

Living on the edge: Rural-urban migrants in Kigali, Rwanda

Their trajectories, their livelihoods and their linkage with home



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Executive summary

The debate on the rural-urban linkage has been dominated by a rural perspective for a long time. Livelihood diversification has been seen as an activity for rural households. Nowadays more and more attention is given to the urban side of the linkage and to urban livelihoods in special. This research – which is done within the scope of a master thesis - is about households of rural-urban migrants in Kigali, Rwanda. The main issue is the relationship of these migrant households with the rural households they left. Three sub questions are used for elaboration on this topic. The topics are the migration patterns and trajectories; a livelihood analysis and an overview of their ties with the rural areas in terms of remittances and visits.

This study uses mixed methods – quantitative and qualitative data – in order to elaborate on rural-urban migrants and their livelihoods. Statistical data of the households are derived from a household survey, which is held in two cells of the agglomeration of Kigali: Nyamabuye and Kagunga; these cells are part of the sectors of Gatsata and Gikondo respectively. Afterwards, qualitative data were derived from in-depth interviews, in which 18 persons participated. Within the study an important statistical tool is the K-means cluster analysis, which made it possible to make a distinction among the types of migrant households. Unfortunately, not all responding households could be included within the clusters.

The first sub topic is the migration pattern of the migrants and their reasons for migration. Many people indicated that poverty on the rural areas and the lack of employment in these areas are motives for migration. Land degradation, infertility and the lack of sufficient land are land-related reasons to move. Family conflicts are reasons for migration as well. Kigali attracts rural-urban migrants because there are many opportunities to get what is not available in the rural areas; most migrants mention jobs and the opportunities for jobs as the main motives. In cases of woman, marriage is another reason to move to Kigali. The presence of social ties in the city or the lack of a family on the rural areas is in many cases a precondition for migration. Generations think different about living in the city. Older people that have large households dream or think about searching a place in the rural areas for farming, while younger people speak especially about the bright side of the city, even when they do not have a job. Nonetheless, concrete plans of migration are not plentiful.

The second sub topic is about the livelihoods of migrant households. After describing all capitals separately, three livelihood profiles are distinguished: the physically rich livelihoods, the naturally rich livelihoods and the poor livelihoods. The first group scores high in terms of physical capital, the naturally rich livelihood profile has a relatively high natural capital and human capital as well. The poor livelihoods do not have high scores at all. Physically rich households have been living in Kigali for a long time. Their households are more mature. Apparently, the amount of years that households are living in Kigali influences the way in which their livelihood has been built. Nearly half of the poor households came to Kigali since 2004, while nearly two third of the naturally rich households have come to Kigali since that 2004. Among these livelihood profiles, the households did not build up much urban capitals, or they still are strongly linked to the rural areas.

The third sub topic is the relation of these rural-urban migrant households with the rural home in terms of remittances and visits in both directions. In two directions remittances and visits are taking place: from urban to rural and from rural to urban. The direction from urban to rural

dominates in terms of the total number of relations, remittances and visits. Especially the naturally rich households consist of active contributors and visitors of the rural home. In addition to remittances and visits, some urban household use their rural connections in order to reduce costs by sending household members to the countryside. Of all three livelihood profiles, the naturally rich have the strongest connection with the rural. This is expressed by the remittances they send, the number of visited they have and, finally, by the visits and remittances they get from the rural as well. They are really multi-local. The poor livelihood and physically rich do have similar lower scores. Over all, the poor livelihood households seem least connected to the countryside.

This study concludes that the patterns of Kigali when it comes to remittances and visits are similar to other case studies on this topic. It argues that rural-urban migrants are not a homogeneous group, as three livelihood profiles are compiled. The migrants' current livelihood influences the strength of their relation with the rural home in terms of remittances and visits. Among all households, the livelihood that seems most sustainable in case of shocks and stresses is the 'naturally rich' livelihood; living on the edge of Kigali seems beneficial. Furthermore the approach of livelihood profiles suggests that the livelihoods change over time. The longer people are living in the city, the more their livelihood materializes in terms of physical capital.

Recommendations for further research are firstly, to have a more qualitative approach on this topic, possibly with longitudinal research as well, secondly to pay attention to the immaterial aspects of the livelihood approach, like rights and culture, since this is a highly material study, and thirdly to have more attention to what seem to be key players in the rural-urban linkage: the housekeepers and dynamic temporary migrants.

A final recommendation is addressed to the Rwandan government. As especially households with the poor livelihood profile do not have strong links with the rural areas, the government could pay extra attention to the poor people in the city, which are much more vulnerable since they do not have a rural family that functions as a safety net. This can be through providing the basic needs to urban poor, like water pumps and secure housing. Bredenoord and Van Lindert (2010) mention several options to help urban poor sustaining their livelihood with a little help of the government – so-called assisted self-help housing. In addition to the government, there can be a role for private stakeholders as well.

Introduction

Nyabugogo Taxi Park, the biggest taxi park of Rwanda's capital Kigali, has much to offer. It provides many street vendors the opportunity to gain some income by selling bananas, sweets or air time, or by repairing shoes. It offers beggars and disabled people a way to get money from compassionate passers-by. For tourists and businessmen it offers the opportunity to get to Uganda or Burundi by bus, while students travel to Butare – a city where several institutions of higher education are located.

What offers, attracts. Nyabugogo - as a place of doing business - and Kigali as a whole does attract people from outside Kigali. Where do these people come from? Why do they leave their former places of living? What is their relationship with the region they left behind? These questions are leading in this research, as it is about rural-urban migration in Rwanda and the life of migrants in Kigali.

Nowadays several debates about development and migration are taking place. These debates concern the question whether or how migration leads to development or not; this question is of interest at several scales. One debate concentrates on a transnational scale; it concentrates on the influence of migration and remittances between global north and global south. Another discussion concerns rural-urban migration in all types – not international but internal migration - and the so-called rural-urban linkage. The latter is where this thesis focuses upon as well.

At Nyabugogo Taxi Park the rural areas and the city meet. Households with multi-local livelihoods do profit from both rural and urban aspects of life; they are living on the edge of the urban area. Living on the edge in another sense means living in a risky way, which might be the case in this life between city and countryside. Or, do people, who are not living on the edge literally, live on the edge, because they focus on one side of the rural-urban linkage?

Within the discussion about rural-urban linkage and migration, this study aims to answer the following research question:

How can the linkage between urban migrant households in Kigali and rural households in Rwanda be described and explained?

In order to answer this question in a proper way, three sub questions are formulated about respectively the reason for migration of the urban migrants, the way how they live nowadays and which relation with rural home these people have. These questions will be elaborated in chapter 3.

Many case studies do exist about countries in Sub-Saharan Africa on the topic of rural-urban migration and livelihoods. Geographers know that no place is the same; however lessons can be drawn from other places. In this thesis is written/ has been written about Rwanda, which is a small country with a turbulent history. The case of Rwanda differs from many other countries in Africa because of its high population density. In the frame of livelihood diversification this signifies that the rural areas cannot be used more intensive than at this moment. The future of Rwanda seems to be urban, while the rural areas are heavily populated. This is an interesting context to highlight the relation between rural and urban. This thesis is complementary to the theses of Schutten (2013) and Smit (2012), and therefore it is useful to pay attention to these theses as well in order to grasp the topic and the Rwandan context.

This study has the following sequence from introduction to conclusion. First of all, the topic will be elaborated theoretically and thematically in chapter 1. Chapter 2 provides a background of the country of Rwanda, its capital Kigali and the neighbourhoods of research. Chapter 3 contains further information concerning the methodology that is used for this research and pays attention to the three sub questions. Chapter 4, 5 and 6 try to answer those sub questions. Each chapter will answer one question. In the final chapter the main question of this thesis will be answered, followed by a discussion which will place the findings within the current debates.

Chapter 1: Theoretical-thematic framework

This first chapter presents the thematic-theoretical framework in which the study is done by presenting relevant debates that have been taking place in the academic world, in order to place this study in its context. Firstly, this chapter speaks about urbanisation and rural-urban migration. Secondly, it is about the livelihood approach. Thirdly, the rural-urban linkage will be discussed. This chapter concludes by the conceptual framework that aims to connect the different concepts in a visible way.

1.1 Urban growth: rural-urban migration?

The last decade a remarkable point in time has been reached. For the first time in history a majority of the global population is living in cities. This trend will continue in the future. Looking at the level of continents, the majority of Africa's population still is rather rural. However, urbanisation, the rate of people living in urban areas, is increasing in Sub Sahara Africa as well. The amount and reason for this growth is less sure. A first group sees that the urban growth in Sub Sahara Africa is increasing enormously. This opinion is supported by for example the United Nations (Beauchemin, 2011, 48). Many African countries have figures that show that the urbanisation rate is rapidly increasing in the last decade. They argue that urban growth is mainly the result of rural-urban migration.

Another group of scholars is doubting the scale of urban growth as result of rural-urban migration. Since years, there has been considered that the amount of urban growth is mostly influenced by birth rates in the city instead of by migration. In comparing the cases of Burkina Faso and Ivory Coast, Beauchemin (2011) shows that the belief in an enormous rural-urban migration can be contested. People are more likely to move the other way around: from urban areas back to the rural areas. Explanations of this reversal trend has been linked to economic decline and the narrowing of the rural-urban gap in terms of income. Potts (2009) in a case study of Zambia even speaks about "counterurbanisation."

In addition, Satterthwaite (2010) shows that the growth of cities in the South is not that much higher than the growth of cities in the North. Reasons why this huge urban growth is suggested has to do with boundaries and definitions of urban areas on the one hand and the lack of census data on the other hand. The latter results in overestimations of migration and the real number of inhabitants living in cities (Satterthwaite, 2010, 2-5).

Although these opinions differ about the amount and reasons for urbanisation, it is clear that cities are growing and rural-urban migration has been taking place, regardless the counterurbanisation and the administrative growth of cities.

Urban-rural continuum

The argument of Satterthwaite (2010) have brought us to another debate: what do the concepts urban and rural exactly mean? Urban and rural are two concepts that are used to characterise different types of regions or localities. These concepts are used as a dichotomy: a locality is either urban or rural. Urban localities are cities or concentrations of people. On the contrary, a rural area is synonymous to countryside.

This dichotomy has led to criticism. Tacoli (1998) criticises the use of the concepts urban and rural as opposites. According to him this dichotomy enforces the view of two areas being totally distinct and therefore there is less attention for their interrelations.

Consequently, a third category has been added; peri-urban, which is a phase in between that cannot be called either urban or rural: it is a "transition zone between city and countryside"

(Simon et al, 2004, 236). Sectoral interactions – as Tacoli (1998) calls it - occur in these peri-urban areas, which means that both activities that are considered as 'urban' - like services and manufacturing - and rural – as agriculture - are taking place (Tacoli, 1998).

Another conceptual critique on 'urban' is that its international usage is problematic because in many countries the definition of 'urban' differs. Satterthwaite (2010, 2) illustrates this. For example in Egypt concentrations with 10,000 to 20,000 citizens are classified as rural, while in other countries villages of 2,000 persons and more are considered as urban. Satterthwaite argues that depending on the definition, urbanisation can vary. For example, China uses three definitions which results in respectively 24, 31 or 73 % of the population called urban. All countries have in common that they classify concentrations of 20,000 and more people as 'urban', but the consideration of smaller cities as urban makes a huge difference. Consequently, it is hard to be sure about the assumption that half of the world's population is urban; it depends on the definition handled by countries (Satterthwaite, 2010).

Despite of these critiques the concepts urban and rural are still used, but awareness has raised about the ambiguity of these terms.

1.2 Rural-urban migration and migration theories

Rural-urban migration

According to literature, different types of migration do exist. First of all there is a distinction between the type of border that is crossed: internal migration (within the national borders) versus international migration (crossing national borders). Within these two groups other distinctions can be made in terms of destination, duration and reasons of migration. In terms of destination: international migration can be from the global south to the global north, or from south to south, while internal migration can be migration from the countryside to cities and vice versa or migration between two urban or two rural places. The duration of migration differs as well for people some are moving somewhere in order to live there permanently while others are moving seasonally only or have a more circular pattern of migration between urban and rural areas. Some people do have a specific reason to move since they have to flee in times of war or famine; some are forced to move for other reasons like land evictions (Ellis, 2003).

In sum, many types of migration are possible and these different kinds of migration do overlap each other. This study focuses on migration inside the borders of Rwanda so on internal migration. Especially rural-urban migration is at stake. A rural-urban migrant is someone who moves from a rural place to an urban area. In this case, people who have migrated to Kigali in order to establish permanently in Kigali. Although some seasonal and circular migrants may be included, most migrants are rural-urban migrants.

Migration theories

People who leave their home and move somewhere else have been intriguing many scholars. Why do people go and move somewhere else? Many different explanations and opinions exist. This section is giving a brief overview of the general migration theories. Within migration theories De Haas (2008) distinguishes three groups: an optimistic, a pessimistic and a pluralistic approach of migration.

A first well-known theory on migration, made by Lee (1966), explaining migration decision-making, is the so-called "push-pull model" which is based on a publication of Ravenstein in 1889. Migrants consider the cons of the area where they live (push factors) and the pros of

other areas (pull-factors); furthermore they face intervening obstacles, like distance and have their personal factors. According to Lee, These four aspects determine whether people migrate. This model leads to some explanations of migration but it is still very descriptive and has its drawbacks as well. De Haan (2008) mentions that different scales of analysis are confused, that heterogeneity and stratification of societies is ignored and that push and pull factors are each other's opposites, which means this theory is less popular nowadays.

Another important theory explaining migration is the neoclassical migration theory which is optimistic (De Haas, 2008). It is based on Lewis (1954) who argues that development has to do with the accumulation of capital. The subsistence sector supplies the capital sector with labour, which means migration, which can be both rural-urban and international. Even though differences exist between scholars within this group, they have in common that prices, wages and labour determine migration. Individuals are believed to make a decision on the basis of costs and benefits whether to migrate or not. At a macro level, this model would result in equilibrium of labour.

Harris and Todaro (1970) are confronted with a problem that contests this equilibrium theory though. While unemployment is on the rise in urban areas, migration still is taking place, and so an equilibrium does not seem to exist. Therefore, they formulate a model that "can be described as a two-sector internal trade model with unemployment" (Harris and Todaro, 1970, 127) having an urban and a rural sector. The urban sector produces goods, which will partly be traded for agricultural goods from the rural sector. The rural sector uses labour for agriculture, and it exports remaining labour to the urban areas. Harris and Todaro assume that migration will continue when potential migrants expect to earn more in the urban areas than with their agricultural production, so migrants are considered as "maximizers of expected utility" (Harris and Todaro, 1970, 127). This model has had several adjustments as Todaro (1980, 371-376) shows and it is widely used over the past decades (De Haan, 1999;).

As a drawback of this model can be mentioned that it is very technocratic since the migrant is seen as a *homo economicus*, who acts out of economic impulses. Other aspects of migration motives for migration are not taken into account (De Haas, 2008). McDowell and De Haan (1997) mention another drawback of this migration model, namely the fact that it is based on European patterns of migration and consequently it is not useful for some developing countries. In many African cases for example, migration is less static or permanent as in Europe. A contemporary of Harris and Todaro published a paper pleading for a system approach of migration instead of a unilinear or push-pull model-like approach (Maboguje, 1970).

Opposite to the mainly individual economical explanations of the neoclassical migration theory, the historical-structural theory explains migration as a result of inequality due to capitalism, which, according to De Haas (2008), can be called a pessimistic theory. This theory is a criticism on the neoclassical migration theory – just like the dependency theory has been criticized the modernization theory in development studies.

The historical-structural conceptualisation of migration is less clear compared to the neoclassical one because migration is not treated as a phenomenon in itself but seen as part of a social process (Wood, 1982).

The anthropologist Kearny (1986), describing the influences of the dependency school for migration, mentions that the historical-structural theory uses the language of the modernization theory in other terms:

"Rural and urban are not unconnected dual economies, but are instead linked together by ties of dependency serving the developmental needs not of the periphery"

but of the core.” (Kearny, 1986 , 338).

So, rural is called periphery and urban is called core in the dependency school. The concepts core and periphery are from the world-systems theory of Wallerstein (1974). People are forced to move to the core areas, due to the penetration of the capitalistic core in the traditional periphery. In short, migration in the dependency school is seen as a result of capitalism instead of an autonomous process (Wood, 1982).

Discussing the neoclassical migration theory on the one hand and the historical-structural theory on the other, Wood (1982) pleads for a new approach. By using the household level as measure of analysis Wood “attempts to integrate individual and structural approaches” (Wood, 1982, 312).

Two pluralistic approaches do analyse migration on the level of the households; the new economics of labour migration (NELM) and the livelihood approach. Stark (1991), who can be seen as the founder of NELM, mentions three premises when he starts writing about NELM. Firstly, migration is not necessarily about individual migrants, and therefore NELM pays attention to households as a whole. Secondly, labour migration is not only about differences in terms of wage; other variables, like relative deprivation and income uncertainty, can be reasons for migration as well. Thirdly, many types of migration would not have taken place when markets were functioning perfectly.

Massey et al (1993) explains the differences between NELM and the neoclassical theory that both have an economic approach as follows: instead of focussing on wages and labour, NELM explains migration as “a response to income risk and to failures in a variety of markets (insurance, credit, labor), which together constrain local income opportunities and inhibit risk-spreading“ (Massey et al, 1993, 457).

Finally, the livelihood approach is seen as a migration theory. Chapter 1.3 will provide more information in detail about the livelihood approach. The livelihood approach differs from NELM as it looks beyond the economic aspect of migration. Within the livelihood approach, next to the so-called financial capital, four other capitals are part of the households' livelihood - which is the way how these households make a living through assets and activities. By using those five capitals, households try to improve their lives actively – a sign of agency – and migration is a way of shaping their livelihoods.

As McDowell and De Haan (1997) mentioned before, migration has to do with the way households are living in developing countries for migration is an important way of making a living. Livelihoods cannot be understood without migration. While migration in the Western world has a permanent character, in other parts of the world it is a more dynamic process. As Ellis (2003) explains:

[m]igration, understood as a spatial separation between the location of a resident household or family, and one or more livelihood activities engaged in by family members, is a central feature of the livelihoods of the majority of households in low income countries. (...) [D]ifferent types of migration play multiple and complex roles in reducing the vulnerability of households, and in potentially enabling virtuous spirals of asset accumulation that can provide families with exit routes from poverty (Ellis, 2003, 3).

Due to this relation between migration and livelihood in development countries, the livelihood approach is considered as a migration theory as well.

Over time, several other aspects are discussed in the migration debate, which will be mentioned briefly. For example, transitional migration theories link migration to the stage of development in which a country is found. Others estimates social capital and networks within the migration

process; migrants function as a bridge to the city for other potential migrants. Being embedded in a network is a precondition for migration. The migration systems theory goes further than the relationships themselves. This theory pays attention to the two societal contexts of migrants: both the place migrants leave and the migrants destination. By doing this, it includes the relationship between two different areas who function as two communicating vessels. For more details of these migration theories, good reviews of migration literature are provided by Arango (2000), De Haan (1999), De Haas (2008) and Massey et al (1993).

De Haas' (2008) reflection on migration theories leads to the formulation of a synthesis. According to him the decision to migrate depends on the local development context of the migrant; whether the migrant has the aspiration and the capabilities¹ to move. This decision has its feedbacks or consequences to the local context that is left; in case of rural-urban migration that local context are the rural-urban areas.

According to De Haas (2008) it is important to see migration as a process that does not take place in isolation. It is a social process that takes place within the society. *"Migration is not an independent variable explaining change, but is an endogenous variable, an integral part of change itself in the same degree as it may enable further change"* (De Haas, 2008, 43). Development influences migration and migration influences development as well.

Who migrates?

Besides how has been dealt with migration in the last decades, it is interesting which opinions exist about who migrates. Tacoli and Mabala (2010) depict in their article about rural-urban migration that there are differences in gender and generation among the migrants. With the help of four cases they explain that especially the number of young migrants has increased. This seems the result of sociocultural transformations among these people. In terms of gender, young men tend to remain closer to home and move for shorter periods of time, compared to young women, who move at longer distances over longer times. In terms of generation, compared to the older people mainly the younger people move – although migration of women is less accepted compared to migration of men. Tacoli and Mabala (2010) argue that these differences in terms of generation and gender enclose the way how individuals and households decide about migration. According to them, intra-household dynamics do matter.

The variable of age is mentioned in other case-studies as well. A study that compares Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso shows that people between 15 and 24 years old do migrate most out of the rural areas. This trend has been even seen in all decades that are taken into account; from 1960-1989 (Beauchemin, 2011).

De Haan (2000) argues that migration may relate to different forms of existing households. He mentions three types of families – nuclear families, fluid family structures and extended families. The first group is relatively small, compared to the second and third group, which diminishes the opportunities for heads of households to move. The last two forms of families do have more opportunities to move, because the migrating household member is less important, because of the size of the families. De Haan's (2000) migration within the context of the society instead of looking at migration as an individual decision.

In sum, gender, generation and the way households are composed do influence which persons do migrate and which do not move from the rural areas to the city.

¹ In terms of financial, social and human capital

1.3 Livelihood approach

Just like migration theories, different periods have been succeeding within development theories. First, development studies as a distinct discipline find its formal existence a few years after the Second World War. The U.S. President Truman in 1949 stated the goal of the U.S. to help other countries in their development by saying that the progress of the developed countries also must be made available to the underdeveloped countries (Binns, 2008). Looking backward, it is clear what happened after this development take off. Several overarching theories, for example the modernization theory, the dependency theory and the ideology of neo-liberalism, saw the light – but the question of development was not solved sufficiently in the following decades.

Since the end of the 1980's and during the 1990's, criticism was given on the focus of development. In neo-liberalist eyes, development in the main was something that had to do with economic growth and the opening of the domestic markets to the global market and transnational companies, so things that happen on the macro level. This stance was doubted by other scholars. In this period of criticism on the hegemony of neo-liberalism, the sustainable livelihood approach became popular (Scoones, 2009).

The sustainable livelihood approach is based on several older approaches and ideas. This approach saw light in the 1990's. It is based on agency-minded research, on household studies and rural appraisals and on Amartya Sen's concept of entitlements. Despite of these predecessors the influential paper of Chambers and Conway (1992) is considered as the real take off of this approach (Haan and Zoomers, 2005; Scoones, 2009).

The sustainable livelihood approach has concerns the way in which people make a living. A frequently used definition for the concept of livelihood is Carney's one:

“A livelihood system comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base” (Carney, 1998, 2).

Instead of focusing on the macro scale, the sustainable livelihood approach focuses on the scale of the households. Development is meant to improve the living conditions of people and therefore people are at the centre of analysis. The focus is on agency (Kaag et al, 2004) and this approach is called optimistic (Haan en Zoomers, 2005): instead of being treated as victims, people are treated as agents. All people have assets or capitals which they use to improve or secure their livelihood.

Every livelihood is built up by five different livelihood capitals or assets: human capital, natural capital, physical capital, financial capital and social capital, which are both material and immaterial (see pentagon in Figure 1.1). So, every household has got these assets to some extent – that is why this approach is optimistic. In practice people make use of their different capitals in order to make a living.

There are some differences in the number of capitals that different scholars are taking for granted. For example, Owuor (2006) adds a cultural capital to the five 'standard capitals', for according to him cultural aspects like language, cultural institutions and religion influences the performance in terms of livelihood. According to Schafer (2002) the UNDP added political

capital to the five 'usual capitals' because assets of a political kind can change or influence the whole set of livelihood assets.

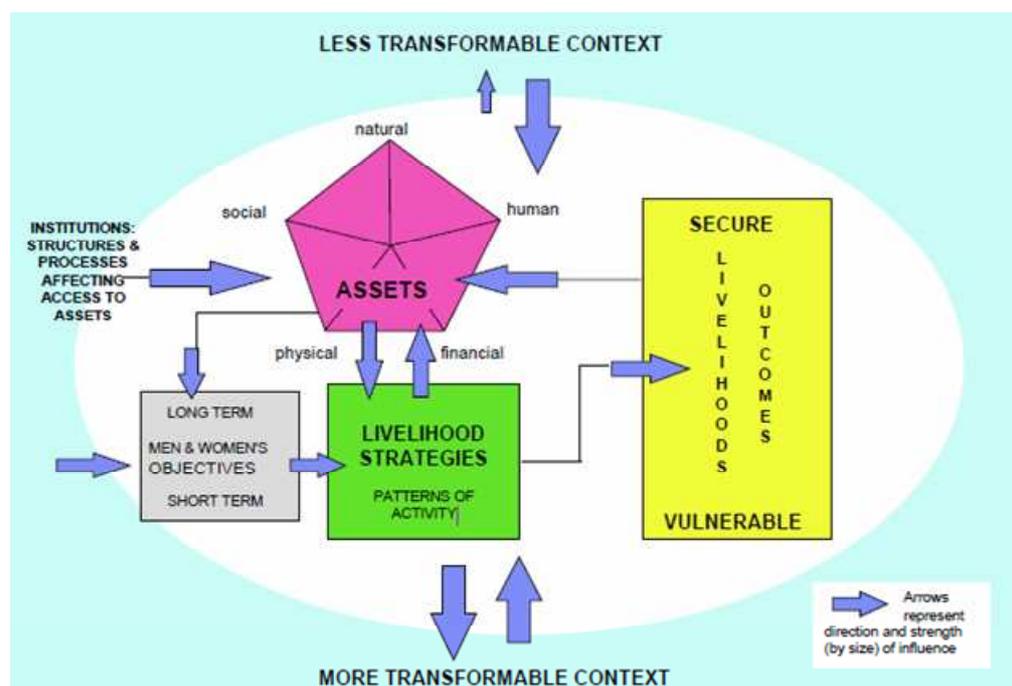


Figure 1.1: Conceptual model of the sustainable livelihood approach
Source: Meikle, 2001, 9

Livelihood diversification, strategies and outcomes

Besides capitals, the livelihood framework uses the concepts livelihood 'strategies' and livelihood 'outcomes', which is defined as respectively 'what people do' and 'what the results are of the strategies' (Schafer, 2002).

Livelihoods can face shocks and stresses; the aforementioned definition of Carney (1998) also includes them. An example of a shock can be when someone gets fired or when crops have failed; in such cases financial and natural capital decline. Another example can be when someone gets sick. In that case both human capital and financial capital decline because despite the person's sickness, he is not able to work either and he eventually has to pay for the right treatment. Because of these possible shocks and stresses people tend to employ livelihood diversification, which means that they construct "a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities in their struggle for survival and in order to improve their standards of living" (Ellis, 1998, 4).

Ellis (1998) speaks about different ways of applying diversification, known as livelihood strategies: firstly, diversification can take place in times of risk, which he calls risk management. Secondly, diversification takes place as a result of a shock, the so-called coping strategy. The third strategy is adaptation strategy: households continuously adapt to their situation (Ellis, 1998).

The word 'strategy' seems to imply that people have been preparing and thinking over carefully the most appropriate form of livelihood diversification, and this idea has been criticised by others. This is why Devereux (2001: in Haan and Zoomers, 2005) distinguishes between ex ante strategies, which are intentional, and ex post strategies, which are unintentional. All these different livelihood strategies aim to result in a secure livelihood, which is the livelihood outcome.

Two examples of diversification: depeasantization and mobility

An example of diversification is given by Bryceson (2002), who argues that in Sub Sahara Africa many peasants increasingly diversify their income by employing non-agricultural activities. This should be seen as a response to the structural adjustment programmes (SAP's). Because of these SAP's the government did not provide subsidies for farmers anymore, and also expenditures in health and education declined. This led to both increasing costs and less income for the farmers. As a result peasants could not cultivate all crops anymore. One solution was their specialisation on crops that yield high short term benefits, instead of the higher quality crops with longer term yields. Another solution was the diversification strategy of the farmers: they focused on other activities than cultivation of their land, like renting or selling their plots or expansion of non-agricultural activities. Bryceson (2002) calls this process 'depeasantization'.

Mobility and migration are recognized as a "key element of livelihood strategies" (Tacoli & Mabala, 2010, 390). This means that mobility – it may be circular, temporary or permanent migration – functions as a way to make a living or as a strategy to cope with struggles. Ellis (1998) pleads for the recognition of the importance of migration within livelihoods as well.

An example of migration as livelihood diversification would be the following: a household member from the rural area moves to the city in search for work. Once he succeeded in finding a job, the migrant is likely to send money to his family which is still living in the rural areas. This contribution results in an increase of financial capital of the rural household, ideally besides the existing capitals already available in the rural household. Different capitals are used to spread risks.

Urban and rural contexts and livelihoods

In the beginning, livelihood approach was mainly applied to rural areas. This may be because the livelihood approach goes beyond monetary wealth and poverty, which is less available in rural areas, since these households rely more on having land and livestock. Nowadays urban livelihoods get more and more attention, because urban poverty is recognized more and more (Owuor, 2006).

The way in which people shape their lives depends heavily on the place where households are located. Some capitals are more important on the countryside, while other capitals are more available in the city. Therefore, rural and urban livelihoods are distinguished, although attention must be paid to the ambiguity of the words urban and rural.

Rural context and livelihoods

Rural livelihoods are characterised by the five capitals, but these assets are not equally important. Natural capital, which mainly is about having arable land, is especially important within the rural areas. Livestock and housing are part of physical capital, which is important as well in rural context. In general, rural areas have a lot of space for building a house and resources for building activities can be found easily as well (Satterthwaite and Tacoli, 2002).

A study of Ellis and Freeman (2004) about the rural livelihoods in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Malawi, categorises families into three groups – rich, medium and poor – by an analysis of their assets. Variables to categorise a household are size of land, the ability to hire labour, the number of different types of livestock, the way how their homes are constructed and the level of education. Rich households do have much land and livestock, a higher level of education and well-constructed houses; furthermore these households are involved in non-farm activities and therefore rely less on land. This also indicates that especially physical and natural capital are

important in rural livelihoods.

However, other capitals are important as well, as Ellis and Freeman (2004) indicate that “becoming less reliant on agriculture is part of the process of climbing out of poverty”. Diversification is seen as a way for escaping poverty.

Ansoms and McKay’s (2010) case study of Rwanda gives some insight in what is important for livelihoods in rural areas. First they have constructed several clusters – or livelihood profiles – by a cluster analysis. Then they link these livelihood profiles to the livelihood assets.

Ansoms and McKay (2010) confirm that agriculture is of much importance for rural livelihoods, as all livelihood profiles rely mainly on agriculture. This is mostly done by focusing on different crops at the same time. Most products are produced for the farmers own useage, and surpluses are traded, as farmers face trade constraints.

Financial capital is a capital of less important in rural situations, because there are less opportunities to get cash money since most farmers do have subsistence agriculture (Satterthwaite and Tacoli, 2002).

Literature shows that rural livelihoods are applying diversification more and more, due to changes in the economy (Bryceson, 1998). Instead of focusing mainly on agricultural tasks, households are employing non-agricultural activities in order to survive.

Urban context and livelihoods

Living in the city results in different patterns of livelihoods in comparison to rural livelihoods regarding the composition of their assets. This is because the context of a specific locality influences the assets to which people have access. According to Meikle (2002), the urban context differs from the rural on different topics.

Economically, the city is seen as a place of many economic activities, and it offers therefore many opportunities to get a job, especially in the informal sector. At the same time, the levels of underemployment and unemployment are higher in the city as well. This forces more vulnerable people to do illegal jobs in order to get some income. Urban agriculture is an opportunity for the urban poor. Within the urban context people do rely on money much more than people do in the rural areas.

The social context of the city influences the urban poor because social capital is of importance for the urban poor. One form of capital is being embedded in patronage systems. The social context is about the social cohesion or fragmentation as well. The population within urban areas is more diverse, which can lead to tensions due to fragmentation, on the other hand, neighbourhoods can be connected tightly. An on-going debate is about whether urban poor can benefit from the defragmentation or whether they suffer from it (Meikle et al, 2001). Nevertheless, social capital crosses the rural-urban division, for example because of claims that are still in the rural areas (Ellis, 1998).

In terms of environment, Meikle (2002) sees as a result of the higher concentration of the population the urban context as more risky, in terms of health and in terms of hazards. Lack of infrastructure is mentioned as another part of the urban context, but one could also argue that the urban context provides more opportunities in terms of infrastructure.

At last, the political context of the city influences livelihoods. A linkage with the governance is of importance as the governance ideally exist in order to serve the citizen. This is not self-evident, due to weak local governments and in this case, NGO’s might provide some governmental tasks. Having a legal status is important for urban dwellers as well, which gives them the opportunity to get access to services (Meikle et al, 2001).

This context has it consequences for the composition of urban livelihoods (Meikle 2002). In terms of human capital, in the city more services are available to improve the human capital:

think about schools and health services. Another important part of human capital is labour: the ability to work. Job opportunities are available in the city, but unemployment does exist as well. People who do have neither skills nor good education are more vulnerable in the city compared to the rural areas (Owuor, 2006).

Financial capital is very important to the urban poor. What urban dwellers earn is in terms of common money, while they do rely less on natural capital. Life in the city is more expensive, because of several aspects: public transport, water, schools, housing and rent are more expensive compared to rural areas and therefore urban households need more cash income (Satterthwaite & Tacoli, 2002). Savings and access to credit is important. More banks are located in the city, but this does not necessarily mean that savings and access to credit is easier compared to the rural areas. This is confirmed by the respondents out of Potts' (2011) case study, who explain that it is hard to survive in Harare, Zimbabwe; due to high prices and lack of tenure security. This relates to the political context as well; not having legal housing may result in squatters which can be removed by the government.

Natural capital, as land, would be less important to the urban poor because they do have less access to land than people in rural areas. However, also urban agriculture exists which would state that it also contributes to the livelihoods of some urban residents. Owuor (2006) argues that agriculture gets more important to urban households, directly or indirectly. Rivers are used as a source for water and a mean for washing clothes etc. Rivers are important especially for people without piped water and without a source.

Physical capital is about housing, infrastructure and equipment, which are of similar importance to rural and urban livelihoods. It includes livestock, which is of less importance in the city although some households in the city do have livestock.

Social capital has to do with social support within the community. Access to information is also important about opportunities and problems (Potts, 2011; Meikle, 2002, 46-47).

Overall, the city and rural areas differ in the way households shape their livelihoods. The city is attractive, because financial capital and infrastructure are more available than in the rural parts. But merely the availability of these capitals in the city does not make sense for people who do not have access. Satterthwaite and Tacoli (2002) warn for the false assumption that proximity equals access, for being close to water systems does not necessarily mean that you have access to it as well. The drawback of urban households that rely more on financial capital is that it makes them vulnerable as well.

