Social capital/networking is a major basis for mobility and migration and people often use their networks in their decisions on whether and where to migrate or commute. Common networking possibilities include relatives, friends or Irish potato and other crops traders and mobile phones facilitate the communication substantially.

The general perception is that mobility/migration is a way of diversifying household economic activities outside home villages and often in urban areas. Mobility/migration of one or more household members is perceived to result in an increase in the income generation possibilities in the household. Income generated is often used for household expenditure, education and services, and investment in agriculture. The main negative effect of mobility/migration of household members is perceived to be the delay of other household activities, at home villages especially farming activities, due to reduced household labour force.

The most important inflow of capital in the study villages is from sales of Irish potatoes to buyers from urban areas and the main outflow of capital from the villages is from purchase of agricultural inputs including equipment for irrigation. Other sources of outflow include purchase of materials for constructing houses / Stock for shops / payment of Education fees and household commodities.

It is generally perceived that there is an increase in information flow resulting from increased use of mobile phones. Mobile phones are used for social as well as economic purposes and are perceived to be among the most important sources of change identified in the villages. Another important change that has occurred in the past ten years as perceived by respondents, includes decrease in mobility and duration of stay away from home villages due to increased economic opportunities in the villages particularly from Irish potato farming/sales. This change is more pronounced in Iwungilo and Ngalanga resulting from introduction of irrigation technologies for growing Irish potatoes. Irrigation has made multiple (2-3) cropping seasons possible. During focus group discussions it was estimated that about 75% of the

farmers use irrigation for crop production. This has also resulted in an increase of flow of people from urban as well as other rural villages that invest in Irish potato production.

Flow of resources is generally in the form of financial and human resources. Accessing/ purchase of goods and services (including purchase of land, household goods, health, and education services) are important sources of financial flows both rural to urban and urban to rural. Financial services through savings and credit services including mobile money services (mobile phone providers), SACCOS and money lenders also facilitate financial flows not only rural to urban and vice versa but also rural to rural. Human resources flow in the form of rural to rural labour force mobility and rural to urban employment opportunities. Other resources include, timber products, from rural villages to urban areas. Remittances are another form of resource flow and generally are more common for household members migrating for economic reasons and not for those migrating for non-economic reasons including marriage.

Mobility/ migration and inflow and outflow of resources are generally supported by informal institutions in the form of self organized groups/associations. Most common are savings and credit groups commonly known as “VICOBA’ (Village Community Banks). Membership and organization of these groups varies, some are mixed including both men and women and others are men or women only depending on the objectives that established the groups. These groups are based on self generated capital through membership fees, and savings and small interest from credit extended to members. Other supporting institutions include micro financial institutions known as SACCOS (Savings and Credit Cooperative Society) and to a lesser extent commercial bank. The role of local government authorities is mainly in establishment/maintenance of infrastructure including road networks, public schools and health services facilities. Depending on the location of these facilities people commute from one place to another.

From the findings of this study it is observed that the connections between rural villages and the nearest urban area (Njombe Town) through mobility and migration facilitate livelihood diversification of rural communities. In turn the diversification contribute to local development in the form of increased incomes, skills, access to services (e.g education, health, and financial) and information. The inflow and outflow of resources (such as remittances; agricultural products; and inputs) are largely mobilized through self organized informal institutions. However, the role of formal financial institutions such as SACCOS that function under established government rules and regulations cannot be underestimated. The

agricultural input supply system and output markets are also important in influencing factors on financial capital flows.

2. Methodological background of the study

The field work was conducted during the 30th of July and the 21st of August 2015, by Torben Birch-Thomsen (Assistant Professor) and Sinne Ørtenblad (Research Assistant) from Department of Geosciences and Natural Resource Management at Copenhagen University and Lukelo Roden Msese (PhD student) and Fulgence Mishili (Senior Lecturer) from Agricultural Economics at Sokoine University of Agriculture, with the assistance for translation and general field assistance from Einhard Mwanyika as well as from enumerators, Baraka Mlawa and Remmy Mteweke, from Njombe Town.

The research was conducted in Njombe Region located in the Southern highlands of Tanzania. Four villages, also studied for the survey on agricultural transformation, livelihoods and mobility (D2.2), are included in the study, of which two are in Wanging'ombe District and two are in Njombe Rural District (See Figure 1).

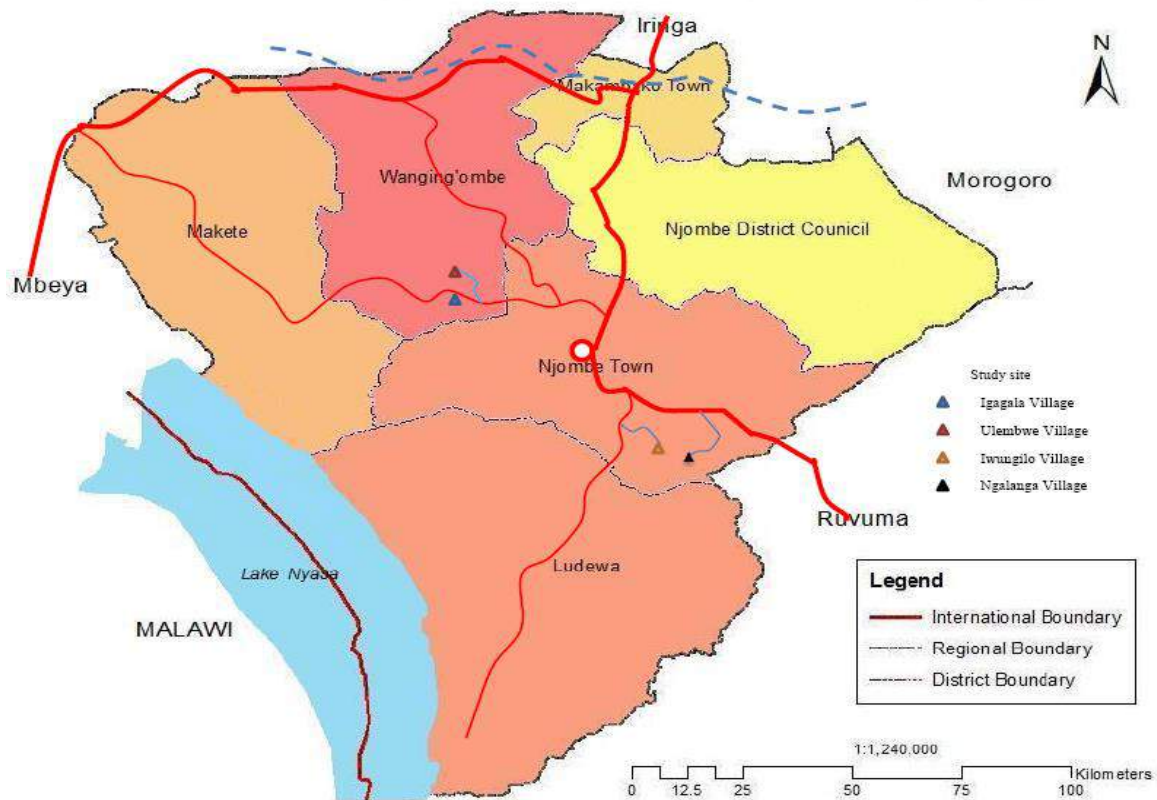


Figure 1: Sketched map of Njombe Region, including the four districts included in the region (Makete, Ludewa, Njombe and Waning’ombe): The selected site villages are indicated (Modified by Lukelo Msese from URT, 2013)

From Wanging’ombe District Ulembwe and Igagala villages were included in the study. These villages are relatively close to Njombe Town; 16 kilometres to Igagala centre and 17 kilometres to Ulembwe centre, and positioned along the well-functioning road from Njombe Town to Makete where many buses and cars commute on a daily basis. The farmers rely on rain fed fields for agricultural production. From Njombe District the villages Iwungilo and Ngalanga were included. These are more remote from Njombe Town compared to the villages included from Wanging’ombe District; 38 kilometres to Iwungilo and 60 kilometres to Ngalanga. The villages are positioned along a less maintained road, making them less accessible particularly during the rainy seasons. The agricultural production is based on rain fed and irrigated fields.

2.1 Selection of settlements

The villages described above were selected for the local diagnosis, due to their representation of two different farming systems, namely rain fed and irrigation farming as well as different

positions relative to an urban area, i.e. Njombe Town. The villages are divided into a number of sub-villages functioning as smaller administrative units with a sub-village government and a small centre providing basic services, e.g. shops, hair dresser, restaurant, bars, etc. In each village there is one main sub-villages centre which is more active than the others and central to the provision of services. These sub-village centres and the associated sub-villages are used as focus points for the study on mobility patterns and therefor considered the selected settlements for the local diagnosis.

2.2 Household level interviews on mobility and migration patterns of household members

Household interviews and focus group discussions were carried out in the four different villages of focus in order to answer the research questions. The data collection is presented and discussed below, starting with the household interviews in this section and followed by the focus group discussions.

The household interviews were conducted in order to get a deeper understanding of patterns of mobility and migration, of household linkages with urban areas as well as motivations for undertaking these mobility and migration activities. Moreover the aim was to get an understanding of the impact of mobility and migration of household members on the livelihoods, including the consequences, negative as positive, on the household strategies. A further objective with the household interviews was to investigate the extent and use of remittances.

2.2.1 Sampling strategy

Sampling of households: The households were purposefully selected from the previous household survey, since it includes knowledge on the mobility and/or migration activities of the households. All the households that encompass members engaging in mobility and/or migration activities were initially pointed out and from this number of households (spanning from 20 to 32 in the four villages), the ones that are particularly interesting were selected for interviews. The conclusion of a household being particularly interesting was based on the number of household members that are engaging in mobility/migration activities, the frequency of household members engaging in commuting activities and the purpose of these, e.g. whether they are travelling/migrating due to marriage, education, casual labour, business, what kind of business, etc. The aim was to select households that are particularly active in terms of commuting activities as well as selecting households with different motives for

migrating or being mobile to get a broad picture and understanding of the patterns of mobility and migration.

Sampling size: The household interviews were conducted in 21 households within the research area, distributed evenly among the four different settlement areas in focus, i.e. 5 interviews in Iwungilo, Ulembwe and Ngalanga and 6 interviews in Igagala. Since it was expected that some households would be unavailable for interviewing, 8 households were initially selected from each of the four villages in order to reach the total number of 20-25 households, which was requested from the data collection guide and found suitable for getting an impression and understanding of the patterns. In the cases where fewer of these 8 households were available than the required amount, respondents were selected from the full list of households undertaking mobility and/or migration activities from the survey sample. The selected households were presented to the village leaders for them to assist in contacting and mobilising the respondents.

2.2.2 Interview build-up and modifications from the activities outlined in the data collection guide

The interviews were all carried out with the heads of household, as discussed in 1.1.3. The topics raised above were outlined in an interview guide (attached) that has a fixed form, but contains open-ended questions. The research team has had discussions concerning the use of such “questionnaires” or a more fixed form of interviews, instead of the open migration narratives that were requested in the data collection guide for deliverable 2.3. The argument for applying this method was that the interviews were to be conducted partly by enumerators, which would result in a reduction of comparability between the interviews if they were conducted in a completely open form. However, even though the interviews were conducted in a more fixed manner, the respondents were still asked and probed to narratively describe the stories of mobility and migration within their households, including describing how the connection to the respective destinations were established, socially and geographically. Initially in the interview the respondents were encouraged to talk openly about general commuting patterns in the household.

The team moreover agreed to implement the method of drawing “mobility maps”, as likewise described in the guide, in the focus group discussions instead of at the household level, due to time constraints resulting from the reduction of the budget. The intention was to get a visual representation of the more general patterns of mobility within the settlements instead of for each household member at the household level. It was anticipated to get an understanding of

the household level migration and mobility patterns, and of the motivations for and consequences of these, from the narrations.

2.2.3 Methodological reflections including limitations of the research

Location of interviews: The interviews were all conducted at, or in the vicinity of, the village office or at the centre of the village (i.e. trading and social centre). The village or respective sub village chairman was in charge of informing the selected respondents about coming to the office for the interview. Due to the short time allocated for the different activities and since we were a relatively large group of people gathered for conducting the interviews, it was estimated that bringing the respondents to the village centre or office would be more feasible than if we were to find the farmers individually and meet them at their fields or in their households.

The location for interviews could be discouraging in regards to the respondents being talkative and open-minded towards the interview, since the inhabitants of the villages are usually called for meetings in the village office only for official matters. The respondents sometimes seemed uncomfortable from being asked personal questions and suspicious of the agenda of the research and needed thorough explanations before agreeing on answering the questions and being recorded. The enumerators and researchers attempted to create a trustful and relaxed atmosphere to circumvent these situations.

Composition of respondents: as mentioned, the interviews were all carried out with the head of households, in anticipation that they would have an overview of the mobility and migration patterns of the entire household. Ideally it would have been beneficial to include more members of the household in the interview, since it was in a few instances found that the head of household did not have the knowledge or recollection of all the commuting activities of the household members. However this would require more time, due to the difficulties in assembling people which could result in a decreased likelihood of succeeding in conducting an interview if we were to include more than one respondent. Moreover it would be less suitable to bring for instance a whole family into the village office.

Methodological challenges: First of all it is challenging to ensure comparability and thoroughness in the data when carrying out qualitative work with enumerators. Secondly the enumerators participating in this data collection were not familiar with and trained in qualitative methods. Due to this, we spent some time on discussing and explaining the need of asking open questions and probing the respondents to tell, elaborate and explain, a part from

spending time on going through the interview guides with the enumerators to make sure that we had reached a common understanding concerning the questions and formulations. However it would have been beneficial to spend more time on training and coaching the enumerators in conducting qualitative interviews, before as well as during the data collection, in order to fully ensure the required depth in the interviews and the inclusion of notes on reflections and details in the interviews that are not particularly asked for in the guide.

2.3 Focus group discussions

A focus group discussion was carried out in each of the four villages (4 focus group discussions in total) in order to get an understanding of the general mobility patterns in the village as well as to get a chance to discuss and get answers to general questions concerning connections to both rural and urban areas, flows of information, capital, people and resources into and out of the village, changes in the village, new challenges and opportunities, role of mobile phones for development and opportunities for e.g. business and role of institution and local government in inflows and outflows as well as the developments in the village. An advantage of discussing and inquiring about these topics in groups is that it can be assessed whether the statements and perceptions are commonly shared or more subjective.

2.3.1 Sampling strategy

The participants were selected with the assistance of the village leaders. The leaders were asked to assemble a group of 8-10 participants, in anticipation of a few of the respondents not showing up. The preferred number of participants was approximately 6. In order to get an understanding of the mobility patterns, investments, flows of capital, resources and services, the group of respondents were asked to be composed of entrepreneurs, including retail and wholesale traders, brokers, transporters, timber dealers and other business people. Since the mobility mapping was included in the focus group discussions, the group was requested to also include a farmer and /or casual labourer, in order to get a broad picture of the patterns in the villages. Gender and age were not considered in the composition of the group.

The focus groups were very different in number; including 10 registered participants in Iwungilo, 3 in Ngalanga, 4 in Igagala and 5 in Ulembwe.

2.3.2 Build-up of focus group discussions and changes from the activities outlined in the data collection guide

The group sessions were carried out in two sections. 1. The first session consisted of drawing 'mobility maps' where the respondents individually got a chance to introduce themselves and their patterns of mobility. After the individual description from the respondents, they were

asked for the general mobility patterns in the village. The method of drawing mobility maps was applied in order to get a schematic, visual presentation of the general mobility patterns within the sub villages and moreover it was used as an instrument for encouraging the respondents to participate. 2. The second section of the focus group discussion entailed more general questions for the entire group to respond to and discuss.

Ad. 1. Mobility maps: The mobility maps outline the destination, purpose and type of location of the participants. A circle in the centre of the map signifies is the village. This circle is enclosed by two squares representing the district, i.e. the areas surrounding the village, and beyond the district. The participants are marked by a star in the middle of the circle. Different colours are used to indicate the purpose of the travel; green for economic mobility, red for use of different services (banking, health services, household commodities, etc.) and blue for visiting friends and relatives. The type of location is indicated by different symbols; triangle for urban destination and circle for rural destinations/villages.

Ad. 2. Guide for focus group discussion: As also requested in the guidelines the topics in focus for the discussions were the following:

- General patterns of mobility in the village
- Investors/investments, profile of investors
- Capital flows – most important inflows and outflows of capital
- General changes in the village
- Challenges (and opportunities)
- Impact of mobile phones on possibilities for business opportunities and mobility
- Local institutions and services supporting inflows and outflows of resources to and from the villages
- Local government supporting mobility related development outcomes

A full list of the questions used for the discussions can be found in Appendix 1. The ordering of the questions is slightly different from proposed in the guide for deliverable 2.3 in order to secure a flow in the discussion. A part from the structuring of the questions, the main change from guide for deliverable 2.3 is the addition of a section on drawing mobility maps.

[2.3.3 Methodological reflections including limitations of the research](#)

Location of the focus group discussions: The group interviews were conducted at the village centres, usually in the sub village “office”. This seemed to be a suitable location, both for gathering people and for having space for executing the mobility mapping and the group discussion. The venue creates a somewhat official atmosphere, as likewise described for the

individual household interviews; however this did not seem to impede people from responding freely.

Selection of participants: Due to the respondents being selected by the village leaders, there is not full control over who is included, even though a description of the preferred participants was provided to the village leader prior to the discussion. Thorough information was however asked from the respondents which helped getting an understanding of the composition of the group.

Number of participants: An issue which is difficult to control and highly influencing the outcome of the focus group discussion is the number of participants. Sometimes people do not show up even though they are requested to by the village leaders, other times there are far more people coming than the invited number, due to misunderstandings with the village leaders, interest of people, coincidences where people just happen to be in that specific place at that time or something fourth. We found that around 4-5 participants was the appropriate number where people had the opportunity to answer and everyone seemed to be heard and the participants did not get tired of listening to the others while presenting themselves for the first section of the group sessions. As an example there was at a certain point 13 participants in the focus group discussion in Iwungilo. The mobility mapping exercise got very tedious and tiring for the participants and the majority did not get a word in the discussion and were “hiding” behind the more talkative. Moreover people did not feel responsible for staying since there were so many participants, which resulted in people coming and going throughout the session. In Ngalanga on the other hand, the group ended up with including only 3 participants. The discussion was lively and they all had a say, however it could be argued that the observations are less likely to be general for the village with fewer participants and more homogeneity in the group compositions.

Composition of respondents: It is noted that sampling respondents only on the basis of their profession and asking for respondents with different professional status could result in issues regarding power relations, among participants with different gender as well as with different socioeconomic status and age. This could result in impeding some of the respondents from talking freely. Such power relations can be difficult to trace, especially when spending relatively short time in the field, as was the case in the present study. The attempt to handle these issues has included creating a more relaxed atmosphere by giving examples of our own

experiences as well as by initiating the group sessions with everyone introducing themselves and their mobility patterns.

