Multi-locality

Editorial

Along with an increase of temporary forms of migration, multi-locational livelihoods and household arrangements are on the rise in many countries and world regions. The distribution of household income sources or other assets between two or several locations has been observed and identified in Africa and Asia for quite some time already. More recently, however, multi-locational employment and residential patterns—manifesting, for example, in growing numbers of workers with secondary residences—were found to be increasing in countries such as Germany and Switzerland as well.

Although the academic literature and, to a greater extent, the policy and planning discourse about multi-locality have evolved separately in the Global South and North, we argue that a joint perspective is valuable. This is due to common background factors, including (to name only a few) the globalisation of labour markets, the changing political geographies, and the advancement of ICT. Also, the characteristics and functions of multi-locality in the North and South are more similar than often assumed. In Africa and Asia, for instance, mobile arrangements and life-cycle phases—though usually studied within frameworks of survival economies and livelihoods—are also becoming a feature of the well-educated, internationally-oriented middle class.

The implications of multi-locality on local and regional development and governance are particularly pertinent. From the perspectives of cities and regions, multi-locational actors and arrangements increasingly shape, for example, their economic development potential and also have an impact on the local demand for housing and infrastructure. Thus, questions arise regarding the appropriate policy and planning responses to multi-locality, as well as the adequate organisational setups required. It can be assumed that in the light of migration and multi-locality, the territorialised approaches towards local development planning in both the South and North are increasingly being called into question. Meanwhile, "informal" actors (e.g., migrant networks) provide indications on how governance beyond administrative boundaries may work and better account for the needs of mobile population groups.

The contributions in this issue seek to address multi-locality from the various angles described. **Eva Dick** and **Cédric Duchêne-Lacroix** compare the characteristics, motives, and spatial patterns of multi-locality in the North and South, an endeavour rarely undertaken previously. One of their conclusions is that, notably, globalisation creates similarities crosscutting North-South boundaries, something which needs to be detailed and probed by future studies. **Andrea Dittrich-Wesbuer** addresses multi-locality in Germany, where, in spite of an increasing number of multi-local households, the issue is hardly taken up in urban policies. Thus, further inputs from both theory and practice are necessary. **Cindy Fan** describes household-splitting in China, a strategy that has been common in the country for decades. Her focus is on the diverse household arrangements and their implications on mobility behaviour (e.g., the duration of multi-local living). **Ine Cottyn** and **Gery Nijenhuis** describe how contemporary "villagisation" policies and other economic transformations in Rwanda have contributed to population redistribution and prompted an increased mobility of livelihoods. Elsewhere, in Bangladesh, rural dwellers are often drawn to a multi-local life due to the better employment and living opportunities in cities, as **Sabine Baumgart** discusses in her contribution. However, their mobile livelihoods and (often) informal institutions are hardly recognised by statutory planning authorities. In a similar vein, **Caitlin Blaser** and **Loren B. Landau** highlight the influence of multi-local people and migrants on local communities, often challenging dominant governance modes. The authors propose an instrument for the evaluation of a given local government's capacity to respond to mobility and multi-locality. **Peter Franke** describes the background and development of employment-based, political and cultural networks of multi-local people

in China, where nearly 20% of the population are officially defined as a "floating population". But multi-locality can also be observed across national borders and even continents: in **Karin Gaesing**'s article, a case study is presented in which transnational multi-local arrangements resulted in the financial cooperation between migrant associations in Paris and their community of origin in rural Mali. This can be seen as a successful migration-based partnership facilitated by development cooperation. **Alexandra Linden** and **Caroline Schäfer** show that multi-locality often develops between rural and urban areas, and can be used to strengthen rural-urban linkages and cooperative arrangements. **Renate Bornberg** illustrates that multi-locality is by no means a new phenomenon, but in some world regions has been practiced for centuries. Drawing on the example of multi-local caravan traders in Iran, she shows how historical forms of multi-locality persist but are gradually transforming (e.g., in the context of "modern" transport development). Finally, **Einhard Schmidt-Kallert** reminisces on the background and debates about multi-locality in the last decade. Although multi-locality has found its place in the academic debate by now, he points out open questions for research and the need for higher awareness in development policy and praxis.

Editorial

Verbunden mit dem Anstieg temporärer Migrationsformen nehmen multilokale Lebensformen und Haushaltstypen im globalen Süden und Norden zu. Für diese Entwicklung sind in beiden Kontexten ähnliche Strukturfaktoren ausschlaggebend, bspw. Globalisierung und Flexibilisierung der Arbeitsmärkte, neue ICTs und der Wandel von Familienformen und Geschlechterrollen. Auch Merkmale multilokaler Haushalte und Lebensformen gleichen sich tendenziell an. Aus planerischer Sicht sind die Auswirkungen von Multilokalität auf die lokale und regionale Entwicklung sowie Governance besonders bedeutsam. Hier muss nach angepassten Regelungsmechanismen und Strukturen auf verschiedenen räumlichen Ebenen gefragt werden.

*Die Beiträge in diesem Heft reflektieren Multilokalität aus diesen unterschiedlichen Perspektiven. **Eva Dick** und **Cédric Duchêne-Lacroix** vergleichen Merkmale, Motive und räumliche Muster von Multilokalität im Norden und Süden. **Andrea Dittrich-Wesbuer** untersucht, inwieweit Städte in Deutschland die Vervielfältigung dieser Lebensformen berücksichtigen. **Cindy Fan** analysiert das Mobilitätsverhalten verschiedener multilokaler Haushaltstypen in China. **Ine Cottyn** und **Gery Nijenhuis** zeichnen den Einfluss wirtschaftspolitischer Transformationen auf Siedlungsstrukturen in Rwanda nach. In Dhaka, Bangladesch, lässt sich laut **Sabine Baumgart** die Bedeutung multilokaler Überlebenssicherung an spezifischen Beschäftigungs- und Wohnarrangements ablesen. Dass formelle Stadtpolitiken mobile Lebensformen dabei kaum im Blick haben, betonen auch **Caitlin Blaser** und **Loren B. Landau** und stellen in ihrem Artikel ein Instrument zur Evaluierung kommunaler Kompetenzen in Südafrika vor. **Peter Franke** beschreibt Organisationsformen von WanderarbeiterInnen in China in ihrer historischen Entwicklung und **Karin Gaesing** ein erfolgreiches Kooperationsvorhaben zwischen MigrantInnenorganisationen, lokaler Verwaltung und Entwicklungszusammenarbeit im Rahmen der Dezentralisierungsförderung in Mali. **Alexandra Linden** und **Caroline Schäfer** argumentieren, wie Multilokalität zur Stärkung von Stadt-Land Beziehungen genutzt werden kann. Am Beispiel des Fernhandels in Iran zeigt **Renate Bornberg** frühe Formen multilokaler Daseinssicherung und ihre Veränderung im Lichte moderner Transportentwicklung auf. **Einhard Schmidt-Kallert** plädiert in seinem Schlussartikel für die Stärkung einer multilokalen Perspektive in der Regionalwissenschaft und Planungspraxis.*

Renate Bornberg, Eva Dick & Einhard Schmidt-Kallert

Multi-locality

Volume editors: Renate Bornberg, Eva Dick and Einhard Schmidt-Kallert

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Multi-local Living in the Global South and Global North: Differences, Convergences and Universality of an Underestimated Phenomenon

Eva Dick and Cédric Duchêne-Lacroix

Multilokales Wohnen im Globalen Süden und Norden: Unterschiede, Konvergenzen und Universalität eines unterschätzten Phänomens
Multilokalität hat in der Forschung sowohl im Globalen Süden, als auch im Globalen Norden zuneh-mende Aufmerksamkeit erfahren. Jedoch haben sich die Forschungsstränge unabhängig voneinander entwickelt, so legen beispielsweise nur wenige Studien ein gemeinsames Analyseraster zugrunde. Dies versucht der vorliegende Artikel, in dem Einflussfaktoren und räumliche Muster von Multilokalität sowie Merkmale multilokaler Individuen und Haushalte im Globalen Süden und Norden miteinander verglichen werden. Die AutorInnen identifizieren fortdauernde markante Unterschiede multilokaler Lebensformen in beiden Kontexten, weisen jedoch auch auf sich angleichende Ursachen und Merkmale hin. Insbesondere trägt die soziale und ökonomische Globalisierung zu neuen und quer zu Nord-Süd Kategorien verlau-fenden Erscheinungsformen bei. Der Artikel trägt vorwiegend Erkenntnisse aus der Sekundärliteratur zusammen. Diese werden ergänzt durch Fallbeispiele aus empirischen Studien beider AutorInnen.

Introduction

In both the Global South and North, multi-locality has become an increasingly studied phenomenon. Scholars of different disciplines have pointed to a growing relevance of multi-local[1] living arrangements and their implications for future research methodologies as well as policy and planning approaches. This being said, research on multi-locality in the South and North has largely evolved separately, with only few publications adopting a comparative perspective (e.g., Dick and Reuschke 2012; Schmidt-Kallert 2012).

In the present paper, we argue that such an integrated or at least comparative perspective should be carried further, due to the following observations. Multi-local "residential systems" (Dureau 1991) exist in all parts of the world and some of them are very old (Duchêne-Lacroix and Mäder 2013), like the "ubiquity of the African societies" (Amselle 1976). Apart from the common structural drivers (economic globalisation, development of transport and communication technologies, social change) spurring migration and multi-locational households in the North and South, the characteristics of the "multi-locals" and purposes of these arrangements are also more similar than often assumed. We also argue that multi-locational actors and arrangements shape the development paths of municipalities and regions in the South and North in quite comparable ways. For instance in both contexts local governments and administrations need to find responses how to better account for more part-time dwellings and infrastructure demand.

At the same time, we are convinced that South and North ought not to be looked at as dichotomies in the strictest sense. While this common differentiation may be useful as a heuristic device, in this article we draw attention to a more differentiated set of key (spatial) conditions leading to distinct multi-locality-related outcomes that can be identified in both settings.

Our article is structured as follows: after a short explanation of the research background and methods, the topic is discussed alongside three propositions regarding the nature of driving factors, spatial patterns, and features of the concerned individuals and households. In each proposition, we first reflect on the more conventional assumptions and subsequently sustain our arguments for a more integrated view. In the conclusion, we provide a summary of our main findings and an outlook on governance and policy challenges associated with multi-locational living arrangements.

Research background

This article is based on the analysis of existing literature about multi-locality in the Global North and South. Additionally, statements about key patterns and trends are underscored with insights from empirical research separately carried out by the two authors over the last five years. Eva Dick's study focus is on migration and urbanisation dynamics in the South. Most recently, together with Thorsten Heitkamp, she conducted a research project about "Migration, Translocality and Urban Governance in 'Transit Cities' in Ghana and South Africa".[2] Cédric Duchêne-Lacroix focuses on multi-locality in the North. After studying the transnational migration of French people in Berlin, he co-initiated and conducted the research project "Multilocal Living Arrangements in Switzerland (2012–2015). Mobility in the Interplay of Material, Social and Biographical Conditions" (MWinCH).[3]

Three propositions regarding multi-locality in the Global North and South

Proposition 1: The individual and household-related drivers of multi-local living arrangements can be conceived of as an intermeshing between structural "necessity" and actors' "deliberate choices" with varying ratios

Residential multi-locality in the South has predominantly been conceived of as driven by structural constraints, i.e., a reaction of people and households to an adverse social and economic environment and the intention to improve their situation by combining living places (Schmidt-Kallert and Franke 2012: 268). Since transnational migration is partly explained using this interpretative grid, Susan Thieme (2008) has recently proposed to merge transnational migration and livelihood theories in a multi-locality perspective.

Apart from adverse socio-economic circumstances, political or environmental factors may also be drivers of multi-locality, respectively in post-conflict countries or in areas affected by natural disasters or extreme weather events. For instance, in the Sahel region, which in the last years has experienced intensified and extended drought periods, circular migration is common and still augmenting (Hyo-Chung Chung and Guénard 2013). However, scholars have also pointed to the multi-faceted causes of migration within which ecological drivers tend to be related or aggravated by, e.g., political instability or people's socioeconomic vulnerability (e.g., Schraven et al. 2011/12: 21f.; Véron and Golaz 2015: 2) or the dispossession of traditional land (Meliki 2016).

In contrast, with respect to the Global North, multi-local arrangements are often perceived as "easy practises" for leisure, which is – indeed – the first motive of the multi-locals in many of these countries.

Individual choice or preference are obvious drivers in the case of amenity migration, leisure-related multi-locality, or residential multi-locality as a lifestyle, in the context of which, for instance, people use a second home in the Swiss Alps or pensioners hold part-time residence in Mediterranean or farther-away coastal zones. But also in the case of job-induced multi-locality, the literature has long suggested that such household arrangements in the North are predominantly choice-related; for instance, if a job elsewhere is deliberately sought out in order to advance one's career and professional status or, also, to gain an increase in income (Dick and Reuschke 2012).

We wish to draw attention to the fact that much of the figured constraint-driven multi-locality in the South is a result of individual agency and choice, and inversely, that many multi-locational living arrangements in the North are not free from structural constraints.

In some parts of the Global South, an increasing number of people use a secondary home for leisure. For instance, in Mexico, Central America and South Africa empirical studies point to a rising relevance of "residential tourism" in which non-resident nationals buy or re-establish private residences for spending part of the year or their holidays in the country of origin (Hoogendoorn and Visser 2015; van Noorloos 2011). Moreover, in Africa and elsewhere

one can observe an increase of migration by young females (Hillmann 2010; Beauchemin 2011: 56f.), which seems to be at least partly related to individual consumption choices and lifestyle considerations. In the context of their study on transitory migration in Ghana, Dick and Heitkamp (2015) identified single females as a group consciously opting for a multi-locational living arrangement during the pre-marriage phase (see Box 1).

Meanwhile, a number of studies realised on multi-locality in the Global North in the last years refute the notion of it being a mere matter of choice. For instance, based on a study in Germany, Weiske et al. (2009) have developed a typology of job-induced multi-locals among which some indicate that this is not the desired living arrangement (id., 70f.). Sometimes multi-locality is imposed by "patchwork" family arrangements, where children are raised in joint custody and live intermittently in the dwelling of each parent (Schier 2014). Studies on working conditions and life

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Box 1:
Case of young female migrant in Kumasi, Ghana

She comes from the country's Northern Region and sells millet balls at Kumasi Central Market. She shares a room with seven other young women who are all related in terms of being from the same ethnic group and area of origin, though not "from the same parents". She has been in Kumasi for four years and came alone, with the other seven subsequently arriving one after the other, following notification by mobile phone that the prior one arrived safely. All of them work at the market. They pay rent to a woman who lives in a close-by settlement and is also from their home region. She did not know the owner of her housing structure before migrating, but somebody in Kumasi brought her to the woman. She usually stays in Kumasi for three months, and then returns to her hometown for two months to rest. With the money the young women earn in the big city, they buy clothes in order to get ready for marriage. Once they have gathered enough money to get married, they intent to return up North (...).

balance indicate that people "give in" to live multi-locally in order to avert downward social mobility (Schneider and Meil 2009; Vignal 2005). The constraints of these arrangements are, for instance, the distance between locations related to the necessity (or not) to be here and there. In Switzerland, about a quarter of the multi-locally living people would like to stop their multi-local arrangement if they could (Schad et al. 2014). This proportion is even larger among people with a secondary home in a city (30%), particularly if this home is used for work (39%) or education (55%), less if it is used for leisure (20%).

The case of a transnational mother and scientist interviewed (see Box 2) illustrates the technical and psychological difficulties of managing a multi-local life split between a working and a family place (Duchene-Lacroix 2007).

Concluding, we assume a difference of frequencies and forms of multi-local living between the Global North and South, but no substantial differences. In the two presented cases, for instance, it is not possible to clearly establish if the practises are externally, morally or economically imposed, or genuinely deliberate. The respective context could lead to a different ratio and combination of driving elements. Therefore, it is fruitful and necessary to examine the "spatiality regime"**4** (Duchêne-Lacroix et al. 2016), the "spacing capacity of action" (Duchêne-Lacroix and Schad 2013), the "life strategies" (Schmidt-Kallert 2009), and the "tactics" (Certeau 1984) of one's situation and their interplay with respect to as well as beyond local contexts.

Proposition 2: *Regional disparities strongly contribute to the spatiality of migration and multi-locality, reaching far beyond traditional rural-urban patterns*

Traditional geographical settings within which multi-local living arrangements in the South develop are the impoverished countryside and rapidly urbanising city regions. The underlying assumption is that under conditions of land scarcity and/or agricultural modernisation, peasant migrants are pushed from their lands but, as a consequence of "urbanisation without growth", cannot be permanently absorbed by the urban labour market and thus need to

maintain a foothold in the rural/agricultural economy. Many studies have thus pointed to non-permanent migrants seeking to combine resources from both ends by way of economic, social and cultural relations of reciprocity (Hyo-Chung Chung and Guénard 2013; Pulliat 2013; Schmidt-Kallert 2009; Schmidt-Kallert and Franke 2012; Steinbrink 2009; Dick/Schmidt-Kallert 2011; Greiner 2008; Deshingkar/Farrington 2009).

In the Global North, since the majority of people live in urban areas (in Germany approx. 74% in 2010, UNDESA 2014), such rural-urban circular job-induced migration is not so prominent, as studies on job-induced circular migration in Germany (Reuschke 2010), France (Imbert et al. 2014) and Switzerland (MWinCH) corroborate. Rather, residential multi-locality occurs between economically lagging and economically growing urban areas (Dick and Reuschke 2012:184). Trends are similar in other countries of the North with comparably elevated levels of urbanisation, e.g., the United States (Brown/Cromartie 2004). This said, the configuration of a family residence in a rural area (often with owned real estate) and a residence near the urban workplace is nevertheless common, in particular after a professional transfer or dismissal (Vignal 2005), or among university students or researchers (Kramer 2014). Rather than constituting the main pattern, the rural-urban is one among other possibilities in spatially-fragmented job/family arrangements.

In the North, the urban-urban pattern predominates even among multi-local living arrangements for leisure. In Switzerland, 75% of the multi-locals have their main residence in an urban area, and among 54% of them the secondary residence is located in another urban area (24% in city centre, 30% in agglomerations outside the centre) (MwinCH 2015). This indicates that the traditional social representation of this form–the main residence in the city and a second home in the countryside (the Roman "villa", the summer residence of a sovereign, etc., see Duchêne-Lacroix and Mäder 2013) – is no longer suitable. But, secondary homes for leisure and amenity-migration (having socially expanded) do contribute to transforming rural areas and representations of rurality (Perlik 2011; Rolshoven and Winkler 2009: 100). Living conditions and lifestyles in specific rural and urban areas become increasingly similar (Dick 2013: 117) and service demands assimilate too.

Under conditions of globalised and flexibilised labour markets, urbanisation dynamics change; former spatialities of migration and multi-locality tend to dilute while new forms emerge criss-crossing North-South boundaries. For instance, in many countries in Sub-Sahara Africa, urban poverty, economic crises and job insecurity have lowered the attractiveness of large urban centres as traditional migration destinies (Potts 2009; Beauchemin 2011: 57ff.). Meanwhile, global investments have contributed to the rise of new employment centres and migration dynamics. International tourism sites, for example, which attract urban-rural or rural-rural (sometimes cross-border) employment flows, e.g., between rural Nicaragua and the Guanacaste coast in Costa Rica (van Norloos 2011; Zoomers/van Westen 2011: 384f.). Or new urban employment centres that arise as a consequence of their articulation with international manufacturing and trade networks, a development van Halvoirt has described for

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Box 2:
Case of a young, transnational mother and scientist moving between Berlin (Germany) and Marseille (France)

Brigitte lives with her husband and children in Berlin. As a French scientist, her normal workplace would be France. However, due to research missions and parental leaves, she has worked for years in and from Berlin. After a while, it was no longer possible to continue her mission "abroad" and she started to commute between Berlin (family place) and Marseille (working place). At the beginning, she regularly took a non-stop flight between the cities, which was logistically difficult in comparison to the previous "next-door job", but convenient considering the distance between the cities. Then the airline stopped the direct flight connection – and she had to change flights in London. During this period she was so exhausted and out of step that she often awoke wondering in which dwelling she was.

Cebu City on the Philippines (van Helvoirt 2011; Zoomers/van Westen 2011: 384f.). Moreover, transnational multi-localities are developing within continents and between the North and the South. Besides transmigrants who work in another country and come back home occasionally (e.g., between Germany and Spain, France and Algerian, Switzerland and Poland, etc.), other transmigrants from Germany, France or Switzerland spend holiday time in their second homes in Morocco, Spain or Portugal.

In summary, in both South and North income and cost differentials within or between countries strongly influence mobility decisions of (multi-local) individuals and households. They produce rural-urban or urban-urban configurations typical for the South and North respectively, which, however, tend to dilute in the context of globalisation and advanced urbanisation. Apart from economic objectives, motives such as "doing family" (Schier 2009, von Arx/Duchene-Lacroix 2014), feeling at home, constructing one-self or experiencing nature also feed into people's mobility and locational decisions. They are tied to specific places and cannot easily be transferred to others. As a result, the spatial configurations of migration and multi-locality are becoming more diverse, alongside specific economic and socio-cultural pathways of societies and world regions.

Proposition 3: *Structural and cultural evolution of societies give way to particular multi-local living forms*

The state and evolution of cultural behaviours and socio-economic characteristics open or restrict the potentiality and forms of multi-local living. In the Global North, the rise of individualism, newly adopted fathers' roles, and women's emancipation contribute to the emergence of specific household and multi-local living arrangements (Singly 2000) including, for example, couples "Living Apart Together" (LATs), who spend part-time together in one of the members' residence without unifying their homes. These couples represent about 10% of the population in several European countries (Duncan and Phillips 2010; Stoilova et al. 2014; Toulemon and Pennec 2010). Also, the proportion of children living in joint custody is increasing in many Western countries (Schier 2014). The living arrangement of a large part of students is also multi-local e.g. in France (Imbert et al. 2014), or in Switzerland (45% of the students, see MWinCH 2015). They often live part-time in shared dwellings near or within their higher-education establishment and part-time at their parents.

These and other multi-local living forms – for instance, those related to maintaining second homes– are also made possible by a relatively high living standard and cultural capital. In other words, the likelihood for multi-local living increases with people's and households' financial and cultural resources. In Switzerland, 47% of the people with an annual income of more than 460,000 EUR are multi-local compared to less than 25% of the people with less than 23,000 EUR. Nevertheless, we observe that even a significant part of people with lower incomes in the North are multi-local. Among the job-related multi-locals, including the "shuttles" (Reuschke 2010), there are different categories of high-skilled professionals (Dick/Reuschke 2012: 187) – such as management consultants, researchers and academics – and thus differing socioeconomic status groups (Kramer, 2014; Plöger/Becker 2015: 10; van Riemsdijk 2014: 2).

In contrast, in the South multi-locality has been seen as typical for poor (rural) households seeking to sustain their livelihoods. While multi-local living in the Global South continues to be an important means of survival for the poor, in the context of economic globalisation and the democratisation of education it also becomes relevant for what is being discussed as a rising (and educated) middle class.[5] This development may be particularly relevant in emerging economies such as China (Schmidt-Kallert 2009; Schmidt-Kallert and Franke 2012) or South Africa (Hoogendoorn et al. 2009), but is also perceivable in other countries. Some of these middle classes remain in the national context, others may be transnationally oriented (e.g., as are international students and high-skilled workers in transnational companies) and able to invest the surplus incomes earned elsewhere into status symbols back home (view figure 2). Furthermore, traditional models such as the cohesion of the rural family are also progressively losing relevance, as is evidenced by an individual encounter recalled by Einhard Schmidt-Kallert (see Box 3).

Conclusion

In all parts of the world, contextual combinations of drivers lead individuals and households to live in more than one residence and to cope with intermittent presence and absence in their living places. These drivers are the result of an intermeshing of structural "necessity", action capacity and living strategy. Multi-local living needs at least one anchorage motivation (work, family, etc.) per location.

This old phenomenon has local and social specificities. Many regions of the Global South are affected by rural de-population and thus rural-urban multi-locality is common, a pattern witnessed in the Global North during industrialisation. In many countries of the Global South, particularly in Africa, the link with the rural family roots is very strong and often combined with living in the city for income generation. In the Global North, beside urban-urban or urban-rural multi-locality for enjoying a second home, some other social forms of multi-local living also appear, such as children who stay alternately in the dwelling of separated parents or couples whose members decide to keep their own dwelling and visit each other.

These specificities develop alongside certain social, urban, economic and cultural configurations, which are highly dynamic themselves. Between global regions, some convergences of multi-local living patterns can be noticed. In the Global South, rural exodus, the growth of the middle class and the rise of individualism set off new living aspirations such as the amenity-second home or moving to the city for studying. In both the Global North and South, new regions and (often smaller) cities acquire new functions as employment centres, partly within global production or service chains and ensuing migration networks.

Whereas the drivers of multi-locality, spatial patterns and features of multi-local households differ but assimilate to certain degrees in the Global North and South, the consequences related to their governance are surprisingly similar. At least three points need to be made: (1) In both the North and South, local governments assuming sedentary and monolocal populations pursue territory-based approaches limiting, e.g., the provision of public services, to the area within fixed administrative boundaries. (2) As a consequence, in neither context does multi-locality

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Box 3:
Case of young engineer working for an electronics company in Shenzhen, China

"He hailed from a district town in Hubei Province (...) and had studied electrical engineering in Wuhan. He certainly belonged to the upper echelon of migrants to the Pearl River Delta. (...) He talked about his life in Shenzhen, how he enjoyed the night life in the local dance parlours ('I am a good dancer'), about his memories of Hubei, and his family. Eventually I asked him whether he sent money back to Hubei to support his family. At this point of the conversation he lost his self-assurance for the first time, he said something about capitalism in China and made a vain gesture, he suddenly avoided eye contact with me and I saw him burst into tears. A very brief encounter and a superficial one at that. But it clearly showed the tragedy of first-generation migrants who find themselves sandwiched between the promises of the urban, to some extent globalised culture and traditional family values." (Schmidt-Kallert 2009, p. 18)

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possess prominence in policy agendas (e.g., for urban and regional planning) in the sense of a common understanding and strategic approaches towards the phenomenon. (3) Since (work and leisure) activity spaces of an increasing number of individuals and households extend beyond these boundaries, governmental policies in certain sectors (housing, health provision, participation) also ought to extend their range of action. This is even more so as new technologies facilitate the linkage between locations for individual and institutional networks beyond the physical locality. In both the Global North and South, conditions are thus favourable to change the local policy into a multi-local one.

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Figure 3: A political action: In 2005, the city of Cologne has introduced the second home tax to reduce the number of second residences in its jurisdiction. Source: Amt für Stadtentwicklung und Statistik Köln

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Multi-locality – New Challenges for Urban Development and Policies in Germany?

Andrea Dittrich-Wesbuer

Multilokalität – Neue Herausforderungen für Stadtentwicklung und Politik in Deutschland?
In der Spätmoderne sind mobile und fluide Lebensformen und Wohnpraktiken an mehr als einem Ort zur sozialen Alltagspraxis mit wachsender Bedeutung geworden. Die Forschung greift dies zunehmend auf und diskutiert residenzielle Multilokalität aus unterschiedlichen Blickrichtungen. Trotz eines breiten Spektrums an Einzelausprägungen lassen sich gemeinsame Merkmale finden, mit deren Hilfe derartige Lebensformen disziplinübergreifend beschrieben und untersucht werden können. Der Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit den Auswirkungen von Multilokalität auf Stadtentwicklung und konzentriert sich dabei auf die Sichtweisen der öffentlichen Akteure. Die Wahrnehmung multilokaler Lebensformen und deren Relevanz für berufsbedingtes Handeln wird an Hand empirischer Untersuchungen deutlich. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass residenzielle Multilokalität derzeit kein bedeutsames Feld der urbanen Governance ist, für die Zukunft aber Handlungsbedarf eingeräumt wird. Dies erfordert erweiterte Debatten in Theorie und Praxis.

1. Introduction

In late contemporary times, living and working worlds are becoming increasingly differentiated. Under the premise of growing mobility and dissolving boundaries (Urry 2007; Castells 2004), spatial relations are getting increasingly fuzzy, and many people's ways of life span across several places, sometimes even beyond national borders. In the literature, diverse terms are used to describe this phenomenon, such as multi-locality, transnationalism, or place polygamy, or have been derived from various research discourses and paradigms (Weichhart 2009; Pries 2010; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002). In most studies, multi-local ways of life are interpreted as a space-time strategy to adapt to the requirements and opportunities of late contemporary life, which is also described as an era of uncertainty and insecurity (Rosa 2005; Bauman 2008).

It may be expected that the progressive departure from unilocal and unidimensional assignments of entities to people's everyday lives will have spatial and social implications for urban development. However, systematic approaches and empirically-based insights are still lacking, especially regarding the perspectives of public actors. After delineating the current state of research on these issues, I will present some empirical findings and proposals based on an online survey and interviews with local actors in North Rhine-Westphalia.[1]

The diversity and heterogeneity of multi-local ways of life

Very generally speaking, the term "multi-locality" refers to a practice of day-to-day life of individuals or groups whose everyday lives span across several places. It may thus be conceived of as a space-time social "pattern of organising nearly every aspect of late contemporary life" (Hilti 2009: 79; translated from German). We need to distinguish this broader meaning of multi-locality from residential multi-locality (also called "multi-local living arrangements"), which does not address visiting different places in general, but is applied in a narrower sense by placing focus on overnight stays or living in two or more places. It is this way of life – hereafter simply called "multi-local" – that we aim to discuss. Our considerations are based on the definition provided by the trinational research network "multi-locality":

> "*(Residential) multi-locality is a social practice of everyday life whose participants have at their disposal two or more dwellings in different places where they reside in alternating rhythms*" (Wood et al. 2015).

The dynamic state of research

The issue of multi-locality has triggered a dynamic academic debate. Besides some essential studies provided by, among others, Weichhart (2009), Reuschke (2010), Hilti (2013), Petzold (2013), and Nadler (2014), a wide range of other publications can be listed that yield insights based on diverse research discourses and paradigmatic perspectives.

A key position in the discussions may be attributed to **mobilities research** on the changes and the increasing impact of mobilities under the challenges of the modernisation of societies (e.g. Sheller & Urry 2006), which is related to **transnationalism research** (e.g. Pries 2010). Under this paradigm, numerous case studies have been conducted on mobile or, more specifically, multi-local ways of life, particularly in the context of the rapidly changing working worlds (e.g. "varimobiles", "shuttles", "transmigrants/transnationals"; see e.g. Schneider & Collet (2010).

The conditions and challenges of life across different places for partnerships and families are important issues of current research, especially of **household and family research** (e.g. Weiske, Petzold & Zierold 2009), including the international context (e.g. Schmidt-Kallert 2009). Forms of multi-locality linked with this research include, among others, couples living in separate households ("Living Apart Together" – LAT) and commuting children of separated families (e.g. Schier 2013).

An ongoing debate on multi-locality can be noted in the field of regional science and social geography, dealing for example with its impacts on society and places. Under the umbrella term **second homes research**, this strand is focused on leisure-related forms of multi-locality ("weekend homes") or age-related second homes ("retirement migration" or "amenity migration") (see e.g. Roca 2013; Dienel et al. 2004).

Apart from second homes research, studies on the spatial implications of multi-locality are still rare and only few contributions have been made by **policy research**. However, some most recent studies on urban policies have attracted attention by addressing the legitimisation crisis of state power and bureaucracy's dwindling capacity to act (see e.g. Mayntz 2004). Several authors link these recent tendencies to multi-local ways of life, which are attributed to having a subversive power and eroding effects on established territorial and rationally-driven systems of reference (Weiske 2009).

2. Heterogeneous phenomena and overarching characteristics

While within the scope of the studies mentioned above, an extraordinary diversity of phenomena related to (residential) multi-locality is discussed, a generally accepted systematisation has, however, not yet been established. To date, typologies have rather been based on individual

research interests and specific methodological approaches (see e.g. Hilti 2013; Weiske, Petzold & Zierold 2009; Hesse & Scheiner 2007). Figure 1 provides an overview of the various strands currently discussed; it must be pointed out, however, that they partly overlap. The figure intends to illustrate the close relationship between forms of multi-locality and some phenomena of mobility. Long-distance commuters and migrants or seasonal workers may serve as examples of this aspect. Focus is put on the motives or causes that trigger the multi-local arrangements and may be divided into the broad categories of education, leisure, family, and partnership.

In the course of the academic debate, some overarching features of multi-local ways of life have been elaborated, and they are used as interdisciplinary points of reference or dimensions of analysis (see Schier et al. 2015).

As emphasised by Sheller and Urry in their discussion of mobilities (2006), one of these essential attributes is characterised by the complex interplay of **mobilities and stabilities**, which displays wide individual variation. This aspect is connected with the **relationality** of multi-local ways of life, which refers to the whole arrangement here, there, and in-between. Moreover, consideration is given to the pronounced **process orientation**, which may be relevant to specific phases of life or stages of housing and mobility biographies. This is accompanied by a strong **fluidity** (e.g. expressed in transitions between housing, leisure, and work) but also by higher **vulnerability** and **fragility**. We must keep in mind that multi-local phenomena are structured through **time** and **space** and need to be seen in their **specific and situational context**.

