

**THE ROLE OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION ON LIVELIHOOD IN BUGESERA  
DISTRICT, RWANDA**

**BY**

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## ABSTRACT

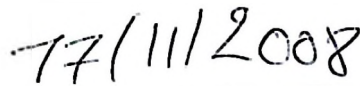
In 1994, the genocide had a devastating effect in Rwanda and particularly, for this study, It had worsened in Bugesera District by the exploding number of single-parent families (38% of women and several young orphans now head families). Worse still, the District has had to face prolonged and repeated drought since 1998, the direct consequences of which have been food insecurity and massive population movements. People are pursuing internal migration as a way of survival strategy. The general objective of this study was to determine the role of rural-urban in livelihood; specifically the study discussed the determinants of migration at the household level, the household wealth by migration status and the influence of rural-urban migration in development on the place of origin. The determinants of migration at household level provide a better understanding as to why some families participate in the migration process while others do not. The findings indicate that all the variables included in the analysis; age and the size of household have had significant relative risk on rural out-migration. Migration theories and livelihood approach were adopted to get insights on how poor migrants are making a living and how they have changed the access to assets as compared to the non-migrants' households. These issues were explained on the basis of Principal Component Analysis, which was developed to construct wealth index by migration status according to the reported level of assets ownership and living conditions. The study found that migrants' household were better off than non-migrants' household. In this study, rural-urban migration influences the development of the place of origin through remittances, which contributes simultaneously to the growth processes of the economy and improves the livelihood security of those who remain resident in rural areas. In relation to migration of the poor, government policy should build on knowledge about the transfer mechanisms and uses of remittances to support community-based credit, savings, and transfer and investment initiatives.

**DECLARATION**

I, Canisius Gakwandi, do hereby declare to the Senate of Sokoine University of Agriculture that, this dissertation is my own original work and it has not been or concurrently being submitted for a higher degree award in any other University.



\_\_\_\_\_  
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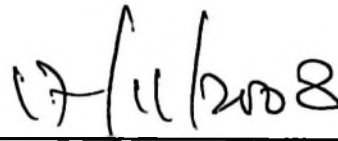


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The above declaration is confirmed



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**DEDICATION**

**To my father Rutaguranura Gahima Leopold and  
Late mother, Mukangwije Gaudence, may God rest her soul in eternal peace.**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	<b>ii</b>
<b>DECLARATION</b> .....	<b>iii</b>
<b>COPYRIGHT</b> .....	<b>iv</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b> .....	<b>v</b>
<b>DEDICATION</b> .....	<b>vii</b>
<b>DEDICATION</b> .....	<b>vii</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b> .....	<b>viii</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES</b> .....	<b>xii</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b> .....	<b>xiii</b>
<b>LIST OF APPENDICES</b> .....	<b>xiv</b>
<b>ABBREVIATIONS</b> .....	<b>xv</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>1.0 INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>1</b>
1.1 Background .....	1
1.2 Problem Statement.....	2
1.3 Significance of the Study.....	3
1.4 Objectives of the Study.....	6
1.4.1 General objective .....	6
1.4.2 Specific objectives .....	6
1.5 Hypotheses.....	6
1.5.1 Null hypothesis .....	6
<b>CHAPTER TWO</b> .....	<b>7</b>
<b>2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW</b> .....	<b>7</b>
2.1 Overview.....	7
2.2 Key Concepts .....	7
2.2.1 Development.....	7
2.2.2 Livelihood.....	8
2.2.3 Livelihood assets.....	8
2.2.4 Migration .....	8
2.2.5 Migrant household .....	9

2.3	Contextualising Migration .....	9
2.3.1	Push and pull factors approach for rural-urban migration .....	15
2.4	Conceptualising Livelihood .....	16
2.4.1	Migration as livelihood strategy .....	16
2.4.1	Livelihood assets on asset pentagon .....	17
2.4.1.1	Natural capital.....	18
2.4.1.2	Human capital.....	18
2.4.1.3	Financial capital.....	18
2.4.1.4	Physical capital .....	18
2.4.1.5	Social capital.....	19
2.4.2	Transforming structures and processes .....	19
2.4.3	Livelihood strategies .....	20
2.4.4	Vulnerability context.....	20
2.4.5	Livelihood outcomes .....	22
2.5	Link between Migration and Livelihood .....	22
2.6	Migration and Development in Area of Origin.....	33
2.7	Status of Research on Migration and Livelihood in Rwanda .....	38
2.7.1	Rwanda's main historical migration trends.....	39
2.7.1.1	During colonization period 1918-1959.....	39
2.7.1.2	Pre- Kayibanda Regime and during Kayibanda Regime 1962-1973 .....	40
2.7.1.3	Period during habyalimana regime 1974 - 1994 .....	40
2.7.1.4	Assessment of recent inflows and outflows for Rwanda underlying population movements .....	41
2.7.1.5	Causes of migration .....	42
2.7.1.6	Migration and livelihood.....	43
2.7.1.7	Migration policies.....	43
2.7.1.8	Research gaps .....	45
<b>CHAPTER THREE .....</b>		<b>46</b>
3.0	<b>RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....</b>	<b>46</b>
3.1	Overview.....	46
3.2	Area of the study .....	46
3.3	Research Design.....	47

3.3	Sampling Procedures .....	49
3.3.1	The population of Bugesera.....	49
3.3.2	The sample.....	49
3.3.3	Sample size .....	49
3.3.4	Sampling technique.....	50
3.4	Data Collection and Instrumentation.....	50
3.4.1	Primary data.....	50
3.4.2	Secondary data .....	51
3.5	Data Processing and Analysis .....	51
3.5.1	General data management .....	51
3.5.2	Measuring household welfare status .....	52
3.4.3	Wealth index .....	52
3.6	Challenges in the Field .....	54
<b>CHAPTER FOUR.....</b>		<b>56</b>
4.0	<b>RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS.....</b>	<b>56</b>
4.1	Overview.....	56
4.2	Background Characteristics of the Study Population.....	56
4.2.1	Age .....	57
4.2.2	Sex distribution of population study .....	58
4.2.3	Household size .....	59
4.2.4	Marital status .....	59
4.2.5	Education .....	59
4.2.6	Occupation.....	60
4.2.7	Religion .....	60
4.3	Determinants of Migration at the Household Level.....	60
4.3.1	Reasons for leaving home .....	62
4.3.2	Place of migration .....	63
4.4	Livelihood Strategy .....	64
4.4.1	Composition of household headships.....	64
4.4.2	Livelihood assets.....	65
4.4.3	Social capital.....	67
4.4.4	Financial capital.....	68

4.5	Comparison of Welfare being Between Migrants and Non-Migrants	
	Households.....	69
4.5.1	Wealth index.....	69
4.5.2	Relationship between migrant households and non-migrant households and household welfare status.....	73
4.6	Influence of Rural-urban Migration in the Area of Origin.....	74
4.6.1	Livelihood outcomes.....	74
4.6.2	Building capital assets.....	75
4.6.3	Managing risk and vulnerability.....	77
<b>CHAPTER FIVE.....</b>		<b>82</b>
5.0	<b>CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....</b>	<b>82</b>
5.1	Overview.....	82
5.2	Summary of the Major Findings.....	82
5.2.1	Determinants of migration at the household level.....	82
5.2.2	Comparison of welfare being between migrants and non-migrant households.....	82
5.2.3	Influence of rural out-migration in the area of origin.....	83
5.4	Recommendations.....	84
5.5	Areas for Future Research.....	85
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>		<b>86</b>
<b>APPENDICES.....</b>		<b>95</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1:	Background characteristics of the respondents .....	58
Table 2:	Age and household size by migration status of the respondents .....	62
Table 3:	Reasons for leaving home .....	63
Table 4:	Reasons of choosing Kigali city as area of destination.....	63
Table 5:	Household headship compositions.....	65
Table 6:	Mean age and mean household size by migration status of the respondents.....	66
Table 7:	Socio-economic characteristics of heads households by migration status.....	67
Table 8:	Factor analysis results for wealth index construct variables for sampled respondents.....	71
Table 9:	Ownership of household variables (%).....	72
Table 10:	Welfare quintiles.....	72
Table 11:	Distribution of welfare quintile by migration status.....	73
Table 12:	Income status after involvement in rural out-migration.....	76
Table 13:	Distribution of migrants household's responses to overcome problems .....	79

**LIST OF FIGURES**

<b>Figure 1:</b>	<b>Food insecurity (% of food insecure households) in Rwanda by food economy zone .....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Figure 2:</b>	<b>DFID's Livelihood Framework .....</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Figure 3:</b>	<b>Map of Rwanda showing Bugesera District.....</b>	<b>48</b>

**LIST OF APPENDICES**

<b>Appendix 1: Interview guide of migrants' households .....</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>Appendix 2: Operational definitions of variables .....</b>	<b>100</b>

## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>ADB</b>	<b>African Development Bank</b>
<b>PDD</b>	<b>Plan de Development du District /District Development Plan</b>
<b>DFID</b>	<b>Department for International Development (UK)</b>
<b>GOR</b>	<b>Government of Rwanda</b>
<b>ha</b>	<b>Hectare</b>
<b>PRSP</b>	<b>Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper</b>
<b>PADAB</b>	<b>Projet d'Appui de Developpement d'Agriculture de Bugesera District</b> <b>The Bugesera Agricultural Development Support Project</b>
<b>IDPs</b>	<b>Internally Displaced People</b>
<b>IIED</b>	<b>International Institute for Environment and Development</b>
<b>ILO</b>	<b>International Labour Organisation</b>
<b>IMF</b>	<b>International Monetary Fund</b>
<b>IOM</b>	<b>International Organisation for Migration</b>
<b>MEFP</b>	<b>Memorandum of Economic and Financial Policies</b>
<b>MHH</b>	<b>Migrant Household</b>
<b>N-MM</b>	<b>Non-migrant household</b>
<b>NISR</b>	<b>National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda</b>
<b>NGO</b>	<b>Non-Governmental Organisation</b>
<b>OECD</b>	<b>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</b>
<b>PPA</b>	<b>Participatory Poverty Assessment</b>
<b>RGDN</b>	<b>Rwanda Global Diaspora Network</b>
<b>RGPH</b>	<b>Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat</b>
<b>TOKEN</b>	<b>Transfer of Knowledge and Technical Expertise Network</b>

<b>UN/NU</b>	<b>United Nations/Nations Unies</b>
<b>UNDESA</b>	<b>United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs</b>
<b>UNDP</b>	<b>United Nations Development Programme</b>
<b>UNHCR</b>	<b>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</b>
<b>USAID</b>	<b>United States Agency for International Development</b>
<b>USD</b>	<b>United States Dollar</b>
<b>USDOS</b>	<b>United States Department Of State</b>

## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background

Poverty, unproductive land, few employment opportunities, and the simple need to survive often lead to the break up of rural communities. Those who can, head for the towns and cities to look for work. The number of people living and working in the cities in the world is rapidly increasing. In 2008 more than half its human population, 3.3 billion people, will be living in urban areas. By 2030 the towns and cities of developing world will make up 81% of urban humanity (USAID, 2005).

In Rwanda, like any other developing country, there is ample evidence to suggest that the level of urbanization is increasing. The proportional of people living in urban has increased to 6.2% in 2000 and it is projected to increase to 10.5% by 2020 (UNFPA, 2007). With a population density of 322 persons/km<sup>2</sup>, the availability of land is among the country's chief constraints. It has a population of about 8 million people, 17% of whom are urban dwellers while 82% are rural dwellers (NISR, 2007).

The rural – urban migration in Rwanda is a function of a number of factors. Conflict and social crises experienced since 1959, have resulted in the loss of human lives and the destruction of ecosystems. Rural livelihoods in Bugesera District have gone through profound changes since the 1980s as drought; environmental degradation and population growth have put pressure on livelihood systems (NISR, 2007).

The recent and most flagrant case is the war that prevailed since 1990 and culminated in the 1994 Genocide and massacres. On the other hand, big numbers of returning refugees of

the 1959 war from neighboring countries contributed to reduce land tenure due to the fact that they ought to share the scarce land with the local population. The rapid population growth is another factor that prompted some family members to migrate because of their intention to diversify economic activity in formal and informal sectors other than agriculture that could not be enhanced in their areas.

An overarching proposition is that mobility has overwhelming positive impacts on processes of change. This is equally true historically as it is today. It is mobility that ensures that labour supply meets labour demand at the junctions of economic systems in which dynamic forward momentum is occurring. It is also mobility that results in the interchange of new ideas across different locations, the acquisition of new knowledge and skills by those who move, the transfer of financial resources back from more dynamic to less dynamic areas, the potential to diversify livelihoods and thereby reduce livelihood risks and vulnerability in both urban and rural areas (Ellis *et al.*, 2004).

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

Rwanda is a country with limited terrain (26,338 km<sup>2</sup>) and a population of 8.2 million that gives it the highest population density in Africa (USAID, 2005). Today, however, with a per capita income of US \$ 272 (NISR, 2007), the country's food situation is more fragile. It is further worsened by the demographic pressure and vagaries of the weather, having little access to land, in a predominantly agrarian society, leaves the landless with few alternatives to survive. In this case Migration has become an important livelihood strategy for many poor groups in Rwanda. Consequently, Kigali, the capital of the country, is facing a rapid urbanization since it is the only city which provides many opportunities in services and goods (USAID, 2005). Despite the government's effort in formulating poverty eradication programs, especially her aim to reduce the population working in agricultural

subsistence from 90% to 50% for modern agriculture in two decades (USAID, 2005) in order to achieve its Vision 2020, policy-makers have tended to perceive migration largely as a problem, posing a threat to social and economic stability and have, therefore, tried to control it, rather than viewing it as an important livelihood option for the poor.

Access to land is limited that nearly all poor young view migration as the main and perhaps only livelihoods option to support majority of the people. Thus for poverty reduction in Rwanda rural-urban migration can not be overlooked. This is particularly the issue of expanding income generating activities and evolving an elaborate new form of poverty reduction. Thus is in line with government's effort in formulating poverty eradication programs, especially her aim to reduce the population working in agricultural subsistence from 90% to 50% for modern agriculture in two decades in order to achieve its Vision 2020.

The research is needed on links between migration and livelihood such that migration issues can be integrated in to the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) and rural development strategies. The country is striving to achieve set targets for reducing poverty levels in the country (more marked in the rural areas) are currently above 60% (NISR, 2007). Hence enabling rural population to diversify their livelihoods through migration could enable the country to achieve Vision 2020.

### **1.3 Significance of the Study**

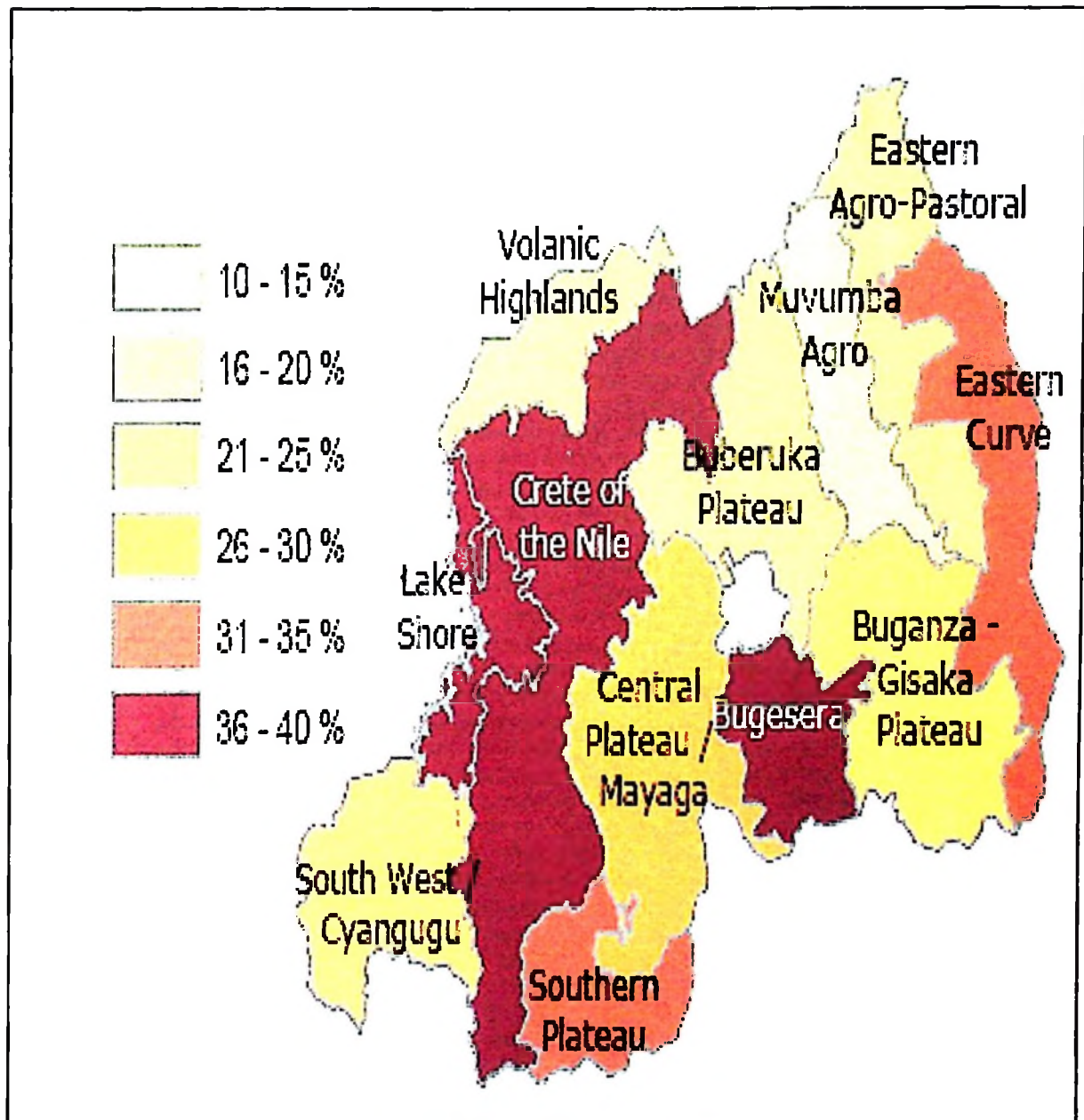
Bugesera District, in which this research was intended to be done, was severely affected by the 1994 Genocide. As a result, the number of single-parent families exploded 38% of women and several young orphans now head families. In addition, Bugesera District has had to live with prolonged and repeated drought since 1998, resulting in food insecurity

and massive population movements. On several occasions, the Government appealed for food aid for the region's malnourished. A total of 150 000 persons in need of food relief have been registered (ADB, 2006).

