

Impacts of rural-urban migration on rural migrant households in the surroundings of Kigali

How migration affects their livelihood

Arjan Smit



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Master Thesis MSc International Development Studies (IDS)

Arjan Smit

Supervisor Dr. P. van Lindert

Faculty of Geosciences

University of Utrecht

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Wings

*If I have only one wish
to be granted
that is
to escape from poverty
and fly away
from it.*

*If I have only one wish
that is,
to escape from poverty
Poverty that drains my energy
Poverty that punishes my family
I will make my wings,
My two huge wings
and fly away from it.*

Mary Jesusa Villegas¹

¹ A 20-years old migrant in the Philippines wrote this poem related to migration.

Acknowledgements

This research is the result of fieldwork conducted between February and May 2010 in Rwanda. During that period, I worked together with the National University of Rwanda in doing research on the impact of rural-urban migration in the Kigali-region. After a period of three weeks of fieldwork preparation, I spent four weeks in four different rural locations around Kigali. By using household questionnaires I collected a lot of data, together with three Rwandan translators and Micha Schutten, a fellow student of International Development Studies in Utrecht. The experience in the field allowed me to achieve a fundamental knowledge on rural-urban migration dynamics in the Kigali-region and its impact on the rural sending households. For that reason I first would like to thank my local supervisor, Prof. Emmanuel Twarabamenye, for providing me with the opportunity to attend an internship in the National University of Rwanda.

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Rwanda occupied my heart with its amazing, hilly nature, its interesting culture, its terrible history and its energetic and helpful people, from the moment I arrived there unto this moment.

Arjan Smit
Utrecht, July 2012

Executive summary

This master research examines the impacts of rural-urban migration on rural migrant households in Rwanda. This is investigated in terms of both the loss of labour forces due to migration and the impact of resource-transfers between the migrant(s) and rural migrant households. This study pays attention to the extent to which this impact differs for households with different social-economic status.

From 260 household surveys and 20 in-depth interviews with rural households in four rural research areas in the surroundings of Kigali, the capital city of Rwanda, appears that rural-urban migration has positive impact on the livelihoods of rural migrant households when the migrant(s) send sufficient money, food or goods back, which can be used to diversify or to improve their livelihood and to offset the negative effects of the loss of labour forces, mainly by hiring labour forces. This concern mainly the better-off households, who receive frequently high amounts of money, food and goods from relatively well-educated migrant household member(s) in Kigali. They have a large buffer in the form of income, livestock and land to absorb the loss of labour forces and can offer the highest prices on the rural wage labour market. They experience improvements in food consumption, health, education and housing as a result of migration, and sometimes they even use their increased income for improved farming, livestock, small trade and business. In contrast, the poorest households often receive few, infrequently or even no money from their poorly-educated and unsuccessful migrant household member in the city. They have no or few financial and physical capital in the form of income, land and livestock to absorb the lack of labour forces. Their competitiveness on the labour market is poor, because they cannot afford to offer high labour prices. As a result they experience increased workload, because of insufficient replacement of the migrant(s) and are often forced to work for other, mostly better-off households.

Migration policies should take into account the heterogeneity of the rural population in the surroundings of Kigali. There are the poor and very poor households whose livelihood significantly differs from better-off households on practically all livelihood assets. The fact that mainly better-off households take advantage of rural-urban migration refers to increasing inequalities in rural areas and asks pro-poor growth policies and migration policies of the Rwandan government to focus on the group of chronically poor and often female-headed migrant households who have no or very few land and livestock, rely on working for others and receive insufficient or no money and goods from an underprivileged migrant in the city. Rural-urban migration is selective by access to wealth in terms of income gained by educating children. Rural households that have invested materially in educating their children receive considerable more resources from such migrants where they remit. In fact, such households obtain sustained prosperity by investing in the schooling of their children. For this reason, the migration policies of the Rwandan government should focus on the improvement of education levels of the poorest rural households.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the theme

The patterns and trends of mobility and migration in sub-Saharan Africa are complex and its causes or drivers vary widely. In general, people may be induced or compelled to move as a result of cultural, demographic, socio-economic, environmental and/or political factors. Often the decision to move is influenced by a combination of several of these factors. For instance, a rural population pressure on increasingly unproductive land combined with agricultural land degradation may become powerful important causes for out-migration. Other drivers of migration may be political and ethnic conflicts, natural disasters or processes like land grabbing, large scale infrastructure projects and resettlement (Zoomers, 2010). The economic factor is of major importance for most voluntary migration. People tend to move to places where they expect potential income generating opportunities to be greater than in their area of origin. Although transnational migration is increasing in Africa, the most migrants in sub-Saharan Africa move between rural and urban regions. Such internal migration, however, is not unidirectional or at all times directed at the most significant urban centre in a country, like the capital city of Rwanda, Kigali (ACCRON, 2011).

Rural-urban connections in sub-Saharan countries become most clearly visible at the household level. According Ellis and Freeman (2005), migration refers to a process of “spatial separation between one or more livelihood activities engaged by family members and the location of a resident household or family”. For rural households in developing countries, migration to the city might be one essential aspect of the diversification of their livelihoods, in order to cope with structural poverty and collect more family income. In this way, the separate opportunities of both urban and rural locations are being used simultaneously by the same family. Such ways of coping with poverty at the family level are mostly facilitated by traditional extended household structures that make the subdividing of the family over different locations less difficult. According White et al. (2008), these stretched families are jointly contributing to the households’ wellbeing as a whole. The rural part of the household system sends agricultural yield and products to the part of the household in the city, while at the same time the urban inhabitants remit part of their salaries to their rural families for investment or consumption.

However, this ideal type of a multi-local livelihood should be considered with some carefulness. Often is assumed that rural-urban migration automatically goes together with upward social mobility. The reality, however, shows that many migrants end up in structurally marginalized positions on the urban labour market. Not every migrant will finally achieve such a consolidated position in the urban economy as to be able to send remittances, which is earnings sent and brought back by migrants to their household of origin, to the rural part of their household (Willis 2010). Also, findings from several scientific studies show that both within and between rural villages important disparities may arise among those households and villages that do have prosperous migrant members and those

that do not. As a consequence, there may be an increase of economic and social inequities and therefore the arising of new elite power groups (Haan & Zoomers, 2005).

Current trends in mobility and migration in Africa also seem to have significant socio-cultural effects on households and communities. So, conventional gender roles may progressively change as a result of increased personal autonomy of women breaking out of the traditional division of roles. Namely, in earlier times, traditional migration patterns in sub-Saharan Africa were predominantly male-dominated, while the women stayed behind to look after their households and to work in agriculture. Nowadays, migration regimes appear to become increasingly feminized, resulting in an increasing number of migrant women in cities working in informal sector jobs (Barret et al. 2001). Moreover, the new social roles of these migrant women have to be taken very seriously because of the women are often more successful in sending remittances to the rural part of their family regularly (Tacoli & Mabala 2010).

Nowadays there is an increasing recognition of the fact that there is a strong relationship between development and rural-urban migration. According the World Bank (2006) remittances have become twice the amount of international aid flows and are a more stable source of financial capital for rural households. Migration, including rural-urban migration, is more and more seen as a very important factor of poverty reduction of rural areas in developing countries (World Bank, 2011).

Remittances play an essential role in obtaining food security for many rural poor households and thus can be seen as an efficient strategy for facing stresses such as low agricultural productivity and the related instability of farming activities and risks. Furthermore, remittances and earnings as a result of rural outmigration can be used as a kind of insurance to cope with shocks and crisis, thus restricting negative impacts on food security. The earnings also can be used for investments in farm and nonfarm activities (for instance education and health) and even increased consumption may also create employment opportunities (IFAD 2008). This positive view highlights the benefits as a result of the transfers of resources to rural areas, such as financial or in-kind remittances and the transfer of new skills and ideas. Rural-urban migration in this way can be considered as a household strategy in which economic and social links between the migrant and his/her household are maintained.

In spite of the above positive view, several research findings on the consequences of rural-urban migration on rural households and their development strongly differ. There is another view that judges the overall impact of rural outmigration on rural households as negative. Scientists that support this view focus on the negative effects of the loss of human capital in the rural sending areas and its disturbing impacts on the local economies (IFAD 2008). In reality, however, the impact of rural-urban migration is more complex. A wide variety of variables, such as type and extent of migration, size of remittances and local context, are interrelated with and of significant influence on the impact of the loss of human resources in rural areas and the impact of remittances and earnings for rural households. The major impact of migration and remittances on the livelihoods of rural

households depends on ways of expenditure, investments and labour allocation of the sending households.

This master research tries to get insight in the way in which rural-urban migration affects rural sending households in Rwanda. Both, the mentioned impact of the loss of human capital and the impact of earnings and remittances on rural migrant households will be investigated. Though there is little doubt about the positive impact of migration for the households that are involved, there is much more uncertainty about the extent in which this impact differs for households with different socio-economic status. For that reason this aspect will be taken into account in this master thesis.

1.2 Justification of the research

One of the most important reasons why urbanization often is viewed mainly as problematic is the tendency to see it apart from broader processes of socio-economic change. This is especially the case in sub-Saharan African countries, despite the fact that urban growth, here probably more than somewhere else, is closely related to transformations in the agricultural sector and to the impacts of such transformations on rural livelihoods (Tacoli 2002). Urbanization or rural-urban migration has important impact on rural livelihoods, through for instance the demand for foodstuffs, the sending of remittances and other contributions by urban-based relations, and so on (Agergaard et al, 2010). The links between rural and urban people, activities and areas have great potential for sustainable development and poverty reduction; however, they can also merely ensure the survival of the poorest groups in increasingly socially polarized contexts in both urban and rural areas. This has crucial implications for policy choices and decisions: while cities concentrate poverty, they can also be part of the solution and help reduce poverty.

Therefore, it is important that national governments and local governments of rural areas and cities are familiar with the rural-urban linkages in their country, the consequences of their policies on rural and urban areas and the negative or positive role they can have in poverty reduction and improvement of rural livelihoods. There is a need to gain better insights in the relationships between urban and rural areas and the variety in the nature of the rural-urban linkages. Studies of rural-urban linkages show that rural-urban migration differs for several locations and sectors in the same country. In Rwanda there is done little research on the nature and the impact of rural-urban linkages. For this reason there is, especially in Rwanda, a need to identify successful practices that promote local rural development and reduce poverty by using rural-urban migration. The links between migration and development need to be examined in Rwanda, because there is a dearth of knowledge about the migration-poverty interface in the country. As a result of scientific knowledge about this interface, policy-making governments will be more able to have positive influence on the impact of migration on development and livelihood improving.

This master research puts the households in rural settlements centre stage and is part of a three part pilot research in Rwanda in preparation for the international research project 'RURBAN Africa' on African Rural-City Connections. The focus of the pilot research is both

on the livelihood of households and on the migration of household members between rural and urban places. As already mentioned, an improved understanding of these processes is crucial for the explanation of rural-city connections, especially in Rwanda. In Rwanda, namely, like any other developing country, there is ample evidence to suggest that the level of urbanization is increasing. The urban population represents 18,9% of the total population of Rwanda (CIA Fact book, 2012). The rate urban population growth is around 7% in Kigali and the annual population growth of the whole country is nearby 5%. Migration has become an important livelihood strategy for many poor groups in Rwanda.

1.3 Organization of the study

This study starts with a theoretical chapter on the subject of rural-urban migration, discussing past and more recent theoretical approaches in the field and different visions on the impacts of rural-urban migration. In chapter three, the geographical framework will elaborate on the local, regional and national context and the relevant processes taking place in Rwanda in the field of migration. Chapter four will display the research design and research questions and will be explain how data collection, data interpretation and analysis were carried out throughout several phases of the research work. Thereafter, the data from the fieldwork is analysed and presented in the subsequent three analytical chapters. Chapter five lays the foundation of the other analytical chapters by exploring the way in which rural livelihoods of different social-economic class shape their livelihood. Subsequently, chapter six and seven will elaborate on the two sides of the same migration coin. Chapter six will handle about the impact of the loss of labour forces on the rural migrant households and chapter seven will explore the resource-transfers between migrants and rural migrant households and their impact on the well-being of the rural migrant households. Again, both chapters will pay attention to the extent to which these impacts differ for households with different social-economic class. Finally, the last chapter tries to draw conclusions, discusses the research results and provides some recommendations.

2. Literature Review and Analytical Approach

This chapter is designed to review relevant literature for this study on rural-urban migration. Both theoretical and other relevant literature have been reviewed which are pertinent to this master research to achieve designed aims in a scientific way. The literature review is used to show skills in library research and to justify the research subject, design and methodology. This chapter consists of three sections. The first section handles about different migration theories over time. The second section elaborates on the most important analytical approach of the research: the livelihood approach. Finally, the third paragraph will elaborate on migration as one strategy for diversifying livelihoods and the impacts of rural-urban migration on rural households in terms of both the loss of human resources and the resource transfers between the migrants and the rural migrant households. However, before the explanation of the different migration theories, the migration concept will be defined.

2.1 Defining migration

Generally, migration is explained as a type of spatial or geographical mobility that involves a semi-permanent or permanent change of usual habitation between geographical units. Change must be between obviously defined geographical units. Mobility that do not result in changing social ties or memberships and therefore remains without consequences for the society or area of origin and destination are excluded from the general definition of migration. Hereby one can think of business travels, foreign research, tourism and family visits (UNESCO, 2009). The exact definition of migration that is used in this study can be found in the next methodological chapter.

To characterize migration, there are made various differentiations in the course of the time. Firstly, there is the difference between forced and voluntary migration. In the initial type of migration migrants leave their country for instance as a result of political unrest, war, conflicts or land degradation. They are forced to leave in order to survive or because of safety reasons. Contrastingly, in the case of voluntary migration, migrants leave their area of origin in order to find better economic or social conditions (de Haas, 2007). However, this distinction between both types of migration is often not clear. Migrants who leave their area of origin for economic reasons are often seen as voluntary migrants. But their motivation to migrate may be doubtful if migration is born out of economic needs, forced by an untenable situation in their area of origin. Despite of this uncertainty, migration as a result of economic needs is not considered to be forced migration. These migrants namely do not hare away from direct life-threatening situations, but freely choose to migrate in order to improve their living conditions (Rafique et al, 2006).

A second distinction that can be made is the difference between internal migration and international migration. The latter type of migration refers to migrants that cross the

national borders of the country of origin, while internal migration refers to movement of people within the national borders of their country. According Ellis (2003), internal migration can be divided into different categories. He makes a distinction between enforced movement and resettlement, displacement as a result of civil emergencies and conflicts, circular migration, seasonal migration, rural-rural and rural-urban migration. This master thesis will focus on the latter form of internal migration, though seasonal and rural-rural migration also shortly will be addressed within the context of rural-urban migration.

Finally, it is useful to mention the distinction between temporary migrants and permanent migration. Permanent migrants do not have the intention to return in the future. Therefore, their migration leads to a permanent change in residence. Temporary migration on the other hand, refers to the migration of people which have the intention to return to their residence of origin. The purpose of their migration is mostly to support their original livelihood or to improve their own life. Moreover, within temporary migration there can be made a differentiation between short-term and long-term migration. In order to determine whether migration is permanent or temporary, the crucial factor is the intention of the person who migrates. However, it can happen that a migrant who initially had the intention to return yet decides to stay in the destination area permanently (De Haas, 2007).

2.2 Impact of migration on sending households: an under-researched topic

Until approximately two decades ago, migration was mainly seen as negative for the sending communities, the sending households and the migrants themselves. Migration was often considered and described as causing undesirable effects in the sending households and communities in terms of the departure of young, wealthy and educated labour forces. However, since the 90's scientific literature focuses more and more on the positive effects of migration. This literature mainly emphasises the provision of flexibility in livelihood options, the economic impact of remittances and the increase of social and cultural capital in the migrant sending households and communities (Adger & Locke 2002). As reaction, development organizations and governments of many developing countries have made more explicit attempts to address migration in their development policies.

Although there is increasing attention for international and internal migration, remittances and the impact on sending communities, thorough research on migration and labour flows within countries is still lacking. According De Haan (2005) many researches on sustainable development pay too little attention to the complex nature of migration, probably badly influencing the study results. Many studies on the effects of migration fall short in capturing the different aspects and dynamics of migration. Furthermore, there is relatively little research done in the migrants' areas of origin and the consequences of migration for the sending households. Especially in the field of internal (in this study: rural-urban) migration there is a lack of understanding of the impact of migration at household-level (Adger & Locke 2002).

2.3 Migration theories

Through previous decades, researchers have extensively discussed the pros and cons of migration. The nature of migration and the determinants of it are complex and there is no general accord among scientists about the impact of migration. Even researchers within one discipline had often a different view on migration causing factors. As a result, there arose different consecutive theories about migration. In the course of the time the debate has switched from developmentalist optimism in the fifties and sixties, to neo-Marxist or structuralist pessimism in the seventies and eighties, to more nuanced theories like the New Economics of Labour Migration and livelihood approaches in the nineties (De Haas, 2008). In this section, the explanations for migration given by the different theoretical approaches will be explored in order to give insight in the relationships between migration and development and the reasons why people migrate.

2.3.1 Neo-classical developmentalist optimism

Up until the 1970s, neo-classical developmentalist theories predominated the scientific debate on migration. These macro-economic theories considered migration as a result of dissimilarities between the supply and demand of labour. The models stated that a shortage of labour in comparison with available capital will result in high wages causing a flow of labour forces. Macro-economic theories consider expected better salaries in the urban sector as most important motivating factor for migrants and emphasize that migration is based on rational choices of the migrant (de Haan 2008). Below, three different Neo-classical developmentalist approaches are explained: Lewis' surplus of labour theory, Lee's push and pull factor approach and Todaro's migration model.

The first influential theory that has to be mentioned is the Lewis model of development that arose in 1954. This model tried to give an explanation for the way in which traditional rural based economies can transform to modern urban based economies. The model assumes that rural, subsistence areas suffer from unemployment and underemployment, while modernized, urban areas have an abundance of employment opportunities (Lall et al, 2006). The industrial sector in the urbanized areas is quickly expanding and there are more and more labour forces needed in order to keep up this economic development. In Lewis' model, the rural areas can provide this labour deficit in urban areas.

The basic assumption of the above model is a surplus of labour in the rural, agricultural areas. The agricultural sector supplies the needed human capital to the industrializing and modernizing sector in the city, which is able to grow because of the labour forces from the rural areas and the accumulation of capital. The resulting flow of labour forces between the rural and the urban involves the redistribution of the people across space through rural-urban migration from low population density in the rural areas to high population density in the urban areas (Mutandwa et al, 2011). According the surplus labour model, this flow will end when the labour surplus is occluded by the modern, industrial sector (Lall et al. 2006).

In the years after the appearance of the model, Lewis thoughts were increasingly criticized by scientists that combated the assumption of extremely low to zero agricultural productivity, yield and income in the rural areas. It did not correspond with the reality of the urbanization in many developing nations in the late sixties. The flow of labour forces appeared to continue even when the urban employment was fulfilled, resulting in high levels of unemployment in many cities. Therefore, many scientists had to conclude that Lewis' theory about the surplus of labour is not the right explanation of rural-urban migration (de Haas 2008).

Ten years after the appearance of Lewis' model, Lee (1966) developed a second migration theory based on dual economic ideas. His theory is based on the concept of the so-called 'push and pull factors' and is a mixture of neo-classical and Todarian models. The famous push and pull factor approach of Lee offers a conceptual framework by which many migration processes can be explained. In Lee's model, the influencing factors on migrant perceptions are divided into positive and negative factors. The model considers migration of people as the result of relationships between two areas which have both attractive and unattractive sides. There are push factors that tend to push migrants out of their origin areas, such as unemployment, poverty conditions and infertile land. One could also think about unfavourable situations in the origin areas like family conflicts, war or natural disasters. On the other hand there are pull factors that attract people to certain destinations and promise better living conditions in the destination areas. Pull factors mainly refer to employment opportunities and higher wages (Timalsina, 2007). According Lee, migration is the result of a combination of push and pull factors and based on individual rational decisions of the migrant. Finally, in addition on Lee, Sjaastad (1962) stated that people only choose for migration if they expect a positive net impact in terms of economic progress (de Haas 2008).

The last influential neo-classical migration theory that has to be mentioned is the model of Michael Todaro that appeared in the 1970s. During this period, Todaro published a number of scientific articles that contributed seriously to a better understanding of migration processes. His theory is based on the observation that in many developing countries the rural-urban labour flow exceeded the urban employment rates and the capacity of urban social services and industries. Todaro stated that the urban sector appeared to be unable to absorb the increasing human resources (Todaro, 1976). Like the earlier mentioned dualistic thinkers, he considered rural-urban migration in the framework of a dual economy in which the rural sector is a source of labour forces for the urban sector. However, while Lewis focused on the absorption of the surplus of labour by the urban sector resulting in the growth of the modern economy, Todaro's theory mainly exist of explanations for the high existence of unemployment in the urban sector as a result of rural-urban migration. Migrant decisions are the result of a disparity between the expected income in rural and urban regions, compared with the net migration costs (Timalsina, 2007/De Haan & McDowell, 2000). Todaro's model offers an explanation for the continuing of the rural-urban migration, even when the unemployment rate in the urban sector is high and known for rural people. His suggestion is that the rural-urban migration will continue because rural

people expect that they will end up in an occupation that compensates the migration costs and gives them higher income than they got before the migration. This migrant optimism remains even when they become unemployed or get underpaid jobs, because the migrants are tended to wait for better job opportunities in the future (De Haan, 1999).

Also this model was criticized by several scientists. According to them Todaro's theory does not reflect the complex dynamics of rural-urban migration. They highlighted that internal migration also can have a significant negative impact on both rural and urban regions. Todaro's model offers a static explanation for rural-urban migration, but would not pay enough attention to the complex nature of rural-urban migration, the heterogeneity of the people who migrate, the presence of rural joblessness and return migrants. Finally, there was criticism on Todaro's statement that rural-urban migration is driven by the expected higher income in the cities. Namely, there are also many cases in which migration arises even when the expected income in the urban sector is lower than the income in the rural areas (Timalsina, 2007).

2.3.2 Neo-Marxist or structuralist pessimism

In the late 1960s, the positive view on migration of the neo-classical developmentalists was increasingly criticized. More and more scientists refused to support the optimistic views on migration and development any longer. This was the result of a shift in the scientific world towards a historical-structural paradigm on development, which had scientific roots in the world systems theory and in the political economy of Karl Marx (Castles and Miller, 2003).

During the 1970s more and more academic sources focused on the negative impact of migration in terms of underdevelopment of the sending areas. These so-called migration pessimists highlighted that migration results in a departure of significant human capital, increasing dependence and a decrease of social and economic stability. The focus in the debate was increasingly on the shortage of human labour forces as a result of migration. For instance, Adams launched in 1969 the concept of 'brain drain', which refers to a flight of human capital caused by the out-migration of mainly well-educated individuals. And Penninx (1982) introduced the term 'brawn drain' which refers to the migration of young, able-bodied men from rural areas (de Haas 2007). Moreover, migration and remittances were seen as causes for growing inequality within sending communities (Lipton 1980).

Furthermore, the migration pessimists were sceptical about the positive impact of remittances on the receiving households and communities. They found that the remittances were mostly spent on consumption and basic investments in housing conditions and seldom spent on investment in small business and commercial activities. Migrant families should prefer to use the money for buying western luxury goods, resulting in increasing dependency of western countries. The impact of remittances was mainly considered as harmful, because they were seen as a temporary and unsteady source of income. From this view, migration from the Southern countries to Northern countries was considered as negative for economic growth of the sending regions. In the eyes of

structuralists migration is a typical characteristic of the dependence of the developing countries on the worldwide capitalistic system, controlled by western economies. According to them, migration and remittances stimulate and support the worldwide capitalistic structure based on inequality.

Though the structuralistic view on migration is strongly criticized in the past decades, it still has a significant place in many studies. Recent research revealed that migration in some cases can lead to increasing inequalities within migrant sending communities (de Haas, 2007).

2.3.3 Pluralistic models: New economics of labour and livelihood approach

In the last twenty years there appeared more pluralistic theories on migration, like the New Economics of Labour Migration Model (NELM). This model considers migration as a household strategy and offers a more nuanced view on migration and development by including both positive and negative effects in the analytical approach (de Haan, 2007). The Economics of Labour Migration views migration not initially as the outcome of an individual migrant decision, but rather as deliberately strategy of the whole migrant household in order to diversify the household income sources and to become less vulnerable to shocks, risks or local constraints in their livelihood. The decision of the household is based on the consideration of the profits of migration (like remittance flows, higher local income or the spreading of risks) and the costs of migration (like travelling costs or the lack of labour forces) (Lindley, 2008). The pluralistic model paid renewed attention to the role of remittances in migration processes and to the whole migrant household, which acts strategically as one decision-making unit (de Haas 2007). A migrant sending family can be defined as a coalition in which the family members share the profits and costs of migration. Consequently, migration can be conceptualized as a type of livelihood diversification by households. It is an answer to household's income risks and in this way remittances can form a kind of income insurance of the sending households (Timalsina, 2007/ Stark et al., 1985).

At the end of the 1970s the 'livelihood approach' became increasingly popular in social scientific research on development issues. This approach has significant theoretical parallels with the New Economics of Labour Model, but offers an explanation for migration from a slightly different angle (de Haas, 2007). In contrast with the structuralist or Neo-Marxist approaches, supporters of the livelihood approach argue that poor people in developing countries cannot be considered only as passive dependents of the worldwide capitalistic system. Their observation namely was that poor people are also acting as active agents by seeking for livelihood improvement within their hard living conditions. According to the livelihood approach, migration can be explained as a household strategy to improve and diversify their livelihoods and to reduce the vulnerability to shocks and stresses (Ellis, 2003). The approach wants to go beyond the earlier explained neoclassical approaches and political economy approaches and focuses on the so-called livelihood capitals and on the way in which poor people use these resources to improve their livelihoods (Lindley, 2008).

Different academic studies have revealed that livelihood diversification can lead to livelihood improvement. For instance according Ellis (2004) diversification often results in less vulnerability because of higher abilities to deal with unexpected difficulties, crop failures and labour or income constraints. As a result of diversification, households are not dependent on the success of one activity anymore. Additionally, households get higher and more stable income and better skills as a result of livelihood diversification, thus contributing to poverty reduction (Stifel, 2010).

Table 2.1 is derived from de Haas (2007) and gives a short summary of the discussed migration theories above. From this table it becomes clear that the migration-development debate in the course of the time has been switched from developmentalist optimism before 1973, to neo-Marxist or structuralist pessimism from 1973-1990, to more nuanced theories of the New Economics of Labour Migration and livelihood approaches after 1990.

Table 2.1: Main phases in migration and development research and policies

PERIOD	RESEARCH COMMUNITY	POLICY FIELD
Before 1973	Development and migration optimism	Developmentalist optimism; capital and knowledge transfers by migrants would help developing countries in development take-off.
1973-1990	Development and migration pessimism (dependency, brain drain or drawn)	Growing scepticism; concerns about brain drain; after experiments with return migration policies focused on integration in receiving countries; migration largely out of sight in development field.
1990-2001	Readjustment to more subtle views under influence of increasing empirical research	Persistent scepticism; tightening of immigration policies.
After 2001	Boom in publications: mixed, but generally positive views	Resurgence of migration and development optimism and a sudden turnaround of views: brain gain, remittances and diaspora involvement; further tightening of immigration policies but greater tolerance for high-skilled immigration.

Source: De Haas (2007)

2.4 The livelihood framework

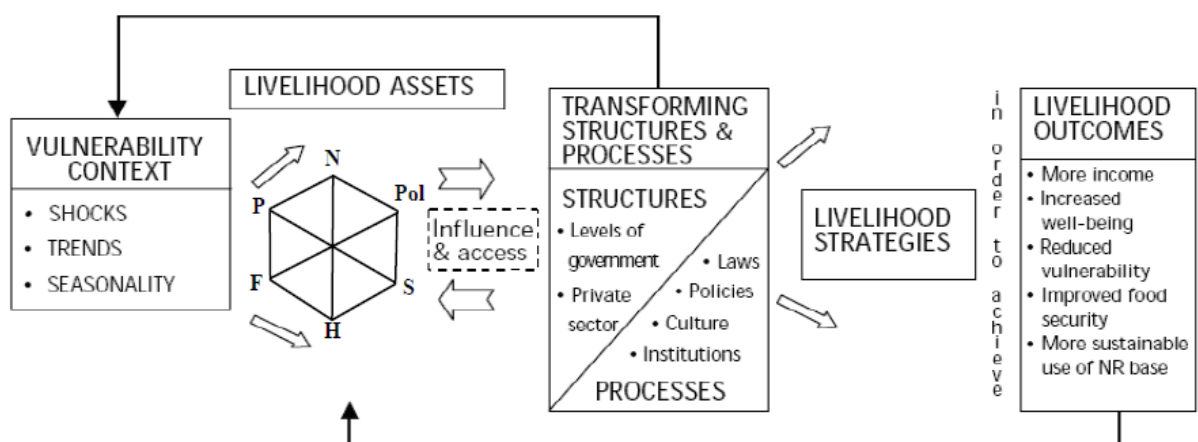
The above discussed livelihood approach and New Economics of Labour Model will be leading in this master study, by considering rural-urban migration as a household strategy to improve and diversify livelihoods and including both positive and negative effects in the analytical approach. In order to clarify the livelihood approach, there will be elaborated on the livelihood framework and its components below.

The livelihood approach primarily became popular as a result of scientific articles of Robert Chambers and the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) during the last years of the 1980s (Schafer, 2002). According Chambers (1991), a livelihood is sustainable when it is able to “cope with, and recover from stresses and shocks, able to keep its assets and capabilities both now and in the future, while not depleting the natural resource stock”. According to him, the fundamentals of the livelihood concept are the livelihood resources, the livelihood strategies, the livelihood outcomes and the vulnerability context (Chambers & Conway, 1991). During the 1990’s the focus in the livelihood approaches shifted under influence of a new way of thinking about poverty alleviation. The emphasis was more and more on the importance of ‘access’ and ‘entitlement’ to a variety of livelihood strategies and assets in order to obtain a sustainable, poverty-free life (Ellis, 2004). This new ‘sustainable livelihood approach’ was supported by bilateral and multilateral organizations like the United Nations and the Department for International Development (DFID).

The livelihood framework shown in figure 2.1 is a useful instrument to get deeper insight in the livelihoods of especially the poor. It helps to identify the different factors that affect livelihoods and explores the relations between them (Solesbury, 2003). The framework consists of five parts with in the centre the asset pentagon, consisting of the livelihood assets which are used by households to shape their livelihoods. Below, these livelihood assets will be further explained briefly.

Livelihood assets are the building stones of household’s livelihoods, because they enable households to produce, to participate in labour markets and to collect sufficient household income (Ellis 2000). Livelihood assets can be considered as the stocks of capital that can be used by households to create the means of living or to improve the household welfare level. Within the livelihood framework, there can be distinguished five different livelihood assets: natural capital, human capital, financial capital, physical capital and social capital. These capitals can be seen in Fig. 2.1 as capital letters on the edges of the livelihood pentagon.

Figure 2.1: The Livelihood Framework



Source: DFID (2000)

According to Ellis (2000), natural capital refers to water, land and natural resources in the environment of people that are used to create means of survival. The profits of these sources can be direct or indirect and they are strongly related with user regimes and property. Human capital comprises labour, health, education and skills: everything that is required for able-bodied and talented labour forces. It can increase by for instance training, education and job experience. Furthermore, physical capital refers to machines, transportation vehicles, buildings, roads, electricity, communications, etcetera; all assets that are produced by industrial production processes. Consequently, by financial capital are meant all the financial resources in the form of accessible stocks and regular inflows of money that people use to attain their livelihood outcomes, like savings, loans and credits. Finally, social capital can be defined as the social resources through which people are able to achieve their livelihood objectives (Ellis, 2000). Households can accumulate social capital by interaction and collaboration with other people and by getting membership of official organizations reigned by norms and rules. Here relationships of trust are very important, because they enable effective co-operations and reduce transaction costs (Ellis, 1998).

The livelihood framework offers no explanation for the role of power relations and politics. However, these power issues in the form of institutions, laws or policies affect the choices that people can make with their livelihood assets. For this reason it is important to include political capital in livelihood research.