2.4 Reporting and analysis methods

The reporting for the present deliverable is based on the findings outlined in a general fieldwork report, which includes a processing of all information found during the data collection. The processing was carried out bearing the structure of the deliverable and the research questions in mind, and is based on extracting the interesting information from the data and structuring this into topics of interest. The analysis of the data is thus based on qualitative analysis methods including meaning condensation and finding general patterns and tendencies in the data.

3. Use of inflow and outflow of resources

The following firstly gives a description of the flows of resources including capital, information, services, goods and technology between the villages and settlements higher up the urban hierarchy, mainly concerning Njombe Town, including the use of resources. Moreover the extent and use of remittances are described. The section then includes an account of the different types of investments made by persons from outside the communities as well as a description of the differences between individual and collective use of inflows of resources.

It is noted that remittances originating from international migration and migrant organisations and their role for local development were not encountered in any forms during the field work, and are thus not considered relevant to this research site.

3.1 Main inflow and outflow of resources in the research site

3.1.1 Capital flows

Inflows of capital:

Ranking by importance of capital inflow by focus group discussion participants:

1. Irish potato business
2. Timber / maize
3. Maize / wheat/other crops

There is wide agreement that the most important inflow of capital into the villages is through farmers selling Irish potatoes to brokers/buyers. There is a difference in the perception of the

second most important source of capital inflow; namely from selling timber for the area lying a further away from Njombe Town, with vast areas of land available and irrigation of the fields, whereas it is perceived to be from selling maize in the area closer to Njombe Town with rain fed fields. The third most important source of capital inflow is however perceived to be generated from selling maize in the area further away from Njombe, where it is from wheat in the area closer to Njombe. Interestingly, it is thus noted that business from crop farming, including timber production, is perceived to be the most important source of capital inflow to the rural hinterlands. Buyers of the crops and timber are brokers/middlemen, locally or from urban areas in the whole country, e.g. Njombe Town, Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar, Makambako, or even from international markets such as Kenya. Sale of crops constitutes the most important livelihood basis for the vast majority of the rural inhabitants in the area. Business/income generation from timber production is found in Igagala and Ulembwe, but here it is not as widespread as in the more remote villages from Njombe Town, where the land is less scarce. If people invest in trees in Igagala and Ulembwe, it is often in smaller scale than in Iwungilo and Ngalanga (a few acres compared to e.g. more than 50 acres mentioned for one investor in Ngalanga).

Outflows of capital:

Ranking by importance of capital outflow by focus group discussion participants:

1. Farming inputs
2. Materials for constructing houses / Stock for shops
Household commodities
Equipment for irrigation (only relevant for villages more remote from Njombe Town, using irrigation)
Education fees

There seems to be agreement that the main outflow of capital from the villages to areas/settlements higher up the urban hierarchy is from buying inputs for farming. All the villagers are, to varying extents, farming and the inhabitants perceive it a necessity to apply fertilizers and pesticides in order to get any crop yields. It is a concern to all the people in the villages that the farming inputs are very expensive and that not everybody can afford the necessary amounts. The two other most important sources of capital outflow are perceived to be related to buying inputs/stock for the small shops and materials for constructing and maintaining the houses (e.g. iron sheets, cement, nails, window glass, iron bars, painting, etc.), especially after the people started earning a lot of money from selling mainly Irish

potatoes. The stock for the shops is purchased in the nearby larger towns, such as Njombe, Makambako, Mbeya, etc. Commodities for household use/consumption (related to the stock for shops) are mentioned as another major source of capital outflow as well as pipes and sprinklers for irrigation. The latter is only mentioned by the people from the villages further away from Njombe Town, who use irrigation for farming.

Fees for education are mentioned as major household expenditures; however do not always imply an outflow of capital from the villages to urban settlements. This is the case mainly for secondary schools situated outside the communities, which are also mentioned to be the most costly.

The inhabitants do not consider transport as a major important cash outflow, and perceive the access to Njombe Town by private buses/taxis or motorbikes to be easy.

It is noted that mobile money (m-pesa) in general has become very important for flows of capital.

3.1.2 Information flows

Like in the rest of the country, telecommunication services in Njombe Region have developed progressively during the last approximately 5 years. Wide distribution of telecommunication infrastructure has enabled ownership and use of mobile phones by the majority of households. The general development of availability of mobile phones started from around 2000, where few of the villagers had access to these. However since around 2005-2009 (different perceptions) the development has escalated. The use of mobile phones is the main mediator of information flows into and out of the villages and the majority of the rural population in the research area take part in the flow of information and the improved accessibility of information.

A part from being vastly used for social purposes involving information on news and problems between family and relatives, the information flow is mainly concerning the market prices of crops and goods for the different local businesses as well as for establishing and keeping business networks. As an example of important business networks, mobile phones are used for disseminating information on demand and supply, mainly for agricultural produce. This is usually mediated through brokers that act as links in the information flow between the suppliers (in the rural hinterlands) and buyers (usually in urban areas). The use of mobile money (m-pesa) is another fast developing facility, related to the widespread use of mobile phones, which enhances the business environment and moreover results in a reduced

dependence on mobility, as will be described in section 5.4.1 on changes in accessibility to mobile phones and mobile money and contribution of these to local development (page 46).

3.1.3 Flow of services

The main flows of services to and from the villages in the research area include health services/medicine, banking facilities, inputs for farming and business activities, commodities for household use. These will be elaborated in the following.

Health services: Concerning health services, the inhabitants use the local dispensaries available in the village for simple health issues. However they travel to hospitals in urban areas or missionary hospitals in the area in order to deal with more severe problems and diseases and for buying special medicines. The hospitals mainly used for severe problems are Kibena hospital in Njombe Town and Ikonda missionary hospital approximately 60 kilometres from Njombe Town on the road to Makete (direction of Igagala and Ulembwe). Ndolela hospital, on the way to Songea, is moreover mentioned by some villagers in Igagala, as well as hospitals and dispensaries in Uwemba missionary hospital, Uliwa hospital and Peramigo hospital (Songea District).

Banking services: banking services are usually covered using local m-pesa agents available in the villages, both for saving and for transferring money. A part from the use of m-pesa, some of the villagers mention that they use the Saving and Credit Cooperation (SACCO) (microfinance organisation) facilities, respectively in Igoma or Uliwa for Iwungilo and Ngalanga and in Nanda for Igagala and Ulembwe. Moreover banking facilities in Njombe are used by some people with different businesses, such as shops or broker business. It is noted that far from all the inhabitants use banking facilities.

Farming inputs: To enable and increase the extensive flow of agricultural produce out of the villages in focus, a major resource flow into the village is concerning inputs for the farming activities. The farming inputs are mainly provided through wholesalers in Njombe Town and some farmers use the retailers in the villages selling farming inputs, such as fertilizers and pesticides. It is however common that the farmers either go to Njombe town themselves or join in groups to order farm inputs from the cheaper wholesalers in Njombe to save money. Sometimes the joint purchase is sufficiently big to fill a hired truck in Njombe for transporting the inputs. Purchasing farming inputs in Njombe Town instead of at village level seems to be less pronounced in Igagala and Ulembwe, closer to the town. Possibly this is due to the prices of inputs in the villages resembling the prices found in town more for the areas closer to town.

3.1.4 Inflow of goods

A part from the inflow of farming inputs, which can be argued to be a part of the inflow of goods, the inflow of goods in the villages from urban settlements mainly include household commodities and materials and tools. Household commodities used in the village are e.g. cooking supplies and food not provided through subsistence farming, household interiors such as mattresses or lamps, clothes, hygiene and care products, candy, sodas, etc. The flow of household commodities into the villages, including stock for shops and restaurants/bars (i.e. even though the household commodities/supplies are purchased in local shops, the stock for the shops are supplied from urban areas), is mainly from Njombe, but also occurring from other rural areas such as Makambako and Mbeya. Import of tools and materials e.g. for building and improving houses, from urban areas to the village, is mainly occurring from Njombe, if not found in the villages.

3.1.5 Inflow of technology

Inflow of technology to the villages is in general relatively limited, especially due to the lack of electricity. In this regard it is an important point to note that electricity is in the first state of implementation in Igagala and Ulembwe.

The inflow of technology in the villages, a part from the telecommunication services described above, includes agricultural technology and knowhow. For the villages with irrigation systems, the main inflow of farming technology includes materials for irrigation, such as pipes and tubes.

Agricultural knowhow and new technologies are mainly generated at agricultural research stations and disseminated through the agricultural extension officer present in the village. The agricultural extension officer is in however often not considered highly valuable from the farmers' perspective, since they consider themselves knowledgeable on good agricultural practice through many generations of farming.

3.2 Extent and use of remittances

3.2.1 Extent of remittances

The tendencies of migrants sending remittances to the household members residing in the home villages are varying quite a lot, depending on the purpose of migration. In general, family members that migrate due to marriage are establishing new families/households and are focusing on these instead of providing cash or kind for the families in the home village, thus by definition not considered part of the household. The household members migrating in

certain periods due to education are also not sending remittances as they depend on their families in the home village and are considered investments in the future for the families/households more than direct economic contributors.

Many of the households including migrated members mention that they provide food for the migrated members. These come back especially during the harvesting seasons to help with the work in the fields but also to collect some crops for consumption. Many of the migrated household members live in urban areas where the food production is not feasible, so they are depending on their families to provide stable food such as maize.

Household members migrating for economic reasons are to varying degree sending remittances to their families/households in the villages. Some respondents explain that the migrating household member has not yet started making money from the activities conducted outside the home village or are not making enough money to send remittances. However, the most common pattern is that they come back to help their family e.g. in peak periods of farming and are sending something if they have a surplus in periods or if there is a problem in the family and they have a special need. Some households do however receive remittances from migrating household members on a more regular basis.

3.2.2 Use of remittances

There are some general patterns in the types and use of remittances. The remittances are mainly found to be for individual use in the households and sent to and administered by the heads of the household. The remittances are typically in cash, transferred by mobile money (m-pesa) or by delivering the cash in person and are used in the rural areas of the home villages, mainly for consumptive and productive purposes.

For the respondents receiving remittances from migrated household members, almost everyone mentions that they use all or part of the money sent for buying farming inputs and household commodities. Farming inputs are the main focus as these are considered necessary for farming activities and very expensive. The inputs include fertilizers as is the primary expenditure, as well as hired labour, livestock (e.g. for transporting the crops from fields which is the case mainly in Iwungilo and Ngalanga where they use donkeys for transporting especially potatoes due to the steep hills), seeds or tree seedling, instruments for farming such as hand hoes, etc. Examples of the household commodities mentioned are furniture, cooking facilities, food supplies such as salt or cooking oil, clothes, a bicycle or a small solar for getting light at night and charging mobile phones.

A middle-aged farmer uses some money from her children working in Njombe to buy farming inputs, such as fertilizers. Sometimes she uses the fertilizers to grow crops on her plots in the wetlands. The children also buy household necessities in town and bring to her, e.g. couches for the living room, salt for cooking, etc. The children are helping their parents having stable access to resources. An older farmer has a son working in Madaba and one working in Dar es Salaam. The sons send money for their father regularly and with this money he usually buys farming inputs. The household especially needs money for this, since it is not possible to get a good harvest, “*to get any crops*”, without applying fertilizers. Moreover they need money for improvement and maintenance of the house.

The middle-aged female farmer is 53 years old. She is from Iwungilo and her main income generating activity is farming. She has two children working in Njombe Town, one child studying in Dar es Salaam and two attending secondary school elsewhere than Iwungilo. The interview was conducted at the village office in Iwungilo by Baraka Mlawa on the 5th of August 2015. The older male farmer is 81 years old from Igagala. A part from being a farmer he works as a craftsman, primarily making yorks for cattle carriers, small mills for grinding grains and trays for feeding mainly cows. The interview was conducted by Baraka Mlawa in Igagala at the village office on the 4th of August 2015.

Materials for constructing or improving the house also seem to constitute an important household expenditure from remittances. Such materials are e.g. cement, iron sheets, bricks, iron bars, nails, etc. A few moreover mention investing in land as expenditures covered partly by remittances. A part from these productive and consumptive purposes it is mentioned that the money from remittances is used for educational purposes, i.e. assistance in paying school fees and for medical treatments.

A farmer from Iwungilo has a few donkeys bought by his sons and sent to him as remittances. These are being used as means of transport for carrying potatoes from remote areas to more accessible areas as well as used as a source of income for his family from renting them out. The money sent from the children is also used to hire labour to keep up with the farming activities. They have bought some materials for improving the house and a solar for household use in the village (for getting light during night and charging their mobile phones).

From the interview with a 54 years old male farmer by Remmy Mteweale at the village office in Iwungilo on the 5th of August 2015. The farmer is growing mainly Potatoes and Maize for food consumption as well as for business. He has four children, one staying in Kigoma, two in Mbeya, and the last studying at Matola secondary school in Njombe.

3.3 Differences between individual and collective use of inflows

As is noted in the sections above describing inflows of resources, these are mostly serving purposes and needs individually within the households. No incidence of collective use of remittances or resources was observed through the fieldwork.

3.4 Different types of investments made by migrants/people from outside

Especially in the more remote villages from Njombe Town, there are relatively many external investors accessing land and investment opportunities in the villages. The investors and general patterns of investments are described in chapter 6.

4. Mobility patterns

The main migration and mobility trajectories are represented below in overall mobility maps of the research sites. The mobility patterns are shown for the villages closer to Njombe Town (Igagala and Ulembwe) and for the more remote villages from Njombe Town (Iwungilo and Ngalanga) (see Figure 2 and 3). By first appearance the maps show highly similar patterns of mobility in the two different sites, however similarities and differences will be elaborated in the following text and summed up in Appendix 2.

The maps show basic mobility patterns and importance of these. More detailed information on the purposes of the travels, i.e. economic purposes, accessing services or visiting friends and family, are described in the text and presented in the mobility maps from the focus group discussion in each of the villages (Appendix 3).

Figure 2: Mobility patterns in Igagala and Ulembwe. The importance of the mobility trajectories is indicated with the thickness of the arrows

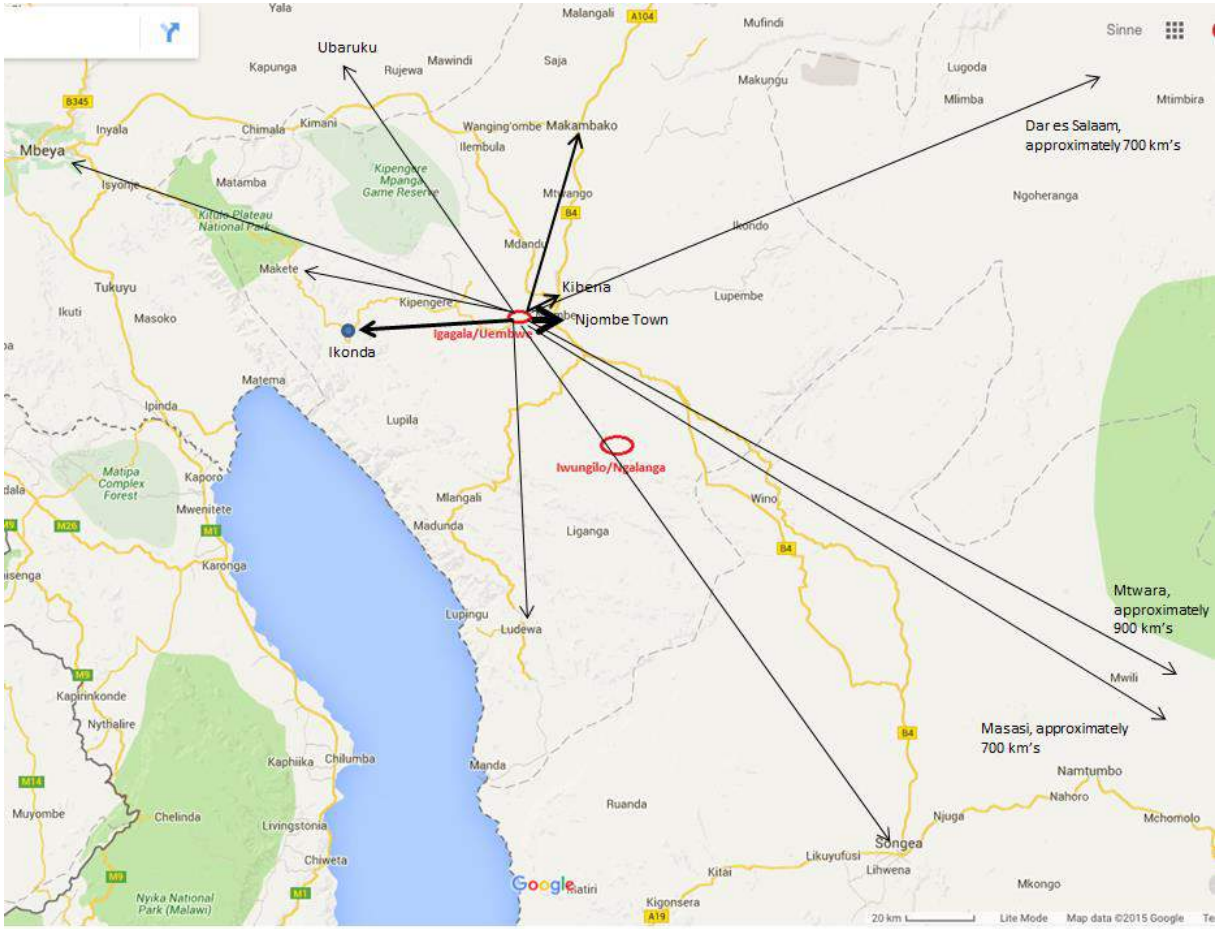


Figure 3: Mobility patterns in Iwungilo and Ngalanga. The importance of the mobility trajectories is indicated with the thickness of the arrows

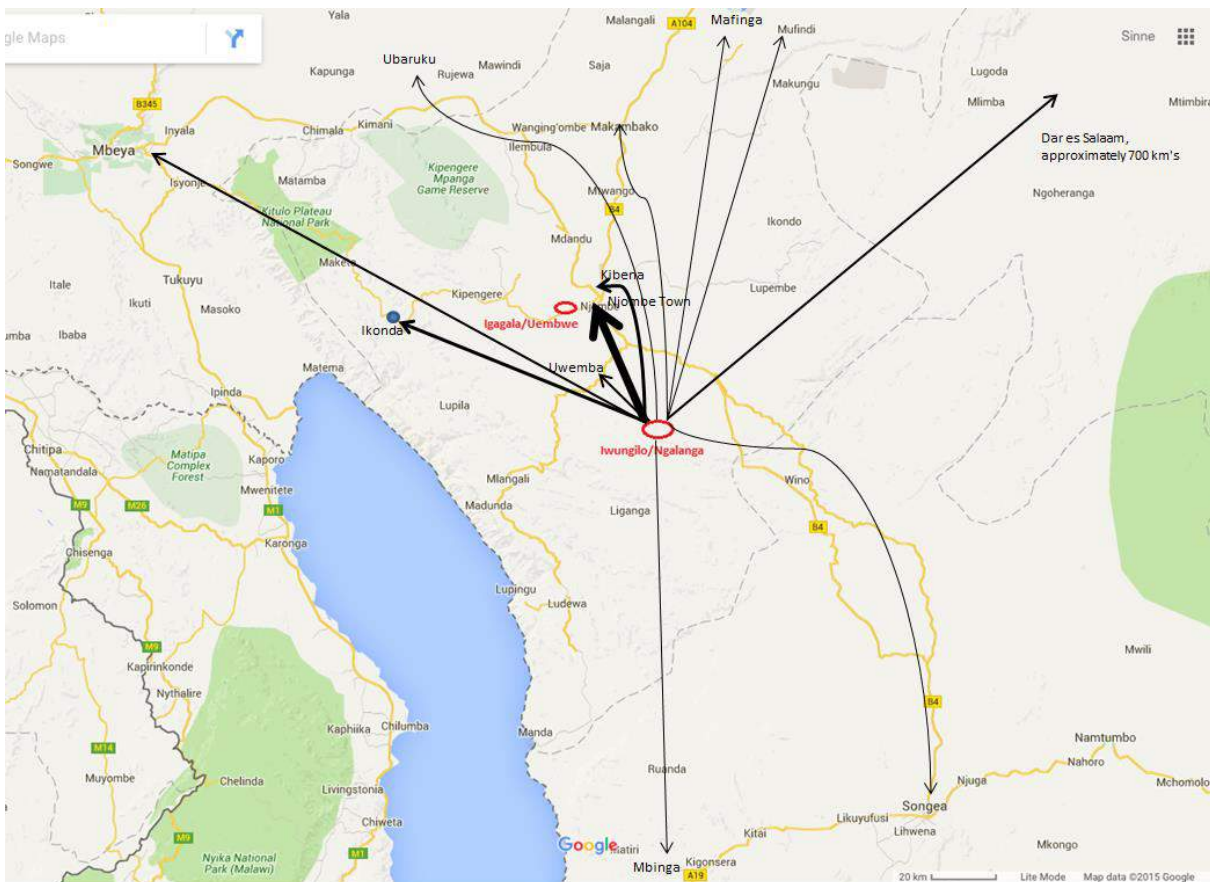


Figure 4 and 5 below show migration patterns for the villages closer to Njombe Town (Igagala and Ulembe) and for the more remote villages from Njombe Town (Iwungilo and Ngalanga) (Figure 4 and 5 respectively). The mobility patterns are derived from the household interviews. It is noted that since the maps are showing patterns of migration jointly for the two villages in each site (close to and more remote from Njombe Town), the pattern that there are fewer people who mention having migrated from Ngalanga compared to the other villages (i.e. only two cases of migration from Ngalanga, compared to 6-8 cases for the other villages) is not pictured in the maps.