Multilocality of assets

The previous part has shown the differences between the rural and urban livelihoods. One way of livelihood diversification, which was mentioned before, is mobility. However, some scholars state that it is not the livelihood as such that differs; it is the locality of the asset that is urban or rural. The livelihood assets are dispersed through both urban and rural areas; or in other words, households have 'urban-based' and 'rural-based' resources (Bah, 2003, 13; Owuor, 2006; Kaag et al, 2004). Therefore, it does not necessarily mean that rural households depend merely on rural assets and urban households on urban assets only.

Evidence is found that both rural and urban households make use of both rural and urban assets. This makes livelihoods not rural or urban, but multi-local, multi-spatial or trans-local. This 'multi-localness' strongly relates to mobility and migration as a mean for livelihood diversification. When a rural household has a household member living in the city, both urban and rural assets are used, which ought to make their livelihood more secured. The multi-locality of households increases the understanding of the relationship between urban and rural areas, the so-called rural-urban linkage (chapter 1.4).

SLA, its pros and cons

The sustainable livelihood approach has several pros. Firstly, its scale of analysis provides a better understanding of poverty and opportunities for people. By focusing on the households the concrete struggle with insecurity can be understood better and so solutions can be better implemented. This focus can be seen as a counterweight to overarching development theories (Kaag et al, 2004).

Secondly, the concept of livelihood is holistic. It pays attention to the different types of activities in which households are involved. The concept poverty is not reduced to 'living under a certain amount of money', as the poverty line defines it. Many of the different aspects of poverty are covered by the livelihood approach (Haan en Zoomers, 2005; Rakodi, 2002).

Thirdly, this approach is not specifically used or claimed by one discipline. A livelihood is a multidisciplinary concept and so it can be used in many disciplines. Its integrated perspective can function as a bridge to better understanding of the complexity of livelihoods (Scoones, 2009).

Despite of its popularity and pros, remarks should be made about the limitations of sustainable livelihood approach. Firstly, an obvious risk of the SLA is its focus on the small scale of households which leads to ignorance of the structures that enforce poverty. Furthermore this can lead to a romanticized idea of poverty (Kaag et al, 2005).

Secondly, when people are in the centre of research another question arises: how should one look at those human-beings? The SLA can be applied in an economic way and when people still are treated as *homo economicus*, this approach will not differ substantially from the technocratic neoliberal approach.. Instead, people should be treated in an open way (Kaag et al, 2005). Scoones (2009) recognizes the still persistent economic view on livelihoods as well.

A third critic is that the speed of contextual processes like globalisation must make the livelihood approach aware of what happens at higher levels of scale (Kaag, 2004). Several years after those remarks were made, according to Scoones (2009), SLA still has not been very successful in taking attention to the wide context of development. It is still hard to link the micro level to the macro level. Too easily structures were seen as part of the "box labelled context" (Scoones, 2009). Furthermore, despite of the term 'sustainable' livelihoods, in livelihood studies there has been almost no attention to long term climate change, which is an important contextual change.

A fourth point of criticism is that power and politics do not get enough attention in the livelihood perspective. Scholars and practitioners in concerning livelihoods did not establish a link with political actors (Scoones, 2009). Some researchers added political capital to the livelihood assets in order to solve this problem.

1.4 Rural-urban linkage

In the last decade, the rural-urban linkage has become of interest to many scholars and attention for this concept has been growing. In the past, the focus has been on one of both areas in isolation: either urban or rural. Since there are various definitions of the concept urban, the distinction between rural and urban areas should not be formulated as sharp as it has been putted in the past (Meikle, 2001). Nowadays, much more focus is on the interaction between rural and urban. This interaction is called the rural-urban linkage and this can take place in different forms. According to Tacoli (1998), rural and urban areas are connected through flows of people, flows of goods and flows of waste. In the last decade, much focus has been on the first two flows, respectively representing migrants and remittances. Another way of interaction is sectoral interaction.

In the concept of the rural-urban linkage, most of the aforementioned concepts come together: urban growth can be declared partly through rural-urban migration; flows of people from rural areas to the city. The livelihood approach and livelihood diversification relate to flows of goods and money and therefore are part of the rural-urban linkage as well.

This last section elaborates on the relation between rural households and migrants in the city. Looking at this relationship several issues arise.

As discussed in the part of migration theories, mobility and migration – in all types – are used in order to improve the livelihoods; they form a way to diversify the livelihoods of households. This trend may give the impression that much rural-urban migration takes place in developing countries, but this is contested by others as Beauchemin (2011) and Potts (2009) who speak about counterurbanisation (Chapter 1.1).

Migrants in the city send money to households back home in terms of remittances which can be both goods and money. In this way of contribution, rural households are connected with households in the city, which is a kind of livelihood diversification: indirectly they benefit from urban capitals. According to Bah et al. (2003, 20) the link that rural people have to the city is continued by means of these remittances. Owuor (2006) mentions some examples which show that these links exist in both ways: urban dwellers send goods and money to the rural areas, but rural households send remittances back – mainly goods – as well.

Ansoms and McKay (2010, 592) present evidence from Rwanda in their analysis of rural livelihoods, mentioning that 37% of all rural households within their sample get a positive income from remittances, next to their incomes from agriculture and trade. The quantity of these remittances is unknown. To rural households remittances form an important source of income. Except the fact that most rural households have a positive net income from remittances, which means that they get more remittances than they send, not much is known about the flow the other way around.

Frayne (2004) mentions in his case study on Windhoek, Namibia, that due to economic decline still 37% of the rural-urban households has sent remittances over the last year, of which most is sent to their parents and children.

Besides this economic aspect of the rural-urban linkage, there is a social one, which has two expressions: first, visiting the rural areas and second, sending children to the rural areas (Frayne, 2004). Visiting the rural areas is important because rural-urban people keep in touch with each other physically. In his case study on Windhoek Frayne (2004) mentions that 86% of all respondents – including both migrants and non-migrants – visit their rural home at least once annually. The reason that is mentioned mostly for sending children to the rural homes is in 'because the costs in the city are too high to keep them in the city.'

A recent study by Mberu et al. (2012) presents different findings on the relation of rural-urban migrants with the rural areas. First, this study argues that these urban-to-rural links are so strong because it is about family relations. They have evidence that migrants in informal settlements in Nairobi maintain 'physical contacts' with their rural home after decades of living in the city of Nairobi, so urban migrants are not isolated individuals. Second, Mberu et al. (2012) mention that rural-urban migrants who do not own any land in the rural areas are less willing to move back and to invest in rural areas. Third, they mention that older people, who are getting old and sick, are less able to maintain their contacts with the rural. Relocation to the rural areas would be a solution for the old migrants' old days (Mberu et al. 2012).

More is put forward by Owuor (2006), who gives a survey of changes that are taking place and the debates about the rural-urban divide. Firstly, in the past decades the relationship between rural and urban in terms of income distribution has changed, as the gap between incomes has diminished. In the past, poverty was mainly rural, but now urban poverty is increasing. Secondly, as Tacoli (1998) mentioned as well, the distinction between urban and rural areas has become blurred, due to the sectoral intersections as rural and urban activities are mixing. Nonetheless this can be challenged because Tacoli's critique is about an adjustment of concepts rather than finding what happens.

A last issue that Owuor (2006) mentions, is that the nature of the rural-urban linkage faced some changes. First, migration is not merely from rural to urban areas. Several forms can be found: permanent, circular migration and even counterurbanisation is mentioned (Beauchemin, 2011; Potts, 2009). These kinds of migration influence the strength of the link, leading to different opinions: social capital and integration of migrants in the city may weaken the link with home, but on the other hand these migrant households are vulnerable for fragmentation (Meikle 2002).

A second discussion is the character of the link with the rural households. The links with home have transformed into insurances, which provide the opportunity to fall back (Ellis, 1998; Potts, 2011). Regarding the direction of flows, rural households increasingly support urban households. The last years many urban citizens are making use of those safety nets.

Owuor (2006) mentions a last sign of changes in the rural-urban linkage. Literature shows that parts of urban households return to rural places in order to diminish costs. This is partly due to increasing costs in the city and a decline in real income.

Rural-urban linkage: reciprocity or exploitative?

Despite of the debates that take place on the amount of remittance and the direction of it, there seems reciprocity in the relation between urban and rural households. Urban households can provide financial capital to the rural households, which provide the urban household in food; both sides of this connection can be beneficial to the other.²

At the same time, households that are disconnected – rural households that do not have people in the city or urban households that do not have connections on the countryside – do not have these benefits and inequality may increase between connected and disconnected households. This is something stated by Rakodi (2002) as well - only in other words: *“increased interaction between urban and rural areas, may increase inequality and the vulnerability of those groups with least assets”* (Rakodi 2002, 32).

This question can be asked on a larger scale: does migration lead to development or does it increase the gap? De Haas (2008) argues that development and migration are reciprocal as well. The decision to migrate depends on the local development context of the migrant; whether the migrant has the aspiration and the capabilities³ to move. The migration process influences the local development context as well through system feedbacks⁴. The local development context experiences social and economic change, however the impact will differ per case. These changes influence the aspirations and capabilities of the people in the local development context as well, and when people do have a network this may lead to new migrants.

² McGranahan et al, 2009, 14-15 / Owuor, 2007 elaborate on that as well

³ In terms of financial, social and human capital

⁴ De Haas mentions 'labour supply, consumption, investments, inequality, social stratification, relative deprivation, culture, institutions, perceptions, and aspirations' (De Haas, 2008, 44)

The process that De Haas (2008) describes can be applied to the rural-urban linkage as well. In that case the place that people are leaving, the rural area, is the local development context, which faces the system feedbacks as result of the migration decision: other people are enabled. De Haan (2000) agrees that migration changes the societal context.

The migration linkages that De Haas describes and the livelihood diversification perspective on migration seem similar to the ideas of Zoomers and Van Westen (2011), who write about development in a globalising world. They state that development takes place through linkages, which they call either development corridors, development chains or development networks. A person who moves from one locality to the other establishes a “migration corridor”, which can evolve into a “development corridor”: is a corridor that shows *“materialisation and institutionalisation of development along certain routes as the consequence of repeated (on a regular basis) mobility of people, goods, capital or information”* (Zoomers and Van Westen, 2011, p. 381).

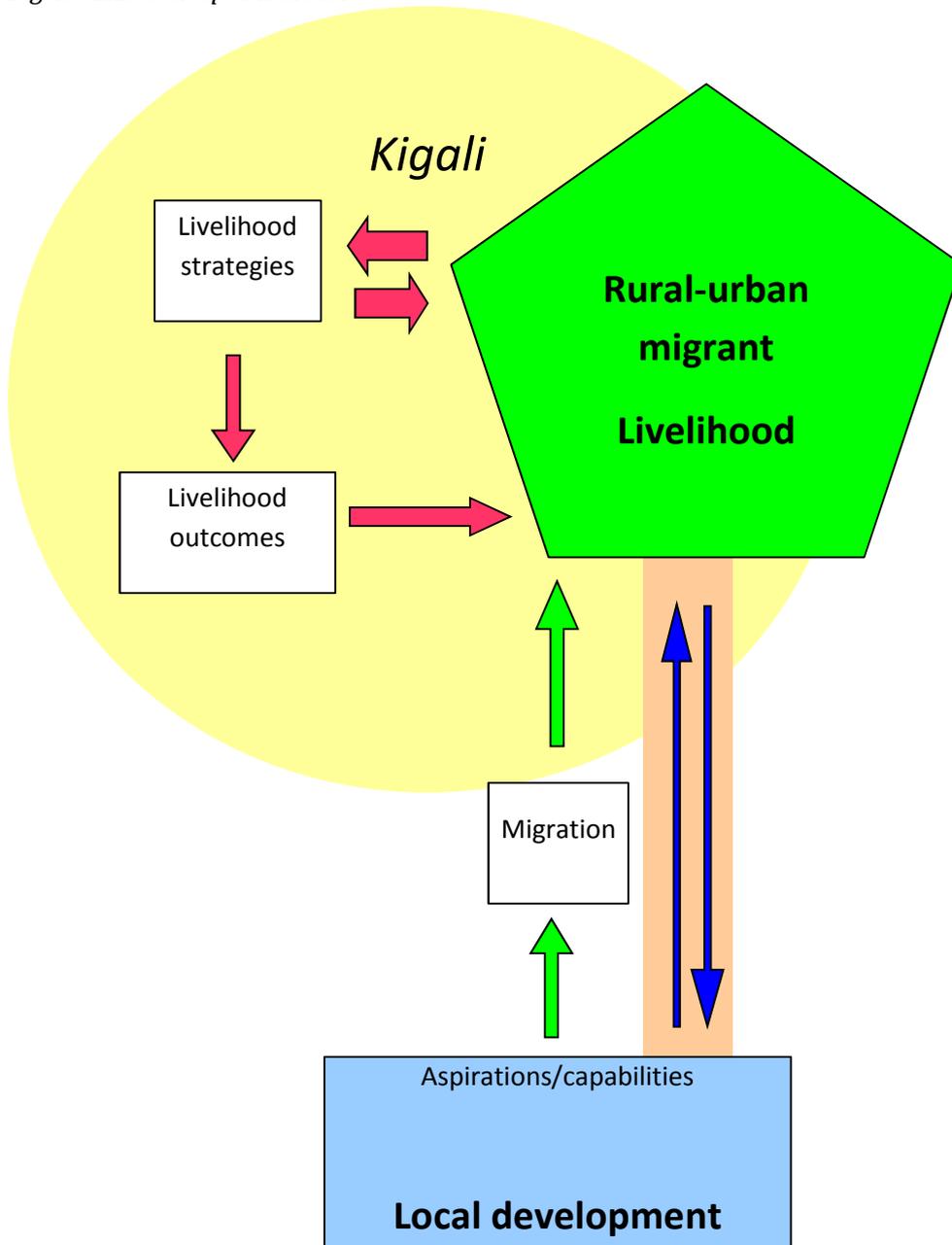
1.5 Conceptual model

The concepts told about before in this paragraph are shown in a conceptual model (Figure 1.2). In fact, the conceptual model consists of two parts and aims to include all three parts of this thesis. This model is based on the one hand on the livelihood cycle of the sustainable livelihood approach (see Figure 1.1 from Meikle, 2001). On the other hand it is based on a model that De Haan (2008) uses to explain migration in a synthesis of many migration theories.

The aspects that can be derived from this model are threefold. First, the migration decision is based on the local development context in which the 'migrants to be' are situated. Depending on their aspirations and capabilities people decide to move (De Haas, 2008). Within this local development context certain groups have more aspirations than other people to leave, as gender, generation and the compositions of the households influence migration, which is symbolised by the green arrows (Tacoli & Malaba, 20 ; De Haan, 2000).

Second, the rural-urban migrants who establish themselves in the city develop their way of living in the city, which constitutes the rural-urban migrant livelihoods. The bright green pentagon symbolises the five capitals that shape their livelihood. These livelihoods are shaped like other livelihoods: through livelihood strategies, different livelihood outcomes are taking place, which influence the livelihoods as a whole as well. This is shown by the red arrows.

Figure 1.2: Conceptual model



At last, rural-urban migrant livelihoods are characterised by the linkage they have with their rural home; they are linked to the local development context and vice versa. This is the rural-urban linkage. A relationship exists between these people in flows of remittances and sometimes even in flows of people (Tacoli, 1998). This link is reciprocal, which means that this link works in both ways, from the rural to the urban and from the urban to the rural as well. The blue arrows show this relationship. This rural-urban linkage can be seen as part of the livelihoods of both types: the households in the city and the rural households.

These three parts in this conceptual model are reflected in the research questions as well. Next chapter elaborates on those questions and how they can be answered.

Chapter 2: Regional context of Kigali and Rwanda

This chapter is a short introduction on the country of Rwanda. The first part tells about the history, demography, economic and social development of Rwanda. In the second part, something will be told about the development of Kigali. The last part discusses the topics of this study – urbanisation and rural-urban migration – in Rwandan context.

2.1 Rwanda: a country profile

Rwanda is a small landlocked country in Central Africa with its surface of 26.338 km² (CIA Factbook, 2012). The country is situated in the South of Uganda, the North of Burundi, the West of Tanzania and the East of the DR Congo (Figure 2.1).



Figure 2.1: Administrative map of Rwanda

Source: Paradiseintheworld.com, 2012

History and politics of Rwanda

Until its colonization, Rwanda was an independent kingdom. In 1884 the Germans colonized the country that became part of so-called 'German East Africa' together with Burundi and Tanzania. During the First World War Germany lost this colony as another country took Rwanda as its colony in 1916: Belgium. Belgium colonised the Freestate Congo as well, which is Rwanda's western neighbouring country. In comparison with the Germans, the Belgians paid much more attention to the colony (Prunier, 1995).

In order to explain power relations in Rwanda, some demographic background is necessary. When the Belgians came to Rwanda, the Rwandan population consisted of three groups, known as Batwa, Batutsi and Bahutu, or in other words: Twa, Tutsi and Hutu. The first group is a small minority of the population formed of Pygmy people who were living in the forests. The second group, the Tutsi, consisted of people who were living from cattle breeding, they were the richer people. The remaining group which forms majority of the Rwandan population exists of Hutu, who were farmers. These groups can be seen as social classes (Prunier, 1995; Ansoms, 2008).

Just like the Germans, the Belgians used the Rwandan powers as a mean to rule through. The Rwandan system had several chiefs with different responsibilities who were in charge next to each other and these chiefs were both Hutu and Tutsi. This system was changed by the Belgian coloniser by reducing the number of chiefs to one chief only, which was in almost all cases a Tutsi. As the Tutsi represented the king, they were seen as the only ruling party in Rwanda and therefore came in power (Prunier, 1995).

Over years the division between the two major groups in among the Rwandese population deepened; under Belgian colonisation, the Tutsi were in power while the Hutu were powerless. Due to the Belgian rule the division became institutionalised. Despite of sharing the same language, culture and history, the rulers explained the differences between both groups ethnic instead of social⁵, which is called today the 'Hamitic myth' (Shyaka, 2005). Eventually, the Belgian colonisation gave reason for conflicts between both groups.

After independence in 1962, the division between both groups still remained. One thing dramatically changed: instead of the Tutsi, the Hutu came into power with Kayibanda as President, who was followed up by Habyarimana, who seized power in 1973 (Box 2.1) In these years eruptions of violence expelled Tutsi out of their country and they went to neighbouring countries, like Congo and Uganda. For many years people were living as a refugee and their children grew up abroad. These migrations resulted in conflicts with the local populations as well and in both countries anti-refugee sentiments came into being. In Uganda the Tutsi refugees have supported the opposition leader Museveni, who came into power in 1986. Afterwards, these Tutsi people prepared moving back to Rwanda (Pottier, 2002).

Box 2.1: Presidents of Rwanda

1962 – 1973	Grégoire Kayibanda
1973 – 1994	Juvénal Habyarimana
1994	Théodore Sindikubwabo (interim)
1994 – 2000	Pasteur Bizimungu
2000 – now	Paul Kagame

In 1990, Tutsi rebellions from Uganda – the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) – invaded Rwanda, and fought against the Rwandese army. In 1993 peace negotiations started and resulted in the so-called Arusha Accords, aiming a Government with members of both groups. However, these agreements were signed but did not work out very well.

In 1994 the Rwanda's President, Juvenal Habyarimana, died by a crash of his airplane. After the crash of the aeroplane that carried both the president of Rwanda and Burundi, Hutu's were instigated attack on the Tutsi people – who would have shot down that plane – and on moderate Hutu's as well. This led to an extreme Genocide: In one hundred days, almost 800,000 people, mainly Tutsi's, were killed (Ansoms, 2008). While the Genocide took place, the RPF continued fighting against the Rwandan army and finally the RPF overthrew the Rwandan army. Since that period the political part of the RPF came into power. Rwanda was totally ruined and had to be rebuilt again.

After the Genocide rebuilding has begun. First of all, many refugees from outside Rwanda returned (elaborated upon further). Economic growth increased and the policies of the Rwandan government were focusing on a rapid development.

⁵ One group was superior to the other.

In an article about the relationship between agricultural policies and the political elites, Ansoms (2008), explains the accents on agriculture over time. The first Hutu-dominated governments used to have a strong link with their province of origin and therefore favoured their region of origin in their policies. Habyarimana (in power between 1973 and 1994) was from the region of Gisenyi, and presented himself as a farmer and preferred an agrarian society. The effects of these policies are less good for the rural areas but this does not contest that the link with place of origin has its consequences for policy. The political elite after 1994 based on the RPF did not have strong relationships with the rural areas, because many politicians were from neighbouring countries. Consequently, policies had a more urban bias. The poverty gap between rural and urban enlarged (Ansons, 2008, 14).

Ansons (2008) analyses the discourse of the Rwandan government in the last decade and concludes that there is less attention paid to the current situation of the Rwandan peasants. Instead, the policies have a knowledge-based economy as their goal and agriculture must be modernised and professionalised. The farmers do not have the means to scale up their agricultural production. Nonetheless, according to Manirakiza (2011) Rwanda has been a rural country for a long time. Only since the 1970's, especially two cities faced growth; due to industrialisation and expansion of commercial activities Kigali and Butare attracted internal migrants.

The criticism for being focused on urban economic sectors only, can be given to Vision 2020 as well. Vision 2020 is a vision document made in 2000 by the Rwandan government which formulates clear goals for Rwanda in 2020. Similar to the language of earlier policies, Vision 2020 has ambitions for Rwanda to be a middle-income country in 2020. These very ambitious goals should change Rwanda from a country that relies on agriculture to a country that has a knowledge based economy and an entrepreneurial middle-class (Minecofin, 2000). The Rwandan government uses this vision document in many policies.

Physical geography and climate

In terms of physical geography, Rwanda is known for its relief: the nickname 'the land of thousand hills' points to the presence of many hills. Besides the hills that range between 1,000 and 1,500 meters above sea level, Rwanda has a range of mountains in the west that functions as a watershed between the Nile and the Congo Basin. In the Northern Province active volcanoes can be found (Figure 2.2 and 2.3).



Figure 2.2: Topographical map of Rwanda

Source: Ntaganda and Ntagaramba, 2009

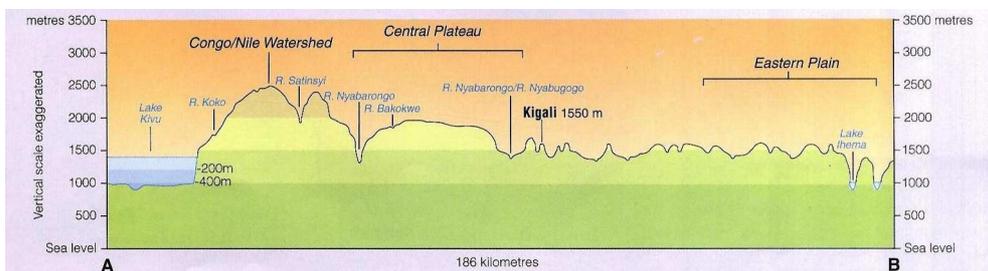


Figure 2.3: Cross-section through Rwanda (from A to B as indicated in Figure 2.2)

Source: Ntaganda and Ntagaramba, 2009

Because of its situation near the equator and its height, Rwanda has a temperate climate, with two rainy seasons and two dry seasons. Yearly precipitation ranges from 900 mm in the Eastern Province to over 1500 mm in the Nyungwe Forest (Figure 2.4). The temperature is more or less stable through the year – between 15° and 30° Celsius, depending on the location in the country, due to height differences (REMA, 2012). Average annual temperatures are around 18-22°Celsius (Figure 2.5).

This climate gives opportunities for agriculture. But the risk of the high population density of the country can lead to infertile soil and degradation of land quality (Clay et al, 1998). Another risk for agriculture is drought and the past decades drought happened sometimes with as result famines (REMA, 2012).

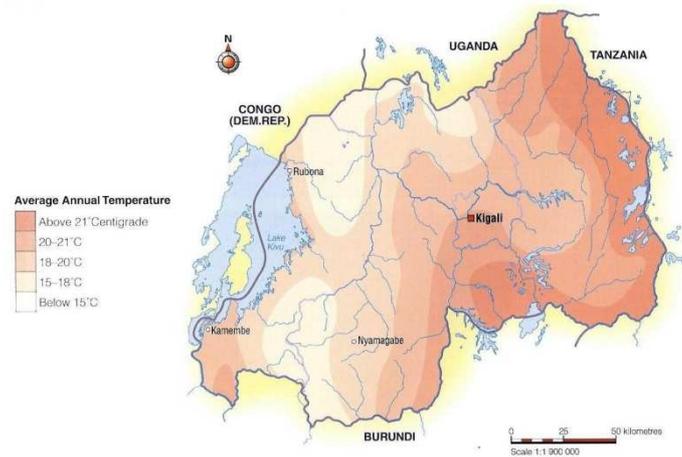


Figure 2.4: Average annual temperature in Rwanda Source: Ntaganda and Ntagaramba, 2009

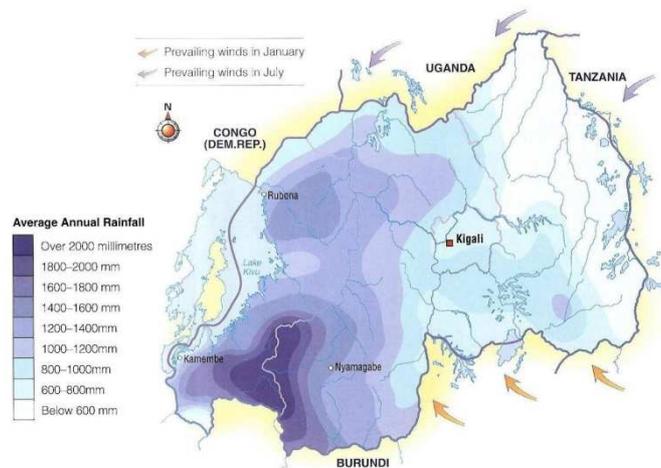


Figure 2.5: Average annual rainfall in Rwanda Source: Ntaganda and Ntagaramba, 2009

Economic and social development of Rwanda

The economy of Rwanda has in the last decade been one of the fastest growing economies in Africa. Although its growth has not always been constant, since the mid-1990's it always has been positive (Figure 2.6, left). The last decades the purchasing power per capita has increased, especially since 2000 (Figure 2.6, right). Despite of this economic growth and the growth of purchasing power, equality has not increased as the GINI-coefficient has been changing in a negative way⁶ (Ansoms, 2008), which means that inequality has increased. Within Rwanda some areas face more inequality compared to others. Especially in urban areas the inequality is large (both inside and outside the capital Kigali). Although the inequality is less in the rural areas, between 2001 and 2006 inequality increased in the rural areas as well.

⁶Ansoms (2008), mentions a Gini-coefficient of 0.29 in the mid-1980's, a coefficient of 0.47 in 2001, a coefficient of 0.51 in 2006.

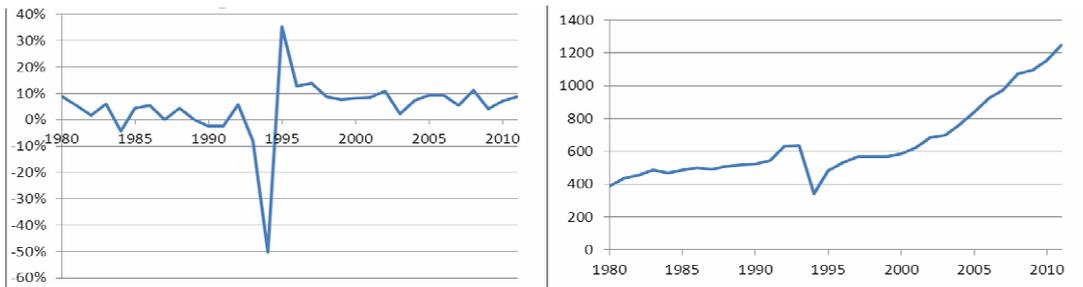


Figure 2.6: Economic growth (left) and purchasing power (right) between 1980 and 2011.
Source: Worldbank Databank (2012)

In order to deliver services to the population, the Government of Rwanda has divided the population into several economical strata, the so-called Ubudehe-classes. Those indicate the poverty status (Box 2.1) and provide households from the lower classes the opportunity to get access to financial capital (Siegel et al, 2013). Only a small part of the responding urban migrant households was able to answer to which Ubudehe-class they belonged. This may be due to their migration story, because their assets have changed over time; the Ubudehe classification seems to be used not as often as in the rural areas. One respondent (see Box 5.2) indicated that she has got a loan because of her Ubudehe class.

Box 2.1: Ubudehe classification

1- *Umutindi nyakujya* (those in extreme poverty)

Need to beg to survive, no land or livestock and lack shelter, adequate clothing and food. No access to medical care. Children malnourished and do not attend school.

2 – *Umutindi* (the very poor)

Same as 1 but physically capable of working on land owned by others,. Very small landholdings, no livestock.

3 - *Umukene* (the poor)

Have some land and housing. Live on their own labour and produce, and though they have no savings, they can eat, even if the food is not very nutritious.

4 - *Umukene wifashije* (the resourceful poor)

Same as 3 but may have small ruminants and their children go to primary school.

5 - *Umukungu* (the food rich)

Larger landholdings on fertile soil and enough to eat. Own livestock, often have paid jobs, and can access health care.

6 - *Umukire* (the money rich)

Has land and livestock, and often has salaried jobs. Good housing, often own a vehicle, and have enough money to lend and to get credit from the bank.

Source: Kettlewell, 2012

In the Rwandan economy, many households, especially the rural ones, depend on agriculture. Even 54% of the urban households depend on agriculture as a source of income.

The Rwandan agriculture is in many cases multi-cropping, which means that Rwandan peasants cultivate several crops next to each other, such as maize, potatoes, cassava, bananas and sorghum. Besides the importance of agriculture for the rural households, agriculture delivers export products as well, like coffee and tea as favourite cash crops. Other important export products are tin and hides.

Besides these export products Rwanda does not have many natural resources. the Rwandan Government is trying by different programmes to expand the opportunities to increase agricultural outputs, both for consumption and for trade (IFAD, 2012).

Rwanda has developed socially in the last years as well. Rwanda has risen in terms of Human Development Index. Aspects that determine the Human Development Index are improved, for example life expectancy at birth has increased, mortality rate under five has decreased, literacy rate has increased (Table 2.1). The genocide has its influence on labour participation, because since the genocide women are more involved in labour activities, which may be a result of the high number of female-headed households.

Table 2.1: Indicators of social development Rwanda

Indicator	1990	1995	2000	2005	2009	2010	2011
Life expectancy at birth	32.8	30.5	46.5	52.5	54.7	55.1	55.4
Mortality rate, under 5 (per 1000)	156	275	183	108	68	60	54
Adult literacy rate (> 15 years)	-	-	64.9%	-	70.7%	-	-
Ratio female to male labour participation (%)	99.9	97.3	101.2	102.3	101.5	101.3	-
Human Development Index (HDI)	0.232	-	0.313	0.376	0.419	-	0.429

Source: Worldbank Databank, 2012; UNDP, 2012

Demography

The population of Rwanda has grown rapidly in the past decades, but because of the Genocide the numbers of the 1990's show a decrease. (Figure 2.7). Furthermore, the estimated population growth rate is 2.8% (CIA Factbook, 2012). This growth rate implies that Rwanda will grow in the coming years extremely.⁷ Manirakiza (2011) mentions two reasons for the population growth in the past decades: first, in the rural context big families are traditionally a sign of richness and a way of securing your livelihood. Second, the access to health services is not so high and therefore reproductive health care is not much available either.

Currently, Rwanda has policies that aim to reduce the birth rate in order to develop in a sustainable way. Ndaruhuye et al (2009) stated that these policies did not have the intended effects yet, due to constraints like taboos and the lack of anti-conception available, but nonetheless however signs for changes in attitude towards family have been noticed.

Rwanda is not representative to most other African countries in terms of population density. By now, Rwanda has an estimated population of nearly 11 million, on a small surface, which leads to one of the highest estimated population density of Africa: around 430 inhabitants per km² (CIA Factbook, 2012).

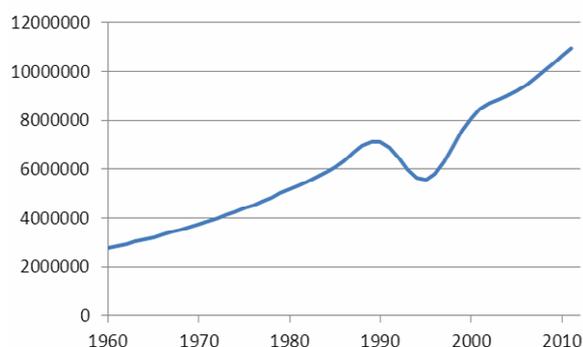


Figure 2.7: Size of population in Rwanda between 1960 and 2011

Source: Worldbank Databank, Population

Regarding the place of the population, either rural or urban, Rwanda is more main-stream African. Just like most countries in Africa, urbanization in Rwanda is not high, as it is estimated

⁷When this growth rate remains the same, in 20 years Rwanda will have 20 million people, which results in a population density over 700 p/km².

as 19%⁸; but it has grown rapidly since the 1990's (Figure 2.8). Thus, the highest share of the population is living in the rural areas (Worldbank Databank, 2012).

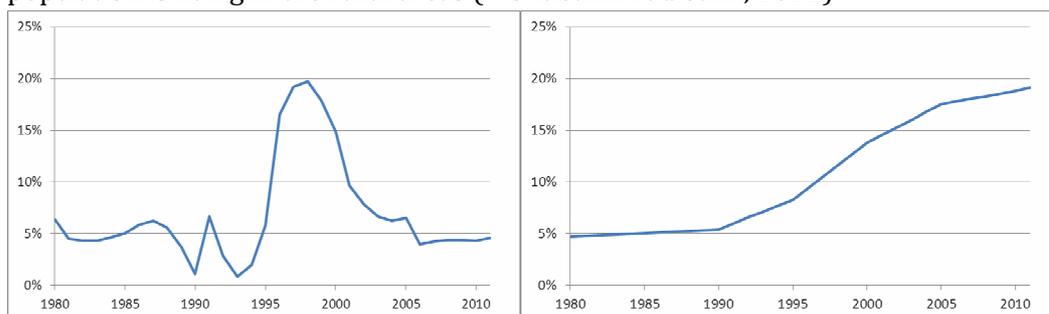


Figure 2.8: Urban growth (left) and rate of urbanisation (right) between 1980 and 2011 in Rwanda
Source: Worldbank Databank, Population

But what is seen as urban and what is considered as rural in Rwanda? In the 2002 Census, Rutayisire et al, (2005) use the definition which is used in the Census before and that definition is 'based on administrative criteria and to a lesser extent on the number of inhabitants' (Rutayisire et al, 2005, 9). So, in Rwanda urban areas are classified as such, instead of being urban because of a certain number of people. In this way, the risk noticed by Satterthwaite (2010) is applicable to Rwanda; with changes in administrative borders, urbanisation can take place.