2.5 The impact of migration on rural livelihoods

2.5.1 Migration and rural development: opposed views

The largest part of the households in African countries is for their livelihood sources still dependent on agricultural activities. For instance, at the start of the 21st century more than 75 percent of the labour forces in the Sub-Saharan countries were still employed in the agricultural sector (IFAD, 2008). However, in an increasing number of places, rural livelihoods are becoming less and less dependent on only one activity, like agricultural farming. This is partially the result of the appearance of rural-based alternative employment and income opportunities (Stifel, 2010). In general, employment in the agricultural sector of developing countries is decreasing. In the last decennia, there appeared many academic studies that confirm this shift in rural areas. This includes for instance the industrialization of rural areas in the Philippines as a result of the development of metal craft industries (Salayo 2011). Another example is a study of Tacoli (2005), which investigates substantial livelihood diversification in the form of artificial fruit and flower production in Vietnams Red River Delta. Many rural regions are affected by a process of so-called de-agrarianization, resulting in an increasing group of young labour forces searching for non-farm occupations and pushed by the low rural wage rates and agricultural constraints. More and more people in rural areas diversify their livelihood and reduce risks by working in non-farm activities in or outside their place of living. Literature shows that especially in rural Africa, non-farm income sources account for a considerable share (42%) of rural household income, more than in other regions in the world (Tacoli, 2002). There

seems to exist positive relations between non-farm household income and household welfare indicators in the most rural regions of Africa (Barret et al, 2001).

When rural people seek to diversify their income sources and occupations they often go quickly in temporary or long term migration. Several recent studies show that remittances as a result of migration are increasingly important for the sending areas and have surpassed farming as the major income source for rural household (Willis, 2010).

Like mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, there is also nowadays no agreement on the impact of migration for rural development. In general, there can be distinguished two contrasting views. The first view considers migration processes as mainly positive for the sending households, but also for whole communities, regions and even countries. Supporters of this vision support policies aimed at the strengthening of financial, social and economic relationships between migrant and their areas of origin, because they consider migration as a household strategy resulting in economic and social flows and networks. They highlight the constructive impact of the resource flows from migrant to the sending areas, like money transfers, in-kind remittances and innovative techniques and ideas. These resource transfers result in improvement of the livelihoods of rural households and are in some cases used for investments in non-agricultural activities, which in turn lead to a higher employment rates (Heilmann, 2006/ de Haas, 2007). In contrast, supporters of the second view focus on the negative effects of migration for both sending and destination areas. They support policies that stimulate economic development in rural areas in order to restrict migration processes (Deshingkar & Grimm, 2005). They emphasize the disturbing effects of the departure of labour forces from rural areas and the overloading impact on the urban sector in terms of increasing employment rates, booming informal sectors and growing poverty (de Haas, 2007). However, both views do not reflect reality, which is more complex. There is a variety of factors that influence the extent in which migration has negative or positive impact on sending areas. The effects of migration for instance are dependent on the duration of the migration, the local context and the amount of remittances (IFAD, 2008).

Most of recent studies on the impact of migration are in line with the discussed livelihood approach and New Economics of Labour Model. They consider migration as a strategic household response to scarcity and poverty conditions, in order to reduce vulnerability and increase income and investment opportunities. Remittance flows play a central role in these studies and are mainly seen as a poverty-alleviating strategy (de Haas, 2007). Below, there will be given a short overview of the recent literature on the impact of migration on sending households and communities. This overview is divided into the two earlier mentioned 'sides of the coin': the effects of the departure of human resources and the impact of remittance flows on the sending households.

2.5.2 Loss of human capital

A direct consequence of migration is the loss of human resources for the sending households and communities. The extent to which this loss affects the sending households

is dependent on different factors, like family structure, the duration of the migration, the migrant characteristics and the relationship between migrant and sending household. For instance, in areas with high population density the out-migration of people may result in relief in terms of less underemployment and less pressure on natural resources. In this way the departure of human resources forms a protection of rural livelihoods of the remaining rural households (IFAD, 2008).

Furthermore, rural out-migration has important consequences for rural labour markets. Nevertheless, there is done hardly any thorough research on this impact. Out-migration reduces the supply of labour in the sending areas which sometimes can lead to higher wages and less under- or unemployment. Whether this is the case or not depends, according Lucas (2006), on the presence of an oversupply of labour, the flexibility of wages and the replacement possibilities in sending areas. In some regions rural-outmigration results in higher wages, while other regions have no gains, because the lack of labour is replaced by unemployed people (Vargas-Lundius & Lanly, 2007).

Some empirical studies show that the resource flows from the migrant to the household of origin can compensate the lack of labour forces. However, in other cases the remittances appear to be not sufficient to replace the departed labour force (IFAD, 2008). The lack of labour may also be fulfilled with inexpensive labour forces from other rural areas. So, a study of Cotula and Toulmin (2004) showed that many rural households in Senegal hired labourers from central Mali, to replace the young man who migrated to neighbouring countries and France. Another example is a study in Morocco of de Haas (2003), which revealed that many rural households use hired labourers for their agricultural activities, besides sharecroppers and family members. This process resulted in higher wage rates in rural Morocco. The hired labour forces are often paid with the remittances received from the migrants. The extent to which these remittances are sufficient to replace the labour shortage depends on the amount of migrant remittances (Deshingkar & Grimm, 2005).

According recent research of Rizzo (2011), Mueller (2011) and Erlebach (2006) in Rwanda and Tanzania, there is a highly diversified and lively rural labour market in these countries, furthered by the migration of young able-bodied people. All three researches reveal a high number of people for whom working for other people is the major source of livelihood. Rural wage labour plays a crucial role in the survival of the poorest. Rizzo and Erlebach both conclude that the current focus of poverty and employment policies in Rwanda is highly problematical, because they consider the rural poor as a homogenous group of small-scale subsistence farmers, working on their own land with support of members from their own household. Official statistics and national surveys in Rwanda suggest the unimportance of rural wage labour, resulting in the neglect of millions of very poor people who are dependent on wage labour for others (Rizzo, 2011).

The duration of the migration has significant influence on sending migrant areas, particularly in terms of employment. Long-term migration to urban areas or other countries generally means that migrants not frequently return to their original place of living. This

type of migrants especially causes labour shortages, resulting in the destabilizing of the traditional household and farming structures (Tacoli, 2002). In several rural African regions, migration of young people has resulted in an increase in the mean age of labour forces. This aging has a negative impact on agricultural production and revenues. Furthermore, another consequence of migration is the loss of well-educated and highly-skilled people. However, there is still no agreement on the impact of this 'brain drain' on rural development, because there is a lack of scientific evidence. According Skeldon (2008), the negative effects of the loss of human resources can be compensated by a later return of the more skilled migrant or by structural investments in the destination area.

In contrast, temporary or seasonal migration can enhance the allocation of labour, because during the labour-extensive periods outside the farming seasons, migrants work in urban areas elsewhere and return during the farming seasons to help with harvesting. In this way their migration offers extra income sources while it doesn't affect their farming activities (Skeldon, 2008).

Moreover, migration can have important impact on task divisions and work load within sending households. The remaining family members often have to replace the tasks performed by the migrated household members, such as household tasks, care of the children or agricultural activities on a household parcel. The departure of especially young and physically powerful man, often results in an increasing workload for staying women in the household. Besides the household duties and the care for the children, they namely have to work in agriculture and to solve all arising household problems (Van Rooij, 2010). These increasing responsibilities can be an emotional burden for these women. De Haas (2006) noticed that women in Morocco did not automatically appreciate the sudden changes in responsibility and work tasks; they valued the traditional gender roles in their society. Also in Burkina Faso, women did not apprise new working times and tasks, because they experienced a shortage of time to perform all their tasks (IFAD, 2008). Finally, the departure of parents or husbands can cause feelings of loneliness and emptiness in remaining household members. Especially in the case of long-term migration, family structures and relationships can erode and children can get feelings of abandonment or rejection when they never see their father or mother (Worldbank, 2010).

2.5.3 Resource-transfers between migrants and rural migrant households

In the last decennia, there was increasingly a focus on the impact of remittances in the migration literature. While in the 1970s was highlighted that migrant households the remittances mainly spend on consumptive purposes, there became more attention for the fostering impact of remittances on investments in agriculture and entrepreneurial activities (de Haas, 2007).

There is no general consensus on the impact of remittances on agriculture, because it is very dependent on the context. Some studies show positive effects in terms of an increase in agricultural production and farm investments, while other empirical researches show the opposed effect. It is mentioned earlier that there is a decrease in labour sources in migrant

sending areas as a result of out-migration, particularly in households which are not able to replace the departed household members by hired or family labour (Lucas, 2006). Sometimes, remittances flows can have a compensatory influence on these negative effects of the lack of human capital, because they enable households to hire additional labour forces. However, in other cases the transfer of resources from the migrants may result in a decrease of agricultural production, for instance because it reduces the motivation of rural people to participate in poorly paid farming activities and it stimulates non-agricultural activities (IFAD, 2008).

Rural households can use the received money for different purposes. So, they can choose to spend it on basic needs, like increased consumption and investments in housing, health and education. But they can also decide to use the remittances for enhancing their agricultural production or for investments in commercial activities, like small enterprises or business. The impact of the remittances depends on this spending behaviour of the receiving households. When the received financial capital is used for improved farming productivity and non-farm investments, the impact has been proved to be positive for both rural employment and agricultural production (Vargas-Lundius & Lanly, 2007). For instance Durand et al. (1996) have highlighted that remittances mainly are used for productive investments and foster rural development, while authors like Teele et al. (2009) write that the vast majority of remittances in Guatemala are used for consumptive purposes and basic needs.

Many recent academic studies seem to confirm that, considered as a whole, international migration and remittances have a positive impact on agricultural production and rural wealth. So, according Lucas (2006), rural-urban migration to mines in South Africa initially had a reducing effect on crop production in the rural sending areas, but on the long term money transfers from the migrants resulted in a growing livestock and higher agricultural productivity. Also in China and Ghana remittances flows appeared to be compensative for the loss of labour forces, because they led to higher incomes and increasing crop productivity (Tsegai, 2004/ de Brauw et al., 2001). However, Calerjo et al (2009) found that in Ecuador the money received from migrants mainly was used for improved housing, instead of improved farming. Additionally, in Mali there is found little difference between households with and households without migrants in terms of agricultural productivity and on-farm investments (Gubert et al, 2010). Finally, some studies showed that remittance-flows can foster employment in sending areas and can have positive impacts on both migrant and non-migrant households (Vargas-Lundius & Lanly, 2007). The general tendency seems to be that remittances have a stimulating effect on off-farm investments and employment outside the agricultural sector (IFAD, 2008). Rural areas with an abundance of farm land surface, sufficient water sources and developed infrastructure are more likely to experience investments in agriculture than densely populated areas with small and infertile farming plots and a shortage of irrigation water. In the latter type of areas investments in agriculture are not profitable and people tend to search for occupations outside the agricultural sector (de Haas, 2007).

Furthermore, most empirical studies on remittances show a positive impact on the well-being of sending households. Remittances namely often result in higher and more diversified household income, increasing food consumption and food security, better access to health and increasing educational opportunities. However, there is no general agreement on the impact of migration and related resource transfers on education and health. Some researches reveal that children of migrant sending households score better in terms of health and education than non-migrant households, whilst other studies show that remittances also can have negative effects on health and educational status and do not compensate the high social costs of migration. However, the majority of migration studies show positive impacts on households' health and education (de Haas, 2007/IFAD, 2008).

So, Lu and Treimann (2007) found that in South Africa children from money-receiving households are much more involved in education than children from households that do not receive remittances. The same appeared to be the case in Guatemala where remittance-receiving households spend over 50% more money on educational purposes than households without remittances (Adams, 2005). Also in Mexico children from migrant families appeared to be more frequently involved in education and more successful in school than their classmates from non-migrants families (Hanson & Wodruff, 2003). If the remittance sender is a household father or mother, receiving households seem to invest more in education than in other cases. In addition, female remittance receivers generally spend a larger part of the money on education than male receivers (IOM, 2010). However, there are also similar studies with contrasting results. For instance in Albania, children from rural remittance-receiving families were not successful at school, as a result of the disturbing effects of migration on families (IFAD, 2008).

Also findings of research on migration impacts on health are varying. Studies in Latin-American migration areas for instance show an improved health of children of remittance-receiving households, especially among money-poor households. Remittance-flows as a result of migration can improve people's access to health services and medicines. In Mexico this resulted in reducing infant mortality and decreasing frequency of disease, especially among children of migrant families (Fajnyber et al., 2007). At the same time, there are also scientists that draw attention to negative impacts of migration on health. Often they highlight the psychological effects of the departure of parents in terms of rejection and feelings of loneliness. Furthermore, several studies found a higher prevalence of diseases like HIV/AIDS or malaria among migrant households and neglecting behaviour in terms of health care towards migrant children living in families of relatives. Moreover, according Pinos and Ochoa (1998), the health of members of migrant households can be deteriorated by the use of alcohol and drug caused by feelings of abandonment (IFAD, 2008).

2.6 Concluding remarks

This literature review on the impacts of migration partially relies on research of Hein de Haas. The findings of his studies relate mainly to transnational migration and do not apply automatically to internal migration.

However, from this literature review it becomes clear that out-migration and resource-transfers can have both negative and positive effects on the sending households and areas. The findings on the relations between migration, poverty alleviation and development are contradictory. Therefore, the impact of migration has to be considered as context dependent. De Haas (2007) argues that the link between migration and development is complex, multi-sectoral and dependent on the local or regional context. The impacts of migration and remittances are dependent on various factors such as duration and patterns of migration, educational levels of migrants, livelihood assets, social structures and institutions (De Haan 1999). Because the complex nature of migration it is difficult and not meaningful to make generalisations about the impacts of migration. However, it is possible to make some short conclusions below.

The decision to migrate is often part of a risk spreading livelihood strategy of households. Remittances in the most cases appeared to have positive impact on the living conditions of receiving households in terms of education, health and food consumption. They lead to higher and more diversified household income and thus to less vulnerability to stresses and shocks. Moreover in some cases migrant remittances may lead to more investments in small trade or business. Migration can have positive effects for productivity and investments, but migration also can have depriving impact on agriculture by withdrawing essential resources. Moreover it has been proved that migration can reduce and increase rural inequality.

3. Study Area and Contextual Framing

3.1 Historical overview of Rwanda

3.1.1 Colonization (1890-1962)

Before its colonization the great-lake region of Central Africa was ruled by several independent kingdoms. One of them was named the Kingdom of Rwanda and had evolved into a powerful expanding reign with its power base in the country which is now known as Rwanda. The expanding drift of the former Rwandan kingdoms is one of the reasons why the historic cultural territory of Rwandese stretches far beyond the contemporary borders of the modern Republic. Due to its favourable climate and fertility, the region for a long time has been an attractive area for human settlement and development.

In 1890 Rwanda was colonized by the German Empire and became part of German East Africa together with Burundi and Tanzania. The German colonization lasted until the First World War. After the war, in 1923, Belgium accepted to govern the former German territory along with its existing colony of Congo west of Rwanda. In comparison with the Germans, the Belgians paid much more attention to the colony to make it more profitable. They introduced large scale projects in health and education and also brought new crops to the country like cassava, maize and Irish potatoes. Eventually, coffee was also introduced as export commodity. However, forced adjustment to the food production and labour division did not much good to the regional economy. Severe famines followed as a consequence. In the years 1928 and 1929, 30.000 people died and 100.000 people (at that time 7% of the total population) were pushed to migrate to English governed Uganda in the north and the Belgian Congo in the west. Another severe famine took place in 1943 and also forced many Rwandans to move into Congo. Most Rwandans moved into territories that belonged to the former Rwandese kingdom (Pottier, 2002). Additionally, an unidentified number of Rwandans had left to work in cotton plantations in East Africa and the Congolese mines between 1918 and 1959 (UNFPA, 2005).

In order to ensure their grip of power and control in the colony during times of unrest and starvation the Belgians continued to artificially emphasise the hierarchical power organization, also used by the Germans, this divided people into Tutsi and Hutu. In general Tutsi were assigned as the elite governing class of the colony because of their supposed difference in ethnicity or the Hamitic myth as Shyaka (2005) calls it. This systemic division of Tutsi and Hutu became a source of political conflict, especially in the period of destabilization after the Second World War.

After the Second World war Rwanda stayed under Belgian administrative authority as an UN mandate until the 1961 referendum which decided that the country should become a kingdom or a republic. Meanwhile, Belgian reformists tried to stimulate democratic political elections. However, the social stratification of Rwanda's population resulted in a violent sequence of events marking the first few decades of independence. The last two years

towards the date of the referendum saw the first waves of refugees leaving Rwanda. This marked the beginning of a period of unrest, war and insurgency (UNFPA, 2005).

3.1.2 Independence and Genocide (1962-1994)

The Republic of Rwanda officially gained independence in 1962. The first decades were marked by cycles of violent conflicts between several political factions. As a result as much as 600.000 refugees left the country in the period between 1959 and 1973 (UNFPA, 2005). Many people of the suppressed groups – in some cases Hutu and in other Tutsi – became refugees in Congo, Uganda and Tanzania. Eventually, Rwanda fell into the hands of military leaders after a military coup in 1973. However, from the Rwandese refugees the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) became organized in Uganda. And in 1990 the RPF invaded northern-Rwanda initiating violent conflict (Gérard, 1995). Because both sides of the conflict could not get the overhand a cease-fire had been signed in 1994. Nevertheless, in the same year the shot down of the plane of the President gave the catalyst for the Rwandan Genocide within a few hours. In a course of 100 days between 500.000 and 1.000.000 Tutsi and politically moderate Hutu were slaughtered. International powers failed dramatically to intervene (Henley, 2007).

When the RPF regained control, the former regime with approximately 1.7 million Rwandans fled to Tanzania and the Democratic Republic Congo in fear of repercussions. As order in the country was slowly being re-established it became clear that the entire Rwandese society had been effected. Almost every household lost members and many people were displaced or became refugees through a history of violent conflict that climaxed in 1994. In 1997 and 1998 it was estimated that 80% of the population was internally displaced (Uwimbabazi & Lawrence, 2011). Needless to say, Rwanda had to be rebuild in order to make sure that no Rwandese should ever go through the dreadful days of the 1994 genocide again.

3.1.3 Reconciliation and reforms (1995-present date)

There are still remnants of rebel groups left in the eastern region of the Democratic Republic of Congo (BBC, 2011), but Rwanda has managed to enter into a period of reconciliation and reforms. In 2003 a national referendum accepted the current reformed constitution. In the same year Paul Kagame, member of the RPF, became president by popular vote and has been re-elected for a second term in 2010.

In 2001, the Rwandese government made a start with the Rwanda Global Diaspora Network (RGDN). The network intended to promote productive investments and savings by establishing a Diaspora Investment Bank (UNFPA, 2005). Furthermore, the network aims to attract knowledge and skills of Rwandese living abroad. However, the majority of displaced people preferred not to return to their original home areas, instead urbanized areas like Kigali became the major destination for immigration accompanied with economic development (Uwimbabazi & Lawrence, 2011). Looking at the present government focus on return-migration to stimulate the development of Rwanda, urban areas (in particular Kigali) are likely to continue to be at the centre of the development process (Musahara, 2001).

3.2 Country Profile of Rwanda

3.2.1 Introduction

Rwanda is a small landlocked country in the great-lake region of central Africa. The country covers an area of about 70% of the surface of the Netherlands, which equates to an area of 26.338 km² (CIA Factbook, 2012). The country is situated to the South of Uganda, the North of Burundi, the West of Tanzania and the East of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Map. 3.1 shows the political map of Rwanda and its neighbouring countries. The capital city, Kigali, is located in the geographical heart of the country. It represents the political and economic centre of development. In the periphery zones near the borders some natural reserves can be found, with in the west lake Kivu, to the east Akagera National park, in the south Nyungwe national park and to the north the famous National Volcanoes park featuring mountain gorillas.

Map 3.1: Political map of Republic of Rwanda 2012



Source: *Men Who Killed Me* (2012)

Since 2006, a new administrative division has been enforced dividing the nation into 5 provinces and 30 districts, these districts are again divided by sectors and cells. The smallest administrative units are called Imidugudu or villages. This new settlement policy was put into place after 1994 when refugees returned to the country. The Imidugudu are aimed to settle refugees, internally displaced persons and at the same time change the spatial settlement pattern (Uwimbabazi & Lawrence, 2011). Traditionally Rwanda doesn't have patterns of clustered settlement. Instead, farmers used to build their houses near their

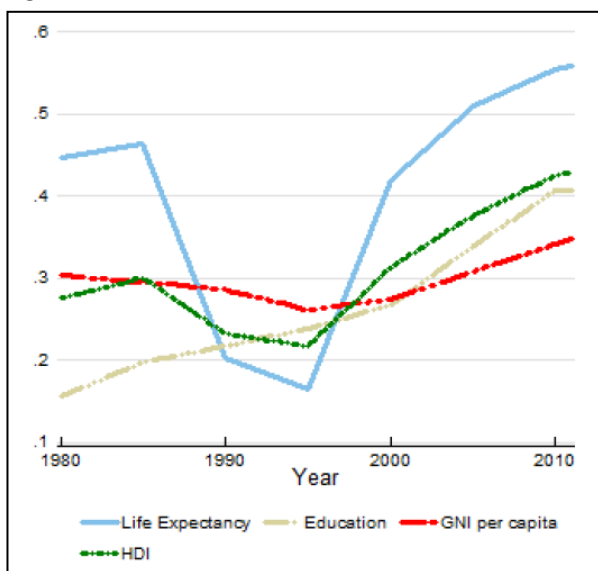
small scale plots of land which they cultivate. Sometimes, only small concentrations of houses from the same family could be found, but no concentrated villages (ACCRON, 2011).

One aimed benefit of the Imidugudu is to make basic services to all Rwandese citizens more easier and affordable. Another underlying reason is also believed to be security. Order and control stand very high on the political agenda and are easier to manage with small pockets of population than with a widely dispersed population. The government has set the ambitious aim to have 70% of the settled Rwandan people in Imidugudu, in the year 2020. Thus the program is favoured by the government but has also received criticism because people are said to be forced to migrate or settlements are being built on scarce fertile lands (Uwimbabazi & Lawrence, 2011).

3.2.2 Poverty status and social indicators

Rwanda ranks 166 out of 187 countries and territories on the Human Development Index of 2011. Between 1980 and 2011 the HDI value of Rwanda increased from 0.275 to 0.429, placing it in the low human development category with an average annual increase of 1.4% over the past decades. The Genocide of 1994 had especially a devastating impact on the rate of development, though the re-emergence of the country's social and economic development is impressive. In long-term, Rwanda has recovered very well, closing in on the average of Sub-Saharan African countries of 0.463 (HDR-Stats, 2011). Figure 3.1 shows the trends of some HDI indicators from 1980 till 2011. The impact of the Genocide in 1994, but also the fast recovery and on-going positive trend afterwards, is clearly visible.

Figure 3.1: Trends in Rwanda's HDI 1980-2011



Source: HDR-Stats (2011)

In 2006, 56.8% of the Rwandese population was living below the national poverty line (UNDP, 2011). Most of this poverty was found outside the cities as 81.1% of the total population resides in rural areas and the largest part of this population is very young as 42.4% of the total population is aged between 0-14 years (UN-Stats, 2011). It will be a great challenge to Rwanda's future development to include this large rural population living

mainly from subsistence agriculture into the benefits of perceived economic growth (Worldbank, 2011). In addition to the present situation, the total population is expected to increase with an average population growth of 2.7% annually between 2010 and 2015 (with an average urban population growth of 4.4% and an average rural population growth of 2.3%) (UN-Stats, 2011). Nonetheless, there is good reason to believe that significant strides in poverty reduction are being made with high economic growth (Worldbank, 2011).

Rwanda's latest official data release supports the believe in significant change. Latest government reports reveal that in 2011, 44.9% of the total population was living below the national poverty line. This shows an enormous improvement in the living standards of citizens over the past five years and progress towards the achievement of the MDGs in 2015. Other measurements are also positive. So, net primary school attendance increased from 86.6% in 2005-2006 to 91.7% in 2010-2011. Additionally, more people have gained access to safe drinking water, from 64% of the population in 2006 to 74.2% in 2010-2011. Moreover, Rwanda has also made significant progress in reducing maternal mortality, globally the worst performing MDG-goal. Rwanda has managed to bring the rate of 1071 deaths per year in 2000 down to 487 in 2010-2011 (UNDP, 2012). Table 3.1 sums up some of the social development indicators of Rwanda provided by UN-Stats (2011) and UNDP (2012).

Table 3.1: Social development indicators of Rwanda

Social Indicator	Year(s)	Ratio
Human Development Index (rank out of 187 countries)	2011	0.429 (166 th)
Poverty rate (% of total population)	2011	44.9
Population growth rate (average annual %)	2010-2015	2.7
Rural population (% of total population)	2010	81.1
Population aged 0-14 years (% of total population)	2010	42.4
Life expectancy at birth (females/ males in years)	2010-2015	53.9 / 50.0
Access to safe drinking water (% of total population)	2011	74.2
Primary-secondary education gross enrolment ratio (females/males per 100)	2005-2010	93.4 / 93.1
Female third-level education students (% of total students)	2005-2010	43.5

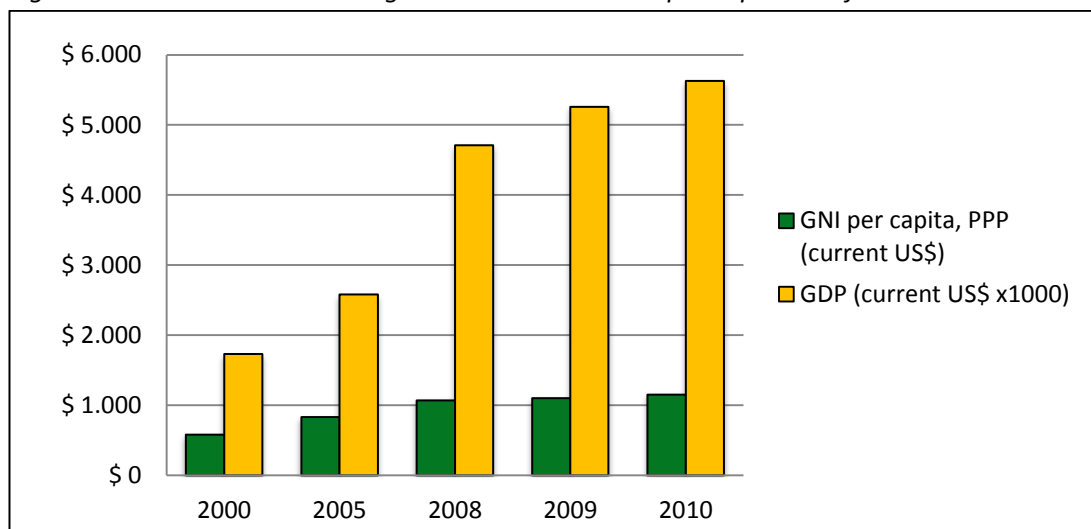
Source: UN-Stats (2011)/ UNDP (2012)

3.2.3 Economic growth and development

The economy of Rwanda has become one of the fastest growing economies in Africa. In the last three years the estimated economic growth rates were as follows; 11.2% in 2009, 4.1% in 2010 and 6.5% in 2011 (CIA Factbook, 2012). Lower growth rates in 2009 can be explained through delaying impact of the global economic crisis in 2008. Nevertheless,

through the last decade Rwanda's economy has proven to be resilient as the average growth rate in the period 2006-2010 was 7.3% annually. This sustained macroeconomic stability is a good sign of the development of a healthy growing economy; as such the IMF has projected a real GDP growth around 6.8-7% for future medium-term to come. The estimated size of the economy in GDP was \$5.63 billion in 2010, generating a Gross National Income of \$ 1.150 per capita PPP (Worldbank, 2011). The economic growth between 2000 and 2010 is shown in figure 3.2. Since the year 2000, Rwanda has witnessed high growth of GDP and the GNI per capita PPP (purchasing power parity) has doubled. Contemporary, Rwanda's main concerns are high global food and oil prices resulting in increased inflation, devaluing growth in GDP and increasing the daily costs of living.

Figure 3.2: Rwanda's economic growth in GDP and GNI per capita PPP from 2000-2010

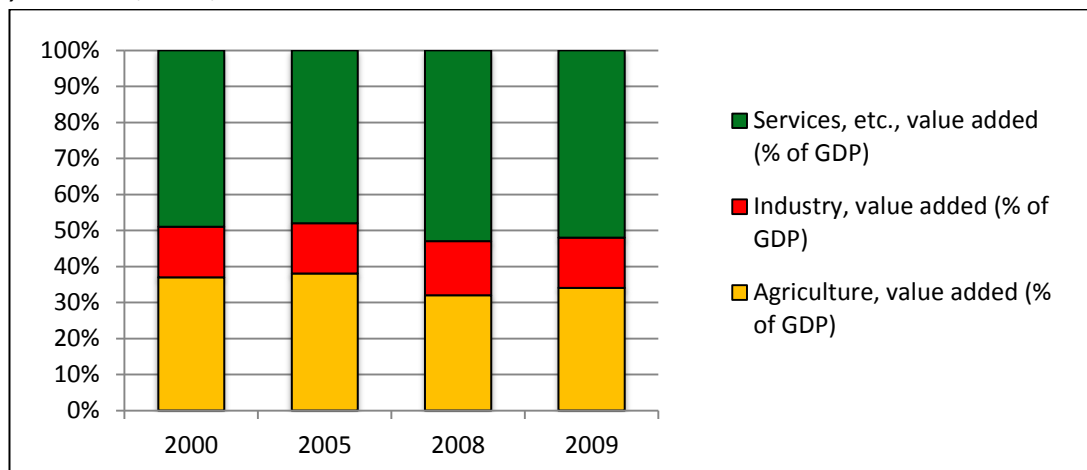


Source: Worldbank (2011)

Since 2006, the services sector has made the largest contribution to the economic growth of almost 46% in 2010. This can be explained through a favourable business environment, attracting foreign investments in mainly finance and insurance, transport and communications. The industry sector accounted for only 13.8% to economic growth in the same year (Worldbank, 2011). However, the secondary sector individually has demonstrated the greatest expansion of 15% in 2011 and is thus growing in importance (UNDP, 2012). The main performers in industry are construction, mining and manufacturing.

The contribution of the agricultural sector to Rwanda's economic growth is slowly decreasing but important. The primary sector namely represents 34.6% of the total GDP value (Worldbank, 2011/ MacMillan, 2009). The overall contribution in percentage of the total GDP of the services, industries and agriculture for the years 2000, 2005, 2008 and 2009 are displayed in figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3: Contribution of services, industry and agriculture to Rwanda's GDP in % for the years 2000, 2005, 2008 and 2009



Source: Worldbank (2011)

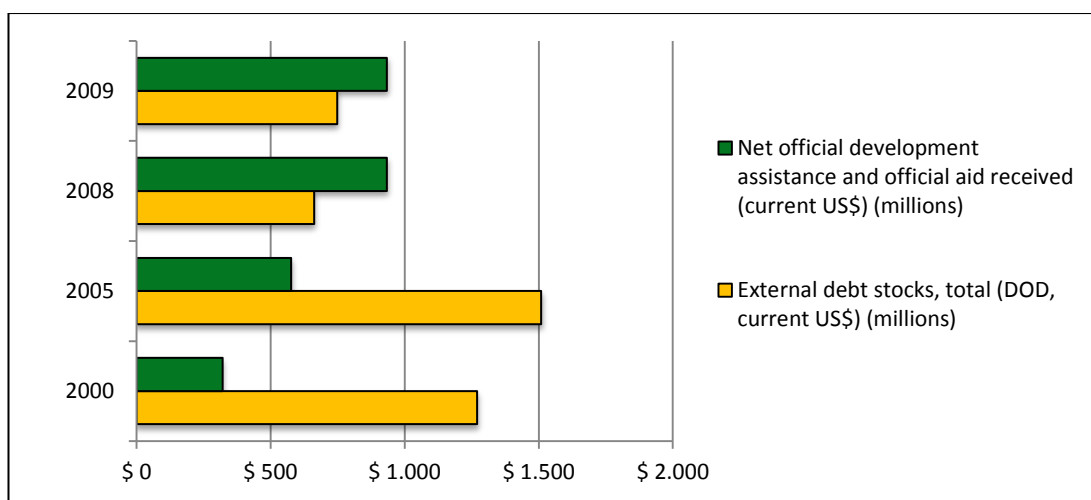
Though the added value of agriculture to the GDP is slowly decreasing, the importance of the primary sector should not be underestimated. Agriculture employs the largest share of the working force (about 80% of the population) and the largest part of the Rwandese population depends heavy on their own food production to feed their families. Dominant food crop productions are bananas, Irish potatoes, fruits and vegetables, sweet potatoes and cassava. Additionally, coffee and tea (some regions also produce sugar cane and pyrethrum) are the most important cash crops. They represent also the most important export products of Rwanda followed by minerals, which are mainly wolframite, coltan and cassiterite (MacMillan, 2009).

Besides the export of cash crops and minerals, Rwanda does not have many natural benefits that provide the country a sustainable future. The Rwandese government is trying to expand the range of opportunities by increasing agricultural outputs, both for consumption as for trade. In 2007 Rwanda has also become a member of the East-African Community, promoting free trade between five East-African nations (IFAD, 2012). Major trading partners of Rwanda in percentage of exports are Kenya (15.1%), Belgium (13.7%) and Sudan (13.6%) (UN Data, 2011).