According to the Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis (CFSVA), 52% of households are food insecure or vulnerable (NISR, 2007). Food insecurity is found all over the country but tends to be concentrated in the Western and Southern provinces (Figure 1). It is highest among agricultural labourers and those with 'marginal livelihoods' including those dependent on social transfers and female-headed households.

Off-farm employment has long been seen by farm residents as a way to bridge the income gap among them that arises from stagnating farm production and growing population pressure. In Rwanda, where population density in certain regions approaches 400 persons per km<sup>2</sup>, subdivision and further fragmentation of land has led many households to supplement their incomes through employment in the non-farm sector of the rural economy (NISR, 2007).

The study, thus, will provide insights into some hidden dimensions of migration and how it is embedded in development. This research addresses internal voluntary migration for paid work. It includes both permanent and temporary migration rural-urban. Thus it does not include forced removal and relocation of people under development and social engineering programme, or displacement by war and civil unrest.



**Figure 1: Food insecurity (% of food insecure households) in Rwanda by food economy zone.**

Source: NISR and World Food Programme (2007).

## **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

### **1.4.1 General objective**

The general objective of the study is to examine the role of rural-urban migration on livelihoods in the area of origin of migrants.

### **1.4.2 Specific objectives**

Specifically the study intends to:

- 1 identify the determinants of migration at the household level
- 2 compare migrant and non- migrant's household's income
- 3 identify how rural-urban migration influence development of area of origin

## **1.5 Hypotheses**

The following hypotheses were tested by the study.

### **1.5.1 Null hypothesis**

Wealth status does not differ between migrant' households and non-migrant households.

### **1.5.2 Alternative hypothesis**

Wealth status differs between migrant' households and non-migrant households.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Overview**

The literature review intended to examine the links between poverty and migration. It investigates poverty and vulnerability as causes of migration. This chapter consists of four sections. In the first section, key concepts have been defined. In the second section, migration theories are introduced to conceptualize migration. In the third section, the livelihood approach and its different elements e.g. asset pentagon, outcomes, vulnerability contexts, structures and processes have been introduced. The fourth section presents an analytical approach, which relates to different theories (migration theories and livelihood approach) and facilitates the analysis. Finally the fifth section reviews status of research on migration and livelihood in Rwanda

#### **2.2 Key Concepts**

It is important to define some key concepts that have been used in this study. Those key concepts are defined in the following.

##### **2.2.1 Development**

Development is a gradual evolution, improvement, or growth in the social, economic, political, environmental conditions of a state, region or an individual. Development is human well-being, including individual civil and political liberties, as well as meeting the physical and material needs of human society. Human development is about increasing peoples' choices and creating an enabling environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive and creative lives in accordance with their needs (UNDP, 2002).

### **2.2.2 Livelihood**

A livelihood is considered to consist of the assets, activities, and entitlements that enable people to make a living. Assets are designed by human capital, social capital, natural capital, and physical capital (Ellis *et al.*, 2004).

*"A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living."* (Ellis *et al.*, 2004).

### **2.2.3 Livelihood assets**

Livelihood assets are the basic building blocks upon which households are able to undertake production, engage in labour markets, and participate in reciprocal exchange with other households (Ellis *et al.*, 2004). In other words it can be described as stocks of capital that can be utilized directly, or indirectly, to generate the means of survival of the household or to sustain its material well-being. In this study, the focus has been give to human capital, social capital, and financial capital.

### **2.2.4 Migration**

Migration has been defined as permanent form of geographical or spatial mobility that involves a permanent or semi-permanent change of usual place of residence between geographical units. Change must be between defined geographical units. Movement within country referred as in-migration and movement out an area is called out-migration, while moves between countries are immigration and emigration (Ellis *et al.*, 2004). In this study, migration has been used as both temporarily and permanent movement of people (individual and whole family).

### **2.2.5 Migrant household**

A modified definition of household was adopted. A household has been defined as a dwelling unit where a group of persons usually live together and takes food from a common kitchen. It, however, includes those who live outside the village but claim the household to be their own. Persons of this category work outside the villages and often send remittances. Such persons are called the migrated members of the household and such households are known as migrant households (Ellis *et al.*, 2004).

### **2.3 Contextualising Migration**

The economic theory of migration has its historical roots in models of development (Lewis, 1954). According to this theory rural-urban migration is caused by geographic differences in the supply and demand for labour. Migration is possible due to assumptions of wage differentials between rural and urban areas, full unemployment, zero transfer costs and reinvestment of urban enterprise profits into production.

In reaction to some limitations of the Lewis Model, especially the assumption of full employment, the Harris-Todaro Model (1970) and its extensions have been crucial in modelling rural-to-urban migration in less developed countries. The underlying micro-foundations of these models are that expected wage in urban areas is the driving force of rural migrants. Williamson (1988) mentions that wage differentials alone matter, but also important is the incorporation of the rate of return to migration and the elasticity estimation of the response of migrants to wage differentials in migration models. Since the Harris-Todaro Model and many other researchers have extended the model by incorporating new factors that will increase the choices of individuals to migrate (land markets in Bruekner and Hyun, (2001) or trade and welfare policies in Choi, Baladi and Chen, (2001).

Economic theory focuses on migration as a rational choice. In the Harris-Todaro Model, labour migration is modeled in the context of inter-sectoral (rural-urban) wage inequality. Migration decisions are made by rational self-interested individuals looking for higher paid work in urban areas and migration occurs if the economic benefits in terms of expected wages at urban destination – accounting for risk of initial spell of unemployment – exceed economic costs of moving and of foregone wages at rural origin (Lucas, 1997). Rationality implies that individuals with better education, skills and labour market experience have a comparative advantage in job search at destination labour markets, and therefore are more likely to migrate.

Thus migration is seen as a selective, rather than random process, and whilst migrants 'self select' in this way, the same logic of rationality implies that non-migrants do not move because their comparative advantage lies in staying (Tunali 2000 cited by Bruekner *et al.*, 2001). Consequently, it can be derived that other things being equal, migrants are more likely to be from ex ante better-off groups, who are more likely to be better educated and skilled, and non-migrants from worse-off groups.

Furthermore, because poorer households face tighter financial constraints, migration costs limit the set of available destination choices, and therefore the potential benefits which might discourage mobility. The negative impacts of financial or asset poverty are likely to be compounded in low income countries by incomplete financial markets.

According to theory, migration selection equations should be modeled as a function of the costs of migrating, relative wages between source and destination, and factors determining the probability of finding work such as employment rates and individual educational attainment. Most evidence from macro-level migration equations show that average wages

at destination have a positive effect on migration, and average wages at origin and distance (as a proxy for migration costs) have negative impacts (Lucas, 1997). A consistent result of micro equations is that own (or parents') education and labour market experience significantly enhance migration probability (Lanzona, 1998; Tunali, 2000; cited by Bruckner *et al.*, 2001).

However, due to lack of adequate panel data, and because household surveys usually limit questions to members that currently reside in the household, micro studies of the impact of migration on well-being may be unable to analyse the impact of wage inequality or initial income and wealth on migration propensity, although some include macro-level regional variables as crude indicators of initial conditions at origin where data are available, Tunali (2000) finds the level of development of the province of origin to reduce migration probability.

At the micro-level, the choice of migrating is explained by an individual decision-making process (Todaro, 1989) usually under uncertainty (Smith, 1979). Where it is based on a cost-benefit analysis, migrants take the migration decision only when they expect a positive net return, usually monetary (Sjaastad, 1962). Bigsten (1996) argues that this may be a more relevant perspective in the case of permanent migration. In recent years, these assumptions have been challenged by the New Economics of Migration (Stark and Bloom, 1985). A key insight of this later approach is that migration decisions are not made by isolated individual actors but within larger units of interrelated people, typically families. Households, subjected to risk, capital market imperfections or relative deprivation, enter into implicit contractual arrangements with migrants in which they fund the costs of migration and/or education and migrants subsequently provide remittances or savings in return.