The majority of the rural households consist of farmers who live near their own plots which results not in patterns of clustered housing, but in housing dispersed through space (UN Habitat, 2010) (Figure 2.9).



Figure 2.9: Farms scattered over the hill slopes in the Southern Province

Villagisation programmes

During the Genocide Rwanda has lost many citizens (as Figure 2.2 indicates as well), but in the years after the Genocide many Rwandese refugees that were living in the surrounding countries were stimulated to resettle in Rwanda. Partly these people went to Kigali (see chapter 2.2). In order to provide space for those migrants - there was still little land available - a 'villagisation programme' started; the so called Imidugudu programme (imidugudu means village); migrants

⁸ Mutandwa et al (2011, 56) mention estimations of 25%.

are stimulated to settle in those brand-new villages. Resettlement of refugees was a condition of the Arusha Accords, the Rwandan policy however indicates that all rural people would be resettled (Isaksson, 2011). Besides the providing of homes, this programme aims to change the typical Rwandan spatial distribution of scattered housing in rural areas. A benefit of that program was that villages were clusters of houses, which made it easier to deliver services to all citizens and more opportunities for livelihood diversification would be possible. Isaksson (2011) concludes that diversification among households in an imidugudu (plural of imidugudu) does not happen more than in other households. According to her, in 2000 about 20% of the rural population was resettled. In the prospective policy Vision 2020 it is the ambitious aim of the Rwandese Government to have 70% of the settled in Imidugudu. Although this project is still popular to the Government, this villagisation programme has received much criticism because people are forced to migrate (Isaksson, 2011). According to Uwimbabazi & Lawrence (2011) this policy works not out well because people leave the countryside and head for Kigali.

Rural-urban migration

In general, there are common causes of rural-urban migration in all developing countries. Literature about rural-urban migration in Rwanda mentions the rural situation as a reason to move to the cities. Uwimbabazi & Lawrence (2011) mention the shortage of employment in rural areas as an important cause of rural-urban migration. A significant percentage of employment relies on agriculture, but as Musahara (2001) indicates, the high population growth results in smaller plots of land. According to him, limited land is available for agricultural use and distribution. In 1950, more than half of the Rwandan population had access to more than 2 hectares. Nowadays the same percentage of the population has access to less than 0.5 hectares. With the on-going demographic growth, the size of arable land per household will continue to shrink. Manirakiza (2011) puts forward that this fragmentation of land and the rural poverty inspired especially young people to leave the countryside.

Another problem related to land is soil degradation, which takes place a lot. This is something that happens in case of tropical soils, which tend to be infertile when a few years after deforestation (Clay et al, 1998). Thus, the need to survive, poverty and infertile land result in an 'exodus' from the rural areas to the city (Uwimbabazi & Lawrence, 2011).

Another reason related to rural-urban migration that Uwimbabazi & Lawrence (2011) mention, is that because of shortage of land the Rwandese government is promoting the aforementioned settlements (imidugudu) so that returned refugees and other Rwandese people can use their tiny parcels of land for strategic farming (Isaksson, 2011). In spite of its good intentions, this policy is not able to keep people on rural areas, as it does not improve the households' livelihoods (Uwimbabazi & Lawrence, 2011). This is a case of the mismanagement of the flows of people.

Considering data (the Census of 1991 and 2002) on the occurrence of migration and its growth over time, it is obvious that for a long time there has been little mobility within the Rwandan population. People stayed in rural areas on their farms and urban areas were not attractive (Matandwa et al 2011, Percival and Homer-Dixon 1995).

According to Rutayisire et al. (2005), especially since the mid 1990's migration takes place within Rwanda. They distinguish two types of migrants within the census: The first type migrant is not living in his place of birth any more at the time of the census; they are called migrants for life. The second type of migrant is no inhabitant of his former living place any more at the time of the census and this group is called the recent migrants.

In 2002, most people in Kigali belong to one of those two groups. The group of migrants for life has over 340,000 people. Nearly a quarter of these people was born abroad. Provinces where many migrants were born are Gitarama (18.8%) and Butare (11.3%), which are currently part

of the Southern Province. 13.7% was born in the rural province of Kigali (Kigali Ngari). This province now is divided over the Eastern and Northern Province and the Province of Kigali (see Figure 2.10 for changes).

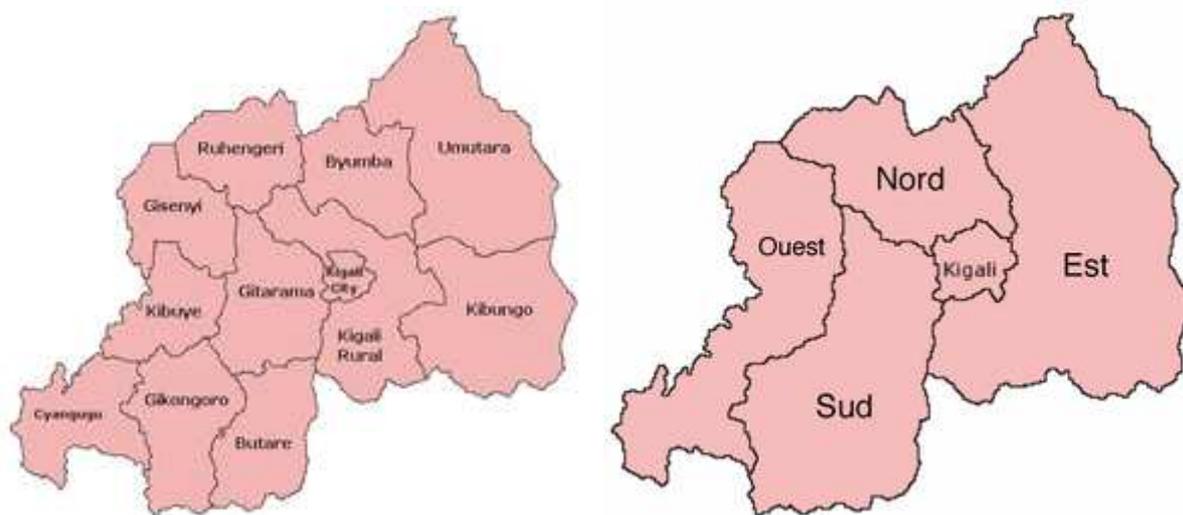


Figure 2.10: Administrative division of Rwanda before 2006 (left) and after 2006 (right)
Source: Wikipedia Commons ((2012)

The group of recent migrants consists of 218,000 people. Among this group, many people's former place of residence was in the provinces of Gitarama (18.4%), Kigali Ngari (17.6%) and Butare (10.1%), while 20.2% of these migrants were living abroad. The figures of both types of migrants do not differ very much from each other (Rutayisire et al, 2005).

Rural-urban migration to Kigali and its effects on rural households

In Rwanda's case, the 'local development context', the effect of rural-urban migration on rural households, is interesting. Schutten (2013) and Smit (2012) have done research in Rwanda, in the rural surroundings of Kigali (Figure 2.11).

According to Smit (2012), in the research areas three groups of households can be distinguished: the poorest, the poor and the better-off. Similarly to Ellis and Freeman (2004) the richest group, the better-off, has much land and livestock, they can hire many labourers and their level of education tends to be high. On the contrary, the poorest do have least assets: they are financially very poor, do not have much land and livestock and have low levels of education. Among this group many female-headed households can be found. At last, the poor group is somewhere in between.

Many of the households in general indicate that these flows of money and goods improve their rural livelihood. In looking at these groups in relation to the amount of remittances these households get, Smit (2012) sees a trend. The better-off households generally get more remittances compared to the other groups. Especially the group of the poorest households does not benefit from migration, in case migration takes place. The loss of human capital to the city is not compensated by the remittances the households receive. In this way the money is reinforcing the existing structures – rich households become richer and poor households become poorer. This means the gap between rich and poorest households increases.

Schutten (2013) is looking at the different types of migration that can be found among rural households in the four surrounding research areas of Kigali (Figure 2.11) and relates the way how people migrate to their livelihood profile.

Box 2.2: Migration strategies

<i>1 - Survival strategy</i>	Poverty, the lack of fertile land and social conflicts are main reasons to engage in rural-urban migration.
<i>2 - Consolidation strategy</i>	Migrated household members have found sort of employment, remittances sent back strengthen their livelihood.
<i>3 - Accumulation strategy</i>	Households have a sustainable livelihood, but migration is used in order to improve their sustainable livelihood.

Source: Schutten, 2013, 87-88, 90

Migration is a livelihood strategy, which can be subdivided into three types: migration as survival strategy, migration as consolidation and migration as accumulation strategy. Six livelihood profiles made by Schutten relate to these strategies. The most vulnerable groups use migration as survival strategy, while two types of households that are less vulnerable use migration as a way of consolidation. At last, the better-off households use migration as an accumulation strategy (Box 2.2).

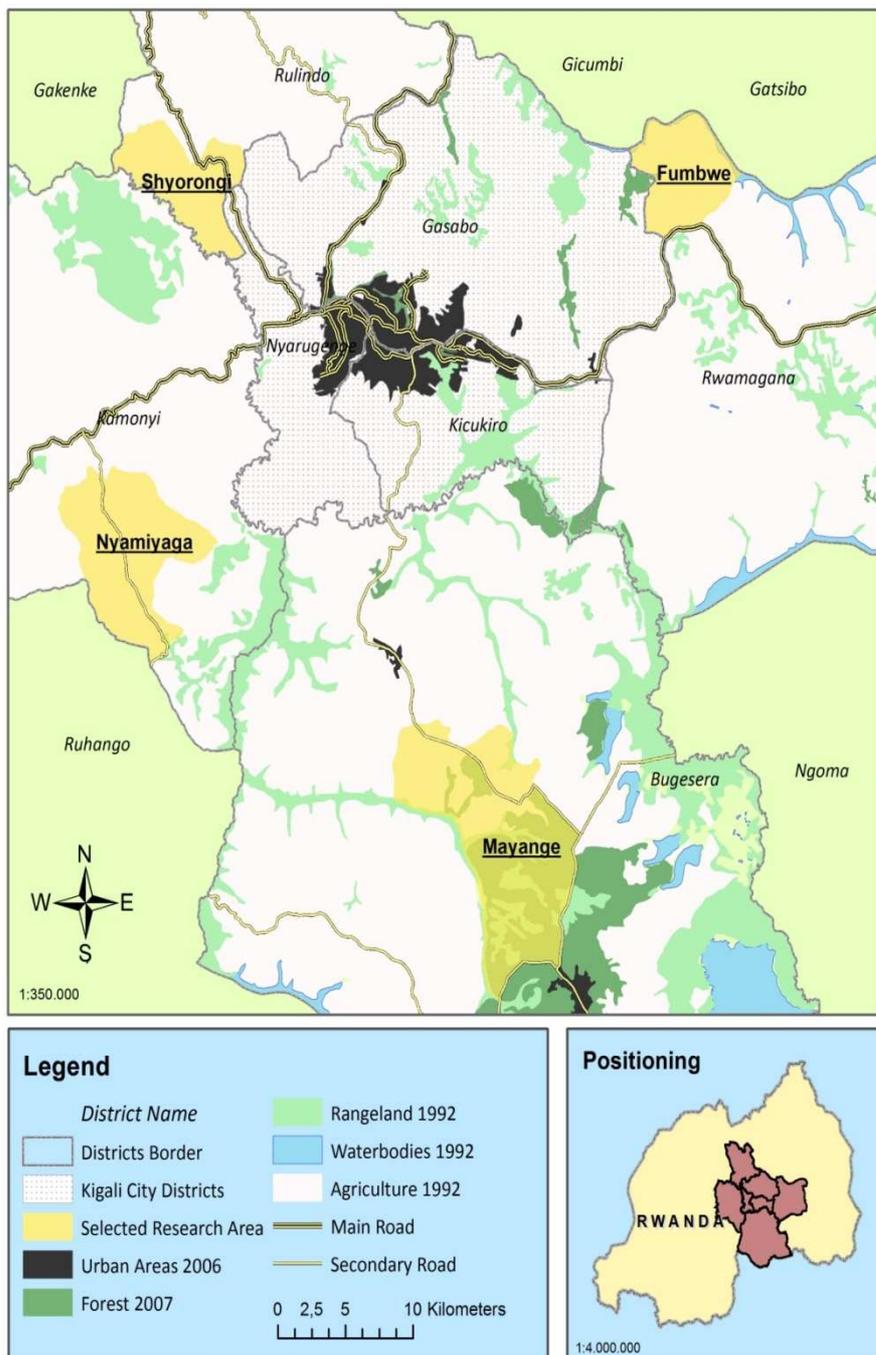


Figure 2.11: Sectors surrounding Kigali researched by Schutten (2013) and Smit (2012)
 Source: National University of Rwanda, GIS Centre (2012), Schutten (2013) and Smit (2012)

According to Schutten (2013, 100) “[d]ifferent rural livelihoods bring forth rural-urban migrants with different characteristics”. Migrants that use migration as either survival or consolidation strategy tend to be younger compared to the people who use migration as accumulation strategy, however the age of migration seems very high⁹. How people get money for their migration differs per household: people with a survival strategy have to sell assets or to take a loan in order to move to Kigali. The ‘consolidation strategy-migrants’ rely on their own savings and get their money via friends or family. The migrants with an accumulation strategy are able to pay for their own migration.

Finally, the way how rural households use migration relates to the amount of remittances that are send. Households that use migration as survival strategy receive least remittances.

⁹ Four livelihood profiles have an average age from 27 to 29. Two groups have an average age of 32 and 42.

Households, with migration as consolidation strategy, receive more remittances and among the 'accumulation migrants' almost all households receive.¹⁰ Schutten concludes that migration patterns give a better insight in poverty status than the Ubudehe-classification (Box 2.1), which can be understood in light of the livelihood profiles and the amount of remittances rural households get.

The findings of Smit (2012) and Schutten (2013) are interesting as they give a good insight of the situation in the Rwandan rural areas, the 'local development context' in the conceptual model, (chapter 1.5). This research aims to complement the studies of Schutten and Smit.

2.2 Kigali

History and development of Kigali

The city of Kigali has not always been the most important place within Rwanda. In the beginning of the Belgian colonisation, from 1916 to 1921, important economic and administrative functions were located in Astrida (currently Huye, or Butare).

Since independence in 1962 Kigali has grown faster. For several reasons its growth was increasing: as the capital of Rwanda, many economic and diplomatic activities took place in Kigali. This growth attracted other people for job reasons. After Habyarimana seized power in 1973, many people from the north of Rwanda, where the President came from, came to Kigali as well in order to consolidate the northern power (Manirakiza, 2011, 7). In this time industrialisation took place as well.

As a consequence, within Kigali developed many spontaneous houses and informal settlements because adequate housing was not available for all. The government had several plans in order to improve the urban structure, for example done by providing new plots for housing. But meeting the building requirements was only possible for richer households, which resulted in the forced movement of poor households to the periphery of the city (Manirakiza, 2011).

After the Genocide, Kigali has grown extremely especially due to flows of returning refugees, for example from Uganda and other surrounding countries. People moved from the countryside to Kigali as well, because they wanted to settle somewhere else because of trauma (Uwimbabazi, 2011). Besides, during the first years after the Genocide the city was more secure than the rural areas where. Furthermore, Kigali provides more opportunities for jobs and education, which led to an increase in the density of the population and to new settlements (Manirakiza, 2011). Chapter 2.3 elaborates on rural-urban migration in Rwanda.

In short, Kigali's growth can be declared through first the attractiveness as a capital and second it's intensified growth in the first years after the Genocide. Currently, the population of Kigali is estimated just over one million people (Manirakiza, 2011) (Figure 2.12).

¹⁰ Households with survival strategy: 0.39 and 0.50; consolidation strategy: 0.72 and 0.85; accumulation strategy: 0.95 and 1.00.

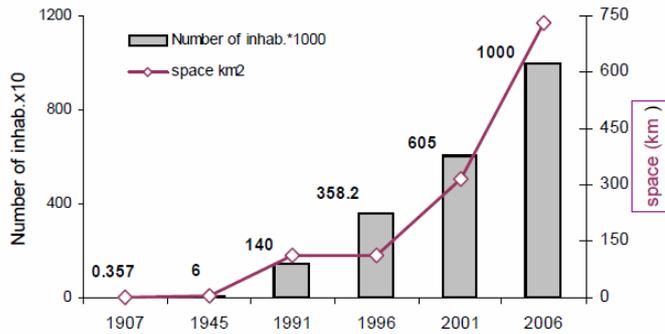


Figure 2.12: Kigali, growth of population and expansion of occupied space
Source: Uwimbabazi, 2011

Just like the policies of the government to prevent informal settlements in the 1970's, nowadays the government has formulated new plans in order to improve the housing situation in Kigali by the current 'Masterplan'. Some parts of Kigali, for example the neighbourhoods Kiyovu and Kimichanga, do have lots of informal settlements. These areas have got a specific use according to the Masterplan. As a consequence the informal settlements have been demolished and people had to leave. In the past years, people have received compensations for their forced movement (Ilberg, 2008). Nevertheless this urban renewal forces poor people again to the periphery of Kigali (Manirakiza, 2011).

Administrative division

At this moment, in terms of administration Rwanda consists of five provinces: the Northern, Eastern, Western and Southern Province, and the Province of Kigali, which lies in the geographical heart of Rwanda (see Figure 2.1). This administrative division exists since 2006. Before, Rwanda consisted of twelve provinces and the province of Kigali was smaller. Over time, the surface of Kigali has increased due to administrative changes. On its turn, this is a reason why the population of Kigali has changed. The Kigali region is the area of this study and it is partly an agglomeration. 70% of the surface of the Kigali Province can still be considered as rural space due to administrative enlargement.

The region is divided into three districts: Gasabo, Kicukiro and Nyarugenge (Figure 2.13). These districts are divided into 35 sectors, which are divided into cells (Manirakiza, 2011).

Cells of research: Nyamabuye, Gatsata and Kagunga, Gikondo

This study has taken two cells in Kigali for study: Nyamabuye and Kagunga. These are located in the district of Gasabo and Kicokiro respectively and are part of the sectors Gatsata and Gikondo respectively. In depth interviews with the executive secretary of the cells gave more information about these cells.

Nyamabuye is a cell that is part of the sector Gatsata and it is located close to Nyamabuye. In this cell 2,522 households are registered, the total population of this cell is 13,253 persons. According to the executive secretaries, most migrants are from the Northern and the Southern Province. These people are mainly young people without education. They move to Kigali because life in the rural areas is hard, due to infertility of the land.

Nyamabuye is attractive for migrants because of the costs: the rents are low and the food is relatively cheap for it is situated close to the countryside.

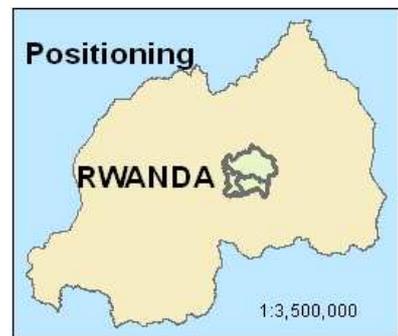
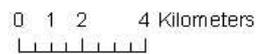
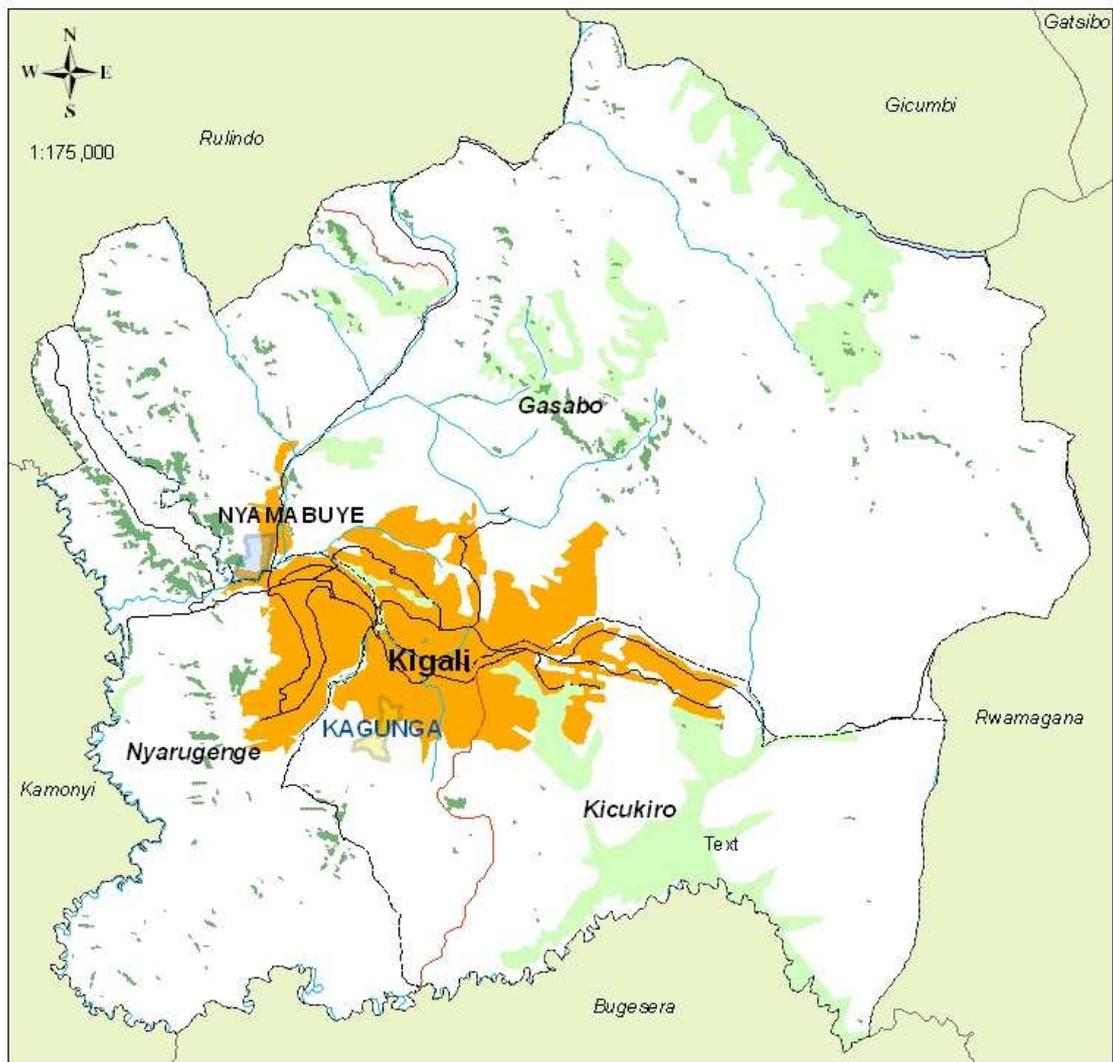


Figure 2.13: Province of Kigali and the research areas

Source: CGIS-NUR, Butare

People living in Nyamabuye are employed in several jobs. First of all, many people are working in the informal sector, for example they are working around the Taxi Park of Nyabugogo. This can be in labor forces, which consists of all kind of jobs: carrying things, assisting and the packing and unpacking of goods. Other people are working in construction of houses. Along the main road, which is from Kigali to Byumba, many car-related shops can be found.

The executive secretary did not have any data about the development of Gatsata or Nyamabuye. She told that in the past Gatsata has been a rural cell, but while Kigali was growing, it became a neighborhood of the city.

Some problems are occurring within Nyamabuye. The executive secretary of Nyamabuye tells that migrants are accused for crimes. Furthermore, many illegal marriages take place. This may result in problems at a community level, when parts of the families are abandoned.

Manirakiza (2011) mentions Gatsata as one of the neighborhoods where migrants settled after the mid-1990's, during the extreme urban growth of Kigali.

Kagunga's executive secretary of cell provided information about the cell he was responsible for as well. First of all, Kagunga is part of the sector of Gikondo (Figure 2.14), south of the Industrial Park) and 1678 households are living in the cell. Kagunga has several umudugudu (villages).

Rural-urban migration does not take place a lot in Kagunga. New people or households enter the cell, but most of them come from other parts of Kigali. These new inhabitants came to Kagunga in order to live in their new-built housing. Many recently built houses are observed in Kagunga and the neighboring cells. Other sources explained that a part of these new houses are built by order of soldiers, who participated in UN-missions.

The construction of these houses led to another group of migrants. According to the executive secretary these people do live temporarily in Kagunga. When the houses are finished, they move to another neighborhood in Kigali where construction activities take place. These people are not administrated, so data are not available.

In addition to building activities – which are temporarily – another main economic activity in Kagunga is commercial activities, like boutiques, bars and restaurants.

The executive secretary was clear about the future, as Kagunga would attract increasingly rich people and infrastructure and housing in the neighborhood would be improved. The poor people were not included in that bright picture.

Manirakiza (2011) mentions Gikondo as a sector that started to develop in the 1970's, however this does not necessarily mean the part of Kagunga, which is a peripheral part of Gikondo and therefore must be developed later. As the new houses indicate parts of the neighborhood are still in progress.

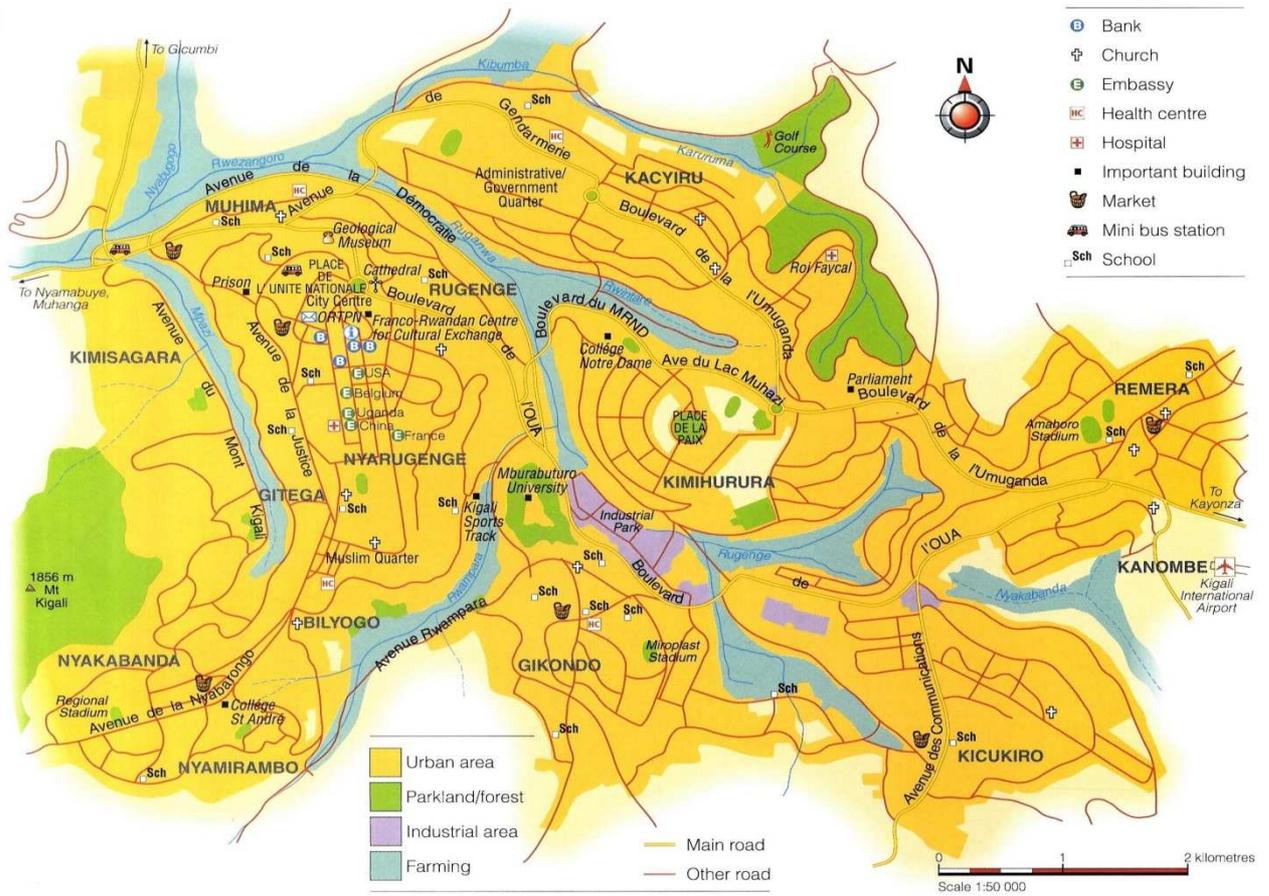


Figure 2.14: Map of the city of Kigali.

Source: Ntaganda and Ntagaramba, 2009

Chapter 3: Methodology

Until now the focus of this study was much about the theme of the thesis, rural-urban migration and livelihoods, and regional context, the situation in Rwanda. Another important question remains: how is the research organised? This chapter treats the process of this research. First the objective of this research and elaboration on the research questions is given. The second part describes the methods that are used in order to reach these objectives. At last, the limitations about this research are mentioned.

3.1 Research objective

This research has the aim to explore and understand the relationship between rural and urban households in Rwanda. This will be looked at through investigating the relationship between the rural-urban migrants and their relations with rural households. This part explains the research objective by elaborating on the questions. As explained in the introduction already, the main question of this thesis is:

How can the linkage between urban migrant households in Kigali and rural households in Rwanda be described and explained?

Literature suggests that migration to urban areas aims to diversify the livelihoods of rural households. Then again when urban costs are on the rise, urban livelihoods seem to rely on rural assets, for example in relation to food security, which functions as insurance. This research pays attention to both aspects of the relationship from the viewpoint of the urban migrant households: leaving the rural household or community on the one hand and on the other hand relying on the rural areas/households/community they left. Three sub questions are formulated in order to be able to answer the main question.

'What were the reasons for the rural-urban migrants to migrate to Kigali?'

This first sub question is about the reasons people decided to migrate. It focuses merely on the people that have migrated to Kigali. The migrants had to answer the most important reason to leave the countryside and the most important reason to come to Kigali (Section 8, Annex 1).

How are the livelihoods of migrant households built up?

This sub question is about the current living conditions or livelihood of the urban dwellers. This includes all migrant households: households where at least one rural-urban migrant can be found. The household survey operationalizes five different capitals of the livelihood approach: Physical capital includes five aspects of housing and the numbers of assets that people have (Section 3 and), human capital is about education and the number of disabled persons within the household. Natural capital is about land and livestock (Section 4), while financial capital has to do with income, expenditures, access to loans and remittances (Section 5, 6 and 7). Social capital is measured by membership of economic institutions and trust (Section 6).

To what extent are urban migrant households linked to rural households through flows of

The last sub question is about the linkage that urban households have with the rural home. This rural home is operationalized as the connections that migrants have with other people in the rural place where they have lived before; it may be households they have left, or households that are linked to them by kinship or non-relatives. A relationship can exist between the urban and rural households in terms of flows of money and goods or in terms of visits that are paid to the rural households (Annex 1, Section 8, 9 and 10).

3.2 Methods

This paragraph tells about the research design. In order to prepare in a profound way, the preparation of the research took off in the Netherlands. As part of that preparation a literature research has been done, which is structured in chapter 1 and 2. In Rwanda another aspect of the research was the fieldwork in which two methods were combined. These three aspects are part of the research design (Figure 3.1).



Figure 3.1: research design

Mixed method approach

Since last decade mixed methods have been used more frequently (Hulme, 2007). This mixed method approach is an approach of doing research, combining methods that have been seen for a long time as totally different. An example of mixed-methods approach, is using quantitative methods, qualitative methods and participatory methods, resulting in a mixed set of data from household surveys, in depth interviews and focus groups. By using different methods the advantages of both methods are fully used. In some cases an in depth interview is more useful, because it tells personal stories. Alternatively, a household survey enables a researcher to say more about a large population. Ideally, information derived through different methods is cross-checked or 'triangulated', which enforces the research.

Mixed methods do have added value to this study as well. The statistics derived from the household survey on their own remain technocratic, they do not tell stories. In depth interviews show the face behind the numbers of the statistics and give space to the dynamic stories of migrants. Thus, the quantitative part of this thesis enables to generalise, while the qualitative part of this study provides a deeper insight in the life of the respondents.

Quantitative part

This study used a household survey in order to get its quantitative data. This household survey was constructed by making use of other already existing questionnaires and was translated from English to the language of Rwanda: Kinyarwanda. On several aspects of this method will be elaborated: places of research, sampling and the measure of analysis of the household survey will be explained. Annex 1 shows the household survey that is used.

Places of research

How is decided what neighbourhoods were chosen? Before start of the fieldwork only two things

were clear about choosing a place of research. First of all, the focus would be on Kigali. Second, it would be interesting to compare two neighbourhoods.

During preparation of the fieldwork in Butare, an informant, mister Twarabamenye, mentioned some localities in Kigali where many migrants could be found. Choosing two different neighbourhoods makes it possible to make comparisons on a basis of the characteristics of both localities. In order to be sure to have different kinds of locations, the sectors of Gatsata (Northeast in Kigali agglomeration) and Gikondo (South central in Kigali) were chosen. A third sector was chosen as well, Gahanga. Despite being part of Kigali province this sector was not yet part of the Kigali agglomeration. This sector is not included in the sample.

After the selection of Gatsata and Gikondo, next step was to get permission for doing research in the sectors, which was approved. Both sectors provided demographic figures of the sectors. The number of households in both sectors appeared to be large, so the research would be better applicable on a lower scale, the scale of the *akagera* or cells, which is the lowest administrative level in Rwanda. Within Gatsata the cell of Nyamabuye was chosen. This cell was located close to Nyabugogo Taxi Park which is the first place where many migrants arrive. Nyamabuye is therefore a place where many migrants can be found. In Gikondo the cell of Kagunga was chosen, partly because of administrative reasons. Furthermore, this cell was located closest to the border of the Kigali agglomeration, which would be a location of migrants as well.

Sampling

The staff of the cell offices was not able to provide a list of the entire population living in the cell. This would have been useful in order to draw a sample for the cells of Nyamabuye and Kagunga. The cell office has registered the number of households only, which is used in order to calculate an appropriate sample size, with help of a formula from Barlett (2001) (Annex 2). The resulting sample size was around 65 cases in each cell. The sample size was enlarged to 90 households in each cell.

With help of aerial photographs and other geographical data provided by the GIS Centre, it was possible to get a good framework to select households. This is done by counting the number of roofs of which 90 were selected as a sample. This map was printed and used in the field as a map to navigate through the neighbourhoods.