As is the case with the mobility maps above, the migration maps show basic migration patterns and importance of these. More detailed information on the purposes of migration, i.e. for economic purposes, education or marriage, are described in the following text.

Figure 4: Migration patterns in Igagala and Ulembwe. The importance of the mobility trajectories is indicated with the thickness of the arrows

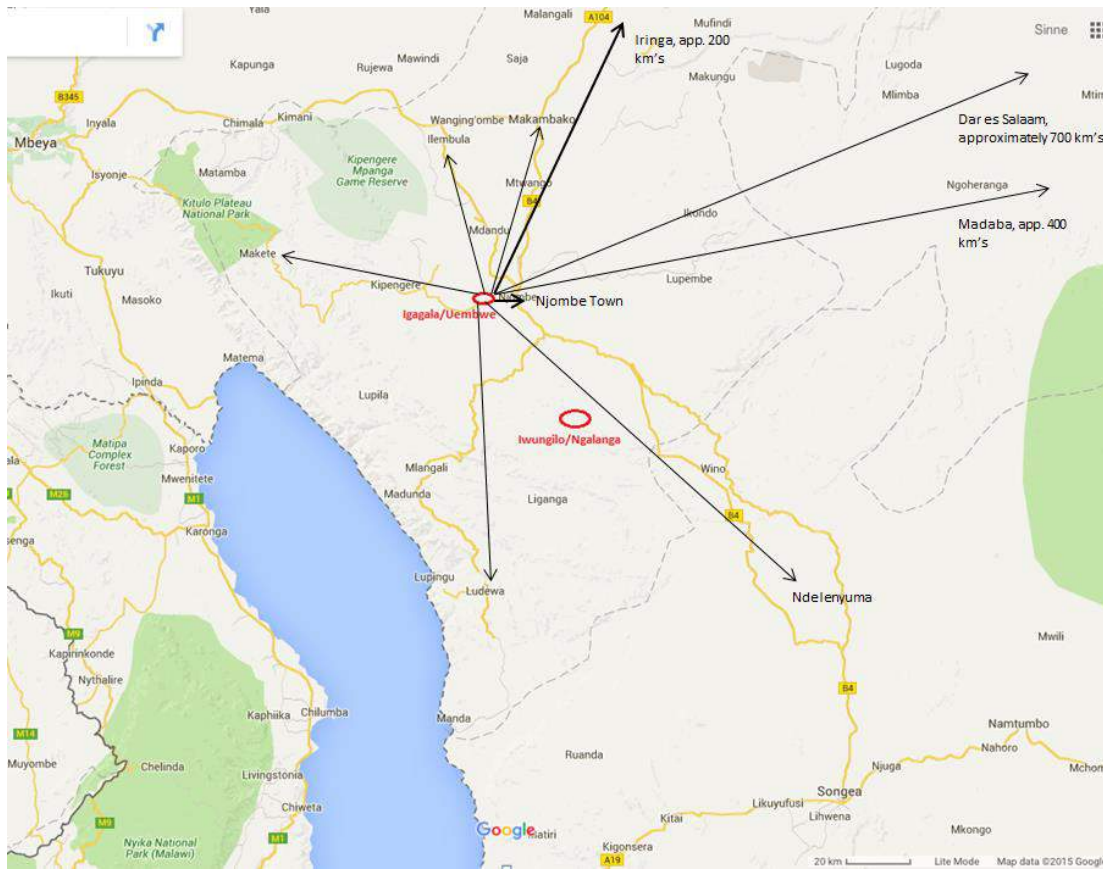
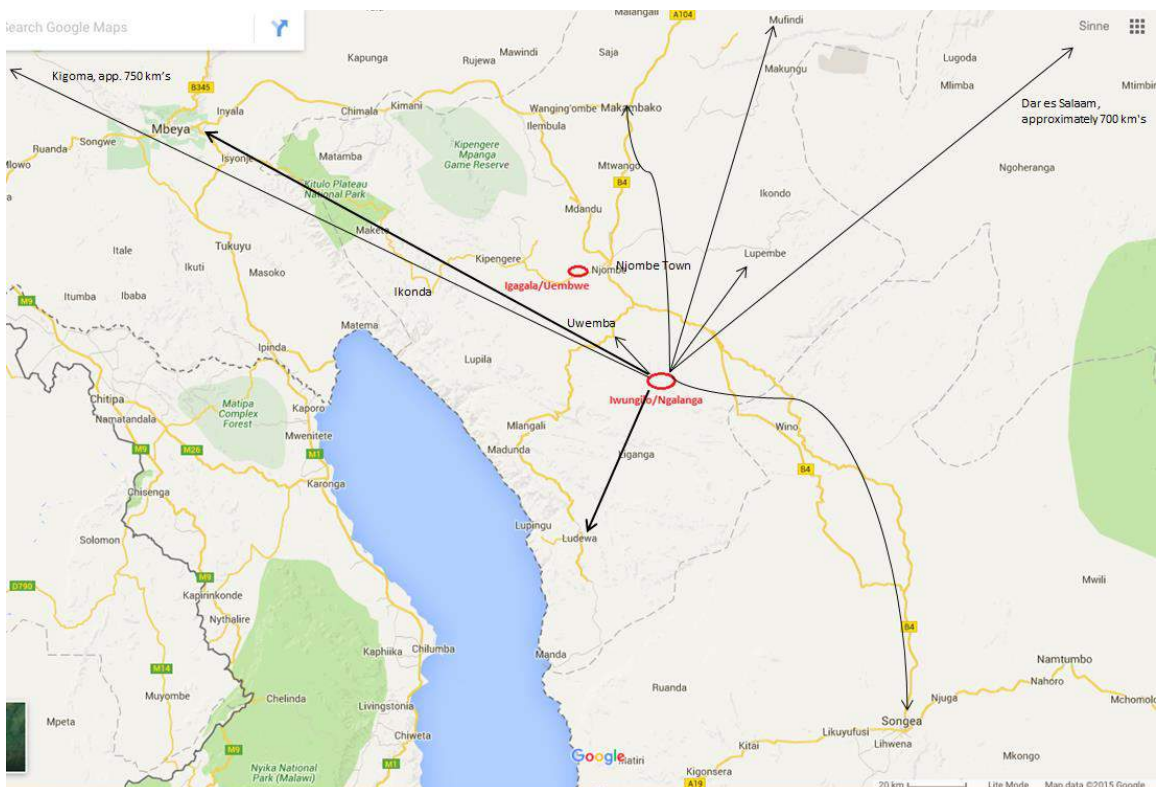


Figure 5: Migration patterns in Iwungilo and Ngalanga. The importance of the mobility trajectories is indicated with the thickness of the arrows



4.1 Main movements within the community

The present research has mainly emphasised migration and mobility patterns outside the community; however movements within the community between sub villages are frequent.

As described in chapter 5 the villages are divided into sub villages with each their sub village centre providing basic services. However there is one main sub village centre in the village providing more services such as health services, materials for constructing houses, farming inputs, larger household interiors, agricultural extension service, etc. This main sub village also contains the administration for the entire village. Thus the villagers commute on a regular basis within the village for different services a part from commuting for visiting relatives and friends within the village.

The farmers also normally have access to plots that are dispersed within the village. The plots can be close to the houses or even kilometres away, meaning that the farmers travel a lot on a daily basis within the community for farming activities, especially during the peak seasons.

4.2 Main movements outside the community

This section sets out with describing the general patterns of mobility outside the community and proceeds with describing the general patterns of migration. The section on mobility describes the patterns for commuting for different purposes to and from Njombe Town, which is not surprisingly the primary destination of mobility within all sub villages of focus. The majority of the rural population in the area commute with varying frequency to and from Njombe Town. Furthermore the mobility section describes the patterns of mobility to other destinations than Njombe Town. The section covering migration patterns describes the migration activities for different purposes; namely for general economic activities, farming activities, education and marriage. An overview of the differences and similarities between the two different village sites (with and without irrigation/close to and more remote from Njombe) is found in Appendix 2.

From the interviews, the general impression regarding mobility and migration is that often young people, and particularly male, are the ones being mobile due to income and business opportunities. Except for this impression there is no uniform tendency of the profile of the people migrating or being mobile. Mobility and migration for purposes described above is encountered with all household members, e.g. children, head of household, wife, etc.

4.2.1 Patterns of mobility outside the community

Especially in the villages close to Njombe Town, but also the more remote villages, it is very common to travel to other places for work or business in periods, e.g. to Songea, Ubaruku, Dar es Salaam, Masasi, etc. However people mostly commute temporally and come back for farming. There are many cars coming to the villages nowadays so it is easy to go to Njombe Town and to travel in general. The main transport means are regular taxis; “Noah taxis” (bigger taxis), normal cars, motorbikes and bikes. The prices range from 2500 TSH¹ one-way to go Njombe Town from Ulembwe and Igagala and 6000 TSH one-way from Ngalanga and Iwungilo.

Firstly the commuting activities for different purposes between Njombe Town and the surrounding villages of focus will be described, followed by the patterns for other destinations.

4.2.1.1 Commuting activities to Njombe

Economic activities: A general tendency prevailing in the research area is the occurrence of numerous connections between the villages in the area and Njombe Town. This is particularly pronounced in the area close to Njombe Town on the well-functioning road between Njombe Town and Makete (e.g. Igagala and Ulembwe). However, in both the areas close to and more remote from Njombe it is common to commute between Njombe town and the villages on a daily or weekly basis to run business in town while staying in the villages with the family and participating in the farming activities. As examples can be mentioned taxi driving in town, broker business, having a stand at the market in town where it is possible to sell crops for higher prices, etc. The business people go for different purposes, e.g. brokers keeping up their business networks, mechanics or technicians maintaining machinery spare parts (e.g. milling machines), shop or restaurant/bar owners stocking up for a shop or a small restaurant or bar or farmers selling agricultural products at the market in Njombe. The latter is mostly applicable for the more perishable crops such as Irish potatoes, beans or tomatoes from the wetlands. Another major business both found in the villages, but indeed also where people from the villages go to Njombe Town to do business is concerning masonry. Usually the businesses work by word of mouth where the masons get orders from people in town.

¹ 1000 TSH = 0,46 USD

Access to household commodities: Many of the people explain that they go to Njombe Town to buy special supplies for the household, such as special clothes, shoes, larger amounts of things, farming inputs, etc. It is however found to be very common that people order supplies through the many taxi drivers commuting between Njombe and the respective villages. They either send money for the products using m-pesa or deliver it to the driver once he has collected the order in Njombe and brought it back. It is the general impression that things are cheaper in Njombe Town than in the shops at village level and that certain things are preferred to be purchased from town. This is mentioned mainly by the inhabitants of the more remote villages.

The rural population mainly focusing on farming are usually very busy in the villages with farming activities and are therefore not travelling to town on a daily or weekly basis. Especially in Igagala and Ulembwe, which are relatively close to town, they mention that it is possible to get anything you need from the villages. *“Everything is found within the village so I don’t need to go to other places to find my needs”*. (Quote from focus group discussion in Ulembwe village office on the 8th of August 2015) There are many cars shuttling to and from Njombe Town the whole day, so also for the farmers who run businesses in the villages it is not a problem to get things for the business; even without moving. As an example a middle-aged woman is running a small bar and restaurant (“mgahawa”) in Igagala while at the same time farming maize and Irish potatoes. Whenever she needs supplies for the mgahawa she sends an order to one of the drivers travelling to and from town. They bring her the requested things, e.g. cooking oil, wheat flour, sodas etc. (Interview with a 29 year old female farmer from Igagala, conducted by Baraka Mlawa at the village office of Igagala on the 4th of August 2015)

The people staying in the villages closer to Njombe Town do not seem to consider saving money from buying supplies in Njombe Town instead of at village level as a very relevant issue. This is different from the more remote villages, where they almost all mention that they go to Njombe Town to get things cheaper. As is the case for the villages closer to town it is possible to buy things in the villages, but people often explain that they travel to Njombe to save money on household commodities. The position further away from town possibly increases the costs of commodities due to increased transport fees and reduced ease of bringing things to the villages.

Concerning agricultural inputs, many farmers go to Njombe Town to buy supplies. In the more remote villages they sometimes go together in larger groups and order a joint supply of inputs, such as fertilizers, in order to save money. It is possible to buy the inputs both in the villages closer to and remote from Njombe Town though, and in Ulembwe e.g. the farmers mention that they mainly buy inputs from the village supplier.

4.2.1.2 Other common destinations of mobility

Economic activities/businesses: Makambako is an important destination in terms of different business opportunities, mainly for people migrating more permanently for starting businesses, as will be elaborated subsequently. However as examples of commuting activities to Makambako from the villages can be mentioned shorter masonry contracts and trading different agricultural products, such as Irish potatoes or timber, at the market. Masonry is moreover carried out in many other different villages and urban areas a part from within the village of residence, e.g. Njombe, as mentioned, Lupembe, Imalinyi, etc.

Some brokers or individual farmers bring crops, mainly Irish potatoes but sometimes also maize or timber, to different urban markets, e.g. in Songea, Dar es Salaam, etc. They usually hire a truck and transport the harvest to the respective markets.

Agricultural activities: It is mentioned several times that the farmers travel for other agricultural activities on a regular basis. Ubaruku in the Usango plains at Rujewa, Mbeya Region is mentioned as an advantageous place for rice production. Inhabitants of the villages around Njombe are focusing both on farming activities, e.g. renting land there, as well as broker business including collecting rice and selling it in different markets. Examples of this are given in the textbox below.

A young farmer explains that he has been hiring land in Ubaruku for six years apart from last year where the rainfall was too low. Usually he pays for the rent of land for the coming season after harvesting in June and getting money from the rice. Initially he was working for other farmers in Ubaruku to obtain an additional income. He got inspired by people owning land there and found that the yield from the fields was very high compared to in Ulembwe and that the crop was paying very well. This is also the case for a farmer from Ngalanga, who is living and farming in Ngalanga but hires a piece of land of approximately 1 acre, where he cultivates rice. He hires labour for transplanting the rice and oxen to use for ploughing the field. Mostly he stays there for a few months every season and the additional income from selling the rice is invested in farming in Ngalanga.

The first young farmer mentioned (age not noted) told his story at the focus group discussion in Ulembwe, carried out by Torben Birch-Thomsen, Sinne Ørtenblad and Einhard Mwanyika on the 8th of August 2015 in the village office. The second young farmer (age not noted) took part in the focus group discussion carried out in the village office of Ngalanga on the 7th of August 2015.

Ndelenyuma in Songea District is mentioned in household interviews as well as during the focus group discussion as another place for engaging with farming activities, mainly due to the availability of land there. The main crops produced there are maize, cassava, sweet potatoes and sesame. The farmers however stay in their home village around Njombe, where they are still farming, and commute to Ndelenyuma in peak periods such as for harvesting. Some inhabitants in the villages moreover mention doing casual labour in certain periods in e.g. Ubaruku and Mkiu close to Ludewa (for pruning and making firebreaks for trees).

Visiting friends and relatives: People generally travel with varying frequencies to visit friends and family. All the respondents mention that they travel once in a while to visit mainly relatives, especially when there is a special occasion, such as marriage, illness, family problems, etc. There is no uniform pattern in destinations of mobility related to visiting relatives and friends; the travel can be to anywhere in the country and entail both rural and urban destinations.

4.2.2 Patterns of migration

The patterns of migration are structured according to migration for different purposes; namely for economic activities, for farming activities more specifically, for education and for marriage.

4.2.2.1 Economic activities: Many people from the villages in the surrounding area migrate to Njombe Town for different purposes. Economic activities seem to be the dominating motives for migrating to Njombe. Masonry, *boda boda* (motorbike taxi) or taxi driving, mechanics, whole sales and retails are examples of major economic activities that are carried out in Njombe Town and cause people to migrate.

A farmer from Ulembwe tells about his son who is staying in Njombe Town where he is being trained as a *boda boda* driver for business by the boss in the company. The boss pays the fees for registration and other things related to the training. In return the son works and earns money for him. Once he is finished with the training the farmer and his wife expect him to contribute economically to the household.

Interview with a 54 year old male farmer from Ulembwe by Sinne Ørtenblad in his house on the 3th of August 2015.