Altruism and/or the expectation of subsequent benefits such as inheritance provide incentives for migrants to honour their side of the obligation. Families act collectively not only to maximize expected income but also to minimize risks to income, acquire social status within an embedded hierarchy and overcome a variety of market failures like capital and credits markets (Stark, 1991, and Stark and Taylor, 1989). Recent studies have modeled the migration choice being made from a self-selected group with observable single characteristics such as skills, education, age, marital status, among others (Richard *et al.*, 2004).

Portes (1995) has further approached migration as a question of long-term economic adaptation. Migrants are viewed not only as individuals carrying their personal skills, but also as members of groups and participants in broader social structures that affect in multiple ways their economic mobility. A migrant network sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in the place of origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and community origin (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996 cit by Richard *et al.*, 2004). They increase the likelihood of internal movement because they lower the cost and risks of moving and increase the expected net returns to migrate. Network connections constitute a social resource that people draw on to gain access to various kinds of financial capital: employment, high wages, the possibility of saving and sending remittances to their place of origin (Wood, 2003).

More generally there has been significant economic research on income diversification in rural areas. Rural households diversify income sources by allocating labour for non-farm activities occurring locally or, in the case of migration, in other localities. This is in response to diminishing returns to labour or land, or failure of or missing markets for land, labour, credit or insurance, as an *ex ante* risk management strategy or *ex post* coping

strategy (Ellis *et al.*, 2004). However, opportunities for income diversification which often lead to improved earnings and consumption are rarely accessible to the rural poor, and even more rarely to the poorest. Recent empirical evidence (Ellis *et al.*, 2004) of positive relationships between household welfare and income diversification in rural areas (including remittances) indicates that barriers to entry into higher return activities, particularly for the less educated, leave the poor with less diversified asset and income portfolios.

Reardon (1997 cited by Ellis *et al.*, 2004) reviews twenty three case studies from sub-Saharan Africa and finds that on average non-farm income accounts for a substantial 45% of total rural income, although the share varies widely by locality. Poorer households have about half the share of non-farm income and much lower total non-farm earnings, suggesting that there are significant impediments to poor rural households accessing such sources of income. Household earnings from migration (including remittances) are on average low in relation to other non-farm income sources, but there is a significant variation, with migratory income and local non-farm income forming roughly equal shares of total income in studies in Botswana, Namibia, South Africa and among Zimbabwe's poor (for Zimbabwe's non-poor local non-farm incomes are twice as important). Reardon (1997) notes that the share of migration in total non-farm earnings is greater in areas with poor agro-climates and in areas near major cities, mines or plantations; for example, migration earnings were about three-quarters of total non-farm earnings in areas near major cities, and only one-fifth in other areas.

Reardon (1997, cited by Ellis *et al.*, 2004) suggests that important factors determining households' abilities to access non-farm activities are wealth, which also may provide

access to more profitable migration activities, as well as family size and structure, which affects households' abilities to supply non-farm labour.

Evidence on migration propensity of different income or asset groups is, however, mixed. This review has already noted evidence suggesting a non-linear, or potentially concave relationship between income or wealth and migration – that migration may not be an available choice for the poorest due to prohibitive costs, but is enabled as income or wealth increases above some threshold, until higher income or wealth levels where migration is no longer necessary. Banerjee and Kanbur (1981) found evidence for an inverted-U relationship between initial income and migration in interstate rural to urban migration in India. Adams (1993) also claims to find evidence for an inverted-U relationship between initial household income and migration probability. However, the result is based on estimates of predicted household income prior to migration obtained by calculating fitted values for migrant households using coefficient estimates from an income regression of the non-migrant sample, which does not statistically control for selectivity in the migration decision, e.g. by implementing the Heckman procedure (although the study implicitly indicates that selectivity effects are likely to be minimal since migration is generally of unskilled labour).

The possible effect of income on migration is outweighed by the negative impact of land farmed, indicating asset poverty to be a more important migration determinant. Other studies have indicated limited evidence for any relationship between income/wealth and migration, or even the opposite – e.g. Lipton (1980, cited by De Haan, 2002) argues that 'better-off' migrants are 'pulled' towards fairly firm prospects of a job (or education), whereas the poor are 'pushed' by rural poverty and labour-replacing methods. This suggests a more complex relationship due to interactions with other migration determinants such as

human capital and social networks (Lucas, 1997), as Bigsten (1996) found in a study of rural residents in Kenya, in which land and income are insignificant whereas size of household labour force and social contacts (as measured by migration of other households in the same survey cluster) were highly significant determinants of circular migration.

### **2.3.1 Push and pull factors approach for rural-urban migration**

Push and Pull factors approach is a combination of neo-classical and Todarian approaches. Lee (1966) develops a general scheme into which a variety of spatial movements can be placed. Based on the arguments, he has divided the forces influencing migrant perceptions into 'negative' and 'positive' factors. The former are 'push' factors tending to force migrants to leave origin areas, while the latter are 'pull' factors attracting migrants to destination areas in the expectation of improving their standard of living.

According to Lee (1966), the positive factors could be more important than the negative factors. Negative (push) factors including, the difficulties in rural areas such as poverty, unemployment, land shortages are driving forces that urge the farmers to leave their homeland to find a new place to settle and to work. These push factors are basic factors which induce migration. The 'positive (pull) factors' refer to job or income opportunities outside the farmers' homeland, which are so attractive that people want to achieve them. Therefore, the job and income opportunities in urban areas are pulling factors that pull the people to settle and to work. Although migration can occur either by 'push' or 'pull' factors, Lee assumes migration mostly is a result of a combination of both. Hence, an unfavorable situation in the origin, for example, war and conflict can also be taken as push factors to induce rural-urban migration. In many developing countries, especially in Rwanda, rural-urban migration is taking place because of armed conflict, seasonality, and unemployment of the youth (ADB, 2006).

## **2.4 Conceptualising Livelihood**

Livelihoods approach views the world from the point of view of the individuals, households and social groups who are trying to make a living in volatile conditions and with limited assets. It provides a framework for understanding the opportunities and assets available to poor people and the sources of their vulnerability, as well as the impact upon them of external organizations, processes and policies. The idea of a livelihoods framework as a tool for analysis is simply to capture the main elements, which comprise the complex livelihoods of people at a given point in time, and ideally the course and dynamics of change in livelihoods as well (Chambers cited by Schafer, 2002). According to Chambers, the basic elements of most livelihoods frameworks are:

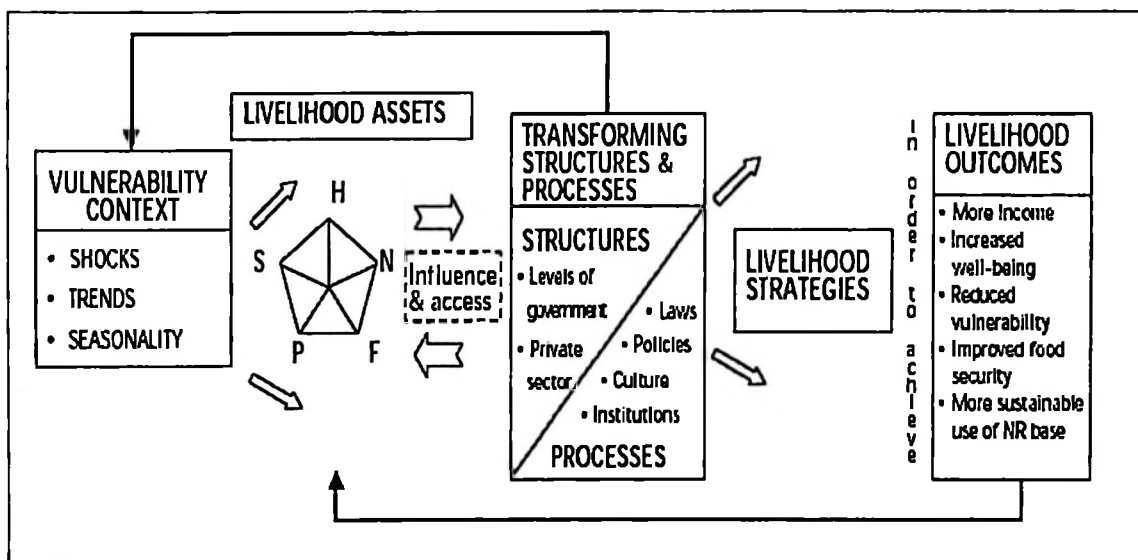
- Livelihood resources: what people have, variously referred to as stocks and stores, assets and capital (both tangible and intangible),
- Livelihood strategies: what people do (e.g. agriculture, wage labour, migration),
- Livelihood outcomes: what goals they are pursuing, the living that results from their activities.

Livelihood assets are the basic building blocks upon which households are able to undertake production, engage in labour markets, and participate in reciprocal exchange with other households (Ellis *et al.*, 2004). In other words they can be described as stocks of capital that can be utilized directly, or indirectly, to generate the means of survival of the household or to sustain its material well-being at different levels above survival.