Measure of analysis

When it comes to the second and third sub question, respectively about livelihood and contact of household with the rural relations, measure of analysis in this study is on a household level.

In livelihood studies scholars mainly focus on the perspective of households as well. Ellis (1998) uses also the household as measure of analysis. Ellis (1998, 23) recognizes both the strengths and the weaknesses. As strength he mentions 'the joint circumstances in which households find themselves'. As weakness he mentions 'its neglect of the determinants and effects of diversification differentiated by women and men.' De Haan and Zoomers (2005, 28), call the focus on households 'useful', because it can bridge the divide between micro economics and historic structuralism. Besides, the units of a household are convenient for collecting data in their opinion.

But households are not homogeneous. As Kaag et al (2004, 64) state, the individual and household goals may conflict, furthermore 'the assumption of a nuclear family has been rejected.' This is even more the case when families are split. Also the study of Tacoli & Mabala (2010) mentions the differences within households in terms of gender and generation.

Although the household level does not give voice to the different household members, there is no other satisfying measure of analysis for this study.

The household in the Rwandan situation consists not of two parents with some children only. In case households are rich, housekeepers are part of the family as well. Other people that can be part of the household are relatives, like brothers or sisters of the husband or wife of the household. Within the first sub question about migration, there is not much known about these household members, so they are consequently not taken into account as independent migrants.

Qualitative part

After having completed the household survey, the qualitative part of the research started, consisting of structured in-depth interviews about the migration trajectories the migrants have made. In general the following topics were discussed: the migrant's situation in the rural areas, the move to Kigali and life in Kigali since arrival and the current relationship with the rural areas. In some cases some specific questions were asked (Annex 3). In total, 18 persons from 14 different households participated; eight men and ten women. In three cases more than one person per household participated.

How were these people selected? First, the member of the household has completed the household survey. The last question of the household survey asks whether the respondent is willing to participate in an in-depth interview. Most households were willing to participate. After having processed the data of the household surveys the in depth interviews are conducted. The households were selected on different variables. One variable is the number of assets that households have got, which is an indication of richness. Another is the composition of a household: it could be a nuclear household or a household with migrants only. Other variables were whether people had land in the rural areas or not and if people had send their children to the rural areas. The selection of the households resulted in different stories on these variables. Furthermore, general questions were asked about the respondent's migration to Kigali by making use of a topic list.

3.3 Limitations

This research design has its limitations, which are discussed in this part.

One limitation is related to the way of sampling. The selection of households based on the roofs that could be seen on the aerial photographs led to practical problems, since in some cases one roof did not mean one household, but several households. In such a case the head of household that was present was our respondent, which could lead to a similar type of migrant..

As this study focuses on migrants, households without migrants were not be part of the group of interest. When a house did not contain any migrants, another household with migrants had to be found. Again the neighbours that were present were the respondents.

Most of the research has taken place during the day while navigating in the neighbourhoods was hard during night. By day, many people were at work and those people arrived at the moment the fieldwork had been finished for that day. Consequently, several groups may be less present within the sample than in reality is the case among the migrant households. First, female-headed households were in general less available because female heads of households were working during the day and only available at other times. The same would count for households consisting of migrants only, who are working whole day long and not often present. Especially this last group plays an important role in the linkage between rural and urban households.

Another problem concerning the use of these aerial photographs was that some new built houses were missing on the map. The cell of Nyamabuye had this problem more frequent, compared to Kagunga. These houses are taken into account as much as possible.

Language was a limitation as well, as for both the interpreter and the author English is not their mother tongue. This problem of language would influence especially the qualitative part, because this was a more dynamic conversation than the household surveys were. The household surveys were translated from English to Kinyarwanda, so in this way the results are more reliable.

This study is mainly quantitative, which has its benefits (Hulme, 2007), but it definitely has its drawbacks. In order to understand more about the decision to migrate, the situation at the time of migration and related issues qualitative methods could have been used more intensive.

Chapter 4: Migration from the countryside to Kigali

Before this chapter analyses reasons why migrants left the countryside and came to Kigali, it describes the people who participated in this study. Thus, this chapter consists of two parts: first, the characteristics of the migrant households and the migrated individuals are mentioned to get a good sight on the population. The first part answers questions about the composition of the household and the origin of those people. The second part of this chapter gives more facts about the migrant's move to Kigali and describes the migrant's motives to move to Kigali. It answers therefore the first research sub question. Furthermore, this chapter pays attention to people who want to leave Kigali as well. At last a conclusion will be drawn.

Migrants and migrant households

To start with, an important question must be answered: who is called a migrant in this study? A migrant in its broadest definition is a person who is living in another place than where he or she was born. The migrant once crossed an administrative border. This study focuses on Rwandan rural-urban migrants, and therefore focuses on migrants who now live in Kigali but came from rural areas within Rwanda. Regarding the definition of Rutayisire et al (2002), this study is about 'recent migrants'. Some people indicated that they have been living in rural areas, while their province of birth was Kigali. These people are also considered as rural-urban migrants. In short, everyone who once moved from the rural areas of Rwanda to Kigali is considered as a migrant.

Households of which at least the wife or husband is a rural-urban migrant, are considered as migrant households. Consequently, within the sampled households some international migrants can be found, being married with a rural-urban migrant. These migrants who are born in neighbouring countries like DR Congo, Uganda and Burundi are not at stake, because they are not part of the rural-urban linkage this research focuses upon.

4.1 Characteristics of the respondents

Household characteristics

The number of responding households is 180. The responding households are divided equally over the cells of Nyamabuye and Kagunga: so 90 households in both cells. The size of the households ranges from one to fourteen persons. In total 871 persons are living within these 180 households. The average size of the households is 4.8 persons.

Comparing both cells, Nyamabuye has smaller households and more small and medium households compared to Kagunga (Table 4.1). Kagunga's households are slightly bigger compared to Nyamabuye: its mean size is 5.1 versus 4.6. Secondary data shows that the average at a sector level is less than within this sample: households consist of 4.2 and 4.1 persons respectively for the sectors of Gatsata and Gikondo.¹¹

¹¹ NISR, 2008a, p.31; NISR 2008b, p.31: Gatsata: $23,615 / 5,639 = 4.19$, Gikondo: $14,641/3,561 = 4.11$

Table 4.1: Size of households

Size household	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1 to 3 persons (small)	30	33.3	26	28.9	56	31.1
4 to 6 persons (medium)	45	50.0	41	45.6	86	47.8
More than 6 persons (big)	15	16.7	23	25.6	38	21.1
Total	90	100.0	90	100.0	180	100.0

Not all households are composed in the same way, regarding the sex of the head of household. There is a distinction between male-headed and female-headed households. Kagunga hosts most male-headed households: 80 versus 75 in Nyamabuye. Consequently, most of the female-headed households are located in Nyamabuye.

Female-headed households result from several reasons. First of all, the husband may have died. This happened to some of the women. Another reason was that a woman divorced or that she was left behind (Box 4.1).

The share of female-headed households in both Kagunga and Nyamabuye is less in comparison to the sectors Gikondo and Gatsata as a whole (Table A4.1). Women being the head of household are more likely to be at work, because they have to earn money in order to survive with their family. Relying on one head of household only makes female-headed households more vulnerable.

Box 4.1: Left behind in Kigali

Once we were performing our research in Nyamabuye, we met a woman with a small child. She did not have a husband. She told us that she was from a rural area. Once upon a time she went to Kigali and she felt in love with a man. After some time she got pregnant and her 'lover' left her behind. Now she was stuck in the city. She was afraid of going back to the rural, because it was a shame for her family that she has got a child.

Personal characteristics

A small majority of the persons within the sample is female: 52.4% versus 47.6% males. The average age is 20.4.

In Nyamabuye 414 persons are living within 90 households. In this neighbourhood the sexes are not represented equally: the sample consists of 44.7% males and 55.3% females. Furthermore, Nyamabuye has many persons within the youngest two groups, between 0 and 9 years old. Persons between 10 and 19 years old are not much represented in Nyamabuye. People between 20 and 34 years old are much more represented in this cell. Most of them are from outside Kigali (Figure 4.1).

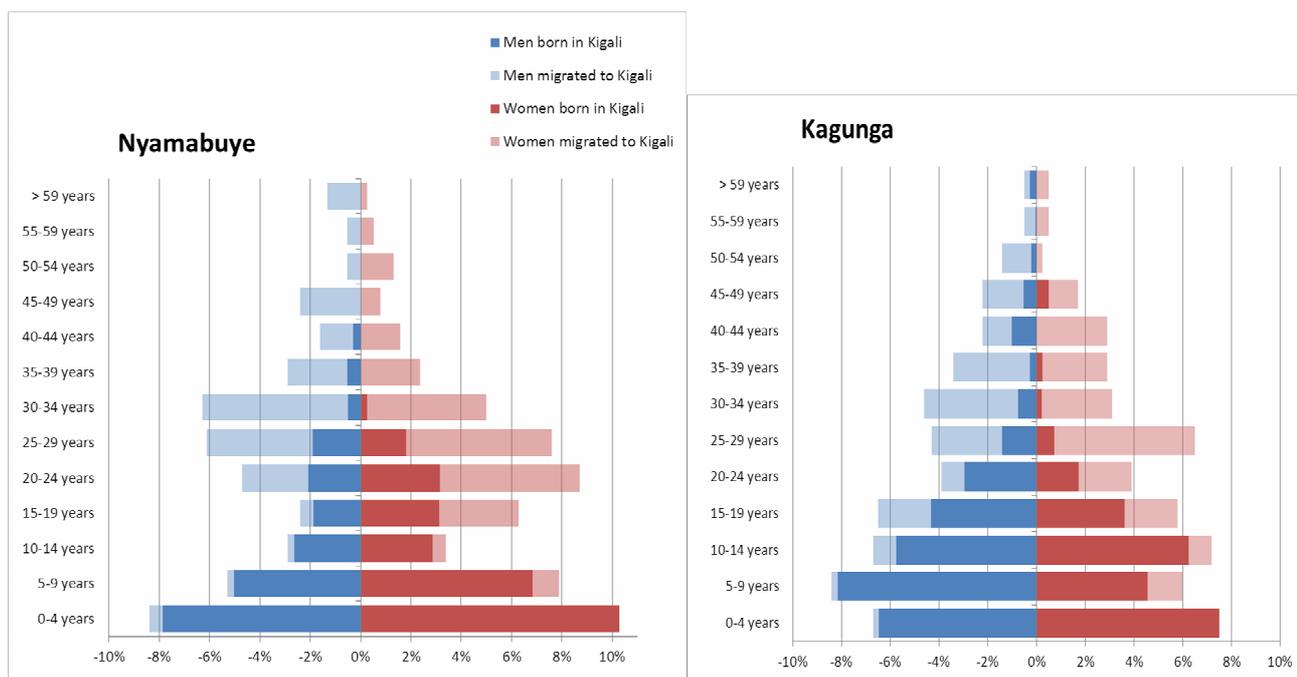


Figure 4.1: Population pyramid of Nyamabuye (left) en Kagunga (right)

Kagunga has a more equal division of sexes: 50.3% is male and 49.7% female. Like in Nyamabuye, the youngest groups are rather present in Kagunga as well. Persons between 10 and 19 years old are highly represented as well. Another group that is much represented in Kagunga is the group of persons from 40 to 49 years old: this group is in Kagunga nearly twice as big as in Nyamabuye. The group of persons from 20 to 24 years old is much smaller in Kagunga than in Nyamabuye. Another remarkable difference is the number of migrants in Nyamabuye, compared to Kagunga. Among the population of Kagunga many older people indicate being born in Kigali. The division of age between Kagunga and Nyamabuye differ significantly¹² (Table A4.2).

Province of birth

Where were the household members born? The majority (50.5%) was born in the Province of Kigali. This group consists of migrants children who were born after their parent's arrival in Kigali or it concerns the migrant spouse. The remainder of the population is born outside the Province of Kigali and this group therefore consists of migrants. Many household members (26.4%) were born in the Southern Province. The Western, Northern and Eastern Province are the province of birth of other migrants and within these provinces respectively 9.1, 6.4 and 5.6 % of the migrants is born (Figure 4.2). A small share was born abroad.

¹²Pearsons Chi Square is 0.001, so with a significance level of 99% the zero-hypothesis can be rejected.

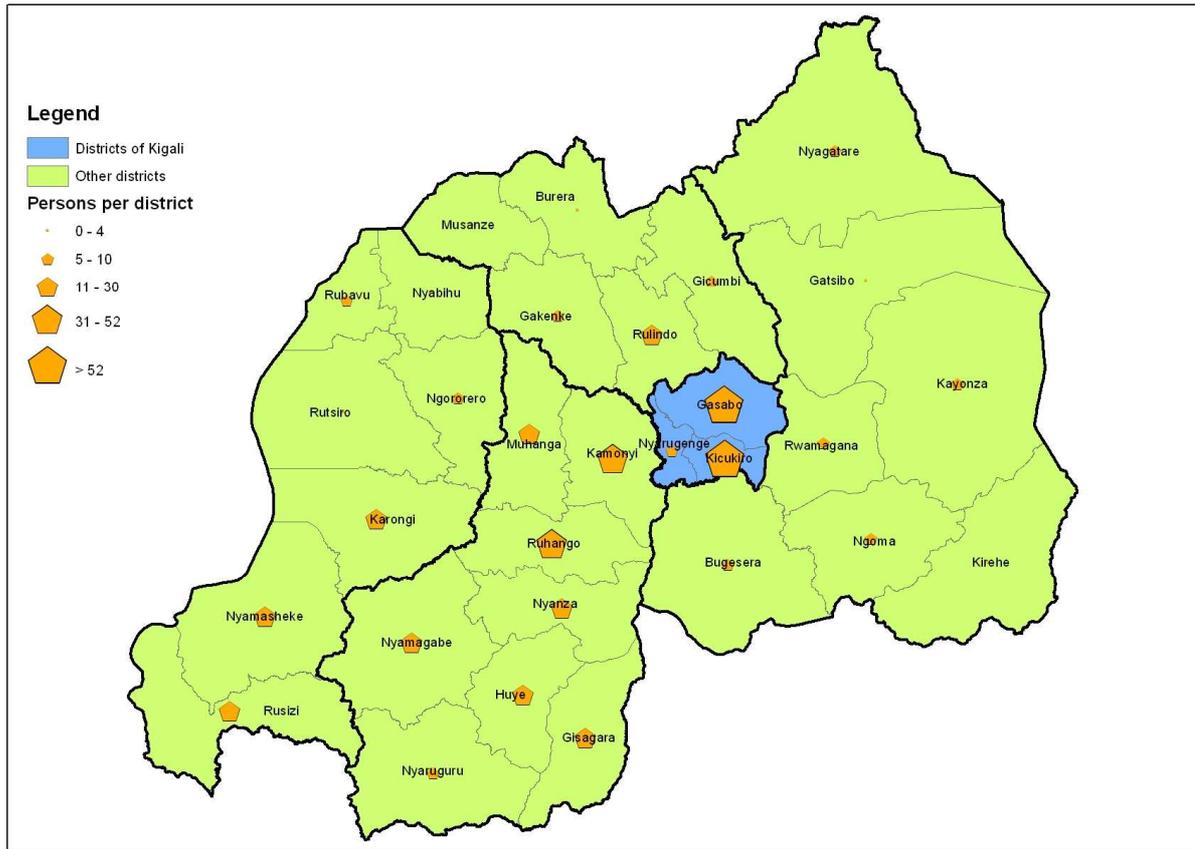


Figure 4.2: Province of birth of all household members

In comparison to Kagunga a higher share in Nyamabuye is born in the Northern and the Southern province. In Kagunga more people are born in the Eastern province and Kigali itself. This can be explained geographically. Nyamabuye is located in the Northwest corner of the Kigali agglomeration, close to Taxi Park Nyabugogo. Via this 'hub' Nyamabuye is connected with the Northern and Southern province. Kagunga is located in the Southern border of the agglomeration, which is relatively close to the border of the Eastern province. A significant relationship between the variables 'cell' and 'province of birth' exists¹³ (Table A4.3).

Marital status

The marital status of the persons of 18 years and older within the household is the next: the majority is married (59,9%). Another 34,1% is single. A small share is either widowed or divorced.

In Rwanda it is not allowed to be married before the age of 21 without permission. The youngest persons that responded being married, were 18 years old. In most cases this explains an informal marriage or cohabitation, which is a status of living together without any permission of the government (Sommers and Uvin, 2011, p.3). This can lead to hard situations, in case the wife is abandoned by her former husband (as seen in Box 4.1). At the same time illegal marriages do happen a lot.

¹³The Pearson Chi-Square is 0.002, which means the zero-hypothesis must be rejected with a significance level of 99%: there is a relationship between these variables.

At last, a comparison between the two cells on the demographic data gives a suggestion: Kagunga is a cell in which migrants are settled for a longer time. The share of people born outside Kigali is smaller compared to Kigali. This cell has bigger households and a higher share of people between 10 and 19 years old. Kagunga's households are so to speak more mature. On the contrary, Nyamabuye's demography shows more aspects of recently settled migrants who started a household: much more young children and a bigger group of people between 20 and 24 years old. What do these differences tell about the background of the rural-urban migrants in Kigali?

4.2 From the countryside to Kigali

After examination of the basic characteristics of the migrants and their households, their migration from a rural area to the city of Kigali is investigated. This part of the chapter will answer the question:

'What were the reasons for the rural-urban migrants to migrate to Kigali?'

This part investigates the migrant's motives to migrate.

In order to get a better understanding of how those people arrive at Kigali, the places they left, the year of migration and their age at migration have to be investigated. Then, this chapter elaborates on the motives people have in order to come to Kigali and finally it draws a conclusion.

Origins

A migrant who was born for example in the Southern Province and who moves to Kigali does not have to come necessarily from the Southern Province directly. In meantime the migrant may have lived in other places. The place of birth of most migrants is already known, but this may differ from the place they lived before they came to Kigali.

Most migrants traded the Southern Province for Kigali (55.8%). Other people came from the Western Province (18.8%). Small shares of migrants came from the Eastern and Northern Province (12.4% and 13.0% respectively).

The geographical distribution in terms of districts gives further information. Apparently most migrants do come from the Southern Province. In this group, the districts of Kamonyi and Ruhango have a substantial share, with 42 and 30 migrants respectively. These districts are relatively close to Kigali, but in other cases being close to Kigali does not have this effect. Besides Rulinda and Kamonyi, only the neighbouring district of Kigali Rwamagana contributes more than 10 migrants. All other districts contribute less.

significant relationship occurs between these two aspects: neighbourhood and time of the migrant's arrival¹⁴.

There are no quantitative data whether people that establish themselves in Kigali are coming directly to Kagunga or Nyamabuye or whether they are moving around in Kigali. In-depth interviews with migrants suggest that migrants do move a lot within Kigali after their arrival; Box 4.2 shows some journeys of the migrants through Kigali. In this case house ownership provides much stability.

Box 4.2: Trajectories through Kigali

Most young migrants that migrate to Kigali do not find a solid location directly. Vincent Tuyishimire and Pierre Nkurunziza came to Kigali and moved from place to place. Vincent tells: "When I arrived in 2004 first I have lived in Nyarutarama for 6 months, then I left to Muhima for two months." After a period they became students of the Kigali School of Finance and Banking. Consequently, they found a home at the campus of this institution, which was in Gikondo. Vincent: "In 2006 I came to Gikondo, but I lived on another place than I am living now. After graduation, I left to another place. In 2011 I moved to the current house, because I knew Pierre from my studies." Pierre told his story as well: "When I came to Kigali in 1999 I lived two months in Kacyiru and nine months in Remera and after that I came to this house."

José's first place after her arrival in 2005 was Nyarugenge. "There I became a trader in women clothes in the informal sector. After a certain period I moved to Kanombe (Kicukiro), because I had to move for housing. Another reason to go there was because there were some small markets provided possibilities to run my business. After a while, I came to Gitega again, because of a church there where I wanted to remain connected with." Nowadays she can be found in Nyamabuye.

Someone else who has moved from place to place, but within Nyamabuye, is Jean-Baptiste Muhire. He explains: "I lived in rented houses. It is hard to find static housing, where you can live for a long time. Many owners increase the prices of their housing, which forces people to find less expensive housing."

Finally, the age of the migrants at the time they moved to Kigali shows that especially adolescents and young adults tend to migrate to Kigali, regardless of sex. Sometimes younger people come to Kigali as well as in cases of family migration. Less than 10% of the migrants is older than 30 years at the moment of migration to Kigali (Table 4.2). When youngsters have completed their basic education they find out that their level of education does not provide them many opportunities in the rural areas, so they go to the city.

Table 4.2: Sex and age at year of migration to Kigali of all migrants

Age	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
0 - 9 years	17	13.8	14	10.1	31	11.8
10 - 19 years	46	37.4	54	38.8	100	38.2
20 - 29 years	44	35.8	61	43.9	105	40.1
30 - 39 years	14	11.4	7	5.0	21	8.0
40 years and older	2	1.6	3	2.2	5	1.9
Total	123	100.0	139	100.0	262	100.0

Independent migrants

Last part of this chapter treats the motives of migrants and focuses especially on 'independent

¹⁴With a 90% level of significance the zero-hypothesis must be rejected, because the Pearson Chi-Square is .089.

migrants', persons who are able to make the decision about staying on the countryside or leaving to Kigali themselves.

The age of a migrant influences his independence in making the decision to migrate. Of course, a migrant who was a child of 8 years old when he or she migrated, can respond that he migrated 'because of poverty'. That can be, but there was no option to stay in a rural area when the parents left to Kigali and so they accompanied them. Cases like aforementioned are left out of the analysis. Everyone who was younger than 16 years at the age of migration is not considered as 'independent', except when the cases are very specific and when it is clear that the migrant moved independently to Kigali, for reasons of education, marriage, work as a house keeper or being an orphan. When the age at time of migration showed up to be unclear, the motive has been checked in order to get a group of 'independent migrants'. This group of 'independent migrants' consist of 227 migrants.

Housekeepers and relatives within the households

Besides children younger than 16 years, two other groups are not taken into account as 'independent migrants' due to a lack of information about their migration trajectory. They must be mentioned because their case is encountered a lot within the households: housekeepers (Box 4.5) and relatives.

Within the households many housekeepers can be found. Many of them have migrated to Kigali: 29 out of 41 housekeepers (70,7%) is a migrant. The age of the housekeepers ranges from 15 to 26 years old. Both sexes are represented but most of them are female. Almost half of these migrated domestic servants are coming from the Western Province (Table A4.5). Many young people come to Kigali in order to find a job as a housekeeper. The fact that these housekeepers are housekeeper at the moment of this research does not necessarily mean that they are housekeeper since their arrival in Kigali.

Of all relatives living within migrant households, apart from migrants spouse and children, the majority was born outside Kigali: 48 out of 57. These 48 persons count for 11.2% of all migrants in the sample. Most of these 'migrant relatives' are born in the Southern province (56.3%) (Table A4.5). A small majority of 60,4% within this group of migrant relatives is female. Half of this group is within the age of 15 and 24 years old. The reasons they have for living in Kigali may be education or job reasons.

In short, these two groups - housekeepers and migrant relatives - who are living within migrant households are in most cases young people who seem trying to get solid ground in Kigali.



Figure 4.5 : Rwanda's countryside (Huye sector, Southern Province): maize field (left) and rice field (right)

The drawbacks of the countryside

Asking the 'independent migrants' the reasons they had for leaving rural areas, several motives are mentioned. It is hard to distinguish between those factors because they are rather related. Most people gave one answer, but some gave more motives. This part includes as much as possible all reasons that are mentioned. Sometimes only the first reason that people gave is taken into account in order to be able to compare first motives with other variables.

The most important reason to leave the rural areas has to do with 'rural poverty' as 35.4% of the migrants indicate. These people are poor and they try to improve their livelihood by migration to Kigali. For some households, land is not sufficient any more to live from due to the high population pressure. Living with big families on a small plot leads to food insecurity.

The soil tends to be infertile (which is typical for tropical soils on which the forest has been removed) and makes it hard to increase the yields of a plot.

Demographic pressure even decreases soil fertility (Clay et al, 1998) so a prosperous future in rural areas seems beyond reach. These aspects of 'rural poverty' form an important factor which influences rural-urban migration in Rwanda. Especially migrants from the Southern Province (Figure 4.5) and people between 20 and 29 years old mention this reason relatively often; 64.4% and 41.0% respectively (Table A4.6 and Table A4.7).

Another motive consists of 'family reasons', which is mentioned in 29.6% of the responses. This group includes of a variety of reasons. An important one is marriage. Women leave their parent's rural home because they marry a man living in the city. The dowry seems to play a role in this (Box 4.3). Another family reason is being an orphan. Orphans leave the countryside because they do not have family anymore in the place where they were used to live. A third family reason which makes people to leave is 'situation of conflict within the family'. Compared to older groups of migrants, the youngest group represents more migrants with this motive (Table A4.6). Almost half of them originates from the Northern Province; 43.5% (Table A4.7).

Box 4.3: Dowry

During field work I was wondering: Why do some women move to Kigali in order to get married? Asking some people about this, they told this has to do with the dowry. Parents from the countryside ask a lower dowry than parents in the city. In the past, the dowry was in cows, but nowadays this mostly is financial.

Not all people are able to find a job on the countryside. Job reasons – especially the lack of a job – are a third factor that inspires people to leave their rural homes (13.0%). This is firstly because the level of jobs is rather low on the countryside. Jobs which require high education are in most cases only available in Kigali. Secondly, the city offers better opportunities for establishing a small business, due to higher population density in the city than in rural areas. Especially older people do indicate job reasons as a motive (Table A4.6). The highest share of migrants with this motivation originates from the Northern Province (Table A4.7). One example of a family that migrated to Kigali because of job reasons is the story of Chantal Mutayomba. She and her husband were born near Rubavu, Western Province. Her husband was working at a brewery of Bralirwa in Rubavu.

“The decision to move to Kigali, was my husband's own choice. However, it was influenced by the fact that he had a conflict with a colleague in Gisenyi. He wanted to escape this situation.”

As a result Chantal's husband was placed over to the factory of Bralirwa in Kigali, close to Kagunga. This brought a whole family to Kagunga.

A fourth motive to leave the countryside is education (5.4%). Outside of Kigali and Butare no higher education can be found, so people go to these cities in order to study or to work at an institute for higher education. Especially the youngest group of people moves for this reason to Kigali (Table A4.6). Relatively many people with this motive are from the Eastern Province (Table A4.7).

At last, land problems lead to migration (9.4%). Not all migrants do have land or the rents can be too high to remain a farmer. Undoubtedly this is related to the rural poverty motive – the first reason to leave the countryside. It also occurs that the land they have is not fertile enough. This reason is encountered relatively often among younger people and people from the Western province (Table A4.6 and 4.7).

Other reasons (7.2%) to leave the rural areas were, for instance, the lack of safety during the genocide (Box 4.4) and the lack of a good environment to start a business in the rural. Regarding the first motivation to leave and the sex of a migrant, a significant relationship does exist¹⁵. Men do mention job reasons, land-related reasons and rural poverty more often than women as a reason to leave the countryside. On the contrary, women do mention family reasons more often as a trigger to leave, compared to men (Table A4.8).

Box 4.4: Genocide as migration motive

Rwanda's history is marked by the Genocide in 1994. In this year many Tutsi's and moderate Hutu's were murdered by Hutu's. However, this was not the first time violence happened between these groups. Earlier eruptions of violence on Tutsi's took place in 1959 and 1990.

Violence can be a reason to move to Kigali. One of the persons I met was Robert*. He indicated the Genocide as a reason to come to Kigali. Robert was born in 1961, so he is 51 years old. He was living in the Southern Province in the district of Nyanza. In 1990, Rwanda was in harsh situation, because there was a war between the RPF (former Rwandan refugees from Uganda) and the Rwandan Army. Tutsi's in Rwanda were accused of being part of the RPF. In 1994, the Genocide broke out. The violence made it hard to remain at the place where Robert lived. Robert lost his father in June 1994. He and his family left the place where he lived at that moment: Nyaruramba in Nyanza district. Robert went to the city of Nyanza, where his sister was living. Nyanza was not a solution, so Robert went to Kigali in August 1994. In Kiyovu, a neighbourhood within Kigali, his cousin was living. Because he was an advocate he had the means of protecting Robert.

After the Genocide, Robert built up his life in Kigali: he found a job and married his wife. Due to support of a Canadian NGO-worker and his employer, Robert bought land in Gikondo and built his current house.

¹⁵Pearson Chi-Square is 0.000, so with a of significance level of 99% the zero-hypothesis must be rejected. The first push-factor includes 75.8% of all factors mentioned.



Figure 4.6: Houses on a hill slope, Nyamabuye, Kigali

Kigali's attractiveness

The disadvantages of living on the countryside motivates people to move to Kigali (Figure 4.6). They hope to get a better future there. A first motive is searching for employment and income, which is mentioned by 47.1% of the migrants. The reason people move to Kigali is to increase their income or to find a job. People search for jobs which do not require any higher education. For girls and women a job as trader or housekeeper (Box 4.5) is interesting, some of them do have relatives that can create employment (Box 4.6). Boys and men are working in many cases as labour forces and traders.

Box 4.5: Housekeepers in Kigali

The most important reason for moving to Kigali are jobs and income generation. Part of this group are the female migrants who search for jobs as a household keeper. During the fieldwork in Nyamabuye, I met Jeanne Mugeni, who was one of these girls.

She tells about her migration story: "I am born in 1982 in Karama: That is Nyamagabe district in the Southern Province. Agriculture does not result in much profit, because of infertility of our land. Furthermore, in the rural areas the market is limited" To illustrate this, Jeanne gave me an example: "My brother went to Kigali too in order to earn money. When he had enough money, he started a business in the Southern Province, but he stopped. That because of the poverty in my family. He had a lot to contribute to the family. As a result he did not earn enough." Jeanne's own story continues: "I am from a big family with eight children. As the eldest child I took my responsibility. In January 1994, just before the Genocide, I went to Kigali to work as a housekeeper. The household in which I was housekeeper was of relatives and was in Muhima. Unfortunately my relatives were killed during the Genocide. So I went to Uganda, being encouraged by some relatives in Uganda. Contrary to what they have said, doing business was hard in Uganda. I decided to go back to Kigali."

Jeanne started her life in Kigali again. "I went to Nyamabuye, where I knew some people. Nowadays these people are not living here anymore. First, I have got a job as waitress in a restaurant. After I earned some money, I started my business again, just like in Uganda.

A second motive to move to Kigali are family reasons (24.5%). Marriage is a reason to go to Kigali. Men living in the city do search for a potential wife in the rural areas, of whom they can pay the dowry. People who do have relatives in the city, are attracted by Kigali as well. When people know already residents in Kigali these people can help them in getting employed. In some cases people came to Kigali, because they had family members who were living in Kigali and who needed care.

Third, Kigali's relatively prosperous situation attracts migrants (16.6%). Kigali has many inhabitants, which results in a lot of business. So, the chance is higher to get at least some income there. Furthermore, Kigali has got infrastructure that is not available in the countryside or that are better accessible in the city, for example electricity, education and health facilities. Due to these facilities for business people the environment might be good to expand their businesses.



Figure 4.7: Car-related commerce in Nyamabuye

In closing, people do have other motives as well to come to Kigali, as the group 'other' shows (11.8). This group consists of people who came to Kigali for security reasons. This is especially the case for people who reached Kigali during the 1990's. The Genocide stimulated people to move to Kigali. People came in Kigali as refugee and left places where terrifying things happened (as Box 4.3 shows). Education is part of this category too. Respondents mentioned a few times 'the curiosity how life in Kigali is' as attractive, which could be stimulated by the appearance of people from Kigali in the rural areas.

The reasons to choose Kigali differs per sex¹⁶. Again, the male population is more inspired to come to Kigali, because of job and income generation and prosperity of Kigali. Females do come because of family reasons more often, because of marriage and relatives that lived in Kigali already (Table A4.11).

Box 4.6: Connections in the city

Some people do have a connection with the city before they move to Kigali. Jeanne Mugeni (Box 4.4) told she went to her relatives. There are more examples: one of them is Francine Kabango. She traded Kamonyi sector for Kigali because of a job as housekeeper. The first job she has got was within a rich family that originated from the same village. This household left Kamonyi sector because of job reasons, since they were well educated people. One of these people was working at the airport. After being a housekeeper, she started a small shop. Someone else – Dina Umuhoza – had a similar experience, because her first job within Kigali was a job as housekeeper as well. The people she worked for were from the same place, which is called Mugoba. This was not her primary reason for migration. Due to a conflict with her brothers and sisters, she left the Southern Province (Kamonyi) and moved to Kigali.

¹⁶Pearson Chi-Square is 0.000, so with a significance level of 99% the zero-hypothesis can be rejected.

Migration and generation

Many people indicated that they came to Kigali in order to improve their livelihood, because Kigali offers opportunities or because the livelihood they had in the rural areas was not good enough. There were no opportunities for getting money and there was not enough food production as well. Vincent told his story in despair about the situation in Ruhango district in Southern Province where he came from:

"You all have a similar reason to come to Kigali: improving life in the city instead of living in a village. What is it that you don't like living in a village? You maybe also could become a good agriculturer..."

Vincent: *"No, you know the problem of our country: the population is of high density and the land is too small. There are some places where we do not have the way to cultivate. Even twenty square meters, we don't have it. How you can live there? We have even ten children or eight children. And your father and mother have twenty meters, how you can live there? You prefer to migrate and live a life where it can be improved."*

"In your situation, can you tell more about the amount of land your family has and about the size of your family?"

Vincent: *"I think we have eight members, I mean, eight children. Father and mother not included. But I don't have my father and mother anymore. We live with the second wife of my father, so our household is nine. Because after marrying her, my father died. The size of what we have: I think when I compare with what we need, it is not enough. It is about one half of a hectare. How nine people can cultivate a land like that? Even one cannot take one meter."*

This is a striking example of the high pressure on the land. About the possibilities of Kigali Vincent spoke: *"For me, I prefer to live in a town, not on another place, because in a town you can have many chances of getting something in comparison to a village. You see in the village, getting even 100 per day is very hard. But in town you can find 500 by chance in one day. In the village getting 5000 is very, very difficult."*

On the other hand, older people who were about to move to rural areas or somewhere else (Box 4.7), are living in Kigali. For example Robert Nahimana, who's household had seven members:

"Many people leave the umudugudu (village). And me also, I am expecting to leave. Because of the size of our household, it is difficult to find a job which help us to survive. As an agriculturer, we can use agriculture to get food, sufficient food. So the children can grow well. That is why I decided to go to there. For example, I like to sell my house in order to see if I can find a way where it is possible to have a better life. I cannot go back to where I come from, but I can find another area where land is good to use as agriculturer. Because by agriculture, you can get things that can help you survive. Combine agriculture with other means of life. But, to get a customer or buyer for this house is hard. This is a big house and costly."