The tendency seems to be that people are migrating to urban areas located throughout the whole country, as many different destinations are mentioned and there is no unambiguous pattern for destinations of migration. However, there is a tendency of the majority migrating to “closer” urban areas e.g. Njombe, Makambako, and Mbeya, but people also migrate to e.g. Kigoma or Dar es Salaam. Examples of economic activities in Dar es Salaam are jobs at the airport, in banks and hotels as well as taxi driving.

4.2.2.2 Farming activities: A part from these different businesses described, a few people migrate more permanently for farming activities. This mostly entails migrating for doing casual labour. It does not seem to be as common as commuting for farming activities for shorter periods while still residing in the home villages though. One example of this longer term migration is a young man from Igagala who stays in Madaba in Songea Region for longer periods of time where he works as a crop farmer for other farmers in the area. He has built a house there where he can stay when he is working and was connected to the area through family members with whom he could stay when he began working in that area. The young

farmer is the son of a 81 years old farmer who was interviewed in Igagala at the village office by Baraka Mlawa on the 4th of August 2015.

4.2.2.3 Education: some households in the area send their children to secondary schools in different locations other than the village of residence, such as in Njombe Town, Iringa, Mufindi and Lupembe. There are secondary schools close to or in the villages of focus and this indicates, together with the understanding from the interviews, that the reason for sending a child to a secondary school in another area is for increasing the quality of education while also increasing the costs or in some situations the children are staying with relatives in the respective locations.

Some inhabitants from the villages migrate for educational purposes other than secondary school. Examples found are migration to Dar es Salaam for attending the nursing college, to Tandala in Makete District for studying at the teachers' college and migrating to attend various vocational training centres, such as the mechanical courses in Njombe Town, tailoring courses in Njombe Town and Makambako, masonry and engineering courses in Njombe Town, etc.

4.2.2.4 Marriage: A common cause of migration found in the area is due to marriage. There are no clear patterns in destinations of migration due to marriage, although it is more common to marry in the villages close to the home village than in locations, e.g. urban areas, further away. Many of the respondents mention having children that have migrated due to marriage to various destination such as Lusitu and Mvanga villages (in Ludewa District), Makambako, Uwemba, Nundu, Mbeya, Dar es Salaam, Makete, Mafinga, etc. The present field work is not capturing the complete picture of migration due to marriage, since it is mainly focusing on migrating members of households that are still contributing to the households after migrating, e.g. through sending remittances. Many of the people migrating due to marriage have their own families and household separate from their home villages.

4.2.3 Youth

Some of the respondents have the idea that the interests of youth lie in other focus areas than farming. There is a slight difference from the two areas of research, i.e. in the areas of irrigation and rain fed farming. In the areas with rain fed farming with scarcer land available and less opportunities within the potato business compared to the area with the possibility of irrigation, some of the older respondents mention the tendencies of youth moving outside the villages to establish new networks and search for alternative ways of generating an income.

This idea is not met in the same way in Iwungilo and Ngalanga, where it is more feasible to make investments in land and to make good money from these.

An old farmer from Iwungilo explains that he thinks it is very normal that the young people want to go to town to try to make some money and to pursue opportunities other places and meet new people and ways of doing things for inspiration. The 58 years old male farmer was interviewed at the village office in Iwungilo by Baraka Mlawa on the 5th of August 2015. During the focus group discussion in Igagala, it was discussed that some of the young people use capital from selling crops to invest in businesses outside the village, mainly in urban areas. There are thus still connections between farming and other economic activities. The young people often get inspired by seeing others moving and making money from other activities than farming. They are generally linked to destinations and activities through family and friends, as is elaborated in section 4.5.

There is a general tendency that young people find opportunities in the area and that the possibility of generating income from farming is an incentive for them to stay in the villages. Yet some young people seek alternative income generating activities, often in Njombe Town or other nearby urban areas. However they seem to combine farming activities in the villages with the alternative income generating activities and use income from farming to invest in these and vice versa, thus not moving the focus entirely away from farming and their home village.

4.2.4 Motivations for mobility and migration of household members outside the community

People often mention that it is up to the individual what he or she prefers to do in life. There are however patterns in people's activities and choices. There is a perception prevailing especially in the areas with rain fed farming, where the land is scarcer (e.g. Ulembwe and Igagala), that it is increasingly difficult to get a good profit from the farming activities. A major concern of the inhabitants there is that the prices of the inputs are increasing, whereas the prices for the crops are still the same or fluctuating a lot. Moreover there is a perception that the amount of fertilizers needed to get good yields is increasing. This results in the difficulties in making profit from the farming activities and some people are motivated to try to make money in other ways. This includes diversifying the household activities within the village but also outside the village, often in urban areas where the possibilities seem to be many.

Incentives for mobility and migration can on the other hand be more opportunistic or caused by “push” factors, where people pursue opportunities for alternative income sources based on their networks, the improved accessibility of the nearby urban areas, the improved business environment, etc. Examples of this tendency among youth are described above.

The value of getting inspiration and talking to different people experiencing different ways of doing things from travelling and saying in town is found several times during the study. Another incentive for going to town related to this is the development of an expanded network.

A farmer from Ngalanga explains that when he goes to Njombe town he meets people and gets new ideas and inspirations after discussing with different people doing different things there. A younger man from Ulembwe who owns a shop in the village also remarks that the advantage of being in town is to be updated with a lot of things such as business opportunities and other issues. He continues by commenting that by travelling to town several times he has realised that for the business to make profit it should be located in town where there is large population and thus more costumers; *“in town there are some shops that resemble mine but they are making much more money”*.

The first man is a 36 years old farmer from Ngalanga who was interviewed by Baraka Mlawa at the village office in Ngalanga on the 7th of August 2015. Th second man is a 35 years old farmer and shop owner from Ulembwe, interviewed in his house by Remy Mtewele on the 8th of August 2015. He travels to Njombe Town regularly for purchasing stock for the shop and selling some of his crops at the market. He has bought a car and is therefore able to transport himself and the different commodities and produce to and from town.

Farming in other places than the villages around Njombe Town, e.g. in Mbeya or Songea, is occurring among the people in the villages closer to Njombe Town. The soils there have not been used for cultivation of crops as long, meaning that less fertilizer is needed to achieve a good harvest. Moreover lacking available land is less of a problem there. This in however not a widespread phenomenon and it is mostly occurring in the villages closer to Njombe Town depending on rain for the crop cultivation and where the land is relatively scarce.

4.2.5 Impacts of these movements

This section entails a description of the main positive and negative changes of the movements on the household activities.

4.2.5.1 Main positive changes that these movements have introduced to the household

In general people perceive mobility or migration of one or more household members for economic purposes to be increasing the income generation in the household, due to the diversification of income sources and, in the relevant cases, due to receiving remittances from migrating household members.

Household expenditures: The increased income generation is affecting the household capability to accommodate daily household expenses and needs and thus the ability to sustain a moderately good standard of living. A farmer from Iwungilo mentions that; *“our children are sending money for various expenditures at home and make their parent have stable income”* (From the interview with a 54 years old male farmer in Iwungilo at the village office by Remy Mtewele on the 5th of August 2015. The farmer has three children staying respectively in Kigoma and Mbeya where they work as school teacher, business man and soldier). Many of the respondents mention that a positive change with increased mobility is that the household can save a lot of money from getting commodities and items in town instead of in the villages, e.g. from buying larger amounts of things at one time or finding the things cheaper.

Education and services: The increased income also results in the ability to develop the households educationally, through the improved ability to afford school fees (especially for secondary schools), books and uniforms and in some cases sending the children to better schools. A part from being able to pay school fees with the increased income, many of the respondents have been able to construct new or maintain and improve their houses as well as a few mention being able to afford proper treatment in case of diseases. Mobility is also resulting accessibility to better services than the ones found in the villages; mainly for health services, but also for mechanical services, supply services, etc.

Investment in agriculture: When increasing the income from diversifying income sources based on mobility it is commonly found that the households invest in farming activities. Such investments include buying livestock for production, selling, transport and workforce, increasing size of land, improve productivity measures, such as applying more fertilizers or investing in farming equipment. Many also hire labour for various tasks, also as a

consequence of being absent at certain times. A part from investing in farming activities through increased income generation, the mobility to and from the nearby urban areas supports the development of businesses in the villages.

Expanding networks and ideas: It seems to be the general idea that being mobile and therefore seeing different places and meeting different people outside the villages provides a basis for getting inspiration and new ideas. The people travelling mention that they can learn different styles, techniques and designs by seeing different places and interacting with other people, as well as expand their knowledge on new opportunities e.g. for businesses. They have the possibility to develop their network and sustain already existing networks, both for business and social purposes.

4.2.5.2 Main negative changes that these movements have introduced to the household

The main negative change brought about by mobility or migration of household members is perceived to be the delay of other household activities, especially farming activities, in the periods where a household member is lacking from the available workforce. This can result in the need for scaling down some of the activities or hiring labour for sustaining the workforce. This is mentioned by the majority of the respondents. It is also mentioned sometimes that money used for travelling is missing for the daily use or sustainability of his family.

An entrepreneurial woman and farmer from Igagala owns a small restaurant and her husband goes for periods to collect rice in Ubaruku to sell at different markets. She explains that when she is absent for buying inputs for the restaurant and her husband for collecting rice at Ubaruku, the restaurant business and farm activities “do not go very well”. She has to hire someone to run the restaurant when she is gone and this person can make less money than her and even uses more food supplies for the same amount of customers. As an example she explains that she can make 100.000 TSH per day whereas the worker can only make 70.000 TSH. Another case is described by a female farmer, whose husband in certain periods transports potatoes to Njombe Town, Songea and sometimes Dar es Salaam. She explains that even though it is a good thing that her husband is making money, she still has to work alone with the farming activities when he is not home.

The first woman, who is 29 years old, farming and running a small restaurant in Igagala, was interviewed by Baraka Mlawa on the 4th of August 2015. The second case is from the interview with a 31 years old female farmer from Ngalanga at the village office by Baraka Mlawa on the 5th of August 2015.

A concern which is also often mentioned with household members being away from home is that they are not present in case of problems occurring. In this case they have to pay a travelling expense for being able to come home and help the family. Sometimes the problems occur instantly (e.g. with severe diseases, problems with livestock, family issues, etc.) and the household members being away cannot make it home in time to assist.

A female farmer from Iwungilo tells that she is farming alone since her children moved away from the village. If the children were all staying in the village they could help her with farming and other household activities.

Another woman from Iwungilo likewise notes that when the children were all staying in the village they would all help each other with farming on Saturdays, where they together could manage harvesting 1,5 acres of maize and 0,5 acres of potatoes. Now she can only harvest 1 acre of maize and 0,25 acres of potatoes.

The first case is from the previously mentioned interview with a 53 years old female farmer from Iwungilo, conducted at the village office in Iwungilo by Baraka Mlawa on the 5th of August 2015 (page 20). The second one is from the interview with a 65 years old female farmer, same date, venue and interviewer. Her husband has passed away and she is staying with her daughter and two grandchildren of which one has lost her parents. The household members are in general very mobile (relatively a lot away from home) and she has two other children that have migrated.

Especially for the households with members who migrate for longer periods of time the perceptions of the impacts of migration seem to be more negative than positive. Even though many mention that they receive some kind of remittances in cash or kind, or that the migrating household members often come back to help their families in peak periods of farming, the fact that the labour force is permanently lacking from the household seems to be of more concern.

4.2.5.3. Consequences of these movements for the livelihood strategies of the household

In some cases a household member being mobile or migrating can result in bringing improved skills to the household from learning new things outside the village. The consequence can potentially be an introduction of more efficient or profitable household activities. Mobility of household members improves the business environment and opportunities for entrepreneurship. Moreover if a household member is migrating for attending school for longer periods of time, the result is improved educational level which can have a consequence

for the choice of the migrating member in participating in household activities when having accomplished school.

In terms of farming there is a divide in the perception of whether the household activities improve or deteriorate due to mobility or migration of household members. For the households mentioning that the household income has increased due to the mobility of a household member the farming activities are perceived to have improved due to investments in farming including increasing the size of land available for the household, applying more fertilizers, investing in new farming equipment and livestock. Moreover some mention that they acquire new knowledge on opportunities and practices from experiencing other places than their own village.

On the other hand mobility of household members is sometimes perceived to reduce farming activities by reducing the labour force available for farming in certain periods. Moreover the focus is shifted away from farming only to diversifying the household activities (e.g. farming concomitantly with doing business such as running a shop, *boda boda* (motorbike taxi) or taxi driving, masonry, brokering, renting out transport facilities or cows, etc.). It should be noted that each of the two tendencies could result in an increased use of hired labour for different farming tasks.

In general it seems that farming and other household activities are highly interrelated.

4.3 Mobility and migration into the villages

Concerning migration into the villages there seems to be a significant difference between the villages closer to and more remote from Njombe Town. In Igagala and Ulembwe there is no clear pattern of specific purposes for people to migrate to the villages. People from outside who invest in land in these villages mainly hire a piece of land for crop cultivation while they still live in their home town/village.

On the other hand in Ngalanga and Iwungilo it has become a common pattern within approximately the last 5 years that many people are migrating to the villages investing in land, mainly for growing trees or Irish potatoes. Some also grow maize or invest in businesses, such as shops. There is a general perception that the interest from external investors to migrate to the villages escalated after the Irish potatoes were introduced as cash crops and the introduction of irrigation. The investors are coming from many different places. They come

from Njombe Town and other villages in the area, e.g. neighbouring villages or Igagala, where irrigation is not used, but also from places further away such as Iringa, Mafinga, etc.

At the focus group discussion in Ngalanga it is explained that there are generally three ways of how people invest in land. 1. Permanent migration: some buy land and settle in the village to farm. 2. Temporary migration or mobility: Some hire land, come to farm themselves in peak periods, such as during harvest, and return to their place of origin after these periods. 3. External investor: Some people hire land e.g. for potato cultivation and employ other farmers to manage and farm the land while they stay in their home village. According to the participants those who settle down (migrate on a more permanent basis) dominate the picture.

The external investors hire local labour from the village. However, sometimes the local farmers in the village are too busy working in their own fields and external labour has to be utilised. Labour is thus sometimes imported from as far away as Mafinga, Mufindi or Ludewa, causing labour migration into the villages for varying periods of time. They are usually provided with accommodation by the investors.

Concerning mobility into the villages, the pattern is more similar between the villages close to and more remote from Njombe Town, with slightly more possibilities for transport between Igagala/Ulembwe and Njombe Town, due to the short distance, good road systems and many means of transport. People primarily come into the villages due to agricultural business; mainly for buying crops but also for different farming activities as described above for migration. Moreover, running transport businesses, both for people and goods, is another reason for commuting to the villages.

4.4 Role of social capital and networks

There is a general pattern that people get inspired by one another for different activities and possibilities for migration and mobility. The vast majority of the mobile or migrating people explain that their decision to migrate and where to move was based on their social networks. Usually people use their networks to get connected to destinations of mobility and migration and to get information on the opportunities there; they are connected by either relatives or friends who already stay in the different places or have specific information on these places. Moreover they use these networks as foundation for creating new networks in the destination of mobility or migration.

Often people experience the success of a relative, friend, neighbor, etc. in doing a certain business or activity and get inspired to do something similar. For example when talking to people who are running shops, they have often seen the success from someone else opening a shop and consider it to be worth a try to make money this way. They share the contacts for delivery of stock, i.e. cheap and reliable wholesalers, transport of supply, etc.

It is several times mentioned that going to town brings the possibility to get a different perspective on how things can be done and to discuss with different people doing different things, maybe in other ways than they are used to. In that way people get inspiration and establish new contacts and networks. This is perceived to be the case especially for younger people. It is mentioned that people have got job opportunities or inspirations to start a business from travelling for other purposes, such as for buying household commodities or farming inputs in Njombe Town, visiting relatives or selling agricultural produce at different markets.

A female farmer explains that she was working at the petrol station in Njombe some years ago in order to save enough money to pay for her children's school fee. At that time she met many people. Some of her contacts there have now suggested her son to be trained as a mechanic in Njombe and her daughter to attend a tailoring course.

The story was told by the 65 years old woman also mentioned on page 36, who was interviewed at the village office in Iwungilo by Baraka Mlawa on the 5th of August 2015.

People coming to the villages to collect crops, such as transporters and brokers, also bring information and ideas for migration and mobility. For example contacts to farming in Ubaruku and trading/doing business in Makambako have been established through traders coming to the villages collecting Irish potatoes. People tell about places with ample land available, with good business environments, etc.

A part from using the social relations and networks for establishing connections for mobility and migration, these can be established through authorities for the cases with migration or mobility due to farming activities. An example is mentioned where the village government authority from villages in Songea sent letters of invitation asking for anyone interested in investing in land cultivation in Songea. These settlements are relatively new and people applying for land there could get 50 acres of land for free cultivation.

5. Main settlements in the research sites

5.1 Short description of the main settlements

The research is as mentioned based in four different villages surrounding Njombe Town; two in Wanging'ombe District, Ulembwe ward and two in Njombe District, Iwungilo ward.

The villages are divided into hamlets (sub villages) with a centre for administrative matters, service provision and business and social activities. The sub village centres include shops for basic household needs, such as cooking facilities, soap, sodas, etc. as well as bars and restaurants. In each of the four village there is a main sub-village centre which is more active, and which serves as the main service provision centre of the village, such as provider of construction materials, farming inputs, special clothes, household interior, etc. The focus for the local diagnosis of the settlement is on these main sub village centres. Below are pictures of each village, with indications of the locations of main service provisions and including a table of inventories and services available in the main settlements, i.e. main sub village centres.

Ulembwe ward: comprises of the following villages Igagala, Ulembwe, Usalule, Usita and Angaza. It is located along the Njombe-Makete road. The production of Irish potato in this area is dominated by rain fed cultivation. The study villages include Ulembwe village and Igagala village. The distance from Njombe Town to Igagala is approximately 17 km while for Ulembwe village is 16 km.