### **2.4.1 Migration as livelihood strategy**

This study applied the sustainable livelihood framework (SLF). SLF (Figure 2) has been developed to help to understand and to analyse the livelihoods of the poor (DFID, 2008). A sustainable livelihood offers a conceptual framework for understanding causes of poverty,

analyzing relationships between relevant factors at different levels, and prioritizing interventions. The approach requires going beyond sectoral barriers, to look at more of the context in which people live (DFID 2008; Ellis *et al.*, 2004). The SLF considers five assets or type of capital namely, natural, human, physical, financial and social. It also integrates vulnerability context and livelihood strategies.



**Figure 2:: DFID's Livelihood Framework**

#### 2.4.1 Livelihood assets on asset pentagon

Livelihood assets are the basic building blocks upon which households are able to undertake production, engage in labour markets, and participate in reciprocal exchange with other households (Ellis *et al.*, 2004). In other words it can be described as stocks of capital that can be utilized directly, or indirectly, to generate the means of survival of the household or to sustain its material well-being at different levels above survival. Ellis *et al.* (2004) identified five assets or types of "capital" namely, natural, human, financial, physical, and social.

#### **2.4.1.1 Natural capital**

DFID (2008) defines natural capital as a capital made up of the natural resources of air, land, soil, minerals, water, plant and animal life that people use. It can be measured in terms of quantity or quality (e.g. acreage, head of cattle, diversity, and fertility). In this study, land area size and tenure were analyzed and descriptive statistics acquired.

#### **2.4.1.2 Human capital**

Human capital is perhaps the most important factor. It is the people who are both object and subject of development. For DFID (2008), human capital is that part of human resources determined by people's qualities such as: personalities, attitudes, aptitudes, skills, knowledge, and physical, mental and spiritual health. It enables individuals to work or pursue some source of livelihoods.

#### **2.4.1.3 Financial capital**

Financial capital refers to stocks of money to which the household has access. This is chiefly likely to be savings, and access to credit in the form of loans. Neither money savings nor loans are directly productive forms of capital, they owe their role in the asset portfolio of households to their convertibility into other form of capital, or, indeed, directly into consumption (Ellis *et al.*, 2004). These are available to people in the forms of savings, supplies of credit or regular remittances or pensions which enables people to pursue their livelihoods.

#### **2.4.1.4 Physical capital**

Physical assets comprise capitals that are created by economic production processes. Buildings, irrigation canals, roads, tools, machines, communications, and so on physical assets. In economic terms, physical capital is defined as a producer good as contrasted to a

consumer good. For example, roads have multiple effects in reducing the spatial costs of transactions in resources and outputs. They also facilitate movement of people between places offering different income earning opportunities (Ellis *et al.*, 2004). Thus, this is the capitals which are available to the people that enable them to earn their livelihoods.

#### **2.4.1.5 Social capital**

It is social networks system where the individuals and households can produce livelihoods through the relations e.g. community, family. Ellis *et al.* (2004) have defined social capital as 'the internal rules, norms and long-term relationship that facilitate coordinated actions and enable people to undertake co-operative ventures for mutual advantages. According to, Ellis *et al.* (2004) social capital can be defined as the 'features of social organizations, such as networks, norms, and trust that facilitate action and co-operation for mutual benefits. Social capital is that of human resources determined by relationships people have with others. These relationships may be between family members, friends, workers, communities and organizations, and can be defined by their purpose and qualities such as trust, closeness, strength, flexibility (DFID, 2008). In the SLF, social capital entails the social networks and associations to which people belong. In this context, social capital is taken to mean the social resources upon which people draw in seeking for livelihood outcomes, such as networks and connectedness that increase people trust and ability to cooperate or membership in groups and their systems of rules, norms and sanction.

#### **2.4.2 Transforming structures and processes**

It is important to understand the structures or organizations, and the processes such as laws, policies, societal norms, and incentives while dealing on livelihood issues. Access, control and use of assets are influenced by the institutional structures and processes. An understanding of structures and processes provides the link between the micro (individual,

household and community) and the macro (regional, government, powerful private enterprise) (Ellis *et al.*, 2004). Such an understanding helps to identify areas where restrictions, barriers or constraints occur and explain social process that could impact on livelihood sustainability.

#### **2.4.3 Livelihood strategies**

Livelihood strategies are the way in which people adopt different activities for survival in different socio-economic and environmental settings. According to Ellis *et al.* (2004), livelihood strategies are composed of activities that generate the means of household survival. Ellis *et al.* (2004) identify three types of rural livelihood strategies: agricultural intensification or extensification, livelihood diversification including, both paid employment and rural enterprises, and migration (including income generation and remittances). Ellis *et al.* (2004) list these categories of livelihood strategies as natural resource based, non-natural resource based including, migration and remittances and other transfers.

#### **2.4.4 Vulnerability context**

For poor households the interaction between internal livelihood components and the external influences typically reveals a pattern of vulnerability. The concept of vulnerability in the African rural setting has been the subject of a great deal of attention over the last 10 years. The most commonly used definition of vulnerability is that of Chambers:

*“Vulnerability here refers to exposure to contingencies and stress, and difficulty in coping with them. Vulnerability thus has two sides: an external side of risks, shocks and stress to which an individual is subject; and an internal side which is defenselessness, meaning a*

*lack of means to cope without damaging loss.*" (Chambers 1989:1 cited by Ellis *et al.*, 2004).

The external side of vulnerability has dimensions of shock, trend or cycle (e.g. seasonality, ethnic conflicts). Shocks are associated with the ability of livelihoods to cope while trends are associated with the adaptability of livelihoods (Ellis *et al.*, 2004). In Rwanda some of these shocks and trends are general in the sense that they affect large areas or populations. Recent droughts in Bugesera district and an associated climatic trend would be an example of this.

The internal side of vulnerability is linked with net assets, and the rates at which these can be converted into consumption outcomes through activities. Ellis *et al.* urge that Vulnerability is closely linked to asset ownership. The means of resistance are the assets and entitlements that individuals, households, or communities can mobilise and manage in the face of hardship. The more assets people have, the less vulnerable they are, and the greater the erosion of people's assets, the greater their insecurity.

Households and individuals will have different and varying degrees of access to, and thus different portfolios of assets. However not only do fewer assets equate to greater vulnerability, but also lower potential for substitution between assets and activities makes livelihoods more vulnerable, especially to shocks. Assets that can readily be liquidated and used to purchase more appropriate assets provide for greater livelihood flexibility (Ellis *et al.*, 2004). Substitution within asset categories can also occur. One notable example relates to the re-allocation of labour between domestic and outside earning opportunities in response to changing circumstance. With access to different portfolios of diverse assets,

individuals and households will consequently respond in different ways to given livelihood shocks or trends.

#### **2.4.5 Livelihood outcomes**

That option chosen to create conditions so that people particularly of Bugersera district can attain their life requirements and aspirations is a livelihood strategy that people enable them to pursue through their assets which are, according to DFID (2008), what people use to gain a living. They are the core aspects of a livelihood. Then livelihood assets and migration are combined to produce several livelihood outcomes. So utilization of livelihood capitals leads to livelihood outcomes that will improve not only the well-being but also reduce poverty in its broadest sense (DFID, 2008).

From this perspective, the outcome variable in this study is household' wealth (through Income diversification and enhancement should enable migrants and their families at the origin to better cope with shocks and uncertainty).

#### **2.5 Link between Migration and Livelihood**

There is a wealth of literature on migration and development which indicates that there is significant population mobility in the developing world and that migration is a complex phenomenon occurring over a wide variety of spatial and temporal contexts and for many material and non-material reasons. Whereas economic theories, focus on migration as a choice of people who wish to better their economic circumstances, in much sociological and anthropological literature, migration has been seen in a negative context, occurring as a last resort of the poor in response to economic, demographic and environmental shocks, and leading to their exploitation and further impoverishment (De Haan, 2002). In recent years there has been an expansion of interest in a more balanced approach to migration in

the context of the sustainable livelihoods framework (De Haan, 2002). This emphasizes that: 1) whilst migration does occur in response to crisis for some, it is also a central livelihood strategy for many people in the face of physical, economic, social and political adversity; 2) and the impact of poverty and vulnerability on migration and implications of migration for well-being are highly context specific.

Households in developing countries often undertake multiple livelihood strategies in order to diversify livelihood sources in the context of social, economic, political, environmental and historical circumstances. The sustainable livelihoods framework analyses how households and communities are enabled to pursue, or disabled from following, different livelihood strategies, including migration, in response to prevailing conditions and how this impacts on their well-being and vulnerability to adverse circumstances. Of particular importance to this process is access to different forms of 'livelihood resources' (human, physical, social and environmental capital) and the role 'formal and informal institutions and organisations' play in facilitating or impeding access to alternative livelihood strategies (Ellis *et al.*, 2004).