3. Quantifying multi-locality

Data on multi-local ways on life is very limited (see details: Dittrich-Wesbuer & Kramer 2014; Dittrich-Wesbuer et al. 2015). A major reason for this deficit is to be found in the
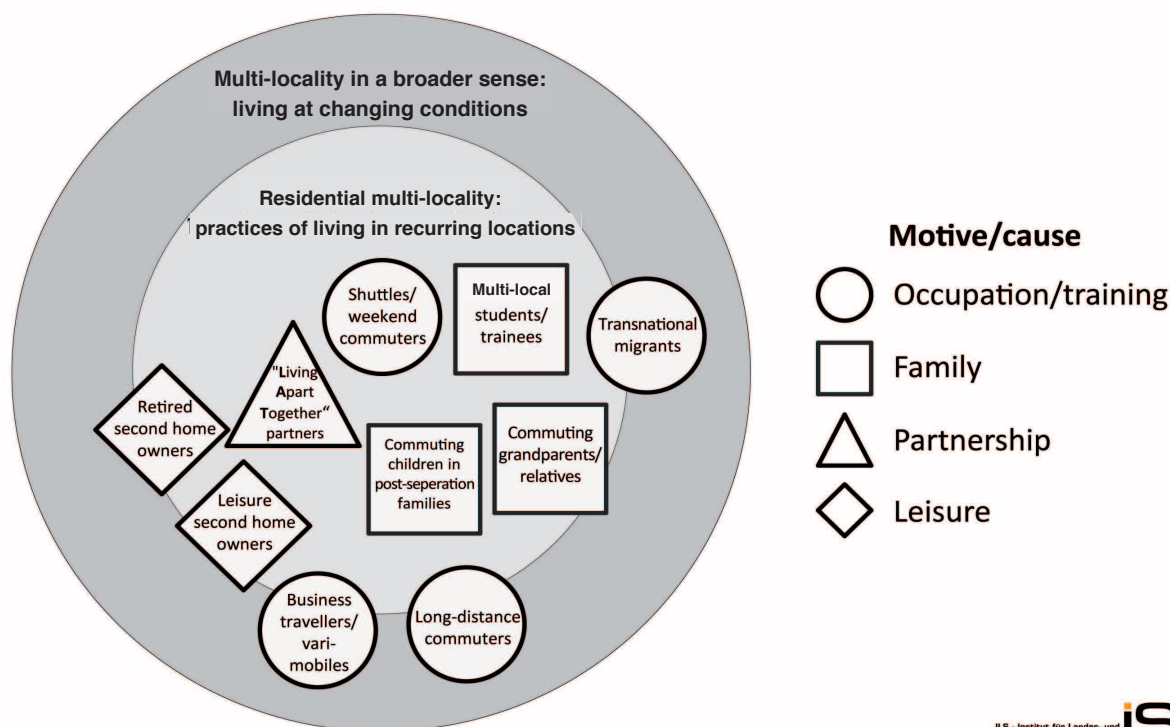

Figure 1: Forms of residential multi-locality. Source: Dittrich-Wesbuer and Kramer 2014; modified

inadequate informative value of official data. Information gained from the registers of residents in Germany and in many other European countries lacks accuracy, for example, due to failing to register or notify changes of address. Thus, this data is not a reliable source for an accurate estimation of the volume of multi-local ways of life in cities and municipalities. The sample survey of income and expenditures is another source of official statistics. It distinguishes between secondary residences (for educational and work purposes) and leisure homes (holiday homes, dachas, and similar properties). According to this survey, just under 3% of the German private households used a secondary residence for work-related purposes at the beginning of 2013, and almost 2% had a second home for leisure activities (Dittrich-Wesbuer & Kramer 2014: 49).

However, these figures must be regarded as a lower limit of the volume of multi-local ways of life, for the following reasons: just like all other official surveys, the above-mentioned one is restricted to households whose members live and keep house together. Social relations without sharing a household, such as couples living separately ("Living Apart Together") or children of separated families are either not at all, or insufficiently, recorded. These shortcomings have been criticised by a number of authors (e.g. Reuschke 2010: 29ff; Petzold 2013: 44ff; Hilti 2013: 60ff).

Besides official statistics, some recent case studies have been conducted on the extent of multi-local ways of life. A survey in Switzerland, for example, has shown that 28% of the Swiss population (aged between 15 and 74) practice residential multi-locality (Schad et al. 2015). For Germany, comparable representative data are not available. However, the results of a household survey, conducted in 2011, do provide some insights. It was carried out in districts with differing socio-economic and demographic characteristics of three city regions and included a wide range of multi-local ways of life, relating to work, leisure, family, and partnership (see Dittrich-Wesbuer & Osterhage 2014; Dittrich-Wesbuer & Föbker 2013). The findings reveal that between 6% and 25% of all households in the districts are affected by residential multi-locality (see Fig. 2).

According to this study, high percentages are indicated for large cities and, within them, in centre-near quarters;

these results have also been confirmed by other investigations (e.g. Reuschke 2010; Sturm & Meyer 2009). Following Petzold (2011: 165), the existence and increasing significance of multi-local and urban lifestyles may be a predictor of future features of post-contemporary European cities.

4. Socio-spatial implications of multi-locality

In the opinion of many experts, multi-local ways of life have socio-spatial impacts on urban development (see e.g. Dirksmeier 2012; Weichhart 2009), such as implications for the housing and transport markets as well as consequences for civil society and local policies. In the second home research mentioned above, assessments may however differ widely. While some authors emphasise the benefits of leisure-related multi-locality, particularly for regional economies, others point out the negative consequences concerning landscape aesthetics, costs of infrastructures, increased consumption of resources, and the exclusion of locals from the housing market (see Perlik 2009; see overview in Schier et al. 2015).

Studies dealing with the implications of urban multi-local ways of life are mostly restricted to individual groups or specific districts (see e.g. Menzl 2011; Föbker et al. 2010). Though dating back a few years, Odermatt's study may serve as an example of a more comprehensive investigation. Based on a statistical analysis of secondary residences in five major Swiss cities, he discusses their potential spatial impact (Odermatt 1990). Odermatt points out a number of crucial issues, in particular the housing shortage, soaring housing prices, and the financial burden the cities face due to the lack of fiscal revenues along with rising infrastructural needs (ibid.: 37). He also argues that the rise in second homes that are characterised by underlying "aspects of leisure or luxury" constitutes a negative development (ibid.: 97). These arguments also play an important role in current political and planning debates in Switzerland, known as the "cold bed" syndrome (see Schad et al. 2015: 178).

Spatial implications of multi-locality are also addressed in a recent case study on multi-local lifestyles in Wolfsburg, a major city in central Germany (Leubert 2013). Because
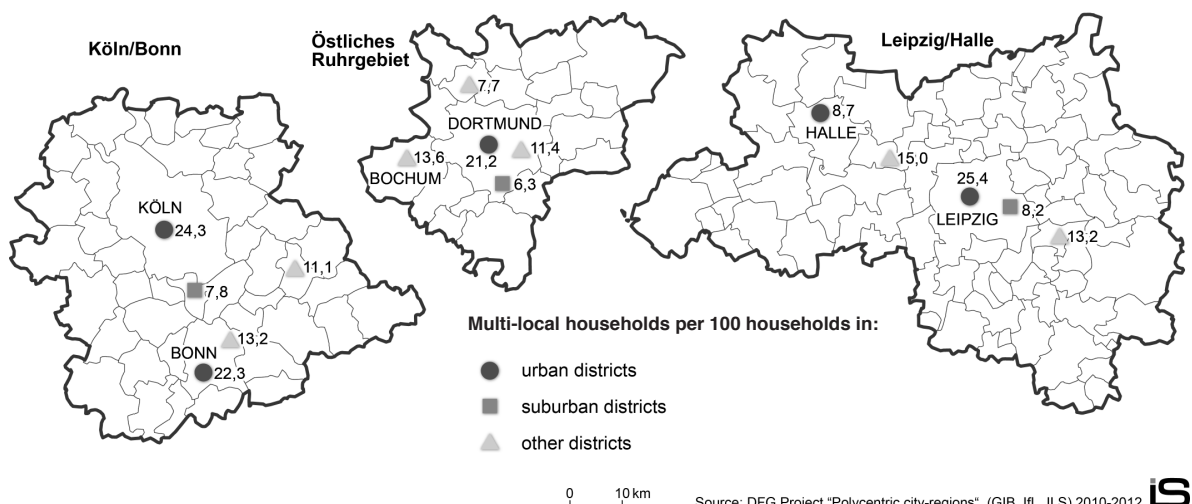
▶ **Figure 2:** Distribution of multi-local ways of life in districts of German city regions. Source: DFG project "Polycentric city-regions" (GIB, IfL, ILS) 2010-2012 (own design)

of the global player, Volkswagen, the percentage of job-related multi-locality is higher than in most other German cities. Based on her interviews conducted among local experts and multi-local households, Leubert emphasises the primarily positive impact of the Wolfsburg Volkswagen plant on the city's development and highlights, for example, the potential for growth of the retail sector and housing markets, but also for urban life (ibid.: 149ff).

In the study, issues of civil society are explored, which are connected to aspects of identity and integration of people living multi-locally. As Leubert points out, the modes of local embeddedness may differ widely, depending on individual factors as well as on the length and structure of the multi-local arrangement. She also underlines existing interest in local affairs (ibid.: 122ff). Similar findings have been provided by Menzl (2011) in his case study on HafenCity, a new residential quarter located in a former harbour area in Hamburg. He outlines new forms of interpersonal relations developed in neighbourhoods with a high percentage of multi-local residents. Other significant evidence on this issue has been supplied by recent case studies carried out by Petzold (2013; 2011), without, however, including any spatial reference. As a result of his comprehensive analysis, he argues that people living multi-locally do exhibit place attachment and that multi-locality and identification are by no means in contradiction to each other (Petzold 2013: 388; Petzold 2011: 168).

As regards the local civic engagement, Nadler (2014) points out that people living multi-locally are often willing to shape their places and participate in public local life. Yet, there are some strong inhibiting factors like a tight schedule, unpredictable periods of absence, and – as a result of their mobile lifestyles – some evident socio-cultural differences from local groups (ibid.: 370). It must be pointed out, however, that the studies mentioned here focus on socially privileged households. The disadvantageous conditions of identification and integration of specific multi-local groups such as poorly qualified migrant workers may have been underestimated (see e.g. Koch 2008; Duchêne-Lacroix 2009).

Local embeddedness does not only depend on individual social practices but is considerably affected by institutionalised and legal framework conditions. In Germany, for example, multi-local households have only limited access to municipal forms of participation (elections, referendums). Moreover, the question arises if, considering the specific rhythms of presence and absence, the available supply of urban services and participation can actually be utilised by, or are adequately tailored for, this group (Dittrich-Wesbuer & Plöger 2013). In this context, a number of authors contend that national and municipal institutions are still in the grip of territorial thinking, which leads to difficulties when confronted with multi-local ways of life (Weiske 2009: 287; Schmidt-Kallert 2012: 18). In order to gain broader insight into this issue, some findings on the public actors' perception of multi-local ways of life are described below.

5. Perspectives of public actors

The relationship between multi-locality and local policies has been subject to only a few comprehensive studies
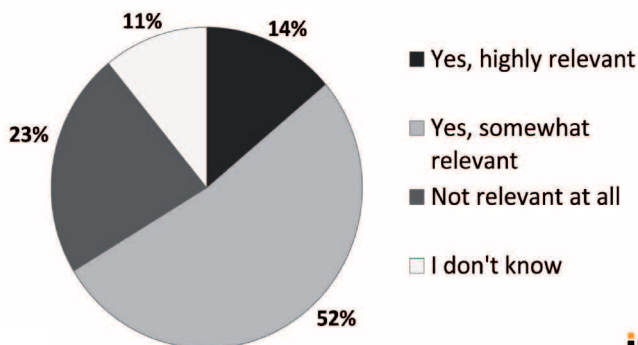
(e.g. Roca 2013; Halfacree 2012). Little is known if and how multi-local ways of life are perceived by public actors. Some insight has been gained through exploratory research conducted by the author at the ILS – Research Institute for Regional and Urban Development, carried out in North Rhine-Westphalia, the most populous federal state in Germany and characterised by a high level of urbanisation. Findings are based on a 2013 online survey conducted among nearly 200 staff members of municipal administrations in this federal state. It was complemented by 30 in-depth guided telephone interviews (see details: Dittrich-Wesbuer et al. 2014). Within the scope of a case study performed by the author in 2014, nine expert interviews were conducted with public and civil societal actors of a major German city. In the enquiries and interviews, the participants were asked to assess the relevance of multi-locality according to the individual job-related experience. No official statements on part of the municipalities were requested. This strategy had a positive effect on the respondents' willingness to participate in the survey, yet may limit the validity of the results.

Heterogeneous perceptions of multi-local phenomena

At a first glance, the assessment of the relevance of multi-locality to city development shows a certain awareness of the phenomenon on the side of officials. More than half of the respondents rate multi-locality as "somewhat relevant"; about a quarter assign high relevance to it. The latter are mostly members of municipal administrations of larger cities.

Deeper insights have been gained from expert interviews. What is eye-catching is the wide spectrum of perceptions of multi-local ways of life and their effects, which is very concisely outlined in Figure 5. It is also striking to note

In your opinion, is multi-locality relevant to your city/municipality?

- 14% Yes, highly relevant
- 52% Yes, somewhat relevant
- 23% Not relevant at all
- 11% I don't know

n=194

Multi-local people as …

… part-time absent house owners "Second Home Towns"

… welcome expats and unknown foreigners "Economic Centres"

… residents for weekends "Trendy Cities"

… disintegrated seasonal workers "Agriculture Towns"

… a fluid potential "Student Cities"

… preserving traditional residents "Shrinking Cities"

… competitors on housing markets "Reurbanising Cities"

▲
Figure 4: Assessing the relevance of multi-local ways of life to city development. Source: Dittrich-Wesbuer et al. 2014; (own design)

▼
Figure 5: "Types" of impacts on and frameworks of multi-locality. Source: author (own design)
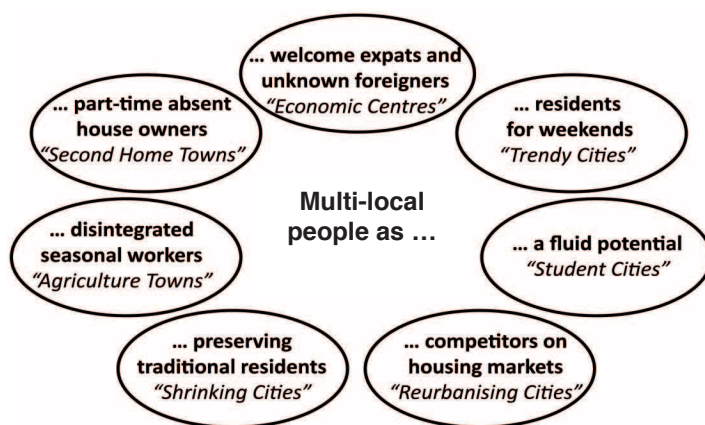
the relevance of the framework conditions of the cities, relating, for instance, to their economic structure and prosperity, as well as the dynamics of demographic development. For example, people living multi-locally are an issue for municipal staff in major cities suffering already from expansion strains and reurbanisation, because they represent additional "competitors" on strained housing markets. The situation is different in shrinking cities where multi-local residents contribute to some stability of the housing demand and population by maintaining property or renting accommodations, mostly for reasons of place attachment ("preserving traditional residents"). In economically thriving cities, multi-local residents are generally welcome as actors on the labour market. However, it seems that the multi-local residents and the original local population keep each other at a distinct cultural distance.

Corresponding with these heterogeneous perceptions, diverging assessments were provided on the chances and risks of multi-locality for city development. The results show that the respondents arrive at an ambiguous decision: more than half of the online participants indicate that multi-locality is both a chance and a risk (see Fig. 6). On the other hand, the rest decides on a distinctly positive assessment: 37% regard multi-locality as a chance or more of a chance, whereas only 11% hold a negative view.

Multi-locality – a neglected topic with an insufficient body of knowledge

Although the results of the survey show a great variety of multi-locality and a certain interest of public actors, the importance in day-to-day work has been lagging behind. Currently, multi-locality seems to play hardly any role in the practices of urban planning and urban policy. In some cases it is included in other topics that have already been established in local discussion, such as demographic development and enhancing business development. In addition, differences in terminology between urban policy and research became obvious. The term "multi-locality" – as used in this paper – does not exist in the technical language of the participants.

The highly insufficient and unstructured knowledge of the topic is remarkable indeed. In the online survey only one third of the respondents (28%) stated they were familiar with municipal data on multi-locality (see Fig. 7). What is more, most of them acknowledged that they did not know any research results on urban multi-local ways of life.

Knowledge is usually restricted to data on secondary residences provided by demographic statistics. Consequently, the limited information value of the data (see section 3) results in a serious underestimation of multi-locality in cities. In the case study, the experts were specifically interviewed on the availability of data on multi-locality and their significance. On the whole, they all emphasised and agreed upon the relevance of official data as "modus operandi" in politics and administration.
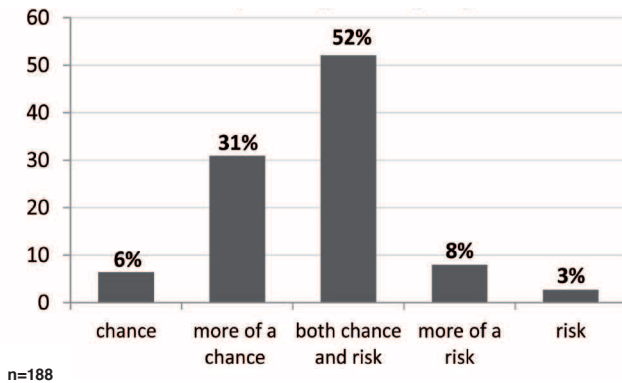
Is there need for action when dealing with multi-locality?

With the above-mentioned considerations in mind, it does not come as a surprise that the surveys and interviews render only little need and few starting points for action concerning residential multi-locality. The housing market is the only relevant item mentioned by nearly all respondents. Actors in the housing sector are specifically addressed because they are responsible for providing sufficient housing supply – for instance, smaller or furnished flats or new forms of housing such as serviced apartments. These market segments have already been conceived of as a trend in major cities and may also become a relevant option in smaller towns.
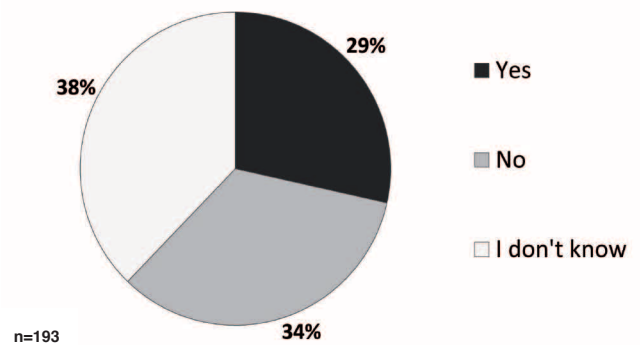
The tasks of municipal administrations and political bodies are more of a reactive nature and confine themselves to setting up frameworks. Examples of this perception of tasks are: issuing provisions for the protection of the housing stock against change of use and introducing the second-home tax, which is collected in North Rhine-Westphalia in nearly every tenth municipality. Specific offerings relating, for instance, to participation or citizen service are not mentioned and are evidently not deemed necessary. Various bureaus of business development are an exception: besides recruiting qualified staff members, they offer assistance in finding accommodation; however, this service is restricted to specific groups like expatriates or highly qualified persons.

In short, multi-local ways of life are considered to be a private matter by most of the public actors included in the study. However, the participants agree on the assumption that multi-local ways of life will increase significantly in the future. At least as far as urban centres are concerned, they therefore expect that public authorities will face a growing need for action. Yet, the extent and design of measures could not be defined at the time.

Is multi-locality more a risk or a chance for your city/municipality?

n=188

Is there any data available related to multi-locality in your city/municipality?

n=193

- Yes
- No
- I don't know

▼
Figure 6: Multi-locality as chance or risk. Source: Dittrich-Wesbuer et al. 2014; (own design)

▲
Figure 7: Availability of data on multi-locality. Source: Dittrich-Wesbuer et al. 2014; (own design)

6. Conclusion

Multi-local ways of life prove to be highly heterogeneous and quantitatively significant phenomena. This is true not only for urban districts quarters but also for small towns and rural regions. Taking a look at practice, public actors recognise, at least in part, these phenomena. Depending on the economic and demographic framework conditions of the cities, they see risks but also chances for urban development, particularly with regard to their relevance to the housing markets. Despite the fact that public actors show a certain interest in these issues, multi-locality has hardly found its way into the actual practices of urban planning and policy. Focus is still on unilocal ways of life and multi-locality is rather considered to be an individual, private matter.

What is still lacking is a discussion on the chances and constraints of integrating "part-time inhabitants" into urban societies. Which groups of people living multi-locally are particularly vulnerable and how can they be supported in their ways of life? Which impulses for urban development can be gained from linking the diverse places of living of multi-local actors and the everyday practices spanning across the places? Which new forms of participation and neighbourhood may be expected under these circumstances? The ever-increasing number of people living across several places requires a more intense debate of the chances and risks involved. It is certainly a challenge to research to enhance efforts in theory and practice to explore the impacts of multi-locality on cities and towns, particularly with regard to the changes of the local practices of governance in late-modern societies.

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Ron Heron's walking city (Archigram 1964) and John Hejduk's mobile house design for IBA Berlin in 1981. Sketches: Bernd Ciecior-Ciceron (†2015)
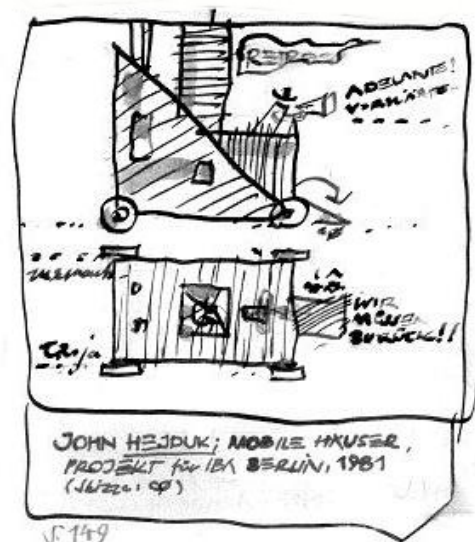
Household-Splitting of Rural Migrants in Beijing, China

Cindy Fan

Haushaltsteilung bei Migrant*innen vom Land in Beijing, China
Unter dem Einfluss von geographischer Literatur zu Translokalität und multilokalen Haushalten richtet die Forschung zu interner als auch internationaler Migration das Augenmerk zunehmend auf multiple Standorte und berücksichtigt sowohl die Migrant*innen als auch die Nicht-Migrant*innen. In China ist Haushaltsteilung, die den Landbewohnern erst Zugang zu städtischer Arbeit ermöglicht, zur typischen Lebensform im ländlichen Raum geworden. Auf Grundlage einer 2007 in Beijing durchgeführten Befragung beleuchtet der vorliegende Artikel Formen multipler Haushaltsführung und versucht zu erklären, warum sich Migrant*innen für eine bestimmte Form von Haushaltsteilung entscheiden. Die Befunde zeigen, dass Zahl und Alter der Kinder entscheidende Determinanten sind, von denen abhängt, wer innerhalb des Haushalts Wanderarbeit annimmt und wer im Dorf zurückbleibt. Außerdem zeigen die Forschungsergebnisse, dass ländliche Familien ihren Haushalt so organisieren, dass sie möglichst gut an den Vorteilen von Wanderarbeit teilhaben können, während sie gleichzeitig die Ressourcen des ländlichen Standortes nutzen. Anstatt eines linearen Übergangs vom Land in die Stadt ist ein Leben zwischen den Standorten charakteristisch. Solche Strategien sind typisch für ein sich wandelndes Umfeld. Die translokale Perspektive zeigt, dass Familienzusammenhalt auch über weite Distanzen gedehnt werden kann.

Migration and household arrangement

Migration increasingly is understood as an interactive and iterative activity involving multiple sites and communities rather than simply a one-way move from an origin to a destination. In and from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, circulation of internal and international migrants who bring back remittances is a common household strategy (e.g., Hoang and Yeoh 2015). In that light, migration can be seen as a social process that sustains and reinvents the household in a changing environment. In this paper, I focus on rural-urban migrants in China who straddle and circulate between the city and countryside and maintain a household split between two or more places.

Three strands of literature offer theoretical insights for studying migration and the household jointly. First, translocal geographies emphasize both mobility and place, and both the mobile and the less mobile. For example, Brickell and Datta (2011) show that the migrant home can be considered as translocal because it is shaped by not only remittances and consumption but also new and strengthened connections with other localities via migrants. Oakes and Schein (2006) define translocality as being identified with more than one location, as when migrants maintain a dual sense of identity between their homes and their migrant work locations.

Second, research on the left-behind highlights their role in enabling others to migrate and in the social changes brought about by migrants' absence (e.g., Toyota et al. 2007). In other words, those who don't leave are also translocal. For example, Nguyen et al. (2006) highlight the impact of migration on children who grow up in spatially and even globally extended family networks.

Third, research on household-splitting, though not voluminous, draws attention to the long-term separation of family members, rather than assuming that they always stay together in one place as is the case of the "modern family" (e.g., Stacey 1990; Waters 2002). By documenting and understanding how the household is split – who are the migrant workers and who are left behind – and why a certain form of household arrangement is preferred, this paper seeks to foreground the household perspective for explaining migration and social change.

Rural-urban migration and split households in China

Since the 1980s, a large number of rural Chinese have left the *countryside* for urban work. The "floating population" – people not living in their *hukou* location (place of registration) – amounted to 230 million in 2012 or 17% of the nation's population (National Population and Family Planning Commission 2012).[1] Millions of rural-urban migrants in China have lived separately from their spouse, children and parents for extended periods of time. Except the very few who have left the countryside for good, migrants tend to split their household between the city and countryside.

A common explanation for split households is that without urban *hukou* and accompanied benefits, it is very difficult for rural migrants to stay in the city permanently. Nevertheless, there is also evidence that not all rural Chinese desire urban *hukou* (e.g., Bai and Li 2008). To more fully elucidate the view from below, an approach that centers on migrants' agency would highlight split households as a strategy to maintain and invest in the rural social infrastructure (extended family, fellow villagers) and economic security (farmland, house)

(e.g., Fan and Wang 2008). Through household-splitting, migrants can earn urban wages, support the rest of the family at a rural and lower cost of living, build and renovate their house, and start saving for their eventual return. Plenty of studies have shown that the majority of rural-urban migrants, including young migrants, intend to eventually return to the countryside (e.g., Zhu and Chen 2010).

In this research, I focus on the migrant's nuclear family, namely, migrants and their children. During the 1980s and 1990s, it was common for the husband to leave home for migrant work, leaving behind the wife and children. This "sole migration" arrangement reflects traditional inside-outside gender roles – husbands are responsible for activities outside the home; and wives are delegated activities inside the home, and by extension also other village activities including agriculture (Jacka 2006). Since the 1990s, couple migration – both spouses pursuing migrant work and leaving their children behind – has become increasingly common (e.g., Xiang 2007). Typically, the left-behind children are taken care of by grandparents or other relatives (Figure 1). Alternatively, migrants may bring some of their children (partial family migrants) or all their children (family migrants) to the city. And, second-generation migrants are increasingly contributing to the migrant work force (e.g., Fan and Chen 2013). We know little about why migrants' family arrangements are increasingly diverse and why one form is preferred to another. In what follows, based on a survey in Beijing, I seek to illustrate the diverse forms of migrants' split households and highlight the factors that explain those different forms.

Beijing survey

In China, the "population" from which a migrant sample can be drawn is often difficult to determine because many migrants do not register at local authorities and because they are highly mobile. In this research, I use the adaptive sampling method, designed to sample from populations that are difficult to establish and yield samples that are not biased toward certain types of settlement. In collaboration with Renmin University, we conducted a migrant survey in Beijing, a major magnet of migrants from all over China, in 2007. We employed a two-stage sampling frame, first randomly selecting 30 neighborhoods from the total 2,025 neighborhoods in Beijing, then expanding outward

to another 22 neighborhoods that satisfied predetermined thresholds of migrant estimates. This process yielded 804 valid respondents from randomly selected residential units within the 52 neighborhoods.[2]

Of the 804 migrants, 231 are single and 573 are married. I have identified seven forms of household arrangement (#1 for singles; #2-#7 for married), described in Table 1. The analysis below focuses on #1-#6, which account for 94.5% of the sample.

Migrants' household arrangements

Table 1 shows that among married migrants with children, the most popular household arrangement is "family," followed by "sole," "couple," and "partial family." This distribution suggests that migrants' household arrangements are increasingly diversified, beyond the sole-migration model, thanks to spouses and children's participation in migration.

In aggregate terms, there are more male migrants than female migrants. The most extreme case is sole migrants, of whom 90% are male, which underscores the persistence of the inside-outside tradition. The only household arrangement where more women than men are represented is childless couple. But when children are involved (sole, partial family, family), the majority of migrants are men; that is, children are more a deterrent to women than men's joining the migration stream.

Partial family migrants have more children and older children than sole migrants, couple migrants and family migrants (Figure 2), suggesting that the former are spreading the burden of childcare between the city and the home village. Couple and family migrants, whose children are either all in Beijing or all in the home village, have the least number of children. Family migrants' children are the youngest; that is, migrant children tend to be younger than left-behind children. This may be related to the rigid educational system in China – migrant children at the high-school level must return to their home provinces if they wish to prepare for the university entrance examination.

Figure 3 shows that a larger family size in Beijing – hence more wage-earners – is associated with higher household income. Single, sole and couple migrants earn the least but they send the most remittances. Childless couple, partial family and family migrants earn the most but they send back the least. Two factors may be at play here. First, sole and couple migrants are expected to send large remittances for child support and to compensate the left-behind adults for childcare. Having no children, or having some or all children in Beijing, on the other hand, lessens the expectation and obligation to send remittance. Second, remittance may be part of an implicit agreement between the migrant and the left-behind on a plan for the migrant's eventual return. In this view, single, sole and couple migrants are more likely to return than other groups.

The average number of years since the first migration from the home village varies from more than 7 years for sole migrants to about 9 years for partial family migrants.

▼
Figure 1: Grandmothers and children in a Chinese village. Photo: Cindy Fan

In other words, most migrants are long-term migrants. The vast majority of migrants chose "stay as long as possible" as the answer to the question "how long do you intend to stay in Beijing," and relatively small proportions chose "settle down if possible" or "will leave" (Figure 4).

This finding supports the notion that rural-urban migrants are in a state of migranthood, straddling the city and the countryside, and not determined about a permanent place to stay. More than 90% of sole migrants want to stay as long as possible but almost none want to settle down.

The large proportions of partial family and family migrants wanting to stay as long as possible, rather than settling down, suggest that having the spouse and children in the city does not necessarily signal a strong intention to stay. Children seem to play an important role – almost no sole migrants want to settle down in Beijing, and couple migrants have weaker intention to settle down than childless couple migrants.

Among migrants who chose "will leave," sole and couple migrants' average intended years to stay are less than 2, while childless couple migrants intend to stay on average more than 3 years. That is, having left-behind children shortens migrants' intended years to stay in the city.

## Modeling household arrangements

Informed by the descriptive statistics including those outlined above, I test the statistical significance of the differences among sole migrants, couple migrants, partial family migrants and family migrants via a multinomial logistic regression. By excluding single migrants and childless couple migrants, the model focuses on families that have children. In the models, I define sole migrants as the reference group, and I include four groups of independent variables: demographic, children, socioeconomic characteristics, and migration characteristics (Table 2, showing only t-values and odds ratios).

AGE is significant and negatively associated with couple migrants and partial family migrants. That is, younger migrants are more likely than older migrants to engage in couple and partial family migration. GENDER is significant and negatively related to couple migration and family migration. The odds of men being couple migrants are about 74 percent less than that of women, relative to sole migrants. The odds of men being family migrants are about 79 percent less than that of women. These results are consistent with the expectation that women are much more likely than men to be couple migrants or family migrants instead of sole migrants. EDUCATION is not significant for couple migrants, partial family migrants and family migrants.