3.2.4 Challenges to future development

Rwanda's positive development trend is admirable and many believe that the Rwandese approach to promote inclusive and stable politics are at the base of current progress. The country's leadership has articulated a vision of unity and strive summed up in a visionary document named Vision 2020. Thus far, these efforts seem to be successful. Rwanda has emerged as one of the most stable and safe countries on the African continent making it attractive for foreign visitors and foreign investment. Rwanda has also become one of Africa's donor-darlings receiving a good share of international aid from industrialized countries, similarly the country's external debts stocks has lowered relieving pressure on government expenditures. Figure 3.4 shows the total amount of foreign aid and external debts of Rwanda over the years 2000, 2005, 2008 and 2009.

Figure 3.4: Rwanda's dependency by foreign aid and external debts for the years 2000, 2005, 2008 and 2009



Source: Worldbank, 2011

Besides all positive trends, there are a great number of challenges to Rwanda's future development. Despite social progress and economic growth, Rwanda remains a poor country. The government budget continues to depend for around 20% on foreign aid flows and the countries narrow export base continues to feed into a large trade deficits (especially with the USA) which will on the longer term continue to further external debts. Additionally, neo-liberal politics point out that the government is still the main driver behind real GDP growth and there is little endogenous driven growth (IMF, 2011). Other challenges are the lack of key labour markets (75% of Rwanda's labour force is unskilled), high transports costs (\$165 per ton per km compared to \$95 per ton per km in the rest of the region) and a weak administrative capacity on lower district government levels (Worldbank, 2011).

One specific challenge for Rwanda is the high demographic pressure combined with a high dependency on the renewable natural resource of land. This makes the delinquent balance between population size and food security one of the most acute problems for the immediate future. Most people are dependent on subsistence agricultural and great famines are not unfamiliar to Rwanda's history.

The current estimated population exists of 11.7 million people² resulting in around 430 inhabitants per km² (CIA Factbook, 2012). This concentration of people results in the highest estimated population density of Africa. To illustrate the pressure on the land, Wyss (2006) reports that the population has risen from 1.5 million in 1934 to 8.4 million in 2003. According to Musahara (2001) more than the half of the Rwandese population had access to more than 2 hectares of land, fifty years later the same percentage of the population had access to less than 0.5 hectares of land. A positive development shows that Rwanda has

² Satterthwaite (2010) warns of the provided data, which are mostly projections and can differ from reality.

managed to bring down the number of births per woman from 8.2 in 1970, 6.8 in 1990 and 5.3 in 2009 (UN Data, 2011).

The changing relationship between land and population developed into some negative trends. The first is fragmentation, as farm holdings decrease in size and are divided by a larger number of people. This fragmentation is partly the result of degradation of the quality of land through erosion, intensive use with the lack of natural fertilizers and through the inheritance system that divides family land between many children. In turn people continue to expand cultivation to marginal zones like valley-bottoms, steep hillsides and woodlands which in turn leads to soil erosion. Because many people depend on small plots of fertile land they also feel compelled to accelerate the period of cultivation, decreasing land fertility and increasing additional risks of failed harvests (Wyss, 2006). At the root of the problem lies poverty, one measure of the government is to provide one cow for the poorest households so they don't need to rely on harmful chemical fertilizers. However, it becomes clear that in the future no longer all people in rural areas can continue to rely on subsistence agriculture. Therefore, a growing number of young people seek to expand their livelihoods in the cities. It is estimated that young people, under the age of 25, account for 67% of rural-urban migration flows (Mutandwa, et al, 2011).

3.3 Kigali-region and surrounding research areas

3.3.1 Introduction

Today, urban areas like Kigali form the centre of development in Rwanda. Especially, since former political struggles are considered to have delayed rural-urban migration in comparison with other African countries (Mutandwa, et al, 2011).

The Kigali region lies at the geographical heart of Rwanda, the region was enlarged in the new administrative division of 2006 (see also map 3.2). Old municipal borders of the city of Kigali used to account for 70% of the former province, the city of Kigali and the province of the city are now the same entity under the name Kigali City. The Kigali region is divided into three Districts: Gasabo, Kicukiro and Nyarugenge. These districts are divided into 35 sectors, 161 cells and 1061 Imidugudu villages. In 2009, the Kigali region held 965.398 inhabitants with a density of 1165.8 persons per km². Nowadays, the area holds an estimated population of around the one million residents. Urbanization rates in the province are high although 70% of the regional surface still can be accounted for rural space. However, Kigali is expected to continue to grow, transforming its territory into a large agglomeration of urbanized areas within the newly set boundaries. The population of Kigali is young with 60% youth and the female population account for slightly more than 50% of the total population (Kigalicity.gov, 2008).

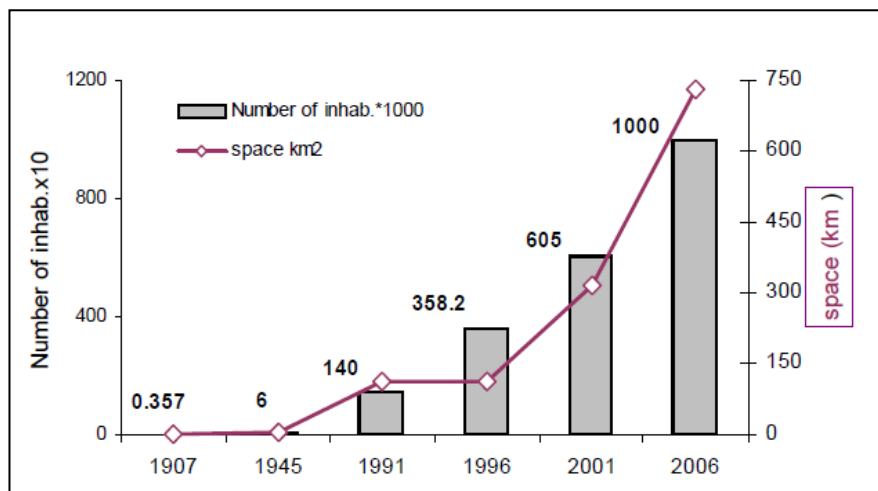
3.3.2 High rate of urbanization

Kigali-city is the main political and economic centre of growth. The city commands 70% of the administrative, commercial, industrial, construction, education and health activities of the country (ACCRON, 2011). All embassies are located in Kigali as well as most political

institutions, the Public Court and most important international organizations and cooperation's. The return of many refugees from Uganda and other surrounding countries has increased the influence of English and Swahili. (*Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Netherlands, 2008*).

Return-migration of Rwandese refugees and members of the Rwandese Diaspora is one of the most important reasons for the cities initial growth after 1994. As much as 600.000 refugees of Rwandan generations had already left Rwanda between 1959 and 1973, especially those who built up skills and capital abroad were called upon to return and contribute to the renewal of the country. In general, these return migrants were better educated and contributed highly to the city's economic growth. The city became also a safe place for many refuges and survivors of the violent episodes in the '90s. The population of Kigali has doubled from 1991 to 2006 (ACCRON, 2011). Since 1999, the city's population and build area has grown with a rate of 6% each year (Kigalicity.gov, 2008). Fig. 3.5 illustrates the growth of the city of Kigali in population and the expansion of urban space.

Figure 3.5: Kigali, growth of population and expansion of occupied space



Source: Uwimbabazi & Lawrence (2011)

Besides the immigration of Rwandese people from abroad, two other arguments can explain Kigali's high rate of urbanization. The first argument lies in the economic growth of the country. Historical experience based on the development of higher income countries learns that rapid expansions of urban areas can be expected with a rapid increase of a countries GDP. However, such generalizations should not easily be made as every country follows an specific path of development (Tiffen, 2003).

A second argument is that within Rwanda, Kigali has become the most important business centre and main port of entry for foreign investors. Consequently, the lack of capabilities and policies to control on-going urbanization has provided urban growth with few limitations (Uwimbazi & Lawrence, 2011). As it becomes clear that in the future no longer all people can continue to rely on solely subsidence agriculture, a growing number of people seek to expand their livelihoods in the city. In this perspective Kigali has become the main destination area for internal flows of migration in Rwanda. In 2002, Kigali accounted

for 37% of the internal migration (Mutandwa et al., 2011). Moreover, it is estimated that 57% of Kigali's population exists of rural-urban migrants (ACCRON, 2011).

3.4 Introducing research areas

Like earlier mentioned, the Kigali region is divided into the three districts Nyarugenge, Gasabo and Kicukiro, which equally divide the city of Kigali. The following, mainly rural, districts surrounds this Kigali region: Rulindo (to the north) in Northern province, Kamonyi (to the west) in Southern Province, Rwamagana (to the east) and Bugesera (to the south) both in the Eastern Province. The Eastern Province is especially known to have less relief compared to the Northern and Southern Province. From each of the four mentioned districts there is selected one sector for this research. It concerns the following sectors: Shyorongi (Rulindo District), Nyamiyaga (Kamonyi District), Mayange (Bugesera District) and Fumbwe (Rwamagana District). Map. 3.2 shows the location of the selected sectors. On the basis of advises of experts from the national university of Rwanda and conversations with Executive Secretaries of the concerning Districts, there is chosen to select these four sectors in order to differentiate the research areas and to prevent biases or wrong generalizations. Consequently, the chance is reduced that research outcomes result in a wrong image of rural-urban migration based on research in only one location. In the next chapter will be explained that from each of these sectors is chosen one rural research area. In order to provide a good regional context of the research areas, general interviews with the Executive Secretaries of each sector have been performed. On the basis of these interviews and own observations, the following descriptions of each sector can be given.

3.4.1. Mayange sector

The Mayange sector is located in Bugesera district, which is notorious as a result of heavy violence that occurred in the time of genocide. The savannah landscape was at that time thinly populated and Tutsi-people were dropped there to be killed by wild animals, like lions. Empty lands also attracted households from more crowded areas in the north and south of the country. But during the genocide, violence quickly turned on any new comer in the area. Violent groups roamed the country side to looking for targets in streams of fleeing refugees.

Contemporary, the sector holds four Imidugudu with a total population of 24.372 people in 4.875 households. The balance between man and woman is distorted: current male/female distribution is 8.960 man versus 15.412 woman. Compared to other research areas Mayange has a large surface of 152 km² and the territory is relatively flat. Additionally, Eastern province is known for the many livestock that people own. Because there is more space, land is less expensive. However, there is also a number of houses that are abandoned as a result of poisonous snakes. Mayange has a structurally housing pattern, with four Imidugudu's divided over four cells.

Most people are farmers (estimated 95%), they cultivate cassava, maize, beans, fruits, sorghum and vegetables. Cassava is the appointed commodity to become the speciality of the region. A factory producing cassava flour is planned to be built and there is already a

successful small processing plant producing high quality cassava flour owned by cooperative of local farmers. Several households also have some additional income from the production of traditional baskets, which are mainly exported to the United States. Furthermore, there is planned a new national airport in Bugesera. Therefore new houses are already built provided with electricity and water in order to attract new households anticipating on the new economic activity.

Mayange is one of the fourteen Millennium Villages from the United Nations. The sector has now better access to water, there are nine schools with about 8.000 students and there is relatively good health care; 5 health posts and 1 health centre. One of the structural problems in Mayange is the dependency on rain falls and the vulnerability for infertility and soil erosion. A few years back, a food shortage hit the area. To counter land deterioration, more trees are being planted by a government sponsored programme.

3.4.2 Fumbwe sector

The Fumbwe sector is located north-east from Kigali and has a good road connection towards the city. The area is attractive for households that are moving out of Kigali and are searching for a secure environment with the same basic needs in terms of water and electricity that are found in the city.

Fumbwe is the smallest of the selected sectors with 48 km², and 31.2 km² of arable land. The sector borders to one of the many lakes in Rwanda. This lake can be seen from the higher places in the sector. Besides farm lands, there are also artificial fishing ponds made in the valleys. Also in Fumbwe, most of the households are employed in farming and husbandry (95%). There are many hills in Fumbwe and the hill tops are often owned by the government and planted with forests to prevent soil erosion. On some hills people herd cattle, mainly cows, for rich households that live in the city, while other hills are densely populated with local farmers. Furthermore, this part of the Eastern province is known for the production of bananas. Banana trees are taller and the fruits are bigger compared with other areas in Rwanda. In general, the main crops are bananas, beans, maize, sorghum and cassava. Moreover, some people in the Fumbwe sector also cultivate coffee for commercial exports and have some woodwork handicrafts, providing households with additional sources of income.

Finally, there are three schools in the sector, holding 5.225 students. There is only one health post and one health centre. Nevertheless, Fumbwe is a popular area for households moving out from Kigali, searching a place to settle in the rural areas. Consequently, there are many households in the newly created Imidugudu along the main road of which the head of the household is working in Kigali. Because these households try to buy new land, the prices for land have increased substantially.

3.4.3 Shyorongi sector

The Shyorongi sector is located south-east in Rulindo District in Northern Province. The surface of the sector is 4609 km². There live 5445 households in the sector and the total

population in Shyorongi sector exists of 23738 people, of which 44% is male and 56% is female. The relative large difference between this two numbers is an indication for the migration of many young man to the city. Further, there are 5 Imudugudu in the sector.

Almost 90% of the households in Rubona are involved in agriculture. The fertility of the soil is relatively good as a result of relatively heavy rainfall and the water of the Nyabarongo river. However, some areas in the sector are prone to soil erosion due to the steepness of the hills. The main agricultural crops that are produced in the sector are cassava, beans, maize and sorghum. Furthermore, at the shores of the river are a lot of sugar cane plantations, which provide many low-paid jobs for mainly young school leavers from the sector and workers from the southern, neighbouring sector who cross the river in order to find a job in sugar cane production. Moreover, Shyorongi is one of the few sectors in Rwanda that have mining activities which can employ almost 4 percent of the sectors population. In these mines are being produced mainly tin and columbite-tantalite.

Due to mining activities in a hilly environment, the main roads are of good quality. Especially the roads from the mines to Kigali are well maintained. Additionally, only some houses along the main road have electricity and piped drinking water, while the vast majority of the houses in the valleys or on the slopes of the hills do not have any access to clean drinking water and the electricity network. Because of the steepness of the hills, transportation is very difficult. Finally, there can be found 5 primary schools and 4 secondary schools in the sector with a total of 3965 students. There are two health posts in the sector that provides medicines and initial medical assistance.

3.4.4 Nyamiyaga sector

The Nyamiyaga sector is located southwest of Kigali in Southern Province and covers an area of 7800 hectares. There are 32848 people living in this rural sector, of which 14448 (44%) are male and 18400 (56%) are female. Further, there live 7070 households in the sector and there are 44 Imudugudu.

Almost 95% of the population in Nyamiyaga is involved in agricultural activities. The major agricultural crops are respectively cassava, maize, beans and sorghum. As a result of increasing dryness, land degradation and depletion of the farmland, the surface of fertile land in the sector is decreasing. An important influencing factor of the land degradation is a high frequency of cultivating on the same parcel, a lack of natural fertilizers and the use of fertilizers provided by the Rwandan government. Because of the high prices of these fertilizers the sector is facing budget problems.

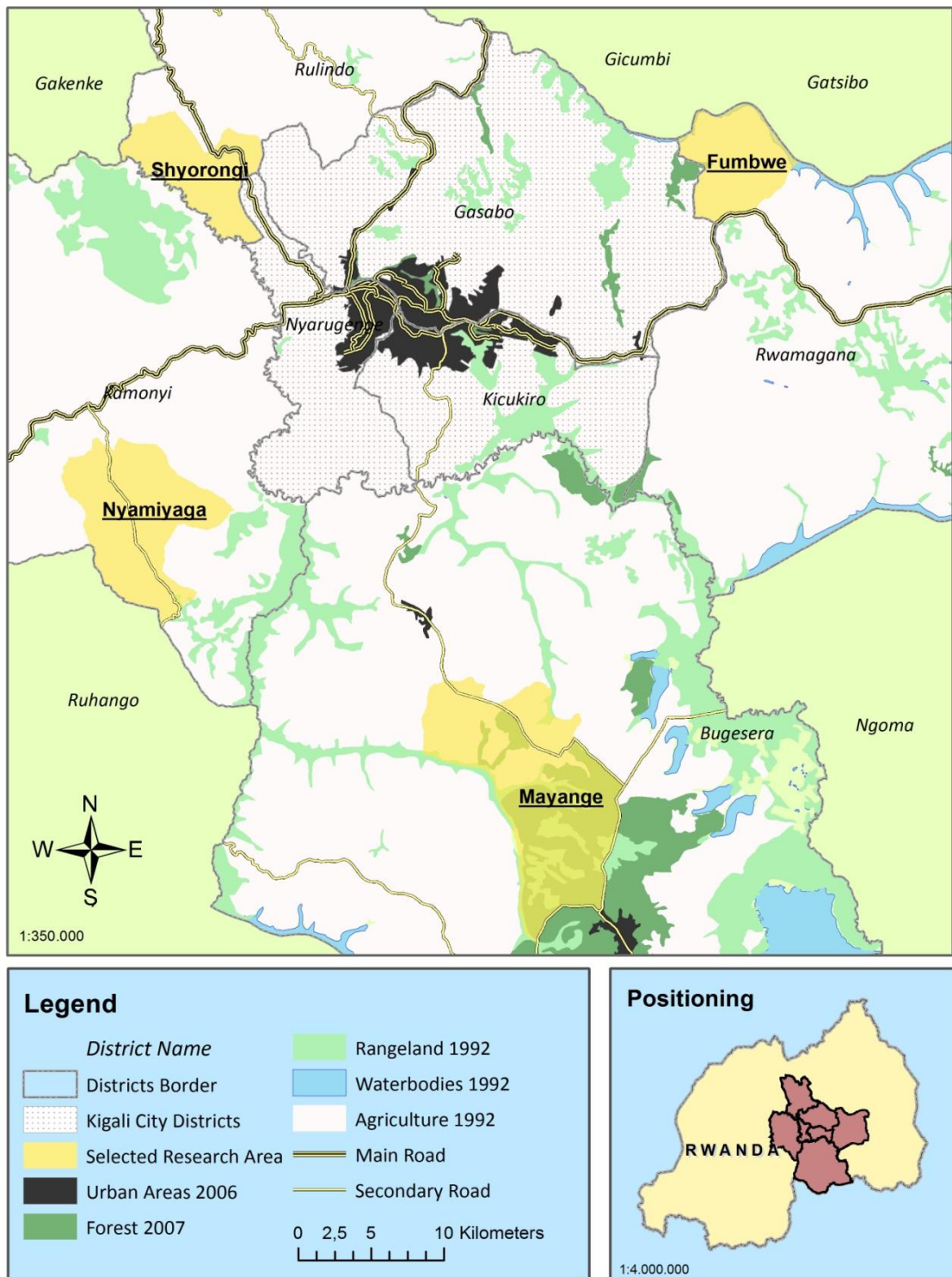
After agriculture, the most important economic activities are business in the form of small local shops, mining (stones) and construction. Furthermore, a small percentage of the sector population is active in handicraft, which mainly consists of the production of traditional baskets and tiles. Like in Mayange, there is also a new economic development in the sector in the form of a rapid growth of micro enterprises which transform cassava into cassava flour. The Nyamiyaga sector gets water from neighbouring sectors, because there

are no water sources available in the sector. There are only a few small marshlands with an abundance of water, but these areas are intensively used for rice production.

There can be found four primary schools and four secondary schools in the sector with a total of 4566 (50.2%) male and 4537 (49.8%) female students. In addition, there is only one secondary health post in the sector that provides medicines and contraceptives. The most people in the sector have to go to a neighbouring sector for medical services or medicines when they become sick. The most common sicknesses are malaria and flu. Only 102 (1.4%) households in the sector are connected with the electricity network and about 30% have piped drinking water. In addition, the sector is not connected to the main road and the few secondary roads are unpaved.

According to the executive secretary of Nyamiyaga, there are many migrants in the sector which can be divided in two groups: migrants who finished primary or secondary school and go to Kigali in order to find a job and migrants who migrate to Uganda in order to join relatives. Finally, there are often conflicts in Nyamiyaga between fathers who want to keep the land, and their sons who want to take over the land.

Map. 3.2: Selected sectors in the surroundings of Kigali



Source: National University of Rwanda, GIS Centre (2012)

4. Research Framework: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This thesis is based on fieldwork carried out in the surroundings of Kigali, the capital city of Rwanda, between February and May 2012. This chapter is written to explain how data collection, data interpretation and analysis were carried out throughout several phases of the research work. The first section will show the objective of the research and the leading questions of the study. The second section will elaborate on the theoretical concepts of the research questions. The underlying reasons why the researcher decided to use several definitions will become clear in this section. Furthermore, this chapter clarifies the choice of methodological approaches to the research and offers explanations of used techniques in the research, and looks at why a 'mixed approach' is chosen. The chapter also elaborates on the techniques of data analysis and diverse problems encountered during the fieldwork. Finally, issues of reliability and validity of this research will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

4.2 Research objective and research questions

The objective of this master research is to contribute to an increased understanding of the way in which rural-urban migration affects the livelihoods of rural migrant households in the surroundings of Kigali. Because there is so far done little research on the role of social-economic differences between migrant households, special attention will be paid to the extent to which this impact differs for migrant households with different social economic status. To reach this objective, first there is a need to explore in what ways rural households of different social economic status shape their livelihood. After exploring this, the impacts of rural-urban migration on the rural migrant households can be investigated in terms of both the loss of human capital and the use of money and goods received from the migrant household members. The following main question is leading in this thesis: *How do rural households in the Kigali-region shape their livelihood and how are the livelihoods of rural migrant households affected by rural-urban migration?* This main question is split into the following sub questions:

1. *In what way do rural households shape their livelihood?*

This explorative research question will be answered in chapter five and is designed to investigate the livelihoods of rural households, both migrant households and non-migrant households, firstly in terms of education, health and housing conditions. Secondly, the occupational activities and income sources of rural households will be examined. Furthermore, it will be investigated how wealthy households are in terms of land, livestock and household assets. In order to determine whether created social-economic categories (section 4.4) are suitable to be used in next chapters it will also be researched to what extent there exist significant dissimilarities between households from different social-

economic class. Finally, differences between migrant and non-migrant households will be explored.

2. To what extent the loss of human capital, as a result of rural-urban migration, has negative impact on rural migrant households with different social-economic status?

This research question will be treated in chapter six and explores the negative impacts of rural-urban migration on rural migrant households in terms of the departure of labour forces. What are the consequences for family structures and what are the characteristics of the migrants? What are the effects of rural-urban migration on work load of remaining household members and how do the task divisions within the migrant households change? Does rural-urban migration affects agricultural production and how are the departed household members replaced? These questions will be answered in chapter six and also here, attention will be paid to the extent to which these effects differ for rural migrant households with different social-economic class.

3. To what extent transfers of resources between migrant household members in Kigali and rural migrant households result in improvement of the livelihoods of rural migrant households with different social-economic status?

This research question will be treated in chapter seven and elaborates on the impacts of the flows of money, food and goods between rural migrant households and migrants. Firstly, the nature and the size of these transfers will be explored. Secondly, there will be investigated how the money received from migrant household members in the city is used by rural migrant households. Finally, the most important positive changes in these households as a result of the migration of household members in terms of food consumption, income, health, education and housing will be discussed. Also the answering of this research question asks attention to the extent to which these expenditures and impacts differ for households with a different social-economic status.

This thesis is based on explorative research and will not discuss how the impacts of rural-urban migration on rural livelihoods develops over time, and neither will it try to examine subjective processes of migration, or aim at making generalizations for the whole Rwandese population. Rather, by doing a micro level study this master thesis contributes to the literature on the relationship between rural-urban migration and improvement of the livelihood of rural migrant households. De Haan (1999) emphasizes that there is more known about the impacts of (rural-urban) migration on the receiving communities of migrants than for the sending communities of migrants. Therefore, there is more and more appeal for a focus on the areas of origin and the rural migrant households in developing nations. This thesis aims to contribute to this knowledge gap by having the perspective of the migrant-sending households and looking at the consequences of migration for these households, taking into account their social-economic status. Hopefully, this thesis will be a constructive contribution to the study of how participation in rural-urban migration interacts with rural livelihood improvement.

4.3 Hypothesis

It is expected that flows of money and goods as a result of rural-urban migration will play an essential role in obtaining food security for many rural poor households in Rwanda and thus can be seen as an efficient strategy for facing stresses such as low agricultural productivity and a shortage of agricultural land. Furthermore, it is expected that the earnings from the city also will be used for investments in farm and nonfarm activities, mainly education and health (IFAD 2008). Rural households with a low social-economic status probably will use the received money more for consumption than households with a higher social-economic status, who will use a larger part for investments. At the same time, there is supposed that rural-urban migration will have disturbing effects for rural households through the loss of labour in terms of for instance changing labour divisions, increasing work load and decreasing agricultural yield. Probably, these effects will be greater for households with a low social-economic status than for better-off rural households. For migrant sending households which receive sufficiently money and goods from migrants in the city, the net impact of migration is expected to be positive, while for migrant sending households which do not receive money or goods the net impact of migration will be negative. In the first case the received money and goods probably will outweigh the negative impact of the loss of human capital. Finally, for the first part of the research about the characteristics of the rural livelihoods there are no expectations spoken out, because of the explorative nature of it.

4.4 Definition of key concepts

4.4.1 Definition of migration and migrant

In scientific literature, migration has been defined as permanent as a type of spatial or geographical mobility that involves a semi-permanent or permanent change of usual habitation between geographical units. Change must be between obviously defined geographical units. Movement out of an area is called out-migration and movement within the country is referred to as in-migration, while movements between countries are immigration and emigration (Ellis 2003). However, this master study delves on internal migration especially from rural to urban areas. In the growing literature on the study of migration, there are many different definitions of a migrant. For that reason it was necessary to determine a clear and fixed definition of a migrant before the start of the fieldwork in the surroundings of Kigali. By a rural-urban migrant in this study is meant someone who has leaved his or her rural household of origin and is living in a city for at least one month. Persons who are labelled as rural-urban migrant do not have an own household with children in the city. Including these settled persons who are in a stadium well after migration and are focused on maintaining their wife and children in the city, would make the definition of rural-urban migrant too broad for this master research.

4.4.2 Definition of rural migrant household

Further, there are different definitions of rural households in the scientific literature. According to Ellis (2004) a household can be defined as a “dwelling unit where a group of persons usually live together and takes food from common kitchen. It, however, includes those who live outside the village but claim the household to be their own. Persons of this category work outside the villages and often send remittances. Such persons are called the migrated members of the household and such households are known as migrant households” (Ellis, 2003, p. 5).

The above definition of a household is clear and useful. However, when it would be used in the household questionnaire during the data collection, it would lead to confusion. In the definition of Ellis namely, migrant household members that are living elsewhere are included in the household. One part of the used household questionnaire consists of questions for the rural household as a single unit: the household in the relevant rural cell, excluding migrated household members living elsewhere. The second part of the household questionnaire consists of questions about the migrated household member. In order to avoid misunderstanding these migrated household members are called ‘former household members’ in the questionnaire, because they are living outside the ‘rural’ households, which are the research units of this master study. For the above reason the following definition of a rural household of Burgers (2004) is used in this research: “A rural household consists of all members who operate under a single welfare-maximising decision-making unit. Household members of a rural-based household live in a rural locality, share income sources and expenditures based on livelihood activities inside their own place of residence. A household can be seen as both a consumption and production unit, a rural household should not be socially fragmented.” (Burgers 2004, p. 49). Consequently, when in this thesis is spoken about ‘rural migrant households’ or ‘sending migrant households’, migrated household members are excluded of the definition.

4.4.3 Resource transfers

An important part of this research handles about the flows of money and goods between migrants in the city and rural households of origin. There is deliberately chosen not to use the term ‘remittances’ in speaking about flows of money from the migrants in the city to the sending rural households. The most important reason for this decision is the fact there are many different explanations of the concept. Some scientific sources define remittances as international monetary transfers that a migrant makes to the country of origin, while other sources include money transfers from internal migrants in the definition (IOM 2010). A second point of confusion is the difference in the broadness of the term in different scientific articles. For instance de Haas (2007) has further broadened the definition of remittances by including in-kind personal transfers and donations while for instance the International Organization of Migration only includes financial flows. Moreover, the terms remittances refers only to the flow from the migrant to the sending household and not vice

versa. Because of the above arguments there is purposely chosen to use the terms 'transfers of resources' or 'flows of money or goods' in this research. In the analysis, the impact of these flows on the livelihoods of rural households will be measured in terms of use of the received migrant money and changes in food consumption, income, health, education and housing.

4.4.4. Loss of human capital

By using the data from a household questionnaire and in-depth interviews, this research furthermore tries to estimate effects of the loss of human capital associated with labour flows towards the city. With 'loss of human capital' is meant the departure of labour forces to the city. The impacts of this human flow will be measured in terms of family structure and changes in work load, task divisions and agricultural production. Further, the characteristics of the migrants and the view of persons from rural migrant households on the most important negative impacts of migration will be taken into account.

4.4.5 Social-economic status

This research pays attention to variation in role and impact of migration for different types of rural households. In order to investigate these aspects there have to be created different social-economic household categories. Before the start of the research it was the intention of the researcher to create these categories by using data from a part of the household questionnaire about the rural livelihoods. However, during the fieldwork preparation it became clear that every Rwandan household has already been classified in categories from 'extremely poor' to 'money rich'. Every Rwandan household is known with the class in which it is classified. The classification was created in the framework of the so called 'Umurenge Programma'. This program is part of Rwanda's Vision 2020 development program and has three components. The first component concerns public works for those targeted households which can supply labour (about 17 percent of households in active sectors). The second component concerns direct support for those targeted households which cannot (about 5 percent in active sectors). The last part of the program contains financial services to enable loan beneficiaries to move out of extreme poverty on a sustainable basis and to prevent people who are slightly above the extreme poverty line from falling into poverty themselves. The Umurenge Programma targets the landless extremely poor households. 'Landless' means owning less than 0.25 hectares. For the program the traditional Rwandan UBUDEHE approach is used. Under UBUDEHE, households are categorized into one of the six below classifications (Kettlewell 2010). Households in Ubudehe categories 1 and 2 can be selected for Public Works and Direct Support:

1. *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 are malnourished and do not attend school.)
2. *The very poor.* (Same as the first category, but physically capable of working on land owned by others. Very small landholdings, no livestock.)

3. *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. *The resourceful poor.* (Same as third category, but may have small ruminants and their children go to primary school.)
5. *The food rich.* (Larger landholdings on fertile soil and enough to eat. Own livestock, often have paid jobs, and can access health care.)
6. *The money rich.* (Have land and livestock and often salaried jobs. Good housing, often own a vehicle, and have enough money to lend and to get credit from the bank.)