In contrast to economic theories, which tend to view migration as a response to disequilibria such as inter-sectoral wage disparity, a livelihoods approach views migration as one of a set of strategies that households and communities use to diversify and support well-being (De Haan, 2002). The livelihoods framework refers to a broad spectrum of migration causation, encompassing monetary and non-monetary factors, and voluntary and forced migration, where decision-making occurs within a broad context of factors at the micro-level (individual and household circumstances and decision making), meso-level (socio-economic conditions at the source and destination areas) and macro-level (speed

and unevenness of the development process and national and international policy environment) (Russell *et al.*, 1990).

Migration represent is a key livelihood diversification and survival strategy for poor and non-poor households in many parts of the world. The extent and characteristics of migration are, however, context specific, as indicated by studies reviewed here of sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and Central America. In resource poor areas, out-migration may be the main source of improved livelihoods and well-being. For example, in risky environmental such rural dry-lands, entire communities may follow circular migration routes. Other households or communities facing similar conditions may send out excess labour seasonally to provide remittances or accumulate savings, which could be used to maintain consumption during slack seasons, provide insurance against shocks or fund investment. This is the case of Bugesera District where, according to the Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis (CFSVA), 52% of households are food insecure or vulnerable (NISR, 2007). Food insecurity is found all over the country but tends to be concentrated in the Western and Southern provinces (Figure 1). It is highest among agricultural labourers and those with 'marginal livelihoods' including those dependent on social transfers and female-headed households.

Severe poverty may 'force' people to undertake permanent migration, potentially aggravating deprivation where there is no insurance against livelihood failure. Migration processes are often embedded in social or cultural relations for historical reasons and facilitated through kinship networks. This may involve promotion of mobility among certain demographic and ethnic groups and exclusion of others.

Adverse circumstances combine with inadequate social support and livelihood security to make the poor highly vulnerable to food insecurity and other adverse effects from risk, shocks and stress (Ellis *et al.*, 2004). Therefore, the poor are most likely to require livelihood diversification strategies such as migration. However, the key implication of the livelihoods framework is that the poor are a diverse group, with differential access to resources and institutions, and therefore different capacities to undertake strategies such as migration. The causal effects of poverty on migration choices, and subsequent implications of migration for well-being, are complicated by several factors:

- a) The option of migrating is not available to all poor people, least of all to the chronically and severely poor. The ability to adopt migration as a livelihood strategy is affected by the degree of social inclusion/exclusion, reflected in access to and control over resources. Russell *et al.* (1990) argue that many non-moving individuals and households from a sending area are likely to be, or become, chronically poor. They are unable, unless 'forced', to choose migration to ameliorate their circumstances due to prohibitive financial and economic costs, as well as such factors as limited access to networks and disadvantage in terms of skills, knowledge and physical mobility.
- b) This leads to a second complication, namely that boundaries between voluntary and involuntary migration are blurred by the effect that extreme poverty can have on coercing population movement (whilst the decision to move may be technically 'voluntary', the severely or chronically poor may have no feasible alternative survival choice). To some extent, this corresponds to the difference between 'push' and 'pull' factors. Ellis *et al.* (2004) notes that, there is a big difference between livelihood diversification out of choice where migration represents an attractive

alternative and out of necessity where migration is a last resort. The implication is that in the latter case migration is likely to exacerbate poverty and vulnerability. Severely destitute people may be unable to make informed choices about destination where they lack knowledge and social capital, and destination choices will be restricted by financial deficiency. As documented in urban Bangladesh by Wood (2003), poorer migrants may have to borrow at high interest rates to fund costs of moving or living expenses, for example during an immediate post-migratory period before wages are received, which exacerbates their own poverty and vulnerability as well as that of any non-migrants depending on them for remittance transfers.

- c) It is extremely difficult to separate cause and effect when analysing links between poverty and migration due to the impact that migration can have on improving or deteriorating welfare for migrants and non-migrants at destination and source over time. Poverty may induce people to migrate in order to improve their livelihoods but may in turn result in them becoming further impoverished and more vulnerable. Certain households or communities involved in migrant networks may derive long-term benefits that obscure causal relationships between initial wellbeing and mobility. De Haan (2002) document that better-off households from one Malian village had profited from an extensive migrant network in neighbouring Côte d'Ivoire.

Migration has economic and social costs that require access to and control over resources. Russell *et al.* (1990) presents a useful analysis of how poor people's migration choices are impaired by different forms of social exclusion which result from inequitable access to different capital resources and institutions. These include economic assets (e.g. land

ownership, savings), human capital (e.g. education, skills, age), social capital (e.g. kinship networks), cultural capital (e.g. ethnicity, caste, gender, language), geography (e.g. natural environment, rural remoteness) and political capital (e.g. political participation and citizenship). Furthermore, the various types of exclusion that result from lack of control over these different types of resources interact and reinforce one another, further constraining livelihood choices for the poorest.

Ownership of economic assets such as land and livestock and financial savings are often important determinants of whether an individual or household on the one hand needs (or is sufficiently risk averse) to pursue livelihood diversification through migration, and on the other can afford the financial costs of migrating (in the presence of credit market imperfections that limit opportunities for borrowing). For these reasons, the poorest (as well as the wealthiest) households may be less than proportionately represented in migration flows. Evidence from India as well as sub-Saharan Africa indicates that although the poor have higher migration propensities, the poorest often cannot afford the material costs of migrating (De Haan, 2002). However, as stressed by De Haan (2002), the impact of poverty and vulnerability on migration incentives is context dependent, and evidence shows that there are significant differences within countries and regions.

Rural out-migration is often perceived to be the result of poverty, particularly in the case of seasonal migration, in which the poor migrate in search of alternative livelihoods in response to the deleterious effects of, for example, the dry season on agricultural production and livelihoods, impairing home production and increasing vulnerability. Studies of Mali and Niger have found that in such conditions it is the most destitute who migrate seasonally, and the limited benefits are outweighed by loss of production and weakened social networks that result from out-migration (Hampshire, 2002 cited by Hugh

*et al.*, 2003). Hampshire's research on the Fulani ethnic group in Burkina Faso's Sahel Region takes vulnerability approach to poverty measurement, using ownership of physical assets (cattle) through which household saving/dissaving is mediated, and human assets (household size and number of adult men), and finds that inter-regional migration is more likely to occur among men from wealthier households. Those with limited assets are precluded from choosing migration as a livelihood strategy due to the substantial costs involved in migrating and the opportunity costs of labour. They also experience lower economic returns because they have little or no access to more profitable activities during migration such as animal trading, and cannot afford to travel over a wide area or for long periods in order to maximise returns. Local livelihood diversification strategies are less costly in terms of assets, potentially less risky, and therefore more feasible for the asset poor. Hampshire notes that it is when asset poor households are 'forced' to migrate through lack of alternatives that negative impacts on sending households and communities occur.

In a study of two Malian villages, De Haan *et al.* (2002) find that the majority of seasonal migration is undertaken among households ranked in the 'middle group' in terms of available assets, with less well off households having fewer migrants, probably due to lack of available spare labour given their heightened vulnerability. They also note that permanent migration is rare and restricted to severely poor households. De Haan *et al.* (2002) find evidence for a concave relationship between wealth and livelihood diversification in Uganda where the 'very poor' (the landless and asset deprived) were unable to diversify, the 'poor' and 'average' pursue the most diverse livelihood strategies, and finally the 'rich' usually had a narrower livelihood range. De Haan *et al.* (2002) find that higher income households receive a higher share of income from remittances in rural Zimbabwe, whereas the severely poor, who shifted away from reliance on remittances as the main source of income during the 1990s, receive the lowest share. In contrast, in three

Ethiopian sites, De Haan (2002) find an inverse relationship between land and livestock ownership and migration, suggesting that it is the poorer that migrate more, although migration is seldom from households that did not own any land at all.

Migrants from two sites in Bangladesh were less likely to be from landless households and on average owned more land than households without migrants, although the differences were small and varied according to locality, and international migrants in particular were from better off households in terms of landholdings. De Haan (2002) finds evidence from Bihar suggesting land ownership to be an insignificant determinant of migration, although he notes that studies in other Indian states have shown the opposite. The impact of (asset) poverty on migration is highly context dependent in India, partly, it appears, because of the effect of forms of social exclusion such as the caste system that segment migration or certain types of migration to particular groups (De Haan, 2002).

Social capital is often cited as a significant determinant of population mobility, particularly due to 'segmentation' of migration streams between specific regions of origin and destination due to kinship and other networks (De Haan, 2002). Social networks and affiliations with formal institutions such as trade unions and community based organisations facilitate labour migration, for example by providing initial accommodation and employment at destination or information on employment opportunities facilitating job search. Migration may be too risky an option for poor communities lacking developed social networks with migration destinations. Certain individuals and households living in traditional sending localities may be discriminated against because of issues of culture and identity such as gender, ethnicity, religion and caste, which may disable opportunities if migration is not seen to be socially or culturally acceptable. Certain cultural groups may lack access to migrant networks, where these develop within cultural boundaries. For

example, among the Fulani ethnic group in Burkina Faso migration was traditionally restricted to the high status class, although the increase in migration propensity among low status households in recent decades has diminished such distinctions (Hampshire, 2002 cited by Hugh *et al.*, 2003).