CHILDREN NUMBER, referring to the total number of children a migrant has, is significant and positively related to partial family migration. Having one more child increases the odds of being partial family migrants by 36 times, relative to sole migrants. This large odds ratio reflects first of all the relatively small number of children in migrant families – the sampled households have on average only 1.4 children – that is, one additional child would have a significant impact on household arrangement decisions.

| Type	Description	Weighted Percentage
1. Single	Single	27.9
2. Childless couple	Married, spouse in Beijing, no children	7.1
3. Sole	Married, spouse and all children in the home village	14.5
4. Couple	Married, spouse in Beijing, all children in the home village	13.3
5. Partial family	Married, spouse in Beijing, some children in Beijing and some in the home village	5.5
6. Family	Married, spouse in Beijing, all children in Beijing	26.2
Subtotal		**94.5**
7. Other forms	Married, spouse and/or some or all children in places other than Beijing and the home village, or other forms that do not fall under the above categories	5.5
Total		**100.0**

▲
Table 1:
Forms of migrants' household arrangement. Source: author
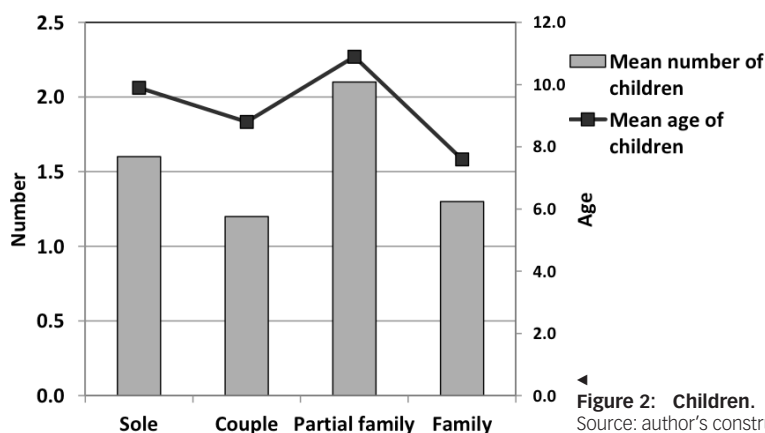
◄
Figure 2: Children.
Source: author's construct
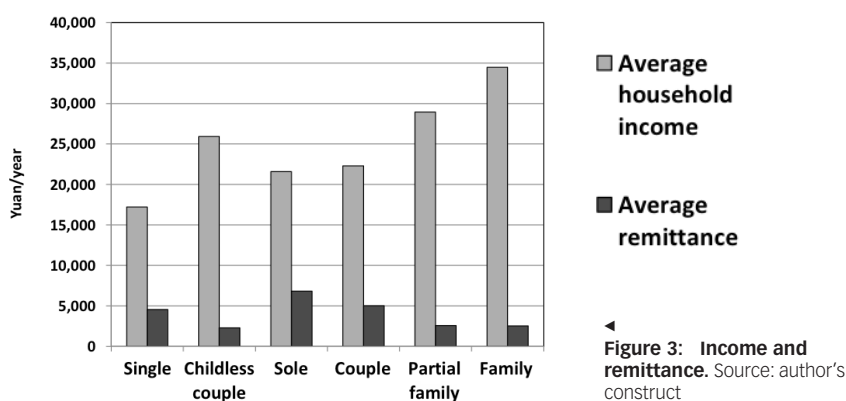
◄
Figure 3: Income and remittance. Source: author's construct
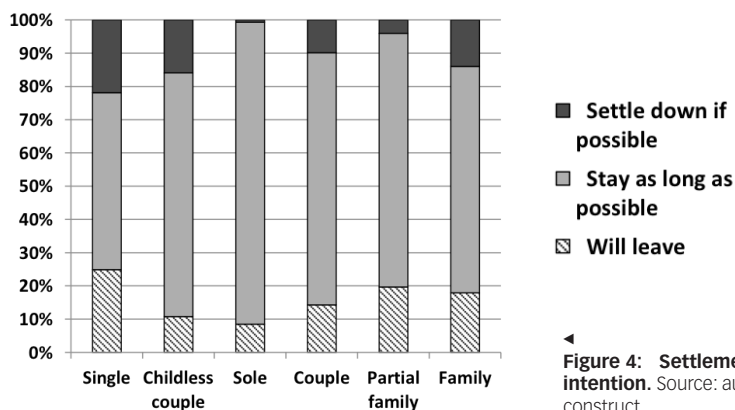
◄
Figure 4: Settlement intention. Source: author's construct

Independent variables	Couple migrants*		Partial family migrants*		Family migrants*	
	t	Odds ratio	t	Odds ratio	t	Odds ratio
Demographic						
AGE	-2.80***	0.80	-2.67**	0.78	-1.38	0.88
GENDER (reference: female): MALE	-1.90*	0.26	-1.01	0.47	-2.11**	0.21
EDUCATION (reference: junior high and below)						
SENIOR HIGH AND ABOVE	-0.97	0.44	-0.55	0.70	0.06	1.05
Children						
CHILDREN NUMBER	-1.68	0.45	5.05***	35.98	-0.72	0.60
CHILDREN AGE	2.39**	1.19	1.92*	1.19	0.63	1.05
Socioeconomic characteristics						
INCOME	-0.27	1.00	0.76	1.00	1.65	1.00
REMITTANCE	-0.94	1.00	-2.73**	1.00	-2.76**	1.00
RENT	3.09***	1.01	3.09***	1.01	3.08***	1.01
LIVING AREA	0.20	1.00	-3.31***	0.99	0.53	1.00
TRUST IN GOVERNMENT (reference: do not trust)						
TRUST	2.10**	5.00	0.79	1.83	1.12	2.77
NOT SURE OR NO ANSWER	-0.03	0.97	-1.38	0.24	-0.07	0.95
Migration characteristics						
MIGRATION EXPERIENCE	2.76**	1.20	2.43**	1.16	3.12***	1.19
REASON (reference: others)						
MAKE MONEY	-0.33	0.82	-1.74*	0.24	-3.43***	0.21
INTENTION (reference: will leave)						
STAY AS LONG AS POSSIBLE	-2.42**	0.29	-1.86*	0.17	-3.32***	0.19
STAY PERMANENTLY IF POSSIBLE	0.65	2.27	-1.25	0.07	-0.08	0.91

"Sole migrants" is the reference group.

Significance levels: *: 0.10; **: 0.05; ***: 0.01.

▲
Table 2: Results of multinomial logistic regression. Source: author

Multinomial logistic regression is a model that is used to predict the probabilities of the different possible outcomes of a categorically distributed dependent variable, given a set of independent variables. One category of the dependent variable is chosen as the reference category. Separate *odds ratios* are determined for all independent variables for each category of the dependent variable with the exception of the reference category, which is omitted from the analysis.

Odds ratio (OR) is a way to quantify how strongly the presence or absence of property A is associated with the presence or absence of property B in a given population. If the OR is greater than 1, then having "A" is considered to be "associated" with having "B" in the sense that the having of "B" raises (relative to not-having "B") the odds of having "A".

Migrants with more children may choose the partial family arrangement which spreads the burden of childcare between themselves and the left-behind family members. CHILDREN AGE, referring to the average number of children, is significant and positive for couple migrants and partial family migrants. One year increase in children's mean age increases the odds of being couple migrants and partial family migrants, relative to sole migrants, by about 19 percent. That is, in general migrant children are younger than left-behind children.

Socioeconomic characteristics refer to migrants' economic and social situations in Beijing. INCOME, measured by the monthly household income earned in Beijing, is not significant for any groups. REMITTANCE, referring to the average monthly remittance migrants send home, is not significant for couple migrants but is significant and negative for partial family migrants and family migrants. On average, a yearly increase in remittance of 1,000 yuan reduces the odds of being partial family migrants and family migrants, relative to sole migrants, by about 26 percent. Having the spouse and children in the city reduces the migrant's need to financially support the home village, but having only the spouse and not the children in the city has no significant effect on remittance. The key, therefore, is children: the amount of remittance is related to the cost of raising and educating children and is a form of compensation to the left-behind who care for the children.

RENT refers to the monthly rent migrants pay and LIVING AREA to the migrants' per capita living area in Beijing. RENT is significant and positively related to couple migration, partial family migration and family migration. LIVING AREA is significant and negatively related to partial family migrants but not significant for couple and family migrants. These results suggest that more people in the household demands a bigger space which entails higher rent and lower per capita living area.

TRUST IN GOVERNMENT is related to migrants' level of comfort with the host society, and is represented by two dummy variables: TRUST and NOT SURE OR NO ANSWER. "Do not trust" is the reference. TRUST is significant and positive for couple migrants: they are more likely to trust the government than sole migrants.

MIGRATION EXPERIENCE refers to the number of years since the first migration and is significant and positively associated with couple, family and partial family migration, relative to sole migration. One year increase in migration experience increases the odds of being couple migrants by 20%, the odds of being partial family migrants by 16%, and the odds of being family migrants by 19%. This suggests that experience in and familiarity with migration eases the decision to have both spouses and their children participate in migration. REASON refers to the most important migration reason for the first migration. MAKE MONEY is coded one and OTHER (other reasons) is coded zero. It is significant and negative for partial family migrants and family migrants; that is, they are less likely to move for the purpose of making money, relative to sole migrants.

INTENTION refers to migrants' intention to stay in Beijing and is represented by two dummy variables, STAY AS LONG AS POSSIBLE and STAY PERMANENTLY IF POSSIBLE. "Will leave" is used as the reference group. The results appear contradictory but are revealing. STAY AS LONG AS POSSIBLE is significant and negative for couple migrants, partial family migrants and family migrants, relative to sole migrants, who are less likely to choose "stay as long as possible" than "will leave," relative to sole migrants.

But, STAY PERMANENTLY IF POSSIBLE is not significant for couple, family and partial family migrants. Put together, the above suggests that wanting to stay in Beijing as long as possible is different from wanting to settle down permanently.

Discussion and conclusion: migrant household arrangements

This paper has focused on the various forms of household arrangement of rural-urban migrants in China. By doing so, I have sought to conceptualize migration as a process of circulation, one that is informed by and contribute to the literature on translocal geographies, the left-behind, and the split household. Rural-urban migrants in China join many migrants elsewhere in their circulating between the home and the site of work, their splitting the household where some family members pursue migrant work and some are left behind, their developing translocal livelihoods, and their uncertainty about where to eventually settle down. They also demonstrate the need to problematize the notion of the family when so many migrant families pursue household-splitting as a long-term strategy. Using data from a migrant survey in Beijing conducted in 2007, I have shown that new forms of household arrangement are pursued as more and different family members join the migration stream. Both the single and sole-migrant models – where men are more highly represented than women – used to be the norm, but couple-migrant and family-migrant models are now common as wives and children increasingly participate in migration. What seems clear is that migrant work is now an established way of life for rural Chinese, so that sending both spouses to the city is increasingly accepted.

Children seem to play an important role in the diversity of migrant household arrangements. First, in general left-behind children are older than migrant children, which may be related to China's educational regulations and limited educational opportunities in cities for migrant children. Second, the partial family-migrant model enables childcare responsibilities to be spread out between the city and the countryside. Third, the amount of remittance migrants send home is a function of their household arrangement: households with left-behind children send

▲
Figure 5: School for migrant children. Photo: Cindy Fan

significantly larger proportions of their income as remittance compared to households with migrant children. It is not clear if the increased prevalence of couple migration and family migration signals intention to settle down in the city. My findings suggest that regardless of whether migrants' family members also live in the city, migrants prefer to stay in the city as long as possible, in order to maximize economic returns from migrant work, but they do not tend to plan or have the resources to settle down permanently.

On the whole, this paper's findings underscore the active involvement and strategizing of rural Chinese to make the best of their options, by pursuing different forms of household arrangement and sending more family members to maximize income from migrant work. The newer forms of household arrangement do not seem to imply a transition from temporary migration to permanent migration. In that light, it is entirely conceivable that despite *hukou* reforms the practice of translocality, straddling the city and the countryside, and circular migration will persist.

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Livelihoods on the Move? Diversification and Mobility in the Changing Rural Context of North-West Rwanda

Ine Cottyn and Gery Nijenhuis

Diversifizierung und Mobilität als Livelihood-Strategien im sich wandelnden ländlichen Kontext von Nordwest-Ruanda

Dieser Beitrag analysiert Mobilität und Migration in Ruanda mit besonderem Blick auf die materiellen Grundlagen von Multilokalität. Die Regierung von Paul Kagame, die nach dem Völkermord von 1994 an die Macht kam, verfolgt einen ehrgeizigen Plan, demzufolge Ruanda ein Land der mittleren Einkommen werden soll. Die Reformen beinhalten eine landwirtschaftliche Transformation durch Flurbereinigung und regionalspezifische Anbaumaßnahmen, aber auch eine Politik der räumlichen Neuverteilung der Bevölkerung mit "villagisation" (Bildung von Dorfzentren) sowie einem starken Fokus auf Urbanisierung durch die Planung von Kleinstädten und ländlichen Handelszentren. Die räumliche und wirtschaftliche Umgestaltung des ländlichen Ruanda hat tiefgreifende Auswirkungen auf Mobilität und Lebensunterhalt, mit neuen Herausforderungen, aber auch neuen Chancen für den Erwerb und die Diversifizierung von Einkommen, was zu neuen Formen der Multilokalität führte. Gestützt auf eigene empirische Daten aus Nordwest-Ruanda erkundet der Beitrag solche neuen Mobilitätsmuster im Kontext der Transformation der Landwirtschaft sowie der sich ändernden ländlichen Gebiete und gibt Einblick in neue multilokale Lebensformen im ruandischen Kontext.

Introduction: mobile livelihoods in a changing rural context

Migration and mobility are increasingly considered intrinsic features of living in a globalised world. According to some authors (Harvey 1989; Giddens 2002; Castells 2000), globalisation and time-space compression have fuelled intense flows of people, resulting in a broad range of different options available to people. Increased opportunities and pressure to become mobile have led to changing livelihood systems all over the world, not least in the Global South.

Apart from economic and cultural globalisation, several other processes – such as domestic, post-independence transformations in demography, urbanisation, and government policies – also relate to the changing, increasing complexity of livelihoods. De Haan & Zoomers (2005) observe, in this regard, a trend towards the individualisation of livelihoods with an increased decomposition of households, an increased diversification of sources of income, and the increasingly multi-local dimension of people's livelihoods through mobility and social networks. According to that line of thinking, mobility, including migration, is considered as one option to diversify income.

Regarding African domestic migration, three main trends can be distinguished (Cottyn, Schapendonk & Van Lindert 2013). First: diversification of spatial patterns, with not only rural-urban migration but also urban-urban and urban-rural migration as a common practice (Adepoju 1977; Arthur 1991; Tacoli 2001; Preston-Whyte et al. 2006).

Second: we can observe changes in migration selectivity, with a feminisation of mobility flows and an increasing share of youth involved (Baker & Akin Aida 1995; Gugler & Ludwar-Ene 1995). Third: increasing circulation, connectivity, and forms of temporary mobility can be distinguished (Baker & Akin Aida 1995; Preston-Whyte et al. 2006; Adepoju 2008; Dick & Reuschcke 2012). In a comparison between the Global South and North, Dick & Reuschke (2012) describe the main structural factors that are shaping and influencing the rise and patterns of circular migration. They point at the changes these patterns have undergone and how these are linked to economic and spatial transformations, technological improvements, and societal modernisation. In a similar vein, others point to the role of non-permanent migration, which has always been an important – though statistically invisible – phenomenon in many parts of the world (Schmidt-Kallert 2012).

As such, there is growing recognition of the dynamic and multi-dimensional nature of migration and its development in the acknowledgment that households construct their livelihoods within wider socio-economic and spatial contexts using all sorts of social and material assets (Carney 1998). This has led to the emergence of what has variously been described as multi-spatial livelihoods (Foeken & Owuor 2001; Start 2001), mobile livelihoods (Olwig & Sorensen 2002), "stretched" livelihoods (Crush 2013), and multi-local households (Dick & Schmidt-Kallert 2011). Multi-local household arrangements can be considered a livelihood strategy whereby people take advantage of opportunities available to them in different spatial settings (often rural-urban) as members of the

household operating along a rural-urban continuum tied together by remittances, migration and extended family networks (Bah et al. 2003; Collinson et al. 2006; Crush & Pendleton 2009). As such, we go beyond the household as a social unit residing in a specific place. Greiner (2012) also questions the traditional notion of the household in the context of multi-locational arrangements as we see a trend towards an increasing decomposition of the household that often problematises the notion of a harmonious entity without power issues at play. In addition to the household, people also engage in different activities across different geographical areas on an individual level.

In this article we explore the role of mobility in Rwandan rural households against a background of agricultural transformation (i.e., land consolidation and regional crop specialisation) and policies aimed at the spatial redistribution of its inhabitants (e.g., villagisation and the planning of small towns and rural trade centres). This paper also takes a look at the main diversification and mobility patterns, and applies the aforementioned notion of multi-locality to these patterns. The article begins by introducing the background of state reform in Rwanda and the research methodology. Next, it examines the main changes in the livelihoods of the rural population in these districts and analyses the role of mobility and multi-locality in Rwandan households. It ends with some concluding remarks on the spatiality and temporality of mobility and the notion of multi-locality in these households.

Setting the scene: the economic and spatial reconfiguration of rural Rwanda

Rwanda is a country experiencing rapid transformations. Since the 1994 genocide, the RPF Government of Paul Kagame has committed itself to restoring order and safety. Its goals for development and economic progress are set out in "Vision 2020", its medium-term plan for economic progress and poverty reduction, which entails a fundamental re-engineering of the countryside (Republic of Rwanda 2000; Ansoms 2008).

The central strategy is to convert Rwanda from an agricultural and subsistence economy to a commercial and knowledge-based one. Despite high urbanisation rates (4.6% in 2011, World Bank 2011), Rwanda is still a predominantly rural country, with over 80% of the population

residing in the countryside (World Bank 2011). Population density, with 416 inhabitants per km^2 (World Bank 2011), is high, as is the pressure on rural land, and many rural households depend on subsistence farming. Against this background, the government of Paul Kagame has embarked upon the ambitious "Strategic Plan for Agricultural Transformation", which includes land consolidation and regional crop specialisation. It aims at replacing subsistence farming with a modern agricultural sector.

This agricultural transformation is associated with the development of a non-agricultural sector, which will find an entrée point through a system of grouped settlements based on economic activity as set out in the countries villagisation[1] policy (Republic of Rwanda 2000). To pursue its agenda of a transition towards an urban society, the Rwandan government is restructuring selected rural trade centres to become active development nodes. Another purpose of this spatial planning policy is to cope with the country's increasing population pressure and shortage of arable land; the policy goes hand in hand with other policies aimed at agricultural modernisation (crop intensification programmes and land consolidation) and a profound land reform.

These policies have implications on the economic, spatial, and social configuration of the countryside and the livelihoods of rural households, as they force people to look for options to diversify their income, often through mobility. This, in turn, is resulting in the growing importance of multi-activity and multi-locality in rural livelihoods.

Methodology

This article is based on empirical data collected during five months of fieldwork in Rwanda in 2014. Data collection consisted of both qualitative and quantitative methods. This part of the research[2] was conducted in the North-West region of Rwanda, in the Nyabihu and Musanze districts. This area was selected on the basis of the different dynamics at play in terms of demographics and mobility patterns, agricultural transformations, and opportunities for economic diversification. Within each district, two sites were selected: a rural trade centre, and a more remote village. A rural livelihood household survey was conducted among 86 rural households in which data was collected on household characteristics, migration and

mobility, agriculture and livestock, different assets and expenditures. This was followed by focus group discussions in each village, which included the elaboration of mobility maps. Finally, in-depth interviews with 54 households selected from both the survey and focus groups focused on changes in livelihood trajectories and mobility patterns over the years.

Livelihood transformation and patterns of mobility in a rapidly changing rural society

The North-Western region of Rwanda is the most densely populated region of Rwanda, with a population density ranging from 556 to 695 inhabitants/km². Since the introduction of the villagisation policy (*imidugudu*), 80% of the people have been resettled into grouped settlements; some of these villages along the main road connecting Gisenyi and Musanze, which links the area to the wider East African trade corridor, were selected to become local development nodes. Although these centres attract entrepreneurs and businessmen from around the country and business opportunities in trade and transportation are developing fast, agriculture is still considered the main occupation of the majority of the inhabitants.

The land is very fertile and, due to the heavy population pressure, also a very valuable and sought-after asset. Land ownership varies highly between households, though the average size of a single plot seldom exceeds half a

hectare. Due to the newly introduced policies of mono-cropping and land consolidation which only allows one crop per season per plot, making a living from farming alone is difficult.

The aforementioned processes and policies of rural transformation have (re)shaped the livelihood strategies of many rural households in North-Western Rwanda. Over the past ten years, 63% of the 86 households have experienced a change in their portfolio of income-generating activities. Notwithstanding, half of the sample is still engaged in farm-related income-generating activities.

Three scenarios of change can be observed. The first is when farming is abandoned and replaced by another income-generating activity, which is rarely a deliberate choice as people do not easily give up on their farming lands. In the second scenario, people diversify by taking on additional non-farm activities by investing farming income into small business, trade, or other wage labour activities. In this case, the income earned from each activity is low and diversification is seen as a means of survival. In the third scenario, representing a much smaller amount of households than the previous two, diversification can be considered as an accumulation strategy in which income from farming is invested in small or medium businesses and profits are reinvested in both activities.

Despite these changes in occupation, more than half of the surveyed households report a deterioration in their

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Box 1:

Illustrating multi-locality in Rwanda: the household of Dative in Gasiza

We met Dative in Gasiza, a small but busy service centre alongside the paved road passing through Rambura sector. Her husband used to own a business, while Dative's main activity was farming their lands. After returning from DRC after the 1994 genocide, her husband got killed in Rwanda in 1996. Left a widow with 6 children at home, of which the oldest was only 10, there was not enough capital to revive the business. She continued farming, combined with casual wage labour in the village. To supplement the limited household budget, she needs to take small loans to cover schooling fees. Her two daughters (1 and 4), who are in secondary school, help out in the fields during holidays. As her oldest son (2) never attended school, he started looking for an income to secure his future. He goes daily to buy wood in Birembo cell and sells it there and in Gasiza. To start his charcoal-selling business, in 2010 Dative sold a part of the family lands. Although the investment came from the household's lands, the main share of this income is used by the son to plan for his future. Her second son (3) works in Byangabo service centre, where he found a short-term contracted job in 2013; he has temporary moved there and visits the household about twice a month. Her youngest son (5) is currently living home and helps her out with domestic tasks, but moves around in search of earning money. He now and then goes to Musanze town to look for opportunities, on advice of friends who live there. Although Gasiza is a local service centre, the household visits different villages to access services. For health care, they go to the health centre in the neighbouring Birembo cell, and the two daughters go to boarding schools in Ngororero and Ruhanga. They use the markets in Gasiza, but also frequent two other markets. For now, the income-generating activities providing the biggest share of the household's income are the oldest son's charcoal business and the son with a job in Byangabo. As Dative explains, to start the charcoal business was the decision of her oldest son, just as it was the decision of the second and third to move around in search of jobs. They send or share some money sometimes, but not on a structured basis.

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income compared to ten years ago. Explanations for this decrease in income (apart from illness, old age, and natural hazards) include a reduced agricultural production due to land degradation,[3] expensive but necessary agro inputs, and challenges posed by mono-cropping policies for people owning very small plots. Some have had to sell parts or all of their land in order to meet basic needs, and as a result have become involved in daily wage labour, which is very insecure and low paid. Households in the two rural trade centres also face difficulties, such as parts of their farmland being transformed into settlement land. When involved in small business, people complain about a high tax burden, the rising prices of supplies, and issues of insecurity. Moreover, rising food and housing prices as a consequence of the economic attractiveness of these centres result in decreasing purchasing power.

The precarious income position of the rural households is also reflected in their welfare position, as most of the households belong to the low and medium welfare ranks.[4] As many households either move out of agriculture or

need to diversify their livelihoods, the lack of additional income-generating activities and the insecurity of the few locally available alternatives are important drivers for households and their members to search for opportunities further from home. As Table 1 indicates, mobility is a very common phenomenon, with 89%[5] of the households having at least one member who is mobile.[6] Of the six households that are not mobile, indications exist that old age, lack of financial means, or other forms of exclusion restrict the ability to move.

Both longer-term migration – resulting in usually absent members[7] – as well as temporary migration can be considered important livelihood strategies, often resulting in multi-local arrangements in which household members are absent but contribute to the household income. In our sample, 37 of the 86 surveyed households – or 43% – can be considered as multi-local households.

About forty percent of the usually absent members migrated for income-generating purposes, such as

	Total	**Household mobility categories**				**Multi-local (ML) households**	
		not	low	medium	high	Not ML	ML
Low welfare	**38%**	50%	35%	40%	50%	39%	35%
	(N = 33)	3	18	10	2	19	13
Medium welfare	**48%**	33%	53%	40%	50%	51%	46%
	(N = 41)	2	27	10	2	25	17
High welfare	**14%**	17%	12%	20%	0%	10%	19%
	(N = 12)	1	6	5	0	5	7
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
Count	**86**	**6**	**51**	**25**	**4**	**49**	**37**

3
Resulting from an intensive use of fertilisers, according to interviews with local key informants.

4
The welfare category, as a construct, is based on the combined scores on the following variables: dependency ratio, stable work, housing, access to electricity, access to potable water, land owned, livestock owned, communication assets, transportation assets, access to credit or loan, remittances, and ability to save.

5
The household mobility categories in Table 1 are calculated on the basis of household scores on the aggregate number of mobile household members in combination with the frequency of travel. The frequency of travels varies between daily commuting (31.5%), at least once a week (15.4%), at least once a month (8.4%), seasonally (9.1%), and occasionally (33.6%).

6
Musanze and Rubavu – regional cities – are the most common urban destinations, mainly for the purpose of business, wage labour, or access to services and infrastructure. However, the largest majority (64.3%) travel to other rural destinations.

7
"Usually absent" refers to household members who move away for 3 months or more.

◄
Table 1: Household mobility and multi-locality versus household welfare categories (abs. numbers). Source: authors; data based on household survey

construction work, agricultural wage labour, domestic services, small trade, and transport; educational purposes accounted for another 46%, and 14% left for other purposes. One example of a household with such a multi-locational arrangement is that of Marie: two adult sons moved to DRC to start a small business in selling clothes. Next to the revenues from Marie's sorghum beer business, which she runs in the hills of the Rambura sector, the household income is supplemented by occasional remittances from her sons.**8**

Mobility and multi-locality should not, however, be considered as a means of spreading risks or a survival mechanism for only households in the lower welfare ranks. As is illustrated in Table 1, it is a phenomenon present in all welfare categories. If one has the financial and transportation opportunities, it can serve as an accumulation strategy to profit from multiple opportunities in various locations simultaneously. The case of the household of Dative (Box 1) is but one illustration of the multiple forms mobility flows can take within one household, as is also illustrated in the mobility map (Figure 4).

On the household migration map below it is obvious that physical mobility forms an important part of this household's life and livelihood. On this map, the different household members are represented by a number, while the lines represent their different movement patterns. Movement done for the purpose of income-generating activities is depicted in red, while movement related to the access of services is in blue, and visits to friends and family are in black. At the end of every line, the figure indicates whether this destination is a village (o), a service centre (□) or a town/city (Δ). The thickness of the lines indicates the relative importance of the particular movement for the household.

Concluding remarks

Our data suggests that the transformation of rural Rwanda, including mono-cropping, did not benefit small farmers, and has not yet led to the development of more off-farm jobs apart from rather insecure daily wage labour. Villagisation and the establishment of rural development centres bring infrastructure and services closer to the people. However, in terms of business opportunities, many households lack the starting capital required. High population pressure and very fertile but scarce land leads to a livelihood system in which many households refuse to abandon farming or their lands, and hold on to whatever small plot they have. In those cases where people have lost their lands or farming cannot provide sufficient income, mobility increased as people moved in search of wage opportunities in surrounding villages, centres, and cities. In addition, in the cases where farming has been abandoned as a livelihood activity, the choice was rarely deliberate. Over the last ten years, almost two-thirds of the households in our sample experienced a change in the income-generating activity of the household. Regarding income position, half of our sample – and 40% of those who reported changing activities – reported a deterioration compared with ten years ago.

Commuting and, to a lesser extent, more-permanent forms of mobility also form an important ingredient in the livelihoods of the rural population in the North-West district. Our data shows that mobility patterns in the North-West district do not only comprise "traditional" rural-urban flows: flows are multi-directional, characterised by different temporal dimensions, and influenced by different drivers. Whether there is a trend towards increased mobility, pushed by agricultural transformation and the implementation of the "Vision 2020" agenda, has still to be seen, as our data does not allow for establishing a causal relationship. The focus
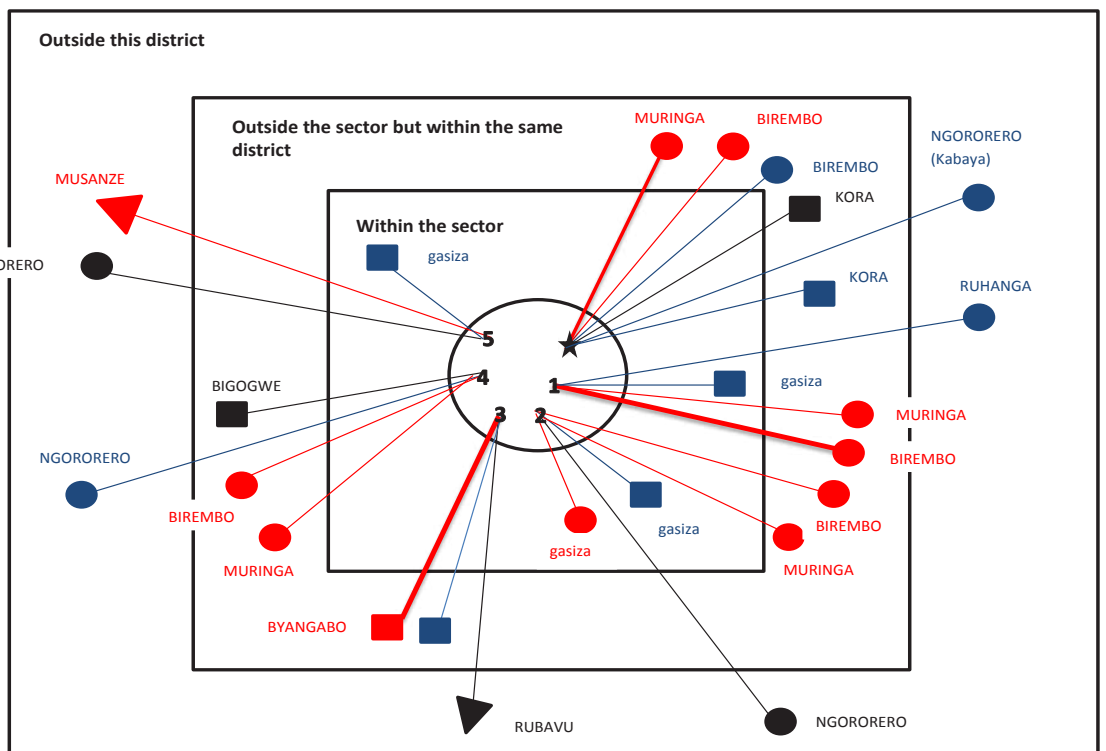

▶
Figure 4: Mobility map of the household of Dative in Gasiza. The numbers in the middle circle (= the household of Dative) represent the different household members with lines representing their movement to villages, service centres or towns. Income-generating activities are in red, access to services in blue, visits to friends and family in black. The names of the respective villages, service centres or towns are indicated at the end of every line. Source: authors

○ village
□ service centre
△ town/city

group discussions, however, point out that rural households do perceive an increasing pressure on the local resources available to them, and as such opt for mobility, temporary and short-term in particular, as a strategy to expand opportunities. Multi-local arrangements are therefore quite common, with many households having members moving to other places and contributing to the household income.

In addition, multi-local household arrangements can be observed among households in different welfare ranks, indicating that it is not only a survival strategy, but also offers opportunities for accumulation. However, since a major share of the households perceived a decrease in income over the last ten years, we are inclined to go along with the findings of Isaksson (2011: 17) on non-farm income-generating activities in Rwandan *imidugudu*, who concludes that diversification "tends to be for 'survival' rather than for 'accumulation'." This inevitably leads to the question of what future small subsistence farmers in Rwanda have in a policy context in which technocratic approaches to development prevail and hardly any attention is paid to the constraints the farmers face.

▲
Figure 5: Byangabo service centre. Photo: Ine Cottyn

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Multi-locality in the Global South – Observations of Daily Life in Bangladesh

Sabine Baumgart

Multilokalität im Globalen Süden - Alltagsbeobachtungen in Bangladesch
Multilokalität kennzeichnet vielfach die Lebensbedingungen der Bevölkerung im Globalen Süden, die aus den ländlichen Regionen in die rasant wachsenden Megastädte migrieren. Insbesondere Haushalte mit niedrigem Einkommen in den informellen Siedlungen gehören zu den vulnerablen Bevölkerungsgruppen, deren Lebensstrategien auf Anpassungsfähigkeit und Flexibilität in Anbetracht sich eröffnender Einkommensmöglichkeiten basieren. Bei der Sicherung ihrer Lebensgrundlagen wie eine erschwingliche Unterkunft, Wasserversorgung oder die Nutzung von sozialer Infrastruktur sind sie in komplexe familiäre und politisch determinierte Netzwerke eingebunden und von diesen abhängig. Multilokalität zeigt dabei unterschiedliche raum-zeitliche Ausprägungen mit Blick auf Möglichkeiten der Einkommensgenerierung und Lebensmuster der Migrant*Innen. Diese werden von Seiten der öffentlichen Institutionen im politisch-administrativen Kontext kaum wahrgenommen. Sie erfordern jedoch planerische Intervention, um die Zugänglichkeit von Ressourcen unter diesen spezifischen Lebensbedingungen zu verbessern. Der Beitrag fokussiert auf Beobachtungen in Dhaka/Bangladesch.

Introduction

Multi-locality in countries of the Global South is one of the characteristic livelihood strategies. In the urban areas of rapidly growing megacities, low-income households in particular are among the most vulnerable population groups whose livelihoods are based on adaptability and robustness, as well as on flexibility in responding to opportunities offering income. Such households are also characterised by complex familial and political relationship networks and highly dependent on them.

Multi-locality can refer to daily changes in residence and work locations, but also to moves every few days or weeks, or to durable employment, mostly overseas, characterised by related financial-remittance flows to the family. The requirements of clients and customers, as well as economic conditions, determine the timing and frequency of the migration pattern. Such lifestyles require accessibility to public resources (in particular, public space, connectivity, and water supply) to be negotiated by the stakeholders within usually non-transparent power structures. Public institutions do little to meet the resulting demands on governance strategies in their legal and administrative frameworks (see i.a. Hackenbroch 2013, Hossain 2013).