Figure 4: Map of village centre in Ulembwe including list of inventories

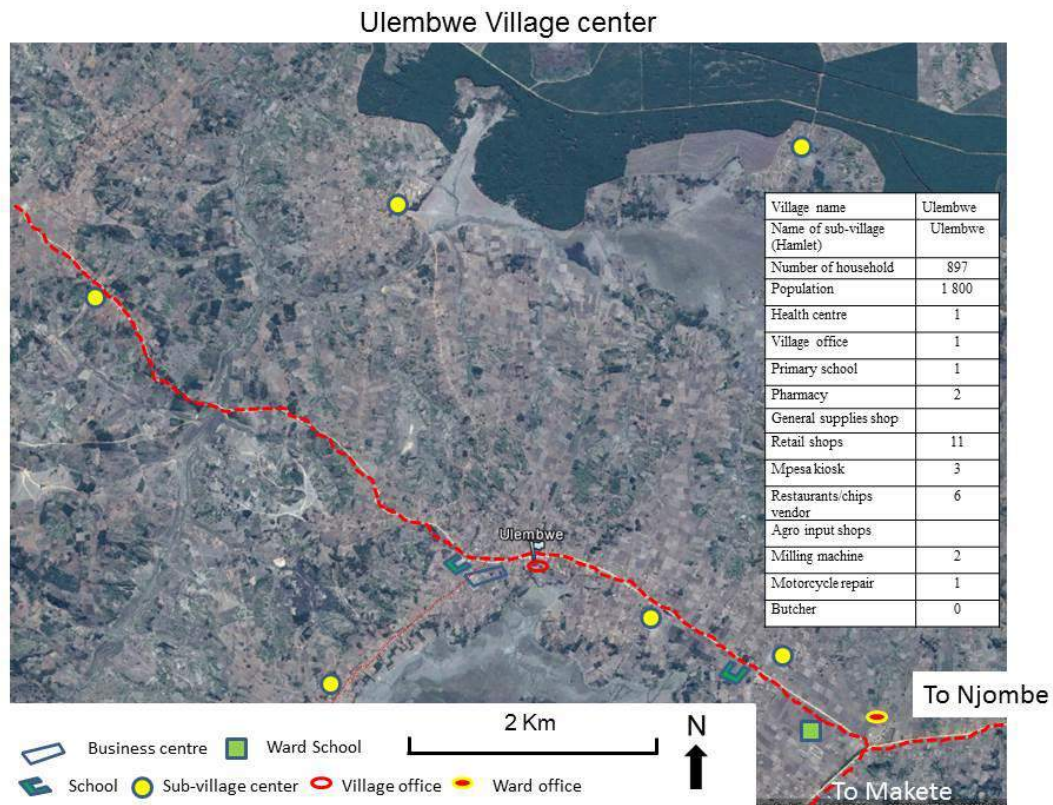
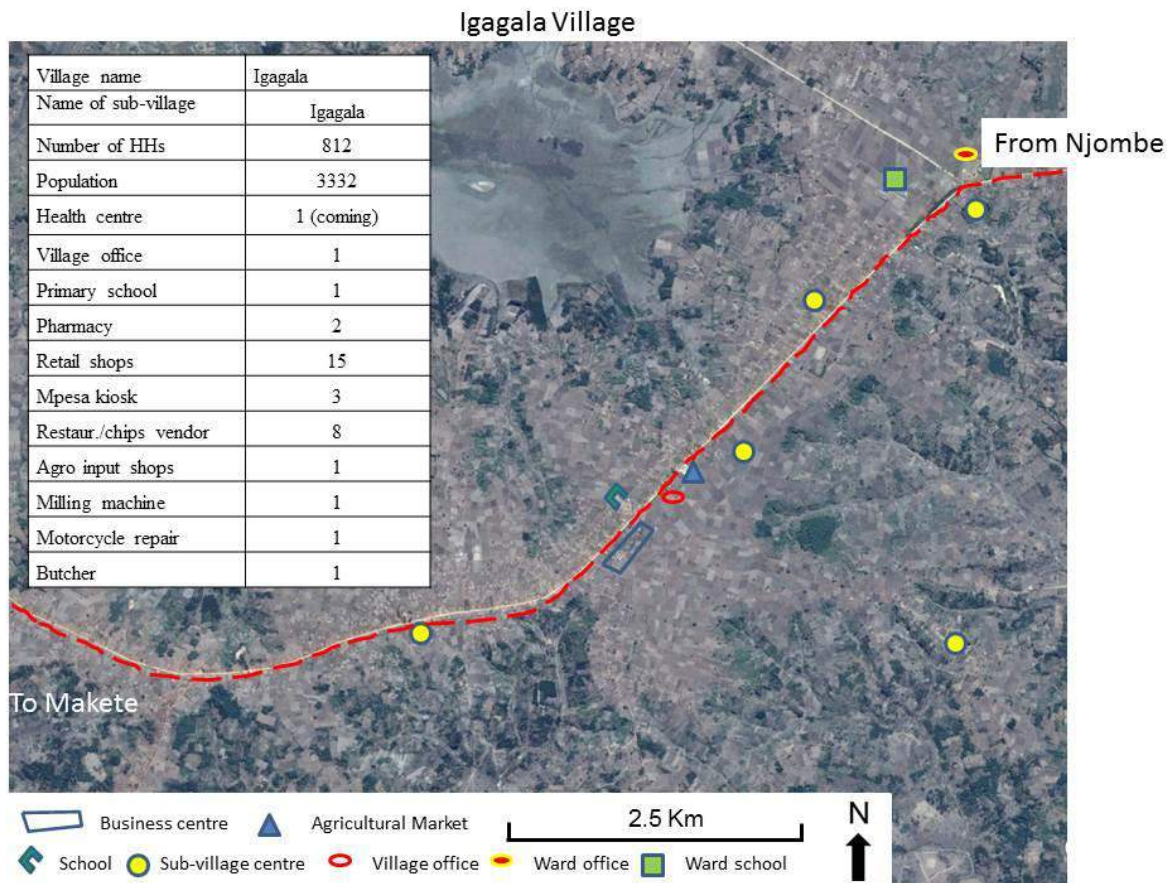


Figure 5: Map of village centre in Igagala including list of inventories



Iwungilo ward: comprises of the following villages Igoma, Uliwa, Ngalanga and Iwungilo and are located between Njombe-Ludewa road and Njombe-Songea road. The area is characterized by production of crops, mainly Irish potatoes, by gravity irrigation, which brings a possibility of increasing the production in the area. From this area, the study includes Iwungilo village and Ngalanga village. The distance from Njombe town to Iwungilo village is 38 km while for Ngalanga village is 60 km of this village.

Figure 6: Map of village centre in Iwungilo including list of inventories

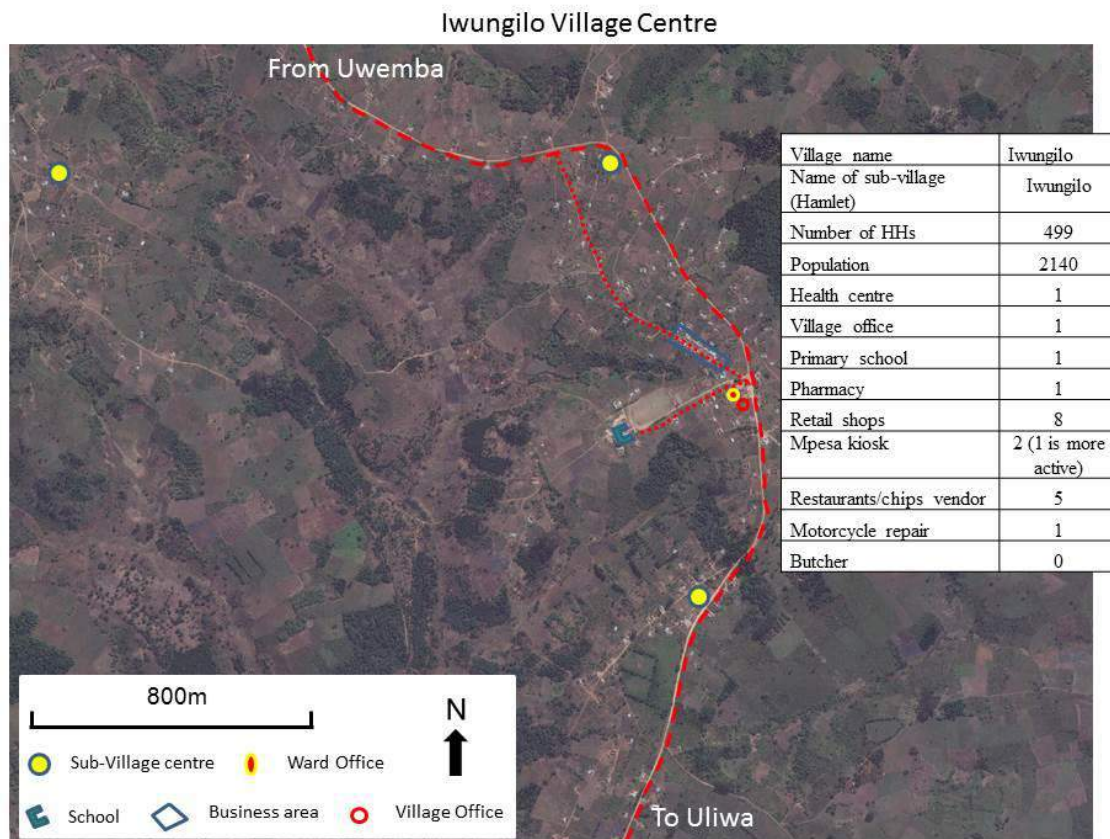
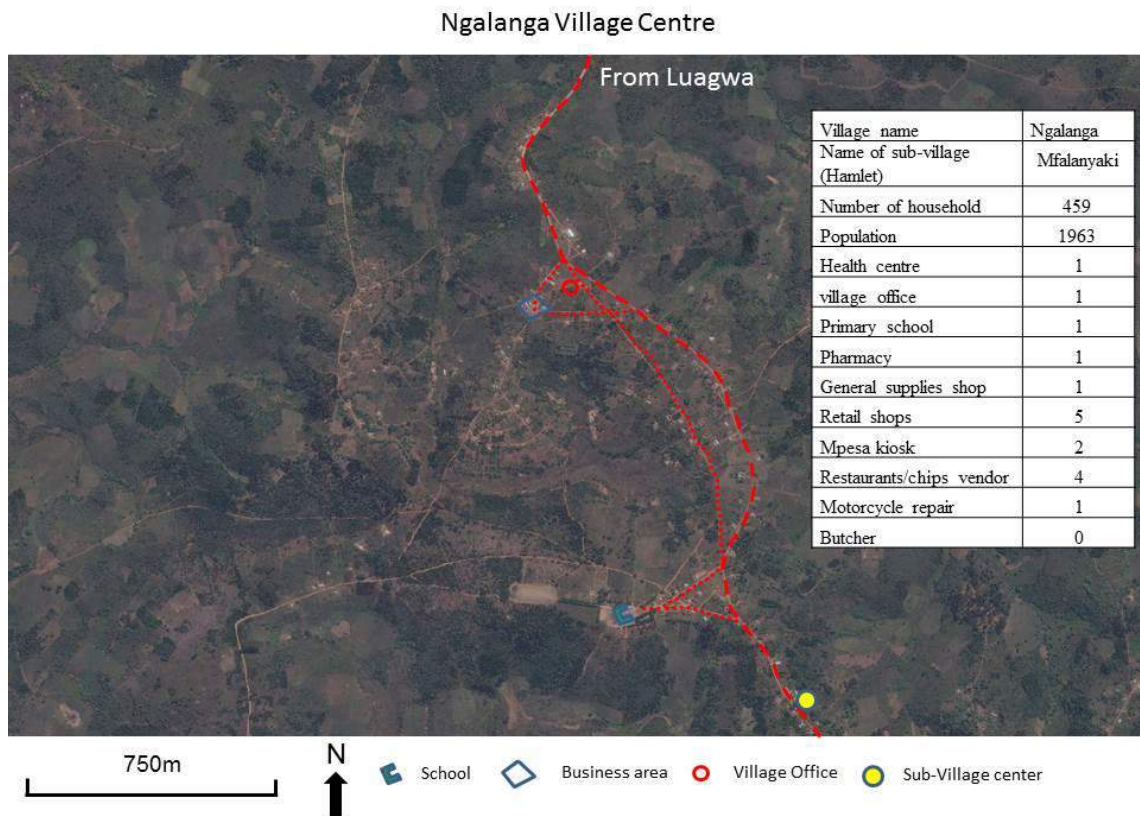


Figure 7: Map of village centre in Ngalanga including list of inventories



Based on the list of services for each village shown in Figure 4-7 the service level tends to be higher in Igagala and Ulembwe compared to Iwungilo and Ngalanga. This can be a result from the Igagala and Ulembwe to be closer to Njombe Town and positioned along a well functioning road.

5.2 The settlements' linkages higher in the urban hierarchy

The linkages between the villages and settlements higher up in the urban hierarchy are described in the sections above.

5.3 The role of institutions for inflows/outflows of resources and accesses to services

5.3.1 Social and financial associations/networks

The main social institutions present in the villages constitute of different social networks functioning as loaning groups or insurance, like “VICOPA” (Village Community Bank). Almost all the younger people in the village, and some of the older people, take part in some kind of economic associations, either for providing loans or insurances. The loans can be for supporting education, i.e. assisting with school fees, for business investments, for personal preferences, etc. The insurance groups make savings especially for problems or issues within

the member families. Usually the different groups are highly structured, with referents, accountants, etc.

In Ulembe the participants in the focus group discussion mention that specific groups for assisting with school fees (“*mchezu*”) started around 5 years ago and are mostly for people that have some money/business people –“*anybody with money*”, (quote from the focus group discussion conducted in Ulembe village office by Sinne Ørtenblad and Torben Birch-Thomsen on the 8th of August 2015) who can participate in paying something every day.

In Ngalanga it is explained that many of the farmers are participating in certain credit groups involving shared group purchase of farming inputs on credit from suppliers in Njombe. Each group has a chairman who is in charge of contacting the village leader and asking for an official approval for requesting the needed amount of inputs. They go to the district office where they get approval for the request and then to the regional office for the same. After getting the letter of approval they give this to the supplier of inputs in Njombe who delivers the inputs. After the harvest the farmers collect the due money within the group and pay them back to the input supplier after getting a confirmation letter from the district office in Njombe. Apparently there are so far no groups concerning the procedures involved in marketing of the produce.

These financial associations of farmers established the possibility to take loans and invest in businesses such as shops. This indirectly affects the flows of capital to and from the villages.

5.3.2 Projects

There are different large scale investment projects running in the villages, especially in the area further away from Njombe Town, where the land scarcity is not perceived to be an issue.

Panda Miti Kibiashara (“planting trees for business”) is a relatively extensive project funded partly by the government of Finland, disseminating information on good farming practices for planting trees, as well as providing market information and high quality seedlings for the interested farmers.

Another noticeable project is launched by the organisation Njombe Outgrowers Service Company (NOSC). The organisation is working with outgrower schemes and currently the focus is on smallholder tea production. The project on tea production is a pilot study in Igominyi Division, including Iwungilo ward and is currently in the process of being implemented. The project is funded by Tanzania Gatsby Foundation and the Wood

Foundation in Scotland they are working with Unilever, who provides processing facilities and buys up the tea produce from the farmers. The farmers are supported with favourable prices for farming inputs such as seedlings and fertilizers, with means of transportation, market information, technical knowhow and a structured system of payment.

These projects, e.g. in the case of NOSC providing an incentive and means for associating the farmers, play a role in the flows of information, knowledge and inputs for specific parts of the farming activities. Moreover they affect the flow of inputs for farming as well as in the outflow of agricultural produce from the villages.

Such projects moreover have an effect on the services available. The association of farmers through the tea project and their produce provides an incentive for improving the road system. The roads in the area are in a relatively bad condition, which reduces the ease of transporting the produce from the farm gate to the factory as well as from the factory to the markets in the urban areas. The participating farmers provide manpower to the construction and improvement of the road systems. Indirectly, the anticipated improvement of income generation from the projects could have an effect on the availability of services such as shops, restaurants, tailors, etc. due to the people having more money.

5.4 Most important changes in the settlements over the past 10 years

There is general agreement that many things have changed in the villages over the last approximately 10 years. There are however some differences in the changes between the areas with irrigation and the areas with rain fed cultivation. These will be described in the following.

5.4.1 Changes in accessibility to mobile phones and mobile money and contribution of these to local development

In general there is a big change in the number of people that have access to mobile phones, as described in Chapter 3. The general development of availability of mobile phones started from around 2000, where few of the villagers had access to these. During the last 10 years, the development has escalated and nowadays it is common for almost everyone to have access to a mobile phone.

This change has improved the means of communication substantially as well as peoples' accessibility of information. The improved means of communication makes it easier to keep and improve the social networks and communication among relatives and friends.

Moreover the increased access to mobile phones allows the use of mobile money (m-pesa) for saving as well as transferring money. During the last couple of years, mobile money agents have emerged in the villages. There are still only a few agents providing mobile money services in the villages and people use it to a varying degree, but it seems that almost everyone is aware of the service and uses it for some purpose. As mentioned some people use it for personal matters, such as transferring remittances, and mobile money is widely used for businesses, such as shops (e.g. commodity shops, inputs for farming, housing, etc., craftsman services (e.g. tailors, masons, etc.) and agricultural businesses. The use of mobile money (and mobile phones) for shop businesses is mainly concerning transfer of money for orders from urban areas whereas it for agricultural businesses is used for transferring money from the brokers to the farmers after they have sold the produce, e.g. at the urban markets.

Thus mobile phones and mobile money ease the processes related to doing business, as mentioned in Chapter 3, for getting information on demand and supply and on prices of crops and commodities for making orders e.g. for stock, for developing and keeping up business networks and for transferring money between business associates .

A young man from Ngalanga started his business as a shop owner in the village in 2004. At this time he had to go to Njombe himself to collect stock for the shop. Nowadays he can use his mobile phone and m-pesa to order supplies and transfer money for them. This way he saves a lot of time from travelling which he can use in the shop and earn more money.

The young business owner in his late twenties (precise age not noted) told his story during the focus group discussion in Ngalanga, conducted at the village office by Sinne Ørtenblad and Torben Birch-Thomsen on the 7th of August 2015.

The implications of these changes related to mobile phones and mobile money on local development have not been directly addressed in the present fieldwork, however it can be argued that mobile phones are contributing to the local economic development by boosting the business environment and networking possibilities and by strengthening the connections between the villages and the nearby urban areas as well as larger urban areas in the country (or even beyond national borders). The linkages, mediated through mobile phones, between the villages and larger urban areas more distant from these are mainly concerning marketing of agricultural produce.

During the focus group interviews it was discussed that the accessibility to and use of mobile phones (and mobile money) have also influenced the patterns of mobility. Since people have the opportunity to communicate easily without travelling, they do not need to move outside the village (to 'be mobile') for visiting relatives and friends, for developing and keeping up their networks (social as well as financial/business oriented) for getting e.g. stock/commodities for their business in town, etc.

5.4.2 Other general changes

Another general pattern is the improved level of education. More people attend secondary school now compared to before and almost all households send their children to secondary schools. Moreover there are many more shops in the villages now. There are some mobile shops but also many permanent shops. Nowadays it is possible to get anything you need from the village centres, which is something people were not used to 10 years ago. This tendency has possibly also had an impact on the mobility patterns, as described subsequently.

From talking to people and doing observations in the villages there is in the whole area of research focus a tendency of markedly improved housing. Most households now have corrugated iron as roofing where it used to be from thatched grass. The general perception seems to be that people have more money nowadays, to a large extent from selling Irish potatoes, and that investing in proper housing is a high, if not the first, priority in the households. This demand for improved housing has resulted in a growing construction sector and has generated business opportunities for local craftsmen and masons. The importance of the masonry sector has been indicated a number of times previously, however mainly in relation to commuting activities out of the village (e.g. on page 26, 28, 30, 31 and 37). From household interviews in Ulembwe it seems that masonry is a major income generating activity in the villages and many interviewees mention that they started working as masons within the last few years, due to the increased demand for this craft. Recently, there has even opened a shop selling iron sheets in the village. A part from the increase in business opportunities related to masonry, burning bricks from clay for building houses has emerged as an opportunity to gain an income. Some people make their own bricks, however many mention that they buy the bricks from someone within the nearby area.