"Because also agriculture, due to droughts and floodings, sometimes we had to get something extra to the harvest. So, it is better to do agriculture in combination with something else, like shop or something like that."

"I will go to the Eastern Province. Where I can go and cultivate cassava, banana, beans and everything, without the use of fertilizers. And where school fees are low in comparison to Kigali."

Someone else who would was Pascaline, female head of household and her households consisted of eight persons.

“It would be better to leave here and to find a way to employ some agriculture activities. But now that is not possible, because the money I will get for selling this house is insufficient to buy some land; one plot to cultivate and to build a house at the same time.”
“I like agriculture, because in the city it is hard to find another thing to do for ordinary people like me. Another activity like business, starting a small shop, requires extra means. First, you have to pay the rent where you will have your business. There are also other costs. Agriculture however requires few expenses to start.”

Box 4.7: Moving abroad

During an in depth interview I saw that some people did not see only two possibilities: urban or rural. Ignacienne thought about leaving to another country: “I know some people who left Kigali, because life was hard here. They left to suburbs or they bought land. I do not want to go to the rural. When I leave this place, I will go abroad, to Zambia. Many Rwandans are already living there, most of them do have businesses. Zambia is cheaper to pay the school fees for university. Also doing business is good there, because in Rwanda are a lot of taxes. Friends of mine have already gone there. I think about going within two years. Another country that would be interesting is Malawi.”

The impression is that young people are enthusiastic about the possibilities that the Kigali can give and they do not have the burden to feed their children. Money is attractive for them. Older households do have their reasons to see the drawbacks of Kigali. They prefer farming instead of living in Kigali, because of the high prices (see Box 5.5 as well). Farming is a way in which they can take care of their children. Would expectations and traditions influence the opinion of these older people, as agriculture has been important and still is important to Rwanda? It was not possible to derive that from the data but it could have something to do with it. These older people do not seem to realise that living on the countryside may be hard as well because of land infertility.

4.3 Migration narratives

By in-depth interviews some people shared their migration trajectory, the way how they are living in Kigali nowadays and their plans for the future. This paragraph pays attention to the diversity of their experiences.

Two migrants finding each other

Someone who migrated to Kigali from the Northern Province is Jean-Baptiste Muhire. He is from Karambo in the district of Rulindo. He arrived in Kigali in 1995, being 33 years old and is living in Nyamabuye, with sight on Nyabugogo Taxi Park (Figure 4.7). Muhire tells:

“The reason I migrated is that I faced a complicated way of living. Agriculture provided me little income. I do not have any family in Rulindo, because of the Genocide. I came to Kigali in my own.”

“My first job was in a bar, where we sold sorghum and banana beer. Nowadays I do not have a fixed job; I am working as a freelancer. How life in Kigali is, depends on what you do for work. As a freelancer it is hard to get income. Sometimes you cannot find work for a week, which is tough.”

“The whole time since I am living in Kigali, I am living in Nyamabuye, however I have been living on different places, because housing is hard to find. Nyamabuye is attractive because it is cheap.”

Muhire is cohabiting with Dina Umuhiza, who came to Kigali more recent; in 2007. She is from the district of Kamonyi, Southern Province.

"In 2007 I came to Kigali. Because of a conflict with my family I decided to move to Kigali. I lost my parents and still have one brother and one sister."

Later in the interview she told that she had some land in Kamonyi, which was the reason for the conflict with her family. Currently Umuhiza is waiting for her share in the land.

"I went to Kigali as a single. My first job in Kigali was a job as housekeeper. Old neighbours in Kamonyi, who were living in Kigali, asked me to work in their household. They were living in Nyamabuye. I worked there for a period of four months and then I met my first husband, which I married illegally. We have got one child, but after a certain period we divorced. Later I met my current husband (Jean-Baptiste Muhire) in Nyamabuye. We have the same history of life and faced similar problems and that brought us together."

Nowadays, she is not working anymore, which is because she is caring for her children, as many women do in Kigali.

A dynamic migrant

For Dina Umuhiza there seems to be little opportunity to move back to her rural home if the conflict is not solved. Contrary to her, other migrants are moving between the countryside and the city often – it may be either their rural home or other rural parts; Samuel Rukundo is one of these migrants. He is living together with two other migrants in Nyamabuye, where they rent some rooms.

"In 2004 I came to Kigali, and I am from district Kamonyi (Southern Province). The reason why I came to Kigali was that I wanted to improve my life. Life in Gasasa was not bad – it was possible, but I wanted to go to Kigali to see how life was there. My situation in Gasasa, Kamonyi was that I was transporter on a bicycle with goods and persons. I helped in agriculture as well."

"After coming to Kigali, my first job was as a housekeeper in the neighbourhood of Kicukiro. Because my brothers were living in Kigali they found this job for me. After that job, I sometimes went outside Kigali for job reasons. I have been in Bugasera (Eastern Province), where I was transporter and Kibuye (Western Province) where I was a housekeeper. From 2007 onwards, I am in Kigali again. First I lived in Gikondo, then in Kinamba and in 2009 I came to Nyamabuye. At the moment I am working in a shop."

Rukundo sees the benefits of living in Kigali:

"Life in Kigali is better than in the countryside. In the Gasasa, my parents are still living there and I have a good connection with them. I take money with me when I go there. This influences the life of my family, because they can hire more people that work on the land, if that is necessary. Instead of two persons, they can hire four persons."

On the other hand he prefers a rural life as well, when he talks about the future of Kigali:

"The future of Kigali will be that the small and middle income households will move to the rural areas. I am not sure yet, if I will go too. However, I think about going back and marrying a woman and remaining with her in the rural areas."

The poor's' problems

Gaspard Habimana came from district Karongi in the Western Province to Kigali in 2000. Before Gaspard moved to Kigali, he was living in Gitarama for a short while.

"My situation in the rural was very poor. It was hard to find money there in the countryside. Some people decide to steal as their 'job', but that was not what I wanted. My job was farmer and I helped my parents with their work. Life there was bad, but here in the city it is not good either."

"Life in Kigali is hard for me for two reasons: firstly, I am not a trader and secondly, I do not have any education. These two factors can give you a good life. My first job in Kigali was in a shop, where I helped someone, I was living in Muhima at that time. Nowadays I am working at Nyabugogo as a labour force."

The current situation in Kigali was a reason to send his child to Karongi, where his daughter is living with her grandmother. Habimana spoke about the future of Kigali as well. He mentions the problems that people in general face in the city.

“Kigali is developing well, however some inhabitants of the city do not benefit from the development. Rich people are powerful. For example, they can buy the land where a lot of poor people live and build a big house. Consequently, these poor people are forced to move somewhere else. Furthermore, poor people are not treated in the same way as rich people by the government. For example, over there – Gaspard points at a hill on the other side of his house - people do not have electricity. If a rich man would build his house there, immediately electricity would be provided by the government. Also houses of poor people, close to where I live, are demolished by the government. And these people have to go somewhere else.”

“Another problem is the fear for the future that people have in Kigali. For example: many people go to university and get their degree. After all, unfortunately, they do not find a job. This reduces the hope of these people who went to school.”

Gaspard saw the results of expropriation, as he was living literally 'on the edge' of the city, there were new houses built. According to him, many of the new houses that are built in the surroundings are built by the expropriated people – for example from Kimichanga. These houses are in most cases illegal, so each moment they can be destroyed by the government again.

Once a young migrant

However these people are not at core of the analysis, some people came to Kigali at a young age. One of these persons is Bernadette, who is currently living in Kagunga.

“I am born in Cyangugu in Rusizi, Western province. In 1983 I moved to Kigali. Before that move, I lived with my grandmother in Changugu. My parents lived already in Kigali, so I moved there to live with them, that was my main purpose. My mother was from Kigali, but my father from Rusizi. My parents were divorced, so in fact, I went back to my father, when I moved to Kigali. I did not go to my mother, because she was married again. However, living with my father was not easy either, because I got conflicts with the second wife of my father. As a result I was living in host families.”

“In 1991 I met my husband. As a just married couple, in Gikondo our first residence could be found. Over time we have moved through Gikondo, because the current house we are living in, is our third house in Gikondo.”

“The way we make a living now are the freelance jobs of my husband and trading by me. One problem we face are the increasing prices. In the past, they were affordable, but nowadays prices are high, for example of food. A clear example of these higher prices is the price of sugar: When I came here, sugar was only RWF 200¹⁷, while it is today RWF 900 for the same amount. Another problem is that jobs are reserved for skilled people, which is a disadvantage for unskilled people.”

As in many the interview was about moving out of Kigali eventually.

“I do not have a connection with the rural areas, because the persons I had living there died during the Genocide. When the prices continue to rise, I can go to somewhere else. This can be different places, for example Gitarama (Southern Province) or Umutara (Eastern Province).”

Out of the in depth interviews it seems that there are some preconditions for migration. First of all a significant part of the respondents mentions that they knew people in Kigali, who helped them to find a job; for example the households in which housekeepers are starting to work, or that some relatives are living in the city as well (Box 4.6). Another part of the respondents mention that they did not have any opportunity in the rural areas anymore, due to either conflicts or being orphan. Consequently, both family ties and the lack of these ties are important

¹⁷ 200 RWF ≈ €0.25

in migration. This has influence on coping with future shocks and stresses as well. In case prices increase constantly, households with connections to the rural areas appear to sustain their livelihood more easily than people who do not have these links, like Bernadette.

Future shocks and stresses are not imaginary. Many of the respondents do mention that life is hard in Kigali. In most cases increasing prices of housing and food are to blame (see Box 5.5 as well) and the lack of secure employment. They saw that Kigali would become a city for rich people, because of rising prices and possibly because of expropriations as well.

Potts' (2011) study among households in Harare, Zimbabwe mentions that housing costs and living costs in general are reasons to think about leaving the city. Among the urban poor Potts (2011) distinguishes four types, when it comes to staying or leaving the city: reluctant stayers, willing stayers, reluctant leavers and willing leavers.

In Kigali, moving somewhere else would be a solution to the current situation as well, but most migrants did not have concrete plans to leave. Several persons told like Bernadette that they 'can move somewhere else, when prices get worse'. Households still can survive in the city. It appears that poor households live their everyday life without long-term planning. Furthermore, these people might be reluctant stayers; moving to rural areas is their final option as coping strategy, since in the rural areas 'you cannot get anything' – as Vincent mentioned.

On the other hand, Robert Nahimana mentioned that within Kagunga several people have moved already and he was willing to move as well. Furthermore, chapter 6.3 shows that some urban household members are currently living in rural areas. Potts (2011) notices a trend of people without rural connections trying to acquire rural assets and moving to the rural. In that case whether people have connections does not necessarily influence their plans for leaving Harare. In spite of the fact that the Rwandan case is not beneficial to the urban poor, because of land scarcity, Robert mentioned that moving to the Eastern Province is still a possibility. So, among the Rwandan households different opinions about moving in the future exist as well.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter describes the characteristics of rural-urban migration and investigates the reasons for rural-urban migrants to migrate to Kigali. Over time an increase can be seen in the number of migrants coming to Kigali. Almost all migrants are younger than 30 years when they arrive in Kigali. Focusing on the 'independent migrants': half of the migrants come from the Southern Province. The other three provinces of Rwanda together contribute the other half of the migrants.

The migrants' general reasons to come to Kigali are job reasons and rural poverty on the countryside, combined with a lack of employment. Job and income generation and Kigali as a prosperous city do attract people. On the countryside land problems occur, like the lack of ground and infertility of the soil. Another motive to migrate consists of family reasons. A significant share of the women with a family-related motive moves to Kigali because they are going to marry a husband from Kigali. So, men living in the city do choose a woman from the countryside as their wife because the dowry is affordable in such a case.

The majority of the migrants came to Kigali in order to find a job and income. But this seems to be a hard job; over time it seems that people struggle to find a job and a solid place to live.

On the one hand, in Kigali people are able to get more money in comparison to the rural areas. This is the positive view that younger people have on migration. On the other hand, the prices in the city are much higher in comparison to the rural areas. In Kigali, little land is available to produce food. Many households have to buy their food for high prices. Especially in big households this can lead to high costs or even result in a reduction of meals each day. In such a case, return to the rural areas is seen as a solution.

Finally, out of the in depth interviews it seems that social ties are important, as most migrants came to Kigali using relationships or because of the lack of relatives and family in the rural areas.

The future of Kigali raises questions about moving to the rural. Most of the migrants do not have concrete plans for moving, however some people do leave

Rural poverty as a reason to move to Kigali shows an aspect of the migrant's rural livelihood: lack of land. But while living in the city their livelihood is likely to change into more urban livelihoods. How are the migrant's urban livelihoods built up? The next chapter will answer that question.

Chapter 5: The migrant's livelihoods

Chapter 4 shows that many migrants come to Kigali in order to improve their livelihood for life in rural areas is hard. Migrants hope to find a job in Kigali. What kind of livelihood these migrants have depends on what they already have and what kinds of opportunities and constraints they face in Kigali.

This chapter describes the livelihoods of the rural-urban migrant households in terms of the five livelihood-capitals. It answers the following research question:

How are the livelihoods of migrant households built up?

The chapter is structured following to the five capitals in the following sequence. First of all human capital is described, which is about education, health and employment. Secondly, physical capital will be described: this is about housing and other physical assets. Thirdly, the social capital of the households is showed. Fourthly, natural capital is presented, which is about having and using land and livestock. Fifthly, financial capital is shown, which is about income, expenditures, remittances and loans. Finally, by means of the variables of the livelihood-capitals, three livelihood profiles are compiled, which is a classification of the migrant households.

5.1 Human capital

Education, health and jobs are essential parts of human capital. All household members contribute to human capital by going to school or by being employed.

Education

Education is important for personal development. Vision 2020 emphasises the importance of education in order to become a 'knowledge-based society'. Rwanda aims to give each child at least nine years of basic education: six years at the primary school and three years at the secondary school. For this basic education at state schools, no school fees are charged (MINECOFIN, 2007, pp. 22-23).

Most people have attained some education at least: 80.2% has attended education, ranging from nursery school to university. More than half of the population (55.3%) has completed primary school. Only 10,5% has completed the secondary school. University is completed by only 2.7%. Regarding the number of students completing secondary school, only a small share of the population has got further than basic education.

The only differences between Kagunga and Nyamabuyes are in terms of nursery school and university. Nyamabuye has nearly 3 percentage points more in terms of nursery school, while Kagunga has a score of 3 percentage points more in terms of university compared to Nyamabuye. This first difference can be related to the number of younger households and therefore many young children in Nyamabuye. The second difference may be a result of the number of rich people that is living in Kagunga.

It seems hard to reach the level of higher education. Undoubtedly lack of money is a constraint to get there. Out of conversations it turns out that for some households it is difficult as well to keep sending their children to secondary schools. Basic education is financially supported by the government – which means the primary school and the first part of the secondary school. Higher levels of education must be paid by the people themselves. Some people however are

lucky as the government provides them scholarships, which enables them to get a university degree (Box 5.1), although this is no guarantee for employment.

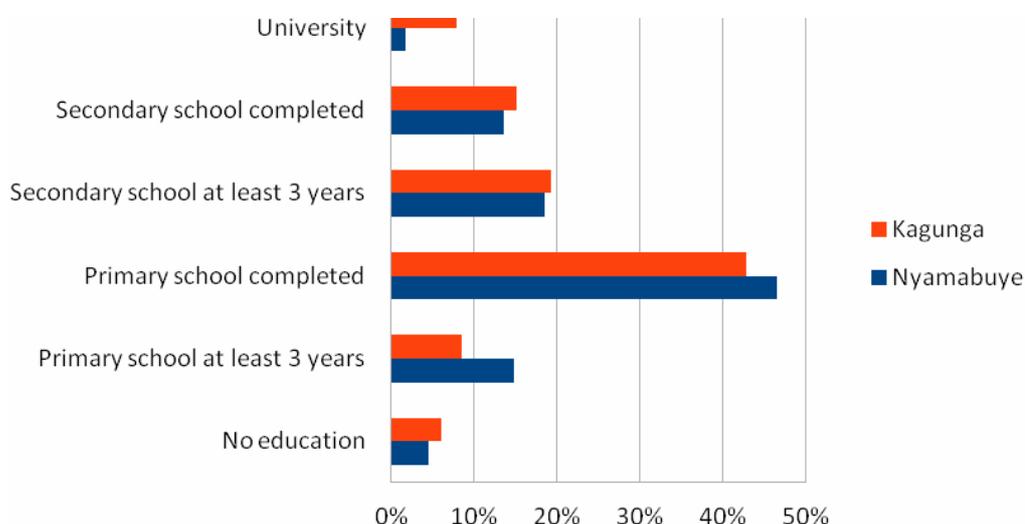
Box 5. 1: Studying in Kigali

In Kagunga I met a household of three young migrants living together: Vincent, Pierre and Frederic. None of them had any job at the moment. This was surprising, because both Vincent and Pierre went to higher education: the School of Finance and Banking and graduated in Finance. Education however was not their main reason to come to Kigali. Vincent came in 2004 to Kigali and in the year 1999. Vincent: “After coming here to get a job I got a chance of starting at university. I was there from 2006 to 2009. I was supported by the government because I got good enough marks to get government sponsorship.” Until today he didn't find a job and Pierre neither.

Education above 16 years

The degree of education that people have attended is influenced by their age. When children are young they are likely to have completed at least three years of primary school; but what they will reach in the future is not clear yet. Merely looking at people older than sixteen years (the age at which people may have completed basic education) gives a better look on how the older half of the population has been educated, and what their chances are regarding job opportunities.

Figure 5.1: Highest level of education attained for persons older than 16 years



Most of the people older than 16 years have attained some education at least: only 5.3% did not attend any education. Another significant part (82.8%) has completed primary school. Almost one out of five persons completed the secondary school. University is completed by only 4.8% (Figure 5.1. Table A5.1).

The highest level of education for persons older than 16 years differs significantly per cell.¹⁸ Compared to Nyamabuye, in Kagunga the level of education that is attained is higher, because

¹⁸Chi Square is 0.019. With a significance level of 95% the zero-hypothesis must be rejected.

within the highest categories Kagunga has the best scores; especially the difference in the last category is big (six percentage points).

Handicaps

In order to say anything about the health of the people, this study focuses on disabled persons. People having a handicap are not able to contribute to the household in terms of income. Furthermore, they can be even a burden for the household, because they also need support, due to their handicap or sickness. Within the sample, there are 11 households with disabled persons, which stand for 6%. In one case two persons within the household are disabled. In all other cases, only one person has a handicap.

Employment

Besides education and health – in this case handicaps – human capital also encloses employment: the number of jobs a household has. Within the household there a distinction is made between persons who earn income and the persons that do not earn any income. The people who contribute are called 'producers', versus the 'consumers', who do not contribute to the household; a household member is one of both. Compared to the number of producers, the number of consumers is bigger. The average number of producers per household is 1.4, while the mean of consumers within the households is 3.5.

Regarding the number of persons with a job, only 7.2% of the households does not have any producer in their midst. Most households (54.4%) have one employed person at least. This is in most cases the husband who earns the income for the household. Besides their household-activities, women have activities to earn income as well: running a business or being tailor are widespread activities. One reason for the amount of households with two jobs (33,9%) is that women have a job. Other reasons for more than one producer within the household are that a household consists of migrants or that grown-up children are employed while they are still living in their parent's house. Only in a few cases more than two persons within the household are earning income.

Box 5.2: Having a shop in Kigali

Commerce is a mean of getting income that was found a lot in Kigali. Francine Kabango had a small shop in Kagunga. I asked her about the funding of starting a shop. She responded "Because I was in the first category of Ubudehe, the government supports me and gave me loans of 60,000 RWF. After that I started a shop. I was required to pay back 10,000 RWF every month. This programme of the government supports vulnerable people." Her commercial activities are going well, but 'not like before'. Francine: "That is because some people decided to cut down the quantity they consume." I didn't get clear whether this was due to reduction of consumption in general or whether there were some competing shops. Jeanne owns a shop in Nyamabuye. She tells some people leave to rural areas because of high taxes of doing business. "For example, I pay an amount of 100.000 RWF taxes a year for my commercial activities." That is for her no reason to leave Kigali: "I think it is difficult to go back, because life in the rural is not easy either."



Figure 5.1: A small shop in Kagunga

Occupation

What kind of employment do the people within the households have? Of course, this question is about people that are able to work, so wives and husbands. Within some households older children with employment are included as well. Next to the unemployed persons, some sectors can be mentioned in which the household members are employed (Table 5.1).

First of all, a large group does not have any occupation; these are the unemployed persons (31.7%). This category consists of people that are the unemployed, but it consists mostly of housewives (85 % of the members of this group is female). Some students and retired persons are included as well.

An important sector of employment is commerce. The category of commerce encloses owners of shops (Box 5.2), businessmen and street vendors (Box 5.3). Handicraft is another sector in which people are working; this group consists of carpenters, decoration makers, tailors, smiths, painters, technicians and mechanical workers.

Other people are working in construction as construction workers, masons and other construction related jobs.

Another group indicated that they were working as 'labour force' or 'freelancers'. Labour forces are persons who have all kinds of works, like carrying heavy things on markets or assist in the construction sector. Freelance people are people without a full time job, but who perform all kinds of small jobs in order to get some income. Thus, both categories of 'labour force' and 'freelancers' cannot be divided in one of the existing categories, because these people can do all kind of things within several sectors. It is a phenomenon that is related to the informal sector.

Furthermore, small shares of the household members is working in transport – working as bus driver, motor driver and convoyeur¹⁹ - or in security; which are security officers, night guards, policemen and soldiers. The last category 'other' consists of all kind of jobs, like teachers, employees, farmers, cleaners, accountants etc.

Table 5.1: Main occupation of people in households of Nyamabuye and Kagunga

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Construction	9	4.8	19	11.0	28	7.8
Transport	10	5.3	8	4.6	18	5.0
Commerce	46	24.6	27	15.6	73	20.3
Handicraft	30	16.0	22	12.7	52	14.4
Security	7	3.7	10	5.8	17	4.7
Labour force/freelance	10	5.3	18	10.4	28	7.8
Unemployed	61	32.6	53	30.6	114	31.7
Other	14	7.5	16	9.2	30	8.3
Total	187	100.0	173	100.0	360	100.0

Regarding employment, the situation is significantly different in Kagunga and Nyamabuye²⁰. Kagunga represents more people who work in the construction sector and has more people in the category 'freelance/labour force'. This can be explained by the construction activities in and around Gikondo sector. Many rich households establish themselves in Kagunga and its surrounding cells. This provides work opportunities and therefore Kagunga has more construction workers compared to Nyamabuye. Labourforce and freelancers can be found in Kigali as well (Table 5.1).

Box 5.3: Streetvender

Other commercial activities that are employed by some of the respondents is being a streetvender. However this is not a job without risks, because officially street vending is not allowed. Adeline Ingabire, living in Nyamabuye, told me: “The police can punish you for doing illegal trade as streetvender. That means that you lose your products that you sell. Also you can be sent to prison. I am just back from prison, because the police arrested me when I was selling on the street. I have been in prison for three weeks.” José Dusabe had the same experience and when I met her she was just one week out of prison. For Pascaline Uwishema the illegality of being streetvender was a reason to stop her commercial activities.

Nyamabuye has more persons working in commerce. This may be because of the presence of Nyabugogo Taxi Park, where many commercial activities take place. The Nyabugogo Market, which is a trading place in itself, is near as well. Along the main street through Nyamabuye many car-related shops can be found (seen from above in Figure 5.2), such as technicians and mechanical workers. These jobs, being categorised as handicraft, are more represented in Nyamabuye.

¹⁹ A person in a bus who is responsible for inviting passengers into the bus and who is responsible to let the passengers pay for their ride.

²⁰ Chi Square is 0.073. With a significance level of 90% the zero-hypothesis must be rejected.

Overall it is hard to indicate whether these people have a job in the formal sector or informal sector.



Figure 5.2: Car-related commerce in Nyamabuye

5.2 Physical capital

Households that have a good dwelling, good infrastructure and a high number of assets are rich people. These aspects are part of physical capital, which will be discussed now.

Housing

Several aspects of housing are at stake in this part. The United Nations have five indicators of shelter deprivation. This means that a household living in a house that is lacking one of the following aspects, is not living in adequate housing. When it 1) lacks sufficient living space, 2) lacks access to improved drinking water, 3) lacks secure tenure, 4) lacks improved sanitation and 5) lacks durability in terms of materials – in such cases a house is not an adequate house (Bredenoord and Van Lindert, 2010). These aspects of housing are investigated in Nyamabuye and Kagunga as well.

A newspaper in 2012 told about a report, released by the Kigali City Authority, stating that in terms of quantity Kigali lacks thousands of adequate houses. Many dwellers in Kigali are currently living in unplanned estates and most houses do not meet the minimal standards. However, it is not clear whose standards are meant (The East African, 2012).

Tenure status

Whether an urban resident owns or rents a house is a huge difference. In the context of Rwanda owning a house gives one some security and property while renting a house provides less security. Due to rising prices dwellers are forced to search continue for the best affordable options (as seen in Box 4.2). This hunt for houses influences the social cohesion within the city as well.

Most households do rent a house (66.7%). A minority is living in a house owned by themselves (32,2%). The other category is formed by households that do not own the house in which they are living but renting it neither (Table A5.2).

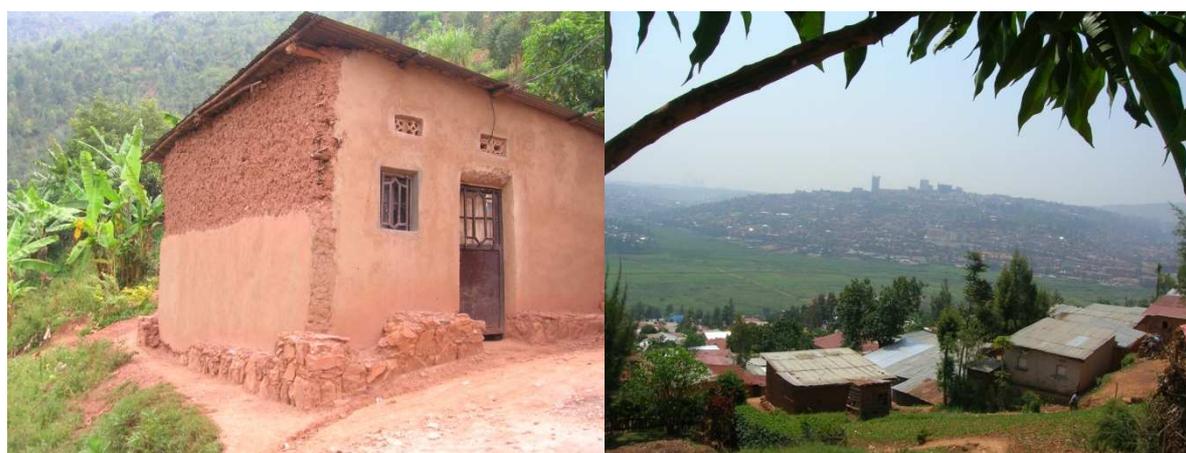
Comparing Kagunga and Nyamabuye one sees that in Nyamabuye more households do rent their houses in comparison to Kagunga, while in Kagunga more people do own their houses compared to Nyamabuye (Table A5.2). However, a significant relationship between tenure status of a dwelling and the neighbourhood people are from cannot be found. The high number of

people that rent a house shows that tenure security is not arranged well in Kigali. Shelter deprivation in Kigali relates to this aspect.

Materials

In both Kagunga and Nyamabuye the majority of the houses are made of bricks that are plastered both inside and outside. Most of the roofs are flat and made of corrugated iron. In poor circumstances the houses were made of clay. Richer houses do have inside a Kagunga had a neighbourhood that has much better houses, but because they were no rural-urban migrants, not many respondents were from there. In such cases there were no flat roofs but instead there was a roof of tiles, made of plastic instead of stone.

Figure 5.3: House in Nyamabuye (left), sight at centre of Kigali from Nyamabuye (right)



Size

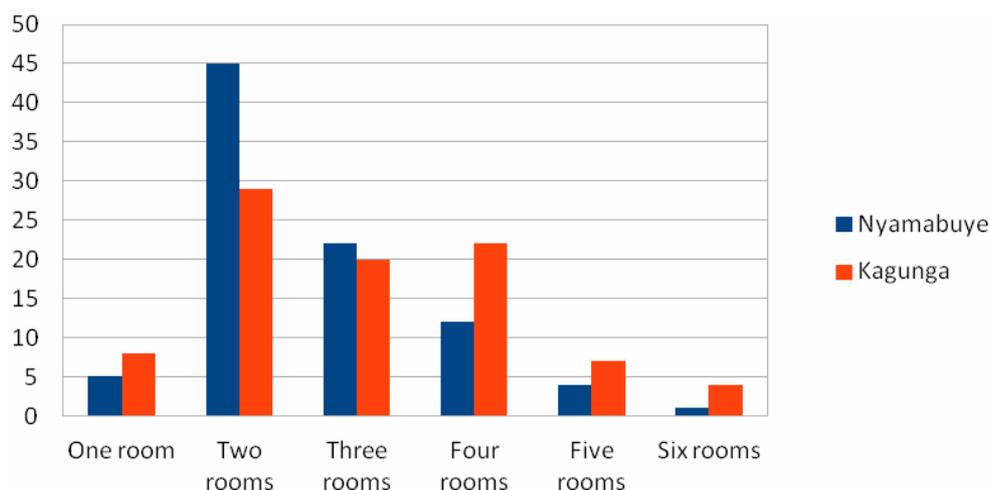
The absolute size of the house is expressed by the number of separate rooms. Most houses have got two rooms (41.3%). Houses with three- and four rooms are also common. Houses with only one room or with four or more rooms are found rarely (Figure 5.4, Table A5.3). The differences between the cells are that Kagunga seems to have a more diversified supply of houses; it has both bigger and smaller houses. Nyamabuye instead, does have more small houses.

There is a significant relationship between whether a house is rented or owned and its size²¹. Of all 86 small houses (one or two rooms), only 6 are owned, while the remainder of this group are rented. Of all 16 large houses (five or six rooms), only 3 are rented. The medium houses (three or four rooms) are more or less equal. This seems to indicate that both owning a house and living in a big house is a sign of relative wealth (Table A5.4).

The number of persons per room expresses the relative size of a house. Most households (52.5%) do have a relatively medium house, which means that per room more than one, but at maximum two persons are living. Households with more than two persons per room contribute another 27.4%. The remaining 20.1% of the houses is relatively large. Differences between the cells occur: Kagunga has fewer people per room compared to Nyamabuye and so it has bigger houses in terms of relative size (Table A5.5).

²¹Chi-Square is 0.000. With a level of significance of 99%, the zero-hypothesis must be rejected.

Figure 5.4: Number of rooms per house in Nyamabuye and Kagunga



Electricity, water and sanitation

Regarding electricity, most households (88.9%) do have access to it in their homes. This is a quite different from the rural areas, where electricity is rare. Electricity is one of the benefits of Kigali's prosperity. In both cells a comparable amount of households does have electricity.

Piped water is less available in Kigali. Only 27.8% of all households do have piped water. The households of Kagunga do have more access to piped water compared to Nyamabuye (Table A5.6).²² A reason for that may be that the houses of the Nyamabuye cell are more recent, which may result in fewer connections to piped water. Furthermore, Kagunga has a neighbourhood for richer households, so it might be easier to have access to piped water for households surrounding them.

Households that lack piped water do get water in other ways. In most cases this is by use of water vendors. Another frequently used way of getting water is by using the well streams. Especially in Nyamabuye vendors are much used (84.5%). Kagunga has a more diversified way of getting water: besides vendors, many people use well streams (49.2%). Bore holes, rivers and public pump are less used (Table A5.7).

In both Kagunga and Nyamabuye a huge majority of the households uses pit latrines for sanitation. In Kagunga only four households do have a flushing toilet (Table A5.8).

Assets

Some assets that households have indicate also their physical capital or their status of being rich. In general, many households do have at least one cell phone. Also radios are quite common. About half of the population does have a television. Less people do have a cell phone with internet. Apparently, means of transportation are owned much less by the households in Kagunga and Nyamabuye, like cars, motorcycles and bicycles.

Comparing both cells, two kinds of assets show a difference. First, the households of Kagunga do own more cell phones: a difference of 10 percentage point with Nyamabuye. Second, Nyamabuye's households do have more televisions. Again a difference of more than 10 percentage point (Table A5.2).

²²Chi-Square is 0.088. With a level of significance of 90%, the zero-hypothesis must be rejected.

Table 5.2: What assets do households have?

Kind of asset	Nyamabuye	Kagunga	Total
	%	%	%
Radio	78.4	77.3	77.8
Television	56.2	45.5	50.8
Cell phone	83.1	93.3	88.1
Cell phone with internet	31.8	31.8	31.8
Bicycle	2.2	5.6	4.0
Motorcycle	1.1	2.2	1.7
Car	4.5	4.5	4.5

Summing up these assets and giving every asset the same value, results in a value of richness in assets. Three groups are distinguished: the asset poor, with 0 to 2 assets in total; the asset medium, with 3 or 4 assets; and the asset rich with more than 4 assets. The results show that the asset medium is the biggest group (52.0%), while the asset poor are second group and the asset rich form the smallest group. The three groups are distributed almost equally in both cells; there are no significant differences (Table A5.9).

5.3 Natural capital

Land and livestock are the main parts of natural capital. As chapter 4 shows, some of the migrants came to Kigali because they did not have sufficient land or they did not have any land at all. Other do have land, so this paragraph speaks about households in Kigali that do have land.