This article on rural-urban migration is based on observations made in Dhaka (Bangladesh) in the context of two locally conducted research projects, "The struggle for urban livelihoods and the quest for a functional city – reconciling informal and statutory planning institutions in Dhaka, Bangladesh" and "Spatial transformation and informal urban governance in Dhaka, Bangladesh", funded within the priority programme 1233 "Megacities – Megachallenge" of the German Research Foundation (2006-2012). Migration and multi-locality were, however, not the focus of these projects. The tentative insights into multi-locational life patterns are mainly based on my own observations and expert interviews conducted during the research period. The discussion, therefore, includes narrative-oriented elements and ends with some concise conclusions.

Urban growth in the Global South and its spatial traces

When taking a global perspective on population growth, it is clear that the growing cities are located in the south. In 2011, the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics estimated a population of nearly 15 million (http://www.citypopulation.de/php/bangladesh-dhaka.php) in the Dhaka metropolitan area; when including rural-urban migration processes, the city is one of the fastest-growing megacities worldwide, with an hourly growth of 56 people (Burdett & Sudjic, 2007: 29).This is close to 450,000 new residents each year, nearly the total number of inhabitants of the city of Duisburg in the Ruhr area. Dhaka is far away from the global power nodes and not among the strongly interconnected locations of the global economy, but the megacity functions as a globally linked location for the garment and recycling industries.

Rural-urban migration in Bangladesh is driven by economic factors and seen as a livelihood strategy to escape from poverty. Rural life is changing fast, accelerated by natural disasters that not only damage agricultural food production but also lead to unemployment and a shift of farming activities (e.g., from crops to shrimp farming, in the southern part of the country). It is not only the unskilled young men who migrate in search of better income opportunities, but educated people as well. Particularly young women look to find jobs in the garment industries, not least as a way to avoid marriage.

Rural-urban migration contributes to shaping the urban morphology in the so-called "arrival cities" (Saunders 2011), where migrants aim to find starting points based on family, ethnical linkages, and kinship. Although Saunders overemphasises the chances and accessibility options for migrants to socio-economic participation, the informal settlements or slums provide accessibility to shelter, social networks, and income opportunities.

In the Dhaka Metropolitan Area, there are almost 5,000 slum clusters with about 640,000 households and a population of about 3.4 million (Centre for Urban Studies 2006). Due to their extreme density, they cover an area of 5% of the city. Social inequality is reflected in many spatially-related components such as land-use planning, urban design, the density of buildings and people, public spaces, and social / technical infrastructure. Last but not least, land prices limit accessibility for urban poor households, as a growing demand for land and housing speculation are evident particularly at the urban fringe and thus draws from potential resources (i.a. Baumgart, et al. 2011).

Korail, an informal settlement of about 16 ha with more than 100,000 inhabitants, is one such arrival city. Located at Banani Lake, it lies between two urban areas in Dhaka that are inhabited by mostly affluent households. The fragmented urban texture of Dhaka is highly obvious here. The lake separates the peninsula from the urban environment, and the high degree of horizontal densification appears as a carpet of corrugated iron sheets with spatial extensions at the lakeside built on garbage. The high density requires an efficient use of space both outside and inside the housing compounds. There is just one room with less than 10 m^2 available for a family arriving in the settlement (Bertuzzo 2011: 57). Land speculation based on complex power structures has been investigated (Hackenbroch 2013).

Migrant households in the informal settlements might be even more vulnerable than the established urban poor, as claims for public space as part of livelihood strategies or accessibility to water and electricity are based on complex arrangements. The daily practise of negotiation is shaped by the powerful politically-affiliated actors involved and thus not easily accessible for migrants. Water and electricity supply is self-organised, informally, through water vendors or illegally connected pipes, but is nonetheless based on a hybrid mode involving contracts with the informal traders. In any case, it is up to ten times more expensive than the service provided by the local supplier in the adjacent neighbourhood due to the lack of state control (Hossain 2013). 85% of the drainage is open as no urban planning is delivered to these urban areas, where the inhabitants do not have any documented property. Local supply is packaged in small, affordable amounts: it's expensive to be poor! In addition to the shops and even a small gambling hall, there is a market, a school, public toilets, and waste disposal provided as self-organised activities framed by negotiation processes within non-transparent arenas.

Horizontal densification leads to insufficient interiors in the housing compounds (Hackenbroch 2013), so public space is required for private and commercial uses. Robust livelihood strategies involve different sources of income. To compensate for a lack of individual space, public space

is highly contested but limited in the neighbourhood. Despite the high density, open land for agriculture and spaces for (religious) celebrations and children's games are kept free of buildings. A particular challenge is maintaining a minimal permeability through the encroached public space of the road in case of hazards, fire, or flooding, and to ensure access by emergency services (ambulances). It needs to be understood that public space also meets the need for shelter of the urban poor households sleeping on the pavements. It is also required for domestic functions such as cooking and for commercial uses (e.g., crushing of building materials).

To conclude, it is obvious that migrant households in informal settlements can count even less on governmental support to their livelihoods than ordinary low-income households. Informal institutions replace government regulations and organisation (spatial planning, water supply), and open up or restrict rights in rather non-transparent forms. Informal governance patterns are closely linked to state actors, and are embedded in the family ties and friendships that often define these relations.

Tentative insights into multi-locational life patterns

For rural-urban migrant households, the accessibility to income opportunities is the most important challenge. The mentioned relations at the place of destination are important to identify, to recognise, and to stabilise for income-generation opportunities while the linkages to their places of origin become fragile. The following typology is based on tentative characteristics regarding income-generation (jobs) and livelihood patterns observed by the author, and is organised along spatiotemporal conditions.

For the poor who migrate from rural areas to the city, the informal economy provides mainly insecure income opportunities in the form of hard physical labour. The location of Korail, as an arrival city, provides proximity to work as a textile worker, housemaid, rickshaw driver, or watchman.

▼
Figure 1: Temporary shelter for construction workers at a building site in Dhaka. Photo: Sabine Baumgart

Figure 2: Saisonal multi-locality: brickfields around Dhaka with around 1 million people employed from November to April. Photo: Sabine Baumgart

By-the-day multi-locality: The garment sector in Bangladesh is a dominant industry providing employment for four million workers, 80% of whom are women (Saxeta 2014). 30% (2009) of the garment production is concentrated in the city of Dhaka, with facilities sprawling into the peri-urban areas (e.g., a garment cluster is emerging about 15 kilometres from the centre of Dhaka city) (Muzzini, Aparicio 2013: 26-27). The choice of location depends on various factors: in 2011, the availability of adequate technical and transport infrastructure was ranked highest, followed by adequate and affordable housing and/or low commuting costs for workers (ibid.: 64). Depending on the location of the garment factories, workers have to walk a long way to their workplace and start very early in the morning, travelling in groups. If workers are required to work late into the night, a place to stay (with extended family, relatives, or friends) is required as it is not recommended for women to walk without male companionship after dark.

As a housemaid, even more flexibility is required. According to Bangladesh Sangbad Sangstha (BSS), the national news agency of Bangladesh (June 6, 2014), "More than two million maids are working in the houses. Of them, 80% are children and women, but no effective initiatives have been taken yet to fix their wages and ensure rights. There is no legal system for their protection. The labour of this huge number of domestic helps has no recognition." Although such maids live in close proximity to their place of work, in an employing household they are expected to stay overnight if there are guests to attend and entertain.

According to Menchetti (2005, quoted in Tamanna, M., 2012) about 80,000 rickshaws are licensed. Rickshaw driving often provides the only opportunity for income generation for unskilled male migrants, usually on a rental base. "In Dhaka city about 90% rickshaw drivers came straight from the villages. […] For housing, they choose cheap housing areas located on a lower-cost land, and lack of effective housing planning can cause environmental problems through which they could lose their assets, belongings and savings" (Ibid.: 22). Therefore, they may still have strong linkages to their places of origin where family members still live and expect at least basic remittances. While 60% of the drivers live with their families (Ibid.: 2), many of them sleep in dormitories located above their rickshaw garages, often adjacent to a tea stall.

Multi-locality as temporary shelter at the workplace: It has been tentatively observed by the author that shelter is provided at building sites where the workers live as long as their employment lasts. [Fig. 1] Beside the wooden shack for sleeping, only basic sanitary facilities are provided. Temporary accommodation is sometimes possible at textile-printing enterprises or in the stores where workers are employed. It would be interesting to know more about these patterns (e.g., how long these employments last on average and how the workers manage with their families).

Seasonal multi-locality: There are about 5,000 brick kilns around Dhaka, with around 1 million people employed (Hossain 2007). The brick cluster north of Dhaka includes 530 kilns that produce about 2.1 billion bricks, described as an outdated and polluting technology (Croitoru, Sarraf 2012: 482). On a visit to a brick kiln, it could be observed that from November to April, for a maximum of six months, 400 workers live with their 200 children on the site. Both parents work in brick production jobs. During the monsoon season, or once a year, the brick production site is closed and the workers and families then have to leave due to cyclones and flooding. The children seem to stay at the site, the older ones working. Further research on the working conditions with regard to the family ties to the places of origin would be interesting. [Fig. 2 + 3]

Multi-locality as circular migration: Rural-urban linkages are the backbone of deliveries to food markets, be it via the roads or waterways. As a family-based enterprise, such deliveries are self-organised, associated with visits, and embedded in close family ties. Women whose husbands have migrated to the city see their husbands by staying two weeks in Dhaka and two weeks in the village. Their physical security is dependent on the income of the husbands, a situation exacerbated by the limited access to land and significantly lower wages in agricultural work. So: "Basha" is the temporary residence (in the urban environment) while "Bari" is the home, the place of birth and, finally, the grave in the tradition of a rural lifestyle (Bertuzzo 2013: 2). [Fig. 4]

Prolonged multi-local living abroad: A recent survey of the migrants of Bangladesh has revealed that more than half of them have been living abroad for more than 5 years, and that almost 90% of them are unskilled and never had any pre- or on-the-job training (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics 2013: 56).

Although Dhaka is not to be perceived as a global node, the remittances of these migrants seem to be relevant for the "local" real-estate market because of the high amount of remittances used for investment opportunities in land development. It is estimated that there is an annual rate of 20-30% of remittances, which is continuously increasing. As a result of the investment of these monies into land purchases, land prices have increased 40-60% more than other goods and services in the last few years (Davis 2007: 93).

More than two-thirds of the Bangladeshi migrants use familiar channels to remit their income, while the rest use other formal and informal channels; nearly 60% is invested into dwelling housing construction, mainly in the urban environment (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics 2013: 50). This corresponds with the findings of Aslam (2015) for Pakistani migrants.

Based on current research regarding Pakistani migrants in Germany, a quite impressing amount of remittances (of around 76,000 Pakistani with an average of 1,483 US$ per person) was documented in 2010. Remitted money/gifts to the non-migrant family members for consumption constitutes more than one-third of the total remittances of all respondents, while more than 50% of the remittances is invested into the local housing markets of the urban environment of the country of origin (Aslam 2015).

It should be noted that the commercialisation and professionalisation of the real-estate market reduces the chances of informal and unlimited access to land tenure because of the construction of new residential areas at the urban fringe. Here, flood-retention areas are being developed for middle- and high-income households, while concurrent vertical densification processes are causing rapid transformation at the cost of the poor households losing their shelter. Relatively "autarkic living conditions" are being established, which can be seen not only in terms of social segregation and urban fragmentation, but also in terms of the segmented and transnationally-oriented lifestyle activities of the elites (Davis 2007: 126).

Conclusions

To sum up, it is clear that multi-locality has many facets. Poor urban households including migrants are particularly vulnerable to existing power structures and dependency ratios, but are also often flexible and robust. Further research is required to learn more about the livelihood patterns of multi-local households. Three starting points need to be addressed at the moment.

Firstly, better information: As the conditions and standards of shelter and housing are poor, more control by public bodies is required. It is necessary to map physical information for all parts of the city. This includes the informal settlements as well, where slum dwellers should be considered as stakeholders. These maps of the settlements of the urban poor would serve as a realistic basis for decision making, and the GIS could provide tools to establish a comprehensive database that covers the spatial phenomena of these specific livelihood patterns.

Secondly, standards for shelter: In order to achieve at least minimum standards for the functionality of the city, strategies for in-situ slum improvement need to be developed. The spatial and social patterns evolving from negotiation processes have been investigated in different informal settlements in Dhaka. The findings show a great variety of livelihoods in the households of the residents, including those of migrants. The spatial configurations depend on the location, the building densities, and the outcome of contesting claims for public space negotiated within local power structures, including social networks. "Poor people need cheap accommodation. If cheap accommodation is not available, they become homeless or they spend too much on housing. There is a conflict between improving

the physical quality of housing and improving the housing conditions of poor people. Arguably, social housing programmes in many developed countries solved that problem by heavily subsidising the poor" (Gilbert 2007: 709). Consequently, he promotes "better housing" instead of slum clearance (i.e., upgrading of informal settlements from "slums of despair" into "slums of hope"). The different facets of rural-urban migration might require affordable housing structures with minimum standards in terms of size and utilities.

Thirdly, accessibility to urban facilities: It is obvious that maintenance of family ties is most important. The organisation of multi-local life pattern is to bring into the focus from different perspectives. Particular attention is to be drawn to the access to the city resources that play a crucial role in the livelihoods of the urban poor households and, therefore, for rural-urban migrants as well. Beyond housing, the accessibility to public transport and to social facilities (particularly education for the children) is a crucial request. It is the task of spatial planning to provide these resources as well as access to public space, and supply and disposal infrastructure.

Finally, encouraging "multiple readings" of the "many cities in one city" with a multitude of institutional sites (Healey 2002: 1786) is an essential requirement for local institutions to ensure minimum standards of urban functionality and to compensate for a lack of public (urban) planning. In responding to informality as a form of urbanisation, the quest for "creating the 'city' as a collective resource" is furthered (Ibid.). With regard to their specific spatiotemporal conditions, it is essential to draw attention to households with multi-local livelihood pattern and a low-threshold accessibility to these resources.

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The Governance of Multiple Elsewheres: Evaluating Municipalities' Response to Mobility[1]

Caitlin Blaser and Loren B. Landau

Governance von Multilokalität: ein Ansatz zur Evaluierung kommunaler Antworten auf Mobilität

MigrantInnen personifizieren Multilokalität. Sie entwickeln materielle und soziale Netzwerke, die territorial und auf Sessshaftigkeit ausgerichtete Kommunalverwaltungen mit neuen Nachfragestrukturen konfrontieren. Obwohl mobile Gruppen nicht zwingend zu steigenden EinwohnerInnenzahlen führen, beeinflussen sie die Entwicklung des Gemeinwesens im südlichen Afrika stark. Interregionale Migration stellt heute wie früher einen integralen Bestandteil wirtschaftlicher und sozialer Entwicklungsdynamiken dar, gleichzeitig können die im politischen System gestärkten Kommunalverwaltungen schon kaum innerhalb ihrer Verwaltungsgrenzen Armut, Ungleichheit und sozialer Fragmentierung im Zaum halten. Auf der Basis empirischer Studien in Südafrika und Botswana stellen die AutorInnen des vorliegenden Artikels ein Instrument zur Evaluierung der Kapazitäten von Lokalverwaltungen im Umgang mit Mobilität und Multilokalität vor. Dieses analysiert Wahrnehmungen und Verhaltensweisen des Verwaltungspersonals, Sammlung und Management von Einwohnerdaten, Formen politischer Beteiligung, Beziehungen zwischen den Verwaltungsebenen und Finanzverwaltungssysteme. Auf Basis einer solchen Analyse lassen sich die notwendigen mobilitätssensiblen Interventionen zielgerechter entwickeln.

This article has been peer reviewed by two independent reviewers. A group of about 30 distinguished experts is engaged in TRIALOG's peer review process.

Introduction

As the foundation of government, local authorities are on the front lines of managing the transformation of their communities in ways that provide stability and economic opportunities. Even as debates over the specific drivers, dynamics, and developmental consequences of migration continue (see Potts 2011; Bocquier 2005; White & Lindstrom 2005), two messages are clear: First, mobility and translocality are hallmarks of the contemporary era. Second, if these are to have positive social and economic outcomes, local governments need to respond proactively to movements at all points in the migration process.

Through an examination of six small and large municipalities across Southern Africa, this article considers what rapid population growth, continuous movement, and translocality mean for local authorities. It argues that while multi-locality and mobility are potential empowerment strategies for individuals and families grappling with socio-economic marginalisation, in most cases local authorities have neither the tools to capitalise on the opportunities presented by multi-locality nor the ability to respond to the challenges it presents. In many cases, shortcomings start with the local officials' poor awareness and acceptance that movement and multi-locality can be positive vectors of change or that their actions can help determine outcomes. Many simply defer responsibility to national authorities. Overcoming barriers of awareness and responsibility is therefore an important but insufficient first step. Encouraging municipal authorities to embrace and effectively respond to movement means identifying and reforming systems of political participation, intergovernmental and local accountability mechanisms, planning modalities, and budgeting systems. To help identify the factors working for or against specific municipalities, this article concludes by outlining a diagnostic tool for assessing the readiness of local authorities in an era of mobility and multi-locality.

Mobility and multi-locality in Southern Africa

Southern African cities are on the move. As elsewhere in the Global South, populations are continuing to grow, shrink, and transform in response to demographic and economic pressures (Potts 2009; Crush, et al. 2005). South Africa has a relatively low annual urbanisation rate of 1.4%, in part because almost two-thirds (62.2%) of South Africans already live in urban areas (UNDESA 2011). In Botswana the figures are similar, with 61.7% urbanised but an urbanisation rate of 2.5% (UNDESA 2011). Much of this growth is due to natural increase, yet some of the most dramatic and politically-charged changes in the morphology, composition, and patterns of exchange in cities stem from people moving. Importantly, secondary cities and peri-urban areas are growing at the fastest rate, often quickly outstripping the local service and physical infrastructures and far outpacing the growth in employment opportunities (Roberts and Hohmann 2014). In 2013, the South African municipalities of Polokwane, Rustenburg, Vanderbijlpark, Nelspruit, and Ekurhuleni were the five fastest-growing urban areas over the past decade, with average annual population growth rates of between 1.6% and 2.9%. Compare this with the country's second city, Cape Town, which over the same period grew at an annual rate of only 1.4%.[2] Even when human mobility does little to change absolute numbers, it remains an important dynamic with people frequently shifting within and between cities or between towns and more rural "homes".

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There is, consequently, a need to rethink what it means to govern places in which people live but to which they may not be emotionally committed or regularly present. Given the precariousness of land tenure, the constant search for economic opportunities, and a number of other factors, people also remain highly mobile within cities. Through people's geographic movements into, out of, and within cities, urban spaces that for many years had only tenuous connections elsewhere are now becoming nodes in national and diasporic networks of social and economic exchange. People living in a city are often morally and economically rooted elsewhere, in their communities of origin and/or with family and kin in the broader diaspora. The physical movements of people and their orientation to what Mbembe and Nuttall (2004) term "multiple elsewheres" raise opportunities for individuals but significant challenges for local authorities. These challenges are the focus of this article.

Data collection and approach

Migration affects almost all communities in highly mobile regions such as Southern Africa. Whether due to people leaving, transiting or settling, even temporarily, their movements potentially shift trade patterns, political authority, and the boundaries of social membership. To understand how local municipalities have responded to widespread and diverse patterns of mobility and urbanisation, we conducted research in six municipalities during two extended research phases. In phase one (2009-2010), the research team visited four municipalities in South Africa: Mossel Bay, Tshwane (formerly Pretoria), Nelson Mandela Bay (formerly Port Elizabeth), and Merafong. These were selected to include geographic diversity, varied party-leadership structures, relative wealth, and incidents of "xenophobic" attacks against non-nationals and other outsiders (see Landau 2011). While specifics varied, all four of the municipalities had remarkably high levels of in-migration along with oscillating/circular movements. Given time limits, we placed emphasis on attitudes and accounts of practice among officials and civil society rather than on deep observation of institutional culture, population dynamics, or political configurations. This first phase of research (reported in Landau, et al. 2011) served as the foundation for more intensive analysis elsewhere.

During phase two (2013-2014), we targeted three additional municipalities: Gaborone in Botswana, along with Bushbuckridge and Lephalale in South Africa. This trio further expanded our geographic spread while including sites grappling with varied migration forms, including high levels of out-migration. We selected Gaborone, the capital of Botswana, for its position as a destination for migrants from across the country and neighbouring states, particularly Zimbabwe (see Campbell and Crush 2012). As with many African capital cities, its population growth has rapidly outstripped projections and its growth rate has been above 3% per year for the last decades (Central Statistics Office 2005). Bushbuckridge has long been affected by regional migration. Known primarily as a sending community and former homeland (i.e., Bantustan), much of the labour force historically went to the Rustenburg area mines, establishing linkages and mobility patterns that continue today. However, even as the municipality sent residents elsewhere, it received significant numbers of migrants

from neighbouring countries. Many of these originated from Mozambique, when refugees from that country's civil war (1977-1992) were resettled in the area. Their ties have remained strong, with many Bushbuckridge residents (now South African citizens) maintaining active family ties across the Mozambique border (see Polzer 2008). Thus, in Bushbuckridge, there can be few doubts of mobility's role in shaping the tasks facing the municipality.

As our final case, Lephalale represents a town becoming a city almost entirely through in-migration. In what was until recently a small, South African agricultural centre near the Botswana border, the discovery of one of the world's largest coal reserves nearby has resulted in a massive expansion of mining and the construction of a massive, coal-fired power station (see Faku 2013). During the 2013 fieldwork, construction was in full swing with people from across the region and beyond providing manual labour, specialised skills, and private investment in small and large businesses. The municipality expects these investments to transform the city from a small town to a significant urban area in a short space of time. In each site, the research team spent approximately one month interviewing officials, service providers, local businesses, and civil society organisations. Wherever possible, the team also approached relevant provincial or national authorities.

Findings: variations in under-capacity

Our research documents a continuum of capacity in responding to mobility and multi-locality. Unsurprisingly, there are strong correlations between generally high levels of service delivery and more proactive responses to human mobility. Well-run cities are those best able to manage mobility's varied forms in ways that support local and translocal livelihood agendas. These municipalities have the resources and capacity to plan effectively, and recognise mobility as an important element in responding to the community's population dynamics. Even so, there are obstacles linked to data quality, participation, and budgeting processes. Institutional configurations, including centralised party systems and control over financial resources, can hamper local responsiveness. Although these factors cannot be addressed solely at the municipal level, it is nonetheless important to analytically incorporate them for programming and advocacy purposes.

At the other end of the spectrum, we encountered municipal authorities with limited capacity for planning even the most basic elements of service delivery. They are typically unable to respond effectively to changing population dynamics, too. Importantly, there are variations even within municipalities; not all individuals and departments are equal. It is not enough to simply say a municipality is or is not developing an effective pro-poor response to multi-locality, as the obstacles are complex and a nuanced understanding is necessary for developing such a response.

Diagnosing capacity

What emerged from the seven case studies is a tool for assessing municipalities' ability to respond to multi-locality, and to help explain capacity variations. Our work identifies six primary measures for evaluating municipalities'

abilities and practices surrounding the management of human mobility and other population dynamics. Each of these measures includes a series of sub-measures for calculating aggregate and sub-area scores. While the measures outlined below are more indicative than exhaustive, they nonetheless allow for comparative analysis and point to areas for future interventions.

The six primary measures are the degree to which:

1. Municipal officials regard human mobility as part of their responsibility and recognise where and how to intervene.

2. Data collection and management systems that include population dynamics and accurate data – particularly in relation to mobility and multi-locality – are included in policy decisions and planning strategies.

3. Budgeting systems are responsive to demographic change and can incorporate the implications of translocal livelihoods, including multi-sited budgeting and multi-local collaboration.

4. Popular engagement and participatory mechanisms are inclusive of migrants and are bolstered by technocratic mechanisms that address current residents while considering future migrants and translocal residents likely to be absent during planning processes.

5. "Migrant interests" are included in political and bureaucratic accountability and incentives. Recognising that new arrivals and translocal residents may not represent a core political constituency, key performance areas and accountability systems – from provincial or national governments – must demand an awareness of and responsiveness to mobile populations.

6. Approaches to human security and social cohesion appropriately consider varied forms of human mobility; particularly the challenges of living in ethnically and class diverse communities.

Using these six categories as an assessment guide, it is possible to evaluate the degree to which local governments are responding to the mobility affecting a given municipality. Such a tool also helps to identify many of the reasons for enabling proactive or discouraging responses. These measures have been designed to guide comparative, qualitative analysis. Each category has five indicators that serve to score the extent to which the municipality is mobility-responsive. For example, in the data collection and management category, indicators are:

- Availability of spatialised data to allow for population projections at the sub-municipal, municipal, and national levels. This data allows analysts to disaggregate on the basis of key socio-economic variables, including migration status.

- There is an agreement within the municipality and within the national bureaucracy on what constitutes optimal and reliable data sources for planning purposes.

- Municipal officials have the skills to analyse available data, or can call on these skills from other places in the public administration.

- There are political and administrative incentives for accurately collecting and incorporating data into policy making and programmatic planning.

- Available data or empirically-informed estimates are used for budgeting and planning at the local, provincial, and national levels.

As the example above makes clear, the diagnostic tool merely points out concerns and capacities within municipalities in ways that allow for both comparison and potential interventions. Each category has a similar set of indicators, emerging from the empirical research, outlining the priority strengths for success in response to mobility. These indicators are largely indicative, and have scope to be developed with further engagement in the literature around each category of local governance. The scores are not intended to be precise measures of performance on any specific issue. Through application and

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(continuation)

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Figure 1: Newly arrived job seekers to Lephalale set up an adult training centre. The policy of the mine is to work through traditional authorities to prioritize the employment of local residents. Photo: Caitlin Blaser

Measuring Municipal Mobility Response
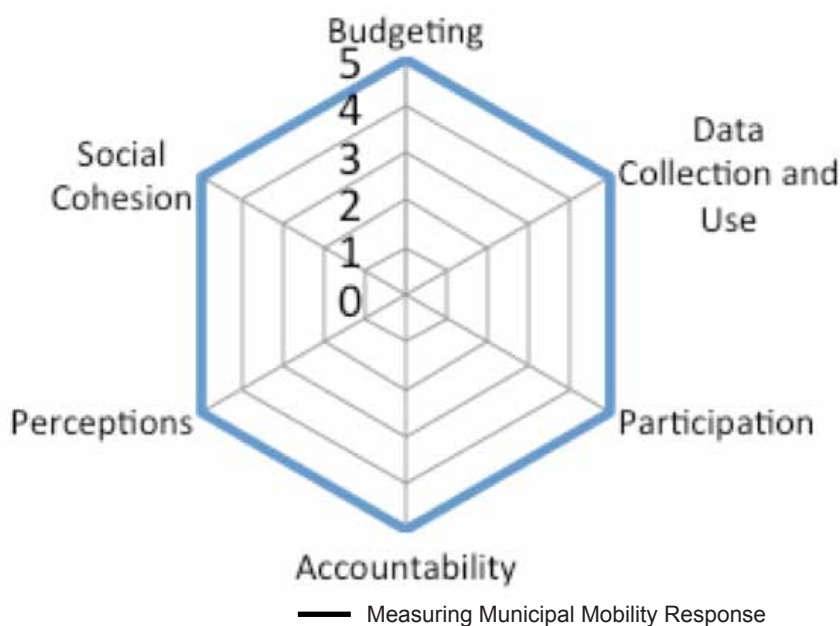
further research they may be refined for more specific administrative or political contexts. An ideal municipality that responds fully to mobility in ways that capitalise on its potential for development would score full marks across all six categories. Such a (fictitious) finding is illustrated below as Graphic 1. This ideal is unlikely to be achieved anywhere, let alone in the kinds of communities considered here. Nonetheless, it offers an analytical and normative framework with which to assess a wide variety of municipalities.

To demonstrate these indices' potential utility, we applied them to the two South African case studies included in Phase II of the research. Visual representations of these variations point to areas where internal and external actors may wish to intervene.

The analysis below illustrates the diagnostic tool applied to the two case study sites in Bushbuckridge and Lephalale. Both cities demonstrate limited capacity coupled with dramatic incapacity elsewhere. In this case, it appears as though officials recognise their role
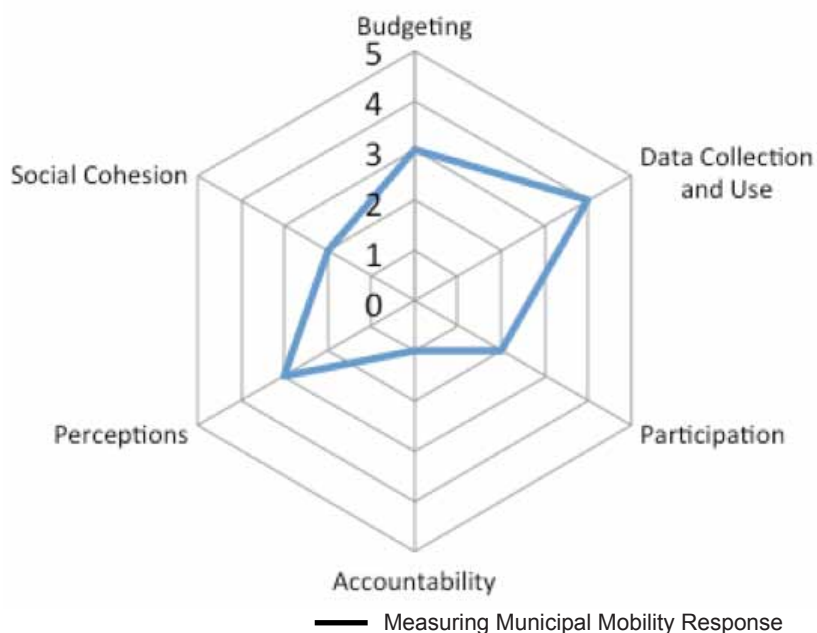
in addressing mobility but may be hamstrung by a range of other factors, including budgeting, data, and forms of popular participation. Even if there is no single recipe for addressing these shortcomings – and every country and municipality will require tailor-made assistance – this framework provides a normative guide for municipalities and advocates while allowing for comparison across space and time.

Looking at the responses to the indicators in each category, it is clear that neither Bushbuckridge nor Lephalale are well-equipped to address mobility. However, the reasons differ significantly in ways that indicate areas for intervention and capacity building.

In Lephalale, the overall capacity of the municipality is strong, given its context as a highly rural locality undergoing rapid changes. Spatialised data is available and used by skilled officials, but there are few incentives for accurate data use. Rather, divergent political interests within the municipality lead to the contestation of both data use and analysis. For example, some officials had an interest in demonstrating effective service provision (i.e., a decrease in vulnerability) while others fought to highlight vulnerability in hopes of attracting additional resources. In other instances, opposition counsellors were accused of inflating the population of informal settlements to score political points, while ruling party counsellors were accused of ignoring data on informal settlements to justify developing the surrounding villages (which provide political support). Even if Lephalale's budgeting processes had shortcomings, they were largely functional and transparent. While these processes may not promote the inclusion of migrants and are not harnessing the potential of migration for economic development, it is also not a key stumbling block.

Where the municipality falls short, however, is on the metrics related to accountability; specifically, participation and downward accountability. To the contrary, municipal workers are encouraged to work in ways that are overtly exclusionary. This was evident even while conducting research in the municipality, as access to the municipality offices was tightly controlled, with quite deliberate obstacles being placed in the way of access to officials.

Neither systems of resource allocation nor targets for service provision work in such a way that is inclusive of the needs of migrants. Not only is cooperation between government departments limited, competition and disagreements in certain areas stall the delivery of public goods. It is clear that the municipality's processes and structures of community consultation and engagement are preventing it from successfully responding to mobility. The municipality received frequent criticism for presenting plans to the community only after decisions have already been made, turning its facilitation of public participation into a technical, rather than meaningful exercise. Communities were rarely given opportunities to feed meaningfully into political processes. For example, when consultation events did happen in surrounding villages, the presentations were made in English, and the decision makers left before a question and comment period began.

Similarly, low scores for both social cohesion and participation point to an inability in the municipality to bring the community together meaningfully. Lephalale scored only

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two in terms of both participation and social cohesion. During the fieldwork period, this was apparent in the protests which frequently took place outside the municipality. It was equally evident in the "counsellors" and civic organisations' fear in meeting with the research team. This entrenched culture of fear was a huge barrier to meaningful participation on the part of both the municipality and community. While municipal officials do see a role for themselves in promoting cohesion among residents, they have failed to translate this into any practical programming. Indeed, they have only the crudest understanding of the causes of conflict and never mentioned the role of party competition in fomenting violence (something observers were quick to note). In an environment in which counsellors and community leaders were legitimately afraid for their lives due to these such conflicts, meaningful participation or planning simply could not occur.

Graphic three illustrates the limited municipal capacity in Bushbuckridge. Without any meaningful sources of municipal revenue, and without the capacity to use data effectively, data use for budgeting and planning is poor. No where did they consider how resources earned elsewhere might benefit the city or how a high dependency ratio should influence budgeting. However, it the city did does somewhat better regarding participation. While there were problems of bias in municipal planning towards specific ethnolinguistic categories of residents, the municipality has taken on board the needs of some marginalised communities within the municipality. This included the establishment of mobile clinics to reach community members who may have trouble travelling to the local facilities. The municipality has also launched information campaigns around regulatory changes affecting new mothers. Counsellors have also set up formal systems of collaboration with traditional authorities, church leaders,

and other people active in the community to ensure that people facing a range of barriers can access social grants.