Alternatively, migration may be the only option available to certain groups who are excluded from profitable work at origin. De Haan *et al.* (2002) study opportunities and experiences of seasonal rural to urban migration among Scheduled Tribe populations in western India. Urban informal sector work is highly 'ethnically' differentiated; with tribes people limited to low pay, unskilled, less secure work at destination. However, within the tribal group, the poor and better off have different experiences of migration. Whereas migration among the better off is used to manage risk and build assets, migration is more common among poorer people and often leads to labour 'bondage' or sale of assets. The poorer are more likely to undertake long-term migration of entire households to service debt accumulated at high interest rates for subsistence purposes. Because of this, migration often serves to increase intra-community inequality among Scheduled Tribe communities (De Haan *et al.*, 2002).

Domestic and familial responsibilities as well as traditional divisions of labour limit migration opportunities for women, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. For example, (Hampshire, 2002 cited by Hugh *et al.*, 2003) found that Fulani women have inequitable access to migration networks used by men. Furthermore, relatively low levels of education and lower wages at destination discourage female migration, as Agesa (1999) who found that for rural to urban migration in Kenya. The impact of widespread male labour migration can lead to long term disempowerment of women who become dependent on men for cash, as evidenced in Bihar in India as well as parts of eastern and southern Africa

(Lucas, 1997). In other regions such as Latin America, and countries like the Philippines, the majority of rural-urban migrants are women, possibly because daughters send more remittances than sons (Lauby *et al.*, 1988, cited by Lucas, 1997).

Human capital in terms of education, skills, knowledge, age and health determines access to economic opportunities. Individual human capital therefore has long been seen as a key determinant of migration probability, and there is a significant amount of evidence indicating that those with better education and skills have a comparative advantage in destination labour markets and are more likely to migrate (Lucas, 1997). This suggests that the better off are likely to be represented disproportionately highly in migration streams. However, educational attainment may be of limited significance in migration decisions where other assets are important. The study of sites in Bangladesh, Ethiopia and Mali by De Haan (2002) found that differences between migrants and non-migrants in terms of education were limited, whereas differences in migration propensities could be explained by physical asset holdings. Somewhat surprisingly, given the likelihood that costs of international migration exceed costs of internal migration, Adams (1993) regression analysis of male international migration from Egypt indicated that the effect of education, which had no significant effect on migration (as most migrants worked in unskilled employment), was overwhelmed by the impact of landlessness combined with agricultural employment which 'pushed' people abroad.

Total labour supply available within the household is also likely to be an important determinant of whether the household has excess labour capacity and can therefore afford to send migrants out without adversely affecting domestic production. According to Reardon (1997, cited by Ellis *et al.*, 2004) migration and other forms of non-farm activity in Africa are concentrated in the dry season when household labour is not required for

farming. This is particularly true for poorer food insecure households who cannot free labour for other activities during the rainy season due to the need to ensure their own food stocks for fear of food market failure.

Another important determinant of poverty and vulnerability as well as migration choice is geography. Those with limited access to environmental capital including natural and common property resources, or who live in risky natural environments, may be compelled to undertake migration as a livelihood diversification strategy. Poor people in geographically remote communities may be particularly vulnerable to external shocks where they have limited access to alternative livelihood strategies such as migration, due to being confronted with higher costs of travel to destination and lack of established social networks with destination communities.

Finally, political capital enables population mobility, most obviously through citizenship, allowing internal and external movement. The poor are more likely to be politically marginalised, and therefore by definition restricted from influencing existing migration policies that are more likely to restrict than promote movement (De Haan, 2002).

The impact of migration on migrant and non-migrant wellbeing at destination and origin also varies widely according to the context. For migrants, some may benefit from moving, but some may experience further impoverishment or move into poverty. Problems may arise where a destination region's capacity to absorb large flows of labour is limited. 'Migration myths' or exaggerated accounts of achievement at destination stimulate flows and further intensify problems of over-supply of labour in destination regions, leading new migrants to suffer from inadequate housing and employment and remain or become more vulnerable (Russell *et al.*, 1990). Loss of social support networks in such situations results

in migrants depending on exploitative patrons, such as mastaans in urban Bangladesh, who function as intermediaries between the vulnerable and more formal institutions, charging rents for access to employment, housing and services, security and high interest rates on loans, which in the long-term denies migrants independence and rights (Wood, 2003).

## 2.6 Migration and Development in Area of Origin

Perhaps least clarity exists about the effect of migration on the development of areas of origin, even though this is perhaps the most relevant question for development studies and policies. Most migration research has concentrated on the role of migrants at the place of destination, and much less is known about the areas of origin. De Mas (1991) even argues that the literature on Moroccan emigrants is characterized by an ethnocentric perspective; in any case it concentrates on areas of destination, and the same appears to be true for much of the literature on other migration streams (Appelyard, 1988). In the case of the Punjab, an area with a long tradition of out-migration, for example, very few studies trace the effects of migration and remittances on the villages of origin.

Development in the areas of origin usually goes hand-in-hand with migration, and expectations that rural development will decrease out-migration may be unjustified (though it is likely to change the conditions of migration and composition of migrants) (de Haan, 1997). In the Punjab, the Green Revolution occurred simultaneously with both high rates of out-migration as well as in-migration from Bihar and other poorer Indian states – a process that is little discussed in the literature. In China the development of rural enterprises appears to increase rates of out-migration (except amongst the more educated peasants) (Liang *et al.*, 1997), and Cole and Sanders' (1983) analysis of inter-state migration in Mexico suggests that the land reform had little effect on migration. When

Japan was developing into an urban industrial society, emigration was increasing (Schonefer, 2005).

Writings in the 'balanced growth' tradition (Ghosh, 1992) assumes that by alleviating unemployment and providing inputs such as remittances and skills, migration promotes development, narrows regional disparities and eventually makes migration unnecessary. Cashin *et al.* (1996) tests this hypothesis in India, and analyse the effect of internal migration on the convergence of per capita income of Indian states (i.e. initially poor states growing faster than rich). Regressions of rates of migration on real per capita income show that migration has made little contribution to this (De Haan, 1997). According to Barro and Sala-i-Martin (1992), there is no evidence that convergence across countries is due to international migration, and little evidence that internal migration helps eliminate regional disparities.

The idea of a simple trickle-down resulting from migration – of different types – has been much criticised. For example, Kabra (1997) challenges predictions that rural-urban migration would promote rural development through remittances, skill development, and the absorption of excess rural labour - with important policy implications relating to the classic urban bias. Irfan (1986) concludes from his analysis of migration from Pakistan: the "possibility of such mobility having an adverse repercussion on the economy of labour-exporting areas can hardly be ruled out." This contrasts with empirical studies, such as Firman's detailed description of households in villages near Yogyakarta (1994), pointing to the significant role of migration in the progress of the villages, as a mechanism of income redistribution, and perhaps primarily as subsistence for the rural family. Amjad (1989), though noting that international Asian migrants are not from the poorest strata, and that overseas employment may have an inflationary impact, still believes that migration has had

an overall favourable impact on poverty alleviation in Pakistan. Also, migrants contribute to building of schools or other community activities (Russell *et al.*, 1990).

Lipton (1980)] describes why rural-urban migration does not tend to equalise incomes, between or within regions. First, the selective nature of migration, providing higher returns to the better-off and better-educated, prevents equalisation within areas of origin. Second, there are costs and barriers associated with migration, including access to information about opportunities, which tends to steer the gains of migration to the rich. Third, absence of the most productive household members leads to a lowering of labour-intensity, which according to Lipton is socially maladaptive, especially in the medium run, while the rural work force is growing much faster than other, scarcer factors of production. Fourth, the volume of net remittances is usually low, and fifth, return migrants are likely to be the old, sick, and unsuccessful, and skills brought back are unlikely to be of much help.

Thus, unsurprisingly, there is little consensus in the literature about the relationship between migration and development. This is partly due to the theoretical complexity of the question, but it is also related to the variety of forms of migration that exist. Different migratory opportunities attract different groups of people, with varying social relations that structure their movements, possibly having different consequences. In this context, Ballard (1983) analysed, the effects of migration to Britain from two Punjabi districts, Jullundur in India and Mirpur in Pakistan. These two districts were strikingly different in economic success: Jullundur was booming, and Mirpur was stagnating. The emigration from Jullundur was not precipitated by grinding poverty, and neither was emigration the driving force of growth - but the remittances facilitated local entrepreneurial activity. In contrast, a similar flow of remittances precipitated economic decline and dependency in Mirpur.

These findings remind us that both the causes and consequences of migration are context dependent.

Remittances are amongst the most important aspects of migration, especially so for the migrants' areas of origin. There is now a large amount of literature on remittances, although general conclusions about both the amounts and uses of remittances differ. Overall, the evaluation of remittances has shifted since the 1970s, when there was much stress on the 'conspicuous consumption' of migrants and their relatives, towards more positive views, focusing, for example, upon the conditions needed to secure the investment of remittances.