Figure 5.5: A plot of arable land in Nyamabuye (left) and a field with beans in Kagunga (right)

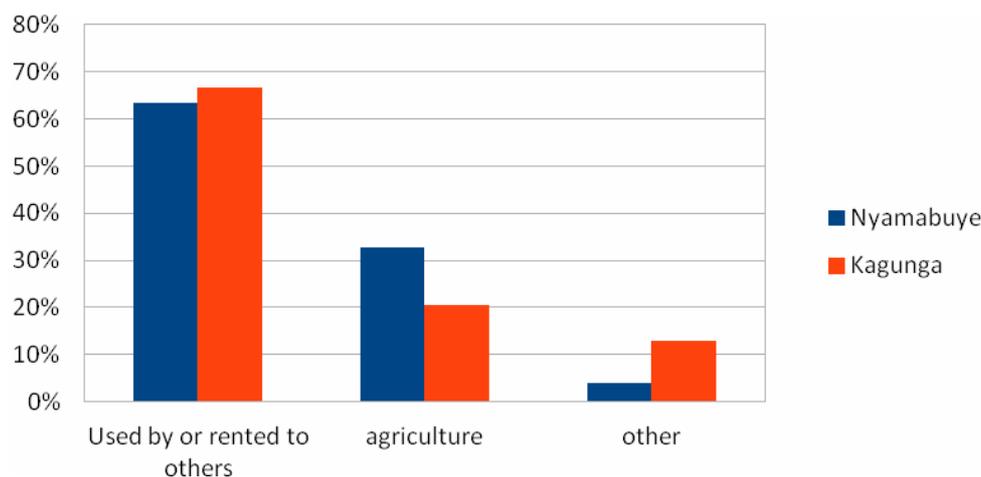
Owning land

A small majority of the household indicates having land (51.1%). The remainder does not have any land. Nyamabuye's households do have more land in comparison to Kagunga's: 56.7% versus 45.6% (Table A5.10)

Although many households do have land, this does not necessarily mean they use it for their own consumption only. How do these households use their land? Generally, three ways can be distinguished. First, most landowning households do rent their lands to others or their lands are used by other people in the rural areas (64.8%). Out of the responses appeared that most

people that hire or use the land are relatives or neighbours located in rural areas. The second way of use, agriculture – for their own consumption and for selling at the market – is less common (27.3%). The remaining households use their lands for other purposes, like construction or forestation. In case of forestation, households plant forests on their lands which provide money (Figure 5.6; Table A5.11). The households from Nyamabuye that own land do use it more for agriculture than people from Kagunga.

Figure 5.6: Land use by landowning households



The size of the household's land is not always known. Only 34 households told the size of their lands.

Their answers range from a quarter hectare to six hectares. Half of the responding households do have land less than a hectare. A small share of the households has a land size of three or more hectares. Households in Nyamabuye do own more plots in general and do have a higher share of bigger plots as well, compared to Kagunga (Table A5.12).

Something else is the location of the plots of arable land. Where is it located? That is not always sure. Some people indicated in the in-depth interviews that the land they had was in the rural areas. On the other hand, some parts of both Nyamabuye and Kagunga were not built with houses. Instead they were a place where people grew their maize, potatoes and beans (Figure 5.5). Because the size of the arable land in the neighbourhoods was not huge and many people rented their plots to others, it is assumable that most land is located in rural areas.

Using land

Some people do rent their lands to other people, for example their relatives or neighbours in the rural areas where they themselves do not live any more. Thus, owning land does not mean necessarily that a household also uses that land. Besides, people can use land without owning it. Using land is another topic concerning natural capital. It shows how people depend on land in a different way than they depend on it when they just own it. By comparing owning and using land, four options are possible per household: both owning and using land; owning but not using land; not owning but using some land; and not owning and not using any land.

Most people that do use land, own land as well (Table A5.13). In three cases households that do not own any land, nonetheless do use land. However, the majority of all people does not use any land, even if they own it, which shows that urban citizens do not rely as much on land as they rely on natural capital that provide them food. They only rely on it as a source of money, as financial capital or as a source of goods, physical capital, the remittances they get from the rural

areas. One fifth of the households do use land: that is 36 households in total. Two thirds of the households can be found in Nyamabuye (Table A5.14).

People do use their land for purposes which not differ much from earlier mentioned reasons: for agriculture, rent, forestation and construction. The latter forms the biggest group. What 'construction' exactly means is not clear. Regarding the fact that 17 out of the 18 households are dwelling in a rented house, it might mean that people bought some land to build a house. Some households do use their land for two purposes at the same moment.

Box 5.4: New houses in Kagunga

By using an aerial photograph I tried to navigate through Kagunga. These aerial photographs gave me another suggestion as well. Many 'skeletons' of houses could be found, which showed apparently that many building activities have been done. After arrival in the neighbourhood it was clear that building activities had not stopped yet. Still new houses were built. I asked Robert, who was in the council of one of Kagunga's umudugudus about these people and he told me: *"I don't know where they come from. Today you cannot find people who come to this area from the rural. The people that build their house in this part are soldiers."*

"Now the Rwandan Army has peacekeepers in Darfur. After serving there, they get a lot of money from UN. When they have got their money they come to this part to see whether they can build their own houses. They choose this part, because it is not expensive when you compare it with other parts of the city. That is why they are building more and more houses."

Nyamabuye's households land use focuses more on construction, while Kagunga's households use land their land more often for forestation (Table A5.15). For what reason does this difference exists? In Nyamabuye - as the newer neighbourhood - more households may want to build a house. Even during fieldwork people were building houses in Nyamabuye. On the other hand, also in Kagunga many houses were being build, but these houses were more luxury and built by the rich citizens of Kigali, not by rural-urban migrants (Box 5.4).



Figure 5.7: Livestock in Kagunga: a curious goat

Livestock

Some urban households do have livestock, but it is a small minority. In Nyamabuye 17

households do have livestock and this counts for in Kagunga 13 households. Different types of livestock are owned by the households: cows, goats (Figure 5.7), rabbits and chickens. These animals are a less 'rural' part of natural capital, because they are found in the city as well

5.4 Social capital

Social capital has to do with two aspects: being embedded in a social network on the one hand and trust among people on the other hand.

Membership of a network

This study uses economic institutions as a mean to investigate if and how households are socially embedded. First of all, a majority of the households is member of an economic institution (60.6%), while the remainder of the households is not member of such an institution. In relative numbers Nyamabuye and Kagunga do not differ much (Table A5.16).

Some respondents did report even more networks in which they are embedded. Households with more than one network were 23 in total (13,5%). Huge differences between the cells are not present.

In which kind of network are these households involved? That is not always clear, because some institutions execute different tasks at the same time, but the institutions are banks, cooperatives and microfinance institutions.

Trust

Besides being embedded in a social network, trust is another important part of social capital. This study asked people to answer the question whether within their community people had confidence to ask for loans. Many people's response was positive (89.3%). A share of 10.7% of the households responded negatively (Table A5.17). One out of six of the households did not respond at all on this topic. It seemed in some cases that people were not willing to talk about trust and communities. That might mean that people who did not respond would answer negative – but that will never be clear.

Regarding the different cells, within Nyamabuye people expect the confidence to be lower than within Kagunga. Also the number of non-response is higher in the first cell. There is a significant relationship between the variable of 'confidence you ask for loans' and the variable of the cell in which people do live.²³ Possibly the confidence among the residents of Nyamabuye to lend money is lower because of the high number of new inhabitants²⁴ living in that cell.

5.5 Financial capital

Many variables are part of financial capital: income, expenditures, remittances, and loans. This paragraph is about financial capital and follows the aforementioned sequence of its different aspects.

²³Chi-Square is 0.022. With a level of significance of 95% the zero-hypothesis must be rejected.

²⁴ Either migrants or people who do rent a home in Kigali, but who are moving because of prices (Box 4.2).

Income

Households do receive money from different sources, for example: wages, income from business or rent. A significant part of all responding households (67) respond that they receive income in the form of wages. The remainder of the households (113) indicates that either they do not have any income from this source or they cannot or do not want to tell about it. Wages range from 10,000 to 1,000,000 RWF per month. Business is in 35 households a source of income. This income ranges from 6,000 to 650,000 RWF. Rent is a way of getting income in 27 households. The amounts are ranging from 2,000 till 300,000 RWF. At last, one category of 'other types of income' must be mentioned. Six households get sums of money ranging from 4,167 to 50,000 RWF per month.

In sum, wage seems the most important type of income in two ways. First, because most households do receive income from this source and second, because its average is the highest, compared to other ways of getting income.

The reach of this is limited for the averages do not say enough about income; they don't show facts about the division of income among the population. In this case the quartiles do not provide a lot of information either, because only known values are included (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: Descriptive statistics of types of income

Type of income	Quartile				Mean
	N	25%	50%	75%	
Wage	67	40,000	80,000	110,000	134,748
Business	35	40,000	60,000	150,000	114,000
Rent	27	18,000	50,000	100,000	69,852
Other	6	14,542	22,500	42,500	26,195

Adding all these sources of income results in the total income of a certain household. First of all must be said that many data are missing. The total income of only 95 households can be calculated.

The average total income is 141,012 RWF²⁵, ranging from 6,000 to 1,000,000 RWF per month. The higher incomes do influence the average of course. The first quarter of all households earns until 40,000 RWF per month. Half of the population does earn a maximum of 80,000 RWF. Three quarter of the households gets up till 150,000 RWF incomes per month. Most households are part of the smallest category, an income up till 50.000 RWF per month (Table A5.18).

Comparing the two cells, the households in Nyamabuye seem to have higher incomes compared to Kagunga. The number of households with income higher than 200.000 RWF per month is slightly higher in Kagunga. However, a significant relationship cannot be proved between these variables.

Expenditures

A households' expenditures are divided in the following parts: food, transportation, housing, education, health, communication and a last category 'other'.

Food is one of the most important expenditures of a household. Of all households 175 do spend money on food: half of the population spends more than 60,000 RWF per month on food. Housing is also an important part of the expenditures. Even the lowest 25% pays 15,000 RWF

²⁵On March 1, 2012: 1 RWF was 0,00124 Euro, so 806 RWF equals 1 euro. On May 1, 2012: 1 RWF was 0,00125 Euro, so 800 RWF equals 1 euro. (Exchangerates.org, 2012a, 2012b)

each month (Table 5.3). In Kigali especially the prices of housing are raising. Fewer households spend money on transportation: 77 households do spend money on it. Half of these households don't spend more than 15,000 RWF per month.

Basic education on state schools is subsidized, which is the primary school and three years on the secondary school. All education beyond basic education or on private schools is not subsidized. That explains why the mean expenditure on education is so high while the quartiles are much lower.

Health insurance is also subsidized by the government for the poorest, however not everyone is included. A way to help moderate poor is by provision of loans in order to pay the premium of 1,000 RWF (Morestin and Ridde, 2009). Households clearly don't spend much money on health, with half of the population paying less than 1,000 RWF each month.

Communication is also a part of the expenditures. Half of the population spends more than 7,000 RWF per month on it.

Table 5.3: Descriptive statistics of types of total expenditures

Type of income	Quartile				Mean
	N ²⁶	25%	50%	75%	
Food	176	40,000	60,000	87,500	70,119
Transportation	150	0	2,000	15,000	11,505
Housing	179	0	15,000	20,000	14,358
Education	175	0	1,500	10,000	19,649
Health	157	250	750	1,250	1,785
Communication	141	0	5,000	10,000	7,540
Other	166	0	0	3,000	7,368
Total	102	69,750	95,000	148,375	120,406

The mean of the total expenditures is 120,406 RWF per month, ranging from 16,000 to 560,000 RWF. Just like the variable of income, there is a huge range. The lowest quarter of the households spends until 69,750 RWF per month. Half of the population spends up till 95,000 RWF per month. Only a quarter of the populations spend more than 148,375 RWF per month.

In general, households with a total expenditure between 50,001 and 100,000 RWF per month, are most present (Table A5.19). Remarkable is the much higher number of households with an expenditure level between 100,001 till 150,000 RWF per month in Nyamabuye. Kagunga has less data available on total expenditures. It seems that the people in this cell do have lower expenditures.

Net income

After the calculation of total income and total expenditures, a new calculation is possible as result the net income (Table 5.4). Remarkable is how many households do have a negative net income. That means their monthly expenditures are higher compared to their monthly income. The households of which the relative income is calculated, nearly 60%, has a negative relative income. This may be partly because people estimate their expenditures higher than their income in general. Definitely there are made wrong estimations for one cannot spend money that one did

²⁶These values indicate how much households did spend anything on each aspect. Many households indicated whether they did not spend anything on a topic, resulting in much values with a 0. The variable 'total' is a calculation of all aspects before, which results in a lower quantity of households due to missing values.

not get.

In Kagunga one person was really honest by saying that she had too less money and she stole sometimes because of poverty. Another person, Robert Nahimana, told me that he wanted to avoid stealing by arranging an informal restaurant in which he served food that was left over from his household. Many respondents complained about the increasing level of prices, so the shortage of money is a reality (Box 5.5). Especially in Kagunga many households have a negative net income (69.2% versus 51.5%).

Table 5.4: Net income per household per month

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
< - 100.000 RWF	3	9.1	2	7.7	5	8.5
- 100.000 - - 50.000 RWF	4	12.1	2	7.7	6	10.2
- 50.005 - 0 RWF	10	30.3	14	53.8	24	40.7
0 - 50,000 RWF	10	30.3	3	11.5	13	22.0
50,001 - 100,000 RWF	1	3.0	1	3.8	2	3.4
> 100.000 RWF	5	15.2	4	15.4	9	15.3
Total	33	100.0	26	100.0	59	100.0

Access to credit

Another indicator of financial capital is access to credit. When a household lacks means, it needs other people, households or banks to get credit. When people are confident to ask for loans (see social capital, trust) can be seen as a measure that people have access to credit. Having loans at the moment does show that people do have access to credit.

Of 166 responding households, 27 households do have loans and 139 households don't. The loans these households do have range from 15,000 till 8,000,000 RWF (Table A5.20). Half of the 20 households that mention the amount of money they have got by loans have a loan of 500,000 RWF or less.

Furthermore, Nyamabuye's households do has relatively more loans than households from Kagunga. The two main reasons people give for taking loans are construction activities on the one hand and on the other hand do people take loans in order to start a small business. Other reasons are 'other ways of consumption' or planting a forest plantation.

Box 5.5: Increasing prices and Kigali's future

Several people I met during fieldwork were complaining about the increase of prices. I spoke with Francine Kabango and we went more in detail on this topic. Her husband was around at the time of the interview as well. In daily life he was a taxidriver on a motorcycle, but he rented his motorcycle to someone else, so he was at home and give some explanation as well.

Francine: "Life in Kigali is changing because people don't have enough money. This is due to the fact that salaries remain static, while prices are increasing." Francine's husband gives an example: "For example: three years ago one cabbage was 50 RWF, now it is 200 RWF. One who got three years ago 500 RWF per day for salary-, still gets 500 RWF per day. It is complicated. As a result sometimes people consume less."

"Also the rent of the house is a problem. In 2007, it was possible to find a house for 10,000 RWF per month with electricity and water. Today, you have to pay for the same house around 40,000 RWF per month. Our own house was in 2007 8,000 RWF, today it is 25,000 RWF. Prices increase as a result of taxes. Today, each house owner should pay taxes. In the past, that was not the case. Houses and land, especially land, is rented from the government. The government says that in the coming twenty years, they will expropriate us." This is as a result of the Masterplan of Kigali.

The future of Kigali is not bright for poor people in Kigali: "Many people will not be capable to adapt to the plan the government has. So, Kigali will remain for the people who have more or who are very rich. These small or middle income households will be expropriated, they quit Kigali."

Remittances

A last important type of income that households get is by remittances. Not many households do indicate that they get any contribution from outside the city in financial terms. Most rural households' remittances are goods (Table A5.21). Three households indicate that they get money from other rural households. Only two households indicate that household members contribute financially to their parents in the city. Analytical chapter 3 goes more in depth on remittances to the rural areas.

5.6 Livelihood profiles

After having seen so many different variables of the capitals, it is necessary to get some order in this abundance of data. Through a cluster analysis²⁷ many households (N=127) are categorised in three livelihood profiles, based on the variables. This shows the livelihood outcomes of the households.

In order to be able to say something about the majority of the households, financial capital variables are excluded since that capital has a lot of missing values. In terms of human capital, the number of disabled persons within a household is not taken into account either because inclusion of that variable would result in one group of households with disabled people. In the end, 127 households are categorized, while 53 households are not taken into account. This is due to missing values²⁸. The absence of financial capital in the livelihood profiles affects the livelihood pentagons, as displayed in the remainder of this paragraph. These pentagons are relative to each other; for example, the poor livelihoods have low scores, but this does not mean they do not have assets at all. Compared to the other livelihood profiles, they have the lowest scores.

²⁷K-means cluster analysis

²⁸ Most missing values can be found in the variable concerning trust (N=30), mean level of education (N=18) and membership of institutions (N=10). Excluding the variables about trust and membership of institutions would exclude social capital out of the analysis as well. The mean level of education is an essential aspect of human capital. Despite the 53 households without a livelihood profile, all three variables are included in the analysis in order to be able to say something about the 127 remaining households.

Among the households three clusters can be considered (Table A5.22 shows the cluster centres), which means three types of livelihood outcomes.

The first cluster consists of households with a 'physically rich livelihood'. This cluster consists of 37 households. Typical for this cluster is the high score in terms of physical capital, as the name indicates. The high number of consumers per household is characteristic for this group as well. On all other capitals it shows average scores.

In terms of human capital these households have moderate scores. Both mean level of education and number of producers are just above the average. Further, this livelihood profile has the highest number of consumers per household. In terms of physical capital this group has high scores. Many households own a house and the absolute number of rooms is high as well, which is a huge difference with the other groups. The number of persons per room is average. The total amount of assets among this group is high. In terms of natural capital this group has average scores, although it highest score is on owning land. In terms of social capital this group has average scores as well. The membership of economic institutions is relatively high.

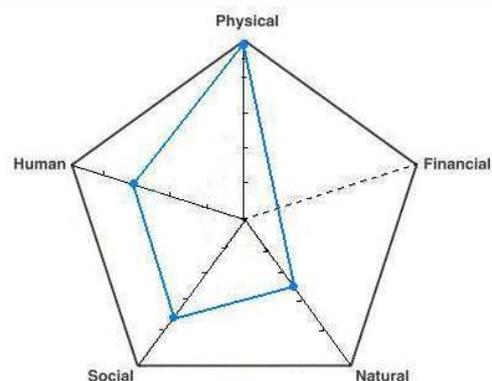


Figure 5.8: livelihood pentagon of physically rich livelihood

The second cluster includes households with a 'poor livelihood'. This cluster consists of 48 households. Typical for this cluster are the low scores for all capitals. Mean level of education is by far lowest. The number of consumers is low as well, but does not differ much from the 'naturally rich'. The number of producers is lowest but the differences are not many among all profiles. Physical capital results in low scores as well. This profile has the least rooms per house. On the other side it has the highest score on persons per room, which indicates these households are living in relatively crowded houses. In terms of electricity and total assets it scores lowest as well.

All scores of natural capital and social capital are the lowest, which means this livelihood profile does not own much land, it does not use much land and it is not embedded well into the economic institutions.

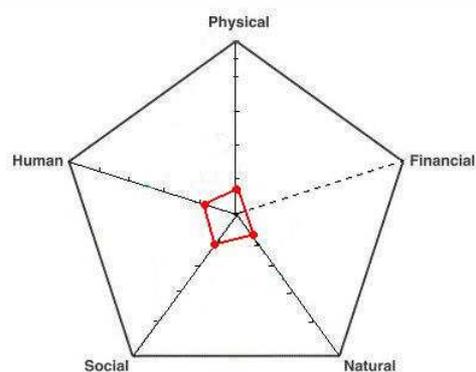
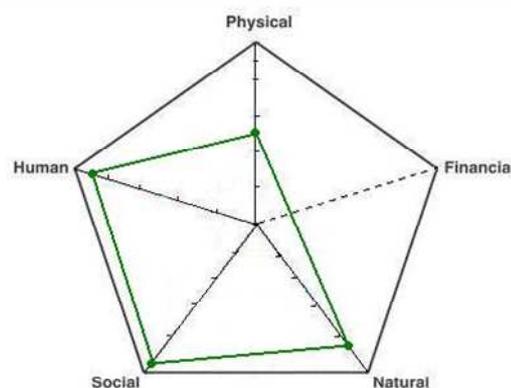


Figure 5.9: livelihood pentagon of poor livelihoods

The third and last cluster consists of households with a 'naturally rich livelihood'. This cluster consists of 42 households. This livelihood profile is characterised by its high scores on human, natural and social capital. This means in practice that these households have the highest number in terms of mean level of education above 16 years and do have most producers among the households (both human capital). Furthermore, they do have high scores on land ownership, land use, livestock (natural capital), and membership of economic institutions and trust (social capital). The last variable however the differences are not big between all groups. The 'physically rich' profile has a high on social capital as well. The natural capital they have may be located in the rural areas. If that is the case, this means that naturally rich have good opportunities: they have many chances to get a job because of their human capital and they still

have rural assets, so they can go back in case the times are bad in the urban environment. Two aspects of physical capital have low rates: the number of persons per room and the ownership of houses, which is not negative though.



Characteristics livelihood profiles

Figure 5.10: livelihood pentagon of naturally rich livelihoods

Although there are some small differences, the livelihood profiles can be found in both cells. In Kagunga and Nyamabuye respectively 67 and 60 households are divided up in three livelihood profiles. Kagunga has a higher share of households with a 'physically rich livelihood', while Nyamabuye has more 'naturally rich' households (Figure 5.11; Table A5.23).

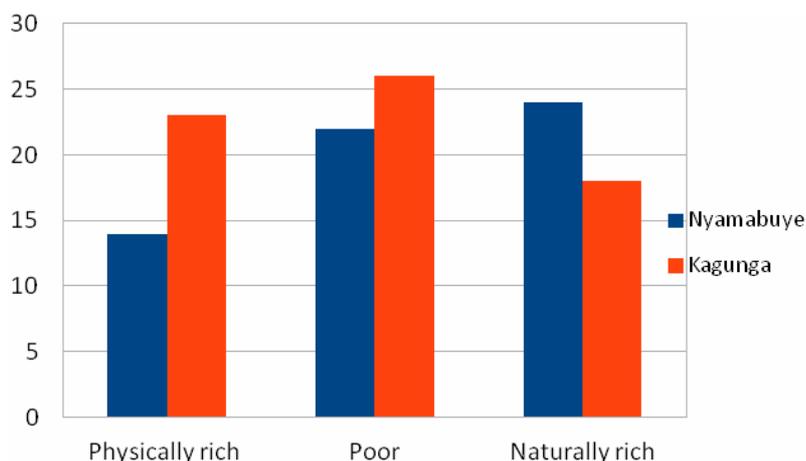


Figure 5.11: Livelihood profiles in both cells

The profiles differ significantly regarding the size of the households²⁹. The 'physically rich' households do not have any household with a size of three persons or less. This livelihood profile has much more households with more than six persons instead. Households with a poor livelihood have in half of the cases three persons or less. Households that are 'naturally rich' are in most cases medium, four to six persons (Table 5.5).

²⁹Chi-Square is 0.000. With a level of significance of 99% the zero-hypothesis must be rejected.

Table 5.5: Size of household of each livelihood profile

	Physically rich		Poor		Naturally rich		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Less than 4 persons	0	0.0	24	50.0	14	33.3	38	29.9
4 to 6 persons	15	40.5	22	45.8	25	59.5	62	48.8
More than 6 persons	22	59.5	2	4.2	3	7.1	27	21.3
Total	37	100.0	48	100.0	42	100.0	127	100.0

Table 5.6: Age head of household of each livelihood profile

	Physically rich		Poor		Naturally rich		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Younger than 30	0	0.0	20	41.7	10	23.8	30	23.6
30 to 39 years	9	24.3	19	39.6	24	57.1	52	40.9
40 to 49 years	13	35.1	7	14.6	7	16.7	27	21.3
50 years and older	15	40.5	2	4.2	1	4.2	18	14.2
Total	37	100.0	48	100.0	42	100.0	127	100.0

The 'physically rich' households are more mature, compared to the others. This appears from the age of the head of household as well. A significant relationship exists between the age of the head of household and livelihood profile³⁰. All heads of the 'physically rich' households are 30 years and older, even a majority is 40 years and older (Table 5.6). The other groups do have less than 20% of their heads of households older than 40 years. This is a huge difference.

Female-headed households are represented most in the 'poor livelihood' households (20.8%) (Table A5.24), the 'physically rich livelihoods' have female-headed households as well, slightly more than the average, while the 'naturally rich households' score far below average on female-headed households. A significant relationship exists between the sex of the head of household and livelihood profile.³¹

Regarding employment, 'naturally rich' households have more commercial jobs, and security jobs than average. The 'poor' household's members are employed in more than average in construction and labour force or freelance, which are more flexible jobs. Final, the 'physically rich' household have relatively most people in handicraft and people that are unemployed (Table A5.25).

Migration and livelihood profiles

The livelihood that people have built up in Kigali is theoretically a result of livelihood strategies; their current way of making a living is called a livelihood outcome. On the basis of the current data it is not possible to say anything about the livelihood they had before migration. Nonetheless it is possible to relate facts about the migration to the livelihood profiles.

The year of migration of the 'independent migrants' differs significantly for the profiles³². Among the 'physically rich' households 54.0% of the 'independent migrants' migrated before 1994 to Kigali. Among the naturally rich livelihoods a majority of the independent migrants moved to Kigali after 2003: 64.6%. Households with a poor livelihood profile have migrated to Kigali recently as well (Figure 5.12, Table A5.26).

³⁰Chi-Square is 0.000. With a level of significance of 99% the zero-hypothesis must be rejected.

³¹Chi-Square is 0.034. With a level of significance of 99% the zero-hypothesis must be rejected.

³²Chi-Square is 0.000. With a level of significance of 99% the zero-hypothesis must be rejected.

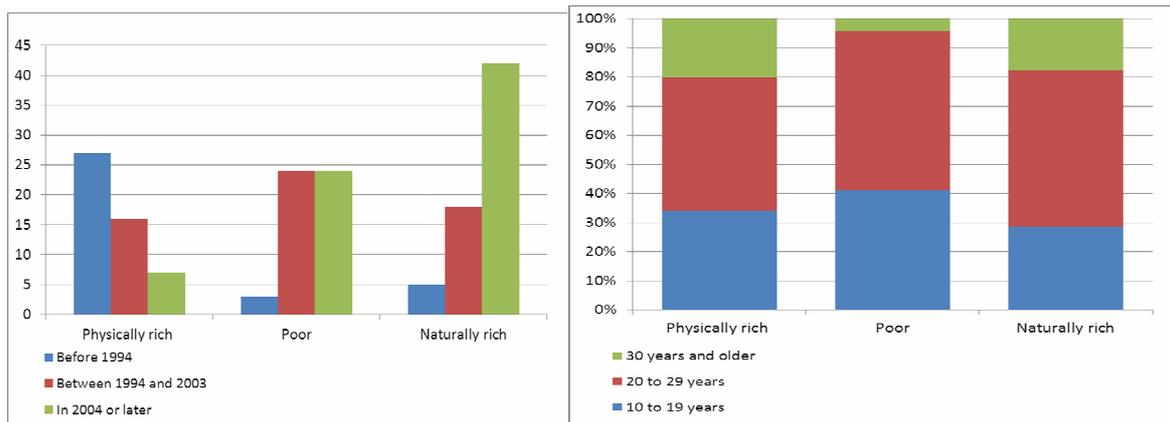


Figure 5.12: Year of migration of independent migrants (left), age of independent migrant at year of migration (right)

The age at the time of migration shows another interesting pattern (Figure 5.12. Table A5.27). Especially the migrants that are living in poor livelihoods households nowadays, have moved to Kigali when they were young, as only 4% has moved to Kigali being 30 years or older while 42.1% was younger than 20. Both other livelihood profiles have higher shares of migrants older than 29 years at age of migration: 17.5% for physically rich livelihoods and 20.0% for naturally rich livelihoods. The last group has the lowest share of people that move below the age of 20: 28.6%. Comparing the livelihoods on age at time of the migration, it seems that people with poor livelihood profile have moved to Kigali at a younger age, which may indicate it was necessary to move in order to diversify the livelihood.

The classification of the livelihood shows that the development of the different capitals is related to the time people are living in the city. First of all, the 'physically rich' households are living for a longer time in Kigali. A majority of the independent migrants of this type of household came to Kigali before 1994. The heads of these households are much older than the other people. Looking at the capitals, they have a high rate of house ownership. The number of assets within this group is high as well: physically these households are rich.

Second, the 'poor livelihood' households seem to live a shorter time in Kigali. In these households most migrants migrated to Kigali since 1994. This group has the youngest head of households and most female-headed households can be found in this group. Looking at the capitals however, this group does not seem to have increased its capitals: in comparison to the other profiles their livelihood is poor.

To conclude with, the 'naturally rich households' do have a lot in common with the 'poor livelihood' regarding demographic figures: these households consist of smaller households and the head of households are of similar age groups. Of all migrants within these households, nearly two third came to Kigali from 2004. One difference is the low share of female-headed households. In terms of capitals differences are clear as well: in spite of being poor, this group has high scores on especially human capital and natural capital. The question remains whether their human capital enables them to be successful in the city.

5.7 Conclusion

The livelihoods of the migrant households consist of the five capitals. In terms of human capital, many households are able to send their children to basic education both with and without support from the government. Higher education is expensive and is therefore only accessible for people with a higher income or with a scholarship provided by government. Higher education does not necessarily provide a good job as the number of high jobs is small. Most husbands do have a job although this in many cases is unskilled labour. Unskilled labour does not guarantee long term jobs. Most of the women are unemployed. In case they have a job, this concerns commercial activities or handicrafts.

Physical capital differs among people. In terms of assets, many people do have a radio and a cell phone. People who can be considered as richer do have a television and a cell phone with internet access as well. In exceptional cases, households do have even a car or a motor as physical asset. Especially the dwelling of the households gives an indication of a more or less stable future. People who hire their dwelling are victim of rising prices and are used to move from neighbourhood to neighbourhood in Kigali. Thus, the tenure of many households is not sure, which shows shelter deprivation according to the measures of the UN Habitat.

Social capital is hard to indicate. First of all this is because not many variables are used. The variable that is used gives some information about networks, but it is limited in the description of social capital. However, it indicates how people are linked to other people. The number of networks in which a household is involved shows large differences among the households. Trust is another sign of social capital. This is less available in Nyamabuye.

A part of all households has much natural capital, which means they have land and livestock. Within both Kagunga and Nyamabuye especially small animals could be found within the city. Plots of maize and beans are noticed as well. The locality of the household's natural capital was in most cases not clear, which might mean that urban households mention their rural assets. These assets are used by and rented to other people.

According to the literature (Meikle, 2001), urban livelihoods are relying more on financial capital compared to rural households. Earning an income is in Kagunga and Nyamabuye very important. Some people have income, but most are poor. Remarkable is that many people indicate that they have a higher level of expenditures in comparison to what their income is. Many people told about the increasing prices in Kigali, so this mismatch between expenditures and income can be real.

This chapter concluded with creating three livelihood profiles: the physically rich livelihood, the poor livelihood and the naturally rich livelihoods. The physically rich livelihoods seem to have a more stable way of living, as many of them have secure tenure. The poor livelihood seems most vulnerable, because they do not have many livelihood capitals. The naturally rich households seem to be the part of the least vulnerable group, as they have the best of both worlds. On the one hand they have relatively much human capital. On the other hand, they have rural assets, which they can use, especially when times get tough in Kigali.

The livelihood profiles related to migration suggest that there is a relationship between the capitals that a rural-urban migrant household is using in relation to the year of arrival. Especially the physically rich people are settled in Kigali for a longer time, which results in a higher physical capital. A majority of the households with other livelihood profiles came to Kigali after 2004. There is little difference in favour of the naturally rich households, which came more recent.

What do these livelihood profiles mean in relation to remittances? On the one hand, it seems that households with a poor livelihood profile are not so successful in the city. That could be a reason for being unable to meet the obligations they have in face of their relationships. The naturally rich livelihoods on the other hand are a group with more chances to get rural support, while they do need it less, for example because of their human capital. At last, the physically rich households, which consist of the older – and therefore bigger – households, have most need to get support because of their big families and the high costs. In the next chapter we will see how this works out.

Chapter 6: Urban households and their link with the rural areas

Migrants tend to remain a link with the rural home, even after decades (Mberu et al. 2012). This linkage with home is shaped by social and economic ties, or in other words: by visits and remittances (Frayne, 2004). This chapter looks at the linkage that urban households remain with the rural areas.

Three types of livelihoods can be distinguished: the physically rich households, the poor livelihoods and the naturally rich households. This division of livelihood profiles will be used in order to investigate the remaining final question:

To what extent are urban migrant households linked to rural households through flows of resources and visits?

This question is investigated through three steps. Firstly, the relations that urban households have with rural households in the places they left are taken into account. This will be done by mentioning the remittances they send in terms of money and goods on the one hand and visits on the other hand. Secondly, the relationships from the rural areas to the city are described in remittances and visits. Thirdly, a multi-local phenomenon is taken into account: household members that are living in rural areas. This chapter ends by a conclusion.

Urban-rural relations

Moving from the countryside to a city does not affect the migrant or migrating household only. It affects the rural context as well. A migrant still has its relationships with the people and place he left. An urban-rural relationship could be described as the connection of the migrant household with people in the place he has left: parents, brothers, sisters, spouses, neighbours etcetera.

Each migrant household indicated whether they had such a relationship with households in the rural areas or not. In total 237 relations were identified. The number of relationships per household differs. Nearly 20% of the households does not have any relationship with the households on the countryside.

The remaining households do have at least one relationship with the rural. Most of these do have one relationship: 43.9%. There is a significant difference between the cells of Nyamabuye and Kagunga in the number of relations.³³ In Nyamabuye households do have more relationships than in Kagunga (Table A6.1) as households in Nyamabuye have 147 relations while Kagunga has 88 relationships in total.

What kind of relationship do migrants have with the people on the countryside? A first important group is the group the migrants' parents: nearly 40% of all relationships is parental. The biggest group however consists of 'other relatives', with 51%. This group consists of uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters. The group of spouses is limited. In some cases the migrant's spouse is in the rural areas, while he has a wife in Kigali as well. In other cases this concerns a spouse living with the children in the rural areas. The husband is the only person of the household living in the city, and in Kigali he is part of a household that consists of migrants (Box 6.1).

³³Chi-square is 0.000, so with a level of significance of 99% the zero-hypothesis must be rejected.

Box 6.1: Multi-local couples: Bernard and José's husband

The relationship a migrant has with rural households encloses some information about his or her migration trajectory. Some husbands came to Kigali in order to improve the livelihood of their rural family, while their wives are still living in a rural area, for example: Bernard Nshimiyimana. I met him in Nyamabuye together with Samuel Rukundo. These two migrants rented in collaboration with another migrant a small house, which was built next to the owner's house. Bernard told me that he was born in Gasasa, sector Kamonyi, in the Southern Province. He arrived in Kigali in 2007. "The reason to come to Kigali was because I was interesting how Kigali would improve my life. Sometimes in Gasasa I have seen people who were living in Kigali as well, who were an incentive in order to look come to Kigali" In the future Bernard Nshimiyimana will return to Gasasa. "First reason for this is because my wife is living on the countryside, I married her in 2009". Another reason he gives is that at the moment he is not independent: "at the moment I am working for someone else. I want to become independent". Bernard did not tell what his plans were in order to get income, when he would return. Maybe he will continue the jobs he performed before coming to Kigali: being transporter with bicycle and farming activities.