While Bushbuckridge has an official policy to support social integration, its low social cohesion score indicates the need for further progress. While accepting social cohesion as a municipal responsibility, there were no structures or policies in place to address it. As in Lephalale, there is little shared understanding of the sources of conflict or cohesion. Similarly, Bushbuckridge's its participation score of "3" shows that the municipality is aware of how to facilitate participation, and that certain participatory processes were being followed. However,

Figure 2: Paprika, an informal settlement near the construction site of the Medupi power station houses migrants from across the continent. The municipality has faced challenges planning service provision and housing for a population on the move. Photo: Caitlin Blaser

▼
Graphic 3: Municipal responsiveness to mobility in Bushbuckridge. Source: authors
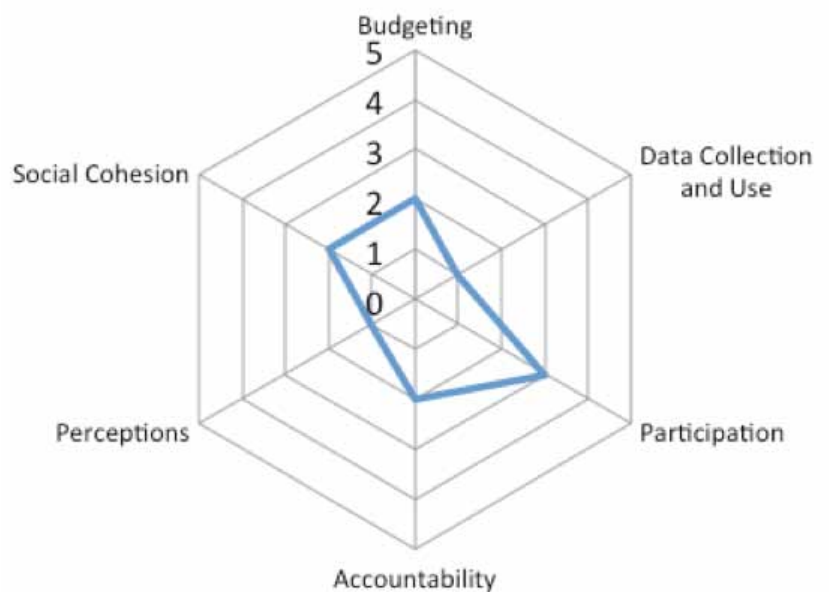
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the score also points to gaps. The municipality is not clear on its roles and responsibilities, nor does it see how mobility can fit into its mandate. Most importantly, it has done little to ensure that the thousands of people who are registered to live in the municipality but work elsewhere are able to influence policy. These are significant inhibitors not only to responding to a mobile population, but to delivering services to all inhabitants. The diagnostic tool makes it clear that in areas of social cohesion and participation, good will may be there, but capacity is lacking, and both are needed for a robust response to demographic change. Bushbuckridge scores somewhat better than Lephalale on the dimensions related to participation and accountability. While both municipalities face challenges in developing local, downward accountability systems, Bushbuckridge has more inclusive democratic structures in place. On the other hand, Lephalale scores higher than Bushbuckridge in categories that are more strongly linked to technical competencies, like data collection and use, or budgeting.

The diagnostic tool makes it clear that while both municipalities are facing governance challenges, these challenges are stemming from different places. Therefore, interventions designed to improve their responses to mobility would have to be designed differently. Downwardly-accountable, democratic structures already exist in Bushbuckridge, but stronger capacity within the municipality is needed to make these structures meaningful. In Lephalale, however, the municipality has a quite strong technical capacity. As long as functioning downwardly-accountable and democratic structures are not operating in place, however, this capacity can not be used to respond to the residents' changing needs.

Conclusions

Migration and other forms of human mobility are by definition deeply spatialised processes. People move from one specific place to another, either within a municipality or into another municipality. But these are not discrete processes. With people come connections to their sites of origin, to broader diasporas, and to the multiple elsewheres occupying their imaginations. But while these imaginaries may be global and the exchanges both material and social, the immediate effects will first be felt in the towns, cities, or villages where the people reside. As such, local governments have significant roles to play to manage migration effectively. Doing this means expanding the tools available to guide municipalities and public authorities more generally on approaches to human mobility.

The explanations and diagnostic tools included in this document are intended to help address this need. Although they do not outline how reforms and improved strategies may be realised, they help draw attention to areas where municipalities are doing well, where they are doing poorly, and to some of the political and institutional structures which account for their performance. Only once these have been clearly articulated can we hope to achieve durable improvements in municipal management.

Local governments around the world face multiple challenges in responding effectively to mobility and to building migration into their planning processes. If nothing else, this research demonstrates that building cohesive, prosperous, and secure communities in this era requires municipalities to engage with issues of human mobility in its varied forms. Although this may require municipal authorities to rethink how they work – their partners, their financial management, and participatory processes – it is not an additional task, but rather part of their already challenging mandate to improve the lives of their constituencies. Failure to proactively address migration and other forms of human mobility will yield undesired consequences for all: social fragmentation, economic exclusion, poor planning, and the possibility of protest and violence.

If properly managed, multi-locality and mobility can bring people closer to services, reduce risk while heightening resilience, enrich the labour market, and open important opportunities for poverty reduction. Similarly, international migration need not lead to conflict, tensions, and service shortfalls, but can help to provide needed skills and entrepreneurial energy, while boosting regional trade and integration and helping to facilitate post-conflict reconstruction in international migrants' countries of origin. Governing a multi-local citizenry challenges our understanding of how local government works. Reconsidering this is not a simple task, but the concrete tools outlined above are rather one small step to addressing and potentially capitalising on the socio-economic universe that people's movements are helping to create.

Arbeiterorganisationen in China: Zivilgesellschaftliche Organisationen und Multilokalität

Peter Franke

Workers' Organisations in China: Civil Society Organisations and Multi-locality
Nearly 20% of the 1.4 billion population in China are defined by official agencies as "floating population", i.e. they live in the cities to work and return regularly to their rural home-place for reproduction and holidays. The article asks whether and how the specific circumstances of multi-locality affect civil society and specifically labour organisations. It describes migrant workers' patterns of identification and interest as well as social and political conditions for civil engagement and setting up organisations. Three different approaches for labour organising can be observed, namely economic, cultural and political. Referring to encounters with labour activists and their groups some examples are given. Although a number of labour groups were initiated by migrant workers themselves, they seem to refer only to their place of work, little if any explicit activities connecting to their rural regions of origin. Though implicitly the fact of different origins is acknowledged, there are indications of trying to tackle the situation of multi-locality in some of the groups' actions.

Ein (Über-) Leben an mehreren Orten gleichzeitig zu führen und organisieren zu müssen, ist das Schicksal von knapp 20% der 1,4 Milliarden großen Bevölkerung in China. Die Nationale Gesundheits- und Familienplanungskommission bezeichnete 236 Millionen Menschen im Jahr 2012 als "liudong renkuo", mobile/bewegliche (= floating) Bevölkerung, die ihren Herkunftsort zur Arbeitssuche oder Ausbildung verlassen hat. Im Jahr 2000 waren es nur 79 Millionen. Diese Zählung berücksichtigt lediglich diejenigen, die mindestens sechs Monate am Zielort leben. Mobile Menschen mit kürzerer Verweildauer bleiben unberücksichtigt.

Diese nicht permanente Binnenwanderung ist ein Ergebnis der wirtschaftlichen Transformation von einer staatlichen "sozialistischen Planwirtschaft" zur einer sogenannten "sozialistischen Markwirtschaft". Sie geht einher mit einer rapide zunehmenden Urbanisierung erst in der Küstenregionen Süd- und Ost-Chinas und inzwischen auch in Zentralchina, wie z.B. in Wuhan, und in West-China, wie z.B. in Chongqing und Chengdu. Der Rohstoffabbau, aber vor allem die Weltmarktfabriken und Großbaustellen, brauchten Arbeitskräfte. Dies hat zu dieser Arbeitsmigration aus ländlichen Regionen in die urbanen Zentren geführt.

Die Mehrheit der MigrantInnen pendelt zwischen der ländlichen Herkunftsregion und den z.T. wechselnden Arbeitsorten. Aufgrund des staatlichen Haushaltsregistrierungs-Systems (Hukou) verfügen die meisten an ihrem Herkunftsort, wo häufig noch Eltern und Verwandte leben, über ein Nutzungs- bzw. Bebauungsrecht von etwa 600 – 1.000 m² Landfläche.

Der Herkunftsort bleibt somit in den meisten Fällen die Heimat, die auch nach vielen Jahren immer wieder aufgesucht wird und für die ArbeitsmigrantInnen nicht nur von sozio-kultureller, sondern auch von ökonomischer Bedeutung ist. Am Arbeitsort ist es ihnen hingegen wegen des Haushaltsregistrierungsystem *Hukou* kaum möglich, sich permanent anzusiedeln. Als Familie erhalten sie dort nur sehr schwer Wohnraum zu angemessenen Preisen, können ihre Kinder, wenn überhaupt, nur mit zusätzlichen Kosten auf staatliche Kindergärten oder Schulen schicken, und die staatliche Gesundheitsversorgung bezieht sie nicht ein.

Im Folgenden sollen Überlegungen dazu angestellt werden, ob und wie sogenannte zivilgesellschaftliche Organisationen in China die Lebenssituation von ArbeitsmigrantInnen zwischen Land und Stadt berücksichtigen.[1]

1. Zur Lage der ArbeitsmigrantInnen zwischen Stadt und Land

Mit ihren KollegInnen mit städtischem *Hukou* sind den ArbeitsmigrantInnen die Auswirkungen der Arbeitsbedingungen in der Fabrik gemeinsam. Ihre Lebensbedingungen unterscheiden sich jedoch aufgrund des bereits erläuterten Registrierungssystems *Hukou* deutlich. Denn die WanderarbeiterInnen bilden eine Art neue Lohnarbeiterklasse ohne Bürgerrechte und Anspruch auf gesicherten Wohnraum, Gesundheitsversorgung und Bildung für Ihre Kinder in den Städten, wo sie arbeiten.

Darüber hinaus bestimmen Alter und Geschlecht in den verschiedenen Lebensabschnitten veränderte subjektive wie objektive Bedürfnisse. Die jeweilige Lebenssituation der BinnenmigrantInnen in China[2] wird beeinflusst durch

- die Entfernung zwischen Herkunfts- und Zielregion bzw. –ort, d.h. sie bestimmt die benötigte Reisezeit und damit die Möglichkeiten der Aufrechterhaltung direkter sozialer Kontakte in die "Heimat". So können wir von „gering" sprechen bei 50-300 km, z.B. im Umland einer Großstadt oder innerhalb einer Provinz, die in wenigen Stunden per Bus bewältigt werden; von „mittel" bei 300-1000 km, das entspricht einer Tagesreise per Bahn, z.B. in benachbarte Provinzen; von „weit" bei über 1000 km, eine Mehrtages- bzw. Flugreise.

- die geographischen wie klimatischen Unterschiede zwischen Herkunfts- und Zielregion bzw. -ort. Z.B. ein subtropisches, heißfeuchtes Klima im Perlflußdelta und in den Küstenstädten der Provinz Fujian (Südchina); trockenes Kontinentalklima in Nordchina mit deutlich ausgeprägten Jahreszeiten; Bergregionen, Steppen und Wüsten oder Flachland an Flussläufen.

- die unterschiedlichen sozio-kulturellen Hintergründe in der Herkunfts- und Zielregion, wie z.B. die im Alltag benutzten lokalen und regionalen Sprachen, oder die Essensgewohnheiten, wie z.B. Reis als Grundnahrungsmittel im Süden, hingegen im Norden auch viele Mehl- oder Mais-basierte Speisen.

- die Segregation als Bauern und den sich aus dem entsprechenden *Hukou* ergebenden sozialen und rechtlichen Benachteiligungen.

2. Identifikation und gemeinsame Interessen

ArbeitsmigrantInnen in China definieren sich stark über ihre geographische und soziale Herkunft. Für Menschen in der Fremde sind die aus der Herkunft sich ergebenden Merkmale wie Esskultur und Umgangssprache Identität stiftend. Diese können häufig sogar eine unterschiedliche soziale Herkunft überbrücken. Menschen aus demselben Ort oder derselben Region bezeichnen sich auf

Chinesisch als *tong xiang* - jemand mit derselben Heimat - und drücken damit eine besondere Verbundenheit und Verbindlichkeit aus. Diese kann sich in informellen Netzwerken für die gegenseitige Unterstützung von Menschen aus demselben Dorf oder derselben Region ausdrücken. Es können aber auch organisierte Landsmannschaften von Provinzen entstehen, über die versucht wird, gemeinsam wirtschaftliche und soziale Interessen durchzusetzen. Organisationen auf landsmannschaftlicher Grundlage sind sicherlich schon lange vor der modernen Binnenmigration der letzten 30 Jahre in und außerhalb Chinas entstanden.

Die Religion spielt in der Fremde lediglich für Muslime aus dem Nordwesten Chinas eine identitätsbildende Rolle. Für Christen oder religiöse Sekten wie Falun Gong ist dem Verfasser dies nicht bekannt.

Die große Masse der Arbeitsmigranten in China stammt aus Bauernfamilien vom Dorf oder aus ländlichen Kreisstädten. Diese Herkunft als „Bauer" wurde früher und wird auch noch heute als niedrigste, ungebildete soziale Stufe angesehen. Das „Bäuerliche" wird in China wie in vielen anderen Ländern als zurückgeblieben und dumm verstanden und führt dann auch zu einem entsprechendem Selbstbewusstsein vieler Bauern gegenüber Städtern. Die übliche Bezeichnung von Arbeitsmigranten vom Land ist dann auch *nongmingong* – Bauernarbeiter – was von Teilen der Arbeitsmigranten als diskriminierend empfunden wird.

Aufgrund fehlender Zugangsrechte und minimaler sozialer Absicherung in den Städten, sind die dort neu angekommenen ArbeiterInnen immer wieder auf ihre unterschiedlichen Herkunftsorte zurückgeworfen. Trotz aller Gemeinsamkeiten tritt bei der konkreten Bewältigung vieler sozialer und familiärer Probleme stets das sie Trennende in den Vordergrund, sofern sie aus unterschiedlichen Herkunftsregionen und -orten stammen.

Dagegen führen die am Arbeitsort erfahrenen Benachteiligungen und die Unterwerfung unter ein nach kapitalistischen Prinzipien funktionierendes Verwertungs- und Fabriksystem mit entsprechenden unsicheren Löhnen

und Arbeitsbedingungen, die ein menschenwürdiges Leben kaum ermöglichen, zu Widerstand. Die tägliche Arbeit zusammen an einem Arbeitsort, arbeitsteilig in einer Halle an einem Produkt, erzeugt schließlich den konkreten Zusammenschluss aller Arbeiter/innen bei der Verteidigung ihrer unmittelbaren gemeinsamen Interessen.

3. Soziale und politische Bedingungen für eine zivilgesellschaftliche Organisierung in China

Bis etwa 2005 wurde die Lebenssituation der sogenannten „Bauernarbeiter" in den Städten von Partei und Gewerkschaft mehr oder minder ausgeblendet, und ihr Anteil am wirtschaftlichen Aufbau des Landes blieb in der großen Öffentlichkeit unerwähnt. Eine offizielle, landesweite soziale Akzeptanz und Wertschätzung dieser „neuen" Arbeiter als Bevölkerungsgruppe wurde erstmalig mit dem Auftritt einer Musikgruppe von Arbeitsmigranten in der offiziellen Neujahrsshow Anfang 2006 des nationalen Fernsehsenders CCTV signalisiert. Diese offizielle soziale Akzeptanz ermöglichte es Arbeitsmigranten, sich besser in der Öffentlichkeit Aufmerksamkeit und Geltung zu verschaffen, nicht zuletzt auch, weil sie z.B. durch Arbeitskämpfe merklich, wenn auch überwiegend nur örtlich oder regional die Wirtschaftsentwicklung beeinflussen konnten.

In der chinesischen Verfassung ist das Recht auf Organisationsfreiheit verankert.[3] Jedoch hat die tatsächliche gesellschaftliche Verfasstheit der Ein-Parteien Volksrepublik der Kommunistischen Partei mit 78 Mio. Mitgliedern die absolute Macht verliehen, als neben oder über den staatlichen Organen stehende politische Institution, die die Geschicke des Landes bestimmt. Einzig die KPCh darf außerhalb des Staates Menschen auf nationaler Ebene organisieren. Ihre großen sogenannten „Massenorganisationen" sind der Jugend- und Studentenverband, die Gewerkschaften, der Frauenverband, der Bund Zurückgekehrter Auslandschinesen und die Industrie- und Handelskammer. Darüber hinaus können nur unter Kontrolle der KP nationale Fach- und ggf. auch spezifische Interessenverbände gebildet werden. Auf örtlicher oder regionaler Ebene besteht eher die Möglichkeit

der Bildung kleiner Organisationen, die allerdings nicht das politische Machtmonopol der KPCh in Frage stellen dürfen. Repressive (Sicherheits-) Gesetze schränken die Organisationsfreiheit und eine Partizipation am politischen Leben ein. Ein schwaches bis fehlendes rechtsstaatliches Verständnis verhindert darüber hinaus häufig die Durchsetzung von verfassungsmäßig verbrieften Rechten. Ein umfangreicher Sicherheitsapparat mit Polizei, Sicherheitsbehörde, Zensur usw. sorgt für die Erhaltung des sozialen Friedens im Interesse der Partei und schützt vor allen tatsächlichen oder vermeintlichen Bedrohungen ihres Machtmonopols. Für das Jahr 2013 wurden dafür mit 769,1 Mrd. Yuan mehr Geld veranschlagt als für die nationale Verteidigung mit 740,6 Mrd. Yuan.[4]

4. Organisationsformen und soziales Engagement

Unter den oben knapp beschriebenen Bedingungen haben sich in einem so bevölkerungsreichen, komplexen und großen Land unterschiedliche Organisationsformen von ArbeitsmigrantInnen herausgebildet. Die starke Einschränkung der Organisations- und Koalitionsfreiheit führt immer wieder zu mehr oder minder „spontanen" Zusammenschlüssen von ArbeiterInnen zur Verteidigung ihrer Existenz und Würde sowie zur Durchsetzung ihrer Interessen. Dabei kann es sich um kurze Aktionen oder Streiks handeln, etwa im Betrieb gegen Überstunden, für besseres Kantinenessen, die Auszahlung von Löhnen oder für bessere Bedingungen im Wohnheim.

Aber auch länger anhaltende Aktionen für höhere Löhne, bessere Arbeitsbedingungen oder Gesundheitsschutz und medizinische Versorgung führen zu Zusammenschlüssen und informellen Organisationen.[5] Es gibt nicht nur monatelange Arbeitskämpfe, wie beim Streik von HondaArbeiterInnen für höhere Löhne im Jahr 2010, sondern diese können auch sechs Jahre anhalten, wie beim Kampf für Entschädigung von durch Cadmium vergifteten ArbeiterInnen der Batteriefabrik Gold Peak in Huizhou von 2004-2010.[6]

Solche Auseinandersetzungen und Kämpfe haben daran beteiligte Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen zu „Aktivisten" gemacht. Sie haben trotz repressiver Bedingungen in

3
Art. 35. Die Bürger der Volksrepublik China genießen die Freiheit der Rede, der Publikation, der Versammlung, der Vereinigung, der Durchführung von Straßenumzügen und Demonstrationen, http://www.verfassungen.net/rc/verf82-i.htm (8.4.2015).

4
Das sind 94,8 Mrd.€ bzw. 91,2 Mrd. €. Quelle: Nachrichtenagentur Reuter vom 5.3.2013, www.reuters.com/article/2013/03/05/us-china-parliament-defence-idUSBRE92403620130305 (22.6.2015).

5
Einen Einblick über die Häufigkeit solcher Arbeitskämpfe vermittelt die in Hong Kong ansässige Organisation China Labour Bulletin auf ihrer *CLB Collective Labour Incidents (Strike) Map* http://www.numble.com/PHP/mysql/clbmape.html (17.4.2015).

6
Siehe die ausführliche Dokumentation Globalization Monitor (2009): *No Choice but to Fight – A Documentary of Chinese Women Workers Struggle for Health and Dignity,* Hong Kong (Selbstverlag) sowie die website GP Cadmium Poisoning Case http://www.globalmon.org.hk/labor-rights/gp-cadmium-poisoning-case (17.4.2015).

◄
Abbildung 2:
Privat angemietetes Zimmer einer ArbeitsmigrantInnenFamilie in Stadtteil Mudu von Suzhou. Foto: Peter Franke

7
vgl. hierzu auch King-chi Chan (2012)

8
Zur Einschätzung von Gewerkschaften und Arbeitskämpfen in China siehe den Artikel des Verfassers „Es gärt in Chinas Fabriken". In: *Welt-Sichten* Nr. 2-2014, S. 12-17.

9
Han Dong Fang, heute Direktor von China Labour Bulletin in Hong Kong, war damals eine zentrale Figur vgl. Han Dongfang, Chinese Labour Struggles, in *New Left Review* 34, July-August 2005, http://newleftreview.org/II/34/dongfang-han-chinese-labour-struggles (22.7.2015).

unterschiedlicher Weise Netzwerke und Organisationen, die sich für ihre Interessen einsetzen, aufgebaut oder sich diesen angeschlossen. Dabei handelt es sich um individuelle direkte oder telefonische (Hotline-) Beratung bei Arbeitskonflikten oder die Bildung von offenen Anlaufstellen und Treffpunkten in sogenannten Arbeiter-Zentren. Mit der zunehmenden Nutzung des Internets, insbesondere unter den jüngeren Menschen in China, „organisiert" sich auch dort ein Austausch über die Lebens- und Arbeitsbedingungen der MigrantInnen.

Die Organisationsformen sind in der Regel auf alle ArbeiterInnen ausgerichtet, aber aufgrund des meist sehr hohen Anteils von ArbeitsmigrantInnen in den Produktionsbetrieben stehen deren Probleme häufig im Mittelpunkt der Aktivitäten. Einheimische ArbeiterInnen mit *Hukou* am Arbeitsort haben nicht nur die sich daraus ergebenen Rechte, sondern sind dort häufig auch besser sozial eingebunden.

5. Arbeiterorganisationen und Gruppen[7]

Wir konnten drei Organisationstypen unter den ArbeitsmigrantInnen im Hinblick auf deren thematische Schwerpunkte beobachten.

1. Einen ökonomischen Ansatz, der die Arbeitssituation und -verhältnisse zum zentralen Punkt macht, also Lohn, Arbeitsbedingungen, Arbeitsrecht und soziale Absicherung.

2. Einen kulturellen Ansatz, der die allgemeine Lebenssituation von ArbeitsmigrantInnen und ihrer Familien als „Bauern" in der Fremde aufgreift, also nach Wohnverhältnissen, Schulbildung der Kinder sowie eigener Fortbildung, kulturellem Selbstverständnis und Bedürfnissen fragt und erst in zweiter Linie sich mit der Arbeitssituation befasst.

3. Einen politischen Ansatz, der vor allem die Situation und Rolle der Arbeiterbewegung diskutiert und nach politischen Lösungen sucht.

In den im Folgenden skizzierten Organisationen sind bei unterschiedlicher Schwerpunktsetzung alle drei Ansätze deutlich sichtbar.

Offizielle Gewerkschaften

Der Zusammenschluss in Gewerkschaften wäre wohl der erste naheliegende organisatorische Schritt zur Verteidigung der ökonomischen Interessen von Lohnarbeitern und –arbeiterinnen, wie wir in der Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung sehen können, und somit auch der ArbeitsmigrantInnen. Allerdings haben sich in China die Gewerkschaften nach der Gründung der Volksrepublik 1949 zu staatstragenden Organisationen entwickelt, die – wie bereits erwähnt – der KPCh als Massenorganisation untergeordnet sind. Nur die Gewerkschaften des All-Chinesischen Gewerkschaftsbundes dürfen laut Gesetz die Lohnabhängigen im Land organisieren. Sie können kaum als zivilgesellschaftliche und schon gar nicht als unabhängige Organisationen bezeichnet werden.[8] Erst vor zehn Jahren haben sie angefangen, MigrantInnen vom Land am Arbeitsort als Mitglied aufzunehmen, und je nach Stadt oder Region taten und tun sie sich schwer, die besondere Lebenssituation und Interessen dieser ArbeiterInnen zwischen Stadt und Land zu berücksichtigen.

In der südchinesischen Stadt Guangzhou gab es bereits 2006 ein vom Gewerkschaftsbund Guangzhou (GZFTU) eigens für ArbeitsmigrantInnen errichtetes Wohnheim. Die Gewerkschaft wollte nach eigenen Angaben damit ArbeitsmigrantInnen bei der Lösung ihrer Alltagsprobleme, insbesondere bei der Beschaffung von Wohnraum, helfen. Die Grundidee dabei war, ein Wohnheim und Ausbildungszentrum zusammenzulegen, in dem ArbeitsmigrantInnen nach der Arbeit technische Kenntnisse vermittelt werden, um als Elitearbeiter in ihre Dörfer zurückzukehren. Das Wohnheim wurde damals als ein Übergangsort für ein Leben in der Stadt auf Zeit hergerichtet.

Labour groups

Den ersten Versuch zur Gründung einer von der KPCh unabhängigen Arbeiterorganisation der *Autonomen Pekinger Arbeiterunion*[9] gab es bereits 1989 während der Besetzung des Tian-An-Men-Platzes in Beijing. Mit der gewaltsamen Niederschlagung des Protestes am 4. Juni im selben Jahr wurde er im Keim erstickt. Weitere offene Versuche zur Gründung von unabhängigen

► **Abbildung 3:**
DemonstrantInnen vor der Zentrale des Batterie-herstellers Gold Peak in Hong Kong. Foto: Globalization Monitor

► ► **Abbildung 4:**
Wandplakat mit den Logos von *„labour NGOs"* in China. Foto: Peter Franke

Arbeiterorganisationen in China sind nicht bekannt. Ab den 90er Jahren bildeten sich vorübergehend kleine örtliche, meist informelle Gruppen bei Auseinandersetzungen um Privatisierungen und Umstrukturierungen von Staatsunternehmen mit einhergehenden Entlassungen, wovon im ganzen Land über 20 Millionen Menschen betroffen waren. Da es sich bei ihnen weitgehend um Ortsansässige handelte, waren sie in den jeweiligen lokalen sozialen Strukturen verwurzelt.

ArbeitsmigrantInnen aus ländlichen Regionen und häufig anderen Provinzen ohne entsprechendes *Hukou*, sondern nur mit einer beschränkten Aufenthaltsgenehmigung, waren und sind hingegen bei ihren spezifischen Problemen im Wohnheim und am Arbeitsplatz auf Unterstützung und Beratung durch Ortsansässige angewiesen. So entstanden vor allem für sie u.a. Beratungsorganisationen und Telefon-„Hot Lines" bereits Ende der 90er Jahre.

Die bekannteste und wohl auch größte Organisation ist die 1999 von einem jungen Arbeiter aus der Provinz Henan gegründete Telefonberatung bei Auseinandersetzungen am Arbeitsplatz *Kleiner Vogel*. Sie bezeichnet sich selbst als öffentliche Wohlfahrtorganisation, die in Beijing, Shenyang (Provinz Liaoning in Nordost-China) und Shenzhen (Provinz Guangdong in Südchina) mit rund 600 ehrenamtlichen Rechtsanwälten Arbeitsmigranten bei der Arbeitssuche und Forderungen nach Lohnauszahlung hilft sowie Rechtsberatung gibt. Darüber hinaus verbreitet sie in Zusammenarbeit mit den Medien, wie z.B. dem Radio Beijing und dem Provinzradio Liaoning, Informationen für ArbeitsmigrantInnen und gibt ihnen zu festen Sendezeiten eine Stimme, um ihre Anliegen vorzutragen.[10] In verschiedenen Landesteilen gibt es ähnliche Organisationen und Einzelinitiativen, die telefonische Rechtsberatung anbieten. Darüber hinaus machen einige von ihnen auch Kultur- und Freizeitangebote und geben ArbeitsmigrantInnen durch die Einrichtung eines *Migrant Worker's Home* einen Ort zum Treffen wie z.B. in der Ostchinesischen Küstenstadt Qingdao. Sie wollen mit ihren Aktivitäten nicht nur die Kenntnisse unter ArbeitsmigratInnen über Arbeitsrechte verbessern, sondern das Bewusstsein über Bürgerbeteiligung stärken.

Insbesondere in den Städten Guangzhou, Shenzhen, Dogguan und Zhuhai des Perflussdelta mit sehr hohem Anteil von ArbeitsmigrantInnen in der verarbeitenden Industrie wurden GewerkschaftlerInnen aus dem benachbarten Hong Kong bei Konflikten um Arbeits- und Wohnsituation sowie im Falle von Arbeitsunfällen mit Beratung und Unterstützung aktiv. In dem Maße, in dem betroffene ArbeitsmigrantInnen aufgrund eigener Erfahrungen in Arbeitskonflikten selber ihre KollegInnen berieten und halfen, entwickelten sich daraus, oft auch mit Unterstützung von engagierten Studierenden, Lehrenden und Rechtsanwälten, Beratungs- und Treffpunkte in den Industriegebieten.

So gründete der Arbeitsmigrant Liao Xiaofeng aus der Provinz Sichuan das Guangdong Arbeiterzentrum im Stadtteil Panyu von Guangzhou, um seinen KollegInnen bei der Einforderung von vorenthaltenen Löhnen zu unterstützen. Ihm schloss sich 1998 der junge Anwalt Zeng Feiyang an. Dieses Zentrum, das vielen von Arbeitsunfällen betroffenen ArbeitsmigrantInnen geholfen hat, ihre Rechte auf Entschädigung durchzusetzen, besteht noch heute. Einige MitarbeiterInnen des Zentrums sowie Betroffene, denen im Zentrum geholfen wurde, haben später an anderen Orten eigene Beratungsaktivitäten angefangen.[11]

In Beijing entstanden solche Zentren unter Bauarbeitern wie z.B. an der westlichen Stadtgrenze im Dorf Leng Chuan in Zusammenarbeit mit Studierenden und Lehrkräften aus der Hochschule, die sich mit der besonderen Situation von Bauarbeitern beschäftigen. Ihr Ziel ist, die Arbeitssituation auf Baustellen zu verändern. Sie machen umfassende Aufklärungs- und Bildungsarbeit auf Baustellen zu den Themen: „Gesetze", „Lage der Arbeiter", „heutige Gesellschaft", „unsere Regierung" usw. Auf der Baustelle werden Debatten initiiert, Bauarbeiter werden von Aktivisten in ihren Wohnheimen besucht. Es gibt Abendkurse, eine Bibliothek und das Zentrum gibt die Zeitung *Dagongdi* („Große Baustelle") heraus. Es gibt ein kleines Orchester auf der Baustelle und die Arbeiter werden dazu ermuntert, selber Gedichte zu schreiben. Außerdem soll die Geschichte der Bauarbeiter – wie sahen die Jobs früher aus und wie jetzt? – dokumentiert werden.[12] Einen weitergehenden Anspruch mit sozialarbeiterischem Ansatz vertritt das in Beijing 2010 gegründete „Yi Zuan Yi Wa" Kulturentwicklungszentrum, mit einem umfassenden Programm, das alle Aspekte von Bauarbeitern berücksichtigen soll.[13]

10
siehe auch www.xxnrx.org

11
vgl. Lau, Mimi (2014) 'Fertile ground for labour activism - Yue Yuen strike shows growing role of workers' rights centres in Pearl River Delta factory disputes.' *South China Morning Post* 2.5.2014 www.scmp.com/ news/china/article/1502010/ fertile-ground-labour-activism (22.7.2015); siehe eigenen blog 番禺打工族之家的博客 http:// blog.sina.com.cn/dgzngo

12
siehe eigenen blog http:// dagongdi.blog.163.com/

13
siehe eigene Webseite http://www.yzyw.org/

14
als Labour Art Troup mit
eigener Webseite „Mit
Lauter Stimme singen"
www.dashengchang.org.cn/

15
siehe eigene Webseite
www.tongxinedu.org/

16
ebenfalls mit
eigener Webseite
www.tongxinhuhui.org/

17
Die ArbeitsmigrantInnen
werden als „Neue Arbeiter"
bezeichnet, weil sie meist
erst seit den 90er Jahren
als LohnarbeiterInnen
in die Städte zogen, in
Abgrenzung zu den bereits
über Generationen in den
Städten ansässigen „al-
ten" ArbeiterInnen, die mit
städtischen *Hukou* über-
wiegend in Staatsbetrieben
beschäftigt sind. Für die
politische Diskussion
haben sie eine eigene
Webseite „Neue Arbeiter"
www.xingongren21.com/

18
Siehe für Xiamen
www.massedu.cn/ , Wuhan
http://xcgyrexian.blog.163.
com/profile/ und Suzhou
http://suzhougongyou.
blog.163.com/

19
siehe Red China Webseite
http://redchinacn.org/portal.
php

20
wie z.B. Labor Vision http://
laborvision.pixnet.net/blog,
oder workers' poetry alliance
www.laborpoetry.com/portal.
php

Organisationen mit Schwerpunkt auf kulturellen Aktivitäten

Während sich bei den bisher beschriebenen Organisationen das Bedürfnis an Beratung und Hilfe meist auf den Arbeitsplatz und das Wohnheim beschränkte, formten in Beijing junge ArbeitsmigrantInnen im Jahre 2002 eine Musikgruppe, welche die Probleme ihrer KollegInnen in ihren Liedern thematisierte und in informellen Schulen für Kinder von ArbeitsmigrantInnen spielte.[14] Sie gründeten schließlich eine eigene Schule, die zum zentralen Ansatzpunkt wurde, um ArbeitsmigrantInnen zu erreichen, indem sie Kultur- und Bildungsarbeit auch mit und für die Eltern entwickelte.[15]

In über zwölf Jahren entstand daraus im Dorf *Picun* am Stadtrand im Beijinger Nordosten ein Kollektiv, das heute das Zentrum für ArbeitsmigrantInnen (Migrant Workers' Home) unterhält, mit einer großen Hoffläche, einer kleinen Bibliothek, einem Museum über Arbeitsmigration, einem kleinen Theatersaal und einem Gebrauchtkleiderladen.[16]

Dazu kommt die Schule für inzwischen 400 MigrantInnen-Kinder an einem anderen Standort im Dorf sowie einer Arbeiteruniversität in einer ehemaligen Schule außerhalb der Stadt. Sie wollen sich so für die Kunst und Kultur der ArbeitsmigrantInnen einsetzen, ihr geistiges und kulturelles Leben bereichern und ihnen ermöglichen, sich selber kulturell zu betätigen, um damit ihr Selbstbewusstsein zu stärken. Es geht ihnen dabei nicht in erster Linie um die Arbeitssituation, auch wenn sie Beratung oder Schulungen dazu anbieten, sondern die Lebenssituation als ArbeitsmigrantInnen oder „Neue Arbeiter".[17] Unterstützung findet die Gruppe von engagierten Studierenden und Lehrenden von Bildungseinrichtungen in Beijing.