Lastly, the transport possibilities have improved significantly. The road systems have been improved (especially to Igagala and Ulembwe) and many cars, busses and motorbikes are commuting between Njombe Town and the surrounding villages. More people also have

private means of transportation, such as a bicycle or motorbike. As is the case with the construction sector, the improved road systems and the demand for travelling to town for various purposes has resulted in a growing transport sector. This tendency is most pronounced in Igagala and Ulembwe, closest to and most accessible from Njombe Town. Taxis are shuttling between the villages and Njombe Town many times during the day (which was not the case a few years ago) and it is possible to catch boda bodas (motorbikes) from all sub village centres. This has generated business opportunities, mostly for young men working as taxi drivers; both carrying people and goods to and from town.

5.4.3 Changes in villages with irrigation fed fields

One of the main changes mentioned in Iwungilo and Ngalanga is the development of irrigation technologies. From the focus group discussions it is estimated that around $\frac{3}{4}$ of the farmers use irrigation for crop production. This has had a major impact in the production systems and has resulted in a boom in production of Irish potatoes. There is following this a remarkable increase in the number of investors coming to the villages and a general perception of increased income generation from potato cultivation.

5.4.4 Changes in mobility and migration patterns

5.4.4.1 Changes in migration patterns

It is a general pattern that there are big changes concerning migration and mobility within the research area. Previously people migrated for long periods of time to other places, sometimes far away, e.g. to Tanga or the Usango plains, to work in order to get some income for the household. They moved their families with them or married in the migration places. It is explained that there were no possibilities of generating an income for the household in these times. *“There was no money here in the village”* (Mentioned by key informant from Iwungilo interviewed by Torben Birch-Thomsen and Sinne Ørtenblad for Work Package 1 in the village office on the 7th of August 2015. The key informant is a *mkulima mkubua* (“big farmer”), who moved back to Iwungilo, where he is from, in 2002 after working as a teacher in Njombe Town for some years. He was one of the first to introduce the irrigation system for growing Irish potatoes and has developed a system of establishing small credit groups among the farmers, where they borrow money for farming inputs and irrigation materials from business people in Njombe Town. According to his own statement he is the one who has “started” the potato business in Ngalanga). The perception is that there was no market for the crops and the farmers were not using the same amounts and types of farming inputs as today and did not get the same yields. Nowadays on the other hand, it is possible to get an income

from the farming activities in the villages. People have been moving back to their home villages or are increasingly engaging in farming activities there even though they stay other places. *“People find that there is good way to get money”* (same key informant). This is particularly the case for the villages further away from Njombe Town, where the crops are grown using irrigation and the land availability is relatively high. People are even coming from outside the villages investing in land, since experiencing that the production of Irish potatoes and timber is a good source of income.

An old farmer from Ulembwe explains that after completing primary school went to Tanga to get the experience of being away from home and to look for job in order to get an income. He found that the salary was low there, but still it was better than not having any money in the village. He stayed for 30 years working for a company producing sisal in Tanga and that is also where he got married. The family started farming in Tanga to get an additional income a part form the low salary from the company. However, the when he wanted to sell the crops he found that people did not have money to buy the crops. Due to the low salary and lack of cash he was not making enough money to provide for his family in Tanga. They therefor decided to come back to Ulembwe, where he had already constructed a house. However due to his work at Tanga he succeeded to get for capital for starting to farm in the village and to construct a house for his family there and nowadays it is possible to have a good life standard with the income from farming here.

The story was told during the interview with the 72 years old farmer from Ulembwe in his house by Baraka Mlawa on the 3rd of August 2015.

Nowadays however, people are migrating for other reasons and it is mainly concerning the younger people in the villages moving to urban areas seeking alternative opportunities to gain an income. As mentioned it is very common to travel to other places for business or work in periods. However, people mostly go for a shorter period and come back for farming. The motives for travelling outside for income generating activities can besides the general development be explained by the perception by some that there is much insecurity associated with farming, such as unreliable weather and expensive farming inputs.

5.4.4.2 Changes in mobility patterns

Concerning changes in mobility patterns there seems to be a divide in the patterns of decrease or increase of mobility.

For the majority of the inhabitants who are mainly concerned with farming activities, the mobility is found to have been decreased within the last approximately 10 years. This is possibly due to the many shops now found in the villages and thus the availability of basically all household needs, house constructing materials, farming inputs and such. The need to go to Njombe Town for household and production commodities is in this way reduced. Moreover, as described in section 5.4.1 on changes in accessibility to mobile phones and mobile money and contribution of these to local development, the increased accessibility to and use of mobile phones has reduced the mobility for some. See the mentioned section for further elaborations.

On the other hand the ease of transportation has increased the possibility to search for alternative income sources other than farming in the villages; by going to town but also by starting a business in the village and easier getting inputs for this from town. There is a perception that more people, especially young people, search for economic activities and businesses outside their home village.

However, especially in the areas with irrigation farming it is perceived that some young people move out of the village to search for alternative income sources, but that most stay and prefer to be involved in farming.

5.5 General profile of newcomers

Newcomers are mainly people investing in farming, especially in the villages with irrigation. The general profile of the investors will be described in chapter 6. In terms of the implications for the flows of money and resources, the newcomers are investing in land and cultivation of crops. They thus increase the flows of farming inputs and produce to and from urban areas and they “bring money into the villages”, however mainly for their own benefit.

5.6 New opportunities and challenges in the settlement

As indicated above there seem to be new opportunities (e.g. due to changes in technology, infrastructure such as communication and transport, rural-urban linkages and demand) within business environment and agricultural production and marketing. These new opportunities are related to general improvement of the households' livelihoods

On the other hand the main challenge, especially in the area that is more remote from Njombe Town, is the transport during the rainy season due to the inaccessible roads. In the rain fed areas another challenge is the rain variability and instability of the weather. This, combined with the increasing prices on inputs, results in the farmers potentially getting less revenue from the crop production.

It is closely related to the wealth status of the household whether the development raises new opportunities or challenges and is involved in improving the livelihoods of the households. Some people cannot fully make advantage of the opportunities brought about by the liberalised market and the resulting economic opportunities. This is possibly reflected in the increased need to cover the livelihood basis from casual labour for other, more “wealthy” or accumulative, farmers. It can also be argued to be related to a higher dependence on mobility for diversification of the household income. This division in people meeting opportunities or challenges thus shows different reasons for diversification of the livelihood strategies; one reason is seeking new opportunities or accumulation of the income whereas the other is a dependence or “need” to seek new alternative income sources to “secure” a household income.

6. Investments in the main settlements or urban centers in the research sites

The general profile of the main investors in the research sites are mainly business people from urban areas seeking the opportunity to gain an income through investing in farming in the villages. The urban investors are coming from many different places; from Njombe Town, but also from places further away such as Iringa, Mafinga, etc. A part from this the investors can be people from rural areas/nearby villages who want to rent or buy more (available) or “better” (more productive) land than found in their own village. This is the case both for the villages closer to Njombe Town with rain fed fields and the more remote villages using irrigation. Especially for the more remote villages, e.g. Iwungilo and Ngalanga, farmers come from other villages, e.g. Igagala, where irrigation is not used to invest in land.

Especially in Ngalanga and Iwungilo it has become a common pattern within approximately the last 5 years that an increased number of people have accessed land for investment in the villages, mainly for growing trees or Irish potatoes. Some also grow maize or invest in businesses, such as shops. There is a general perception that the interest from external investors to migrate to the villages escalated after the Irish potatoes were introduced as cash

crops and the introduction of irrigation. Thus the villages are attractive for investments due to the opportunities introduced with new farming systems and market opportunities.

As described previously the external investors either settle down in the villages, come to the villages in certain periods for farming activities or employ a farm manager and workers to run the farm. Investors mostly hire land but some buy land as well. The latter is mainly the case for larger scale farming.

The process of accessing land in the villages can be challenging. Renting land is processed through informal transactions, often including a local broker, who knows the land owners that are interested in leasing out their land. Deals are either settled with the broker as a middleman or between the external investor and the land owner. This is also the case with purchase of land, where the process is formalised via the village government. Especially for the informal transactions the extent of investments from external investors can be challenging to investigate.

Who benefits from the investments? There is a difference between purchasing and renting land in terms of the patterns of benefitting from the investments. When purchase of land is involved, the external investors are usually the ones benefitting from the investments. They buy up the land, bring inputs from e.g. Njombe Town and sell the agricultural produce to local brokers/agricultural business people from urban areas, as described. It is noted that local brokers are thus benefitting from the increased agricultural business. However, especially in the cases where the investors are settling down in the villages, household needs and such are covered from the providers in the village, thus benefitting the village business people in these cases.

When rent of land is involved, the land owners are generating an income on a seasonal basis and are thus continuously benefitting from the investments. The lease of land can be terminated whenever the land owner is capable of manage the land again.

It is noted that the external investors are sometimes people who have migrated or commuted to the villages in search of casual labour for local farmers. At some point in the process they see the opportunity to rent or even buy land. In this case the mobility of someone from outside the communities develops into a case of migration.

7. Conclusion – final reflections

There has been significant development in the villages of focus in the research in terms of mobility and migration. Years ago the rural inhabitants, mainly concerning the male population, were migrating, possibly far away, to work as casual labourers, e.g. in big farming estates. There were few opportunities for gaining an income in the villages and people were forced to seek income generation other places. Within the recent years however, the opportunities for gaining income from farming activities in the villages have increased substantially. This is especially the case in the areas where newer farming technologies, in this case irrigation, have been introduced. Moreover the market for the produce, i.e. Irish potatoes and timber (the latter especially for the villages that are more remote from Njombe Town where the land is less scarce) is conducive and has developed extensively within the last approximately 10 years, mainly due to market liberalisation and increasing demand for the crops.

Nowadays people are migrating for other reasons than pursuing casual labour in order to get an income. Migration is mainly concerning younger people in the villages that seek alternative opportunities to gain an income, or diversify their income generating activities, often in urban areas where the opportunities seem to be many. Migration can moreover be due to marriage or to education. It is a general perception that the level of education has increased, including households sending children to areas outside the villages to get an education.

The tendency of certain young people moving outside the villages to establish new networks and search for alternative ways of generating an income are especially found in the areas with rain fed farming and with scarcer land available. This tendency is less pronounced in Iwungilo and Ngalanga, where it is more feasible to make investments in land and to make good money from these. The patterns of migration are least pronounced in Ngalanga, where the land availability is highest, even compared to Iwungilo.

When people seek diversification of income sources it is often found that capital generated from farming is used to invest in the business/alternative income source. Thus, there are still significant connections between farming and other economic activities. The alternative income sources are sometimes found in the villages, where the capital available has increased which enhances the business environment, but are often also found outside the village, mainly in urban areas. The young people generally get inspired by seeing others moving and making

money from other activities than farming. They are usually dependent on their social networks, linking them to destinations and activities.

In terms of mobility there seems to be a divide in the perception of mobility to have increased or decreased. For the majority of the inhabitants who are mainly concerned with farming activities, the mobility is found to have been decreased within the last approximately 10 years, due to developed means of communication and availability of commodities in the villages. On the other hand the ease of transportation has increased the possibility to search for alternative income sources other than farming in the villages; by going to town but also by starting a business in the village and easier getting inputs for this from town. Especially in the areas with improved opportunities within farming from introduction of irrigation systems (i.e. Ngalanga and Iwungilo), it is perceived that some young people search for alternative income sources outside the villages, but that most stay and prefer to be involved in farming.

In general people perceive mobility or migration of one or more household members for economic purposes to be increasing the income generation in the household, due to the diversification of income sources and, in the relevant cases, due to receiving remittances from migrating household members. Remittances are mainly used for individual consumptive or productive purposes. The increased income generation overall affects the investment in agriculture (including increasing the size of land available for the household, applying more fertilizers, investing in new farming equipment and livestock), the level of education, expanding networks and ideas and the possibility to afford household expenditures and services. On the other hand, some perceive that the “missing” household member causes a delay of household activities, especially farming activities, in the periods where a household member is lacking from the available workforce. This can result in the need for scaling down some of the activities or hiring labour for sustaining the workforce. Especially for the households with members who migrate for longer periods of time the perceptions of the impacts of migration seem to be more negative than positive.

Whether the changes in the villages bring new opportunities or challenges is affected by the wealth status and mind-set of the inhabitant. Some people cannot fully make advantage of the opportunities brought about by the liberalised market and the resulting economic opportunities. This is reflected in the general concern that it is difficult to gain a proper profit from farming, due to insecurities with weather and crop prices and “too expensive” farming inputs, especially in the villages closer to Njombe Town with irrigation and scarcer land availability. The result is possibly an increased need to cover the livelihood basis from casual

labour for other, more “wealthy” or accumulative, farmers. It can also be argued to be related to a higher dependence on diversifying the household activities and household income sources within the village but also outside the village, often in urban areas. Thus this division in people who perceive that the changes have brought either opportunities or challenges indicates different reasons for diversification of the livelihood strategies; one reason is seeking new opportunities or accumulation of the income whereas the other is a dependence or “need” to seek new alternative income sources to “secure” a household income.

The changes in mobility and migration patterns and the new opportunities within business environment and agricultural production and marketing, among other things resulting from changes in technology, infrastructure such as communication and transport, rural-urban linkages and demand, are found to have resulted in a general ‘move up the socio-economic ladder’. People in general have more money and the opportunities to gain an income, both from farming and from alternative income sources, have improved. It can however be discussed whether everyone is able to ‘take part’ in this development, or whether it will result in increased inequalities among the households. Moreover the sustainability of the development can be questioned, as the fertility of the soils in some areas is perceived to be decreasing while the prices of the farming inputs are increasing (or at least fluctuating). However, the improved business environment and the strengthened rural-urban linkages bring opportunities for income diversification.

Appendix 1:

Guide for Focus Group Discussion

1. Draw a mobility map with the reference from the sub-village used in FGD => include the distance to the destination; purpose; type of location (Urban/big city, Regional - service centre, rural/village) ; and importance of the mobility
2. What are the major destinations of importance? (e.g. why do people travel to district towns; intermediate cities; national capital city)?
3. What are linkages with other sub-villages?
4. What are the predominant inflows and outflows of capital from and to the sub-village?
5. How important is it in this sub-village to be mobile (being able to move to different locations) for work related purposes? (Mobility of people in the sub-village)
6. Why is the sub-village attractive for investment, what kind of investment, who benefits (Direct vs indirect) from these investments, ...?
7. What are main restrictions/constraints that keep people from being mobile?
8. What is the general profile of newcomers and which people leave (out-migrants) the village? (does this imply new flows of money and or resources)?
9. What are the most important changes in this settlement/village over the past 10 years?
10. What are the new opportunities and challenges in the settlement? (Crop production (Potatoes) vs other investments)
11. What is the role of ICTs (mobile phones) in this sub-village?
12. What is the relation between ICTs (Mobile phone), mobility and new business opportunities? – (How mobile phones are important in the new business)
13. What is the role of institutions (e.g.: diaspora networks; producer associations; cooperatives) and services (e.g.: transport and communication facilities; financial institutions) for such inflows/outflows of resources from and to the sub-Village?
14. To what extent do local governments manage/steer/(re)direct mobility flows and mobility related development outcomes?

Appendix 2:

Comparison of migration and mobility patterns between the villages closer to Njombe Town, farming on rain fed fields, and the more remote villages, using irrigation for farming:

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

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

Add. **Migration:** There are fewer people who mention having migrated from Ngalanga, compared to the other villages (2 cases in Ngalanga compared to 6-8 cases for the other villages)

Appendix 3:

Mobility maps from focus group discussions

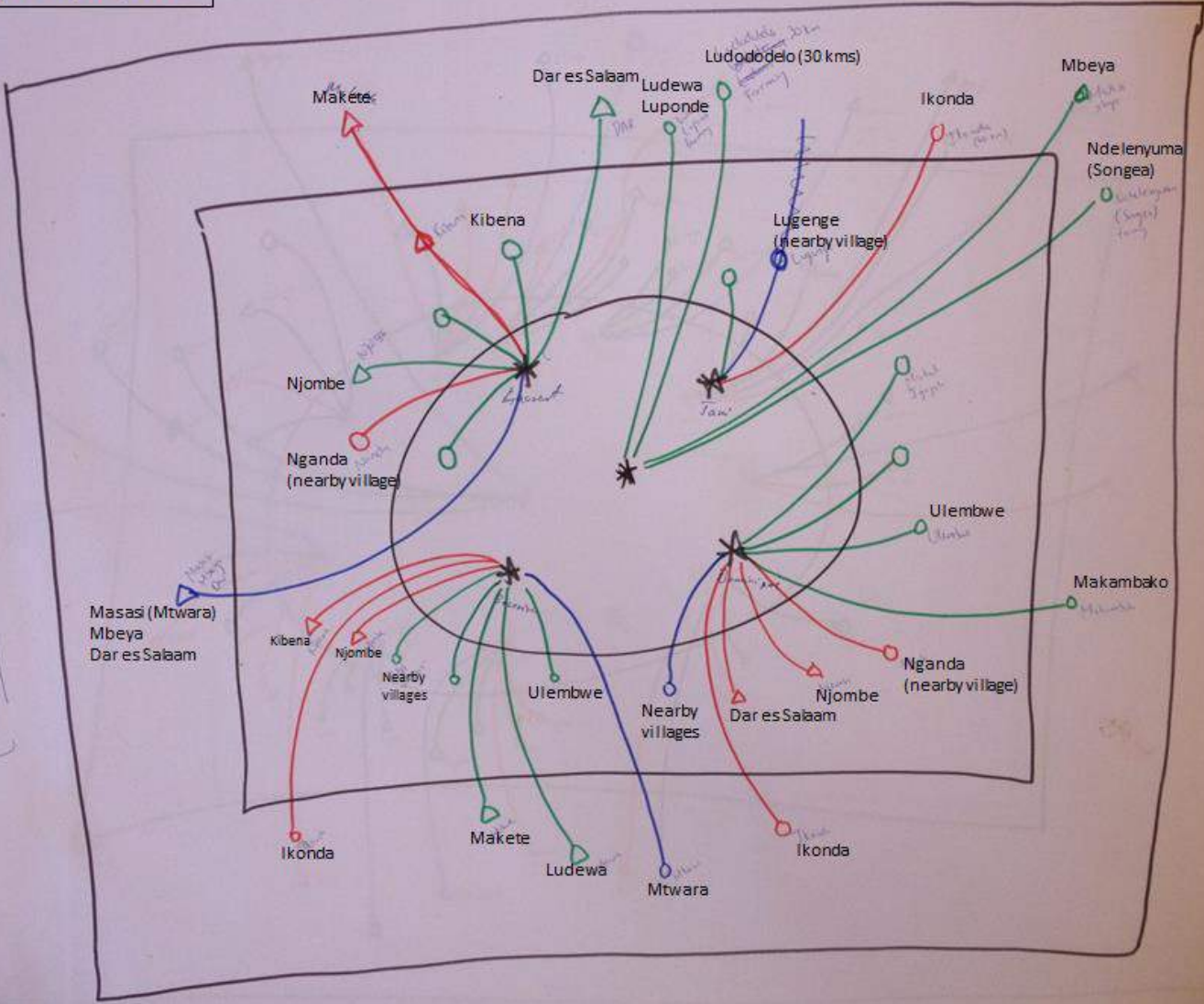
Mobility maps from focus group discussions in Njombe Region; Igagala, Iwungilo, Ngalanga and Ulembwe, 4th – 8th of August 2015.