In order to investigate the extent in which rural-urban migration and its impact differs for households with different socio-economic status, the above categories would be used in the statistical analysis in the next chapters. However, as a result of very unequal numbers of households in the different categories it was necessary to merge different of the above categories in order to be able to do statistical analysis. For instance, there appeared to be only one household among the sample households with the Ubudehe-class 'money rich' and three with the Ubudehe-class 'food rich'. Therefore, the official Ubudehe-classes have been redistributed in the next social-economic household groups:

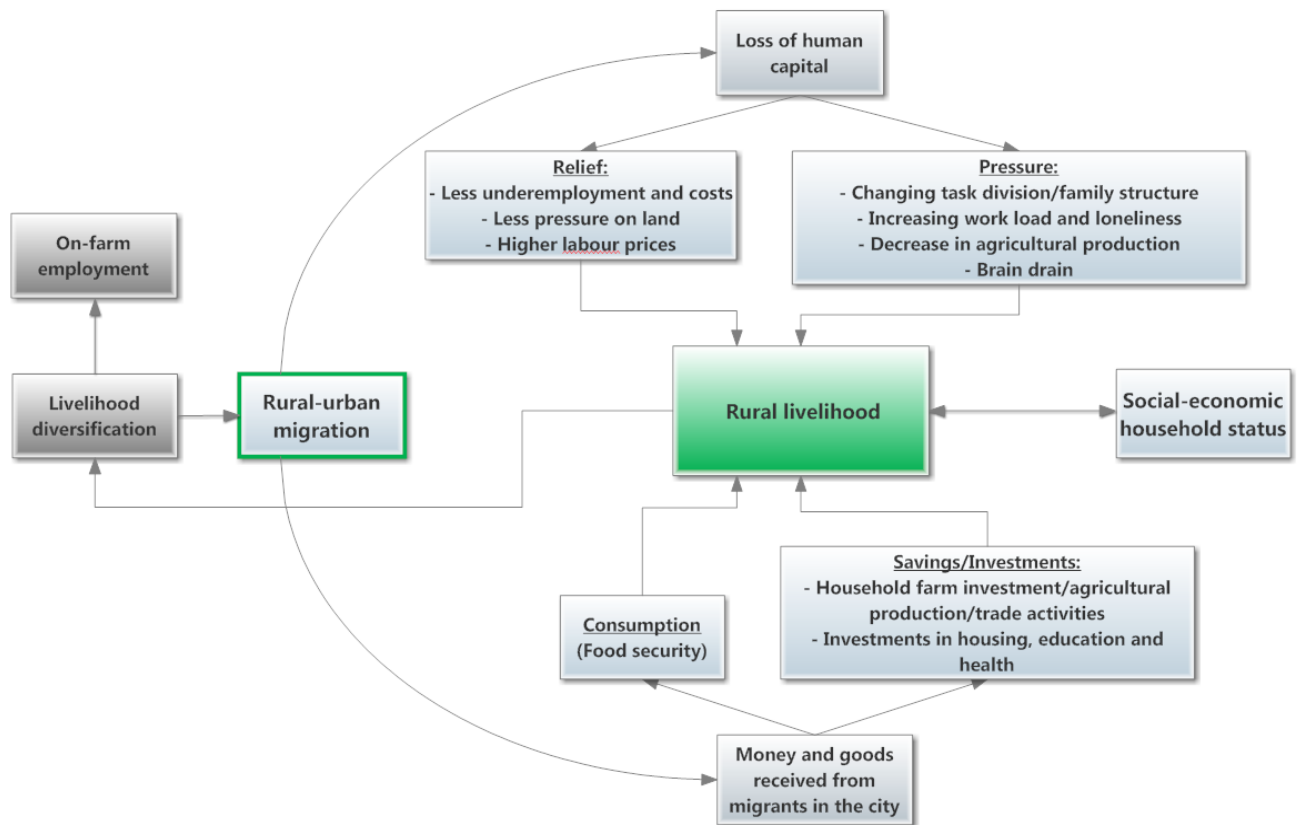
1. The poorest (the Ubudehe-class 'extremely poor' and 'poor')
2. The poor (the Ubudehe-class 'poor')
3. The better-off (the Ubudehe-class 'resourceful poor', 'food rich' and 'money rich')

Analytical chapter five will explore the reliability and usefulness of these categories by investigating the extent to which there exist significant differences between the three different household categories in terms of most important livelihood assets.

4.5 Conceptual model

The conceptual model (Fig. 4.1) visualizes the relationships between the different theoretical concepts of the research, as presented in section 4.4 and explained in chapter 3. It gives an overview of the key aspects of the research and connects the different elements with each other. The central element in the conceptual model is the rural livelihood. The livelihood is influenced by rural-urban migration through both flows of money and goods from the city and a loss of human capital as a result of the departure of labour forces. This impact of rural-urban migration differs for rural households with a different social-economic status.

Fig. 4.1: Conceptual model of the impact of rural-urban migration on rural livelihoods



4.6 Field work design

4.6.1 Selection of the study areas

The institutional structure of Rwanda consists of five provinces: Eastern Province, Southern Province, Western Province, Northern Province and the Kigali-region. These provinces consist of 30 districts and these districts again consist of 416 sectors. Finally, these sectors consist of 2148 cells (Kettlewell 2010). In this research there is chosen to use the latter area size as research areas: rural cells. Due to the fragmented and poorly demarcated nature of Rwandan villages, it was not possible to select villages as research areas.

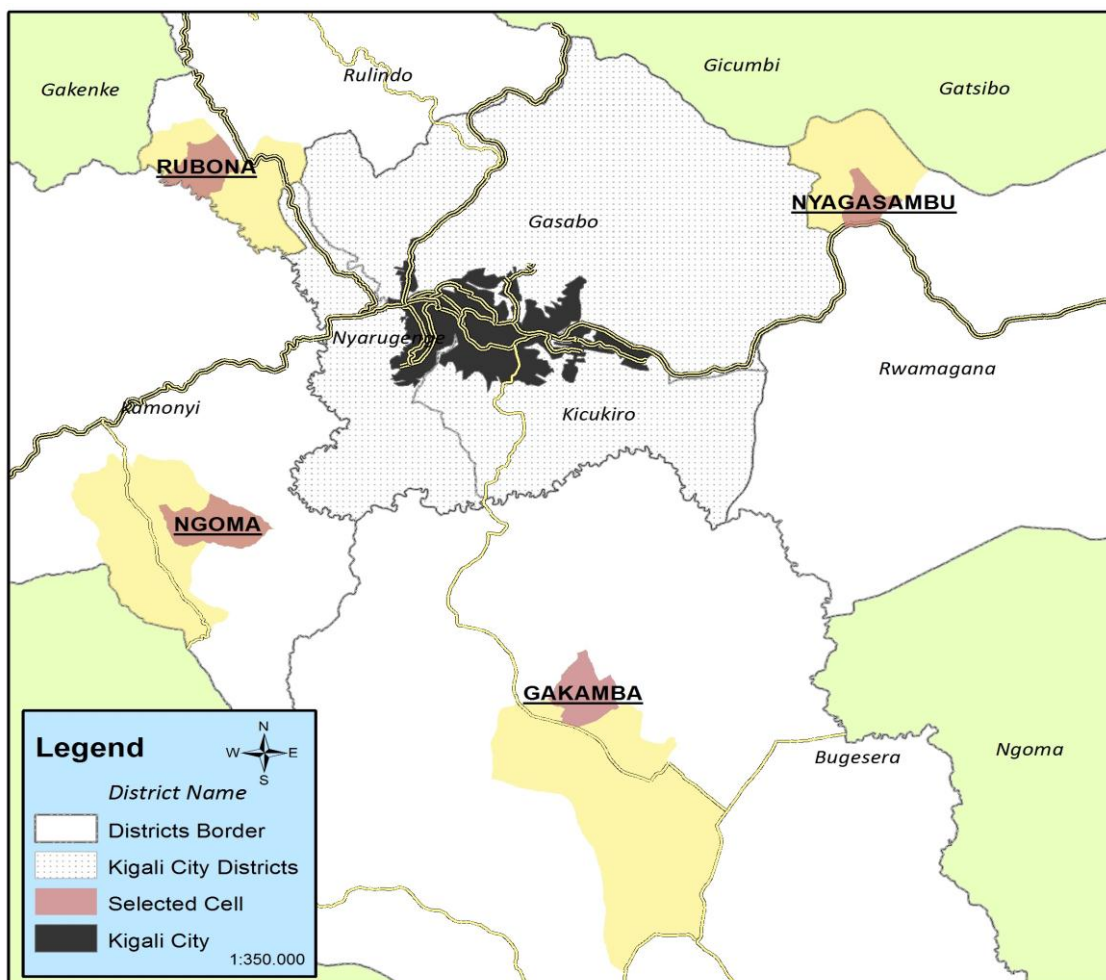
The data for this thesis was collected from February 2012 to May 2012 in four different rural cells in the surroundings of Kigali, the capital city of Rwanda. These cells are chosen in the surroundings of Kigali because of the significant occurrence of rural-urban migration in the area. As described in contextual chapter 3, the city has an estimated population of almost one million and is currently battling the pressure of rapid population increase. Kigali attracts rural migrants from the entire country leading to the estimation that 57% of Kigali's populations were rural migrants in 2002 (ACCRON 2011). This makes the Kigali-region the most relevant and interesting research area in Rwanda. The most rural migrants originate

from the central and the south of the country, apparently due to low agricultural productivity. In addition, Kigali had experienced considerable post-genocide migration.

The research units of this master research on rural-urban migration are ‘rural migrant households’. Consequently there had to be selected rural cells from the sectors in the surroundings of Kigali, which have a significant presence of rural migrant households. In order to get a variety in the research sample there is deliberately chosen to select four rural cells from, the in section 3.3.3, discussed sectors in the four districts surrounding Kigali. These sectors have different historical and economic context and are selected on the basis of advices of experts in the field of migration from the National University of Rwanda and in-depth interviews with the Executive Secretaries of the different sectors. From each selected sector there is randomly selected one rural cell as research area. The selected rural cells are shown in Map 4.1 and the rural households in these cells form together the research population of this master research.

1. Nyagasambu cell (Sector: Fumbwe, District: Rwamagana, Eastern Province)
2. Gakamba cell (Sector: Mayange, District: Bugesera, Eastern Province)
3. Ngoma cell (Sector: Nyamiyaga, District: Kamonyi, Southern Province)
4. Rubona cell (Sector: Shyorongi, District: Rulindo, Northern Province)

Map. 4.1: Selection of study areas: four different rural cells in the surroundings of Kigali



4.6.2 Research assistants

The native language of the population in the selected rural cells is Kinyarwanda. Because the researcher was not able to speak this language, two research assistants were used to help with translation and the organization of household interviews. The research assistants are natives of Rwanda and are currently Bachelor students at the National University of Rwanda in Butare. They are fluent in both English and Kinyarwanda and they had extensive experience in carrying out socio-economic surveys, which proved to be very useful during the fieldwork. The translators were not rewarded for their support in terms of money. In return they namely received the data from the semi-structured questionnaire to use for their bachelor thesis. Because their work was important for their own research, the risk of carelessness and disinterest reduced strongly.

4.7 Research Methodology

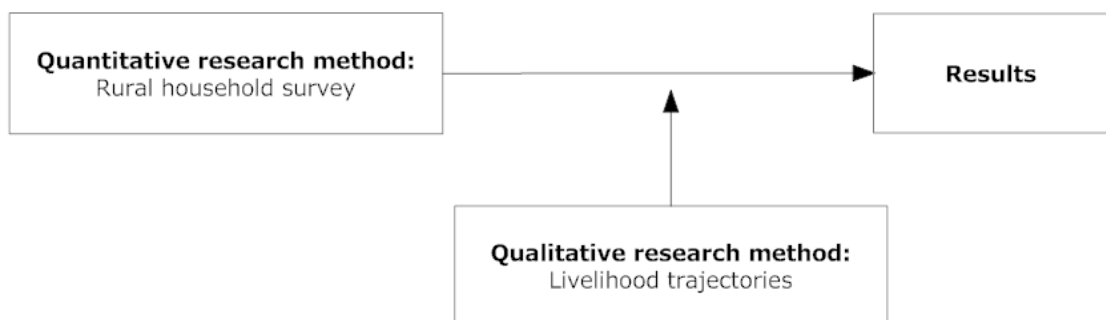
4.7.1 Mixed approach

Methodology means more than an uncomplicated set of methods; rather it refers to the philosophical and rational suppositions that underlie a particular research. Methodology determines the rules for the study and must be in accord with the chosen theoretical framework (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Research methods are conservatively divided into qualitative, quantitative and participatory research methods, each with different underlying approaches, tools and techniques. Confronted with the fervently claims of proponents and often radical critiques and counter-claims of opponents, it is logic one thinks that they belong to 'different worlds'. In the last decade, however, these 'different worlds' have begun to merge (Desai & Potter, 2006). Support for research that combines qualitative and quantitative approaches has been quickly increasing in latest years and is encouraged by known scientists and by people drawn from different disciplines. Insight in the ways in which fruitful combinations of research methods might be designed has also increased and tangible examples of the so-called 'Q-squared approaches' (mix of quantitative and qualitative research methods) are available (Murray 2001).

The fact that well designed Q-squared researches triangulate data and can result in deeper insights in social of economic changes by combining the strengths and benefits of each research method has much support (Hulme 2007). In this master thesis, there is chosen to make use of both quantitative and qualitative research methods because of this additional relationship between both types of methods. Quantitative data provides the basis for showing 'what' and highlights what is representative, while qualitative data will be able to give deeper insights in 'why' and 'how' and emphasize variety and differences within the range of human experiences and feelings in the rural areas studied. These experiences can help to clarify and contextualize changes and differences in average values of variables from the rural household survey (Binns 2006/Murray 2001).

First, a quantitative research method, namely a rural household survey of a sample of rural households in the selected rural cells, is employed in the selected study areas, using a questionnaire with open and closed questions. This method gives more insight in composition of different rural livelihoods, the patterns of migration, resource transfers between rural households and migrants in Kigali and the consequences of this migration. In addition to the household questionnaires, the research includes qualitative case studies in the form of livelihood trajectories of relevant respondents in each of the study areas. These qualitative case studies help to explain the findings of the rural household survey (Fig. 4.2). The main method for these livelihood trajectories is the semi-structured interview.

Fig. 4.2: Qualitative method is used to help explain quantitative method



4.7.2 Rural household survey

Doing livelihood research should mean for the researcher to go beyond a static analysis of the composition of livelihoods and identification of livelihood strategies at one given time. However, limited possibilities in time and resources resulted in the choice for a rural household survey as most important research tool. The main objective of this household survey was a first analysis and mapping of the composition of rural livelihoods in the surroundings of Kigali and the impacts of rural-urban migration.

Household surveys are a good method as the research will be in advance of later evaluations. The rural household survey offers a standard way of collecting information. There are several advantages. First there is the ability to reach almost complete coverage of the population as most people live in households. The household namely provides a convenient place where people can be contacted. Furthermore, a large number of household surveys allows for cross validation of results improving credibility of analysis. Possible disadvantages are the willingness to provide information, dependency on the memory of respondents and the risk of miscommunication. If some people do not understand all questions or if they for another reason of health or knowledge cannot adequately respond, the survey could be biased. Conducting fieldwork in data collection for the first time also requires flexibility and sensitivity to possible barriers between researcher and respondent (Binns, 2006).

The rural household survey used for this research consists of a semi-structured questionnaire. Questions were ordered in obvious sequence, from primary descriptive

questions regarding household- and livelihood information to later open or attitude-based questions about the respondents view on the most important positive or negative change as a result of rural-urban migration. An English version of the household questionnaire is shown in Appendix I.

Before the start of the fieldwork, a pilot of the household survey was carried out with four Rwandese rural households. It appeared that the questionnaire asked too much detail and the delivery was too long. As a result subsequent interviews were much shorter and asked the respondents less information about for instance social relations and decision making processes. After the third pilot the researcher and his assistants became more familiar with the data collection process. In order to get an as good as possible understanding of the questions in the questionnaire, the research assistants were trained intensively before the fieldwork.

4.7.3 Design of the survey sample

After the selection of the strategic selected rural cells in the four wind directions around Kigali, a random sample had to be drawn from these cells with both households with and households without migrant household members included. The latter was important in order to gain a right and unbiased insight in the livelihood of rural households. Possible differences between households with migrant members and households without migrant members could also be analysed this way. The most usual and easiest way to create a sampling frame is by using a sampling frame in the form of a population list. However, there was no population list available of the rural population in the selected study areas. Internal displacement of Rwandan people makes the validation of such a list very difficult. Consequently, it was necessary to look for an alternative way of sampling that would provide the researcher with data which is reasonably representative and is statistically significant for a larger population. As solution for this problem, there is chosen to make use of aerial photographs. The GIS-centre (Centre of Geographical Information Systems) in Butare offered aerial photographs of the different rural cells.

By counting and numbering the roofs of the houses on the aerial photographs with the help of ArcGIS, a software program for geographical mapping and spatial analysis, a sampling frame arose. After the creation of this list of all households of the research population, a probability sample could be drawn. With a probability sample, every household of the research population has an equal (or known) chance of being included in the sample. Using the list, all the rural households in the different rural cells were numbered, and some numbers were randomly chosen as research cases by using the same ArcGIS program. With the formula of Alain Bouchard (1990) the researcher has calculated the minimum sample size to be representative for the population of households in every individual selected cell (Appendix II).

4.7.4 Problems encountered during the data collection

During the first two days in the field it appeared that there were less households with migrant household members among the randomly selected households in the concerning

cell than expected before. This was an unexpected setback which would have affected the whole research if there was not intervened, because the main purpose of this master research is to investigate the way in which rural-urban migration affects the rural migrant households. Consequently, in the sample there have to be included sufficient households which have migrant household member(s) in the city. On the basis of the interviews with the Executive Secretaries of the four different rural sectors the expectation was that at least 60% of the households included in the sample would be migrant sending households. This appeared not to be the case and might be due to a poorly representative sample, a concentration of migrant sending households in a specific geographical location or misinformation before. Only 30% of the randomly selected households namely turned out to be involved in rural-urban migration.

In order to get a significant amount of migrant sending households in the sample, there was decided to set a minimum amount of at least 50% of migrant sending households per selected cell. Because of each cell appeared to have an amount of sending households below this minimum percentage, this decision resulted in two equal groups of households with and households without migrant household members in the city. To select the extra migrant households in the field in order to get 50%, migrant households most close to the concerning superfluous sample-households were selected.

As a result of the above measure, the type of sample changed in a non-proportional quota sample and was not random anymore. Quota sampling guarantees that the sample matches with the interest of the researcher in terms of specific characteristics (in this case: households with and without migrants). The methodology is also very useful to acquire certain proportions of characteristics within the sample population, even if the numbers are not in proportion with the population. The latter was necessary in this research, because the proportions of migrant households in the population are not known. Moreover, the research questions of this master study require two groups of households: one with migrants and one without migrants. Sufficient numbers within these groups enlarge the power to do statistical tests comparing households of each group in terms of the outcome variables (Morrow & Vargas 2007).

There was a second problem encountered during data collection in the field. Many respondents thought there was a reward attached to participation in the research or they were under the assumption that they could get support from a development organization. These wrong suppositions could lead to unreliable and 'desired' answers and the relationship between respondent and researcher could be altered by the assumptions. As a result, the research assistants had to explain the research purposes very carefully. Usually, once they had explained that the work was going to be used for scientific research of the National University of Rwanda and other partners, and that negative opinions were as important as any other questions, participants talked unreservedly.

The last trickiness encountered in the field was the fact that during the conduction of several questionnaires, many people had heard about it and came to watch, lining up outside or inside the respondents house. Consequently, the concerning respondents were

afraid to answer freely. The solution for this problem was to ensure that spectators kept healthy distance during the conduction of each questionnaire.

4.7.5 Livelihood Trajectories

In addition to the rural household survey, the research includes qualitative case studies in the form of livelihood trajectories of relevant respondents in each of the research localities. Livelihood trajectories provide an suitable methodology for investigating individual strategic behaviour rooted in social differentiation and historical repertoire. The methodology of livelihood trajectories makes use of life histories. The research method tries to get more insight into a deeper layer of aspirations, needs, beliefs and limitations. This is in contrast with the standard life histories, which typically give an overview of the behaviour patterns of the respondents over time, the chronology of the respondents' lives (De Haan & Zoomers 2005, p. 43-44). Livelihood trajectories cannot be realized without an open relationship between researcher and respondents. These open understanding is very significant because of the sensitivity of the conversation subjects, like income opportunities and constraints, social norms and behaviour and undisputed power relations, etcetera.

By using the livelihood trajectory method the prevailing socio-economic, political and institutional variables that affect efforts to alleviate poverty through improved livelihood opportunities can be identified (Murray 2001, p. 12). For this master research, fifteen life history interviews have been conducted with rural migrant sending households in the different cells. There is used a unified interview framework that include questions about current livelihoods. Interviews lasted around three quarters. The sample is composed in order to capture differences in rural livelihoods, income levels and access to resources, without any claim that it was statistically representative. Five rural migrant households have been selected from three of the four rural research cells in this way. These selection contains equal numbers of households from each social-economic household category. The main focus of the life history research was to investigate more deeply how the migration of the household member came about and what the exact consequences of rural-urban migration were for the different rural livelihoods. The life history research mainly focus on the way in which rural households adapted their livelihood to the changes related with the departure of the household member(s) to the city. In addition, five life history interviews were conducted with families who are hired in labour, because increase in demand for casual wage labour appeared to be strongly related with rural-urban migration.

In-depth interviews are the most appropriate tool for the livelihood trajectories because it wants to ask open-ended questions that obtain depth of information from relatively few people. An in-depth interview is a discovery-oriented and open-ended method, which makes the interviewer able to intensely explore the respondent's perspectives and feelings on a certain subject. This may result in rich background information (Guion et al, 2012).

4.8 Main limitations and reliability of the research

Conducting research and analysis have some limitations that need to be acknowledged. No research is ever free of limitations, as there are different factors influencing the research

itself and its results, hindering a feasible generalization of the outcomes. This last paragraph handles about the restrictions of this research and discusses the limitations to the implementation and the reliability of the research results.

4.8.1 Limitations of the research

Just like any other research, limitations are relevant to this study, even before the research results can be analysed. Consequently, there are at least three restrictions which play a significant role. First of all, the research had to be conducted within a limited timeframe of only three months, in which four different rural cells had to be investigated. Obviously, this prevented the research from being very thorough and in-depth, as a longer research period probably would be done. A second limitation is the fact that the research topic is fairly new in Rwanda, because of only a few studies on rural-urban connections have taken place in the country. Therefore, relevant background information, mainly context-specific information, was sometimes difficult to gather. However the purpose of this research is merely to achieve and promote understanding of significance of studied aspects and not to develop a theoretical model or framework. A third and final restriction is the local language, Kinyarwanda, which prevented a thorough understanding of the answers given by the respondents and also prevented the results from being optimal. The time and attempt it took to translate the questionnaires, interviews and answers could also be used in other ways, contributing to more thoroughgoing research results. Finally, all interviews in the surroundings of Kigali are done in Kinyarwanda, by using the earlier mentioned translators, who were able to communicate both in Kinyarwanda and English. As a result, some information is lost due to the language barrier.

4.8.2 Reliability of the answers

In addition to the restrictions of the research, there are other factors that play a role in preventing the results from being directly representative for a wider population. These factors might have affected the reliability of the research outcomes; research results can only be considered as reliable when they are collected by using a random sample (Binns 2006, p. 117). First, because of the limited amount of rural households that are visited during the fieldwork there is the issue of representation. In comparison with the total number of rural households in the Kigali-region the sample size of the research seems too little to really represent all rural households in the Kigali-region. This may form an obstruction in the making of generalizations about rural-urban migration-related issues for the whole region.

A second issue that have to be taken into account is the impact of power relations on the reliability of the research. Firstly, one have to pay attention to the fact that every foreign researcher is in a power position (Binns 2006, p. 14). As Apentiik & Parpart (2006, p. 34) say, ethnicity, race, gender, and access to specific resources can all have consequences for the way in which a foreign researcher is considered by his or her research population. Being a western, white student, doing research among rural households in Sub-Saharan Africa, it is possible that some respondents have a suspicious attitude and are not willing to

cooperate on a voluntary basis. Another, partly earlier mentioned, constraint is that especially answers to questions related to money may be biased by the respondent's hope for profit of help. Though all the mentioned issues are hypothetical, one can be sure that they influence the outcomes of the research to a certain level.

At last, there are a few remarks to be made on the household surveys based on positive preferences. In some cultures it is usual to give an ambivalent rather than a negative answer. Apentik & Parpart (2006) state that some respondents confronted with a concrete choice in a contingent valuation survey answer „yes“ to questions they are insecure of. This problem was dealt with the gradation of possible answers in the questionnaire ranging from for instance „strongly decreased“ and „decreased“ through „increased“ to „strongly increased“. Nevertheless, it cannot be foreseen how many and which respondents are prone to give improper answers.

5. Heterogeneity of rural livelihoods

It is generally accepted that poverty is a multi-dimensional concept. Income is not the only dimension of poverty and escaping it depends on enhancing personal capabilities and access to resources and institutions. For instance, poor access to health care, illiteracy, inadequate education and social exclusion affect the livelihoods of poor households. This chapter pays attention to different dimensions of rural poverty in Rwanda and explores the livelihoods of households in the rural research areas on the basis of the data from a household questionnaire and additional in-depth interviews with 20 rural households. The explorative sub question: "How do rural households shape their livelihood", will be central in this chapter. It is investigated to what extent these livelihoods vary for households with different social-economic class in order to examine whether the created social-economic household groups (subsection 4.4.5) are meaningful and suitable to use in further analysis. Additionally, the livelihoods of households with and without migrants will be compared. This explorative chapter forms the basis for the next two chapters about the impacts of migration on rural livelihoods. All respondents from migrant households got questions about education level, health, occupation, housing conditions, land, livestock and income. This chapter provides an elaboration on these livelihood aspects by making a comparison between firstly households with a different social-economic class and secondly migrant and non-migrant households. It will finish with a characterization of rural livelihoods and a concise conclusion.

5.1 Female-headed households

During the fieldwork it was striking that there is a high number of female-headed households in the rural research areas. Specifically, 38.2% of all rural households is being led by women. Female headship can have different causes like divorces and widowhoods or can be the result of for instance illness or the migration of the employment-seeking husband to urban areas. Moreover, in the case of Rwanda it can also be the result of violence during the genocide in 1994, in which a high number of Tutsi-man, and to a much lesser extent Hutu-man, were killed.

Female-headed households are significantly more often poor than male-headed households³ and they have a significantly smaller household size than their male-headed counterparts⁴. This can be explained by the absence of a spouse and less children, but is sometimes compensated by a higher presence of other relatives like grandsons or

³ Chi-Square test results in a Pearson Chi-square of 10,275, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's V correlation coefficient of 0.189.

⁴ Mann Witney test results in a Mann Witney U of 766.500 and a confidence level of 95%.

granddaughters. In addition, female household heads are significantly more likely to have lower educational attainment levels than male household heads.⁵

An important indicator of the socio-economic status of female-headed households is provided by their total household income. This income includes money from migrants, earnings from wage labour, crop and livestock sales and other trade activities. Female-headed households are significantly poorer than male-headed households and have average 80% of the income of male-headed households.⁶ However, this dissimilarity may be mitigated by the smaller household size of female-headed households. Moreover, female-headed households, caused by rural-urban migration of the husband, get high levels of remittances from labour in the city, which may be essential to alleviate the poverty of the household. Consequently, these households are mostly more wealthy in terms of income than female-headed households who remain dependent of agricultural activities. At the same time, as we will see in the next chapter, this rural-urban labour division results in increasing agricultural tasks for women besides their usual household tasks. The latter may form an explanation for the fact that female-headed households get significantly less income from agricultural farming than male-headed households.⁷

The finding that female-headed households are significantly more often poor than male-headed households is confirmed by in-depth interviews in the research areas. Female household heads often live in extremely poor living conditions. All visited female household heads indicated to experience their daily life as a struggle to survive, mainly due to a lack of support of manpower and loneliness. They have to combine their household duties and care for children with agricultural activities. These agricultural activities are often performed for other households in change for low salaries, because female-headed

Box 5.1: Living conditions of a 57 years old female household head in Nyagasambu

"I live here together with my granddaughter. My man died during the genocide. Five years ago, my daughter decided to leave me and went to the city. I hire this little house from the family over there, because I have no money to build a house for myself. Moreover, I don't have any land to cultivate or livestock to sell. Sometimes I am hired in agriculture to earn some money in order to buy food and to pay the rent of this house. In other cases I have to beg my neighbours. The little daughter of my migrated daughter tries to help me in the household, but she is still very young: only 9 years old! I am busy with washing and cooking and have insufficient time and strength to search for employment. I wish I will get a house, a cow and some little land in the future, but that is very unlikely because I don't have any support."

⁵ Mann Witney test results in a Mann Witney U of 6323.500 and a confidence level of 99%.

⁶ Mann Whitney test results in a Mann Witney U of 8488.00 and a confidence level of 95%.

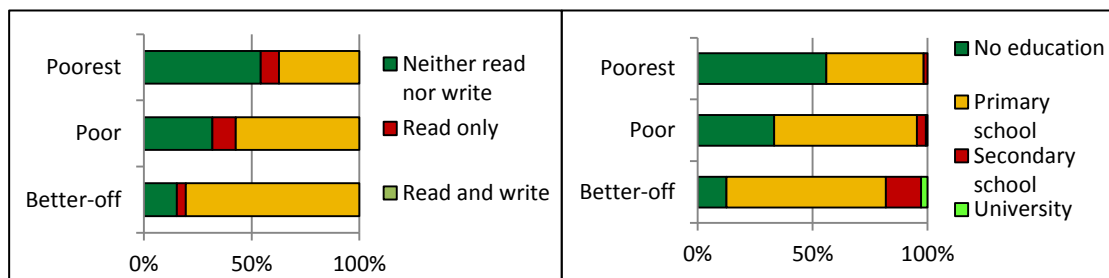
⁷ Mann Whitney test results in a Mann Witney U of 7680.00 and a confidence level of 95%.

households have significantly fewer land than male-headed households.⁸ Many female household heads, mainly widows, have to beg their neighbours in order to survive. Box 5.1 gives an impression of the living conditions of many female-headed households in the research areas. The burden of female headship in rural households can be compensated when the cause of the female headship is laid in the migration of the husband, who frequently sends a part of his income to his wife in the rural household of origin. However, this will be discussed in the next analytical chapters.

5.2 Educational attainment levels

Households with a high social-economic household class have a significantly higher literacy class than households with a low social-economic status.⁹ This relationship is clearly visible in Fig. 5.1 which shows that 80.6% of respondents from better-off households is able to read and write, contrasting with merely 37.3% of respondents from the poorest households. This significant difference also applies for the education level¹⁰ (second diagram in Fig. 5.1). Of the respondents from the poorest households 55.9% don't have any education, while of respondents from the better-off households only 12.5% is unschooled. Furthermore, almost nobody of the respondents from the poorest households (1.7%) has a secondary education level, while from the better-off households 15.3% of the respondents have finished secondary school. It is obvious that there is a positive relationship between social-economic class and education level. This statement is confirmed by a statistically significant positive relationship between social-economic household class and the household average of the total years of education per household member.¹¹

Fig. 5.1: Literacy status and educational attainment level per social-economic household group



(N=260)

Since the Rwandan primary education policy in 2004, children are not obliged to pay school fees for the mandatory schooling. The government implemented compulsory education for primary school (6 years) and lower secondary school (3 years) in that period. However, during the fieldwork it appeared that there is a considerable number of children not attending school. This implies that factors other than school fees influence the decision to

⁸ Mann Whitney test results in a Mann Whitney U of 6214.500 and a confidence level of 95%.

⁹ Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-square of 26.203 and a confidence level of 99%.

¹⁰ Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-square of 25.023 and a confidence level of 99%.

¹¹ Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-square of 42.129 and a confidence level of 99%.

send a child to school. Especially respondents from the poorest households told that they need the children for agricultural activities, particularly during the agricultural seasons, and livestock holding. Furthermore, the costs of school uniforms, school backs or notebooks and the distance to the school can form an obstacle for participation in education (Box 5.2). Almost 6% of the household members of all visited households in the research areas who are between the 10 and the 25 years old explicitly turns have no education and 67.7% have only finished or is still attending primary school. Moreover, only 26.2% of 10-25 aged persons have a lower or higher secondary education level. As will be discussed later in chapter 5, there are many young boys who leave school once they get the chance to get a paid job in construction, sugar cane production or mining, resulting in a large group of badly educated, often employment-seeking and poor wage labourers. On the other hand, many youth indicated that they would like to continue with studying in higher secondary school and higher education levels, but that they lack the money needed to pay school fees.

Box 5.2: A 43-years old migrant father tells about the education of his son

"I need my little boy in the household and he is necessary on our land during the agricultural seasons, because I am disabled. My right arm is bent when I was young and I do not have money to hire labourers. We also do not have money or any materials to support our son when he wants to go to school. I know that education is very important for the development of the skills and the future of my son. When he gets a good education, he can ever migrate to the city and get a well-paid job. However, we have no choice. We need our son in the household. It is a difficult and sad dilemma."

Finally, on the basis of several visits to primary schools in the four research areas and conversations with teachers and executive secretaries of the different sectors it can be stated that the quality of the education is poor, making schooling less attractive for rural households. The average number of pupils per classroom in a primary school is around sixty and in an average secondary school the often damaged and inadequate textbooks are shared with more than four students. Schools in remote rural areas experience difficulties to attract teachers. Most of the teachers have not more than five years teaching experience, are poorly paid and receive remarkably little respect from the rural population. As a result, there is little motivation for further qualification among teachers.