Someone else who had left his wife in the rural areas was José's husband. José Dusabe was living in Nyamabuye as well. José moved from Gatoki (in Gisagara sector, Southern Province) to Kigali in 2005 after her husband died and her parents in law were not able to support her and her child. After a certain period José Dusabe met her current husband. Surprisingly this household indicated sending money to a wife still living in the rural areas. I thought things had changed in meantime, but while I was talking to José, it became clear that it was someone else. In this way José's husband had two wives: a rural wife and an urban wife. The wife living in the rural was living in Gatoki as well and got remittances frequently. During our conversation José indicated that life was hard in Kigali. When it would become too hard to stay in Kigali, her and her husband would return to Gatoki. She would live in another house on the same plot of land.

The small number of spouses that receive remittances and the fact that 90% of the relationships has to do with either parents or other relatives, indicates that most migrants are not married when they move to Kigali – they do not leave behind a household – or that these migrants went to Kigali as a whole family. Otherwise the share of spouses would be higher. relations between the city and the countryside are therefore mostly determined by kinship and not by marriage.

6.1 From Kigali to the rural areas: remittances and visits

Remittances from Kigali to the countryside

Literature suggests that migrants do feel a moral obligation to send remittances to their relatives (Tacoli, 2002, vi). A relationship between rural and urban households provides both sides of social insurance. Among the households in Kigali, most migrant households do feel this obligation as well (80.6%). This does not necessarily mean that they are able to meet their connection's obligations. Within nearly one out of three rural-urban relationships households do not send anything to the people in the rural areas, although they feel obliged to send support. Due to poverty these people are not able to contribute.

In the remainder of the relationships with the rural areas, households send money (43.9%), a small share sends goods (3.4%). Another part of the households sends both money and goods (20.3%). This pattern does not differ much between both cells (Table A6.2). The way in which households do contribute to the total amount of rural connections does not differ much from the nature of contribution of the relationships separately (Table A6.3).

In general, households with the poor livelihood profile and the physically rich have a higher

score in contributing nothing compared to the average³⁴. Households that are naturally rich contribute much more in terms of money. The physically rich profile contributes most in both cash and goods (Table 6.1)³⁵. Physically rich households tend to be older. Half of these household's migrants moved before the 1994 to Kigali. It is no surprise that they do not have many relations anymore for in meantime the Genocide took place. Poor households are busy enough to keep their heads above the water and do not have much space to think about other people. At last, the naturally rich do have most producers in their midst. These households do have high chances in the city because of their human capital. Their rural assets indicate that they are not connected to the city tightly, because their main reason in the city is earning money (just like Bernard in Box 6.1).

Table 6.1: Way of contribution to rural households compared to livelihood profile

	Physically rich		Poor		Naturally rich		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Nothing	9	33.3	19	46.3	2	5.7	30	29.1
Cash	7	25.9	16	39.0	21	60.0	44	42.7
Goods	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	5.7	2	1.9
Both cash and goods	11	40.7	6	14.6	10	28.6	27	26.2
Total	27	100.0	41	100.0	35	100.0	103	100.0

Most of the remittances that households send to rural relations are in terms of money. In total, 92 households do sent money. The total amount of their contribution to rural households is known in 60 cases. The money they contribute ranges from to 250 RWF per month to 65,000 RWF per month. Most households contribute an amount of money between 10,001-20,000 RWF per month (31.7%). Between both cells some differences exist. First of all, the contribution of households in Kagunga can be found mostly in in the lowest and highest category: between 0 and 5,000 RWF and between 10,001 and more than 20,000 RWF respectively. Households from Nyamabuye do have more contributions in both middle categories (Table A6.4). Comparing the households' contribution to the livelihood profile results in logical findings³⁶: The 'poor livelihood' households that do contribute, contribute less than households with other profiles, of which the households are more equal divided among the different categories (Table 6.2).

Urban household do send little remittances in terms of goods, compared to money. Of all households 32 households do contribute goods together with money. In total 32 households do contribute goods together with money. Only 2 households do send merely goods. The value of all contributed goods per household ranges from 250 RWF to 10,000 RWF each month. Most of the 21 households do send goods with a monthly value between 0 and 5,000 RWF. It is hard to know what kind of goods is sent. Data from in depth interviews suggest clothing and goods for consumption. These are likely things that are typical urban goods, because agriculture goods can be found in the rural areas for a better price.

³⁴ Out of 127 households with a livelihood profile, in 103 cases the way of contribution is known.

³⁵ Does not meet the conditions of a Chi-square test;

³⁶ Although, not significantly. The conditions of a Chi-square test are not met. The amount of contribution is known in 45 cases only.

Table 6.2: Total monthly contribution of urban households sending money to rural household related to livelihood profiles

	Physically rich		Poor		Naturally rich		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0 – 5,000 RWF	2	18.2	9	47.1	3	17.6	13	28.9
5,001 – 10,000 RWF	2	18.2	5	29.4	5	29.4	12	26.7
10,001 – 20,000 RWF	5	45.5	3	17.6	5	29.4	13	28.9
> 20,000 RWF	2	18.2	1	5.9	4	23.5	7	15.6
Total	11	100.0	17	100.0	17	100.0	45	100.0

Visits from Kigali to rural connections

Another way of keeping a relationship with the rural is visiting the rural areas. Most households (90.0%) indicate that they still visit relatives and non-relatives in their former rural living place (Table A6.5). Zooming in on the relations migrants have with the people they visit, two groups are important: the people who are visited mostly are the parents (44.6%) and 'other relatives' (41.7%).

The frequency that migrants visit their rural connections differs. Most households visit their rural relations less than once each month, but at least twice a year (36.7%). Another large group visits their relations at least once within two months (29.1%).

People with a close relation to the migrants are visited more often than other people: All spouses are visited at least once within a two month time period. Children and parents are visited frequent as well (Table A6.6).

The frequency of paying a visit to a certain household relates significantly³⁷ to the time migrants came to Kigali, taking the arrival of 'the most recent migrant'³⁸ as a basis. That means that the longer ago the 'most recent migrant' arrived in Kigali, the lesser they visit their rural relationships (Table A6.7). This is logical, because over time people pass away.

Looking at the frequency of paying on one side and the livelihood profile on the other, apparently the 'naturally rich' households visit their relatives more often than the other profiles (50.0% visits them at least once within two months). These households do have the means in order to visit them. For them tickets are not so expensive.

Table 6.3: Frequency of the visits paid by a household related to livelihood profiles

	Physically rich		Poor		Naturally rich		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
At least once per two months	12	24.0	12	18.2	40	50.0	64	32.7
Less than once per two months, but more than once a year	18	36.0	24	36.4	21	26.2	63	32.1
Once a year	10	20.0	25	37.9	16	20.0	51	26.0
Less than once a year	10	20.0	5	7.6	3	3.8	18	9.2
Total	50	100.0	66	100.0	80	100.0	196	100.0

³⁷ Chi-square is 0.003, so with a level of significance of 99% the zero-hypothesis must be rejected.

³⁸ The most recent migrant means the person within the household that arrived in Kigali most recent. This indicates the time period that a household is living in the city at least.

The 'poor livelihood' households do visit their relatives less often, which seems logical from the urban household's point of view. Their tickets may be too expensive and as a result they are a sort of 'trapped in the city'. On the other hand, when visits are a way of claiming rural assets as well, maybe it is not worth it to invest by going there. Furthermore the rural connections may have some expectations about the urban life, which cannot be fulfilled by the migrant. The

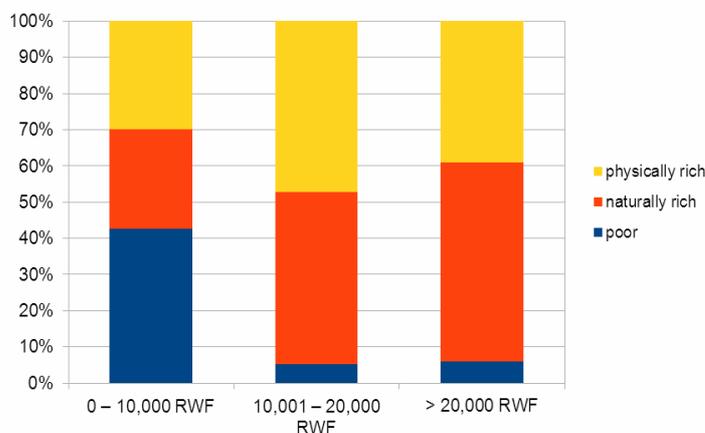


Figure 6.4: Relative expenditures on transport per livelihood profile (N=127)

variable 'expenditures on transport' proves that households with a poor livelihood spend a lower budget on transport than the other livelihood profiles (Figure 6.4).

At last, the physically rich have a more equally divided pattern. These households visit 20% of their relationships less than once a year. They have the highest score on the lowest frequency, which may indicate to the 'intensity' of their long-lasting relations.

6.2 From rural areas to Kigali: remittances and visits

Remittances from the countryside to Kigali

Except sending remittances and visiting rural households, urban households are supported through their rural relationships by goods and money as well. According to Foeken and Owuor (2001) this takes place more and more: urban households keep a 'physical foothold' in the rural areas.

The number of relationships that in the sample exist between rural households and urban households is 109. Relationship means that it is tangible by remittances or visits. Rural households that are visited by urban households do have a reciprocal relationship of course, but one is able to contribute, while the other part is not.

The majority of what urban households get is in the form of goods (97.2%). In respectively one and two cases households do receive cash and both cash and goods respectively. In total, 84 households get support from the countryside, of which 81 households have got goods. The differences between both cells are not noteworthy. The estimations of the value of these contributions are ranging from 83 to 20,000 RWF/month. Most of these contributions (87.0%) can be found between 0 and 5,000 RWF/month (Table A6.8).

The different livelihood profiles differ from each other on receiving goods. Both the poor and the 'physically rich' households have a high percentage of their households that do not receive anything (64.6% and 62.2% respectively), although the naturally rich households have a high percentage that receives goods: 66.7%. Thus, households that are naturally rich can rely more

on rural assets than households with another livelihood profile. It is remarkable that the other livelihood profiles do not get so much from the rural areas.

Mainly sending or receiving remittances?

Adding up all relations of all households, four groups can be distinguished. First, there are households that merely send remittances, second, some households merely receive goods and money, third, there are households that both are sending and receiving remittances and at last, there is a group that does not send anything and does not receive anything.

Over all, the direction of most remittances is from urban to rural. There are more urban households that do not receive anything, compared to the number of households that do not send anything: 96 versus 81 (Table 6.4). Among the latter group 27 households do receive goods (26 cases) or money (1 case) from the countryside, contrary to that they do not send. These households are not able to contribute to rural relations, but to a certain extent, they do rely on them instead the other way around. In 57 cases the urban households do send, while they receive as well.

Table 6.4: All households: senders, receivers, mixed and households without links

Remittances sent	Remittances received									
	Nothing		Money		Goods		Money and goods		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Nothing	54	56.2	1	100.0	26	32.1	0	0.0	81	45.0
Money	25	26.0	0	0.0	33	40.7	1	50.0	59	32.8
Goods	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	3.7	0	0.0	3	1.7
Money and goods	17	17.7	0	0.0	19	23.5	1	50.0	37	20.6
Total	96	100.0	1	100.0	81	100.0	2	100.0	180	100.0

Blue: not receiving or sending; Green: senders; Red: receivers; Orange: both sending and receiving

Comparing these four possibilities of sending and receiving remittances a significant relationship is found with the livelihood profiles³⁹ (Table 6.5). First of all, most households that do not send and receive remittances can be found among the 'physically rich'. The migrants of these households left a long time ago, most of them even before the Genocide. Over time the number of relationships has decreased. The percentage of households without relationships does not differ a lot from 'poor livelihood' households though. More than a quarter of the physically rich households is both sending and receiving remittances. This group has the lowest shares of households that merely send or receive.

Remarkable is that 'poor livelihood' households do have the highest share of 'merely sending', while this profile seems poor and has the lowest number of producers within the household. This indicates that, despite the poor livelihood of the urban dwellers, the rural relations still need or expect money from the rural-urban migrants. On the other hand, this group represents most receiving households and has least households that both send and receive remittances.

³⁹Chi-square is 0.003, so with a level of significance of 99% the zero-hypothesis must be rejected.

Table 6.5: Remittances and livelihood profiles

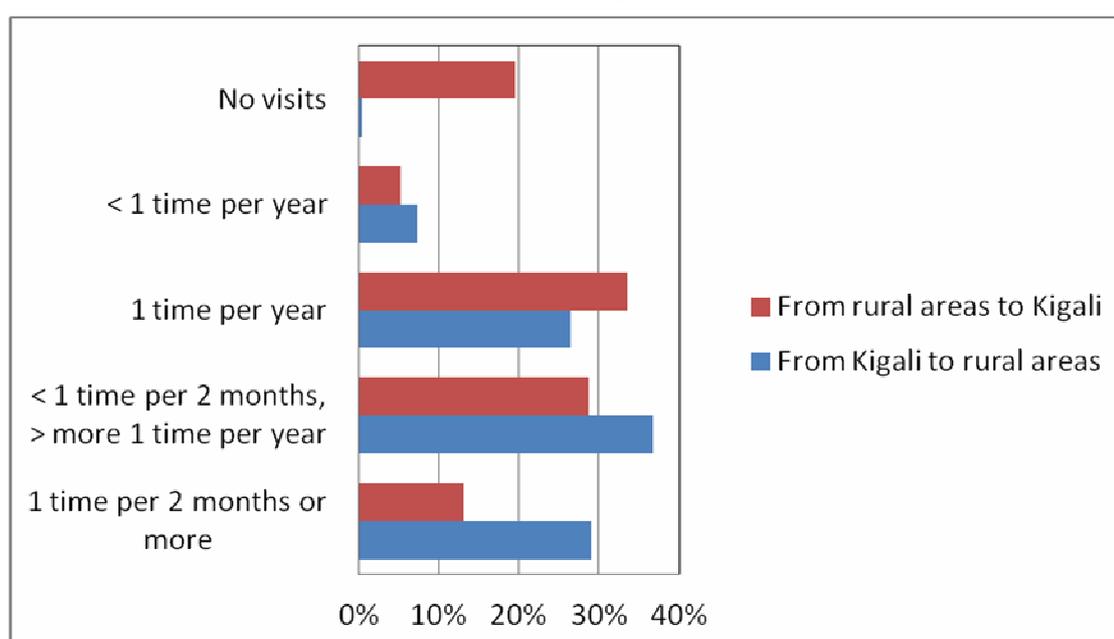
	Physically rich		Poor		Naturally rich		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Not receiving, not sending	15	40.5	18	37.5	3	7.1	36	28.6
Merely sending	8	21.6	13	27.1	10	23.8	31	24.4
Merely receiving	4	10.8	8	16.7	6	14.3	18	14.2
Both sending and receiving	10	27.0	9	18.8	23	54.8	42	33.1
Total	37	100.0	48	100.0	42	100.0	127	100.0

Furthermore, the 'naturally rich' have most relationships with the rural areas, resulting in remittances. They do have most households that both send and receive goods and money. This is a sign of being linked most to the rural relationships: the rural households do depend most on the money from Kigali and on the contrary the urban households get many goods from the countryside. Maybe they get the yields of their own lands, because this group has plenty of natural capital.

Households from the countryside do visit the urban households less frequent compared to the number of visits that urban households pay to rural households (Figure 6.5). An explanation for this may be that rural households do not have the money for public transport. We do not know the expenditures of rural households on transportation because these households are not at stake.

Most of the urban households are visited by their rural connections once a year (33.2%) or more than once a year, but less than once a month (28.8%). An important difference is that a considerable part of the rural people does not visit the households of urban migrants (19.6%). An explanation of this phenomenon is the relatively high costs of transport to Kigali on the one hand and the fact that the countryside is relying less on money on the other. Furthermore, in case of a failed migration to the city, which may also be possible, a rural-urban migrant tries to keep his claim on the rural assets.

Figure 6.5: Frequency of visits between households in Kigali and rural areas



A significant relationship exists between the year of migration of the most recent migrant and the frequency of visiting the urban households (A6.9)⁴⁰. Households that migrated recently to Kigali are visited less frequent by their rural relations. Households that migrated between 1994 and 2003 are visited more often by their rural relations than households who have come more recently.

Table 6.6: Frequency of visits from rural relatives to the city related to livelihood profiles

	Physically rich		Poor		Naturally rich		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
At least once per two months	9	19.6	0	0.0	18	25.7	27	15.1
Less than once per two months, but more than once a year	13	28.3	18	28.6	21	30.0	52	29.1
Once a year or less	19	41.3	24	38.1	27	38.6	70	39.1
Does not visit	5	10.9	21	33.3	4	5.7	30	16.8
Total	46	100.0	63	100.0	70	100.0	179	100.0

The visits that rural households pay to urban households differ significantly with the livelihood profiles⁴¹. Households belonging to the profile 'naturally rich' are visited most frequent, while the physically rich are visited less frequent, but the pattern is similar to the naturally rich. The poor livelihood is visited far least – even one third of all connections do not visit them (Table 6.6). Evidently, the rural relations do prefer to visit the naturally rich people. Looking at the group that receives most remittances we see the naturally rich households as well. As most of the remittances are in goods, this may be a reason to visit the urban household, since goods are not transferable through telephone networks⁴², Possibly at the same time the rural relation takes his money with him as well.

6.3 Urban household members in the rural areas

Another relationship between rural and urban areas is the following: members of a migrant household are living in rural areas. This can have two reasons: first, these household members remained in the rural areas, while another part of the household left to Kigali. Partly this is included before as well. For example when husbands are moving to Kigali in order to get income and meet another wife with whom they cohabit. In meantime the rural household still relies on them, but it seems a separate household. Another reason for rural household members is that these household members have left to the rural areas while the rest of the household is still living in Kigali. Out of all 180 households, 19 households do have at least one household member living in the rural (10.6%). When households have members in the rural areas, the number of members there ranges from one to five. In total, 33 household members are living in the rural areas. The remainder of their families is in 20 cases living in Nyamabuye, while the remaining 13 have their families in Kagunga.

Most of these household members are living outside Kigali for a short while. Except two persons, everyone is living there since the last decade. Especially since the last three years household members can be found in the rural, counting for 56.7%. Most of these household members are living in the Southern province; 54.5%. Almost a quarter is living in the Western province.

⁴⁰Chi-square is 0.062, so with a level of significance of 90% the zero-hypothesis must be rejected.

⁴¹Chi-square is 0.000, so with a level of significance of 99% the zero-hypothesis must be rejected.

⁴²Money is transferable by telephone: Providers Tigo and MTN do have a service in order to send money to other telephone numbers.

The reasons that household members moved from Kigali to the countryside is related in most cases to cost reduction. Most households indicate education as a reason to leave Kigali. Some people especially tell that sending their children to schools in the rural areas is less expensive. Education is a remarkable reason to leave, as Rwanda has a system in which basic education is supported by the government.

Possibly these households send their children to the rural areas because they do not bear any living costs for these children as well. In 20 cases education, cost reduction or a combination of these reasons is mentioned. Three children remained in the rural areas, while their parents left to Kigali. Job reasons are mentioned as well. As 'other reasons' can be mentioned that one household member started his own household in the rural areas. Other mentioned reasons to send their children to the rural areas are for example security. In that case a woman has two children that are not the children of her current husband, so she sent them to the rural in order to be safe. Some people went to rural areas for helping their grandparents in the rural areas; another person has its dwelling there.

Box 6.2: Husband in the rural

As a way of reducing costs Francine has send her children to the rural areas in 2010. Her four children are now living in Kamonyi district and Francine's mother is taking care for them. Another reason of sending her children to somewhere else is her relationship with her current husband, I guess. During our conversation her husband was around and she did not want to speak about her children. The children in the rural do have another father, Francine's former husband, which makes it a sensible story.

Louise Akimpaye, who is widow, has send her children to the rural as well. She told that it was because of cost reduction, especially reduction of school fees. The children are at the age that there is not supported anymore. Louise rents parts of her house as a way of living. Maybe this was another reason to send her children to her mother in Ngororero, Western Province.

Do these people remain on Rwanda's countryside? More than half of these household members are planning to return to Kigali (53.6%) while the remainder is not planning to return to Kigali. Remarkable is that all persons that mentioned solely 'education' as a reason to leave to the rural areas are planning to come back to Kigali in the future. While majority of the household members that went to the rural areas in order to get 'cheaper education' is not planning to return to Kigali (Table A6.10).

There are no remarkable facts about whether households do have household members in the rural areas considering the livelihood profiles. All profiles have a similar share in the rural areas (Table 6.7). When sending persons to the rural areas is a sign of poverty, then it would be expected most among poor livelihoods. There are more reasons to send your children to the rural, for example relational reasons(Box 6.2).

Table A6.7: Household with and without household members in rural areas related to livelihood profile

	Physically rich		Poor		Naturally rich		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Household with household members in rural areas	33	89.2	45	92.8	39	92.9	117	92.1
Household without household members in rural areas	4	10.8	3	6.2	3	7.1	10	7.9
Total	49	100.0	6	100.0	37	100.0	196	100.0

Goods and money among household and members in rural

Most households are supporting their migrated household members. This happens in most cases by both cash and goods or cash only. The amount of money and the value of the goods a rural household member receives is in most cases between 0 and 5,000 RWF per month (Table A6.11). On a household level, some households have high scores of support, even more than 20,000 RWF per month, because they do have several children in the rural areas (Table A6.12).

The other way around, only two rural household members do support the urban households from which they originate. The reason these people left Kigali was for job reasons. In both cases the household member is husband and he sends money and/or goods within (Box 6.3).

Box 6.3: Husband in the rural

Ignacienne Menyayesu came to Kigali in 2001 from Huye in the Southern Province. In 2004 she married with her current husband, who was working as a technician. Since 2009 Ignacienne and her husband were living in their house in Nyamabuye. From 2010 onwards, Ignacienne's husband has got a job in a mining company in Rutongo. He has a permanent job as driver and technician.

Ignacienne did not go to Rutongo, because they had their house in Kigali still. Furthermore their daughter is attending a school in Kigali. At last, Ignacienne is working at the market of Nyabugogo, where she is trading curtains and bedcovers. That is why Ignacienne and her husband are not living together, but seperately. He is supporting his family in Kigali.

6.4 Conclusion

The way how urban migrants are connected with the places their rural places of origin is shaped by remittances and visits they pay. On the other hand, the rural connections are not passive, since they visit the migrant households and send remittances to them as well, so two directions can be distinguished: from urban to rural and from rural to urban. A reciprocal relationship exists.

In spite of the reciprocity, the direction from urban to rural dominates in the total number of relations that exists. The number of the remittances from Kigali to the countryside do have in most cases a higher value or higher amount. The nature of the contribution of the urban households is mainly through money. Another part sends money along with goods. Only few households send goods. Especially the naturally rich households consist of active contributors to the rural home. Among the other households nearly 40% does not contribute anything.

The support migrant households get from the rural relations is mainly through goods. In general this has a lower value compared to what urban households send. The number of supporting relations is smaller as well. Especially households that are naturally rich receive goods while the other livelihood profiles are less connected with the rural areas. A small share of urban households indicates that they only receive support from the rural, while they do not send remittances to these rural areas.

In terms of visits, the direction is also mainly from urban to rural, both in the number of visits and its frequency. The naturally rich households visit their relatives more often than the other profiles. The physically rich and poor households do have a less intense relationship with the rural areas.

After all, some urban household use their rural connections in order to reduce costs, because they send their children to the countryside. In two cases the husband of the family lives on the rural to earn an income, while the family is still living in Kigali.

Besides a number of households that is connected, another part of the households does not have any connection with the rural place they left any more. It is hard to get the real reason of this, but it is reasonable that for example orphans do not have any connections in rural areas anymore. Victims of the Genocide too are likely to have no rural relations any more.

Of all three livelihood profiles, the naturally rich have the strongest connection with the rural. This is expressed by the remittances they send, the number of visited they have and, at last, by the visits and remittances they get from the rural as well. They are really multi-local. The poor livelihood and physically rich do have lower scores, but they have more similarities than with the naturally rich. Over all, the poor livelihood households seem least connected to the countryside. The poverty and lack of connections in the rural areas even might have been an incentive to move to Kigali.

Conclusion and discussion

This concluding chapter aims to draw up the research. Firstly, this chapter summarises and answers the research questions briefly. The second part of this chapter reflects on the results and places the findings in the current debate about rural-urban migration and urbanisation. Finally, some recommendations are given for further research and about the practice of living in Kigali. Before answering this main research question, the other research questions will be summarised briefly.

Chapter 4 tells about the motives for migration from the rural areas to Kigali. In the rural areas life is harsh because of several reasons. Many people indicated that poverty on the rural areas and the lack of employment in these areas are motives for migration. Land degradation, infertility and the lack of sufficient land are land-related reasons to move. Family conflicts are reasons for migration as well, which probably relates to land property as well. Kigali is attractive for these rural urban migrants because there are many opportunities to get what is not available in the rural areas, as migrants mention jobs and opportunities for jobs as the main migration motive. In cases of woman, marriage is another reason to move to Kigali. The presence of social ties in the city or the lack of a family is in many cases a precondition for migration.

In the end, generations think different about living in the city. Older people, who have large households, dream or think about searching a place in the rural areas for farming, while younger people speak especially about the positive things of the city, even when they do not have a job. Older people may be driven by responsibilities to their family and maybe by expectations and tradition, while younger people seem to have more interest in money and opportunities.

Chapter 5 describes the livelihoods of households that are consists at least one rural-urban migrant; the rural-urban migrant households. After describing all capitals separately, three livelihood profiles are distinguished: the physically rich livelihoods, the naturally rich livelihoods and the poor livelihoods. The first group scores high in terms of physical capital, the naturally rich livelihood profile has a relatively high natural capital and human capital as well. The poor livelihoods do not have high scores at all. Physically rich households have been living in Kigali for a long time. Their households are more mature. Apparently, the amount of years that households are living in Kigali influences the way in which their livelihood has been built. Nearly half of the poor households came to Kigali since 2004, while nearly two third of the naturally rich households have come to Kigali since that 2004. Among these livelihood profiles, the households did not build up much urban capitals, or they still are strongly linked to the rural areas.

The third sub topic is the relation of these rural-urban migrant households with the rural home in terms of remittances and visits in both directions

Chapter 6 describes the relation of these rural-urban migrant households with the rural home in terms of remittances and visits in both directions. . In two directions remittances and visits are taking place: from urban to rural and from rural to urban. The direction from urban to rural dominates in terms of the total number of relations, remittances and visits. Especially the naturally rich households consist of active contributors and visitors of the rural home.

In addition to remittances and visits, some urban household use their rural connections in order to reduce costs by sending household members to the countryside.

Of all three livelihood profiles, the naturally rich have the strongest connection with the rural. This is expressed by the remittances they send, the number of visited they have and, finally, by the visits and remittances they get from the rural as well. They are really multi-local. The poor

livelihood and physically rich do have similar lower scores. Overall, the poor livelihood households seem least connected to the countryside and they moved in many to Kigali recently

The main research question of this study is:

How can the linkage between urban migrant households in Kigali and rural households in Rwanda be described and explained?

The relationship between the rural and urban areas is called the rural-urban linkage. Tacoli (1998) argues that this relationship is shaped by several flows; flows of people, flows of money and flows of wastes. Another type of the rural-urban linkage is sectoral interaction; when activities that are considered as urban take place in a rural locality or the other way around. Rural-urban migration is mainly about flows of people from rural to urban areas.

As a result of migration to the city another flow appears: remittances to the rural areas (Bah et al, 2003, Frayne, 2004). In this way rural households diversify their livelihood, as the rural-urban migrant households earn income, which is crucial for the rural connections. Nowadays it is argued that urban households diversify their livelihood as well by 'ruralising' it (Owuor, 2006). Due to higher costs of living in the city, urban households do use their links with the rural home to get food as well, so rural households send remittances to the city.

This research has shown that in the case of Kigali and rural Rwanda these flows of remittances are present as well. A majority of 70% of the urban households is in one way or the other involved in these flows of remittances. A share of 55% of all households is sending remittances to the rural, while 47% of all households receive remittances. In general, the urban sector offers more compared to the rural sector.

Paying visits to the rural areas is another type of flows of people. Rural-urban households do visit their home areas, which must relate to the flows money and goods as well. According to the literature, such links are even more useful because they function as a safety net (Ellis, 1998); keeping in touch with the rural areas stands for more than only paying a visit. Rural-urban migrants in Kigali visit their rural homes, like in other literature (Frayne, 2004; Mberu et al, 2012). In terms of visits between urban and rural households, the urban households dominate as well.

The patterns of remittances and visits in Kigali are similar to other cases, although this study adds something else. Frayne (2004) and Mberu et al (2012) consider rural-urban migrants as one group, with different variables. This research however, shows that not all urban-rural households have the same type of livelihood and it therefore distinguishes three livelihood profiles: first the physically rich livelihoods, second the poor livelihoods and third the naturally rich livelihoods. The different livelihood profiles do have different relationships with the rural areas, in terms of remittances and visits.

The physically rich livelihood profile consists of a group of households that is living in Kigali for a long time. These people have adapted over time to the urban context. Their link with the rural areas is less; first, because over time people pass away and second, the Rwandan context of 1994 changed the links among people dramatically. The amount of people that is still linked to the rural areas is surprising in the light of the aforementioned factors. Supporting to this are the findings of Mberu et al (2012) who mention that that migrants keep relationships with the rural areas for decades.

On the contrary the poor households came more recently to Kigali and most of those migrants at a young age. In general, they did not succeed in a stable livelihood. In terms of their linkage with the rural areas, they are not successful as well: they have the few connections. In this way they are more vulnerable to shocks and stresses in the urban livelihood. Because of the few

connections they are forced to rely on the city. This group has the lowest scores on natural capital, which relates to the statement of Mberu et al. (2012), who argue that landless rural-urban migrants have a weaker relationship with the rural areas.

The naturally rich households came to Kigali recently as well. They have the strongest connection with the rural areas. This is expressed by the remittances they send, the number of visits they pay and, at last, by the visits and remittances they get from the rural as well. They are really multi-local and 'live' the rural-urban linkage. The rural assets they have make them least vulnerable in Kigali. In this case, multi-locality pays.

This approach with livelihood profiles suggests something else. Three groups are composed, based on the current livelihoods of rural-urban migrant households. Interesting to see is that most migrants who came to Kigali before 1994 do have a physically rich livelihood. House-ownership increases over time and especially physically rich livelihoods score high rates in ownership, which suggests that over time upward social mobility takes place. Besides the heterogeneity of urban-migrant livelihoods, this study suggests that livelihoods undergo social mobility as well.

Generation has been used as a determinant for rural-urban migration (Tacoli and Mabala, 2010). Young people and older people do have different opinion about life in the rural areas. This applies to life in the city as well; older head of households – mostly physically rich households – prefer living in the rural areas in order to feed their family, while younger people prefer life in Kigali because of the number of opportunities it provides. Besides these older people who value the rural life, not many household do have concrete plans for leaving, in spite of the tough life in Kigali. Potts (2009) saw trends of counterurbanisation, which do not seem to be the case in Kigali, as many people have come to Kigali recently. Finally, it seems that the livelihood profiles differ in the ways they cope with possible shocks and stresses. The naturally rich do have natural capital, which they can use, while the physically rich and the do have less opportunities for diversification. Potts (2011) saw that even households without rural assets went out of the city to acquire rural assets. Owuor (2006) mentions as well that urban households tend to ruralize their livelihoods. Natural capital seems the key to survival in the city.

The other Rwandan cases

According to Smit (2012) and Schutten (2013) rural households use migration in order to improve their livelihood. Smit focuses his research on the improvements of livelihoods through remittances, while Schutten links the way of migration to the livelihoods of migrants. In some aspects these studies are hard to compare. The rural researches of Smit and Schutten focused on 1) the contemporary situation of rural-urban migration 2) in all its forms 3) in the surroundings of Kigali. This urban study focuses on 1) migrants of all times 2) living in Kigali permanently, who 3) originate from all parts of Rwanda.

Still, some remarks can be made. Both Smit (2012) and Schutten (2013) distinguish their households into a group of poorest, a group of poor and a group of better off households. They conclude that the two first groups do not get much income from remittances. In this study, one livelihood profile includes very little migrants who moved to Kigali recently, so that one will be left out of a comparison to the rural researches. Of the remaining two livelihood profiles, urban households with a poor livelihood send less remittances (46%), while 79% of the naturally rich livelihoods sends remittances. Furthermore, a higher share (65%) of poor livelihoods receives no remittances from the rural compared to naturally rich livelihoods (31%).

It is not unthinkable that the livelihoods profiles overlap with the groups used by research on the rural. The rural-urban migrants who are currently part of a poor livelihood households may originate from a household that is poor or the poorest. The migrants who are part of the

naturally rich livelihoods may be the better-off, which can be seen in their higher score in natural capital as well.

Discussion

This methodology and the operationalization of concepts within this research show some weaknesses. First, the use of a cluster analysis results in missing values. In fact, the sample consists of 180 households, while 127 households are divided into the livelihood profiles. Unfortunately this is a loss of data that diminishes the diversity of the households. On the other hand, this approach of classifying the 'urban poor' shows that this group is far from one homogeneous. Several households do have more opportunities to cope with struggles than others, looking at the capitals they have access to.

Second, not all concepts are operationalized as it ought to be. First, the migration motives are asked in a sort of 'push and pull paradigm'. Respondents were asked to mention their most important reason to leave the countryside and their most important motive to migrate to Kigali. This results in a set of different answers, but it does not pay attention to each specific situation. In this way, the analysis remains flat.

Furthermore, social capital is not well measured in the research, which is a drawback. Social capital is hard to indicate. First of all this is because not much variables are used. The variable of membership to economic institution provides little information about social capital, because many people are connected to financial institutions. Nevertheless it indicates whether people are linked to other people. Trust is another sign of social capital, which is hard to measure. The number of missing values indicated that people did not feel comfortable to answer this question. The results from the financial capital aspect can be doubted as well, as there are many missing value and some households do have a very negative pattern of income, which is impossible on a longer term. First, this can be because of miscalculations and estimations. On the other hand this might be a sign of poverty as well.