Purpose of travel: The **green lines** indicate movements for economic reasons, the **red lines** indicate use of services, and the **blue lines** indicate movements for social purposes such as visiting relatives and friends. **Destination:** The circle in the center represents the village. The stars in the periphery of the circle represent the participants of the focus group discussions, whereas the lines traced from the centered star (without a specified name) describe movements generally found within the village. **Type of location:** The triangles indicate urban destinations and the circles indicate rural/village destinations. The inner square represents destinations within the district where the village is situated (Njombe District for Igagala and Ulembwe and Wanging'ombe District for Iwungilo and Ngalanga) and the outer square represents movements outside the district. (NB. The green lines with rural destinations within the district, where the names of the destinations are not noted, indicate movements within the village. These should have been drawn within the inner circle.)

Igagala 04/08/2015

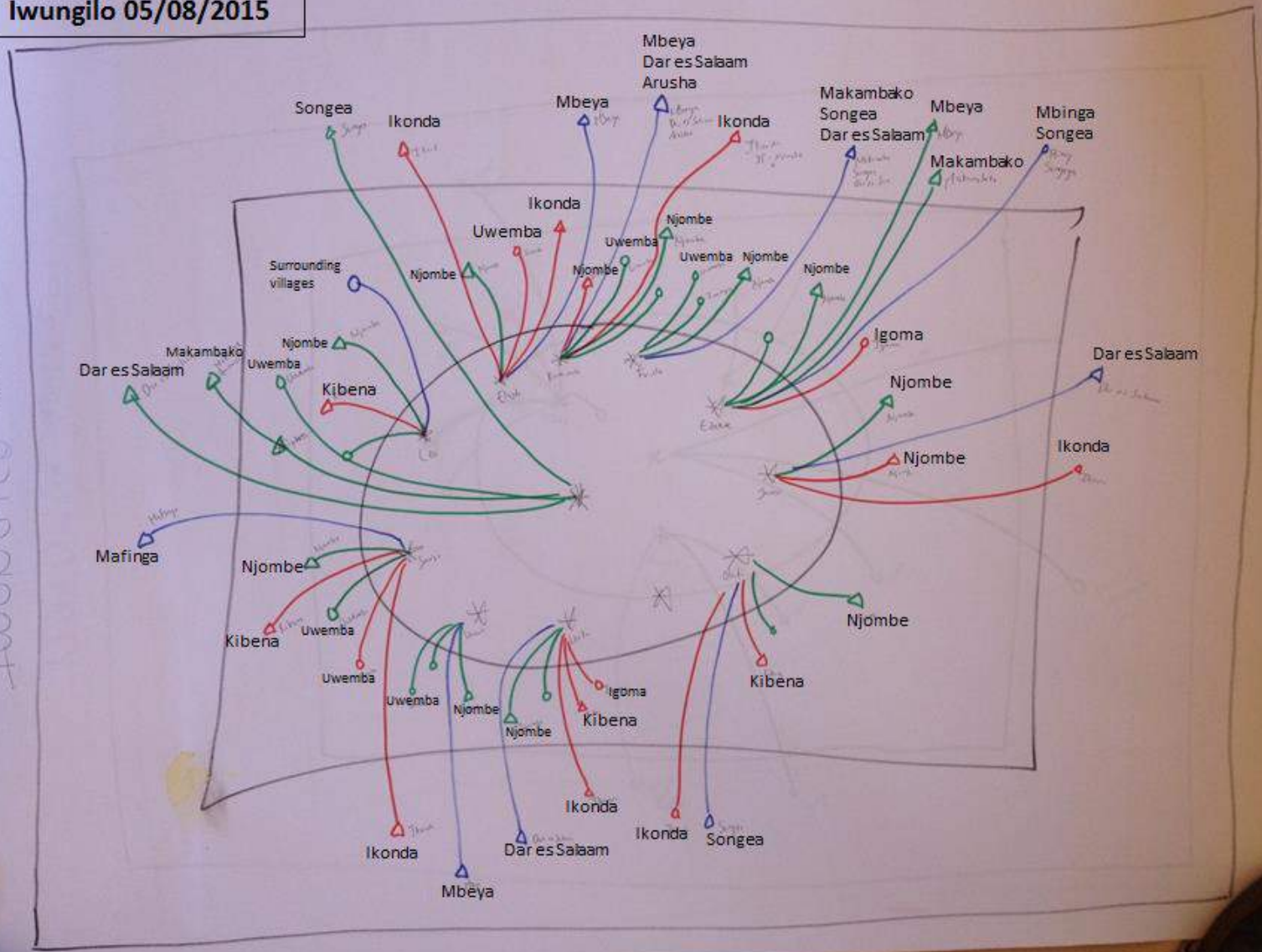
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IGAGA



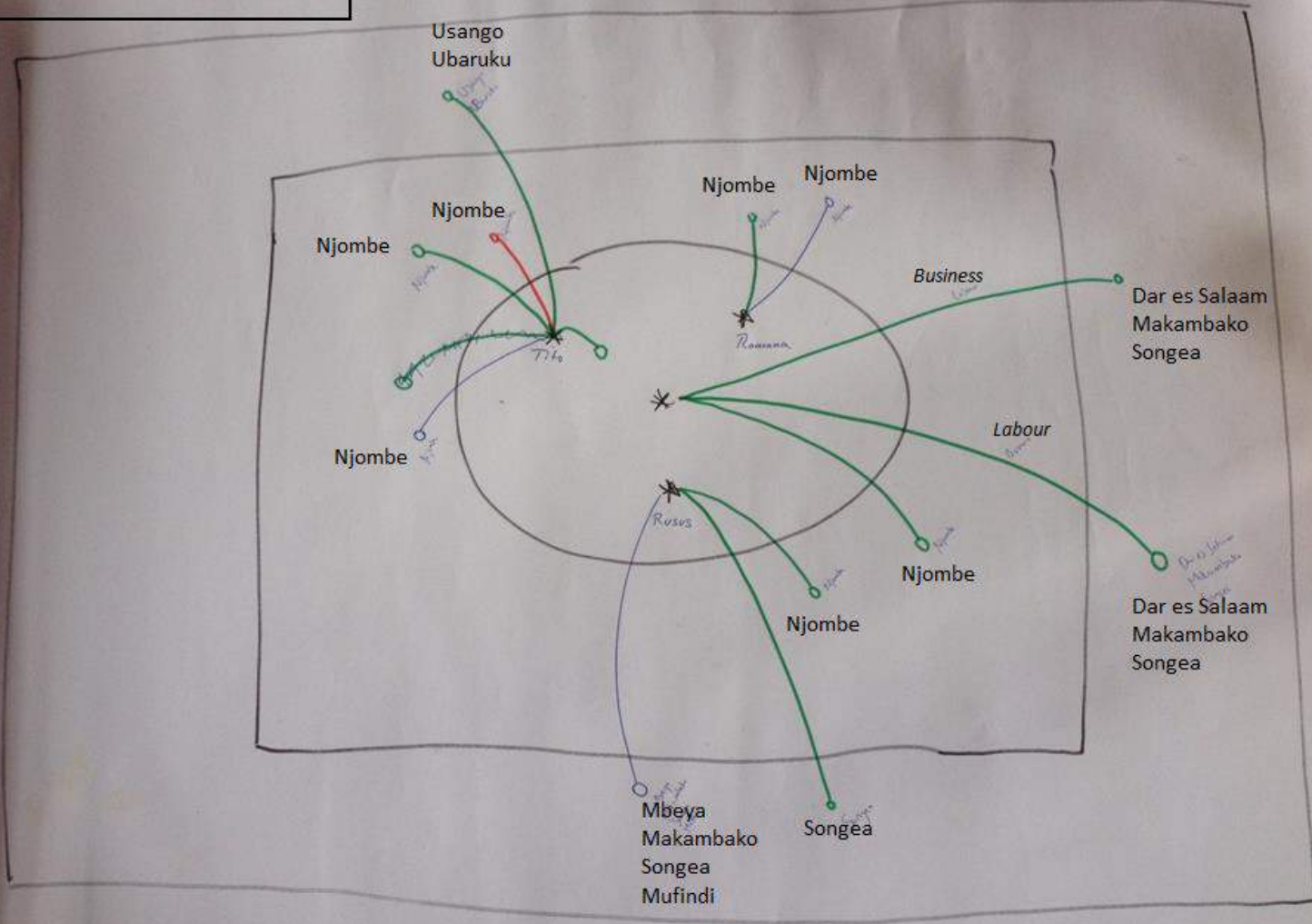
Iwungilo 05/08/2015

IWUNGILO 05/08/2015

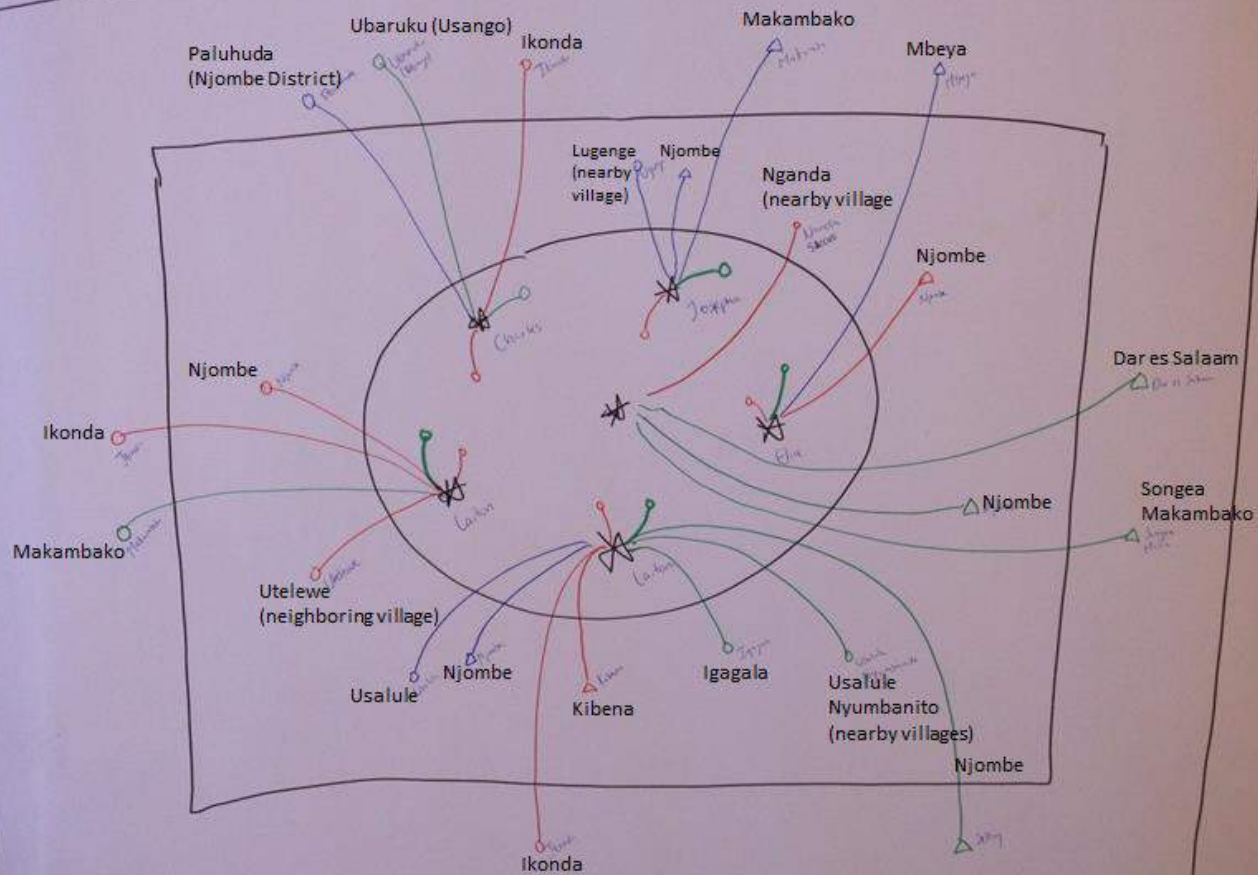


Ngalanga 07/08/2015

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Ulembwe 08/08/2015



Ulembwe

Annex VI. Site report – Northern Corridor of Tanzania, Tanzania

Site report Northern Corridor Tanzania for Deliverable D.2.3.

By Joseph Lukumay

Between Arusha town and Mto-wa-mbu there is a number of small developing towns and trading centres on both sides of the high way. They all started as small trading and market centers intended to serve the local communities with the locally produced goods and products. However, these centres are fast transforming to towns which are not limited in only serving the local communities but also the locally produced goods and products are exchanged in the centres and later transported to serve other rural and urban communities situated else-where.

USE OF INFLOW AND OUTFLOW OF RESOURCES

As agriculture compliments and sometimes substitutes pastoralism as main livelihood activity among the Maasai, food crops are among the main traded commodities in the emerging towns and trading centres in Maasai areas. Some of the produced food-crops are not meant to be consumed by the producing societies but by other societies located elsewhere, hence becoming cash earning food crops for the producers like the picture below shows a Maasai woman carrying a banana¹ from her farm.



As Maasai still carry out pastoralism activities, cattle are among the common traded commodities in the areas. However, unlike crops which are traded in every trading centre, cattle are traded in specified markets but this does not rule out possibilities of trade at farm-gates. In the studied area, the official cattle markets are located at Meserani and Kigongoni. Cattle can also be traded in the other trading centres but mainly for circulation/exchange within the village

¹ Traditionally Maasai do not banana. The current production of banana by Maasai is meant to supply the market

(one producer selling to another) or sold to assemblers who accumulate the cattle from the villages and later take them to the bigger/official cattle markets.

Apart from crops and cattle, specific items and products whose availability are limited to specific urban areas are also brought to the trading centres, exchanged with money and later transferred to other rural and urban areas which are in need of them. Forest products are among the list of such location specific products and these include fire-woods, charcoal, honey, medicinal herbs, timber and woods for construction purposes. While specific minerals and construction materials like sand and stones can also be found in urban areas, rural areas are the main suppliers as prices (contributed by the prices of labor) and regulations controlling their extraction are lower in rural areas than in urban areas.

Apart from being suppliers, these trading centres are also recipients of various goods and products originating from other rural areas and urban areas as well. As explained, the availability and production of goods and products are not uniform even in urban areas due to various reasons including geographical reasons. Rural areas which have higher comparative advantages (either at a particular time or all the times) in specific items and products tend to supply those with less advantage. For example, it can be a harvesting season for a particular crop in a specific area while it is not in the other location due to climatic differences. For the case of cattle trade, Meserani (Secondary cattle market) receives also cattle from regions of Shinyanga, Mwanza, Tabora and Manyara.

These trading centres receive also various products and items originating from urban areas which can generally be described as industrial manufactured goods and products, and include also the imported goods and products. Currently the Chinese made products have dominated the markets especially in rural areas. Through the trading centres and emerging towns, these materials are channeled to households and individual consumers located in rural areas. Apart from the industrial made products, Urban processed food products are also found in the shops, indicating that some rural produced products are taken to urban areas for processing and later brought to the rural areas for consumption.

It is however hard to give a concrete description of the direction of flow of money at any particular time in the trading centres as both the local people and the new-comers are involved in buying and selling different goods, products, items and services. Local people sell their local produces and buy the ones they need and take them back to their homes in rural areas. Hence, money keep on circulating between individuals and between different localities. Like money, the flow of information take also chaotic form and hence difficult to ascertain the flow of general information between the rural and urban spaces. However, information about particular events (opportunities, disasters,) can take a vector form (originating from one place and reaching another place through various means).

Use of remittances

As pastoralism decreases in their home rural areas, Maasai (both males and females) are increasingly migrating out of the home areas to other places, leaving behind some of the relatives and friends in home villages. To maintain links, money and other goods are frequently exchanged between the migrants and those residing in home villages. However, the money sent by the migrants to the rural areas has significance in shaping the livelihoods and relations between the recipients and the senders. With the current technology of sending money via mobile phones, the trading centres are increasingly becoming money dispensing points where by the locals receive the remittances sent by their relatives residing in different places. Tanzania is currently leading globally in mobile money (Tanzania Daily News, 30th September 2015). Several mobile money-agents are located in such trading centres.



The general objective of the remittances is to support the livelihoods of the recipients in different ways. However, some of the money is sent with specific usage and investment instructions. Maasai migrants strive to invest the urban gained incomes in rural areas in different activities, including financing education and other social services and in income generating activities as well.

Migrants in Arusha towns explained that December and January are their most difficult financial months as they have to send fees for schools which open in January and also money to finance farming activities which are usually in their peak between January and March.

Some of the interviewed women involved in businesses activities in Meserani explained the source of their financial capitals to be the money sent by their relatives, spouses and friends residing in urban areas. Male migrants also frequently invest the urban-gained incomes to increase/start their livestock herds in rural areas, as having a herd is a traditional sign and measure of wealth and also a traditional form of saving. These investments also act like evidences of belonging and are means of exhibiting indirect presence to that particular place which later help in issues of identity and rights claims.

As land becomes a commodity for sale among the Maasai, the rich Maasai and successful migrants are increasingly buying plots of lands and construct buildings with the aim of deriving some cash incomes out of them. As the aim is to derive incomes from the buildings, the preferred sites are the growing towns and trading centres which have higher concentration of people than rural areas, hence higher demand for the buildings either for residential or commercial purposes. To optimally gain from the opportunity, they are using issues of identity² to stop the non-Maasai from buying land in their towns (Field Data, 2014). The growing preference of investing in fixed assets like buildings and land among the Maasai also results from the frequently experienced massive deaths of cattle and failure of crops due to draughts and diseases. It was also found that, investing in buildings and land is a strategy of being eligible for financial loans from the commercial banks as the banks always ask fixed assets as collateral. The young generation also perceives such kinds of investments as signs of modernity as compared to investments in cattle which they perceive as non-modern, high risk and backward ways of investing. Consequently, Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe (2003) inform that Maasai currently consider modern buildings as measures of wealth.