5.3 Access to health services

Since 2008, everybody in Rwanda is obliged by law to have some form of health insurance. Obligatory participation in mutual health insurances schemes (MHI) (in Rwanda known as 'mutuelles de santé') and health subsidies from the government for the 'extremely poor' and the 'very poor' have led to substantial improvement in household health in Rwanda. The 'mutuelle' do not remove the financial costs, but reduce them benefiting the poor. However, from elaborating in-depth interviews with household heads appears that even at

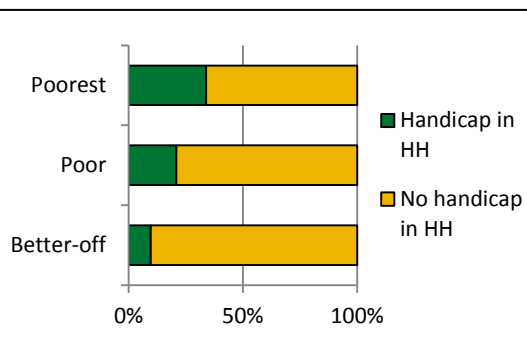
two dollar a year, the price for some people remains too high to access health care. Several household heads of the poorest social-economic household group indicated that they feel pressed to participate in a scheme they can hardly afford and told that it is hard to pay for the health insurance. Because of time reasons the rural household survey did not contain explicit questions about access to health care, however from in-depth interviews, richer households seem to use more health services than households with a low social-economic class. Especially old and female household-heads indicated that access to healthcare is still problematic for them as a result of long distance to health centres and financial hardship. Also the energy it takes to get health insurance can form an obstacle for less abled persons. People namely have to arrange the insurance by themselves by going to a sectoral bank in order to get a recite required for obtaining auxiliary in the hospitals. Many people who are able to pay health insurance said that their health improved in terms of illness, because they can easily get medicines for malaria and tuberculosis. In chapter seven will be elaborated on the use of money received from the migrant in the city. Here can already be said that 40.2% of the money-receiving households use the remittances to pay health insurance, indicating a general lack of financial resources within rural households to pay the 'mutuelle'.

Concluding, it can be stated that many households in the research areas did not seek health care when it was necessary, while other households experience financial difficulties. These effects are particularly accentuated for the poorest, landless and female-headed households and the uninsured households. At the same time many households, mainly the poor, better-off and insured households, reported a reduction in unexpected needs and risk of disastrous expenditure in the case of illness.

Illustration 5.1: Rwandan families like this, are benefiting from mutual health insurance



Fig. 5.2: Relationship between social-economic class and presence of handicap



(N=260)

Additionally, households from the poorest social-economic household group have significantly more often a household member with a physical handicap, meaning that disabled people (and their families) are more likely than the rest of the population to live in poverty.¹² During in-depth interviews, household heads got questions about the underlying

¹² Chi-square test results in a Pearson Chi-square of 11.522 , a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's V correlation coefficient of 0.211.

reasons of this relationship. From their answers it appeared that there are different factors which make families with disabled household members worse off. The most important are a loss of income and employment opportunities, marginalization or exclusion from services and social networks and extra costs as a result of the handicap. The causes of the physical impairments can be different. Some respondents gave violence during the genocide, like machetes, bombs and bullets, as reason for the removed limbs, while others explained that malnutrition and poor health of the mother results in disability of her children.

Disabled people in rural Rwanda often are excluded in rural communities, both actively and passively. Generally, Rwandan people in the research areas do not value persons with a physical handicap. Disabled persons are often considered as helpless persons who are dependent on the money and efforts of others. They are undervalued and their capabilities are not recognised. Many persons from households with a disabled household member appeared to have feelings of shame and hide the disabled person for outsiders. A 48-year old father in Ngoma even told:

“Persons with a handicap often get a name related to their physical abnormality. They are often scorned and are not accepted in several meetings. It is almost impossible for them to get married and to find a normal, well-paid job.”

On the basis of answers like this can be said that disabled persons suffer from discrimination in various areas. In the first place, they are sometimes leaved out in dividing the inheritance, which is given to those who can make better use of it. As a result persons with a handicap have a lack of land and assets, continue to depend on family support and are unable to live a self-determining life. Secondly, disabled people experience persistent obstructions in accessing the labour market. There is a lot of job discrimination and there are little employment opportunities for them, reducing the income opportunities and social participation. Moreover, disabled persons often have less access to educational and other social services, resulting in illiteracy and a low level of skills.

As a result of above mentioned exclusion and marginalization disabled persons fail to contribute effectively to their household and enlarge the risk of falling into extreme poverty. The presence of a disabled person in a rural household increases the needed resources in terms of time for personal care (which also could be used for production) and extra costs for medical expenses or equipment, like crutches. Especially in cases in which the disabled person is accountable for a part of the household income, the impact on a household can be disastrous. As a result, many of these households decide to send someone (often the disabled person) to the city. This is confirmed by a positive, significant relationship between the presence of a migrant household member and physical disability.¹³ If the disable person migrates to the city, he or she mostly becomes a beggar.

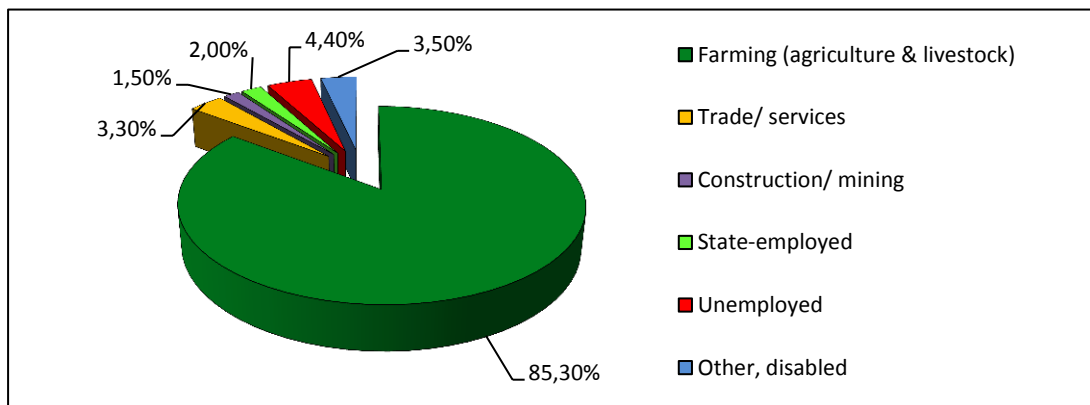
¹³ Chi-Square test results in a Pearson Chi-Square of 5.983, a confidence level of 99% and a Phi correlation coefficient of 0.152.

5.4 Occupations and income sources

When considering the occupations of rural households, it is found that the vast majority of the interviewed households rely to a substantial extent upon subsistence agricultural production, regardless their social-economic class. Fig. 5.3 shows that 85.3% of all household members from all visited households older than 10 year have their most important occupation in farming. The second largest occupation category is 'unemployed' with 4.4%. Only 3.3% of the rural research population consider 'trade or services' (including selling fruits or agricultural yield, running a little local shop, or being a bus driver, technician or hair dresser) as their most important occupation and only 1.5% consider a job in mining or construction as most important activity.

At the same time however, 68.5% of all households indicated to get income from farming (Table. 5.1), indicating that many households are active in selling agricultural yield on the market. However, many households seem to prefer subsistence orientation above market-oriented orientation. This is not caused by preferences for subsistence agricultural production, but the result of incapability to produce only for trade. A very small number of households namely turned out to have market-oriented production behaviour. Most households which are involved in market agriculture sell a small part of their agricultural production forced by financial hardship and in order to pay hired labourers, health insurance or school fees. Only some better-off households sell some agricultural surplus that they had produced on top of their subsistence food needs. Besides these households, there is a small group of better-off, market-oriented farmers who intentionally produce cash crops for the market.

Fig. 5.3: Most important occupation of all persons older than 10 years (%)



(N=607)

The same pattern applies to livestock breeding and selling. So, 31.2% of all sample households get income from husbandry (Table. 5.1). However the vast majority of the households keeps livestock not in the first place to increase their income, but rather to produce natural fertilisers and to have a form of insurance in cases of emergency. Households with a higher social-economic class get significantly more positive income from agricultural farming and husbandry than households with a low social-economic class,

indicating higher agricultural surpluses and more commercial activities.¹⁴ This is confirmed by a significant positive relationship between social-economic class and destination of the agricultural yield, from which appears that better-off households significantly more often cultivate for the market besides consumption purposes (58.1%) than the poor (29.8%) and the poorest households (6.1%) (Fig. 5.5).¹⁵ The mentioned relationship between income and social-economic class applies also for income from business/enterprise, income from wage labour and total income.¹⁶

Box 5.3: Daily activities of a 56 years old migrant father

“In this region there is heavy sunrise every day. As a result, I work only in the morning. At noon the agricultural activities are finished and in the afternoon we take care of our livestock by trying to find food for the cows and pigs. Furthermore, we take rest and perform some easy household tasks. My wife starts to cook at 5 p.m. and I go very often to the village center to kill my thirst with banana or sorghum beer. Sometimes I feel useless, because I have little work, especially outside agricultural seasons. In these periods there are days when I do totally nothing, besides drinking beer. Many children are fathered, because the time is filled by drinking and having sex.”

Almost 53% of the respondents of all visited households indicated to have no second occupation and 26.8% consider husbandry as their second occupation (Fig. 5.4). This occupation form mainly exist of taking care of and getting food for goats, chicken and cows in the afternoon. Furthermore, 14.2% takes care of livestock of others, is working in construction or mining or is hired in agriculture; thus involved in wage labour.

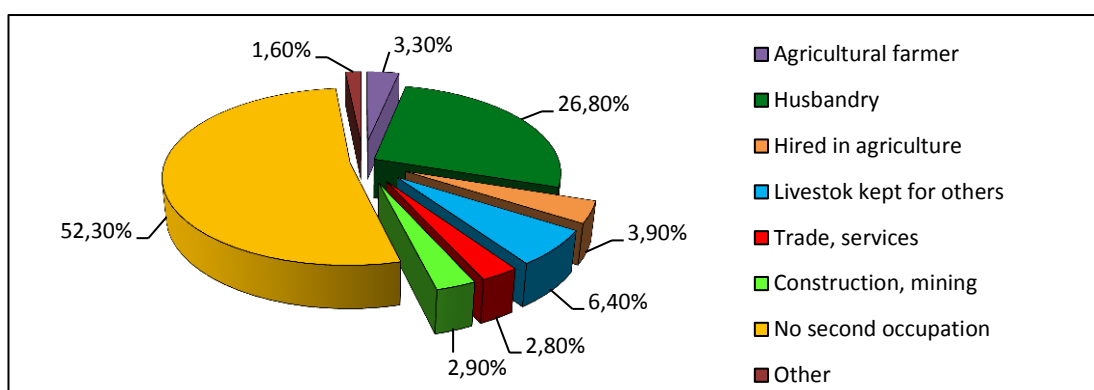
Elaboration on the replacement of migrants during in-depth interviews revealed a substantial part of rural households depending on rural wage labour. Especially many members from the poorest households that have a lack of agricultural land, work for salaries on the land of others in order to survive. This appears not directly from the occupation overview in Fig. 5.3 and 5.4, but rather from Table. 5.1, which shows that 24.4% of all sample households get income from wage labour. The cause of this discrepancy lies in confusion among the translators in the field when asking questions about occupation. When people answered that they worked on the land of others, the translators filled in ‘farming’ as most important occupation, resulting in a lack of quantitative research data on rural wage labour. For this reason the qualitative part of the fieldwork elaborated inter alia on this subject, which will be treated in the next chapter.

¹⁴ Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-Square of resp. 31.174 and 45.461 and confidence levels of 99%.

¹⁵ Chi-square test results in a Pearson Chi-Square of 45.048, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer’s V of 0.294.

¹⁶ Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-Square of resp. 8.405, 9.240 and 55.539 and confidence levels of 99%

Fig. 5.4: Second occupation of all persons above 10 years



(N=823)

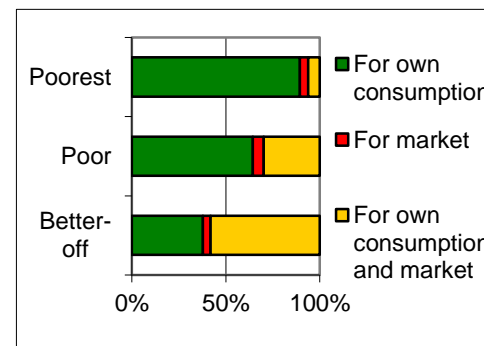
Finally, only 5.7% of all household members have their first occupation outside their own cell of living. It concerns mainly rural wage labour in neighbouring cells, mostly work on the land of others. In addition, 16% of those people work in construction in Kigali or surrounding districts or have a job as bus driver in Nyabogogo, the main bus station in Kigali. Lastly, there are students who study on a school outside their place of living. More than 28% goes one time per month to one time per week to this place of occupation and 72% goes two to six times per week to this working place.

Table 5.1: Income sources of all households (%)

Income from:	% of migrant households
Agriculture	86.5%
Husbandry	31.2%
Business/enterprise	17.7%
Handicraft	5.4%
Wage labour	24.4%
Migrant money	37.3%
Land, interest or credit	2.3%

(N=260)

Fig. 5.5: Purpose of agricultural yield



(N=260)

5.5 Housing conditions and assets

The houses in the rural research areas are solid structures, the more refined ones constructed of bricks and roofed with round clay tiles, and the more elementary houses made of mud bricks with roofs of corrugated iron. Up until 2010, the extremely poor lived in houses constructed of mud bricks and covered by thatch, the so-called 'nyakatsi'. These houses have been destroyed in a short time, as a result of a Rwandan government campaign and replaced by houses with corrugated iron, resulting in better living conditions for the poorest households. However, households with low social-economic class are still more likely to live in houses of which the walls are made from corrugated iron or mud,

while better-off households live more often in houses made of wood/off cuts and stones¹⁷. So, 27.5% of the households from the poorest household category appear to have walls of iron sheets, contrasting with 10.5% of the better-off households. Furthermore, only 7.2% of the poorest households have walls made of mainly wood/off cuts, in contrast with 23.7% of the better-off households. Additionally, households with a high-social economic class turns out to have significantly more often a separate room for cooking in their house (94.7%) than the poor (65.7%) and the poorest (42%)¹⁸ (Fig. 5.6). Especially households from the lowest social-economic group appeared to live with an overcrowding number of people in one single room, which is filled with smoke during cooking activities. Because many of those poor households cannot afford to improve or expand their house there is an increase in the number of persons living in a room. This often leads to further problems in terms of facilities in the house, like human waste disposal. So, it appeared that households from the lowest social-economic household category have significantly less often a pit latrine (84.1%) than the poor (95.1%) and the better-off households (100%) (Fig. 5.6).¹⁹ If households did not have a pit latrine they put their needs on the pit latrine of a neighbour. Only one household appeared to have a flushing toilet. Furthermore, in-depth interviews revealed that a considerable part of the poorest households live in little, second houses of better-off households, which they have to pay monthly in money or food (Box 5.1).

Illustration 5.2: A common shelter: made of corrugated iron and mud



In addition, better-off households have significantly more often electricity than households from the poor and the poorest household group.²⁰ Only 4.3% of the poorest households have electricity in contrast with 11.9% of the poor households and 23.6% of the better-off households (Fig. 5.6). There is no significant difference between households of a different social-economic class in terms of water source. The vast majority (54.2%) of all households get water from a public pump, 25.4% from a well stream and 20% from a river.

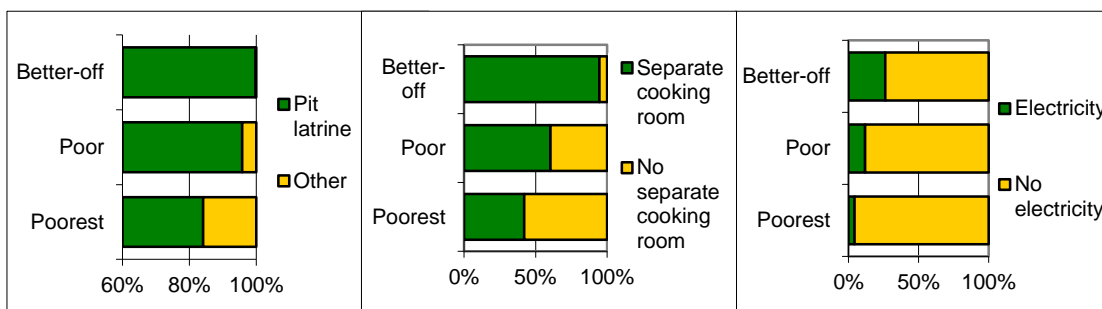
¹⁷ Chi-square test results in a Pearson Chi-square of 20.219, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's V correlation coefficient of 0.187.

¹⁸ Chi-square test results in a Pearson Chi-square of 46.459, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's V correlation coefficient of 0.402.

¹⁹ Chi-square test results in a Pearson Chi-square of 19.023, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's V of 0.182.

²⁰ Chi-square test results in a Pearson Chi-square of 15.544, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's V of 0.232.

Fig. 5.6: Relationship between social-economic class and human waste disposal, separate cooking room and electricity



(N= 260)

Finally, households with the highest social-economic status have significantly more often a radio, a phone and a bicycle than households from the lower social-economic groups.²¹ Better-off households own these assets about three times more often than the poorest households (Table 5.2), indicating better access to transport and contact with the outside world. During in-depth interviews, respondents from the poorest households mostly indicated to have few friends and often no contacts with people other than their neighbours. Lastly, only three households own a motorcycle, of which two from the poorest household category. Renting a motorcycle and becoming a motor taxi driver is a common strategy to escape poverty in Rwanda.

Table 5.2: Possession of assets per social-economic household group

	Own radio	No radio	Own phone	No phone	Own bicycle	No bicycle	N
Poorest	37.3%	62.7%	25.4%	74.6%	6.8%	93.2%	59
Poor	73.6%	26.4%	55.0%	45.0%	23.3%	76.7%	129
Better-off	90.3%	9.7%	79.2%	20.8%	40.3%	59.7%	72

(N=260)

5.6 Land and livestock

There is an obvious significant relationship between social-economic class and the possession of land.²² Namely, 65.7% of the poorest household category indicated to possess land, which means that more than a third has no land to cultivate. Contrastingly, 84.6% of the poor household category and 97.4% of the better-off households possess agricultural land (Table 5.3). The same relationship applies for the possession of livestock, mainly chicken, goats and cows.²³ As visible in Table 5.3, 46.4% of the poorest households has no

²¹ Chi-square tests result in respectively a Pearson Chi-square of 44.977, 37.843, 19.952, confidence levels of 99% and Cramer's V correlation coefficients of 0.416, 0.382 and 0.277.

²² Chi-square test results in a Pearson Chi-square of 12.199, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's V of 0.206.

²³ Chi-square test results in a Pearson Chi-square of 14.380, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's V of 0.223.

livestock in comparison with 32.2% of the poor households and only 17.1% of the better-off households.

Table 5.3: Land and livestock possession per social-economic household group

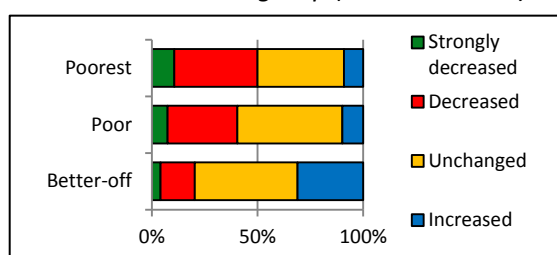
	Own land	No land	Own livestock	No livestock	N
Poorest	65.7%	34.3%	53.6%	46.4%	59
Poor	84.6%	15.4%	67.8%	32.2%	129
Better-off	97.4%	2.6%	82.9%	17.1%	72

(N= 260)

The fact that households from the highest social-economic group have more land than households from the second and the third household group is confirmed by a significant difference between the groups in terms of ‘people needed during the agricultural seasons’.²⁴ Better-off households need on average almost twice as many persons on their land than the poorest households, meaning that they have larger land plots.

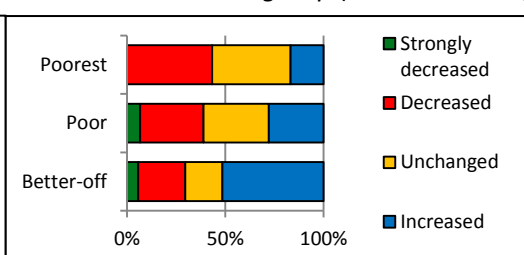
Finally, better-off households experience significantly more often an increase in land size²⁵ (Fig. 5.7) and livestock²⁶ (Fig. 5.8) than poorer households. The poorest households often experience a decrease in cultivatable, fertile land as a result of droughts, exhaustive agricultural methods and a lack of fertilizers from cows or from the government. In contrast, better-off, land-rich households have more fallow land and money to buy fertilizers and seeds or to expand their agricultural land surface. Finally, the poorest households often experience a decrease in livestock, because they are forced to sell their livestock in order to pay basic needs, like school fees, health care or hired labourers.

Fig. 5.7: Increase in land size per social-economic household group (last 12 months)



(N=260)

Fig. 5.8: Increase in livestock per social-economic household group (last 12 months)



(N=260)

5.7 Migrant households compared with non-migrant households

There are little differences between migrant households and non-migrant households in terms of livelihood. Like earlier mentioned, migrant households have significantly more often a household member with a physical handicap, but significant differences in terms of

²⁴ Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-Square of 53.459 and a confidence level of 99%.

²⁵ Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-square of 22.376 and a confidence level of 99%.

²⁶ Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-square of 6.381 and a confidence level of 95%.

livelihood were not found. There was even no relationship between social-economic household status and the presence of a migrant household member. The explanation for this lies in the fact that migrants come from each social-economic household group and migrate with different reasons. According Schutten (2012) namely 50% of the migrants in the research areas are forced to migrate because of extreme poverty reasons, while 24.6% of the migrants goes to the city in order to improve the living conditions of their households and 25.4% of them (the better-off) departs to accumulate their already achieved prosperity.

5.8 Concluding remarks

As table 5.4 suggests, from the poorest downwards, there are households who mostly live working on the land of others or doing other activities for them (like construction and care for the livestock). The better-off households often employ the poorest households and in case of drought also the poor, who in better times also may employ the poorest. Further, the poorest households often cannot afford to pay for the health care of their children or to send them to school. There seem to exist a group of chronically poor households whose characteristics are different from all other poor rural households. Their features are: no or few livestock, very small plots of agricultural land and reliance on working for others. These households are more likely to be female-headed and have often a person with a physical handicap in their household.

Table 5.4: Characteristics of the three social-economic household groups⁽¹⁾

'Poorest'	<i>Have no (34.3%) or little land and no livestock (46.4%). Work on the land of others to survive, have a small house of bad quality (27.5%) or rent a house of others, have no or little money, have a physically handicapped household member (33.9%). Beg for their livelihood. Often sick because of lack of access to health care. Cannot send children to school. Often old people and female-headed households (44.1%).</i>
'Poor'	<i>Have little livestock (67.8%), have some land to produce enough food for their family (84.6%), but no surplus to sell in the market (64.5%). Have a decent house and small income. Not always participation in school and health care. In bad times (like droughts) working for the better-off households.</i>
'Better-off'	<i>Have a lot of livestock (82.9%), have sufficient or a lot of land (97.4%), have good income and enough money to satisfy other needs (like school fees for children), have a nice house, often have a vehicle (40.3%). Good access to health care. Commercially oriented (62.2%). Employ others to work for them. Access to paid employment.</i>

⁽¹⁾Note: The percentages within the table are the percentages of the respondents from each different household group.

In sum, it can be stated that there is a very heterogeneous rural population. There are the poor and very poor households whose livelihood significantly differs from the better-off households on virtually all livelihood assets. They score lowest in terms of human capital in the form of skills, educational attainment level, health and ability to labour. Furthermore,

their natural capital is poor in terms of limited access to land, water, fertilizers and vulnerability to droughts and soil depletion. Thirdly, they have a lack of physical assets, like secure shelter, adequate water supply or sanitation, affordable energy and access to information and transportation (because of a lack of phones, radios and bicycles). Finally, their social network is limited and they have no or few income, in contrast with the more commercially oriented better-off households, who score higher on all mentioned livelihood capitals.

Recent research of Rizzo (2011) and Howe & McKay (2007) reveals that almost all the official Rwandese surveys on poverty and employment significantly fail to notice the significance of socio-economic differences among rural households. The rural population in the research areas is too varied to use it as a homogenous target group in government policies, called 'small-scale subsistence farmers'. There are the poor and very poor who cultivate self-subsistent or work for others and there are the less poor who are more commercially oriented. In line with recent research of Rizzo (2011), it can be stated that the rural population in the research areas is too varied to use it as one homogenous target group in government policies, called 'small-scale subsistence farmers'.

Finally, from the statistical tests in this chapter it appears that there exist many significant differences between the in section 4.4 designed social-economic household categories. Consequently, the made distinction is meaningful and the categories can be used for further analysis of the impacts of rural-urban migration in the next two analytical chapters.

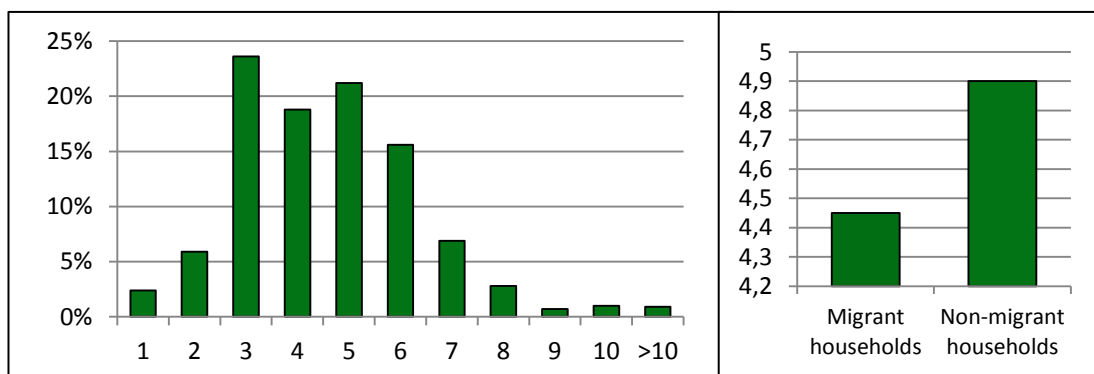
Chapter 6: Loss of labour forces and replacement

Rural-urban migration is inextricably linked to the loss of labour forces in the rural area of origin. This loss can have disturbing impacts on rural migrant households in different ways. According to the theory, the extent to which this loss affects the rural migrant households is dependent on different factors, like family structure, the duration of the migration, the migrant characteristics and the relationship between migrant and rural migrant household. This chapter elaborates on the impact of this loss of labour forces on rural migrant households in the surroundings of Kigali. Firstly, the consequences of the loss of labour forces on family structure and gender-age balance will be discussed. Secondly, the effects on work load of the remaining household members and task divisions will be analysed. Furthermore, there will be some attention given to the effects of rural-urban migration on agricultural production. In addition to this, the perceptions of the migrant households on negative changes of migration will be displayed and social effects will be discussed. Finally, the largest part of this chapter will focus on the way in which migrant households replace the departed household member, including the related effects on the rural labour market.

6.1 Household size and family structure

Descriptive data analysis shows that 79.2% of all rural households in the research areas consist of three to six household members (Fig. 6.1). There is no significant difference between households of different social-economic class in terms of household size. However, comparison between households with and without migrants displays a different picture. When children of a particular household in a rural area migrate to urban areas, in this case Kigali, it reduces the household size in the rural areas. And if the migrant from the rural joins a household in the city, it increases the household sizes in the city, or, if the migrant lives by themselves by performing a single person or non-familial household, it increases the number of non-familial households in the urban area. The latter is beyond the

Fig. 6.1: Household size distribution of all rural households and average household size of migrant households and non-migrant households



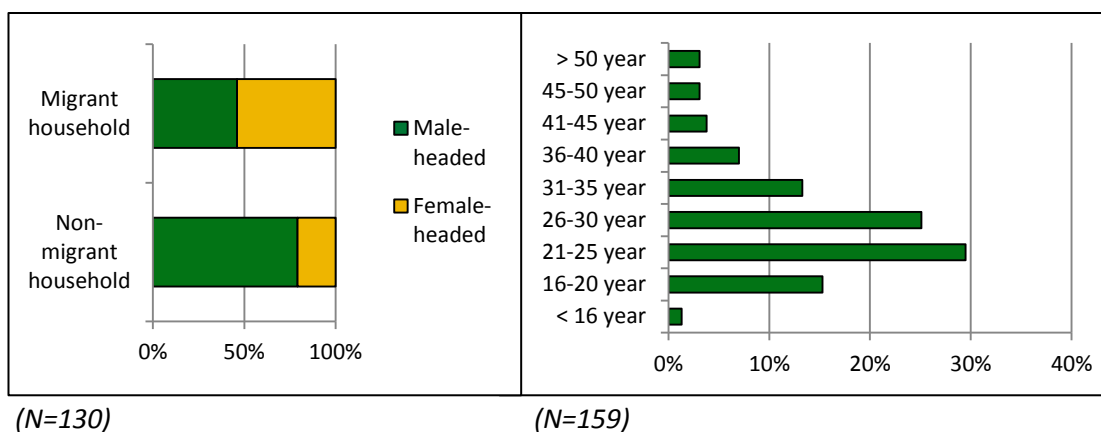
(N=260)

research topic, but the first assertion is confirmed by the analysis of the collected data. Migrant households have significantly smaller households than non-migrant households²⁷ (second diagram in Fig. 6.1).

Migration of household heads or their wives from rural areas to Kigali results not only in a smaller household size, but also in a change in family structure. Many migrant families become single-parent families, mainly female-headed. There namely exist a positive significant relation between migrant households and the occurrence of female-headship.²⁸ This correlation is shown in Fig. 6.2 and confirmed by a significance correlation between the sex of the respondents (heads of the households) and the presence of migrant household members²⁹. Like mentioned in the previous chapter, female-headed households are significantly more often poor than male headed-households, primarily as a result of the lack of husband support and the burden of fulfilling agricultural tasks besides household tasks.

Fig. 6.2: Relationship between migrant households and female-headship

Fig. 6.3: Age distribution of the migrants



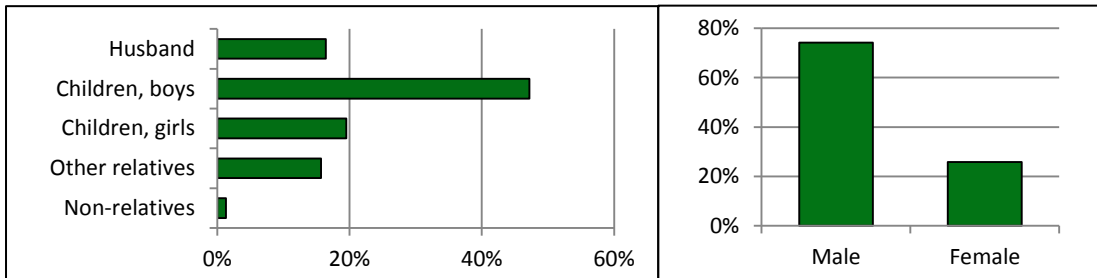
One of the most obvious effects of the interactions between rural and urban areas in Rwanda is the demographic impact of rural-urban migration on rural areas. The vast majority of migrants are men of working age: 82.6% of all migrants is between 16 and 35 years old (Fig. 6.3) and 74.2% is male (Fig. 6.4). These young, male migrants consist for 47.2% of sons and for 16.4% of male household heads. A situation where the mother of the rural household migrates and the father left behind was not found. The 25% female migrants consist of employment-seeking daughters or female persons from the category 'other relatives', like nieces and aunts (Fig. 6.4).

²⁷ Man-Whitney test results in a Mann-Whitney U of 6933.00 and a confidence level of 99%.

²⁸ Chi-square test results in a Pearson Chi-square of 32.608, a confidence level of 99% and a Phi correlation coefficient of 0.354.

²⁹ Chi-square test results in a Pearson Chi-square of 25.012, a confidence level of 99% and a Phi correlation coefficient of 0.310.

Fig. 6.4: Relationship to the head of the rural migrant household and sex of the migrants

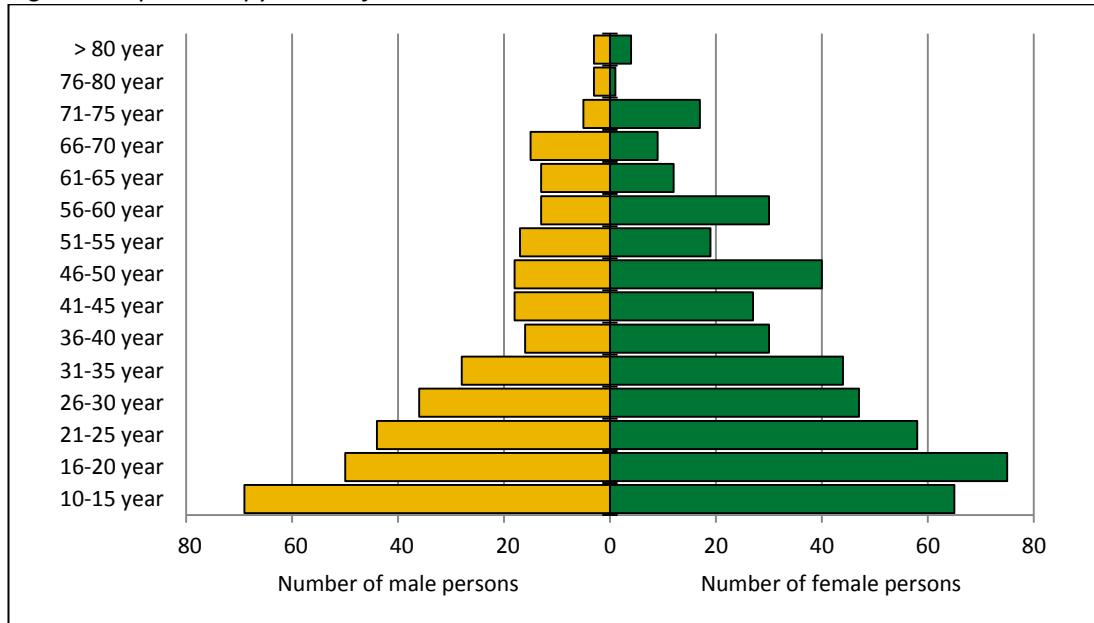


(N=159)

The above is underlined by a significant difference between migrant and non-migrant households in terms of mean age of the household members. Households with migrants have a significantly higher mean age than households without migrants.³⁰ This can be explained by the lack of the migrated, middle-aged household members.