Der kulturelle Ansatz der Beijinger Gruppe, ein sogenanntes „Migrant Workers' Home" zu gründen, hat in anderen Teilen Chinas Schule gemacht, so z.B. in der südchinesischen Küstenstadt Xiamen, im zentralchinesischen Wuhan oder im östlich bei Shanhai gelegenen Suzhou.[18]

Auf die politische Debatte ausgerichtet sind Diskussionsplattformen im Internet oder in Zeitschriften. Sie beschäftigen sich mit den politischen oder auch theoretischen Fragen, die sich bei der Formierung einer eigenständigen Arbeiterbewegung in China stellen. Das Forschungsnetzwerk chinesischer Arbeiter (中国工人研究网) wurde von linken Intellektuellen gegründet und betreibt seit Mai 2005 eine Webseite in Beijing zusammen mit MitarbeiterInnen aus verschiedenen Orten des Landes und gibt eine Zeitschrift heraus. Das Netzwerk betreibt Forschung über ArbeiterInnen in verschiedenen Sektoren, wie beispielsweise Beschäftigte in staatseigenen Betrieben, BauarbeiterInnen, ArbeiterInnen in Rente und neue ArbeiterInnen in den Küstenregionen. Die MitarbeiterInnen des Netzwerkes organisieren Untersuchungen in Verbindung mit Diskussionen zu Arbeitsproblemen.

Eines der Hauptziele ist, das Verständnis und den Austausch zwischen neuen (d.h. ArbeitsmigrantInnen) und alten ArbeiterInnen (in ehem. Staatsbetrieben) zu fördern. Sie beobachten, dass neue und alte ArbeiterInnen Chinas der letzten dreißig Jahre unterschiedliche Erfahrungen gemacht haben und unter unterschiedlichen Bedingungen leben. Die alten ArbeiterInnen hätten lange Erfahrungen mit dem städtischen Leben und in der Industriearbeit und daher ein größeres Verständnis für Theorien und sind erfahrener im sozialen Leben. Den Neuen ArbeiterInnen fehle es aufgrund ihrer auf dem Land gemachten Lebenserfahrungen teilweise an hinreichendem Verständnis für Staat und Gesellschaft.[19]

In ähnlicher Form gibt es noch mehr politisch orientierte Gruppen, die ihre Beiträge zur Entwicklung der Arbeiterbewegung umfangreich auf einer Webseite dokumentieren und zur Diskussion stellen.[20]

6. Verknüpfungen zwischen Stadt und Land?

Keine der vorgestellten Organisationen von und für
ArbeitsmigrantInnen greift explizit und bewusst de-
ren Situation in der Multilokalität auf. Ihre Aktivitäten
und Angebote gehen aber (implizit) auf einige zen-
trale Probleme ein, die diese hervorbringt: die
Bewältigung des „Fremd-Seins" und der Entwurzelung
(Identifikationsfindung durch Kulturarbeit), der
Rechtlosigkeit am Arbeitsort durch das *Hukou* System
(vorübergehender Wohnraum, Kinderversorgung und
Bildung), der konfliktträchtigen Beziehungen zwischen
ArbeitsmigrantInnen und städtisch ansässigen
ArbeiterInnen.

Neue Arbeiterorganisationen sind fast ausschließlich
aufgrund und durch (Arbeits-) MigrantInnen entstanden. Sie
bilden sich am Arbeitsstandort und greifen die Probleme
und Bedürfnisse der MigrantInnen dort auf. Die Verhandlung
sozialer und Arbeitsplatz-bedingter Probleme der einhei-
mischen Bevölkerung findet vorwiegend im Rahmen der
örtlichen sozialen Strukturen der Wohnumgebung und
Familienzusammenhänge sowie der Massenorganisationen
(Gewerkschaften, Frauenverband, Jugendorgansationen)
und dem *Danwei* (Arbeitsplatz) statt.

Dem Verfasser war bisher nicht bekannt, dass die
beschriebenen Organisationen versuchen, sich um
Probleme in bestimmten Herkunftsregionen in Verbindung
mit den Arbeitsorten zu kümmern. Die Gründung
einer Beratungs- und Hilfsorganisation für zurückge-
kehrte behinderte bzw. erkranke ArbeitsmigrantInnen
von einem selbst durch einen Arbeitsunfall verletzten
einstigen Aktivisten aus dem Perlfluss-Delta in seiner
Heimat im Kreis Zunyi, Provinz Guizhou, deutet jedoch
auf ein entstehendes Bewusstsein hin. Es gibt erste
Ansätze von Organisationen der ArbeitsmigrantInnen
in den Zielregionen, sich mit Organisationen in den
Herkunftsregionen auszutauschen und besser zu vernet-
zen. Das *Migrant Workers' Home* in Beijing hat im Herbst
2014 ein Treffen solcher Organisationen initiiert. Darüber
hinaus konnte der Verfasser informelle Netzwerke von
ehemaligen ArbeitsmigrantInnen im selben Herkunftskreis
Qinglong bei Fengjie in Chongqing, mit Bezug auf ihre
Arbeitserfahrungen im PRD beobachten, wie z.B. lands-
mannschaftliche Organisationen in den großen Städten
mit Pendant in ländlichen Regionen der Provinzen.[21] Ein
explizites Bewusstsein von Multilokalität, wenn auch nicht
notwendigerweise unter Nutzung dieses etwas holprigen,
analytischen Begriffs, scheint sich nun doch bei einigen
Organisationen der ArbeitsmigrantInnen zu entwickeln.

21
– was z.B. auch bei
früheren chinesischen
MigrantInnen nach
Südostasien – den soge-
nannten Auslandschinesen
beobachtet werden kann.

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*Auf der Webseite der deutschen NGO "Forum Arbeitswelten"
findet sich eine nützliche Liste mit Links zu allen im Artikel
erwähnten chinesischen Organisationen. Allerdings sind
viele der Webseiten nur in chinesischer Sprache verfügbar:
www.forumarbeitswelten.de/themenbereiche/linkliste*

Migrants from Mali Invest in Developing Their Home Municipalities – GIZ Project Provides the Framework for Cooperation

Karin Gaesing

Migrant*innen aus Mali investieren in die Entwicklung ihrer Dörfer – GIZ-Projekt bietet den Rahmen für die Zusammenarbeit

Ein Bürgermeister im ländlichen Mali bringt unterschiedliche Akteure für die Entwicklung seiner Gemeinde zusammen. Sein Beispiel kann als Muster für erfolgreiche Kooperation herhalten, die auch von der deutschen Entwicklungszusammenarbeit gefördert werden kann. Der Hintergrund ist folgender: Um in den Genuss von staatlichen Fördermitteln für die Realisierung von Projekten zu kommen, müssen Gemeindeverwaltungen im westafrikanischen Land Mali der entsprechenden Regierungsbehörde einen Gemeindeentwicklungsplan vorlegen und einen Teilbeitrag für die Realisierung der Projekte selbst aufbringen. Den zumeist armen Gemeinden fällt es oft schwer, diesen finanziellen Eigenbeitrag zu den Projekten zu leisten. Die Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) unterstützt Gemeinden in Mali bei der partizipativen Erarbeitung solcher Dorfentwicklungspläne. Die Gemeinde Siby kooperiert zur Finanzierung ihres Gemeindeentwicklungsplans in beispielhafter Weise mit den Migrantenvereinigungen des Ortes. Sowohl für die Gemeinde als auch für die Migranten in Paris ist die Kooperation ein Gewinn.

Introduction

African migrants have a long history in supporting their families and communities back home, and the topic is well-researched. However, there is little documentation about the support of such efforts through development organisations, especially with regard to German ones. In Mali, a joint effort of local communities and Malian migrant associations abroad for local development has been observed in which the German Agency for International Cooperation (GIZ) facilitated the process. The cooperation of the migrant associations in France and their home communities in the municipality of Siby in Mali can be seen as a success story and serve as a model for such endeavours. The case shows that certain conditions have to be met for this kind of cooperation to be fruitful. This paper looks the case of Siby in the context of the utilisation of remittances from migrants for development purposes, and analyses the challenges and success factors of this type of development cooperation.

Immigrants from Mali in France and their role in the development of their home regions

Migration to France is quite an established practice for the young people – especially young men – of Mali. Nowadays, there is an estimated 80.000 to 120.000 Malian migrants in France (Gonin/Kotlok 2012). The exact figure cannot be ascertained because a considerable number of the migrants are undocumented and, furthermore, are not easily identified by nationality. In the latest census, some migrants indicated that they were Malians while others stated that they were French.

Malians in France generally belong to so-called "*Associations de Ressortissants*", migrant associations that assemble persons who are from the same area of origin in Mali. According to Besson (2008), the region of Kayes, which has the longest tradition of sending migrants to France, alone counts no less than 400 such associations in France. Lanly (1998: 9-10) states that initially these associations were structured according to the social hierarchies in their home country and had the purpose of controlling the migrants as well as securing the constant flow of remittances to their home villages. Due to an increasingly difficult situation for the migrants in France in the late 1970s, the traditional social hierarchies within the associations began to dissolve and the association leaders were replaced by people who showed greater capacities to adapt to the life in France, rather than to reproduce the social status of their villages of origin (see also Daum 1995). In the mid 1980s, a second type of migrant association emerged beside the village-focused associations: inter-village associations with a broader regional focus (Lanly 1998: 10).

The migrant associations provide a high level of support to development in their villages of origin by sending remittances to the local families and by financing development projects. Besson (2008: 7) estimates the total sum of the migrants' remittances to be three to four times higher than the public French development aid to Mali. These remittances are mainly utilised for consumption (food, clothing), health expenses, and education (mainly school fees). A very small part of the remittances is invested by the families back home in Mali, mainly in buying or renovating a home, and to a lesser extent in productive activities like agriculture (Besson 2008, Daum 1995, Gonin/Kotlok 2012).

However, it can be observed that migrant associations also invest in village development projects. Daum (1995) states that in the well-researched and well-documented region of Kayes, 64% of the projects implemented in the region are financed by remittances. The largest share of projects involves drinking water supply, followed by building and supplying health and education infrastructure. Less than 10% of remittances are invested in agricultural projects (Daum 1995: 27).

The French government has set up a variety of mechanisms to support development initiatives of Malian migrants, including the "*Fonds de solidarité prioritaire co-développement Mali*", in which the French government pledges to finance 70% of each project approved. However, between 2003 and 2005 only 22 projects were co-financed by this development fund, although many more project proposals had been expected.

According to Gonin/Kotlok (2012), Malian migrants are reluctant to accept this "instrumentalisation" of their remittances due to two reasons. On the one hand, the fund obliges them to contribute savings into an account before their project proposal is accepted – this is difficult in times of economic crisis and unemployment among migrants in France – and, on the other hand, they criticise that the French as well as the Malian government want to depend on remittances for financing development projects and thus transfer their own responsibilities to the migrants (Gonin/Kotlok 2012: 7).

Taking into consideration the institutional environment of the Malian migrant associations in France and the livelihood situation of their families back home in Mali, the author discovered and analysed a promising opportunity to support the migrants' efforts to assist in the development of their given region of origin. The case presented describes the initiative of the municipality of Siby, in Mali, to link their migrants' remittances to the development of the municipality. The extent to which the case of Siby, which receives support from German development cooperation, can provide lessons for the institutionalisation of this type of cooperation is also analysed.

Participatory planning for municipal development

Providing support to decentralisation and the development of municipalities and other local government bodies is one of the focus areas of German development cooperation in Mali. The *Programme d'Appui aux Collectivités Territoriales (PACT)* – or "*Local Government Support Programme*" – has operated in Mali since 2001. It focuses on capacity building of local administrations and the provision of basic social services in the two regions of Koulikoro and Ségou. The author visited the programme in 2010 and took a focused look at Siby, a municipality approximately 50 km south-west of Bamako in the region of Koulikoro, cercle of Kati. Siby encompasses 21 villages with a total population of 26,632 inhabitants, according to the census of 2009 (www.wikipedia.de, accessed on 12 April 2015).

Under the decentralised government, the administrations of the municipalities and rural communes in Mali have numerous responsibilities; however, they are under-equipped and lack the necessary financial means and capacities to cope with their tasks (GTZ 2006). Among their tasks are development planning, water and sanitation supply, implementation and maintenance of the rural road network, resource and land management, health and education. The administrative bodies are supposed to manage all these tasks in a self-reliant way. PACT supports them by training the local administrative staff and by supporting participatory approaches in communal/

municipal development planning. The Malian government equally supports the communes and municipalities by building their capacities and by providing a development fund for project implementation that is managed by the national agency for municipal investments, ANICT.

The German *Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW)* – or "Credit Institution for Reconstruction" – and other European donors provide basket funding to replenish the fund. In order to benefit from this fund, municipalities are required to write proposals and submit them to ANICT. Funding is only granted if the proposal matches a number of criteria, among them a financial contribution from the municipality.

Siby, like many other municipalities in Mali, has very limited financial resources and was therefore not able to fully implement its development plans in the past. PACT supported the local administration in the participatory planning process that led to the elaboration of the current development plan. Representatives from all socio-economic strata participated in the process.

Initially, the municipality formed a *Comité de Pilotage* (steering committee). The main task of the steering committee was to coordinate the elaboration of the municipal development plan. They held sessions with different socio-economic groups and stakeholders in the society, such as farmers, pastoralists, women, youth, traders, and market women, to enquire about the problems, needs, and potentials of these groups. The committee then presented a summary of the different ideas voiced by the population of Siby in a general meeting. The purpose of this meeting was to build consensus about the list of projects to be included in the municipal development and the prioritisation of the projects. After finalising the development plan, the mayor submitted the plan to ANICT for evaluation and funding.

Linking migrant remittances to municipality development in Mali

Considering the fact that, due to mainly financial constraints, only 20% of the previous development plan was implemented, the mayor of Siby had the idea to tap the remittances of their migrants in France. He discussed this idea with his colleagues and with the PACT project staff. They agreed that he should travel to Paris and discuss the matter with the Malian migrant associations. The relevant associations were contacted and the flight arranged.

In Paris, the mayor of Siby met with three migrant associations: the association of migrants of the head village of the Siby municipality, an association of migrants from villages belonging to the Siby municipality, and the association of the community of neighbouring villages. He showed the development plan to them and explained the participatory planning process as well as the requirements of the ANICT. They agreed on the projects to be funded by the three migrant associations and on the funding terms. It was agreed that the migrants would be an integrated part of the further development planning of Siby. In addition, the migrants were promised plots for construction or agriculture in their home area.

The projects that were financed in Siby, up to 2010, by the migrant associations were:

- Construction of a communal library that includes an internet café;

- Adding six classrooms to the local school and providing them with furniture;

- Providing the local health post with a solar panel for production of electricity.

All building projects were implemented with labour provided by the local community. The municipality put some of the local school teachers in charge of the management of the library, in addition to their teaching responsibilities. Thus, the people and municipality of Siby took responsibility of the established facilities while the migrants managed to contribute an important part to the development of their area of origin by investing in education and health. In addition, they improved the communication with their relatives and friends in Siby by furnishing the library with internet facilities.

► **Figure 2:** Solar panel for the health post. Photo: Karin Gaesing

►► **Figure 3:** Community library in Siby built with the help of migrants' remittances. Photo: Karin Gaesing

Lessons learnt: prospects for linking migrant associations to local development in their countries

The case presented suggests some lessons regarding the preparation of a conducive environment for cooperation between local communities and their migrants abroad.

The ***participatory process*** that led to the formulation of the communal development plan and the prioritisation of investment projects provides migrants with some guarantee that the opinions and needs of their relatives, amongst other villagers, are taken into consideration when preparing the plan. The planning process is transparent. Thus, the participatory development of the plan adds ***legitimacy*** to the plan.

In addition, the participatory planning process enhances ***ownership*** of the projects implemented. Lanly (1998: 12) highlights that projects implemented by migrant associations abroad are often doomed to fail if the local population does not take ownership. He states that the usual implementation procedure starts with the association proposing a project, then the community is consulted and eventually agrees to the project, and then the project is consequently implemented. This procedure does not guarantee ownership as much as a project that is initiated, planned, and implemented by the community itself.

In the past, investments by migrant associations often led to development ruins because the projects were not accompanied by ***technical and managerial advice*** (see Lanly 1998: 11-12). Daum (1995: 35) deplores that, in France, there is only one NGO that provides advice and technical assistance to migrant associations willing to contribute to local development in their home countries.

In the case presented in this paper, technical and managerial advice is given by the PACT project staff. PACT establishes the link the between the projects financed by the migrant associations and the necessary local institutions to guarantee their functioning.

The development-oriented action of the migrant associations is safely embedded in an ***institutionalised procedure***. The migrants do not have to cope with unknown and lengthy administrative procedures for the implementation of their projects. They just need to fit their support into a given procedure, which makes things easy for the associations. The case presented is a win-win situation for both the local communities and the migrant associations.

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Rural-Urban Linkages and Multi-local Households in the International Development Debate – an Overview

Alexandra Linden and Caroline Schäfer

Land-Stadt-Bezüge und multilokale Haushalte in der internationalen Entwicklungsdebatte - ein Überblick

Die Welt ist ein globales Dorf geworden. Urbanisierung und Globalisierung intensivieren räumliche und funktionale Verflechtungen und Abhängigkeiten zwischen ländlichen und städtischen Räumen und verwischen zunehmend ihre Grenzen. Der Schwerpunkt der Urbanisierung hat sich längst zu Entwicklungs- und Schwellenländern verschoben und geht einher mit wachsenden Strömen von Menschen, Gütern und Kapital zwischen Stadt und Land. Eine mobile Bevölkerung und eine ansteigende Zahl multi-lokaler Haushalte prägen den Raum und seine Funktionen in unseren Partnerländern. Um ihre Projekte und Interventionen effektiv auszurichten muss die internationale Entwicklungszusammenarbeit ein besseres Verständnis von Multilokalität und seinen Auswirkungen auf das alltägliche Leben und Überleben in Entwicklungs- und Schwellenländern gewinnen.

1. Introduction: urbanisation, globalisation and the intensification of rural-urban linkages

Urbanisation is one of the defining characteristics of the 21st century. In 2007, for the first time in human history over half of the world's population lived in urban areas. This trend is expected to continue and reach 75 percent by 2050 (UN Habitat 2007: 12). Over 90 percent of urban growth is taking place in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean (UNDESA 2008). Increasing streams of people, goods and resources, capital, and information underline the interrelation of urban centres and peri-urban and rural lands. In the context of growing economic ties and advanced transport and communication connectivity, populations are becoming more mobile. Cities are expanding into their hinterlands; thus, political boundaries and mandates rarely depict spatial realities any more. In this context, the multi-locality of households is turning into a factor to be observed and better understood for the achievement of the international development agenda (Tacoli 1998a: 3).

Even though rural-urban linkages in developing and emerging economies have been present in the international debate since the 1970s (UN 2012: §110), initiatives for joint rural-urban management and governance approaches are still at an explorative stage. The European Union emphasises the need of integrating urban areas with surrounding ones, both urban and rural (EU 2010). In the UN 2012 "Report to the Secretary-General – Realising the Future We Want", §110 points out the necessity to include rural-urban linkages into development efforts. Still less at the centre of attention, the increasing mobility of populations within and between regions needs to be recognised, addressed, and accounted for by the respective government bodies. This includes the provision of options for sustainable livelihoods, as well as the social, economic, and political participation of migrant households in several locations. In the course of constantly changing realities, development cooperation has to ask how to best support public authorities and migrant communities in building sustainable multi-local livelihoods in rural and urban areas.

2. Multi-locality: part and parcel of rural-urban interaction

Rural-urban population mobility can be considered as one of the most visible expressions of rural-urban linkages (Tacoli 1998a: 3). At the same time, it is highly diverse: it appears in a variety of periodic sequences and spatial patterns depending on educational background, gender, age, or livelihood conditions of the involved individuals. For instance, households may be bi- or even multi-local. Pulling factors of rural-urban migration such as better income opportunities and increased access to services in urban settings have usually been paid particular attention to in development analysis. But, as stated by Dick with respect to South Africa, today "migration types go far beyond the formerly dominant labour mobility (although search for jobs is still fundamental) and informal migrant networks rather than political forces are contributing to subsisting temporary migration and multi-locality" (Dick 2014: 3). External shocks, the lack of public services, or insufficient access to health and education may act as additional drivers (Groppo 2014: 2). Recent studies within the realm of climate change also suggest that push factors such as environmental degradation play an important role in boosting urbanisation (Morinière 2011: 435-450) and rural-urban migration.

Many households in the rural or urban setting are neither single-sector nor single-spatial income generating. Particularly the poorer and less-educated rural migrants encounter severe constraints in accessing stable jobs and

adequate living conditions in urban centres. As a consequence, instead of permanently transferring their residence they commute between the rural and urban setting on a monthly or weekly basis, thereby diversifying their income sources and economic resilience (Satterthwaite, Tacoli 2003: ex. sum.). Data from rural Bangladesh suggests, however, that migrating households are on average less well-off than non-migrant households. The better-educated the migrant, the faster his or her potential integration into the urban job market (Groppo 2014: 2).

Therefore, as stated by Tacoli (1998a: 3), traditional "simplified models of rural and urban livelihoods" ought to be abandoned and replaced by concepts emphasising the interdependence of both areas. In contrast to daily commuting for work and/or education or the permanent move of a household from one location to another, the phenomenon of multi-locality (among others) is far more difficult to grasp in data and pattern. "[...] Mobility and migration patterns are diverse and highly dependent on political, economic, and societal structures in the respective countries. China is an extreme example, with about 220 million migrant workers and its hukou-policy" (Yu Zhu 2014: 8).

3. Impacts of multi-locality on rural and urban areas

Population mobility thus manifests in households maintaining various livelihood locations (Yu Zhu 2014: 2). This results in spatial and socio-economic impacts in all respective settings, i.e., the places of origin and transitory or temporary residences. In the following, we differentiate the impacts for rural and urban areas respectively.

Rural areas
In many rural areas, we observe a distinct demographic bias: while the elderly and the very young stay, the working-age population is often missing. Having said this, for the majority of multi-local households the intention to return to a common (family) home persists, irrespective of actual work and life reality.

Due to lacking or insufficient social security systems, the remaining rural population is in many cases confronted with impoverishment and a high dependency on remittances. High remittance flows may also result in changing income generation and consumption patterns in the rural context: from subsistence agriculture to social investment and bought food that is produced elsewhere (Fan 2014).

A recently published study suggests distinct impacts of multi-locality on rural food security (Andersson Djurfeldt 2015: 528-545): food transfers in the top income quintile consist of distributing surplus production, whereas in the lower quintiles, transfers clearly compromise the food security of the sending households. Also, depending on the seasonality and the person who migrates (wife, husband, unmarried adults) in a non-permanent manner, food security in the rural home may vary a lot due to multiple reasons such as, e.g., the inadequate access to decision-making networks and/or increasing workloads for rural women, who are often the ones left behind (FAO 2005: 21).

Urban areas
Social segregation and spatial fragmentation in the urban context tend to be accentuated rather than attenuated through multi-locality. This is because marginalised inner-city neighbourhoods and informal peri-urban settlements are often the arrival points and transitory homes of migrant workers and family members (Dick 2014: 6). Other forms of temporary accommodation exist for construction or factory workers on production sites; the same is true for petty traders and domestic workers. In relation to this, urban neighbourhoods that serve as main points of arrival and accommodation for multi-local households frequently feature the phenomenon of informality in housing and working environments.

The situation of migrant households in urban areas is often characterised by missing access to services and housing, and lack of household resilience and political participation (Dick 2014: 7). The common situation of "being in transition" of multi-local households often leads

to a reduced engagement with the urban environment, e.g., in form of permanent investments in housing or consumption or socio-political participation. Less local engagement may then result in a number of social and spatial consequences in urban and rural areas. At the same time, in many cases cities, urban communities, and institutions contribute to the marginalisation of migrant workers by providing little to no effort in consciously providing for their participation in urban affairs.

Even though further research is needed on this matter, it appears, in the case of developing and emerging countries, as if multi-local households tend to settle for income opportunities in the city's informal economy or in lower-qualified jobs. This phenomenon feeds into an already precarious job and labour market in urban areas, and puts the household's income diversification under a permanent risk. This might be related to their often respectively low level of education on the one hand and, on the other, to the temporary nature of the jobs that are offered. The tendency to save up remittances further limits the willingness/ability of multi-local households to invest into additional skills or act as consumers in the local economy.

4. Multi-locality and the approach of development cooperation

As of today, multi-locality remains largely unnoticed by development cooperation, which tends to focus its intervention alongside a rural-urban dichotomy rather than continuum. Peri-urban settlements are a case in point: they often remain officially designated as rural and are not enclosed within municipal borders and, hence, are not included in urban development concepts and efforts. In addition, the phenomenon of multi-locational households exemplifies the complexity of people's use of public services, income generation, and livelihoods in developing countries.

Further, rural-urban migration and multi-locality add to the challenge of marginalised segments of the population not being adequately represented and voiced within urban decision-making. Multi-local households show a limited willingness to actively engage, while local

government approaches (e.g., in the housing sector) "can be described as earmarking the sedentary rather than the mobile population" (Dick 2014: 7). Problems of representation may be reinforced by the fact that a significant share of multi-local households are tenants, often even in shared rented accommodation, and thus "unrecognised" by development cooperation interventions.

Based upon these reflections, neither a conceptual rural-urban dichotomy nor the ultimate objective of equally distributed infrastructure investments appears to be a promising way forward. Rather, strategies for sustainable local development should be forged along the existing socio-economic realities of people. With regard to small and intermediate towns in predominantly rural settings, the concept of a decentralised concentration of service provision allows for a realistic way forward (Satterthwaite, Tacoli 2003). On behalf of the growing cities, the benefits of urbanisation should be capitalised on by supporting local governments to adequately manage the phenomenon of urban transformation in conjunction with encouraging economic growth (Tacoli 1998b: 159f).

Decentralisation and planning policies on the ground encounter severe difficulties in displaying the actual needs and overcoming constraints for achieving sustainable livelihoods across the territory (Satterthwaite, Tacoli 2003: 1). At the same time, it proves nearly impossible to address households at both their rural and urban locations in an integrated spatial approach. However, the spatial and socio-economic impact of multi-local households is felt at both locations.

A range of specific needs and demands have been identified for multi-local households that call to be taken into account when sustainably addressing local and regional development:

- Review of outdated planning policies (e.g., targeting resident population only and basing planning efforts and institutions primarily upon administrative, not functional, boundaries), limited data sets, and mobility restrictions (Groppo 2014: 4);

- Improvements in mobility and public transport to foster rural-urban connectivity and exchange (Wiebusch 2015);

- Special housing needs of temporary and circular migrants (Dick 2014: 6f), which are commonly looking for rental accommodation and shared facilities while the real estate markets predominantly cater to upper-middle-class owners;

- Implications for the local job and labour market profile, which in many cases either does not provide lower-qualified or temporary jobs under decent work conditions or does not share the information on job opportunities and worker rights in an accessible way;

- Access to social programmes (such as health, education, or social services) as well as targeted financial services (e.g., saving schemes and money transfer mechanisms);

- Consideration of reduced interest in participatory approaches or local investments in either location, but additional need on information on urban life, jobs, and facilities.

Rural-urban migration occurs with the objective of improved household resilience and risk diversification; the phenomenon itself and the resulting needs of migrants have to be addressed effectively by municipal and sub-national governments. However, these very often show few capacities to even adequately manage the needs and demands of their so-called permanent population.

In addition, policies and resources dealing with poverty, exclusion, and inequality in cities and rural areas remain highly inadequate. The multi-locality of households, therefore, calls for additional consideration in regional planning and territorial development approaches along the rural-urban continuum. The three case studies illustrate approaches on how to better account for such linkages in regional policies and planning.

Case Study 1:

KfW-Project Decentralized Infrastructure, Mozambique

The project decentralized Infrastructure in Mozambique focuses on nine municipalities along with the three regions. The project recognizes the interdependent linkages between urban and rural areas and aims to strengthen their positive effects on overall development. It aims at improving the provision of infrastructure and services in urban and rural areas. Local infrastructure is promoted along with strengthening decentralized, democratic governance. Next to economic considerations, climate adaptation and urban development are improved as well, for instance in the fields of waste-management or energy efficiency.

The population from urban, peri-urban and rural areas forms the target group. Municipalities are central providers for the population of all areas and thus are supported to fulfill their roles as centres for development and services in the region. Transport opportunities form the backbone of positive rural-urban linkages; therefore improving economic infrastructure (i.e. markets, bus stations, and roads) as well as strengthening municipalities in their administrative capacities also benefits the rural areas, which have better opportunities to reach outlets, participate in value-chains and thus realize their economic potentials.

Case Study 2:

Geelong Regional Alliance's Strategic Growth Management, Australia

The G21 – Geelong Regional Alliance brings together public, private, and civil society sectors of the five municipalities of Colac Otway, Golden Plains, Greater Geelong, Queenscliffe, and Surf Coast in the Australian State of Victoria. It aims at managing the projected large-scale demographic growth of the region in a sustainable way based on the region's locational strengths. This is done in a challenging setting, as the region performs comparatively weak in key areas such as health, education, and economy. Geelong Region has to manage its growth over a large territory with dispersed population centers, which requires a rural-urban networked infrastructure and services system. In the same vein, pristine landscapes need to be preserved from inefficient, environmentally detrimental uses of urban expansion. G21 identifies eight thematic pillars (e.g. environment, health and wellbeing, economic development) with corresponding projects – all of them aiming at a joint, strategic discussion, planning, coordination, and implementation of activities to manage Geelong Region's growth.

Based on a bottom-up process with working groups and taskforces, G21 represents and communicates the voice of numerous stakeholders from within the region – also in dealing with higher-level government. The integrated development of its rural and urban areas is fostered by a regional growth plan, projects for interconnected trekking, bicycling, and transport routes, as well as the monitoring of land supply to its most efficient and sustainable uses. Furthermore, G21 has dedicated activities to climate change mitigation and adaptation with regard to emission reductions, water efficiency, preservation of natural ecosystems and their biodiversity. Besides activities to foster the development of urban growth poles within the region, G21 targets improvements in the overall regional network, for instance with regard to agricultural development opportunities and interlinked rural and urban areas.

Sources:
http://www.g21.com.au/ (accessed: 150315)
http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/urban-rural-and-regional-development/rural-urban-partnerships_9789264204812-en;jsessionid=4gpjn6rhrb106.x-oecd-live-01 (accessed: 150315)

Areas of support by development cooperation should thus focus on:

- Working towards the recognition of rural-urban linkages and household mobility within strategic decision-making processes.

- Encouraging the objective of inclusive territorial growth, including (non-)agricultural development in rural areas and enhancing employment opportunities in the urban environment, particularly for young people.

- Establishing a culture of cooperation across administrative and territorial boundaries between cities and bordering rural municipalities to make use of potential synergies (e.g., regarding improved rural-urban market relations or diversified income generation).

- Screening of current regulations, policies, and laws regarding the labour and financial market, flow of remittances, or access to shelter, infrastructure, and social services with regard to taking the increasing reality of multi-local households into account.

- Supporting cooperation and partnership between local governments, civil society, and private sector to encourage the introduction of new forms and mechanisms of participation and service provision.

- Supporting the development of decentralised, multi-functional centres in the regional context, which might allow for a broader variation of jobs along the rural-urban value chain as well as education/services within a shorter distance to the place of origin.

- Evaluating public private partnership (PPP) models for targeted mobility, housing, and (financial) service provision.