The remittances are also used to finance different development projects and political moves in rural areas. In 2014 Maasai migrants in Dar es Salaam made some financial donations to finance a move which aimed at protesting against evacuation of 40,000 Maasai in Liliondo (Field Data, 2014). In the same year, a big number of Maasai migrants residing in Arusha city went back to their home villages to participate in the Local Government elections which were held in December 2014 (*ibid*), Chauvin (2010) also noticed Maasai migrants using various solidarity groups to influence politics in home villages.

Remittances are also used to finance further migration to urban areas (May; 2000, John; 2008) whereby the migrants in urban areas send money to those in rural areas so that they can also move to urban areas to look for other sources of livelihoods. The tendency of migrants financing and facilitating other people to migrate to urban areas was also explained as a strategy to improve and strengthen their powers and say among the hosting communities as both numbers and solidarity matters in competition with other groups or individuals especially in non-home areas.

Investments made by migrants and other persons from outside

Apart from the different individuals investments made by the migrants (cattle, land, buildings, different income generating activities), migrants also contribute to community investments like roads, dams and social services centres (schools and dispensaries) constructions in their home areas although they may be physically absent in the villages. As donations for the community projects are asked from eligible individuals in the community, the relatives and friends residing in the community inform the migrants of the required donations and consequently donate. Such

² In Meserani, the Maasai have started a fund which they use to try to buy any land which is for sale in the area, In Olkaria village, the villagers are not allowed to sell land to the outsiders (non-villagers).

participation and donation re-assures the migrants their belonging to the community and are important in political, identity and rights claiming issues.

Migrants and other persons from outside compete in utilizing different investment opportunities in the rural areas. In all the studied trading centres, due to the road leading to the various National parks, people with enough capitals and knowledge and skills of tourism are investing in the tourism sector by establishing various activities and services aiming at serving the tourists. Starting from Kisongo and moving towards the west along the road, one finds several curio shops selling various items and gifts to the tourists. In Meserani for example, among the most famous tourists centres are “Meserani Snake Park” which is owned by a South African investor, the “Oldoinyo Orok Art Shop” and the “Oasis” which are both owned by Kenyans. Makuyuni is also equipped with various shops selling gifts and items to the tourists which are owned by various people including the locals and the outsiders. However, between Makuyuni and Mto-wambu, there are several “Cultural Bomas” on both sides of the road which are dominantly owned and managed by the Maasai originating from the nearby villages whereby they sell different gifts and perform traditional dances to the tourists. On the other hand, tourism activities are dominated by the non-Maasai in Mto-wambu town.

Other investments

There also exist several investments and projects which are owned/implemented by either the government of Tanzania or NGO's in the district. Some of them include:

- Diligent Tanzania Jatropha Oil Production project is funded by the Dutch government and was registered in Tanzania in 2005 as Diligent Tanzania Ltd. It is a commercial project with a vision of generating enough cash flow from selling biofuel and other derived products to be financial viable. It is investing in the farming of Jatropha in Engaruka. Its activities include: buying all existing Jatropha seeds through collection centres and to train contracted farmers to plant Jatropha following the out grower model.
- Soda Ash (Sodium Carbonate) production project in Lake Natron which was established by the government in 1980's.
- Monduli district is the only district in Arusha region which practices large scale farming of beef cattle and has four privately owned ranches which are Manyara, Azimio, Zaburi and Msuya ranches with a total of 5,771 beef cattle (Arusha Region Social Economic Profile, 2008).
- The district also has three game controlled areas which are Mto-wambu, Lolkisale and Meserani Dam which occupy a total area of 3,075km². While accommodation (hotels, camp sites and lodges) facilities are important in attracting tourists, Monduli and Longido districts are the least equipped with facilities as they have only campsites.

MOBILITY PATTERNS

There exist two main forms of migration/mobilities in the Maasai areas: rural-rural and rural-urban migrations. One of the objectives of rural-rural migration is to access pastoral resources (pasture and water) which are located outside the home village. This form of migration involves more than one person from a household (involves all household members or part of the household). The direction and hence area of destination is primarily determined by the availability and accessibility of the required resources. Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe (2003) report that such mobilities are challenged by evictions in the destination areas and such migrants become environmental refugees.

However, women also exhibit frequent short movements (leaving homes in the morning and return during the evenings) to the nearby trading centres located within rural areas (along the highways and in the cultural bomas) with the objective of generating some income either through doing petty businesses (in the trading centres, along main roads, in the cultural tourism bomas,...) or being employed to work on farms during day time and later return to their homes during the evenings.

Rural-urban migrations are marked by age and gender. May (2000) found that the number of female Maasai migrants is less than the number of male migrants. During the study, it was also found that youths are found concentrated in the emerging towns and trading centres not very far from their home villages. This was found to be a strategy employed by the youths to gain the required experiences, form networks, gain knowledge and information of possible opportunities available in bigger Urban areas which may be located much far from their home villages. Upon accumulation of the necessary experiences, information and having formed networks with older migrants residing in the bigger urban areas, the youths later migrate to the bigger urban areas.

The general objective of the rural-urban migrations is to look for alternative sources of livelihoods in urban areas; especially through employment or carrying out petty businesses including vending the traditional Maasai medicinal herbs. Duration of stay in the urban areas is mainly mediated through factors like the incomes gained in the urban areas and the prevailing situations in home areas. It is common for migrants to return to home villages when farming activities start (hence high demand of labor in rural areas) and later return to urban areas when their labor is less needed. Others opt to send the money back to the home village which is used to employ people to work on their behalves depending on the amount of incomes gained and the job/employment conditions as some are not flexible enough to allow absenteeism. Despite the situation, the majority of the married migrants exhibit more frequent home visits than the unmarried ones and the main reason is to maintain links with the family members who in most cases are residing in home villages, and to physically inspect the different assets and investments (land, cattle,...) owned in home villages.

It is generally difficult to conclude on the general effects of the migrations as they are more subjective to the prevailing situation, the success of the migrant and the perceptions of the community in question. While May (2000) and Tacoli (2002) inform that among the positive effects of rural-urban migration is the transfer of technology, skills and knowledge to the rural areas, Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe (2003) found that such migrations destruct the former existing traditional division of labor in the households and hence Women have to take over Men responsibilities or vice versa. During the study period, several interviews have been made with families whose some of their members had migrated out. I present a quotation from Nanyori whose son who migrated and got employed by Ngorongoro Cosearvation Authority as a park warden:

“it is good for young people to move around and look for alternative lifes instead of pilling up here at home doing nothing and fighting over nothing. Look at what he has achieved after getting the job: took his wife and children, constructed a modern house in Karatu town and built this one for me also. His brothers are doing nothing here,I have to feed them with their families”

While Nanyori comments sound positive, Sang'ida whose son migrated to Nairobi in 2011 leaving behind a wife and four children, made the following remarks;

“.....how can a man leave behind his wife and children? What is his pride now?....he left the whole burden to me. What do I do with them now?.....”

Social capitals and networks are essential in enhancing the mobility and migrations of the Maasai people, whether being rural-rural or rural-urban. Migrants who migrate succeed to access pastoral resources in other rural areas send the information to their relatives and friends in home villages who later join them in the new territories. During the study period, some individuals from Olkaria village (Monduli) migrated with their cattle to Kilosa (Morogoro) to join a fellow who was formerly residing in Olkaria village and migrated to Kilosa three years ago as the resources are more accessible in Kilosa. This means there has been some communication between the two ends; the person in Kilosa and those residing in Olkaria. Prospective migrants in rural areas also establish and maintain links with migrants in urban areas and share various information especially on the available possibilities and opportunities in urban areas, and those in urban areas provide various assistances including accommodation and job searches and advices to the new-comers (migrants) in the urban areas (May, 2000). The existing solidarity groups of migrants help to strengthen and broaden the social capitals and networks among the members (migrants). While residing in the new areas (urban or rural), the migrants maintain and strengthen their social capitals and networks with those in home villages through phone communication and sometimes physical visits.

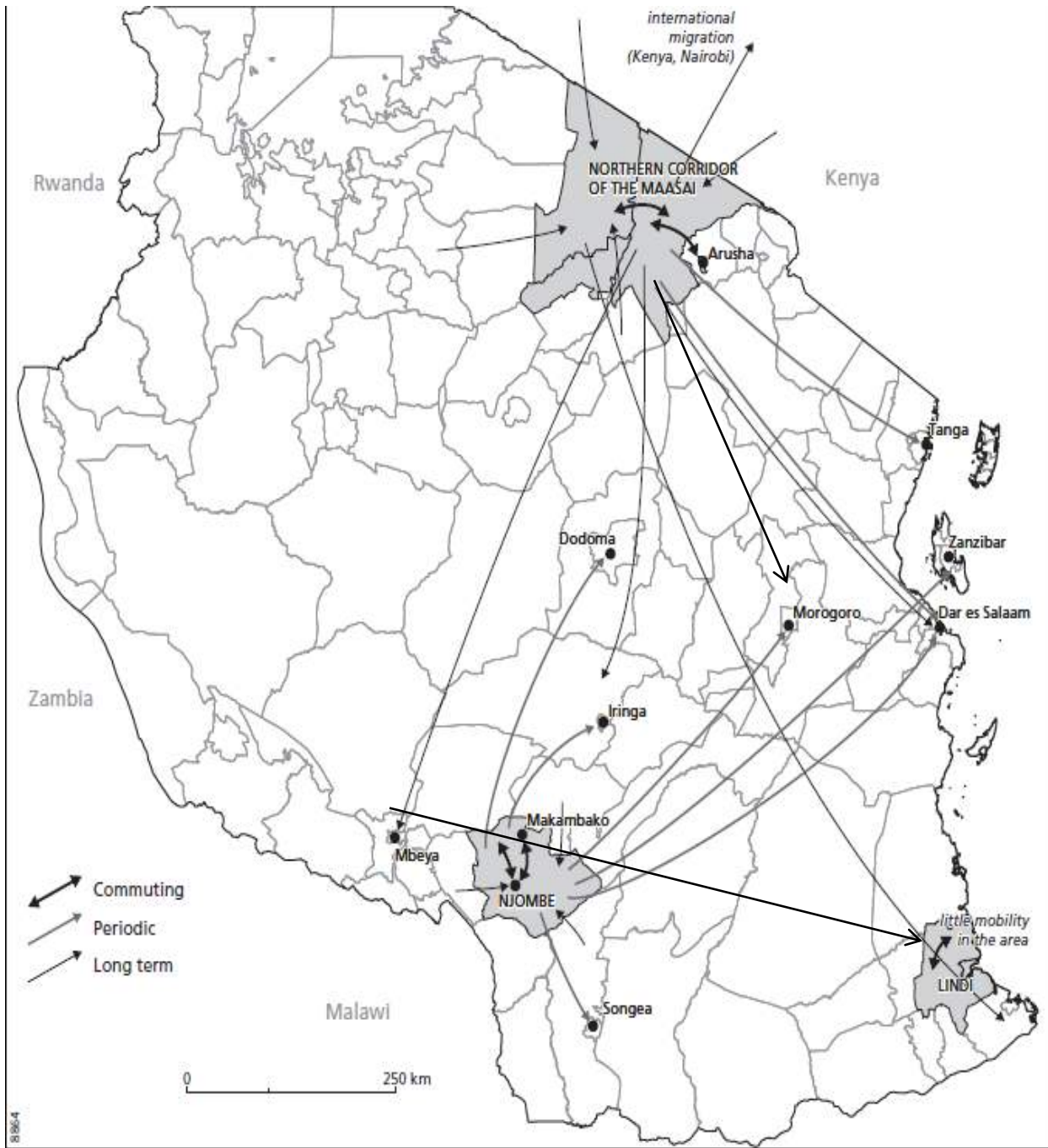
The destination areas of the migrants depend only on the objective of the migration. Those who are looking for pastoral resources move to other rural areas where such resources are available

and are accessible with much ease, while the majority of those looking alternative livelihood sources target the urban and urbanizing areas. However, there also exist a significant number of people moving from one rural area to another looking for non-pastoralism livelihoods sources.

There also exist a number of people commuting between rural-rural or rural-urban areas on regular and periodic bases (daily, weekly, monthly) for reasons like employments and businesses/trade. Each of the mentioned trading towns hosts a weekly market on a specific day of the week, hence creating a category of commuters (traders and consumers) who move from one market to another throughout the week. Some individuals maybe residing in areas different from those which their employments are located and hence necessitate a frequent commuting between homes and working places. As shown in the figure below, there exist some Maasai who migrated to other countries for various reasons. Given the proximity between Arusha and Kenya, a number of the Maasai have migrated to Kenya for various reasons as the interview with Sang'ida³

³ Aged 70 years, resides in Makuyuni village, his son migrated to Nairobi since 2011

confirms.

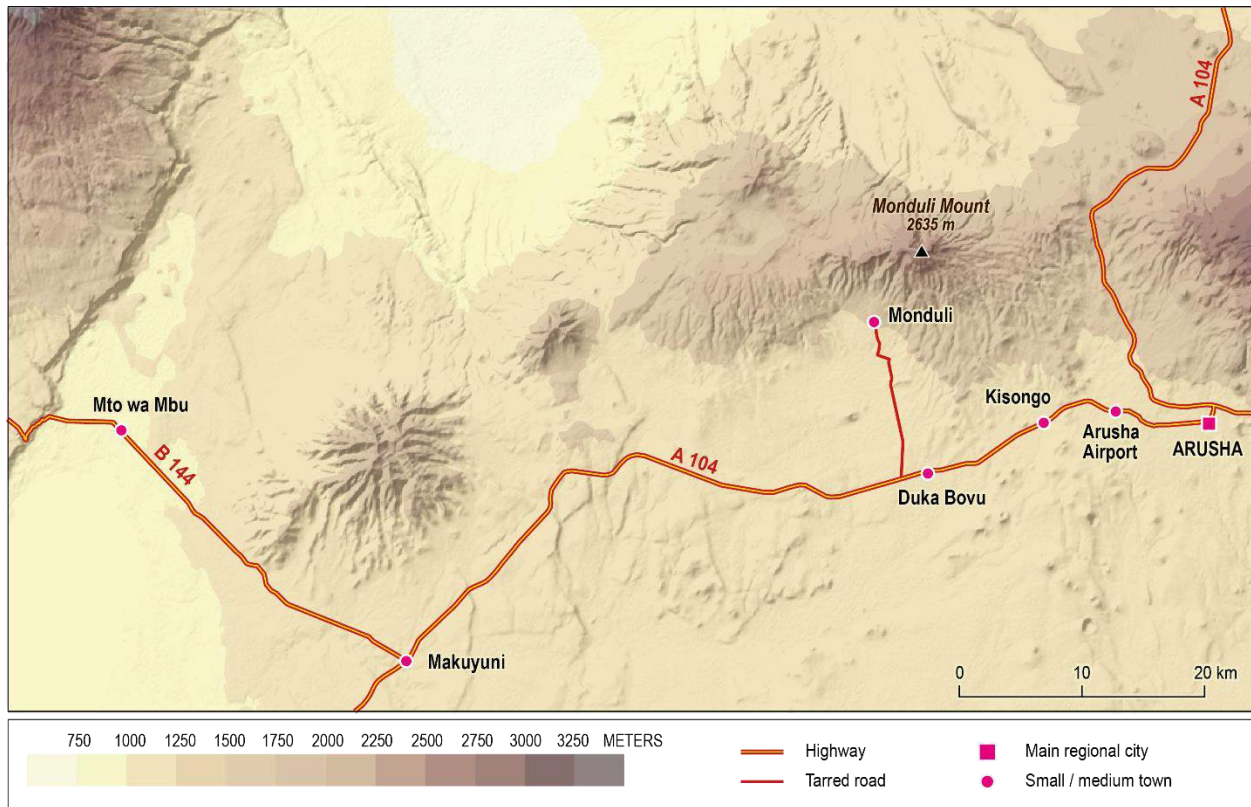


Map 1: Maasai's migration trajectories

Source: Field Data 2014 & RurBan Workshop, Butare-Rwanda, January 2015

MAIN SETTLEMENTS IN THE RESEARCH SITES

While the study was conducted in Monduli District, it mainly concentrated in the villages of Meserani, Makuyuni, Mbuyuni, Selela, Naiti, Losirwa and Mswakini chini. Several interviews were also conducted in the trading centres and emerging towns which are found along the highway between Arusha town and Mto-wa-mbu. Conducting the interviews in the trading centres enabled the researcher to get Maasai respondents coming outside of the listed villages, to understand the role of the emerging towns and trading centres and also Arusha city in the Maasai livelihoods transformation processes. As all the towns are located along the Highway road, inclusion of the towns in the study helped to understand the role of connectivity to other places (rural and urban) in transforming livelihoods.



Map 2: Developing towns along the road between Arusha and Mto-wa-mbu

Villages are usually the small administrative units/centres whereby individuals reside and carry out various production activities. Education and health services are also provided at the villages levels.

However, the studied trading centres (emerging towns) are strategically located along the highway and their main functions are transforming from being villages (administrative units and settlement areas) to trading, transport and communication nodes. Different types of investments, services and activities which are traditionally regarded as urban-based are also found in the

centres indicating that the centres are urbanizing. While the market activities take place in a specific day of the week in each of the trading centre, transportation and communication related activities are always present in these centres regardless of the day of the week. With the emergence of motor-bike transportation (boda-boda), the centres are the parking sites for the boda-boda which wait to transport the descending customers from the public buses to various destinations surrounding the centres. Likewise, the boda-boda are on the stand-by mode, waiting to be called by customers in the rural villages so as to come to the centre for various purposes including catching the public buses. Most of the money-agents for mobile money are also located in the trading centres and hence people residing in the rural areas who wish to withdraw/deposit cash have to come to the centres.

A long list of other businesses and services are also found in the centres including butcher, shops, construction materials, agro-veterinary products, mobile phone products, airtime... are all found in the centres.

As the population grows in the centres, farming activities are moved further away from the centres. In Kisongo for example, settlement plans in the town have been made by the City urban planners since 2011 (Field Study, 2012). In the plans, there are areas reserved for industries, social services like schools, healths,..and areas reserved for residential purposes. Residential plots have also been categorized as Low or Medium or High density. The necessary infrastructures (electricity, water, roads plans,..) are also being laid down to follow the settlement plans. The Tanzania's 2012 population and housing census report does not give figures of population below the ward level, and hence it is difficult to justify the expansion of the centres using population data. However, physical and visible indicators like the number of new buildings, new services and trades clearly indicate that the population of the centres has rapidly increasing over the recent years.

Given their proximity to Arusha City and the presence of the highway connecting them to the city, the new-comers in the areas include individuals who are working (employed or self-employed and businesspeople) in the city but because of some reasons opt/forced to stay outside the city centre. The increasing population of Arusha city provides the centres with the opportunities of hosting excess city population and also investments which require more calm environments than that available in the city centre (Schools, Hospitals, Hotels, etc). As the centres are located along the road leading to the different National parks, the centres have high potential for tourist activities and some individuals are already started tapping the opportunities.