As a result of the great majority of male migrants of working age, the rural area of origin is left with a demographically unbalanced population of women, younger children and older people. The data from the questionnaire shows that the densely populated areas of Ngoma, Nyagasambu, Rubona and Gakamba have experienced a considerable migration of men, resulting in a majority of women in the working ages. This is clearly visible in the population pyramid of the research areas showed in Fig. 6.5. The sex ratio (proportion of men in comparison with the proportion of women, multiplied by 100) for the ten to fifteen

Fig. 6.5: Population pyramid of the research areas



(N= 795)

³⁰ Mann-Whitney test results in a Mann-Whitney U of 6446.500 and a confidence of 99%.

age-group is 105.8, but for ages sixteen to fifty it decreases to 64.4, demonstrating a large surplus of females. Because of time reasons during the fieldwork there was decided to propose questions about household members only to persons older than 10 years old, resulting in a missing age category in Fig. 6.5.

6.2 Work load and task divisions

The vast majority of all migrant households experienced increased workload as a result of the migration of household member(s). This is surprising because in areas with high population density like rural Rwanda, the outmigration of people is expected to result in relief in terms of less underemployment. However, more than 50% of all respondents from migrant households indicated to have 'higher workload' after migration and 6.2% even said to experience 'much more workload' (Fig. 6.6). Furthermore, 40.8% turned out to have 'no changes in workload', while only 1.6% of the migrant households indicated to have 'less' or 'much less' work load as a result of migration. Generally, it can truly be stated that migration mostly results in increasing workload for the remaining household members.

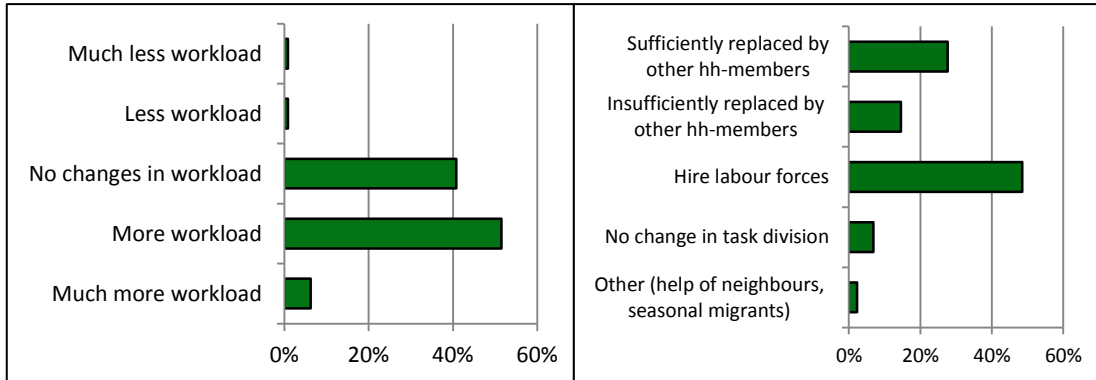
Respondents from households with a high social economic class indicated significantly more often than the poorest migrant households that migration of a household member resulted in more workload.³¹ During in-depth interviews, it appeared that the poorest migrant households often choose for migration because they have no other choice. They are forced by extreme poverty conditions and decide to send a household member to Kigali in order to survive, in contrast with better-off households who more often migrate deliberately in order to accumulate their already achieved wealth. As a result, the poorest households get involved in migration, even when there are no sufficient remaining labour forces in the household to perform all household and agricultural tasks. To illustrate this, a 44-year old migrant wife in Gakamba told:

“Three years ago, my man decided to migrate to Kigali. He is the head of the household and I had to agree. His migration namely was necessary for the survival of our family. He went by bus to Kigali. It was difficult for me to see him leaving, but I had no choice. Migration was our strategy to survive. We sacrifice ourselves in order to feed our children and reduce food problems.”

From, stories like this it appears that in the case of the migration of a husband, migration often results in extremely difficult situations for remaining female household-heads. In the case of a two-parent family, the departed son or daughter mostly can be replaced by the household head, brothers or sisters. The latter type of migrant households is discernible in Fig. 6.7 as the category 'sufficiently replaced by other household members'.

³¹ Chi-Square test results in a Pearson Chi-Square of 9.446, a confidence level of 95% and a Cramer's V of 0.191.

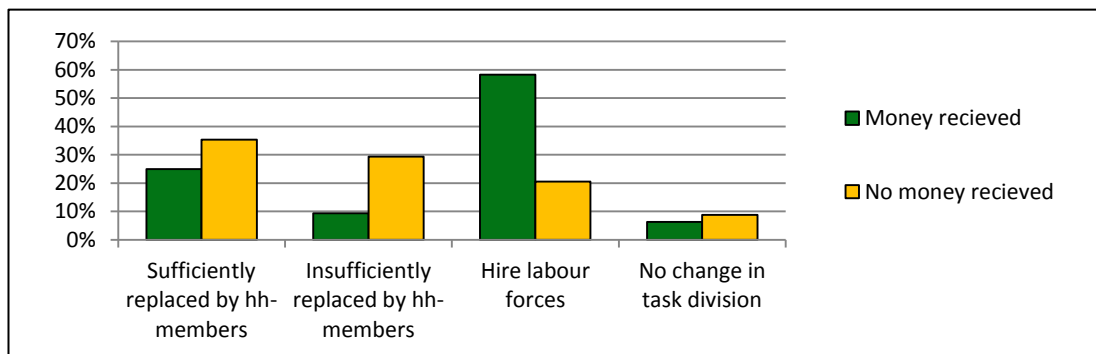
Fig. 6.6: Effects of outmigration on work load Fig. 6.7: Replacement of the migrant(s) remaining household members



(N=130)

The fact that 57.7% of all migrant households experienced an increase in work load is reflected in their answers on questions about replacement of the departed household member(s). Only 27.7% reported sufficient replacement and 6.9% indicated to have no change in task division within the household, while 48.5% of the migrant households is forced to hire labour forces and 14.6% indicated that the migrant is insufficiently replaced (Fig. 6.7). Thus, almost 65% of the migrant households were faced with labour shortages and the greatest part of them tries to fill these shortages by hiring labour. When migrant households receive money from relative(s) in the city, they can use this money to hire these labour forces. As shown in Fig. 6.8, there namely exist a significant relationship between the receiving of migrant money and the replacement type of the migrant households.³² Money-receiving households replace the migrant almost three times more often by hiring labourers (58.3%) than households who don't receive money (20.6%). At the same time, households who do not receive any money from the departed household member indicated three times more often insufficient replacement (29.4%) than money-receiving households (9.4%) (Fig. 6.8).

Fig. 6.8: Relationship between the receipt of money and replacement type



(N=130)

³² Chi-Square test results in a Pearson Chi-Square of 18.029, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's V of 0.372.

Also the earlier mentioned outcome that households with a low social-economic class experienced a higher increase in work load than households with a high social-economic class, is reflected by the replacement of the migrant(s). There namely exist a positive, significant relationship between social-economic household class and type of replacement.³³ Households from the poorest household group indicated almost six times more often 'insufficient replacement' (33.3%) than better-off households (5.4%), while 64.9% of the latter group hire labour forces, in contrast with 26.7% of the poorest household group. This finding is in line with the earlier mentioned outcome that better-off households mostly employ the poorer households. As will be discussed in chapter 7, they receive more money from the migrant(s) and have significantly more income than households with a lower social-economic class (chapter 5), which can be used to hire labourers. In contrast, the poorest households have insufficient or even no money to hire labourers and have less of a buffer to absorb the labour gap and increasing tasks. So, a 49-year old man in Ngoma told:

"Since my son departed to Kigali, I actually need labourers to perform agricultural tasks sufficiently. However, I don't have the money to pay the labourers. My son sends very little money and besides that, I have no income. Moreover, our four little goats were eaten by snakes a few weeks ago. I have to work very hard during agricultural seasons and am often tired."

6.3 Agricultural production

Strongly linked with the different ways of replacement, better-off households experience significantly more often an increase in agricultural production, as a result of migration, than poorer households.³⁴ So, 70% of the poorest households indicated to have experienced a decrease (or a 'strong decrease') in agricultural production after migration, in contrast with 16.2% of households from better-off household group (Fig. 6.9). The explanation for this relationship again can be found in the fact that better-off households have higher household income and get more often money from the migrant household member, which can be used to hire labourers and to buy seeds, unnatural fertilizers or livestock to produce natural fertilizers.

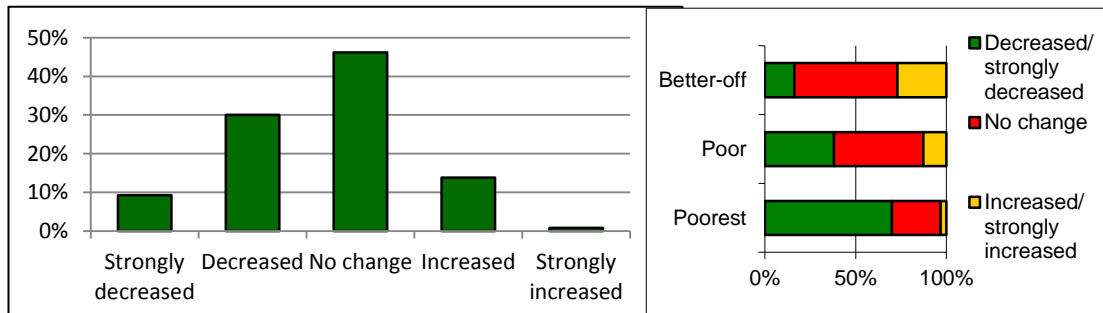
Like earlier mentioned, the rural-urban labour division mostly results in increasing agricultural tasks for women besides their usual household tasks. As a consequence, these migrant wives have less opportunities to access the rural labour market to find alternative income sources and are often unable to fulfil all tasks sufficiently. More than 39% of all interviewees said that there was a decrease in agricultural production after the migration of the household member (Fig. 6.9). The category 'no change' (46.2%) mainly exist of

³³ Chi-Square test results in a Pearson Chi-Square of 18.788, a confidence level of 95% and a Cramer's V of 0.269.

³⁴ Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-Square of 21.412 and a confidence level of 99%.

households of which daughters, and to a significantly lesser extent sons³⁵, migrated to Kigali. They can often easily be replaced by other household members. A second reason why migrant households do not experience any change in agricultural production is laid in the fact that 14.6% of the migrants returns during one of the agricultural seasons and 21% of the migrants during both agricultural seasons.

Fig. 6.9: Change in agricultural production in general and per social-economic household group after the migration of household member(s)



(N=130)

Further, several households indicated that the decline in agricultural production was only temporary, because the migrant first had to settle and to find a job in Kigali before he or she could send any money to the rural household. For some money-receiving migrant households this money can compensate the negative impact of the loss of labour, but for others the amount money is too little for sufficient replacement. So, a 44-year old migrant wife in Gakamba told:

“After the departure of my man, the agricultural production decreased strongly. I namely, have to perform all household tasks and take care of the children, besides cultivating the land. I have to divide the money received from my man for the different purposes, like the improvement of our poor house, buying seeds and hiring labourers. However, the money is few. The land I own is fertile, but I have no money to buy fertilizers and we don’t have a cow which produces natural fertilizers. I would like to hire many workers, but I have not enough money. That’s why I am often working for my neighbours in order to earn some money.”

6.4 Overall negative impact and social effects

Although 57.7% of all migrant households reported more workload after the migration of the household member(s), only 15.4% gave it as ‘most important negative change’ (Fig. 6.10). Many more migrant households (33.8%) experience feelings of loneliness and loss as most important negative impact of migration. Almost all respondents from migrant households indicated during the elaborating in-depth interviews that they miss their son, daughter or husband very much. Most households considered these feelings as normal and

³⁵ Chi-Square test on the relationship between sex of the migrant and decrease in agricultural production and results in a Chi-Square of 9.979, a confidence level of 95% and a Cramer’s V of 0.277.

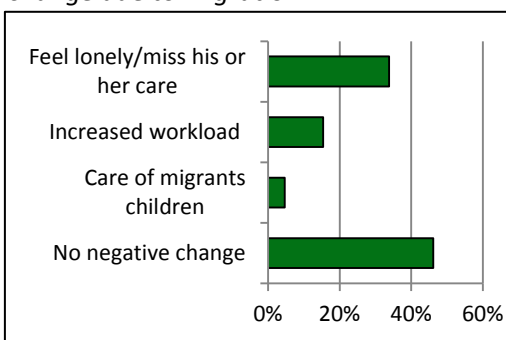
understandable, but there were also some households where the lack of a household member have negative consequences on the remaining family members. Especially in the case of the migration of the head of the household, feelings of loneliness or abandonment appeared to have major impact on psychological and even physical well-being of the remaining household members. So, a 38-year old women in Rubona told:

“Sometimes I call my husband with the phone that he brought me. I pay the MTN airtime to call him with money earned by selling some bananas. However, the available airtime is very short. I feel often very lonely. I only have my neighbours and my two little children. Besides them, I have no friends. (After deep questioning the same women revealed:) Often, I escape these feelings of loneliness by drinking banana beer. As a result, I am often drunk in the evening. It is a secret. I feel so very lonely and unlucky. Life is a daily struggle and I don’t see any bright future.”

Also several children of migrants indicated to have feelings of loneliness and sadness, resulting in a poor motivation to attend school. So, a 71-year old grandmother in Nyagasambu told:

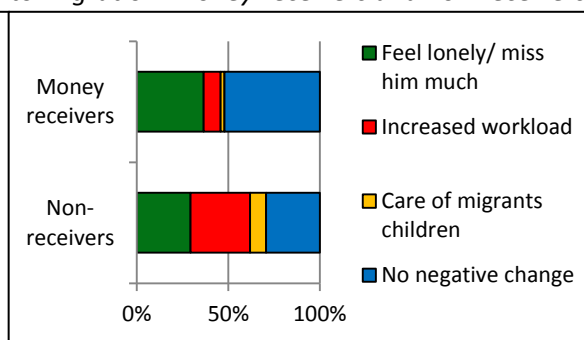
“My granddaughter is often crying. She misses her mummy and wants to see her. I often have to explain that her mother is in the city in order to help us to survive. Every day, I stimulate her to do her best in school.”

Fig. 6.10: Most important negative change due to migration



(N=130)

Fig. 6.11: Most important negative change due to migration: money-receivers and non-receivers



(N=130)

Additionally, there exist a significant relationship between the receipt of money from the migrant and the view of households on the most important negative change.³⁶ So migrant households who don’t receive any money from the migrant indicate significantly more often to experience increased workload than recipient-households, who more often consider loneliness as most important negative change or don’t see any negative change (Fig. 6.11).

³⁶ Chi-Square test results in a Pearson Chi-Square of 20.160, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer’s V of 0.394.

Almost 75% of the interviewed household heads indicated that there were no changes in the relationships within the household. They told to be very proud on their migrated husband, son or daughter, especially when they receive money, and they indicated to consider the migrated household member still as full member of the household, showing by calling every week. Some respondents from migrant households who became wealthier as a result of migration even told that the relations within the household improved. So, a 63-year old migrant father told:

“Before the migration there were sometimes conflicts. We were struggling for basic needs. As a result I drunk a lot of beer. My wife didn’t like that, because it resulted in less love and support. My wife felt abandoned in that period. But since my son has migrated everything is better. We miss him very much and we need him with us, because he is our son. But luckily, we can call him and he visits us every week.”

On the other hand, 20% of the interviewed households heads told that the relationship between the migrated household member and the remaining family is deteriorated or even terminated, because of the lack of any contact. This was particularly the case when the migrant had left without permission of the other household members or as a result of drug addiction or alcoholism. Finally, 4.6% of all respondents from migrant households told that their migrated daughters used their former home as childcare to bring their children (Fig. 6.10). So, a 53-year old migrant father in Rubona told:

“We consider our daughter as a burden to our family, even after her migration. We have to raise her two bastard children. Each time when she gives birth, she brings her child to be raised by my wife, the grandmother. There is nothing we can do, because she simply leaves her children here.”

6.5 Replacement: Migration stimulates a lively market for rural wage labour

The above showed a substantial migration of men, leaving a large predominance of women in the prime working ages. This process has, like earlier mentioned, significant impact on the rural economy of the investigated areas in terms of changes in the gender division of labour. Departed household members are sometimes not replaced, but usually replaced with the labour of others, mainly wives or children, or by hired labour forces. This subsection focuses on the latter type of replacement and explores the functioning of hiring migrant households and hired labourers in the rural market for wage labour.

6.5.1 Necessity and origin of the hired labourers

During elaborating in-depth interviews with rural households it appeared that the departure of able-bodied men to Kigali has a fostering impact on the liveliness of the market for rural wage labour in the research areas. As shown in Fig. 6.8, 48.5% of the visited migrant households replace the departed household member(s) by hired labour forces. During the interviews all the respondents of households that hire labourers told that they have no other choice. The hired labourers are necessary to replace the departed

labour forces and without the hired workers the agricultural production of the migrant households would decrease. All the respondents of hiring migrant households told that hired labour was the only possibility for them to maintain the same agricultural production. For instance, a 63 year migrant father from a better-off household in Gakamba told:

“Before our son went to Kigali, he had tasks in our household, such as caring for our cows and goats. He also cultivated our land. He was very important for our household. Before and during the farming seasons we always have to cultivate our land very quickly in order to be ready before the end of the seasons. In that period there is a lot of work to do. Because the lack of the support of our son and our relatively high age, we need young and strong labour forces who support us. The only choice we have is to hire labourers”.

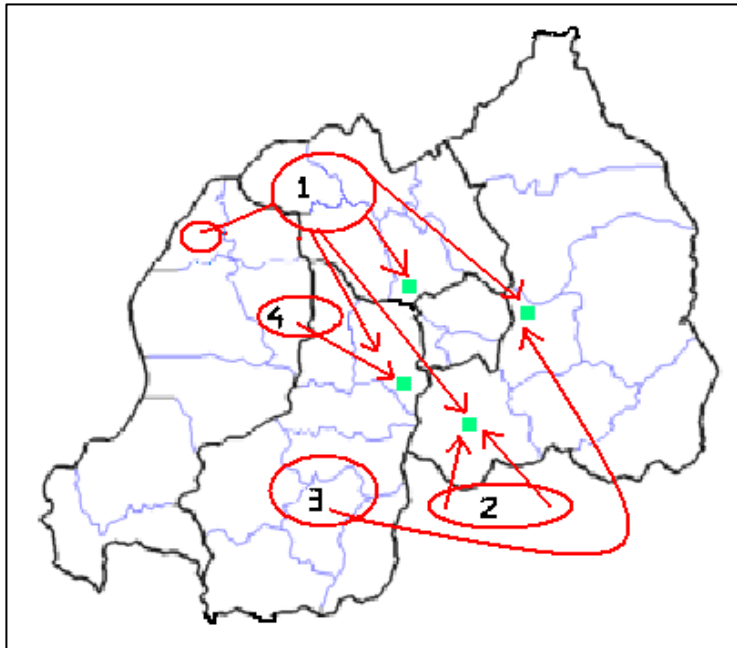
Although the origin of the hired labourers varies by the four research areas, in all the research areas the majority of the hired labourers originally come from Northern Province, especially from districts such as Musanze, Burera, Gakenke and Rubavu (‘1’ in Box 6.1). According the respondents, this can be explained by the high population pressure in this region. The population density is very high in Northern Rwanda and many people have a lack of land. The population density in Northern Province was 501/km² in 2009. That is particularly high in comparison with for instance a population density of 218.2/km² in Eastern Province in the same year (MINALOC, 2010). Especially in Gakamba and Rubona, the most hired labourers come from Northern Province. Further, many hired labourers in

Box 6.1: Hired labour family from Northern Province in Gakamba

“We originally come from Musanze District in Northern Province. We arrived here in 2007, so live for 5 years in Gakamba now. We came to this region to search for employment opportunities, but the most important reason was the lack of land in our area of origin. We got a land shortage as a result of government decisions. We had our own land, but in 1998 the government decided to allocate our land to tea plantations. As a result we had no land anymore in a region where land is very scarce. I, as head of the household, searched intensively for employment in that period. Sometimes I found a part-time job in construction or agriculture. However, that employment was not sufficient, because I had to feed my 5 children and my wife. It was a very insecure life. Finally, the food shortage and the lack of land and a proper job pushed us to leave Northern Province.

Fortunately, we heard from family members who already lived in Gakamba about the high number of jobs in agriculture in this area. They told us that there would be very many families who needed hired labourers. And yes, they were right. I found a job in construction in Mayange and my wife is since 4 years hired in agriculture. After 8 months, we bought a small plot with the little money we earned. On this plot we built this house of mud. When there is the opportunity we will shift immediately and buy a plot of land to cultivate our own food.”

Map 6.1: Areas of origin of the hired labourers in the research areas



Gakamba originally come from Northern provinces of Burundi, like Kirundo, Muyinga and Ngozi ('2' in Box 6.1). According respondents in Gakamba, labourers from Northern Burundi often come by foot because of poverty reasons, mainly food shortages. Additionally, in Nyagasambu also the greatest part of the hired labourers come from Northern Province, besides a small group that come from Southern Province as a result of the low labour

prices in that region ('3' in Box 6.1). Finally in Ngoma, a large amount of casual workers comes from others districts in Southern Province, but the majority comes from districts west of Kamonyi District, like Muhanga and even Ngororero in Western Province ('4' in Box 6.2). In general can be stated that hired labourers come from regions with land shortages or low labour prices. Map 6.1 gives a quick overview of the mentioned areas of origin of the casual labourers in the different research areas.

6.5.2 Characteristics of the hired labourers

There exist three different groups of hired labourers in the research areas. The first group consists of young men and to a lesser extent young woman aged between 18 and 45 year, who only come during the agricultural seasons to find employment in the land-rich areas and earn money in order to support their rural household of origin. This type of labourers mostly return to their place of living after the agricultural seasons, when the employment opportunities become less. The second type of hired labourers consists of men or women who in the past migrated with their whole family and found a place of living in the destination area. This group can be seen as being in a more advanced stage of rural-rural migration, because most of these families initially were only involved in seasonal migration. However, as soon as they got the chance to hire or to build a house in the employment-rich destination area they have settled down. The last and most conventional group of labourers contains members of poor and often landless households who originally are living in the same region as the hirers. During the interviews it became clear that there exist a really lively labour market in rural areas around Kigali. The poor, especially those who have no land, want to perform labour for better-of households in their neighbourhood in order to survive. In general, hired labourers are poorly-educated people who are classified in the lowest social-economic category.

6.5.3 Price competition and vulnerability

Often respondents from hiring migrant households got questions about the way in which they find their hired labourers during agricultural seasons. Their answers vary per research area because of different soils and land use. In for instance Gakamba the most households have a relatively large plot of agricultural land to cultivate. Consequently, in this region the demand for hired labour is high in comparison with the other research areas. So, households in Nyagasambu generally have small land plots to cultivate and seem to be more active in small trading activities, resulting in a much lower demand for casual workers. Households in Nyagasambu are able to perform the agricultural tasks by themselves and many poor are struggling in finding part-time jobs. However, in recent years there is an increase in construction activities in Nyagasambu resulting in a growing number of part-time jobs in construction and an increasing demand for hired labour. According different respondents, this increase in construction activities is mainly caused by migration flows from Kigali, consisting of households who are forced to leave the city because of modern land allocation strategies of the Rwandan government. Besides the settling of this relatively poor household group, there is a small number of rich and successful households who migrated from Kigali to Nyagasambu in order to build luxury houses, attracted by the low rural prices and investment opportunities. Finally, in hilly Rubona there are, besides little employment opportunities in agriculture, sugar cane plantations and wolfram and tin mining sites which attract landless, poor people from Northern Province and Districts located southern of Rubona, like Kamonyi District. The above differences between the different rural research cells are confirmed by a statistical relationship between the type of rural cell and most important occupations of the population.³⁷ So, in Gakamba 89.6% of the population consider farming as most important occupation, in contrast with 76.1% in Nyagasambu (and 83.6% and 88.3% in Ngoma and Rubona). At the same time, 12.7% of the persons in Nyagasambu above the 10 year have their most important occupation in trade and services, in contrast with a maximum of 2.6% in the other research areas. Moreover, almost 5% of the population in Nyagasambu is unemployed, while in other cells less than 2% indicate to have no occupation.

All respondents who were engaged in hired labour highlighted their vulnerability to the seasonal character of the employment opportunities. The demand for casual workers unfortunately is at its lowest when labourers' need to jobs is at its highest. Outside the agricultural season, during the periods in which small farmers quickly consume their own poor food surplus, it is also the period in which food prices increase and the demand of hiring households for casual workers decreases. Because of this, part-time jobs in the rural non-agricultural economy like construction and mining can play a significant role in complementing casual workers' income from agricultural activities in the off-farm season.

³⁷ Chi-Square test results in a Pearson Chi-Square of 34.605, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's of 0.200.

In order to find work casual workers have to look around for employment intensively. They mostly come along the households in order to ask for jobs in agriculture or construction. Both male and female casual workers are often depressingly affected by the disparity between the scarcity of work that is available and the abundant number of poor people who are seeking for jobs. Casual workers time and again emphasised that they have to spend a lot of time, resources and energy for seeking employment. Finding an employer is often very difficult, even after migrating. Most hired labourers highlighted the insecurity of their life, like a 34 year old man in Nyagasambu who said:

“We, hired labourers, are like birds, because we mostly don’t know in which tree we will land. It is a daily struggle to find employment and food. My life is insecure.”

Some of them suggested that the reason of their daily struggle is their lack of proper education and skills, which pushes them into unschooled and uncomplicated work of which there is too little for too many. Namely, many hired labourers are school leavers and a considerable part of them didn’t even complete primary school. So, a 58-year old female casual worker in Rubona told:

“I’d wish that local authorities support and stimulate young people to perform their educational activities sufficiently. They have to prevent them of dropping out from school, because we see the consequences of school leaving. We are the victims of the attractiveness of various activities in this region, like sugarcane production, mining of wolfram and tin. These types of activities make young people thirsty for earning money and often lead to school leaving. Many didn’t even finish primary school. It is up to the government to take measurements to prevent this.”

However, in Gakamba the situation turned out to be different. Respondents from hiring migrant families told there is a lot of price competition among households who search for casual workers. Because of the high amount of households with relatively large land, there is a lot of demand for hired labourers during the agricultural seasons. Casual workers are scarce in comparison with the other research areas, resulting in high competition between migrant households of different social-economic status, who all want to hire workers in agriculture. As a result, the prices increase and poor migrant households are struggling to find workers. The higher the price hiring families are willing to pay for labour, the more attractive they are for casual workers, again indicating a very energetic and well-functioning rural market for wage labour, despite the informal nature, illustrated in Box 6.2.

Box 6.2: A 56-year old migrant father in Gakamba tells about price negotiation with labourers

“To attract the hired labourers we have to offer high prices. The normal price we pay is 1000 RWF per day. That is the workers’ salary for agricultural activities from 7 a.m. until noon. I am able to find workers, because they mostly come to look around for jobs at the households in this cell. Sometimes I also have to go and ask for them at their hired houses. The amount of money we pay them is dependent on the period in which we hire. Outside the agricultural season we only pay them 500 RWF per morning; the half of the amount we pay during agricultural seasons. To agree on the salary I have to bargain with the labourers. For instance, I say: ‘This is my land and I offer 500 RWF per day’. The labourer in his turn says: ‘I want to get 1000 RWF per day for my activities’. Then, I do a second offer. In this way we come to a verbal agreement.”

6.5.4 Different wage rates and conflicts

The surplus of unskilled labourers in three of the four research areas is fundamental to comprehend the uneven power balance between hirers and workers. In the wage negotiating process hirers often have the choice between many poor people who need employment. As a consequence, they mostly play workers off against each other. Surprisingly, all the interviewed household heads who were hired in labour did complain about cheating hirers, mainly not keeping agreements. Hirers for instance may give less salary than agreed or they may be unfairly unsatisfied with the performed tasks of the workers. Because of the earlier mentioned informal character of labour contracts, they can do this without any punitive consequences. So a 34 year old man in Nyagasambu told:

“It happens often that hiring families cheat us. They say we didn’t perform our tasks sufficiently, while we worked very hard and precise. Further they often don’t pay the agreed amount of money, but much less. For instance, three months ago I worked in construction for 1000 RWF per day. However after ten days work the employer paid me only 3000 RWF. Many hirers exploit us and there is nothing we can do. There are no rights, because there are no official contracts. As a result, there are no evidences for dishonest behavior.”

All respondents who were hired by others appeared to have bad relationships with their employers. They highlighted the negative consequences of the competition among casual workers, like low wages, exploitation and deception. All of them told they have to suffer from the price competition and often have feelings of grudge towards the hirers. All interviewed casual workers labeled themselves as extremely vulnerable people without rights.

However, at the same time all interviewed hiring migrant families told about the risk of dishonest conduct of the hired labourers. It is obvious that there is a situation of mutual distrust between hirers and hired labourers in all research areas. Literally, all respondents from hiring migrant families namely told that hired labourers never work without their supervision, because of possible theft, improper task performance or unannounced

departure to hirers who offer higher salaries. So, a 54 years old migrant mother in Rubona told:

“We always work together on the land with the hired labourers. In this way we can observe them when they perform their tasks. Fortunately, we normally have no conflicts with them, because we always make clear appointments with them and pay them well. However, sometimes there are still conflicts. For instance, we paid a male worker before the start of his activities last year. The next day he suddenly disappeared, without working on our land, because he went to another household who offered him 300 RWF more. There regrettably is mostly no relation of trust between the labourers and us. We hear of many cases of theft in this neighbourhood and we’ll always feel a sense of mistrust.”

Illustration 6.1: Women from a rich migrant family working together with casual workers



In Gakamba the circumstances are different again because of the earlier mentioned scarcity of casual workers and the abundance of agricultural land. Contrasting to the competition among hired labourers in the other research areas, in Gakamba the rivalry mainly exists between hiring (often migrant-) households, especially between poor and better-off households. Rich households generally hire more labourers and offer higher salaries than poor households, to the detriment of the latter group. As a result, there are often conflicts between households of different social-economic status. For instance a 44 years old wife of a migrant in Gakamba told:

“In this region poor households hate rich households, because of the strong price competition. Rich households hire more labourers, because they have more money. They offer the highest salaries. I am always glad when I find somebody to work for me, however often when I just have an agreement with a worker the rich come and take the worker away, because they offer a higher price. They offer 1200 RWF per day, while I am not able to offer more than 800 RWF per day. As a result I often have to search for new labourers. That is a problem for me, because I am poor and the money send by my husband from Kigali is not sufficient.”

Because of the competition between hiring households and the scarcity of the casual workers in Gakamba, the latter group determines the labour prices, which results in relatively high wages.

The salary casual workers get for their performed tasks mainly depends on the type of work. So, construction work is more profitable than work in agriculture. Especially part-time jobs in Rubona’s sugar cane plantations and neighbouring mining sites are attractive, because of the relatively high earnings. Table 6.1 is composed on basis of in-depth

interviews with rural households and illustrates the mentioned heterogeneity of wage rates and types of payment in the different research areas. The table shows the range of payments for the same type of work: the highest salary is in some cases twice as much as the lowest salary.

Table 6.1: Heterogeneity of wage rates and types of payment in the research areas

Type of activities	Location	Payment	Type of payment	Other information
Work in agriculture for better-off farmers	Mainly in Gakamba To a lesser extent in: Nyagasambu Rubona Ngoma	800-1400 RWF 500-900 RWF 500-800 RWF 700-1000 RWF <i>(during agricultural seasons)</i>	Daily: work from 7 a.m. to noon	In the afternoon labourers mostly work for food. It depends on the arrangement and the needs of the labourers. Female workers' salaries often are about 200 RWF lower.
Sugar cane plantations	Rubona	40 RWF	Per heap	A hard working man produces 50 heaps of sugar cane per day resulting in a daily salary of 2000 RWF.
Loading/unloading trucks (sugar cane or mining activities and agricultural yield)	Rubona Nyagasambu	1 RWF 1500-2000 RWF	Per kilo Daily	This type of work is often only available for employees of the concerning enterprise.
Construction work	Mainly Nyagasambu (in general: in urbanizing villages and areas nearby Kigali, like Mayange and Kamonyi)	Mason: 2500 RWF Assistant Mason: 1000 RWF	Daily (or on task basis)	Payment depends on employer, type of house and construction area.