- Assessing specific urban education and social security packages targeted to the migrant household and its mobility patterns.

- Considering investment opportunities and saving schemes for remittance flows allowing, for example, the investment into neighbourhood development via, for example, municipal bonds.

- Addressing food insecurity in the course of rising poverty in urban settings, and options for setting up related rural-urban production and logistic chains.

- Encouraging participative policy making by including local stakeholders who are directly affected (e.g., by circular migration).

In conclusion, with regard to relevant areas of action for development cooperation the following aspects might be highlighted for further consideration. Cities, even the smallest of them, act as engines of rural development, providing markets and infrastructure as well as a range of support services. Access to services and infrastructure in urban centres, such as health services and education facilities, is of vital importance for poverty-alleviation measures in both rural and urban settings (Satterthwaite, Tacoli 2003).

Development cooperation has its share in supporting local and sub-national governments in fulfilling their tasks adequately. In addition, there is a role for development cooperation in incorporating the socio-economic and spatial impact of multi-locality into future project design.

5. Conclusions and outlook: sustainably managing rural-urban linkages

In the light of the dimension, dynamics, and socio-economic implications of multi-locality, international development cooperation increasingly acknowledges the need to better understand the underlying causes and resulting

◄
Figure 3:
Rural-urban mobility in Kenia.
Photo: Alexandra Linden

challenges (as well as potentials) of multi-locality in order to address urbanisation and guide territorial transformation in a sustainable way. The consequences of urbanisation are not only evident in the city—urban growth has a significant impact on the rural hinterland and, in turn, rural development also influences the development of urban communities (BMZ 2014).

Today's globalised economy reinforces the linkages between territories and sectors. Addressing today's global challenges of ending poverty and hunger, and building a green economy, can only be adequately dealt with in a cooperative way between rural and urban areas, building upon and capitalising from synergies between people, sectors, and spaces.

Achieving sustainable development is therefore maximised if: (a) political, social, and geographical analysis and rational shifts away from rural-urban dichotomy, and (b) an understanding of the continuum of space in addressing rural and urban development is established. The phenomenon of multi-locality forms an essential part of this shifting picture and offers various entry points to enhance sustainable livelihoods in urban and rural settings. These opportunities deserve to be further explored by local governments, national agencies, and development partners.

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Multi-locality from Historic Times until Today: The Case of Iran

Renate Bornberg

Multilokalität seit frühen Zeiten bis heute am Beispiel des Iran

Multilokalität stellt heute viele Städte vor neue Herausforderungen. Da es sich nicht mehr um eine kleine Gruppe von Menschen innerhalb einer Stadt handelt, sondern multilokal Lebende oft einen beträchtlichen Prozentsatz ausmachen, sind Konflikte vorprogrammiert, und zwar nicht nur in Ländern des Südens, sondern auch in Mitteleuropa. In der Stadtplanung werden Konzepte gesucht, um mit dem relativ neuen Phänomen umgehen zu können; allerdings steht man hier in vielen Fällen noch am Beginn einer Lösungsfindung. Blickt man zurück in der Geschichte wird allerdings deutlich, dass Multilokalität in vielen Regionen der Welt seit jeher fester Bestandteil des täglichen Lebens war und ist. In diesem Beitrag wird ein solches Szenario beschrieben, nämlich der Fernhandel in Iran, der zu Land und zu Wasser über Jahrhunderte Land und Leute multilokal geprägt hat. In einer Feldstudie, die im Februar 2015 durchgeführt wurde, konnte festgestellt werden, dass alte, multilokale räumliche Muster immer noch genutzt werden, und dass man einige Ansätze im Umgang mit Multilokalität auch in europäischen Städten einsetzen könnte.

Introduction

In the last few decades, the number of people living in more than one place (i.e., who are multi-local) has assumedly risen constantly. This phenomenon is not only observed in developing countries, where mostly poorer people commute between their places of origin and the places where they find work (Dannecker 2013), but is also a phenomenon in developed countries (Rodman 2007). In the long run, these multi-local people affect the locations as well as the life of the local people in both their hometown and the other places with which they are connected. By both implementing their way of life as well as by adopting new behavioural patterns and taking these back with them, they influence non-multi-local people and, as a consequence, cities are gradually transformed. This is not always considered positive, and often leads to problems with locals. Yet, in regards to town planning, the corresponding problems and challenges arising in such cities are only gradually and slowly becoming understood; the policy responses are only now being designed.

On the other hand, much could be learned by looking at regions where multi-locality is highly respected and, therefore, measures were taken to make the life of multi-locals comfortable. One such example can be drawn from Iran, where tradesmen added much to the wealth of all. During a field trip in February 2015 it could be observed that these multi-local traders not only shaped life and cities in the past, but continue to do so even today. Trade has been a major source of income for the rulers of Iran since the Harappan times (3300 – 1300 BCE), and the trade tradition is still reflected today. Specific measures were taken to increase trade, such as building special caravan routes or cities, and identifying the specific needs of the multi-local tradesmen. These elements will be described below,

ending with some thoughts about the relevance of the findings for problems arising in contemporary cities with many multi-local inhabitants.

Multi-local beginnings

Multi-locality is not a new phenomenon; as scholars from archaeology and social anthropology point out, it is nearly as old as human history (Barnard 2011). In the very beginnings, humans were hunter-gatherers, most probably foraging over a wide region, so all were living a multi-local life. After the major prehistoric human migrations,[1] some tribes gradually started to settle down. With the Neolithic revolution (10,000 BCE), when agriculture and the domestication of animals were invented (Childe 2008), this process was intensified. From then on, larger numbers of people could settle down because food was available in nearby fields and a surplus could be generated for leaner times. Yet, crop failure happened regularly due to weather and other natural hazards. To be less vulnerable, tribes started to keep close bonds with far-away groups, so that in times of hardship one could receive help and food from the other groups.[2] In the beginning, this exchange was organised primarily between individuals or families, and eventually – particularly along navigable rivers – goods were soon exchanged on a regular basis. The surpluses of one society were soon being transported to even far-away regions, and other items were brought back. Gradually, labour became specialised among locals: most were involved in food and surplus production, others in crafts, while some went into organising and others took over the responsibility of taking goods abroad and bringing other goods back (i.e., they became traders). This stratification of the society led to the foundation of harbour cities and to the development of one of the earliest urban centres in

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1
Prehistoric human migration started 100,000 BCE: from Africa it went to the Arabian peninsula, reached the Indus Valley and China (60,000 BCE), proceeded to Siberia, and then entered the Americas (35,000 BCE); a second migratory wave of emigration (40,000 BCE) went to Europe via Syria (Barnard 2011).

2
Similar practises of keeping good relationships with far-off groups are still practised by some tribes even today: a well-studied example is the kula ring, the exchange system of the Trobrianders of Papua New Guinea, where people exchange shells and other sought-after objects just to keep contacts alive (Malinowksi 1979). The kula exchange has nothing to do with selling and buying, but is seen as a means of strengthening and maintaining the bonds between the associated persons (Mauss 2011).

the 3rd millennium BCE: the Harappan cities of the Indus valley that fed into the culture of Iran. These harbour cities were exchange and distribution hubs between the producing hinterland and the far-off destination regions (Thapar 2002). When the spoked wheel and the tamed horse were introduced (second millennium BCE), trade over long distances by land and between the Indus valley and Beluchistan accelerated (Datta 1996); and as soon as the first empires emerged across Asia (first millennium BCE), the kings of Persia recognised trade as an important source of state revenues. Thus, trade was supported and certain measures were taken to promote this economy. "King's highways" were built for the safer and faster travelling of traders, trading cities were established or expanded, and traders were sent out in all directions. Certain policies were created and foreign traders were placed under royal protection. Caravan routes or king's highways were built across Persia, and were facilitated with caravan serais (Kleiss 1996). At major hubs of the caravan routes, trading towns were built and harbours were created to connect the roads with the sea.

Trade facilities: caravan routes

To support trade, routes connecting Asia with Europe were established and supported by rulers, who were well-aware of the profitable extra income of trading business. Some of the ancient names of the routes are still well-known, such as the Amber Road, the Silver Street, or the Silk Route (Rauring 1971). Many of the old routes crisscross Iran, and some of them are still visible, as in Beluchistan (see *Figure 1*). They were a network of trails, some on land, but others also on sea. On sea, not much could be done to secure safe travel, but on land, building roads could help foster trade a lot. From the 12th century on, the number of roads increased in Iran and the bigger ones were protected by military forces. By law, these king's highways were only to be used by the royal family, the military apparatus, and traders – and no one else.

The roads were equipped with caravan serais, roadside inns for the traders. *Serai* or *saray* is the Persian word for house, dwelling, palace, or court. The caravan serais along the roads were inns for the shelter of caravans with their cargo and animals. They were built every 30 km, being a day's march apart (Müller 1920). According to the frequency of travellers, the caravan serais varied in size and accoutrements. All caravan serais in Iran were enclosed by high walls, with only one entrance, which often was a very high and richly decorated landmark, an important aspect in the desert to guiding caravans the right direction. In the centre of the complex was an open courtyard, which was used as a distribution space. Bigger caravan serais were not only inns or warehouses, but were equipped with dining places, kitchens, stables, hamams, fountains for ritual washing, masjids, pharmacies, and hospitals (Kleiss 1996). Smaller caravan serais were more basic, as we could observe in the one visited during our visit to Beluchistan. It is located on a former side track of the caravan routes that connected the Arabian Sea with the Silk Road. It comprised the main building with a central courtyard, several storage spaces, kitchens, a water fountain, fireplaces, and stable areas for the camels. Outside the fortress-like building were poles and stones arranged in rectangles and circles. These were used as foundations for the black tents that caravans brought along with them and as the basis for fireplaces. Black tents were (and still are) used between northern Africa, Arabia, Turkey, Iraq, and also in Iran, and were a fixed part of the equipment of a caravan: they are
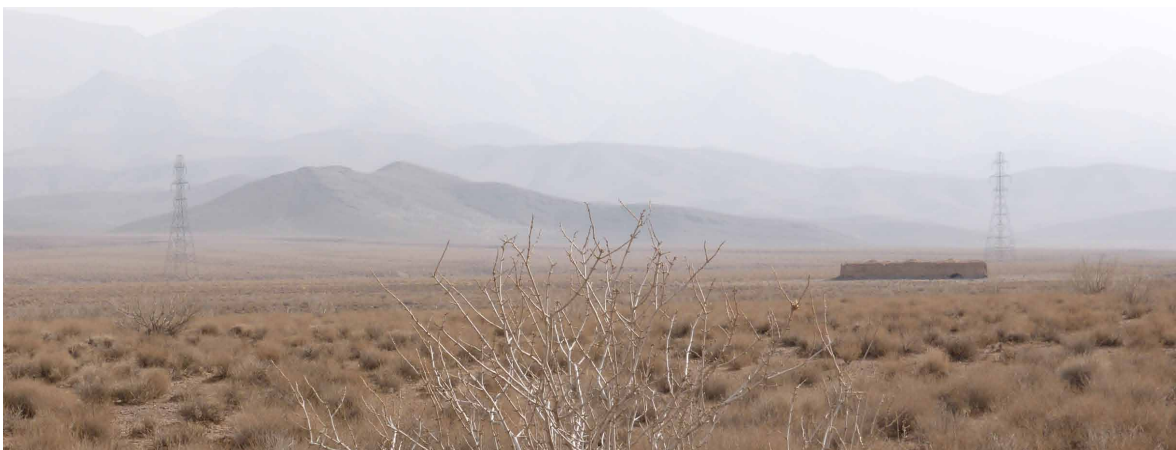
3
In previous decades, when the highways of Iran were under the protection of the kings, the long-distance caravans could stay for free (Kleiss 1996).

easily set up, waterproof, and repel heat. In small caravan serais, people would sleep outside in their black tents, whilst the animals and cargo were locked up in the enclosure of the caravan serai over night (see *Figure 2, 3, 4*).

Until recently, caretakers from adjacent villages would maintain the building, clean the rooms, set up poles and stone rectangles in front of the building, maintain the water cistern, and provide food and water for the travellers. At big caravan serais, there were not only caretakers, but also physicians, blacksmiths, shoemakers, and many others (Hülagü 2014). At small caravan serais, like the one observed in Beluchistan, caretakers were people from adjacent villages. A group of a few men would be in charge for a week, and would stay in the caravan serai the whole time. They would prepare food, get fresh water, clean, help with the animals, and cook. For these services, they were paid by the caravan groups.[3] For people of the villages, this was a welcome extra source of income. So it was a win-win situation for both sides: the caravans could shelter in safety and were provided with food and water, and the villagers could earn money by maintaining the building as well as serving and selling their own products.

Interestingly, caravan serais were never located close to villages. This was simply seen to be too dangerous and disturbing for the life in the villages. Caravan people were

often fierce, rough-and-ready. So this alone led to an insecure feeling among the village people. But the cargo of the caravans was often precious and of high value. This attracted robber gangs, who would attack caravans. If this were to happen in villages, it would be disastrous for the inhabitants. Therefore, caretakers condoned to walk longer distances, for the village was thus protected.

This system of caravan serais was used from ancient times until recently. The only way to travel across the deserts of Iran was by caravans with camels. Only with the introduction of paved highways did this ancient business start to fade. Starting in the 1950ies in Iran, but in Beluchistan only some 20 years ago, the first big highways were built across the Dasht-e Lut, replacing the old tracks. The new paved roads were not suitable for camels, and with them, the old roads as well as caravan serais were abandoned. However, a closer look reveals that the same caravan families are still in the trading business. Many of the families sold their camels (some had 80 to 100 animals) and bought trucks instead. The business of transporting goods over long distances is still within the same families, only now highways and trucks are being used. The old caravan serais often do not lie along these highways, so they are no longer in use. But the insecurity of being robbed or even killed by one of the many gangs persists. Therefore, police stations, which were set up to
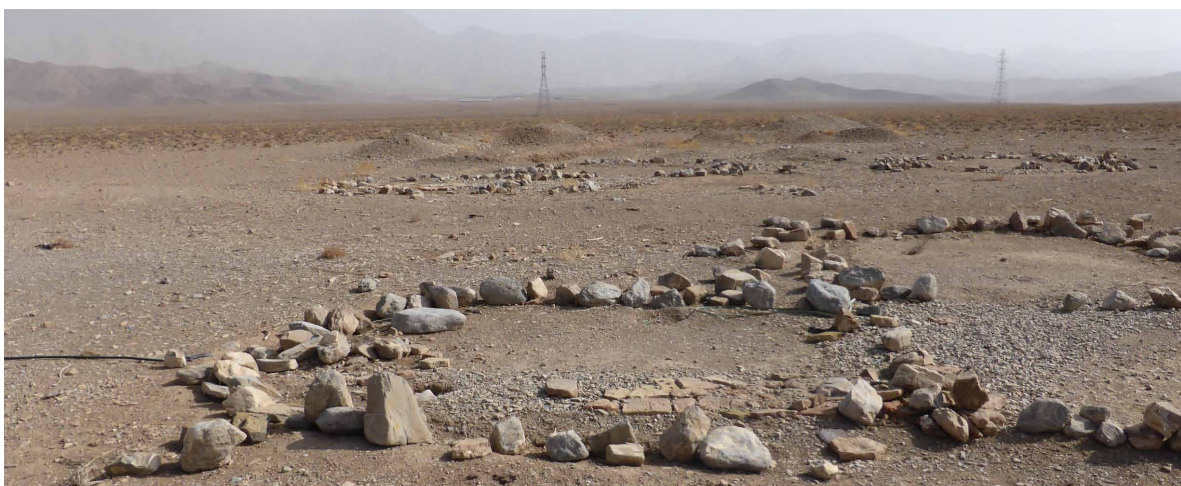
secure traffic, are nowadays equipped with some sleeping facilities for travellers and traders. According to local people of Beluchistan, it is safe to travel during daytime and no raids must be feared. But after dawn, robber gangs get on their pickups and start attacking and robbing people being on the road. Therefore, traders seek shelter in the police stations that have taken over the function of the caravan serais.

Trade hubs: towns and harbours

Trading towns developed at big intersections of the caravan trails. Such towns were the focus of the exchange of goods, but also of ideas (Bernebeck 2008). Kings protected the bigger towns from robbery and plunder by stationing military support and building fortresses and city walls. Shelter was provided for the travellers, and craftsmen and merchants were encouraged to stay permanently. This was important, since trade products were taxed and thus provided extra income for local governments. But long-distance traders normally stayed for longer periods: particularly in harbour towns, to which most traders came via sea, tradesmen had to stay for half a year because the deep-sea traders of the Arabian Sea were dependent on the monsoon winds, with the spring monsoon bringing the ships to the Indian coast and the winter monsoons taking them back to Iran's coast and the Arabian peninsula (Subramanian 2008). The caravans on land were not dependent on wind, yet they also stayed considerable amounts of time in trading cities. They had to find food for animals, and sometimes caravans were re-organised and traders had to wait until a new caravan was formed.

In both cases it was important to have special measures to organise these cities. On the one hand, foreign traders had to feel welcome and invited – otherwise they would not come. For this, in many places they were given the right to freely perform their religious traditions, use their customs, and live the life they wanted. On the other hand, conflicts could arise with locals, who wanted to live their traditional way of life. The many different languages, the many foreign-looking men, and the constant change of people caused a feeling of insecurity. To generate places where both locals and foreigners could live together, special laws were introduced in these cities, as was a specific kind of city layout.

One such city is Arg-e Bam, an oasis town in the Dasht-e Lut, Beluchistan, where the Spice Route intersected the Silk Road. The city's origin goes back to Achaemenian times (579-323 BC), and from the 10th century on Arg-e Bam was a well-known, flourishing, and busy market, highly appreciated for its fine cotton fabrics, its silk-worm breeding and silk industry, its busy bazaar streets, its impregnable walls, and its wide agricultural area with hundreds of palm-tree gardens (Rashad 2011) (see *Figure. 5*). Later, under the Safavid Dynasty (1052 to 1722), all of Perisa experienced a stable and wealthy period that led to the development of many cities, during which Bam was also extended. When this period ended, Agha Mohammad Khan conquered the city and used it as a military base to defend the Afghan and Baluchi. Commoners were gradually pushed out of the fortifications, which by 1880 were populated only by military personnel; all others had left for the wide-open date palm fields. This process was fuelled in 1900 by the construction of the new city of Bam outside the old city walls. When the military left in 1932, the old city was abandoned. Since the old city of Arg-e Bam is the biggest adobe construction in the world, it was added to the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage List in 2004 and is currently an open-air museum.

Many different layers are visible, and it is hard to speak of only one city layout. In the following, the main elements of the trading city (prior to the takeover of the city by the military staff) are described (web UNESCO).

Roughly speaking, Arg-e Bam consists (now as then) of four main sections: a residential zone, the army barracks with stables, the governor's residence, and the trading area. The city is protected by a high adobe wall with 38 watchtowers and a moat. The city could be entered by one of the four gates. A stranger, entering the city by crossing the bridge in front of the south gate, would find himself in the bazaar street (see *Figure 6*), which was once roofed and lined on both sides by many small shops and workshops. There was also a Tekyeh, a square-shaped plaza traditionally used for gatherings and the ritual mourning of the death of Husayn Ibn Ali, the fist Imam of the Shii, or Shia Islam. Beyond the bazaar were the residential quarters of the permanent settlers, whose origins were from many different regions. Thus, each community had its own quarter where people could live the way they were used to. There were quarters for Saracenss,

◄
Figure 5:
The fortifying wall with the watchtowers of Agr-e Bam.
Photo: Renate Bornberg

Persians, Indians, Jews, Belugistans, and many more. Some of the bigger groups also had their own inner-city caravan serai (similar to the caravan serais mentioned above, only that the animal stables were outside the city wall), where they hosted those traders they had invited or who were from the same place of origin. In the city centre of the commoners, the Jameh Mosque was located, as well as the Mirza Naim complex with a qur' an school, a zurkhaneh (a building for ritual fighting) and the central caravan serai. The inner fortification had a atash khanehe (a fire house) and a seven storey high watch tower where a signal fire burnt during the night (Rashad 2011).

The geometrical centre of the city was the citadel, with its second fortification and watchtowers, from where the surrounding region could be observed (*Figure 7*). It was mainly the home of the governor, but people could take shelter there in times of warfare. Integrated into the wall was a windmill, which was used by all. At the foot of the citadel hill were the military quarters, the stables, a hamam, and the main caravan serai (Rashad 2011).

The city layout corresponds to the requirements of a multi-local trading community. Each clan, tribe, or foreign group had its own autonomous quarter. The quarters were equipped with shops, warehouses, and handicraft workshops, and some quarters even had a mosque or a smaller caravan serai. For the city as a whole there were the bazaar street, the main mosque, the hamam, the wind mill, and other facilities to make life for residents and foreigners comfortable. The bazaar street was hermetically sealed from the adjacent residential quarters so as not to disturb the daily routines of local residents. Finally, everything was overlooked by the governor, and the military apparatus, which was in charge of law and order in the hustle and bustle below.

Multi-local people: caravan traders and their families

Caravans consisted of men who had left their families behind in their given, often different villages. The dangers and exertions of the journeys required special knowledge. It was important to know about waterholes and the inconveniences of weather. Moreover, it was essential to know which people to contact in the cities and, above all, to have strong bonds with other tradesmen for selling, reselling, and buying. Finally, it was important to have many camels, without which it would be impossible to run an enterprise as a caravan leader.

So only a select number of families were involved in the caravan trading business, handing down information and contacts from generation to generation. Older and adept men would be entrusted with guiding a larger caravan trip, and the younger men would learn over the years how to set up and run such a journey (Nippa 2011).

While underway, they often had to wait in cities in lands as far away as Africa, India, or China to conduct trade and wait until a new caravan was formed. During their stay, these traders would adopt local customs; some of them even learned the given local language and intermingled with the local society.

In Mubai, for example, there was not only a big group of Parsi residents, but also traders from Iran and Iraq, who stayed regularly in the city and also performed some of the Hindi rites together with local people (Dossal 2010). Another reason for the adoption of local customs was that for traders it is of core importance to understand their customers. Information about special preferences in products was crucial for their enterprises.

Back home, long-distance traders influenced their families and neighbours with some of the alien traditions. An old man and previous trader on sea we interviewed in Haft Rangoo, Qeshm, for example, was very proud of an Indian bed and some other items from his journeys that he had brought back home. Not only was he proud of these things, his family, his sons and grandsons, were proud, too. Along with the items from other continents, he also brought back some traditions, ideas, and even the language: even today, the old man can speak Hindi. This indicates that although only few people in each village were involved in long-distance trade, their influence was paramount and shaped the life and ideas of the villagers.

Trading business has been done in this way for centuries, on land and over the sea, from prehistoric times until today. Long-distance trips have changed over the time in many respects. It has always adapted to the needs of a time; to the political, social, economic, and even technological circumstances. Ships at the beginning of trade were small, and could hardly be used on open sea. Only gradually did the ships get bigger, and the technology to sail through the open Arabian Sea also evolved. Harbour towns also got bigger, with warehouses and exchange points between land and sea. Roads were further equipped, and eventually even paved. But the underlying concept with trading routes on land and sea, with trading hubs at the major intersections, and with the special trading families has remained almost unchanged over the centuries.

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Figure 7:
The fortification of the inner citadel of Agr-e Bam.
Photo: Renate Bornberg

Conclusions – the lesson to be learned

Multi-local people have always existed, as ascertained by drawing on the case of traders in Iran. What we can learn from the past is that problems between people from abroad and local residents can develop. People feel insecure when surrounded by too many unknown things. Stability can be produced by offering well-known environmental features and by allowing the people to live their familiar way of life. These measures were taken in old trading towns of Iran. During our field trip, it became obvious that the ancient multi-local caravans do not differ too much from today's traders; the old organisation of families, the open-mindedness of people, are still a very important elements in the everyday life of communities with many multi-local traders. Unfortunately, today cities do not respond to the requirements of multi-localism. However, such ideas could be adopted in the contemporary cities of Iran – as well as in Europe – to tackle some of the problems arising between multi-local and local people, and to make life easier for those living far away from their places of origin.

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No Arrival without Origin – Multi-locality Re-visited

Einhard Schmidt-Kallert

Keine Ankunft ohne Herkunft – ein neuer Blick auf Multilokalität

Der wissenschaftliche Diskurs über Multilokalität ist im letzten Jahrzehnt von einem Nischenthema zu einem zentralen Gegenstand in vielen Sozialwissenschaften geworden. Dies gilt leider bisher nicht für Planungspraxis und kommunale Politik. Dabei ist Multilokalität kein neues Phänomen; gerade in Krisensituationen haben Migranten immer Bindungen an ihren Herkunftsort aufrecht erhalten, um sich vor Risiken zu schützen. Aber mit der Globalisierung haben sich vielen Menschen, insbesondere im Globalen Süden, neue Möglichkeiten eröffnet, auf längere Dauer multilokal zu leben. Unter den Wissenschaftlern, die über Multilokalität forschen, gibt es bisher keine einheitliche Definition. In Forschung zum Globalen Süden wird das ökonomische Motiv betont, während europäische Forschung Multilokalität lieber als „soziale Praxis" fasst. Der Autor verweist auf vielfältige Überschneidungen zwischen der gelebten Praxis im Globalen Süden und im Globalen Norden, und plädiert dafür, unabhängig von definitorischen Bemühungen Geschichten von multilokal lebenden Migranten in unterschiedlichen kulturellen Kontexten nachzuzeichnen und zu analysieren.

Multilokalität ist heute eine Lebensform, die aus der globalisierten Welt nicht mehr wegzudenken ist. Die „Entdeckung" dieses Phänomens darf aber nicht zu sozialromantischen Verklärungen führen, vor allem nicht dazu, den seelischen Stress zu ignorieren, den multilokal Lebende, gleich in welchem Land und in welchem Kontext, erleiden. Abschließend plädiert der Autor noch einmal für eine durchgängig multi-lokale Perspektive in der Regionalwissenschaft: Auch im Zeitalter der Urbanisierung lassen sich sozialräumliche Prozesse in den Städten nicht isoliert von den Herkunftsorten verstehen. Sowohl Städte und Dörfer ändern sich, verstehen lässt sich dieser Wandel letztlich nur, wenn die wechselseitigen Verknüpfungen im Blick bleiben.

Research on multi-locality is no longer confined to a niche in social sciences, and even less so in regional sciences. This was different some ten or fifteen years back, when mainstream scholars tended to ignore the phenomenon as a field for serious academic endeavour, while others, pointing at a century-old practice in West Africa, claimed that the phenomenon (not the term) was not new and was already well-researched. This is different today. There has been a remarkable interest in multi-locality among the relevant disciplines in recent years. Various journals have tried to present the state of the art in special issues devoted to "multilocality" (e.g., Die Erde in 2012, Geographische Rundschau in 2014, and Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie in 2015). Somehow or other, the concept has even found its way into the German version of Wikepedia where, since last year, there has been an interesting introductory article on "Multilokalität", with a useful on-line literature review.

As the Department of Spatial Planning in Developing Countries of TU Dortmund University, we ourselves have tried in our modest way to give a forum to the discourse on multi-locality with two international conferences, which we organised in 2009 and 2014 respectively. The first one, entitled "Rural-urban linkages and migration: A potential for poverty alleviation in developing countries?" was intended to enhance the dialogue among academia and practitioners in development cooperation. The most recent one, on "Multi-locality in the Global South and North: Factors, features and policy implications", was meant to bring together the diverging strands of research on multi-locality in different parts of the globalising world (REL 2009 and 2014).

Thus, in the academic world the concept of multi-locality has been mainstreamed over the past decade. Sadly, local government officials as well as urban and regional planners across the world are still somewhat at a loss when asked how they respond to the specific challenges of an increasing number of residents in their constituency who engage in multi-locational practises. Certainly, more efforts will be needed to convince all those in the practical world that, in the future, they need to look beyond territorial boundaries in order to properly care for the well-being of their citizens. After all, the activity space of so many citizens and households extends beyond local territories.

But I would contend that by embracing the concept of multi-locality, regional sciences have made a first important step. More than ten years ago, I wrote in an article that focusing on informal urban-rural linkages at the household level could be compared to the "discovery of the informal sector" in the 1970s (Schmidt-Kallert/Kreibich 2004). The phenomenon had been there for a long time, but prior to the publication of Keith Hart's seminal study, conventional economists had failed to properly explain the economic base of the growing metropolises in many parts of the developing world. The studies by ILO and

Keith Hart were an eye-opener for many practitioners. These days, the category "informal sector" can be found in the official statistics of most international organisations and many countries (e.g., India).

What's more, the notion of the "informal sector" touched a nerve: the term even entered everyday language. When I lived on a university campus in Ghana in the late 1980s, I had a colleague in the architecture department who used his private car as a pirate taxi in the afternoon, while the head of the geography department was proud of his wife's egg farm on campus. They both supplemented their meagre government salary with informal-sector activities, so to speak. And when talking to them, they both smilingly yet proudly asserted: "We are the informal sector!" Meaning: you need not go to the Zongos, the migrant suburbs of the city, to interview craftsmen of the informal sector. The informal sector was already right in the middle of society.

This little encounter came back to my mind when I was giving lectures on multi-locality in the Global South. Wherever I talked about the phenomenon—in Valdivia in Chile, in Dohuk in North Iraq, or in Manila—in the discussion ensuing after my lecture, people would start telling stories about their own families or their own, very personal migration history, and about the specific economic and non-economic linkages between family members residing in different parts of the country or in far-away places in Europe or the Middle East. Obviously, many of them had been involved in multi-locational practices for a long time, as the phenomenon was by no means new to them, but they were happy to have come across a term for the way they organised their life. Apparently, by talking about migrant workers in China, about mutual exchange within split households in Ghana, in South Africa, in Bangladesh and elsewhere, once again a nerve had been touched in them. They quickly started talking about their household's multi-locational strategy, their multi-locational living arrangements, and so forth. And some of them proudly concluded: "I am a multi-local!"

Admittedly, however, "multi-locality" has not become a buzzword. Unlike the term "informal sector", it tastes too much of academic discourse to easily sneak into everyday language. Probably, the word "split household" would find it easier to penetrate newspaper-speak. But within the academic realm, the term "multi-locational household" appears to be more widespread now than "split household". Personally, I prefer the former term. For me, the "split household" has a slightly negative connotation; it evokes the image of something incomplete, whereas "multi-locational" alludes to locational analysis, a key task of our discipline.

Be this as it may, the phenomenon of multi-locational living arrangements is by no means a new one, something that has only emerged in the era of globalisation. Especially in times of crisis or during periods of transition, people have always attempted to minimise risks by maintaining a second home in their place of origin, a fact which was overlooked by conventional migration research for a long time. A case in point is the common narrative with regard to Polish immigration to the Ruhr between 1870 and 1910. This massive migration flow was, for a long time, regarded as a showpiece of successful integration into a host society, as a unidirectional movement, whereby the migrants sever their ties with the home region after one or two generations at the most. More-recent research, however, has revealed that the real picture was much more complex, with frequent movements in between the two locations and only a minority finally settling in the Ruhr for good (Murphy 1982; Kleßmann 1978). Likewise, there has always been non-permanent migration coupled with multi-locational living in many parts of Asia and Africa. When I lived in Ghana in the 1980s, there were no asphalt roads linking the northern regions to the south, and there were no telephone lines. Even the banks did not have telex lines at their disposal. Yet, there was frequent movement of people, money, messages, and goods between the southern cities and the villages in the north. The migrants residing in the southern cities of Accra and Kumasi used to pass messages and remittances through lorry drivers going up north, and despite the risks involved in this informal channel of transmission, reports of embezzlement were few.

Definitely, globalisation and modern communication and transportation technologies have given a boost to multi-locality. Most experts agree these days that non-permanent migration has become the dominant type of migration in our century, at least in the Global South. And the majority of these non-permanent migrants live in multi-locational household arrangements. And yet, nobody knows their exact number. No United Nations agency can furnish exact figures on the number of "multi-locals" in the world, or in a particular country for that matter (with the sole exception China, where due to the household registration system a fairly accurate count of migrant workers is available [see, for example, Schmidt-Kallert/Franke 2013]).

A decade ago, Mike Douglass introduced the concept of "global householding", a term which has since been widely quoted by numerous scholars, particularly in Asia. He drew attention to the household's role in decision making (Douglass 2006). Yes, it is true, we live in the era of global householding: households have more choices than ever, with more opportunities to spread risk among different income sources and locations than ever before in human history. And households, much more than individuals, are the driving forces in these movements.

But beyond this general statement, as researchers we need some kind of working definition of a "multi-locational household". The fact of the matter is, however, that it is not all that easy to agree on a common definition—as we came to realise during the discussions at our conference "Multi-locality in the Global South and North: Factors, features and policy implications" in 2014. Those participants who had done research in European countries suggested, as a common platform, a definition agreed upon by a tri-national (but essentially European) research network on multi-locality:

> "[Residential] multi-locality is a social practice of everyday life whose participants have at their disposal two or more dwellings in different places where they reside in alternating rhythms" (Wood et al. 2015; see also Dittrich-Wesbuer in this issue of TRIALOG, p.10–16).

Those of us who had a research background in the Global South, in turn, were inclined to prefer this definition:

> "A household is made up of members from the same family or kin pooling their economic resources and planning together the expenses for the purpose of reproduction of all household members, but the members may well live in two or more spatially split locations" (Schmidt-Kallert/Franke 2013: 19).