Recommendations

Ultimately, the process of this research have led to ideas for further research in order to get a better understanding of the rural-urban linkage and the role of migrants in the city. First, a more qualitative approach pays more attention to the personal situation of the migrant. The context of the migrant before leaving – the local development context as De Haas (2008) calls it – can be investigated more in depth. One method of performing such a research is developing a longitudinal approach in which the migrant is followed on his way back to the rural home; however this will be a time-consuming investigation.

Second, this research is highly material, while the livelihood approach is about less tangible aspects as well, like entitlements and claims. Kaag et al (2004) and Scoones (2009) criticise many livelihood studies for this as well. Other less tangible things that may influence potential migrants are government policies – as Ansoms (2008) mentions the change of agricultural policies since 1994 – and cultural traditions about how to structure your life.

At last, some groups of people in the Rwandan context seem to have interesting stories to understand how rural-urban households are formed. Working as a housekeeper has been the first step in the city for many people. Another group that is interesting are the people who migrate temporarily, which combine working in the city temporarily with having a family in the countryside.

At last, this study has a recommendation on government policies. As especially households with the poor livelihood profile do not have strong links with the rural areas, the government should pay extra attention to the poor people in the city, which are much more vulnerable, since they do

not have a rural family that functions as a safety net. This can be through providing the basic needs to urban poor, like water pumps and secure housing. Some households in Nyamabuye still have to use water from the rivers. Bredenoord and Van Lindert (2010) mention several options to help urban poor sustaining their livelihood with a little help of the government – so-called assisted self-help housing. In addition to actions of the government there can be a role for private stakeholders as well.

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Annex 1 - Household survey

University of Utrecht in collaboration with the National University of

Rwanda

Introduction and informed consent

I am master student of International Development Studies from the University of Utrecht in the Netherlands. In collaboration with the National University of Rwanda I am performing a research. In collaboration of two other students, Micha and Arjan, I am doing a research on rural urban migration. They focus on the rural households, while I focus on the urban households, their livelihoods, migration pattern and the link with rural areas. The data gained by this research will give input for a greater research on rural urban mobility in the Kigali-region starting later this year. The results will be reported back to the National University of Rwanda.

The survey consists of several parts: First, I would like to make a complete list of household members. A household consists of a person or a group of persons, irrespective of whether related or not, who normally live together in the same housing units or group of housing units and have common cooking and eating arrangements. The head of household is a person who is responsible for generating and managing the largest part of the household income. Household members include those persons who are currently living in the household and those who have left, but are likely to come back. Then I would like to know the current occupations of the household members and other aspects of your livelihood, to get an insight of your daily live. In the following part I will ask some questions concerning migration of the household as a whole and migration of household members. These migrant household members are the persons who are currently not living within the home, but are still attached to your household. At last, some questions are asked about the possible link with the rural areas.

At last some important points:

- If you are not willing to participate you can stop with the survey. You are not obliged to participate in this research.
- All answers will be analysed with care and anonymity is respected.
- This survey should preferably be answered by the head of the household.

Cover Sheet

RESULT CODE (1=yes 0=no)	Visit 1	Visit 2
a. COMPLETED		
b. INCOMPLETE		
c. DWELLING NOT FOUND		
d. DWELLING VACANT		
e. NO ADEQUATE RESPONDENT PRESENT		
f. REFUSED		
g. OTHER (SPECIFY)		

Name head of household	Surname	Other names	
Place	District:	Sector:	Village:
Geographical location	Latitude	Longitude	
Facts household	Household number:	Telephone number:	Number of household members:
Interview	Date interview:	Name interviewer:	Telephone number interviewer:

Section 1: Household Roster

	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.6
ID	Name all the household members in the household. <i>(Use the following listing order: Husband Wife Children Housekeeper House guard Other relatives Other non-relatives)</i>	What is the relationship of person within the household? 1. Husband 2. Wife 3. Children (boys) 4. Children (girls) 5. Housekeeper 6. House guard 7. Other relatives 8. Other non-relatives	What is sex of person? <i>(If not clear from the last question)</i> 1. Male 2. Female	In which year person is born? YEAR	What is the present marital status of (NAME)? 1. Married 2. Single 3. widowed 4. divorced	What is the class of the household according to the Ubudehe classification? 1. extremely poor 2. very poor 3. poor 4. resourceful poor 5. food rich 6. money rich
1						
2						
3						

	1.7	1.8	1.9
ID	What is place and district of birth of the person? PLACE DISTRICT	What is the highest level of schooling that (NAME) has attained? Specify: 1. no education 2. primary at least 3 years 3. primary completed 4. secondary at least 3 years 5. secondary completed 6. university	Do you have any persons with a handicap in the household? If yes, who?
1			
2			
3			

Section 2: Occupational activities

	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.5
PERSON ID	What is the main and current occupation of each household member? <i>(this question does not regard the guards and housekeepers)</i>	What is the second occupation of each household member?	Travel time to the place of occupation. <i>(in minutes)</i> FIRST SECOND	How many hours does household member normally work on occupation per day? FIRST SECOND	How many days does household member normally work on occupation per week? FIRST SECOND
1					
2					
3					

Section 3: Housing conditions

P E R S O N I D	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.5
		What is the tenure status of this dwelling? 1. Owned 2. Rented 3. Subsidized 4. Other (specify)	How many separate rooms do you have in total? (excluding bathrooms, corridors, and storage areas (this refers to separate living and dining rooms, bedrooms, etc.)? <i>NUMBER OF ROOMS</i>	Does your household have piped water and electricity? 1. Piped water >>3.5 2. Electricity 3. Both piped water and electricity >>3.5 4. none of them	If no piped water, what is the primary source for the household activities? 1. Public pump 2. Well stream 3. River or stream 4. Water truck/vendors 5. Rain water 6. Boreholes 7. Other (specify)
1					

Section 4: Agriculture and livestock

P E R S O N I D	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.4	4.5
		Does your household own any land? 1. Yes 2. No >> 4.3	What is the destination of the land you own and its size per category? 1. Cultivation for own consumption 2. Cultivation for market 3. Cultivation for own consumption and market 4. Rent for others 5. Building plot 6. For sell 7. Other, specify <i>CATEGORY</i> <i>ACRES</i>	Does your household use any land? 1. Yes 2. No <i>(If yes, for what purpose and how many acres per category)</i> <i>PURPOSE</i> <i>ACRES</i>	Does your household at present hold any livestock? 1. Yes 2. No >> 5.1

Section 5: Expenditures and assets

5.1		5.2	
What are the expenditures per aspect per month?		Which of the following assets does your household have?	
	Currently - RWF/month	Assets	1. Yes 2. No
Food		1. Radio	
Transportation		2. Phone without internet	
House		3. Phone with internet	
Education		4. Bicycle	
Health		5. Motorcycle	
Communication		6. Car	
Others (specify)		7. TV	

Section 6: Financial services & Section 7: Sources of income

<p>6.1</p> <p>Does one of your household members belong to any economic groups, economic organizations, networks or associations?</p> <p>1. Yes (<i>specify which</i>)</p>	<p>6.2</p> <p>Do you believe that people in your community generally have confidence to lend money or ask for loans?</p> <p>1. Yes 2. No, why</p>	<p>6.3</p> <p>Does your household have any loans?</p> <p>1. Yes (<i>specify how much</i>) 2. No</p>	<p>6.4</p> <p>What is the most important reason for asking for a loan?</p>

<p>7.1</p> <p>Can you give an estimation of the monthly sources of income for your household in the following categories?</p>	
<p>CATEGORY</p>	<p>AMOUNT PER MONTH IN RWF</p>
<p>1. Wage/salaries (labourer)</p>	
<p>2. Business/enterprise/handicraft</p>	
<p>3. Farming</p>	
<p>4. Livestock</p>	
<p>5. (Land) rent, interest</p>	
<p>6. Other, specify:</p>	

Section 8: Migration of the household to Kigali

	8.1 Before you lived in Kigali, where did you live? <i>(specify per person)</i> <i>PLACE</i> <i>DISTRICT</i>	8.2 In which year did you move to Kigali? <i>YEAR</i>	8.3 What was your occupation before you migrated?	8.4 What was the most important reason you have left the original homestead?	8.5 What was the most important reason you migrated to Kigali?
1					
2					
3					

	8.6 Do you have any obligations to contribute to (non-)relatives living in the rural place you have left? <i>(don't include household members living in rural areas)</i> 1. Yes (note name of head of household) 2. No >> 8.10	8.7 What is your relationship with that head of household? 1. Spouse 2. Parents 3. Children (boys) 4. Children (girls) 5. Other relatives 6. Non-relatives	8.8 What is the nature of the contribution? 1. Cash 2. Goods 3. Both cash and goods 4. Nothing >> 8.10	8.9 How much do you contribute per month? Cash – amount (RWF); Goods – value (RWF)
1				
2				
3				

	8.10 Does the household deserve anything from these (non-)relatives in rural areas? 1. Yes 2. No >> 9.1 <i>If yes, note name of head of household.</i>	8.11 What is the nature of the contribution from these (non-)relatives to the household? 1. Goods 2. Cash 3. Both cash and goods	8.12 How much do these (non-)relatives contribute per month to the household? Cash – amount (RWF); value (RWF) Goods – value (RWF)
1			
2			
3			

Section 9: Visits to rural areas

Pers onl D	9.1	9.2	9.3	9.4
	Do you still visit (non-)relatives living in your last rural place of residence? 1. Yes (<i>specify whom</i>) 2. No >> 10.1	What is your relation with that person? 1. Spouse 2. Parents 3. Children (boys) 4. Children (girls) 5. Other relatives 6. Non-relatives	In the past 12 months, how often did you visit that (non-)relative? 1. Every day 2. Several times a week 3. Once a week 4. Several times a month 5. Once a month 6. Once every two months 7. Once per year 8. Other (<i>specify</i>)	In the past 12 months, how often did that (non-)relative visit you? 1. Every day 2. Several times a week 3. Once a week 4. Several times a month 5. Once a month 6. Once every two months 7. Once per year 8. Other (<i>specify</i>)
1				
2				

Section 10: Migration of household members to rural areas

	10.1	10.2	10.3	10.4	10.5
P E R S O N I D	Who of the aforementioned household members is currently living in a rural area? <i>(see household roster)</i>	Where is that household member currently living? <i>PLACE</i> <i>DISTRICT</i>	For what reason is this household member living there?	In which year did this household member leave the house? <i>YEAR</i>	Will this household member be returning to the urban household? 1. Yes 2. No
1					
2					
3					

	10.6	10.7	10.8	10.9	10.10	10.11
	Does the household member not living in the house have any obligations to contribute to the household? 1. Yes	What is the nature of the contribution of the household member? 1. Cash 2. Goods 3. Both cash and	How much does the household member not living in the house contribute per month to the household? Cash – amount (RWF); Goods – value (RWF)	Does the household member not living in the house deserve anything from the household? 1. Yes 2. No >> 11.1	What is the nature of the contribution of the household to the household member not living in the house? 1. Cash 2. Goods 3. Both cash and goods	How much does the household contribute per month to the household member not living in the house? Cash – amount (RWF); Goods – value (RWF)
1						
2						
3						

Section 11: Concluding remarks

We now have completed most of the household survey. Another part of this research on rural-urban migration and livelihoods will be in depth interviews with urban migrants. That means that we will have an elaborate dialogue about the reasons of migration to Kigali and the linkage with the rural home.

11.1) Would you like to participate in an in depth interview about rural-urban migration?

Yes >> next question

No >> Survey is completed

11.2) If yes >> How can we keep in contact?

(Contact details will not be distributed to other persons)

Phone: _____

E-mail: _____

11.3) Which time period do you have time to have an interview?

Date: _____

Part of the day: _____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS SURVEY!

Annex 2 – Formula sample size

$$n = N_0 / (1 + N_0/N)$$

$$N_0 = (t(\alpha))^2 * p(1-p) / d^2$$

N_0 = sample size

p = probability (estimated frequency per sample size n)

d = allowable error

$t(\alpha)$ = student value (for the probability p (equal to d))

Annex 3 – Question and topic list in-depth interview

Introduction

I would like to ask you some additional questions to the questionnaire. Especially about your migration story and related things. This interview helps me to understand the life of migrants, so I would be very happy if you want to share about your life. The research has the same topic, but focuses now on migration only. This research is more free, you can tell your story. Thank you very much that you want to help me again.

Rural location

1. Where are you born (village/place – district - province)?
2. In what year?
3. Have you lived in other places before you came to Kigali? If yes, where?
4. Can you tell me more about the situation in the rural areas?
5. What was the size and composition of your family?
6. Which job did you have?
7. Why decided you to go to Kigali?/What was the most important reason?

Kigali

8. In what year did you leave that place and did you come to Kigali?
9. What amount of persons did you come to Kigali?
10. What happened after you came in Kigali?
11. Where did you get a job?
12. Where did you move for housing?
13. What problems did take place?
14. Before you came here, how many people did you know in Kigali (any family for example)?
15. Why did you come to Gatsata/Gikondo?
16. What is your opinion about life in Kigali in general? Positive/negative aspects?
17. What problems do you/does your household face?

Relationship with rural

18. Does your family still live in the rural place you left?
19. To what extent do you encourage/discourage your family to come to Kigali?
20. Do you have any obligations to your family in the rural, because you live in Kigali?
21. What are their expectations about you?

22. What are the reasons for visiting your family in the rural?
23. Do you think about moving back to the rural? If yes, why?
24. Do you know people who left Gatsata/Gikondo because life was too complicated? Can you tell more about that?

Finishing questions

25. Do you want to share something that is not mentioned yet?
26. Do you have any questions to me, as a result of this questionnaire?

Specific questions

- ♣ Land/livestock: You say you have land/livestock, where is that located? How do you use it?
- ♣ Housekeepers: what is your relationship with the housekeeper?
- ♣ Members in rural: Where are these people living now? Why did you send them to the rural areas?

Annex 4 – Tables chapter 4

Table A4.1: Sex of the head of household

Type households	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total		Gatsata	Gikondo
	N	%	N	%	N	%	%	%
Male-headed	75	84.3	80	88.9	155	86.6	82.3	76.6
Female-headed	14	15.7	10	11.1	24	13.4	17.7	23.4
Total	89	100.0	90	100.0	179	100.0	100.0	100.0
Missing	1				1			
Total	100				180			

(Source: NISR, 2008a, p.31; NISR 2008b, p.31)

Table A4.2 Age distribution in Nyamabuye and Kagunga

Age	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
0-4 years	71	18.6	59	14.2	130	16.3
5-9 years	50	13.1	60	14.5	138	11.0
10-14 years	24	6.3	58	14.0	82	10.3
15-19 years	33	8.7	51	12.3	84	10.6
20-24 years	52	13.6	32	7.7	84	10.6
25-29 years	52	13.6	45	10.8	97	12.2
30-34 years	43	11.3	32	7.7	75	9.4
35-39 years	20	5.2	26	6.3	46	5.8
40-44 years	12	3.1	21	5.1	33	4.1
45-49 years	7	1.8	16	3.9	23	2.9
50-54 years	7	1.8	7	1.7	14	1.8
55-59 years	4	1.0	4	1.0	8	1.0
> 59 years	6	1.6	4	1.0	10	1.3
Total	381	100.0	415	100.0	796	100.0
Missing	35		40		75	
Total	416		455		871	

Table A4.3 - Province of birth of all respondents

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Kigali	192	47.4	242	53.2	434	50.5
South Province	115	28.3	112	24.6	227	26.4
West Province	36	9.0	42	9.2	78	9.1
North Province	39	9.6	16	3.5	55	6.4
East Province	16	4.0	33	7.3	49	5.7
Abroad	7	1.7	10	2.2	17	2.0
Total	405	100.0	455	100.0	860	100.0
<i>Missing</i>	<i>11</i>		<i>0</i>		<i>11</i>	
Total	416		455		871	

Table A4.4: Year of migration to Kigali of rural-urban migrants

Period	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Before 1984	10	7.1	9	7.0	19	7.0
1984-1993	14	9.9	25	19.4	39	14.4
1994-2003	57	40.4	38	29.5	95	35.2
Since 2004	60	42.6	57	44.2	113	43.3
Total	141	100.0	129	100.0	270	100.0

Table A4.5: Province of birth of migrated housekeepers and relatives of head of household

Province	Housekeepers		Relatives of head of household	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Northern Province	5	17.2	4	8.3
Eastern Province	0	0.0	10	20.8
Southern Province	10	34.5	27	56.3
Western Province	14	48.3	6	12.5
Kigali	0	0.0	1	2.1
Total	29	100.0	48	100.0

Table A4.6: First motive of migration from countryside related to age group of 'independent migrants'

	10 – 19 years		20 – 29 years		30 years and older		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Job reasons	4	7.3	9	11.5	8	34.8	21	13.5
Family reasons	23	41.8	24	30.8	2	8.7	49	31.4
Land-related reasons	4	7.3	5	6.4	0	0.0	9	5.8
Rural poverty	15	27.3	32	41.0	7	30.4	54	34.6
Education	7	12.7	5	6.4	0	0.0	12	7.7
Other	2	3.6	3	3.8	6	26.1	11	7.1
Total	55	100.0	78	100.0	23	100.0	156	100.0

Table A4.7: Former living place of 'independent migrants' compared to first motive of migration from countryside

Province	Northern Province		Eastern Province		Southern Province		Western Province		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Job reasons	5	21.7	4	16.0	10	10.9	5	16.1	24	14.0
Family reasons	10	43.5	9	36.0	28	30.4	8	25.8	55	32.2
Land-related problems	1	4.3	0	0.0	5	5.4	4	12.9	10	5.8
Rural poverty	6	26.1	5	20.0	38	41.3	10	32.3	59	34.5
Education	0	0.0	4	16.0	5	5.4	3	9.7	12	7.0
Other	1	4.3	3	12.0	6	6.5	1	3.2	11	6.4
Total	23	100.0	25	100.0	92	100.0	31	100.0	171	100.0

Table A4.8: First reason of migration from countryside relating to sex: concerns 'independent migrants'

Push-factor	Men		Women		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
job reasons	16	20.3	8	8.7	24	14.0
family reasons	10	12.7	46	50.0	56	32.7
land related reasons	7	8.9	3	3.3	10	5.8
rural poverty	38	48.1	21	22.8	59	34.3
education	3	3.8	8	8.7	11	6.4
other	5	6.3	6	6.5	11	6.4
Total	79	100.0	92	100.0	171	100.0

Table A4.9: First motive of migration to Kigali related to age group of 'independent migrants'

	10 – 19 years		20 – 29 years		30 years and older		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Job en income generation	20	40.0	38	48.7	15	68.2	73	48.7
Family reasons	19	38.0	24	30.8	0	0.0	43	28.7
Prosperity of Kigali	4	8.0	10	12.8	2	9.1	16	10.7
Other	7	14.0	6	7.7	5	22.7	18	12.0
Total	50	100.0	78	100.0	22	100.0	150	100.0

Table A4.10: Former living place of 'independent migrants' compared to first motive of migration to Kigali

Province	Northern Province		Eastern Province		Southern Province		Western Province		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Job en income generation	14	58.3	8	36.4	42	47.2	14	48.3	78	47.6
Family reasons	8	33.3	6	27.3	27	30.3	7	24.1	48	29.3
Prosperity of Kigali	1	4.2	3	13.6	10	11.2	6	20.7	20	12.2
Other	1	4.2	5	22.7	10	11.2	2	6.9	18	11.0
Total	24	100.0	22	100.0	89	100.0	29	100.0	164	100.0

Table A4.11: Motivations for moving to Kigali compared with sex

Motivation	Men		Women		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Job and income generation	49	64.5	29	33.3	78	47.9
Family reasons	5	6.6	43	49.4	48	29.4
Prosperity in Kigali	15	19.7	5	5.7	20	12.3
Other	7	9.2	10	11.5	17	10.4
Total	76	100.0	87	100.0	163	100.0

Annex 5 – Tables chapter 5

Table A5.1: Highest level of education attained for persons older than 16 years

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
No education	10	4.5	13	6.1	23	5.3
Primary school at least 3 years	33	14.9	18	8.5	51	11.8
Primary school completed	103	46.6	91	42.9	194	44.8
Secondary school at least 3 years	41	18.6	41	19.3	82	18.9
Secondary school completed	30	13.6	32	15.1	62	14.3
University	4	1.8	17	8.0	21	4.8
Total	221	100.0	212	100.0	433	100.0
Missing	4		5		9	
Total	225		217		442	

Table A5.2: Tenure status of houses

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Owned	23	25.6	35	38.9	58	32.2
Rented	66	73.3	54	60.0	120	66.7
Other	1	1.1	1	1.1	2	1.1
Total	90	100.0	90	100.0	180	100

Table A5.3: Number of rooms within the houses.

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
One room	5	5.6	8	8.9	13	7.3
Two rooms	45	50.6	29	32.2	74	41.3
Three rooms	22	24.7	20	22.2	42	23.5
Four rooms	12	13.5	22	24.4	34	19.0
Five rooms	4	4.5	7	7.8	11	6.1
Six rooms	1	1.1	4	4.4	5	2.8
Total	89	100.0	90	100.0	179	100.0

Table A5.4: Tenure status of the houses related to size of house

	Size house						Total	
	Small		Medium		Large			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Rented house	80	93.0	37	48.7	3	18.8	120	67.4
Owned house	6	7.0	39	51.3	13	81.2	58	32.6
Total	86	100.0	76	100.0	16	100.0	178	100.0

Table A5.5: Relative size of houses: number of persons per room

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
One person or less	14	15.7	22	24.4	36	20.1
More than one person up till two persons	50	56.2	44	48.9	94	52.5
More than two persons	25	28.1	24	26.7	49	27.4
Total	89	100.0	90	100.0	179	100.0

Table A5.6: Availability of electricity and piped water

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Electricity	62	68.9	48	53.3	110	61.1
Both electricity and piped water	19	21.1	31	34.4	50	27.8
None of them	9	10.0	11	12.2	20	11.1
Total	90	100.0	90	100.0	180	100.0

Table A5.7: Primary source of water for households without piped water

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Water vendors	60	84.5	29	49.2	89	68.5
Well stream	8	11.3	21	35.6	29	22.3
Boreholes	0	0.0	4	6.8	4	3.1
River or stream	2	2.8	0	0.0	2	1.5
Public pump	1	1.4	0	0.0	1	0.8
Other	0	0.0	5	8.5	5	3.8
Total	71	100.0	59	100.0	130	100.0

Table A5.8: Sanitation in Kigali

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Flushing toilet	0	0.0	4	4.4	4	2.2
Pit latrine	88	97.8	86	95.6	174	96.7
Other	2	2.2	0	0.0	2	1.1
Total	90	100.0	90	100.0	180	100.0

Table A5.9: Households categorised according to the number of assets they have

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Asset poor	31	36.9	33	37.9	64	37.4
Asset medium	45	53.6	44	50.6	89	52.0
Asset rich	8	9.5	10	11.5	18	10.5
Total	84	100.0	87	100.0	171	100.0
Missing	6		3		9	
Total	90		90		180	

Table A5.10: Land ownership of households in Kigali

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	51	56.7	41	45.6	92	51.1
No	39	43.3	49	54.4	88	48.9
Total	90	100.0	90	100.0	180	100.0

Table A5.11: Land use of landowning households

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Used by or rented to others	31	63.3	26	66.7	57	64.8
agriculture	16	32.7	8	20.5	24	27.3
other	2	4.1	5	12.8	7	8.0
Total	49	100.0	39	100.0	88	100.0

Table A5.12: Size of land owned by land-owning households

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Less than 1 hectare	9	42.9	8	61.5	17	50.0
From 1 hectare to 3 hectares	9	42.9	4	30.8	13	38.2
3 hectares and more	3	14.3	1	7.7	4	11.8
Total	21	100.0	13	100.0	34	100.0
Missing	30		28		58	
Total	51		41		92	

Table A5.13: Land ownership and land use of households

		Owning				Total	
		Yes		No			
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Using	Yes	33	35.9	3	3.4	36	20.0
	No	59	64.1	85	96.6	144	80.0
Total		92	100.0	88	100.0	180	100.0

Table A5.14: Land use of households in Kigali

Using land	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	24	26.7	12	13.3	36	20.0
No	66	73.3	78	86.7	144	80.0
Total	90	100.0	90	100.0	180	100.0

Table A5.15: Specified land use of land using households

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Agriculture	4	16.7	1	7.7	5	13.5
Construction	14	58.3	4	30.8	18	48.7
Forest plantation	3	12.5	8	61.5	11	29.7
Rent	3	12.5	0	0	3	8.1
Total	24	100.0	13	100.0	37	100.0

Table A5.16: Membership of economic institution

		Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Membership of economic institution	yes	48	60.0	55	61.1	103	60.6
	no	32	40.0	35	38.9	67	39.4
Total		80	100.0	90	100.0	170	100.0

Table A5.17: Confidence to ask for loans within the community

	Nyamabu		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Confidence	60	83.3	74	94.9	134	89.3
No confidence	12	16.7	4	5.1	16	10.7
Total	72	100.0	78	100.0	150	100.0
Missing	18		12		30	
Total	90		90		180	

Table A5.18: Total income per household

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
0 – 50.000 RWF	13	26.5	22	47.8	35	36.8
51.000 – 100.000 RWF	15	30.6	11	23.9	26	27.4
100.001 – 150.000 RWF	9	18.4	5	10.9	14	14.7
150.001 – 200.000 RWF	6	12.2	1	2.2	7	7.4
> 200.000 RWF	6	12.2	7	15.2	13	13.7
Total	49	100.0	46	100.0	95	100.0
Missing	41		44		85	
Total	90		90		180	

Table A5.19: Expenditures per household

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
0 – 50.000 RWF	5	9.3	8	16.7	13	12.7
51.000 – 100.000 RWF	21	38.9	22	45.8	43	42.2
100.001 – 150.000 RWF	16	29.6	5	10.4	21	20.6
150.001 – 200.000 RWF	7	13.0	7	14.6	14	13.7
> 200.000 RWF	5	9.3	6	12.5	11	10.8
Total	54	100.0	48	100.0	102	100.0

Table A5.20: Loans per households

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Loans	16	20.8	11	12.4	27	16.3
No loans	61	79.2	78	87.6	139	83.7
Total	77	100.0	89	100.0	166	100.0

Table A5.21: Nature of contribution from rural households to urban households

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Cash	1	2.2	0	0.0	1	1.2
Goods	43	95.6	38	97.4	81	96.4
Both cash and goods	1	2.2	1	2.6	2	2.4
Total	45	100.0	39	100.0	84	100.0
<i>Missing</i>	45		51		96	
Total	90		90		180	

Table A5.22: Livelihood profiles among households Kagunga and Nyamabuye

	Variable	Physically rich (N = 37)	Poor (N = 48)	Naturally rich (N = 42)
Human capital	Z-Mean level of education	,15804	-,54692	,48017
	Z-Producers	,01635	-,19200	,38567
	Z-Consumers	1,01681	-,39998	-,33602
Physical capital	Z-Ownership of house	1,44629	-,46530	-,58597
	Z-Number of rooms	1,13029	-,64416	-,12591
	Z-Persons per room	-,03908	,21543	-,10803
	Z-Total assets	,52328	-,74363	,50195
	Z-Electricity and water	,53073	-,44944	,27658
Natural capital	Z-Owning land	,22046	-,39622	,35782
	Z-Using land	-,16171	-,39473	,56984
	Z-Holding livestock	-,05619	-,37068	,48915
Social capital	Z-Membership of ec. institution	,40763	-,60140	,64502
	Z-Trust in loans	-,00465	-,12646	,11377

Highest (green) and lowest (red) scores among clusters

Table A5.23: Livelihood profiles in both cells

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Physically rich	14	23.3	23	34.3	37	29.1
Poor	22	36.7	26	38.8	48	37.8
Naturally rich	24	40.0	18	26.9	42	33.1
Total	60	100.0	67	100.0	127	100.0

Table A5.24: Age head of household of each livelihood profile

	Physically rich		Poor		Naturally rich		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male-headed	32	86.5	38	79.2	40	97.6	110	87.3
Female-headed	5	13.5	10	20.8	1	2.4	16	12.7
Total	37	100.0	48	100.0	42	100.0	127	100.0

Table A5.25: Employment within the livelihood profiles

	Physically rich		Poor		Naturally rich		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Construction	5	14.3	10	21.3	4	9.5	19	15.3
Transport	3	8.6	2	4.3	4	9.5	9	7.3
Commerce	6	17.1	5	10.6	13	31.0	24	19.4
Handicraft	8	22.9	7	14.9	7	16.7	22	17.7
Security	2	5.7	4	8.5	6	14.3	12	9.7
Labour force/freelance	0	0.0	8	17.0	2	4.8	10	8.1
unemployed	8	22.9	5	10.6	2	4.8	15	12.1
other	3	8.6	6	12.8	4	9.5	13	10.5
Total	35	100.0	47	100.0	42	100.0	124	100.0

Table A5.26: Year of migration of 'independent migrant' per livelihood profile

Year of migration	Physically rich		Poor		Naturally rich		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Before 1994	27	54.0	3	5.9	5	7.7	28	16.9
Between 1994 and 2003	16	32.0	24	47.1	18	27.7	58	34.9
In 2004 or later	7	14.0	24	47.1	42	64.6	73	44.0
Total	50	100.0	51	100.0	65	100.0	166	100.0

Table A5.27: Age of independent migrants at year of migration

	Physically rich		Poor		Naturally rich		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
10 to 19 years	17	34.0	21	41.2	18	28.6	56	34.1
20 to 29 years	23	46.0	28	54.9	34	54.0	85	51.8
30 years and older	10	20.0	2	3.9	11	17.5	23	14.0
Total	50	100.0	51	100.0	63	100.0	164	100.0

Annex 6 – Tables chapter 6

TableA6.1: Number of relationships with rural households per household in each cell

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
No relationships	15	16.7	20	22.2	35	19.4
One relationship	27	30.0	52	57.8	79	43.9
Two relationships	31	34.4	17	18.9	48	26.7
Three relationships	12	13.3	1	1.1	13	7.2
More than three relationships	5	5.6	0	0.0	5	2.8
Total	90	100.0	90	100.0	180	100.0

Table A6.2: Nature of contribution within the rural-urban relationships in each cell

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Nothing	50	34.0	27	30.7	77	32.8
Cash	59	40.1	43	48.9	102	43.4
Goods	6	4.1	2	2.3	8	3.4
Both cash and goods	32	21.8	16	18.2	48	20.4
Total	147	100.0	88	100.0	235	100.0

Table A6.3: Nature of all contributions at household level

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Nothing	27	36.0	23	32.9	50	34.5
Cash	32	42.7	31	44.3	63	43.4
Goods	1	1.3	2	2.9	3	2.1
Both cash and goods	15	20.0	14	20.0	29	20.0
Total	75	100.0	70	100.0	145	100.0

Table A6.4: Total monthly contribution of urban households sending money to rural households.

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
0 – 5,000 RWF	6	17.1	9	36.0	15	25.0
5,001 – 10,000 RWF	13	37.1	4	16.0	17	28.3
10,001 – 20,000 RWF	12	34.3	7	28.0	19	31.7
> 20,000 RWF	4	11.4	5	20.0	9	15.0
Total	35	100.0	25	100.0	60	100.0

Table A6.5: Visits of households to rural relatives and non-relatives

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	79	87.8	83	92.2	162	90.0
No	11	12.2	7	7.8	18	10.0
Total	90	100.0	90	100.0	180	100.0

Table A6.6: Frequency of visits to rural households and relationship with households

	Spouse		Parents		Children		Other relatives		Non relatives		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
At least once per two months	7	100.0	37	30.6	2	66.7	25	21.7	8	28.6	79	28.8
Less than once per two months, but more than once a year	0	0.0	44	36.4	1	33.3	44	38.3	12	42.9	101	36.9
Once a year	0	0.0	31	25.6	0	0.0	34	29.6	8	28.6	73	26.6
Less than once a year	0	0.0	9	7.4	0	0.0	11	9.6	0	0.0	20	7.3
Does not visit	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.9	0	0.0	1	0.4
Total	7	100.0	121	100.0	3	100.0	115	100.0	28	100.0	274	100.0

Table A6.7: Year of migration of most recent migrant within household related to frequency of visits

	Before 1984		1984-1993		1994 - 2003		2004 and later		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
At least once per two months	2	11.8	5	18.5	26	27.7	46	36.5	79	29.9
Less than once per two months, but more than once a year	4	23.5	6	22.2	37	39.4	50	39.7	97	36.7
Once a year	8	47.1	11	40.7	25	26.6	26	20.6	70	26.5
Less than once a year	3	17.6	5	18.5	6	6.4	4	3.2	18	6.8
Total	17	100.0	27	100.0	94	100.0	126	100.0	264	100.0

Table A6.8: Value of total monthly contribution in goods from rural households to Kigali.

	Nyamabuye		Kagunga		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
0 - 5,000 RWF	27	87.1	20	87.0	47	87.0
5,001 - 10,000 RWF	1	3.2	2	8.7	3	5.6
10,001 - 20,000 RWF	3	9.7	1	4.3	4	7.4
Total	31	100.0	23	100.0	54	100.0

Table A6.9: Year of migration of most recent migrant within household related to frequency of visits from the countryside

	Before 1994		1994 - 2003		2004 & later		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
At least once per two months	5	12.2	10	11.6	17	14.8	32	13.2
Less than once per two months, but more than once a year	6	14.6	31	36.0	33	28.7	70	28.9
Once a year or less	24	58.5	31	36.0	38	33.0	92	38.4
Does not visit	6	14.6	14	16.3	27	23.5	47	19.4
Total	40	100.0	86	100.0	115	100.0	242	100.0

Table A6.10: Reason of migration of household members in rural areas

	Planning to return		Not planning to return		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Education	7	46.7	0	0.0	7	25.0
Cheaper education	3	20.0	9	69.2	12	42.9
Cost reduction	0	0.0	1	7.7	1	3.6
Job	2	13.3	0	0.0	2	7.1
Other	3	20.0	3	23.1	6	21.4
Total	15	100.0	13	100.0	28	100.0

Table A6.11: Contribution of households in goods and money to separate household members in rural areas

	Total amount of money		Total value of goods	
	N	%	N	%
0 - 5,000 RWF	8	36.4	12	75.0
5,001 - 10,000 RWF	11	50.0	4	25.0
> 10,000 RWF	3	13.6	0	0.0
Total	22	100.0	16	100.0
Missing	1		1	
Total	23		17	

Table A6.12: Total contribution of households in goods and money to all their household members in rural areas

	Total amount of money		Total value of goods	
	N	%	N	%
0 - 5,000 RWF	1	11.1	4	57.1
5,001 - 10,000 RWF	2	22.2	0	0.0
10,001 - 20,000 RWF	2	22.2	3	42.9
> 20,000 RWF	4	44.4	0	0.0
Total	9	100.0	7	100.0