6.5.5 Discrimination in terms of gender and age

The wide range of wage rates is partially the result of economic market functioning in terms of different supply and demand in different areas and the type of work, but has also to do with the mentioned unequal power relations between hirers and casual workers. This uneven power balance not only exists because of the hirers who set the daily salaries, but also because of age or gender discrimination. During the interviews often one of the profound questions was about the causes of the differences in earnings for the same agricultural activities. Most respondents explained that the judgment of the hiring migrant families about the fitness of the labourer plays a significant role. The weaker a labourer is the less worthy or attractive he or she is for the employer. This leads to disadvantage for older or less able-bodied people and an increasing unbalance of the power relation between hirers and casual workers. Besides the underprivileged position of older people, the position of women in the rural

Illustration 6.1: The women from Box 6.3



labour market is of particular concern. Several respondents indicated that female workers often get lower salaries for their activities than male workers and experience difficulties in finding better-paid jobs. Women's access to better-paid jobs, which are often reachable by seasonal migration, is for instance limited because of the earlier mentioned mother duties in their households, besides their agricultural tasks. Migration can in this way constrain the ability of the remaining household members to diversify their income-generating activities thus offsetting some of the income gain from resource-transfers. Finally, Box 6.3 gives an illustration of the struggles of many old or female workers in rural areas.

Box 6.3: Story of a 78-years old woman in Nyagasambu

"I live totally alone in my house, together with my grandson. I am often hired in agriculture. I have no other choice, because I don't possess any land. I cultivate for others in order to survive. Often, I have to walk a lot and look around intensively in order to find work. There is a lot of insecurity for me, because the jobs are not permanent. Sometimes I have no job, especially outside the agricultural season. There is not much land in this neighbourhood and outside agricultural seasons there are few households asking for labourers. Moreover, I am very old and people consider me as weak and unable. As a result, I am not attractive and my opportunities are very bad. Sometimes, the hirers also may prefer labourers from Northern Province above poor people in this region, because they charge low prices. Namely, if they come they may also work for food for their children, and neighbours mainly work for money.

I live in sorrow and pain. My seven children have been died during the genocide in 1994 and it hurts me so much that I can't find a job, while others around me find good jobs. I feel so very lonely! Sometimes, I have a lack of food, which pushes me to beg my neighbours. And yes, sometimes they give me some food. But often they have nothing for me. It is shameful for me to beg always them. I live in extremely difficult conditions. Moreover, sometimes I feel sick and lack the energy to search for food and labour. Sometimes there are even conflicts, because there are hirers who cheat me. They ask me to come back after the agricultural activities, because they find that I didn't perform my tasks sufficiently. Every day is a struggle to survive. I need to work with my old body, because I need food, like everybody."

6.5.6 Accommodation and payment

Many rural households have a second little house besides their own house, mostly at the same plot. This is a benefit for those who want to hire workers, because the house can be offered to the hired family in exchange for cultivating for free. After performing agreed tasks on their land, the workers are allowed to search for work elsewhere. Besides moving into the second houses of hiring households, many families who are involved in hired labour live near the hiring households in houses which they hire from people who are living in Kigali and often have been migrated to Kigali. After the agricultural seasons most seasonal labourers return to their families in their area of origin, but there are also families who decide to stay in the destination area and let their whole family of origin migrate to the concerning area.

Most interviewed migrant families that hire workers pay the hired workers with money earned by selling agricultural yield or livestock. Additionally, according the results from the rural household survey, 37.8% of the migrant households also use money received from the migrant household member(s) in the city. This is confirmed by the in-depth interviews with migrant households. So, a 63 years old migrant father in Gakamba told:

“We pay the workers by the money from our son, but also from selling surpluses of cassava, sorghum and beans on the market in Mayange”.

Moreover, every respondent from hiring migrant households mentioned the possibility to pay in food for workers’ activities in the afternoon. In the afternoon casual workers can choose between working for food like beans, cassava or maize or for the half of the money what they earned in the morning.

6.5.7 Concluding remarks

In conclusion, as a result of the great majority of male migrants of working age, the rural area of origin is left with a demographically unbalanced population of women, younger children and older people. The departure of labour forces leads to smaller families and often to female-headship. This results in increasing workload in most of the sending households, especially the female-headed and the poorest households. On the basis of their social-economic status migrant households can roughly be divided into two different groups. The first group consist of poor migrant households who often get no money from the migrant in Kigali. They have no or few financial and physical capital in the form of income, land and livestock to absorb the lack of labour forces. Their competitiveness on the labour market is poor, because they cannot afford to offer high labour prices to casual workers. As a result they experience increased workload, because of insufficient replacement and are often forced to work for others. The second group consist of better-off households who often get money from the migrant. They have a large buffer in the form of income, livestock and land to offset the negative effects of the migration of a household member. They can hire labourers easily by offering the highest prices.

According Rizzo (2011), the great bulk of national surveys on poverty and employment in Rwanda shows an image of the working population in rural Rwanda as mostly consisting of people who are engaged in self-employment and/or family labour. For instance the second Household Living Conditions Survey from 2005-2006 shows that the majority of the workforce consists of 45% family labour and apprentices and for 40% of people working on their own-account, without employees. All official statistics in Rwanda present a similar story about the rural sector, namely that rural poverty is about small-scale subsistence farmers working with their families. Consequently, the rural labour market in Rwanda is seen as quite limited and rural households are mainly considered as a homogeneous collection of small-scale subsistence farmers.

However, from the data discussed in the second half of this chapter it appears that there is a significant number of workers in paid employment, both in the agricultural and non-agricultural sector. The demand for these workers increases strongly as a result of

substantial migration of rural labour forces to Kigali. Consequently, this higher demand from migrant households for wage labour results in increasing rural wages, growing employment opportunities for the poor (and often landless) job seeking people (except in rural areas with an abundance of employment seeking labourers). Wage labour seems to be a more significant income source for rural households than the great majority of national household surveys of Rwanda do suggest. For many of the most vulnerable rural households wage labour is a central survival strategy. They mostly work for better-off and land-rich people or migrant households, and they do that in a highly varied way, with a diversity of working agreements and payment rates which are determined by gender or age of the worker, the agricultural period, the location, the type of work and the employer. This group needs to get more attention in poverty reduction policies of the Rwandan government. In conclusion, the growth in demand for hired labour as a result of rural-urban migration furthers an increase of seasonal and longer term rural-rural migration and stimulates a lively market for rural wage labour.

Chapter 7: Impacts of resource transfers

As emerged in the theoretical framework, there is no general agreement on the impacts of resource transfers between migrants and rural migrant households on rural livelihoods. Resource transfers in the most cases have positive impact on the living conditions of receiving households in terms of education, health and food consumption, though they also can increase rural social-economic inequalities. Sometimes, flows of money and goods from the migrants can have a compensatory influence on negative effects of rural-urban migration in terms of the lack of human capital, because they enable households to hire additional labour forces. However, the major impact of resource transfers on the livelihoods of rural households often depends on the amount of money received, investments and labour allocation of the sending households and ways of expenditure. Rural households can use the received money for different purposes. They can spend it on basic needs, like increased consumption and investments in housing, health and education, but they can also decide to use the remittances for enhancing their agricultural production or for investments in commercial activities, like small enterprises or business.

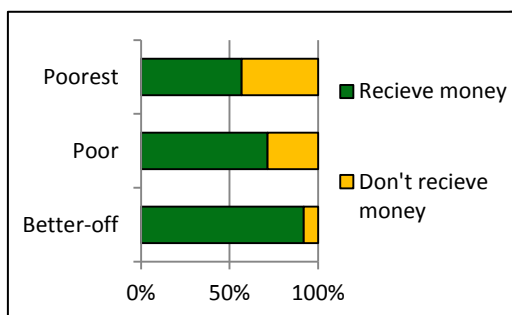
This chapter will pay attention to above issues by exploring the impacts of the resource-transfers on rural migrant households. Attention will be given to differences in terms of amount, use and impacts of these transfers between households with different social-economic status. Firstly, this chapter will explore the flows of resources between migrant(s) in Kigali and the rural migrant households in the rural research areas. Secondly, there will be elaborated on the use of the migrant money and the impact of these resource-flows on rural migrant households in terms of food-consumption, education, health and housing.

7.1 Money transfers between migrants and rural migrant households

From the visited migrant households 74.4% receive money from their migrant household member in Kigali (Fig. 7.1). There is substantial transfer in the form of money from migrants in Kigali to their rural households of origin. The households who don't receive any money (25.6%) mainly consist of households from the lowest social-economic household category. Better-off migrant households namely turns out to receive significantly more often money from migrants than poorer households.³⁸ So, only 8.1% of the better-off households do not receive any money, in contrast with 43.3% of households from the poorest social-economic household group (Fig. 7.3). In contrast with the large number of money-receiving households, only 8.7% of the migrant households send money to the migrant, indicating that most migrants have migrated because of poverty reasons and in order to support their rural household of origin (Schutten, 2012). This is confirmed by the fact that 80% of the interviewed money-receiving households considered the sending of money by their migrant household member as 'matter of course' or 'moral obligation', especially in the case of the migration of a husband. So, a 38-year old women in Ngoma told about her husband:

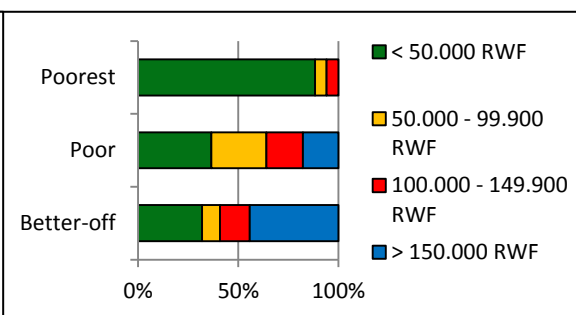
³⁸ Chi-Square test results in a Pearson Chi-Square of 11.014, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's V correlation coefficient of 0.291.

Fig. 7.3: Receiving of money from the migrant per household category



(N=130)

Fig. 7.4: Amount of money received from the migrant(s) per household category (1 year)



(N=98)

The cause for this discrepancy between households from different social-economic groups is laid in the characteristics of the migrants. Migrants from better-off households namely are more prosperous in Kigali. They often have more opportunities to find proper accommodation and a better-paid job, because they have higher income to cover the high living costs in the city and they mostly have a higher education level. Migrants from households with a high social-economic class namely have a significantly higher education level⁴¹ and significantly more years of education⁴² than households with a low social-economic class. So, 36.7% of the poorest migrant households have a migrant household member with 0-3 years of education, in contrast with only 2.7% of the better-off households, of which 28.1% have a migrant household member with more than 10 years education (Table 7.1). It seems that migration in this respect is selective by access to wealth in terms of income gained by educating children. Thus, rural households that have invested materially in educating their children receive considerable more from such migrants where they remit. In fact, such households obtain sustained prosperity by investing in the schooling of their children.

Table 7.1: Total years of education of the migrant per social-economic household category

	0-3 year	4-6 year	7-9 year	10-12 year	>12 year	N
Poorest	36.7%	50.0%	6.6%	7.0%	0.0%	30
Poor	19.0%	55.5%	15.9%	3.2%	6.4%	63
Better-off	2.7%	51.3%	16.2%	22.0%	8.1%	37

(N=130)

Finally, husbands are more likely to send money back from the city to the rural migrant households than sons, daughters and other relatives⁴³. They also send significantly higher amounts⁴⁴ and more frequently⁴⁵ than other types of migrants, indicating more

⁴¹ Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-Square of 16.762 and a confidence level of 99%.

⁴² Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-Square of 14.332 and a confidence level of 95%.

⁴³ Chi-Square test results in a Pearson Chi-Square of 6.249, a confidence level of 95% and a Cramer's V of 0.221.

⁴⁴ Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-Square of 11.544 and a confidence level of 99%.

responsibility for their rural family. Lastly, male migrants send significantly more often money back to their households of origin than female migrants.⁴⁶

7.2 Transfers of food and goods between migrants and rural migrant households

Besides sending money, many migrants in Kigali send clothing, construction- or education materials and basic food items to their rural household of origin. However the number of migrant households who receive food or goods from the migrant(s) is with 46.4% considerably smaller than the 74.4% of migrant households who receive money (see Fig. 7.5). Nevertheless, still almost the half of all migrant households indicated to receive food or goods from their

household member in Kigali. At the same time, almost 55% of the migrant households send food to the migrant(s) (Fig. 7.6). Considered the fact that most migrants have migrated in order to help their family to escape poverty, this percentage is relatively high. An explanation for this can be found in the fact that all interviewed food-sending migrant households consider the sending of food as a moral obligation. So, a 56-year old migrant father in Gakamba told:

Box 7.1: Migrant father tells about the receipt of goods

“When my son calls us to say that he will send food by bus it is always a party. We are always wondering what he sends us. We prefer to receive rice, but oil, cement and soap are also very useful. My husband mostly rents a bike in the village and waits at the bus stop to get the food from the bus driver. Then, he drives slowly through the village, so everyone can see that we get a lot of goods from our son in Kigali. Sometimes we also hire a boy which carries the food and the goods from the bus to our home. We have to pay the boy 300 or 400 RWF for his help. Since we receive goods from our son, we are important within the community.”

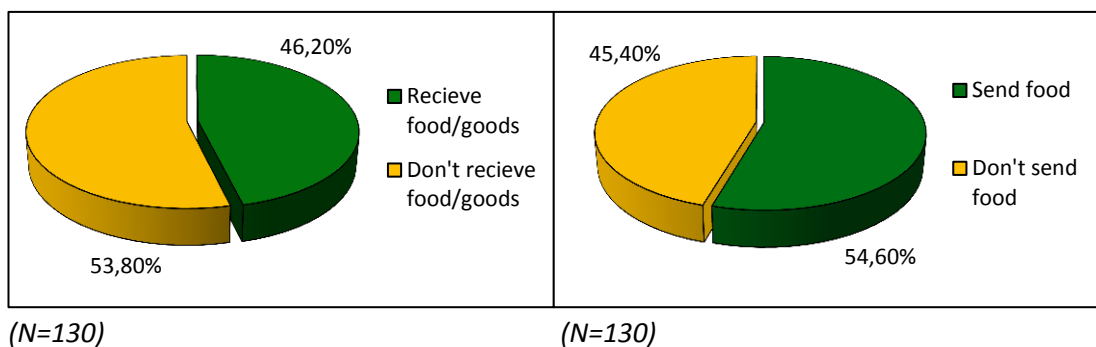
“Yes, we send our son food. How can I visit him, without bringing some food? That’s not possible. I am his father! We have to pay the bus driver to transport the goods by bus.”

As appears from quotes like this, almost all transport of food is by bus. The bus driver asks the migrant a small amount of money for the transportation and brings the food to the main road in the rural destination, where it is picked up by the rural family and transported to their houses by bike or by foot. A second common possibility is that the food or goods are exchanged during mutual family visits. Most of the food-sending migrant households use this cost-free option.

⁴⁵ Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-Square of 17.270 and a confidence level of 99%.

⁴⁶ Mann-Whitney test results in a Mann-Whitney U of 537.000 and a confidence level of 95%.

Fig. 7.5: Receiving food/goods from migrant Fig. 7.6: Sending food to migrant



In general there are the following reasons why migrants do not send food or money to their household of origin. Firstly, they might be unable to find a proper job in the city and thus have no surplus of food or money. A second reason might be a conflict with their family in the rural areas. From in-depth interviews it appeared that often when a son gets no heritage of his father (or when the father refuses to give it) there arise intensive conflicts. A third reason can be alcohol or drug addiction in the city, resulting in total ignoring the rural household or origin. Finally, there can be hate and distrust between different household members because of several reasons. For instance, a 48-year old migrant mother in Gakamba became two times pregnant as a result of sexual intercourse with different man. Therefore, both born sons hated their mother, left her and migrated to the city to build up a new, independent life.

Again, migrant households with a high social-economic class receive significantly more often food or goods from the migrant than households with a low social-economic class⁴⁷. So, only 23.3% of the poorest household group receive food or goods in contrast with 67.6% of the better-off households (Table 7.2). The cause of this relationship is lain in the earlier mentioned correlation between social-economic household class and education level of the migrant. It specifically turns out that migrants with many years of education send significantly more often food or goods to their rural household of origin than migrants with few or no years of education.⁴⁸ Migrants with a high education level mostly get better-paid jobs in the city and have less to struggle to make a living than less schooled migrants from poor rural households, resulting in higher transfers of food and goods to their rural areas of origin. In contrast, the relationship between the social-economic household class and the sending of food to the

Illustration 7.1: Head of a better-off migrant household transports received potatoes and rice to home



⁴⁷ Chi-Square test results in a Pearson Chi-Square of 13.187, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's V of 0.318.

⁴⁸ Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-Square of 21.697 and a confidence level of 95%.

migrant (Table 7.2) is not significant. This can be explained by the earlier mentioned moral obligation to continue to care for the migrated husband, son or daughter, especially during visits. All respondents from migrant households, poor or better-off, wanted to show the migrant that he or she after the migration still completely belongs to the family.

Table 7.2: Receiving and sending of food and goods per social-economic household group

	Receive food/goods	Don't receive food/goods	Send food	Don't send food	N
Poorest	23.3%	76.7%	40.0%	60%	30
Poor	44.4%	55.6%	56.5%	43.5%	63
Better-off	67.6%	32.4%	62.2%	37.8%	37

(N=130)

Respondents of goods/food-receiving migrant households were asked to indicate the five most important goods received from the migrant in Kigali. The results are shown in Fig. 7.7, which displays the percentages of migrant households who receive different types of food or goods. It clearly appears that the most important received food items consists of firstly rice (59.4%), followed by oil (36.2%), maize- or cassava flour (26%), meat (20.3%), sugar (17.5%) and bread (5.8%). Literally all interviewed receiving migrant households gave as explanation for this these food items the lack of modern, processed and expensive foods in the rural areas. Receiving these types of food makes it possible for rural households to diversify their daily food. Moreover, it results in more respect from the neighbouring households, especially in the case of the receipt of rice. For illustration, a 58-year old wife of a migrant in Rubona told:

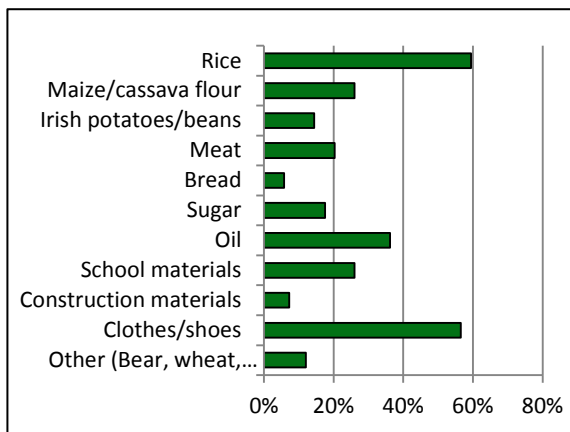
“Besides money, we receive meat, rice, soap, oil and sugar. Here in the rural, we don't have this kind of modern food. We are especially glad with the rice we receive from my husband. Rice is very popular in the rural regions, because it increases the status of your household. When our son brings a sack of rice to our household, our neighbours see us with very much respect! They think: ‘They are rich!’. People consider rice as related with wealth. Rice is an important product to diversify the daily food. It is delicious!”

All food receiving households indicated that receiving food items like oil and rice makes the position of the family more powerful.

Besides food items, many migrant households receive non-food items. So 56.5% of all receiving migrant households get clothes and shoes from their migrant household member in Kigali (Fig. 7.7). They are mostly brought during a visit or sent by bus. Furthermore, 26% of the receiving migrant households get school materials, mainly consisting of notebooks, school clothes and writing materials, which are rare in rural areas. Finally, 7.2% of these (mainly better-off) households receive construction materials from the migrant, especially corrugated iron and sacks of cement. These materials are produced in factories in Kigali and transported to the rural areas with trucks. In conclusion, migrant households mainly get modern, relatively expensive food and goods which are scarce in the rural areas, diversify

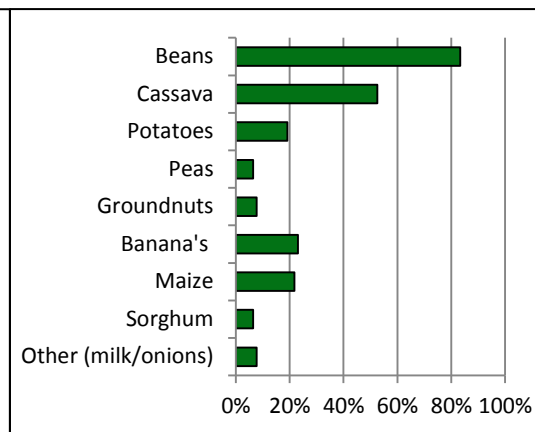
their diet and increase their household prestige and improve their education opportunities and housing conditions.

Fig. 7.7: Percentages of migrant households receiving different types of food/goods*



(N=60) *Most migrant households receive more than 1 type of product

Fig. 7.8: Percentages of migrant households sending different types of food*



(N=71) *Most migrant households send more than one type of food

In addition to the relationship between social-economic class of migrant households and the receipt of goods or food items, better-off households turns out to receive significantly more food and goods in terms of 'total weight' than households with a low social-economic class.⁴⁹ Moreover, the mentioned wealth function of rice in rural areas is confirmed by a significant relationship between social-economic class and the weight of the received rice. Better-off households namely get significantly more kilos of rice per year from the migrant in Kigali than poorer households.⁵⁰

Illustration 7.2: Cassava yield of a migrant household in Naoma



Finally, migrant households who send food to their relative in the city mainly send beans (83.3%) and cassava (52.6%) (Fig. 7.8). Some of the significant impacts of Kigali on the rural economy derived from the quick increase in food demand generated by the growth of the city. Especially cassava production profited from the increase of urban demand. Cassava tubers can be processed by drying, grating or fermenting to produce a powdered product known as cassava flour, which can be stored easily and is very appropriate for cooking in urban areas. As a result, cassava is very popular in the city, besides other basic agricultural products, like beans, maize, sweet and Irish potatoes and maize (Fig. 7.8). In contrast with

⁴⁹ Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-Square of 18.718 and a confidence level of 99%.

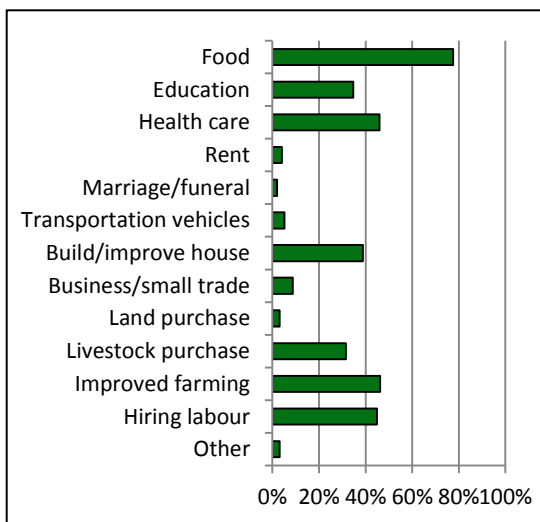
⁵⁰ Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-Square of 9.380 and a confidence level of 99%.

the migrants in the city who mainly send modern, processed food to the rural areas, rural migrant households send traditional, unprocessed crops to the city.

7.3 Use of the migrant money

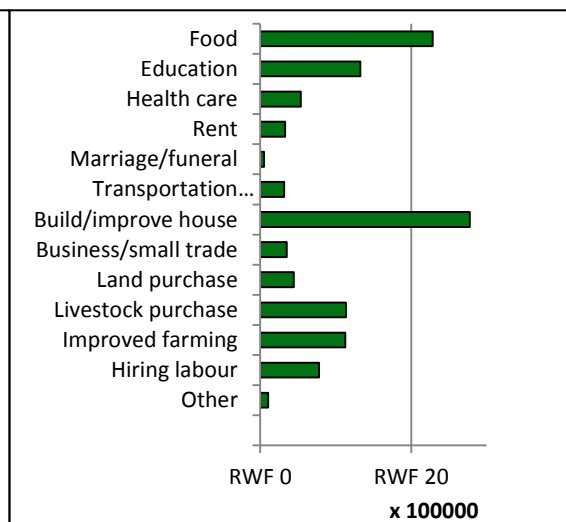
Descriptive data analysis reveals that many money-receiving migrant households use the money to improve their food security, shelter and clothing; their basic needs. Specifically, a vast majority of 77% of the recipients spend the received money on buying food (Fig. 7.9). The money of the migrants allows better matching of spending and household incomes, the misalignment of which otherwise threatens survival. Secondly, the migrant money can be used to access preventive and better health care. As discussed in chapter 5, affordable health care is often inaccessible in rural Rwanda, especially for the poorest. Consequently, it is not surprising that 45.9% of the recipient-households indicated to use the received migrant money for health care (Fig. 7.9). Thirdly, 44.8% of the respondents from money-receiving migrant households told to use the money to hire labourers during agricultural seasons. This relatively high percentage is in line with the, in chapter 6 mentioned, high amount of migrant households (48.5%) who replace the departed labour force with hired labourers. Furthermore, 38.8% of the recipient-households indicated to use the received money for the construction, upgrading and repairing of their house. Finally, as discussed in chapter 5, education in Rwanda is relatively expensive for rural households, whatever the formal commitments of the government. Money received from the migrant can allow for the payment of school fees and can provide the means for children to attend school rather than working for the survival of their families. So, 34.7% of all recipient-households turns out to spend money on education (Fig. 7.9).

Fig. 7.9: Use of money received from the migrant by money-receiving households*



(N=98) *Most migrant households spend the money on more than one category

Fig. 7.10: Total amount of money spent on different categories*



(N=98)

The extent to which the money transfers from the migrants to the rural migrant households reduce poverty is dependent on how received money is used. So far it became clear that

the majority of the recipient migrant households, especially the poorer recipients, spend the received money on basic needs, like food consumption, health and education, housing and the obtainment of sufficient labour forces. This is confirmed by in-depth interviews with money-receiving households, of which 80% indicated to use the migrant money for basic needs. So, 54-year old women in Ngoma told:

“The money sent by my husband is used for buying food, hiring labour and buying clothes. I use it for all our basic needs. I decide what is most needed on a certain moment. I am able to solve our household problems now. I am even able to pay the school fees of my son!”

However, when these basic needs are fulfilled, mostly in the case of better-off households, some migrant money can be ‘invested’. Some health spending and education could be considered as certain form of investment, but important in this case is the extent to which migrant money can be used to create income-generating activities. Fig. 7.9 shows that also 46.3% of the recipient households use the migrant money for ‘improved farming’, which includes buying seeds, farming equipment and fertilizers. Additionally, 31.6% of the money-receiving households purchase livestock on top of satisfying the basic needs, which are often used as producers of natural fertilizers. The households who are involved in these activities mainly consist of better-off households. Migrant households with a high social-economic class namely use the money of the migrant(s) significantly more often for improved farming⁵¹ or livestock purchase⁵² than households with a low social-economic class. This relationship is clearly visible in table 7.3 which shows that 68.8% of the better-off migrant households spend the received migrant money on improved farming, in contrast with 15.3% of the poorest households. Furthermore, only 5.9% of the poorest households use the money for livestock purchase, in comparison with 41.8% of the better-off households. Finally, the three households who indicated to spend the received money on business or small trading activities are all better-off households who are active in small rural shops or in selling agricultural surplus on the market (Fig. 7.3).

Table 7.3: Use of migrant money for improved farming, livestock purchase and business or small trade per social-economic households category

	Use for improved farming	Use for livestock purchase	Use for business/small trade	N
Poorest	15,3%	5.9%	0.0%	30
Poor	48.1%	34.1%	0.0%	63
Better-off	68.8%	41.8%	8.7%	37

(N=130)

⁵¹ Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-Square of 5.457 and a confidence level of 95%.

⁵² Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-Square of 6.780 and a confidence level of 95%.

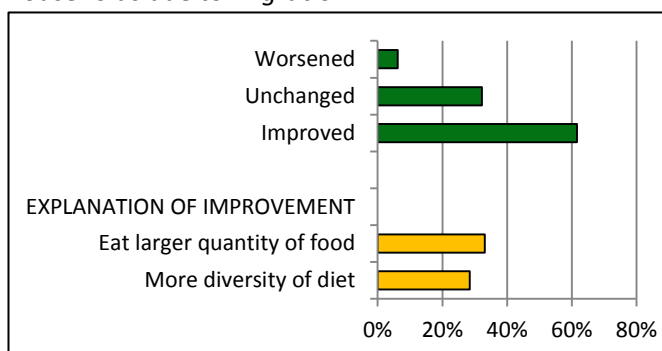
7.4 Changes in migrant households related with resource transfers

7.4.1 Food consumption

The majority of the migrant households experience an improved food consumption after the migration of their household member. Fig. 7.11 shows that only 6.2% of the migrant households experience a worsened food consumption, while 61.6% of all migrant households indicate that their food consumption is improved after the migration. Of the latter group 33.1% explain to eat a larger quantity of food due to migration and the rest indicates to have a greater diversity of food, indicating the receipt of food or money from the city, of which can be bought new agricultural seeds or other types of food.

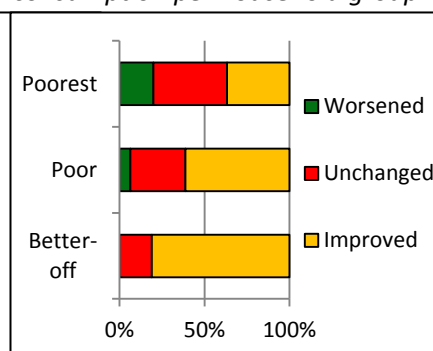
The households who indicated to have an improved food consumption due to migration are significantly more often better-off migrant households than households with a low social-economic status.⁵³ So, 81.1% of the better-off household group indicated to experience improved food consumption, in contrast with 36.7% of the poorest household group, of which 20% has worsened food consumption as a result of migration (Fig. 7.12). Moreover, none of the better-off households experienced an worsened food consumption. The explanation for this significant relationship can be found in the earlier mentioned finding that better-off households get significantly more and frequenter money and food of the migrant(s) in the city. This is confirmed by a significant correlation which shows that money-receiving⁵⁴ and food-receiving⁵⁵ migrant households indicate considerably more often to have an improved food consumption after migration, than non-receiving migrant households. Non-receiving households don't receive anything from the migrant and have consequently no resources to compensate the loss of labour forces, resulting in decreasing agricultural production (section 6.3) and often worsening food consumption.

Fig. 7.11: Change in food consumption of migrant households due to migration



(N=130)

Fig. 7.12: Change in food consumption per household group



(N=130)

⁵³ Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-Square of 16.512 and a confidence level of 99%.

⁵⁴ Chi-Square test results in a Pearson Chi-Square of 38.158, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's V of 0.542.

⁵⁵ Chi-Square test results in a Pearson Chi-Square of 38.688, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's V of 0.546.

Box 7.2: Radical change in living conditions due to the migration of a household head

“Before the migration of my husband we lived in extreme poverty. Our farmland was very small and not enough to feed me, my husband and our children. We were very economical with the agricultural yield and we were often hungry. This resulted in crying and bold children and quarrel between me and my husband. My husband felt like a loser and drunk a lot of alcohol. The roof of our house leaked and there were cracks in the walls. At a given moment my husband decided to save some agricultural yield and new-born goats. After a year, he sold the yield and the animals on the market. With the earned money, he bought a bus ticket to Kigali and paid accommodation costs to an acquaintance in the city.

Fortunately, he got a job as chapati baker in Kacyiru. After one and a half year he got a job as bus driver and he was suddenly earning a lot of money. Since that moment, everything is better here. I see my husband every two weeks and he brings a lot of money, food and construction materials. After the agricultural season we will start to build a new house besides the old one. I am able to hire a labourer and we have no hunger anymore. Sometimes, I even eat rice and vegetables. Moreover, I can send my children to school next year. I love my husband so much! He improved the life of our family!”