Social practice versus economic necessity—a contradiction that is not easy to reconcile. But it would be simplistic to say that the former definition is valid for all multi-locals in the Global North, while the latter is more applicable to the Global South. We have learnt in the last few decades that most former classifications used to distinguish between the developed and developing world, or between the First, Second, and Third World, have become obsolete. There are booming economies in the Global South, and there are growing pockets of under-development, lagging regions in most countries of the Global North. Former boundaries have become blurred, and new divisions and fragmented spaces have emerged. Thus, the Global North and the Global South are not two different worlds; likewise, though people's livelihood strategies, including their multi-locational arrangements, may display distinctly different patterns at first glance, after a closer look they also show some similarities as well. Many multi-locals in the Global North opt consciously (and usually also voluntarily) in favour of a second home in another city, often as part of a step towards upward social mobility. But is it always so easy to distinguish between what is voluntary and what is forced migration? Likewise, does the distinction between "coping" and "accumulative" strategies (the livelihood strategies of those who are somewhat better off and who have choices), which was once introduced by Deshingkar and Farrington (Deshingkar/Ferrington 2009: 18), still really hold? Is there no overlapping between the categories?

Apparently, many analytical distinctions are not as clear-cut as social scientists would like to apply them. Many boundaries are blurred, categories are fuzzy. (Incidentally, there is ample evidence of this in Eva Dick's and Cédric Duchêne-Lacroix's comparison between the Global North and Global South in this issue of TRIALOG, p. 4-9).

What is the implication for future research? In the absence of a common definition of multi-locality and in the face of a haze of fuzzy categories, which do not really suffice to guide our research, I reiterate what I have said many times: we need more qualitative research into migrants' livelihood strategies in different countries, different cultural contexts, and different social contexts. Just listen to the migrants' own stories, their life histories, including their individual accounts of the power play within their household. What problems did they encounter when they first left their village of origin? How did they find a foothold in the city? Who prompted their migration decision? What shaped their aspirations? How did the roles within the household gradually change over time?

Over the last fifteen years, I have had the privilege to listen to many stories. In such diverse places as Ghana, Armenia, Indonesia and China, migrants confided to me their experiences, how they made decisions, and how they look at their own life in hindsight. I am grateful for my respondents' confidence. And I have read with keen interest the records of interviews that Emmanuel Tamanja conducted with child migrants in Ghana (Tamanja 2014), or that Eva Dick and Thorsten Heitkamp recorded in Ghana and South Africa among transit migrants (Dick/Heitkamp 2015). They have enhanced my comprehension of people's livelihood strategies, and have also given me a feel for their diversity.

Multi-locality is a common way of life in our globalised world. It is a fact that cannot be denied nor ignored. But beyond the factual: Is it something good or, instead, something negative? Who benefits from multi-locality? I do not want to delve into the question of how migrant labour functions as a necessary pre-condition for capital accumulation. In the case of China's 230 million migrant workers, one can clearly identify both the Chinese party oligarchy as well as multi-national capital as the primary beneficiaries—but I do not want to go into that here. What interests me instead is the migrants' point of view: Is multi-locality good or bad for them?

I believe we must ask this question. Otherwise, we may succumb to the tendency to romanticise things. This has happened before, and we should avoid it. When the first few studies on the informal sector were published in the 1970s, many observers over-emphasised the positive aspects: these people are real craftsmen, they are self-reliant, they have found a niche to make a living. Correct, but there was a tendency to overlook the precarious working conditions of most people in the informal sector. And when John Turner first claimed that the squatter was not a problem, he was the solution, when his writings and speeches had an enormous influence on the Habitat Conference in Vancouver in 1976, when even the World Bank adopted some of his ideas, many of his followers tended to romanticise the living conditions in the informal settlements as well. They praised the self-help potential, but did not want to see the appalling living conditions in many informal settlements. They tended to overlook the

filth, the disorder, the slumlords, the crime, and the hierarchy in Kibera or Tondo Foreshore.

So, what is the benefit for the migrants? Certainly migrant workers and farmers in China have, in monetary terms, benefitted greatly from the migration waves over the last three decades. They have been able to buy assets, and they have built houses in their home villages. They have acquired new skills in the cities, and they have become different persons. After many decades, there is no more hunger in the villages. But let us think for a moment of all these migrant workers returning home to their villages for the Spring Festival once a year, all of them trying to secure transport on over-crowded and over-priced buses and trains at the same time of the year. Apart from the ordeal of this homecoming, let us think of the ecological effects. And let us think of the emotional stress for the 50 million children left in the villages in the care of their grandparents, some of them left in school dormitories at the tender age of nine or ten years. (I have spoken to ten-year-old children who have grown more attached to their teacher than to their far-away parents, yet eagerly awaiting their mothers' or fathers' weekly phone call.) Or let us think of the emotional stress for married couples when the spouses are away year after year. In a village in Henan Province, for example, we interviewed a lady who had been on her own for more than ten years. She told us that she and her husband had initially planned to go to the city together, but this never materialised. For the last four years, the husband had worked as a miner in the northern province of Liaoning, earning a relatively high wage. But then she concluded: "These days, I'm more eagerly waiting for the money he sends us than for him coming back. Last time he came, we were like two pieces of log: we didn't talk at all."

When Emmanuel Tamanja did his study on child migration between Accra and Northern Ghana, he recorded numerous stories of children who had experienced compassion and solidarity on their way. There were lorry drivers who gave them free rides, and people who gave them food on their way (Tamanja 2014). But there must have been other children, those who never completed their journey from north to south and who encountered all kinds of difficulties in returning home, and who eventually were considered a disgrace for their families.

Closer to home, some multi-local couples who are "living apart together" claim that the separation during the weekdays, and the excitement prior to meeting the partner on the weekend, had invigorated or rejuvenated their relationship. But others, and this seems to be a majority, loathe the loss of family life and complain of a rhythm of private life dominated by train schedules. These days, on weekends, we can meet a growing number of fairly young children on German Intercity trains who are commuting on their own between the residences of their divorced or separated parents. This is a novel form of multi-locality among the youngest generation. When talking to these kids, I found that many of them appeared more self-confident and independent than children of the same age group who are permanently under the care of their helicopter-parents. But, most likely, this is only the outer shell; I dare not conclude that these children do not suffer from the exposure to this very mobile lifestyle at a tender age.

Many aspects of multi-locality are still controversial and require more research. Undoubtedly, it is a feature typical of our globalising world. But is it a transitional phenomenon, a practice born in a period of crisis? Or is it a more permanent practice? Apparently, the practice is more long-lived than anticipated by many earlier observers. In China, we find migrant workers who have lived between the countryside and village for three generations. And there is similar evidence from some parts of Africa. Multi-locational practices have survived many ups and downs and changes in family life cycles, but migrants often have enough good reasons to maintain the practice for generations. We do not yet have sufficient longitudinal evidence, however, to conclusively contend that such practices will be maintained beyond the third generation or (maybe) forever. This may be the case, but we do not know yet.
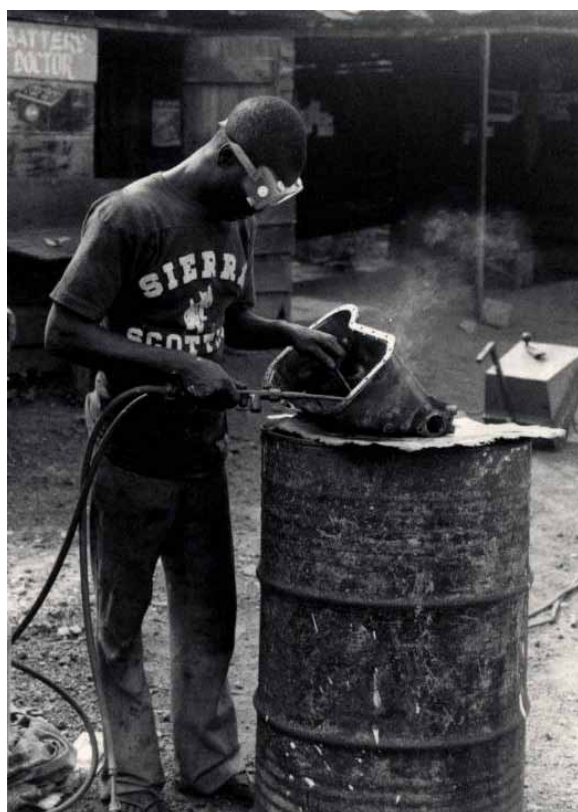
In the Global South, most multi-locational households are established between a rural place of origin and an urban location. At the beginning of this decade, the Canadian journalist Doug Saunders published his seminal book *Arrival City – How the Largest Migration in History Is Reshaping the World* (Saunders 2011), a remarkable piece of work featuring a compilation of life histories of migrants from many different parts of the world. When going through the chapters of the book, one finds many telling examples of continuing linkages between village and city at the household level, examples of seasonal and circular migration, and of hybrid lifestyles of those commuting between the different locations. The value of the book lies in the well-researched and well-narrated stories from below. As a reader, one need not subscribe to the author's key proposition, which is already evident from the book's strident title: "Arrival City"—meaning: migrants are going through all the hardships in the dormitories of China's big cities, in the shantytowns of Africa, or in Latin-American barrios as part of their transition to full-fledged middle-class urbanites. What matters are cities, not home regions. This transition of newly arrived migrants towards urbanites is indeed happening in some parts of the Global South, though by no means everywhere (see also: Dick 2012).

We live in an urbanising world. But focusing on the transformation happening in the cities is not everything. The multi-locality lens helps us to understand the

transformations in the rural areas that are happening at the same time. Many household-based studies of multi-locational households have found evidence of economic reciprocity between urban and rural household parts. But, to be sure, there is certainly more money flowing from city to countryside than in the other direction. Migrants acquire new skills in the city, and they also enjoy better facilities. And yet they have good reasons to maintain their multi-locational practices.

In earlier publications on the topic, I introduced the distinction between three types of migrant livelihood strategies: Firstly, strategies in which economic reciprocity is the dominant feature; secondly, strategies for caring (for the children, the sick, and the elderly); and thirdly, strategies for the transfer of knowledge beliefs and values. I would still argue that these categories are useful analytical tools. But when recording people's real-life experiences, it quickly becomes clear that these are not mutually exclusive strategies, but rather different layers of a complex and comprehensive household strategy. For most households, all three layers matter.

In many migrant households in China, the money flow, as well as the ups and downs of the level of remittances, can only be understood in the context of a strategy for the upbringing of left-behind children and the family life cycle (Schmidt-Kallert/Franke 2013). In a village in Armenia, I found very clear evidence of a steady flow of remittances from Armenian migrants in Russia, which were used to buy farm inputs such as spare parts for the irrigation equipment.

One could say the urban-based household members invested in the means of production in the rural area. But was there also economic reciprocity within the three-generation household? A few crates of Armenian wine and a few bottles of Armenian cognac would be shipped to Siberia, but the value did not match the amount of investments in farm equipment. And here the third layer of reciprocity came into play. During the summer vacation,

the grandparents in the village gave private tuition to their visiting grandchildren from Siberia—for the parents found it important for their kids to be conversant in the Armenian language and to master the Armenian alphabet. There was reciprocity in the strategy, but it could not easily be measured in monetary terms (see: Schmidt-Kallert 2009: 382).

Maintaining traditions, having an emotional anchor in one's home village, and imparting family and clan values to one's children are good reasons for people to maintain links to their home villages in many parts of the world. In West Africa, one can find posh mansions in remote villages that have been built by successful business people originating from that place. Nobody lives in these houses; a caretaker switches on the dusty generator once a month. The sole purpose of such mansions is to give shelter to a funeral party once in a decade. Investment in the wrong place, Wold Bank economists would say. But apparently this type of investment, which fosters family cohesion, is part of a perfectly rational risk-minimising strategy.

Migrants' emotional attachment to their place of origin is an asset that could and should be taken advantage of in development-oriented activities. Karin Gaesing presents an interesting case from West Africa in this issue of TRIALOG (p. 46-49). In my opinion, acknowledging that we live in an urbanising world does not mean that the villages are vanishing. To be sure, just as the urban areas are being transformed, villages will also undergo enormous transformations in most parts of the world. But they will not vanish from the map altogether. An increasing number of the world's population will live between city and countryside for a long time to come. Many of them will develop hybrid lifestyles, aspirations, and practices that are distinctly different from both existing rural and urban lifestyles.

There may be "arrival cities", but let us not forget that there are also departure villages, places of origin. Arrival cities cannot exist without places of origin.

◄
Figure 6:
Migrants from Northern Ghana in Kumasi. Photo: SPRING, TU Dortmund

► **Figure 7:**
Migrants' housing in Zunyi City, China. Photo: Peter Franke

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Einhard Schmidt-Kallert
born in 1949, is a social geographer and regional planner with working experience in many countries in Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Eastern Europe. As a consultant, he was involved in projects in the field of rural development, urban upgrading and natural resources management. He has lectured at Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in Ghana and TU Dortmund University. Prior to his retirement in 2014 he was Professor of Spatial Planning in Developing Countries in Dortmund.

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Book Reviews / Neue Bücher

technische universität dortmund
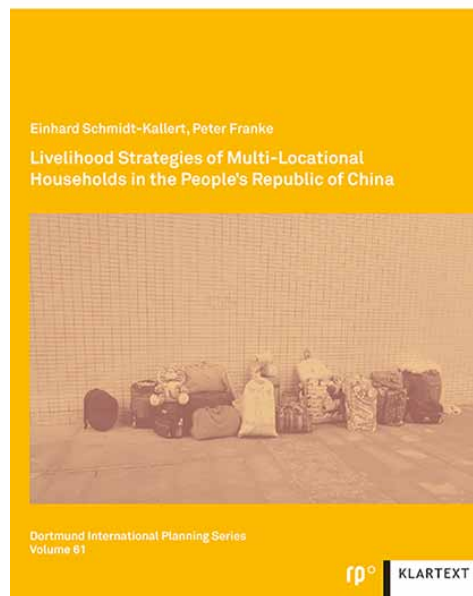
Einhard Schmidt-Kallert and Peter Franke. Livelihood Strategies of Multi-Locational Households in the People's Republic of China. Klartext Verlag, Essen 2013. 251 s, €24.95. ISBN 978-3-8375-0805-5.

Der Unterschied der Mulilokalität gegenüber der Migration ist, daß die Betroffenen ihren ursprüglichen Wohnort nicht vollständig aufgeben, sondern Teile der Familie am herkömmlichen Ort verbleiben und ein mehr oder weniger insteniver Kontakt zwischen den beiden Standorten weiterbesteht, z.B. durch regelmäßigen Telefonkontakt, Besuche und Geldüberweisungen. Im Vergleich zu anderen Ländern ist die Anzahl der multilokalen Haushalten in China überproportional hoch und wird auf 220 Millionen taxiert, da für die gößten und beliebtesten Städte wie Shanghai, Peking oder Nanjiing ein Zuzugsverbot besteht – obwohl dort natürlich auch die besten Job- und Ausbildungschancen erwartet werden. Dementsprechend ist in diesen Zentren die Multilokalität besonders kritisch, zumal eine formelle Arbeits- und Wohngenehmigung kaum zu bekommen ist. Der Preis für den illegalen Aufenthaltsstatus ist für die Betroffenen hoch, wird aber in Kauf genommen.

Die der Publikation zugrunde liegenden Forschung wertet im Wesentlichen die mit 78 multilokalen Haushalten geführten Interviews aus – wobei drei wichtige Migrationskorridore berücksichtigt wurden. Es handelt sich somit um Daten, die zwar nicht notwendigerweise statistisch repräsentativ sind, dafür aber autentisch und nicht aus dem bibliograhischen Referenz-Zirkus entliehen. Das macht die Lektüre auch so spannend. Was für viele andere wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen leider nicht behauptet werden kann.

Kosta Mathéy

Johannes Fiedler, Urbanisation Unlimited: A thematic journey. Springer, Heidelberg/New York, 2014, € 107.-.

In *Urbanisation, unlimited*, Johannes Fiedler takes us on a voyage to accompany the global proliferation of human settlements in an extended and updated version of his publication *Urbanisierung, globale* published in 2004 by Böhlau. Similarly, its subject is the current phenomenon of worldwide urbanisation according to overarching patterns and their materialisation in a variety of local and social settings.

In order to illustrate the text's paradigms, namely a critique of modern planning assumptions and mechanisms and their re-emergence in, adaption to and/or antagonist stipulation of global urbanisation, Fiedler draws on examples from Austria, Brazil, South Africa, the USA and elsewhere. Places that figure in Fiedler's own biography reflect firsthand on-the-ground knowledge and serve to underpin manifold academic references spanning from Christopher Alexander to UN-Habitat by way of Jane Jacobs, Henri Lefebvre, Saskia Sassen, Thomas Sieverts, etc.

The 13 chapters follow alphabetical order in their titling that include, among others, *Abstraction, Convergence, Expansion, Modernisation, Regulation, Vitality*. These terms, borrowed from the disciplines of planning, spatial sociology and politics, build on each other but the chapters can be, quite comfortably, read separately. The headings subsume current discussions. Convergence, for instance, is introduced as an amalgam of communication, migration and consumer culture. However, the texts evolve from the starting point of their headings: Abstraction, for example, ends with a contrasting portrayal of informality.

Methodologically, we are faced with the paradox situation of the usage of terms that are filled with significance in the discussion that Fiedler engages the reader in – despite the fact that the content is sketchy. *Brazilianisation*, for example, is presented as the opposite of Americanisation in a rather propagandistic characterization and the metaphor of terms employed partly usurps and substitutes the rational. In response, Lars Lerup's foreword is not only an introduction to but also an interaction with the text. Under the premise of inter-textuality it becomes clear why Lerup interprets Americanisation according to a Spanish-American tradition and why he metaphorically juxtaposes the term Samba with selva. This leads to another metaphorical layer embodied by Felipe II's 1573 Royal Ordinances

Concerning the Layout of New Towns. These needed neither plans nor drawings to suggest something universal in a manuscript that is extremely brief when measured against the vastness of its subject. Lerup seems to imply that the the Ordinances' *audacious proposition*, namely that entire cities can be built using a simple text, has a contemporary equivalent in Fiedler's proposition to explain present day global urbanisation.

But none of this is what the book is ultimately about: Urbanisation, unlimited contrasts different modes of spatial production in order to convince the reader that Urbanisation is happening – the title of Fiedler's foreword – and attaches images as well as causal, descriptive and normative considerations to this process.

Fiedler does this in a deliberately essayistic style – offering an analysis based on his personal opinion that contains intellectual gems, great insights and very useful digestions of contemporary urban discourses – but also abbreviations, assumptions and blind spots that require leaps of faith on behalf of the reader.

Yet, overall, the balance is definitely positive and despite the dangers and negative consequences of urbanisation (*Dispersion, Gentrification, Hegemony, Privatisation, Segregation,* etc.), Fiedler closes his journey by highlighting the *Vitality* immanent in any emerging and open global society and the contribution that individual architecture can make to its progress. Fiedler's journey relies on many considerations and interests. Engaging with his thoughts can be rewarding and will contribute to a better understanding of current patterns of global spatial production.

<div align="right">Oliver Schetter</div>
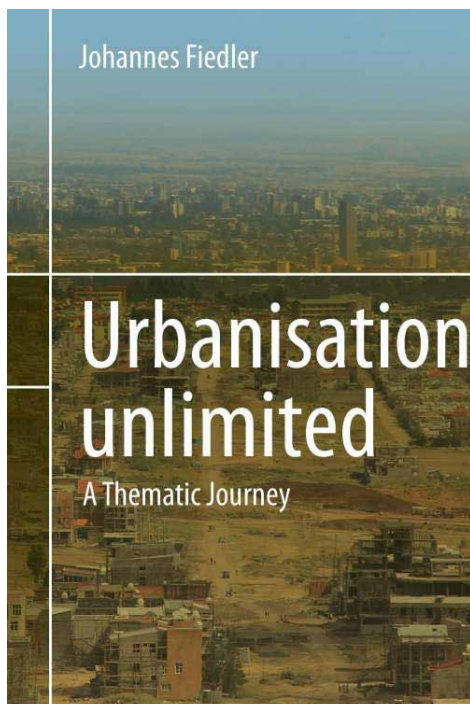
Call for Papers

Neighbourhood Development in the Global South

<div align="center">June 16-17, 2016, Kassel</div>

<div align="center">**Joint annual conference**</div>

<div align="center">TRIALOG e. V. and
Department of Urban Regeneration and Planning, University of Kassel</div>

Conference information

June 16-17, 2016, the Department of Urban Regeneration and Planning at the School of Architecture, Urban Planning and Landscape Planning of the University of Kassel will hold its annual conference on urban regeneration in cooperation with TRIALOG e. V., the Association for Scientific Research into Planning and Building in the Developing World and the working group on urban regeneration at German-speaking institutes of higher learning. For this year's conference we call for papers on the subject of neighbourhood development and urban regeneration strategies in the Global South. Papers to be presented during the event may subsequently be published either in *TRIALOG – A Journal for Planning and Building in a Global Context*, or *Jahrbuch Stadterneuerung*, the urban regeneration yearbook, published by the working group on urban regeneration.

Target audience and expected format

Papers should relate to one or more of the following questions. As conference organizers we are especially interested in contributions that are scientifically grounded, able to sharpen problem perception, stimulate professional debate, or present research on urban regeneration policies and practices, including possible solutions for topical problems.

During the conference each speaker will be given 20 minutes to present his or her topic. Afterwards there will be a short discussion of each presentation. Contributions may either be made in German or English and should be suitable for subsequent publication.

Central questions

- Which urban regeneration policies and upgrading strategies are pursued by state and non-state actors, including those funded by international donors?
- Which national or local policies have contributed to the emergence of sustainable neighbourhoods?
- Which were the most severe bottlenecks in the realization of promising renewal plans?
- How did neighbourhoods, which emerged without basic urban infrastructure, develop into decent places to live?
- What are the technical, legal and fiscal challenges of formalizing, regularizing and retrofitting neighbourhoods that emerged without official approval, and how could they be overcome?
- How can educational and health standards in poor neighbourhoods be raised and what's the role of urban planners and architects in this context?
- What is the role of public space in neighbourhood development and which innovative forms of place-making could be observed?
- Which forms of governance and social organization have facilitated such upgrading experiences?
- How successful were they in terms of improving the lives of a given community while avoiding displacement in the process?

Contact:

Please submit an abstract of approximately 2,000-3,000 characters and a biographical note until 15.03.2016 to:

Universität Kassel
Fachgebiet Stadterneuerung - Stadtumbau
Stadterneuerungstagung 2016
Gottschalkstr. 22
34109 Kassel, Germany
Email: <schimanski@asl.uni-kassel.de>

Additional information on *Jahrbuch Stadterneuerung* and the conference will be published at <www.uni-kassel.de/go/fg-stadterneuerung>

Forthcoming Events / Veranstaltungen

March 16 – 18, 2016 in Prague, Czech Rep.
Habitat III Europe Regional Meeting "European Habitat" will debate regional priorities for the New Urban Agenda. Participation is open for all. Final "Prague Declaration" from European Habitat will be considered official inputs to the Habitat III process. Organised by the Ministry of Local Development, Czech Republic. Venue: Prague Congress Centre. More information: <www.europeanhabitat.com>; or: <www.habitat3.org/prague>

March 31 – April 1, 2016 in Lisbon, Portugal
International Journal of E-Planning Research 2016 Annual Conference. Organized by the Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning, University of Lisbon, Portugal, endorsed by The International Society of City and Regional Planners (ISOCARP). Venue: University of Lisbon, Cidade Universitária (university campus), Edifício IGOT. Contact: Carlos Nunes Silva, Email: <ijepr.conference@gmail.com>; <https://sites.google.com/site/ijepr2016conference/>

April 07 – 08, 2016 in Johannesburg, South Africa
Habitat III Thematic Meeting "Informal Settlements" will debate about Informal Settlement and will deliver policy recommendations in the form of a final participants' declaration, that will be considered official input to the New Urban Agenda.
Contact: <www.habitat3.org/johannesburg>

April 11 – 12, 2016 in Doha, Qatar
5th Annual Arab Future Cities Summit. Smart Solutions for Sustainable Cities. Leading Smart City event in the Middle East. Venue: The Ritz-Carlton, Doha West Bay Lagoon – Qatar. Contact: Expotrade Middle East FZ-LLC 1002, Al Thuraya Tower 2, PO Box 500686 Dubai, U.A.E. Phone +9714 4542135, Email <info@expotrade-me.com>

May 12 – 13, 2016 in Weimar, Germany
"Wohnen für alle?! Wissenschaftliche Perspektiven auf Architektur, Planung und Politik." Organisiert vom Institut für Europäische Urbanistik, Bauhaus-Universität Weimar, in Kooperation mit der Hermann-Henselmann-Stiftung, gefördert durch die RLS. Contact: Justin Kadi, Email: <justin.kadi@uni-weimar.de>; <http://engagiertewissenschaft.de/de/newsletter-beitrag/121305_TAgung_Wohnen_fuer_alle_Wissenschaftliche_Perspektiven_auf_Architektur_Pla>

May 28 – Nov. 27, 2016 in Venice, Italy
"Reporting from the Front." 15th International Architecture Exhibition at La Biennale di Venezia. Curated by Alejandro Aravena. Contact: Art & Architecture. Phone +39 041 5218711. <aav@labiennale.org>; <www.labiennale.org>; <www.labiennale.org/en/architecture/exhibition/15iae.html>;

May 31 – June 02, 2016 in Berlin, Germany
Metropolitan Solutions, promoted as "world's biggest combined smart-city conference and expo". Organized by Deutsche Messe AG, with the ICLEI World Secretariat, the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and others. Venue: City Cube Berlin. Contact: <www.metropolitansolutions.de/en/program/at-a-glance/>

June 01 – 02, 2016 in Berlin, Germany
German Habitat Forum: Urban Solutions. An international dialogue forum to exchange ideas and provide useful impulses ahead of the Habitat III World Conference. The forum will provide a platform for discussion on how to design sustainable solutions for cities in the future, and look at key aspects of 'mobility' and 'urban infrastructure'. Organised by BMZ, GIZ and Land Berlin. Venue: City Cube Berlin. Contact: BMZ, Division 312, Franz-B. Marré. Phone +49 30 185350.
<www.german-habitat-forum.de/english/>

June 03 – 08, 2016 in Montreal, Canada
"What Does Heritage Change?" Association of Critical Heritage Studies Third Biennial Conference. Organized by the Canada Research Chair in Urban Heritage at University of Quebec in Montreal, in collaboration with Concordia University and the Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling.
<https://achs2016.uqam.ca/en/>

June 16 – 17, 2016 in Kassel, Germany
"Neighbourhood development in the Global South": **Joint Annual Conference of TRIALOG and Jahrbuch Stadterneuerung.** Hosted by the Department of Urban Regeneration and Planning of University of Kassel. Contact: Prof. Dr.-Ing. Uwe Altrock, Email: <altrock@asl.uni-kassel.de> / Gerhard Kienast, Phone +49 561/804-2413. Email <kienast@asl.uni-kassel.de>; <www.uni-kassel.de/go/fg-stadterneuerung>

Forthcoming Events / Veranstaltungen

June 29 – July 1, 2016 in Krakow, Poland
"Moving Cities: Contested Views on Urban Life": European Sociological Association (ESA) Research Network 37 (Urban Sociology) Midterm Conference. Keynote speakers: Saskia Sassen & others. Hosted by the Jagiellonian University, Krakow.
Contact: <esamovingcities@gmail.com>; more information: <http://esarn37.hypotheses.org/>

July 03 – 08, 2016 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
"Global crisis, planning and challenges to spatial justice in the North and in the South": IV World Planning Schools Congress. Organized by the Global Planning Education Network (GPEAN) and the Institute of Urban and Regional Research and Planning (IPPUR) at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ). Contact: <wpsc2016@cmeventos.com.br>;

July 04 – 07, 2016 in Madrid, Spain
International Conference: From CONTESTED_CITIES to global urban justice – critical dialogues. A forum of radical academics, practitioners and activists from different backgrounds coming together to probe the multiple forms of urban injustice that shape cities across the world. CONTESTED_CITIES is a network of researchers from Europe and Latin America that analyses and researches the processes of neoliberalisation of space, gentrification and social contestation. Contact: <mailto:ccc2016@contested-cities.net>; <www.contested-cities.net/congreso2016/en/home/>

July 06 – 08, 2016 in Bonn, Germany
"Resilient Cities 2016. 7th Global Forum on Urban Resilience and Adaptation" organized by ICLEI – Local Governments for Sustainability. Venue: Gustav-Stresemann-Institut (GSI), Bonn. Registration fees from 350 Euro (students) up to 960 Euro (regular fee). Contact: ICLEI World Secretariat, Kaiser-Friedrich-Str. 7, 53113 Bonn. Phone +49 228 97629928. <resilient.cities@iclei.org>; <http://resilientcities2016.iclei.org/about/>

July 12 – 24, 2016 in Alicante, Spain
Sustainable City 2016 – 11th International Conference on Urban Regeneration and Sustainability. Organised by Wessex Institute, UK and University of Alicante, Spain. Contact: Irene Moreno Millan, Wessex Institute, Ashurst Lodge, Ashurst Southampton, SO40 7AA. Phone +44 238 029 3223. <imoreno@wessex.ac.uk>; more information: <www.wessex.ac.uk/conferences/2016/sustainable-city-2016>

July 21 – 23, 2016 in Mexico-City, Mexico
"The transgressive city: Comparative perspectives on governance and the possibilities of everyday life in the emerging global city": RC21 Conference 2016. Organized by Research Committee 21 (RC21) on Sociology of Urban and Regional Development of the International Sociological Association (ISA) and El Colegio de México (Colmex). Contact: Julie-Anne Boudreau, Phone +55 (044) 55 1309 6143, <julie-anne.boudreau@ucs.inrs.ca>; contact for all event activities: <rc21ciudad2016@colmex.mx>; <http://rc21-mexico16.colmex.mx/>

July 25 – 27, 2016 in Surabaya, Indonesia
Third session of the Preparatory Committee of the third United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III). Contact / more information: <www.habitat3.org/the-new-urban-agenda/preparatory-committee>

August 09 – 14, 2016 in Montreal, Canada
World Social Forum (WSF) 2016. „Another world is needed – together it becomes possible." WSF 2016 is anchored in Montreal, with an extension in the world throughout 2016. Now it is possible to register in the fsm2016 website as person a consultation on thematic axes of WSF 2016. Drafting of the axes began in October 2015. Now well consolidated, it will end in late January 2016. Contact / more information: <https://fsm2016.org/en/>

August 30 – Sept. 2, 2016 in Nairobi, Kenya
SFC 2016. Sustainable Futures Conference: Architecture and Construction in the Global South. Hosted by UN-Habitat and the EU-funded university cooperation JENGA. Organised by Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture & Technology, School of Architecture and Building Science, Nairobi and University of Applied Sciences Augsburg, Faculty of Architecture and Civil Engineering. Contact: Phone +49 821 5586 2082. Email: <info@sfc2016.com>; Website: <www.sfc2016.com>

September 03 – 10, 2017 in Seoul, Korea
"Soul of the City": International Union of Architects (UIA) Congress hosted by the Federation of Institutes of Korean Architects (FIKA). Contact: General Secretariat of the International Union of Architects, Tour Maine Montparnasse - B.P. 158; 33, avenue du Maine, 75755 Paris, Cedex 15 France. Phone +33 1 4524 3688. Email: <uia@uia-architectes.org>; information: <www.uia.archi/en/s-informer/congres/10321>

September 04 – 07, 2016 in Bucharest, Romania
"City Transitions from a Totalitary Regime – A drama in three acts: Confusion, Hope and Lift off": 26th Annual Conference of the International Network for Urban Research and Action (INURA) followed by a four-day retreat for INURA members. Contact: INURA Office, Hardturmstr. 261, CH-8005 Zürich, Switzerland. Phone +41 - 44 - 563 86 91 or 92. Email: <contact@inura.org>; <www.inura.org/v2/index.php/activities/conferences/>

September 13 – 16, 2016 in Algarve, Portugal
"Sustainability and Innovation for the Future": 41st IAHS World Congress on Housing. Organized by the Institute for Research and Technological Development in Construction Sciences (ITeCons) of the University of Coimbra. Contact: Secretariat ITeCons, Rua Pedro Hispano, s/n, Pinhal de Marrocos, 3030-289 Coimbra. Phone +351 239 798949; Email: <iahs2016@itecons.uc.pt>; <www.itecons.uc.pt/projectos/iahs2016/>

September 13 – 16, 2016 in Durban, South Africa
"Cities we have vs. cities we need". 52nd Congress of the International Society of City and Regional Planners (ISOCARP). Contact: ISOCARP offices, The Hague, The Netherlands. Phone +31 70 346-2654. Email: <isocarp@isocarp.org>; more information: <http://isocarp.org/52nd-isocarp-congress/>

October 17 – 20, 2016 in Quito, Ecuador
Third United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III). Convened by the United Nations General Assembly. Habitat III stands to be the first implementing conference of the Post-2015 Agenda. It will result in a forward-looking and action-oriented document: the New Urban Agenda. More information: <www.habitat3.org>

October 17 – 20, 2016 in Quito, Ecuador
World Urban Social Forum at Habitat III. Organised by the Global Platform for the Right to the City. Contact: Phone +55 11 2174 6814, Email: <contact@right2city.org>, Facebook: Global Platform for the Right to the City; Twitter @Right2CityGP. More information: <www.righttothecityplatform.org.br/o-evento/>