7.4.2 Education opportunities

The majority (56.9%) of the migrant households indicated to have no change in education opportunities after the departure of the migrant and 13% of all migrant households experienced a decrease in education opportunities (Fig. 7.13). However, at the same time, 30% of all migrant households indicated to experience improved or even strongly improved education opportunities after the migration of the household member. Of the latter group of migrant households 16.2% gives the receipt of school materials from the migrant as explanation for the improvement, mainly including notebooks, writing materials and school uniforms. Furthermore, 11.5% of the respondents of all migrant households told to be better able to pay the school fees for their children because of the receipt of money from the migrant. So, a 56-year old migrant father told:

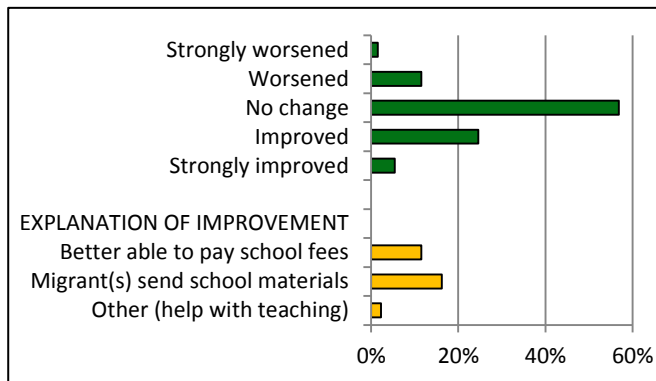
“We receive a lot of money from our son. We use this money to pay the school fees for his little brothers. There is a bank in this district. We have to pay the bank some money and in exchange we get a receipt. We have to show this evidence on the school of our sons. We pay also school uniforms and mattresses with the money received from my son.”

Finally, 2.3% of the migrant households gave the support of the migrant in the learning process of their little brother or sister as reason for the improvement.

The group of migrant households whose educational opportunities improve as a result of rural-urban migration consist mainly of better-off households. Households with a high social-economic class experience significantly more often an improvement in education

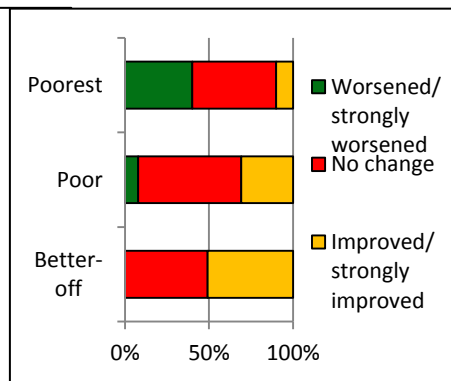
opportunities after migration than households with a low social-economic class.⁵⁶ Fig. 7.14 clearly shows that 48.6% of the better-off migrant households have improved or strongly improved education opportunities due to migration, in contrast with only 10% of the poorest households, of which 19.9% indicated that migration resulted in worsened or even strongly worsened education opportunities. Also in this case, none of the better-off households reported worsened educational opportunities. Again, the above relationship can be explained by the fact that the households with low social-economic class receive significantly less and less frequently money and goods from the migrant(s) (subsection 7.1 and 7.2). Money-receiving⁵⁷ (and goods-receiving⁵⁸) households namely indicated significantly more often to have an improvement of education opportunities as a result of migration than non-receiving migrant households. They are better able to pay school fees and school materials or they receive school materials from the migrant. In contrast, the poorest group of migrant households that experience worsened educational opportunities often do not receive any school materials or money from the migrant to pay school fees. Their children are often needed on the land or in the household, because these households do not have money to pay hired labourers to replace the migrated household member(s).

Fig. 7.13: Change in education opportunities of migrant households due to migration



(N=130)

Fig. 7.14: Change in educational opportunities per household group



(N=130)

7.4.3 Access to health care

There are considerably more migrant households who experience improved or strongly improved access to health care (42.3%) than migrant households whose access to health services is worsened or strongly worsened after the migration of household member(s) (7.7% in Fig. 7.15). More than 34% of the migrant households specified this improvement by saying that they were able to buy, the in chapter 5 mentioned, health insurance, which them in the case of illness ensures of medications and the needed medical assistance. The

⁵⁶ Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-Square of 22.680 and a confidence level of 99%.

⁵⁷ Chi-Square test results in a Pearson Chi-Square of 15.260, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's V of 0.343.

⁵⁸ Chi-Square test results in a Pearson Chi-Square of 26.739, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's V of 0.454.

resting 9% told to get support from the government or NGOs because of extreme poverty or problems related with female-headship.

The positive relationship between social-economic household class and the change of food consumption and education opportunities is also applicable on access to health care. Better-off migrant households namely experience significantly more often a positive change in access to health care than poorer migrant households.⁵⁹ So, none of the better-off households indicated to experience worsened health access as a result of migration, in contrast with 19.9% of the poorest households, which reported considerably less often (33.5%) improved access to health than their counterparts (53%) (Fig. 7.16). Also in this case there exists a positive significant relation between the receipt of money from the migrant and the degree of change. Respondents from money-receiving (and thus mostly better-off) households indicated significantly more often to experience better access to health care after the migration of their relative to Kigali, than non-receiving migrant households⁶⁰. The health of people from food-receiving migrant households also can improve because of a greater amount of food and greater variety of diet, which results in less hunger and improved nutrition. This is supported with the finding that food/goods-receiving migrants households have significantly more often improved health due to migration, than (mostly poor) non-receiving migrant households.⁶¹ In contrast, the poorest

Illustration 7.3: Women in Ngoma who paid her health insurance with migrant money

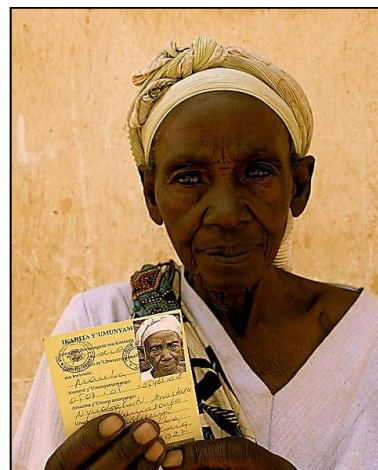
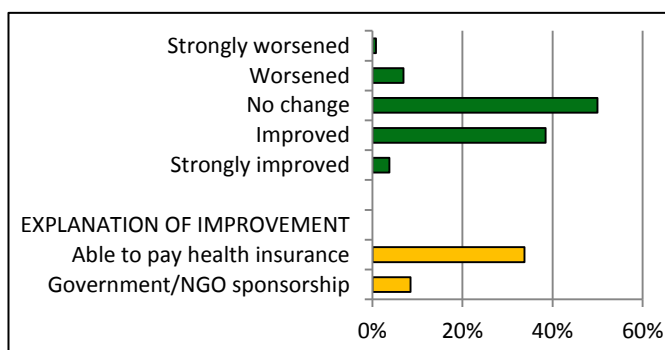
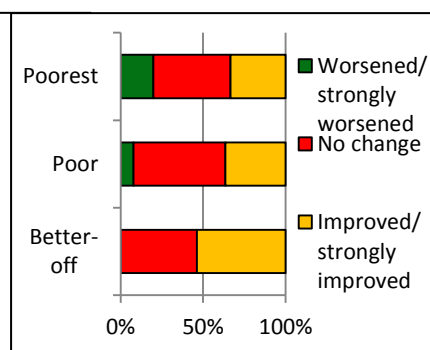


Fig. 7.15: Change in access to health care of migrant households due to migration



(N=130)

Fig. 7.16: Change in health access per households group



(N=130)

⁵⁹ Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-Square of 6.436 and a confidence level of 95%.

⁶⁰ Chi-Square test results in a Pearson Chi-Square of 17.715, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's V of 0.369.

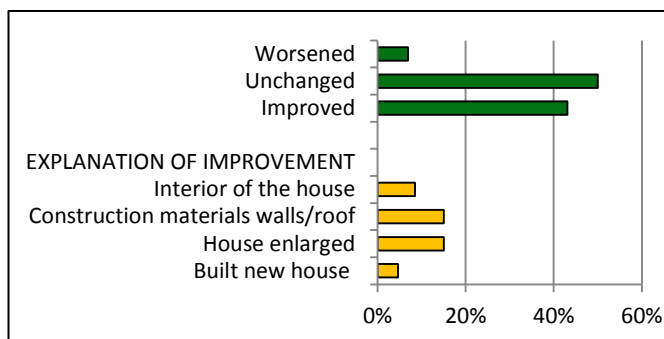
⁶¹ Chi-Square test results in a Pearson Chi-Square of 14.247, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's V of 0.331.

non-receiving migrant households, experience often a decrease in food quality and income to pay health insurance.

7.4.4 Housing status

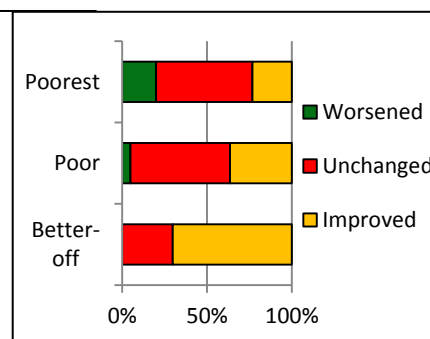
The same pattern is visible for change in housing status as a result of rural-urban migration. In general, there are six times more migrant households who experience improvement of their housing status (43.1%) than migrant households that reported worsening of their housing status after the migration of the household member(s) (6.9%) (Fig. 7.17). This is in line with the 38.8% (Fig. 7.9) of the migrant households that use the received migrant money to improve their shelter. Of all respondents from migrant households 15% told that the construction materials of the walls or the roof of their house are improved due to the receiving of construction materials or money from the migrant, of which can be bought cement or corrugated iron. Further, 15% indicated that their house is enlarged after the migration of the household member and 8.5% told the interior of their house to have improved, mainly in terms of furniture. Only 4.6% of the migrant households told that migration resulted in the construction of a new house (Fig. 7.17). These households exclusively consist of better-off households, where the migrant himself builds the new house, mostly with materials obtained in Kigali. Many migrants want to secure their shelter in the rural areas before they return from the city in order to live the rest of their life in a proper and well-constructed house in the rural area of origin.

Fig. 7.17: Change in housing status of migrant households due to migration



(N=130)

Fig. 7.18: Change in housing status per household group



(N=130)

Better-off households indicated significantly more often to experience a improvement of housing status due to migration, than poorer households.⁶² They report three times more often an enhancement (70.3%) of their shelter than the poorest households group (23.3%). At the same time, none of the better-off households indicated to experience a worsened housing status after the migration of the household member(s) (Fig. 7.18). As mentioned earlier, they receive the highest amounts of money and construction materials from the migrants. Consequently, migrant households who receive goods⁶³ and money⁶⁴ from the

⁶² Kruskal Wallis test results in a Chi-Square of 19.914 and a confidence level of 99%.

⁶³ Chi-Square test results in a Pearson Chi-Square of 17.183, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's V of 0.364.

migrants report significantly more often an improved housing status than non-receiving migrant households, that have no money or a lack of labour forces to repair or improve their houses.

Box 7.3: Views on migration: A success story and a failure story

A migrant father in Gakamba: *“We are very happy to have our son in the city. We consider his migration as very positive, because he helps us to survive. He gave us the opportunity to build a new house and to consume more food. He made us shining among neighbours! When we should give a mark for the impact of migration, we would give a 10! Before, we did not expect much from his migration, because we thought that he would not be able to find a job in Kigali. His education level was low. However, the migration was more positive than we thought and he became successful. We wish him to get a better job, so we might ever get electricity, a better house and fresh water. However, I don’t know whether this will ever happen. I am old.*

A migrant mother in Rubona: *“I don’t see any positive impact of the migration of my daughter. I give a 1 as mark, because I experience an extremely negative impact. I expected many good things from migration, because I observed my neighbours who have also children who live in the city. They were happy because of them, but that is absolutely not the case in our household. The reality of migration is worse than my expectations. I know nothing about my daughter and don’t receive anything from her. There should be laws that prohibit students to leave school without finishing.”*

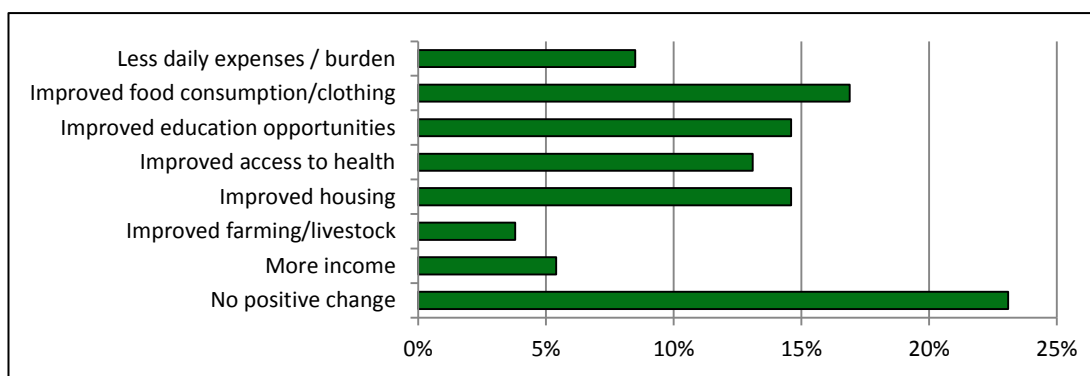
7.4.5 Most important positive change

From the above analysis it became clear that there are considerably more migrant households who experience improved food consumption, education, health and housing status after the migration of their relative to the city, than households who experience worsening. This is supported by the own evaluation of the respondents of the changes. Respondents were asked what they consider as most important positive change as a result of rural-urban migration. Firstly, 23.1% of all respondents from migrant households indicated to experience no positive change after the migration (Fig. 7.19). This percentage is low in comparison with the 46.2% who told to have no negative change (subsection 6.4). Apparently, 76.9% of all migrant households see any positive change after migration, while only 53.8% see any negative change. Most of the households that reported improvement see enhanced food consumption and clothing as most important positive change due to migration (16.9%), followed by improvement in education and housing (14.6%) and access to health (13.1%). Furthermore, 8.5% of the migrant households, mainly the poorest, consider the decrease of daily household expenses as most important positive change. The migration of a family member can for such households result in relief and less tensions

⁶⁴ Chi-Square test results in a Pearson Chi-Square of 17.611, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer’s V of 0.368.

within their households. Additionally, only 3.8% of the migrant households view improved farming or livestock as most appreciated change (Fig. 7.19).

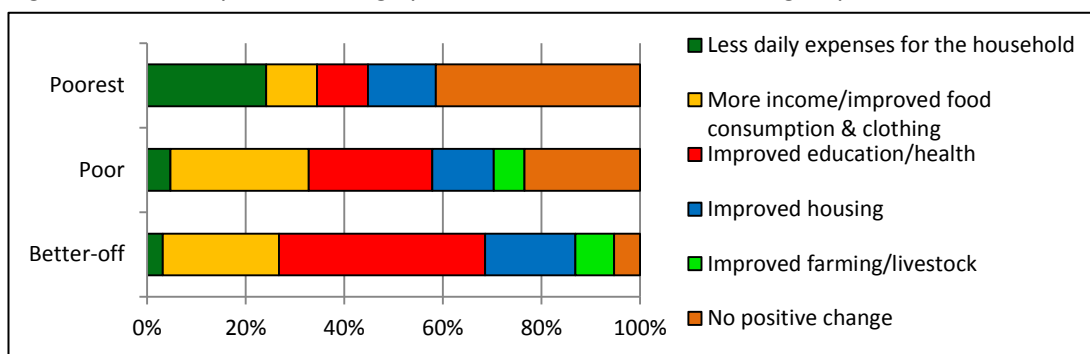
Fig. 7.19: View of migrant households on most important positive change due to migration



(N=130)

Lastly, the migrant households that indicated to experience no positive change or considered less daily expenses as most important change, are significantly more often poor than better-off (Fig. 7.20)⁶⁵. They receive significantly less money⁶⁶ and food or goods⁶⁷ than households who see other changes as most important and are therefore not able to improve anything (Table 7.2). At the same time, migrant households that see improved housing, education, health, farming and livestock as most important change are more likely have a high social-economic class. They get significantly more often money and food or goods from the migrant(s) (Table 7.4), benefiting their education, health, housing, farming and livestock.

Fig. 7.20: Most important change per social-economic household group



(N=130)

⁶⁵ Chi-Square test results in a Pearson Chi-Square of 38.641, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's V of 0.386.

⁶⁶ Chi-Square test results in a Pearson Chi-Square of 64.298, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's V of 0.703.

⁶⁷ Chi-Square test results in a Pearson Chi-Square of 41.014, a confidence level of 99% and a Cramer's V of 0.562.

Table 7.4: Most important positive change; money-receiving and non-receiving households

	Less daily expenses	More income/ improved food consumption & clothes	Improved education /health	Improved housing	Improved farming/ livestock	No positive change	N
Receive money	2,1%	28,1%	34,4%	19,8%	5,2%	10,4%	96
Don't receive money	26,5%	8,8%	5,9%	0,0%	0,0%	58,8%	34

(N=130)

7.5 Concluding remarks

In conclusion, it can be stated that resource-flows determine the impact of rural-urban migration. Flows of money and food or goods between the migrant(s) in the city and the rural migrant households play an important role in access to health and education, food provision and housing status. However, not all migrant households have migrants that remit and not all migrants remit sufficiently. These households who receive few or even no resources mainly consist of the poorest households. Their relatives in the city mostly have low education levels, poor living conditions, low-paid jobs and they need all their resources to survive. Consequently, the poorest households receive few or no money, food or goods from the migrant(s) in Kigali and are less able to use financial capital to improve their livelihood in terms of human capital (health access and education opportunities), natural capital (farm land and livestock) and physical capital (shelter, farming equipment, transportation vehicles). They often consider the decrease in daily household expenses as most important positive consequence of migration or even do not see any positive change after the migration, because they are not able to compensate the loss of labour forces caused by migration. Rural-urban migration seems to have positive impact on rural migrant households when they receive many resources from household member(s) in Kigali. These are mainly the better-off households, of which the migrated household members mostly are well-educated and have well-paid jobs. Better-off households can spend the high amounts of received migrant money on income-generating activities, like livestock, trade and improved farming, on top of their basic needs. Consequently, better-off households do not experience worsened food consumption, health, education or housing conditions after migration of the family member(s), in contrast with the poorest households.

8. Conclusions and recommendations

Rural-urban migration is a multidimensional phenomenon, which has become part of the daily reality in Rwanda and many other development countries. This study has focused on the impacts of rural-urban migration on the livelihoods of rural migrant households in the surroundings of Kigali. Nowadays, there is little doubt about the positive impact that migration can have for the households that are involved. However, there is much more uncertainty about the extent to which this impact differs for households with different socio-economic status. To get an increased understanding of this subject, there was a need to investigate how the livelihoods of rural households with different social-economic status are built up. After exploring this, the impact of rural-urban migration on rural migrant households with different social-economic class is investigated in terms of both the loss of human resources and the use of the money and goods received from the migrant household members. Below, the sub questions of the research will be answered. Furthermore, some recommendations will be done and the research results will be discussed briefly.

8.1 Answering the research questions

In what way do rural households shape their livelihood?

There is a very heterogeneous rural population in the rural research areas in the surroundings of Kigali. There are the poor and very poor households whose livelihood significantly differs from the better-off households on virtually all livelihood assets.

The poorest households often own no or very few livestock and farmland. When they own land, they often experience a decrease in land size and livestock as a result of droughts, exhaustive agricultural methods and a lack of fertilizers. Many members of the poorest households survive by working on the land of better-off households or by being hired in construction activities or husbandry. They produce only for own consumption, though financial hardship sometimes force them to sell a small part of their agricultural production or livestock on the market, in order to be able to pay school fees, health care or hired labourers. Most of them experience their life as a daily struggle to survive. They often have no education or low education attainment levels. They need the children for agricultural activities or cannot afford to pay school fees or the costs of school materials. Furthermore, the access of the poorest households to health care is limited. They regularly experience financial hardship and are not able to pay health insurance or to spend the energy it takes to get health insurance or medical support (mainly female-headed households and old people). They also have often a household member with a physical handicap, resulting in a loss of income and employment opportunities, marginalization or exclusion from services and social networks and extra costs as a result of the handicap. Many of the poorest households are female-headed households, who experience extremely poor living conditions, due to a lack of support of manpower and loneliness. Moreover, the poorest

households get often no or very few income, live in small houses constructed by corrugated iron and mud, without separate room for cooking, proper sanitation and electricity. Finally, they often have no physical assets like transportation vehicles, phones and radios and have almost never social networks outside the own cell of living.

In contrast, better-off households have a lot of livestock and land. They often experience an increase in land size and livestock, because they have more fallow land and money to buy fertilizers and seeds or to expand the surface of their farm land. Many of them employ the poor and the poorest during agricultural seasons. They are commercially oriented in terms of selling agricultural surpluses on the market or being active in other commercial trading activities. Some of them even intentionally produce cash crops for the market. Consequently, they get higher incomes from agriculture, husbandry and enterprises. Furthermore, members of better-off households have high educational attainment levels. The households are able to pay school fees, also for higher education levels than primary level. Their access to health care is decent, because they are able to pay health insurance or other medical expenses. Moreover, most of them have high monthly income, have a proper house, often constructed by wood, stones and cement. These houses mostly have a separate room for cooking, sanitation and some of them have even electricity. Finally, most of the better-off households have physical assets like bicycles, phones and radios, resulting in larger social networks.

Poor households are situated between these better-off households and the poorest households. They score higher than the poorest households and lower than the better-off households in terms of human capital (skills, education level, health and ability to labour), natural capital (access to farmland, livestock, water, fertilizers and vulnerability to drought and soil depletion), physical capital (secure shelter, water supply, sanitation, electricity and transportation), financial capital (monthly household income) and social capital (access to information and social networks). Finally, there are no significant differences between the livelihoods of migrant households and non-migrant households, except in terms of female headship and the presence of household member(s) with a handicap. Migrants namely appear to come from each social-economic household group and migrate with different motivations.

To what extent the loss of human capital, as a result of rural-urban migration, has negative impact on rural migrant households with different social-economic status?

As a result of the migration of mainly male migrants of working age to Kigali, the rural sending areas are left with a demographically unbalanced population of women, younger children and older people. Migrant households have significantly smaller households than non-migrant households and are often female-headed, as a consequence of the migration of the head of the household to Kigali. The loss of labour forces leads to increasing work load for most migrant households, especially for the poorest and the female-headed households. Migrant wives of the latter group often have to perform agricultural tasks, besides household duties. As a consequence, they have less opportunities to access the

rural labour market to find alternative income sources and are often unable to fulfil all tasks sufficiently. Especially in the case of the migration of the head of the household, feelings of loneliness or abandonment can have major impact on psychological and even physical well-being of the remaining household members. Also many children of migrants often have feelings of loneliness and sadness, resulting in a poor motivation to attend school.

In general, almost all migrant households are faced with labour shortages and the vast majority of them are forced to fill these shortage by hiring labour. On the basis of their social-economic status migrant households can roughly be divided into two different groups, though there are again poor migrant households who are in between these groups.

The first group consists of the poorest migrant households who often are forced to migrate because of their poor living conditions. They get involved in migration, even when there are no sufficient remaining labour forces in the household to perform all household- and agricultural tasks or when there is no money to pay hired labourers. They have no or few financial capital in the form of monthly income and migrant money or natural capital in the form of land and livestock to absorb the lack of labour forces. Moreover, their competitiveness on the rural labour market is poor, because they cannot afford to offer high labour prices, both in terms of money and food. They are not able to hire the needed labourers or they hire them for a too short period. As a result, many of the poorest households experience decreased agricultural production and increased workload, because of insufficient replacement of the migrant. They are often forced to work for other, better-off households.

The second group consists of better-off migrant households who often migrate deliberately in order to accumulate their already achieved wealth. They have a large buffer in the form of income, migrant money, livestock and land to offset the negative effects of the migration of a household member. They have good competitiveness on the rural labour market because they can hire labourers sufficiently and easily by offering the highest labour prices. Moreover, because of their higher income, they can buy seeds and unnatural fertilizers or livestock to produce natural fertilizers. Consequently, they experience no decrease in agricultural production and some of them even experience increase in agricultural production due to rural-urban migration. Many of them do not see any negative change of migration or consider feelings of loneliness and lack as most important negative change.

The growth in demand for hired labour as a result of rural-urban migration furthers an increase of seasonal and longer term rural-rural migration and stimulates a lively market for rural wage labour. The higher demand from migrant households for wage labour results in increasing rural wages, growing employment opportunities for the poor (and often landless) job seeking people, except in rural areas with an abundance of employment seeking labourers. For many of the most vulnerable rural households wage labour appears to be a central survival strategy. They mostly work for better-off and land-rich people or migrant households, and they do that in a highly varied way, with a diversity of working

agreements and payment rates which are determined by gender or age of the worker, the agricultural period, the location, the type of work and the employer.

To what extent resource transfers between migrants and rural migrant households result in an improvement of the livelihoods of rural migrant households with different social-economic status?

The vast majority of the migrant households receive money from the migrant household member in Kigali and the half of them receive food and goods from the city. These food or goods mainly consist of modern, relatively expensive food (like rice and oil) and goods which are scarce in rural areas (construction- and school materials). The receipt of it diversifies the diet of migrant households and increases their household prestige. Most of them consider the sending of resources as a moral obligation of the migrant, especially in the case of the migration of a household head. The household member is often migrated in order to support the rural household. Consequently, very few migrant households send money to their migrant household member. However many of them give traditional, unprocessed food during mutual visits. In general, there are considerably more migrant households where rural-urban migration leads to improvements in food consumption, health access, education opportunities or housing, than migrant households who experience worsening in the same areas. These improvements mainly consist of higher quantities and larger variety of food, enhanced capabilities to pay health insurance and school fees and improved quality of housing.

However, also in terms of receiving money, goods and food from the household members in Kigali, migrant households can roughly be divided into different groups, based on their social-economic class.

The poorest migrant households often receive few, very infrequently or even no money from the migrant(s) in Kigali. The same applies for the receipt of goods and food. Their migrated household member(s) mostly have a low educational attainment level and often constitute the poorest of the urban population who have to struggle to make a living, let alone to remit any resources to their rural households of origin. When the poorest migrant households receive the little amount of money, they spend it on basic needs, like food consumption, health, education, housing and the hiring of labour forces. However, many of them experience no change or worsening in these areas, because they do not receive any money or too few money to compensate the negative consequences of the departure of the household member.

In contrast, better-off migrant households frequently receive a lot of money, food and goods from their migrant household member(s) in Kigali. The migrants have more opportunities to find a proper accommodation and a better-paid job, because they mostly have higher incomes to cover the high living costs in the city and they have a higher educational attainment level. Consequently, they earn a lot of money in Kigali and have less to struggle to make a living than less schooled migrants from poor rural households,

resulting in high transfers of money, food and goods to their rural areas of origin. Many better-off households used the received migrant money to improve their farming (buying seeds, farming equipment, farmland and fertilizers) and livestock (production of fertilizers or trade), on top of satisfying their basic needs. Some of them even use money for small trade activities and business. None of them experience a worsening of food consumption, access to health, education opportunities or housing as a result of migration.

8.2 Some recommendations

Rural-urban migration has positive impact on the livelihoods of rural migrant households when the migrant(s) sends sufficient money, food or goods back, which can be used to diversify or to improve their livelihood and to offset the negative effects of the loss of labour forces, mainly by hiring labour forces. This concern mainly the better-off households, indicating increasing welfare differences in rural Rwanda. The fact that mainly the better-off households take advantage of rural-urban migration asks pro-poor growth policies and migration policies of the Rwandan government firstly to focus on the group of chronically poor and often female-headed migrant households who have no or very few land and livestock, rely on working for others and receive insufficient or no money and goods from the underprivileged migrant in the city.

Secondly, rural-urban migration is selective by access to wealth in terms of income gained by educating children. Rural households that have invested materially in educating their children receive considerable more resources from such migrants where they remit. In fact, such households obtain sustained prosperity by investing in the schooling of their children. For this reason, the migration policies of the Rwandan government should focus on the improvement of educational levels of the poorest rural households. This is possible by for instance removing financial obstacles for the poorest households and the delivery of school materials like notebooks, school uniforms, study books and writing materials.

Thirdly, as this research has shown, rural-urban migration results in increased work load, especially for the poorest migrant households who cannot afford to offer high labour prices on the rural wage labour market. They often suffer from better-off households who take the labourers away by offering a higher price, even when there is agreement with the hired labourer. For good governance to be a reality in rural regions, the voice of these landless and small farmers who experience labour shortages after migration, have a poor competitiveness on the rural wage labour market and rely on work for others, must be heard by policy makers. There is a need for official labour standards on the rural wage labour market that regulate and control the working agreements, payment rates and employee-employer relations. Democratic organizations can play an important role in this by presenting and promoting the rights of casual workers and hiring (migrant) households. Moreover, pro-poor growth and migration policies have to pay attention to the double role of women from female-headed migrant households as child-carer and breadwinner, which constrains their search for work or results in lower daily earnings. So, the provision of childcare at the workplace can be an efficient measure.

Finally, the support to small-scale farmers and enterprises to increase their productivity and profits is the keystone of the development strategies of Rwanda (Rizzo 2011). From this research can be concluded that the present focus of poverty and employment policies in Rwanda is highly problematical, because they consider the rural poor as a homogenous group of small-scale subsistence farmers, working on their own land with support of members from their own household. However, from this research it appears that there exist a highly diversified and lively rural labour market in Rwanda, furthered by the migration of young able-bodied people. For many of the most vulnerable rural households wage labour appears to be a central survival strategy. This group needs to get more attention in poverty reduction policies of the Rwandan government. This is in line with recent research of Rizzo (2011) and Erlebach (2006) which emphasizes that nationwide research by government institutions and official statistics in Rwanda declare the insignificance of rural wage labour, resulting in the ignoring of millions of very poor rural households who rely on working for others.

8.3 Discussion of the research results in relation with the theory

This master study was in line with the livelihood approach and New Economics of Labour Model and considered migration as a strategic household response to scarcity and poverty conditions, in order to reduce vulnerability and increase income and investment opportunities. Resource-transfers between migrant(s) and rural migrant households played a central role in this research and are seen as a poverty-alleviating strategy. This angle of incidence turned out to be suitable, because particularly these transfers determinate the extent to which the negative effects of rural-urban migration can be compensated by positive effects. This is in line with the study of Deshingkar & Grimm (2005), which revealed that most rural migrant households hire labourers who are paid with money from the migrants and that the extent to which the replacement is sufficient depends on the amount of the received resources from the migrant. Also studies of Cotula and Toulin (2004) and de Haas (2003) which show that many rural households in Senegal and Morocco hired labourers to replace the migrants, are confirmed by the findings of this research.

According Vargas-Lundius & Lanly (2007) and IFAD (2008), the extent to which the loss of labour forces affects the rural migrant households is dependent on family structure, the duration of the migration, the migrant characteristics and the relationship between migrant and sending household. This appears to be true in rural Rwanda, except for the duration of the migration, which did not have significant relationship with the impacts of the loss of labour. Furthermore, the finding of Lucas (2006) that outmigration reduces the supply of labour in rural sending areas which leads to higher wages and less under- or unemployment, is confirmed by this research. However, rural areas with an oversupply of labour, like in one of the research areas, Nyagasambu, appear to have no gain. This corresponds with research of Vargas-Lundius (2007), which showed that some rural regions do not have profit of rural-urban migration, because the departed labour forces are replaced by unemployed people. Moreover, the research outcome that the departure of especially young and physically powerful man, often results in an increasing workload for

staying women in the household, is confirmed by a study of Van Rooij (2010), which highlights the burden of household duties and care for children, besides work in agriculture.

According to Skeldon (2008) and Adams (1969), rural-migration can result in the so-called 'brain-drain', which refers to the loss of mainly well-educated and highly-skilled people. However, migrants appear to come from each social-economic household group, of which the better-off households have significantly higher educational attainment level than the poorest households. As a result, migration not specifically concerns well-educated persons. For the same reason, studies of Lu and Treimann (2007), Adams (2005) and Hanson & Wodruff (2003), which report significant differences between migrant and non-migrant households in terms of health and education, are not supported by this research. At the same time, it can be stated that there is a 'brawn drain' in rural Rwanda, which refers to the migration of young, able-bodied men from rural areas. This corresponds with a study of Penninx (1982) (cited in de Haas, 2007).

Further, Durand et al. (1996) highlighted that money received from the migrants mainly is used for productive investments and foster rural development, while this master thesis shows that the majority of rural migrant households use the money for basic needs, except some better-off households that invest the money in farming, livestock or trading activities. The outcomes of this master research are more in line with studies of Calerjo et al (2009) and Teele et al. (2009) who write that the vast majority of remittances in Ecuador and Guatemala are used for consumptive purposes and basic needs.

Finally, the main finding of this research that mainly better-off migrant households take advantage of rural-urban migration points to increasing welfare differences in rural Rwanda and is reminiscent of research of Lipton (1980) which revealed that migration and remittances are causes for growing inequalities within sending communities (Lipton 1980). Further research on rural-urban migration in Rwanda should elaborate on these economic and social inequities.

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