De la Brière *et al.* (1997) argue that economic models to explain remittance behaviour are of two types. The first model, building on the work of Rosenzweig and others, focuses on an insurance contract between the migrant and the household left behind, as a means of coping with household risk. A variation of this is work that concentrates on migration and remittances as a form of portfolio diversification, where the options to receive remittances are weighed against the returns from local sources of income. The second model builds on literature about the bequest motive. This sees remittances as investments in household assets that the migrant will later inherit, which is supported by analysis of differences in remittance behaviour between men and women (caused by gender-differentiated inheritance rules). Stark's 1980 article on the role of urban-rural remittances in rural development, sets out how rural to urban migration of a family member by-passes credit and insurance markets, facilitating surplus accumulation and diversification of income sources. Stark *et al.* (1988) emphasise the sequential nature of migration and remittances, and the fact that remitting is inspired also by the hope of inheriting family possessions.

De Hann (2002) also found that average remittances were very low but were nevertheless vital to food security as a way to diversify risks and ensure support in times of harvest. There were large variations in the volume of remittances depending on occupations. Oberai *et al.* (1980) concluded that only six per cent of remittances flowing into the Indian Punjab were used for productive investment – though the remittances did improve the distribution of income. Findley (1997) concludes from an overview of African research that migration does not enable the families to make major improvements in their standards of living, and she noted that bi-directional exchanges of food and money are more important than previously assumed. Lakshmansamy (1990) quotes various Indian studies generally giving image of high remittances. Roberts (1997) quotes evidence for Chinese migrants from Hunan province that earned 100 *yuan* to 200 *yuan* per month and remitted an average of 1000 *yuan* per year. He also reports results from a 1993 survey, according to which migrants earned an average of 3649 *yuan* during 205 days worked away from home, while the rural per capita income was 922 *yuan*. Clearly, the amounts of remittances and their magnitude as a proportion of senders' and receivers' incomes, vary substantially from place to place.

Remittances from internal migration are even more difficult to estimate. Williamson (1988) suggests that urban-rural remittances range from 10 to 13 % of urban incomes in Africa, and are thought to be in the same order in Asia. Reardon's (1997) overview on the importance of the rural non-farm income in Africa (which was between 22 and 93 % of total rural incomes, with an average of 45 % over 25 case studies), notes that in areas which are not close to major cities, migration earnings constituted only 20 % of total non-farm earnings, whereas it was as high as 75 % of total non-farm earnings in areas close to major cities. Rempell *et al.* (1978) conclude that remittances accounted for up to 40 % of income of rural households, and Knowles *et al.* (1981) note similar proportions and

conclude that remittances are more important for poorer than richer households in Kenya. Adepoju *et al.* (1997) note that migrants often remit up to 60 % of their incomes, though Findley (1997) in the same volume quotes research showing that migrants remit between five and 15 % of their income.

Research, on the other hand, has emphasised the positive impact of remittances (Papademetriou *et al.*, 1991). Adams (1991) argues that the migrants' families in rural Egypt do not 'fritter away' but invest the remittances, for example to increase agricultural productivity. Although they do also invest in housing, the migrant households have a higher propensity to invest than households without migrants. His analysis of the role of remittances in rural Pakistan (Adams, 1996) indicates that different sources of remittances - very much like different sources of non-farm income (Adams, 1994) - have different effects. Remittances from international migration tend to increase inequality, whereas those from national migration have an equalising effect.

Thus, levels of remittances vary widely - depending on various factors such as accessibility of the home village, employment opportunities, costs of living, ease of remitting, and the 'orientation' of the migrant - and estimates are usually unreliable. Evidence on the way remittances are used also shows diversity. There is no doubt that remittances can have negative consequences, but the literature also clearly indicates that these are not always present. The evidence suggests that the way remittances are used depends on the form of migration, the characteristics of the migrants and those who stay behind (De haan, 2002).

## **2.7 Status of Research on Migration and Livelihood in Rwanda**

Compared with other African countries, rates of internal migration in Rwanda are low. This is related to the nature of Rwanda's geography and rural economy, but also to past

political controls on internal movement, which made it difficult for people to move especially in the 1980s and early 1990s (Richard *et al.*, 2004). Although there is no policy of control in place at present, there are still some reports of the authorities creating obstacles to movement and of problems in receiving communities. Reflecting this lack of internal movement, there are virtually no studies in Rwanda of the links between migration, poverty and livelihoods, the importance of remittances, or their intergenerational impacts.

## **2.7.1 Rwanda's main historical migration trends**

### **2.7.1.1 During colonization period 1918-1959**

There has been significant movement within, from and to Rwanda over past decades, especially forced migration due to conflict and famine. Labour migration, notably to the mines of DRC and plantations of Uganda, was important in the colonial and post-colonial period. Due to the complexities and scale of these historical population movements and a lack of statistics, it is difficult to obtain accurate figures on the inflows and outflows of Rwandan nationals' population movements (Richard *et al.*, 2004).

In this period, an unknown number of Rwandans left to work in the mines of Belgian Congo (DRC), the cotton plantations of East Africa and Burundi. In, 1959-61, the first major wave of Rwandan refugees, mainly Tutsi, fled to neighboring Tanzania, Uganda, Congo, and Burundi following the killings of Tutsi that accompanied the Hutu "revolution", the end of Tutsi monarchical rule and the transfer of power to the Hutu (Richard *et al.*, 2004).

### **2.7.1.2 Pre- Kayibanda Regime and during Kayibanda Regime 1962-1973**

The Belgian Roman Catholic Church favored the Tutsis, admiring Tutsi leadership qualities. The church evangelized also, beginning with the Tutsis, leading more Tutsis to share in the benefits that came with associating with the colonizers' Roman Catholic culture (Richard *et al.*, 2004).

King Yuhi Musinga was exiled to Democratic Republic of Congo by the Belgians after he refused to be baptized. He was succeeded by his son Mutara Rudahigwa who had received a seminary education. He was baptized and renamed Charles, and he sought to bring about political changes by allowing Hutus greater access to the positions of authority. Charles made many changes - in 1954 he distributed out the land between the Hutu and the Tutsi. After his death (killed by a Belgium doctor in Bujumbura in 1959 due to his efforts to bring independence to his country) , an increasingly restive Hutu population encouraged by the Belgian military, sparked a revolt in November 1959 resulting in the overthrow of King Kigeri V, the last Tutsi monarch, who fled to Uganda (Richard *et al.*, 2004).

On 25 September 1960, through United Nations intervention, a referendum was held to establish whether Rwanda should become a Republic or remain a Kingdom. The result indicated a support for a republic. After elections, the first Rwandese Republic was declared, with Gregoire Kayibanda as Prime Minister (Richard *et al.*, 2004). During this period more killings against Tutsi have been committed and more Tutsi to migrate in neighboring countries. Like Tanzania, Uganda, Congo Kinshasa and Burundi.

### **2.7.1.3 Period during habyalimana regime 1974 - 1994**

In Habyalimana Regime an unknown number of Rwandans left to work in Uganda's coffee Plantations (Pottier, 2002). Late in 1994 April to July, an estimated 800 000 Tutsi and

moderate Hutu were slaughtered and between 1993 and 1994 over 900 000 were displaced by the war and living in refugee camps (Richard *et al.*, 2004) into neighboring Congo (DRC) and Tanzania, with a big number of people guilty to have organised or participated in the 1994 Genocide.

#### **2.7.1.4 Assessment of recent inflows and outflows for Rwanda underlying population movements**

A recent website established by the Rwandan government estimates that there are more than 100 000 economically productive Rwandans outside the country, but this is widely thought to be an underestimate (NISR, 2007). Rwanda Information Exchange has previously given a figure of 300 000 and the Government, suggested the figure could be as high as 600 000 (NISR, 2007). As is the case with all such migration statistics, the problem is compounded by questions over whom to count. There are officially registered refugees and migrants, unregistered and self-settled refugees and migrants, asylum seekers, the children of Rwandan refugees or migrants born elsewhere, as well as those who are naturalised but consider themselves Rwandan and still maintain links. One author estimates that there were three point seven million people of Rwandan origin living in neighbouring countries – principally Congo DRC – in 1990, over and above official refugee figures (Ngendakumana, 1991 cited by Richard *et al.*, 2004).

UNDESA figures show huge inflows and outflows for Rwanda over the last decade, but this reflects the war, genocide and mass returns from 1994/98, and tells us little about underlying population movements ((Richard *et al.*, 2004). In contrast, Eurostat figures show that an average of just 694 Rwandan immigrants entered the EU each year from 1995-2001( *ibid*). According to UNHCR, there were 75 000 Rwandan refugees and asylum

seekers worldwide at the end of 2002, the majority in African countries –especially DRC and Uganda – with about 10 000 Rwandan refugees in OECD countries.

In terms of inflows, UNDESA figures gave a migrant stock of 89 000 in 2000, representing 1.2% of Rwanda's population. At the end of 2002, there were just fewer than 35 000 refugees, almost all from the DRC. Unlike most neighbouring countries, internal migration rates appear to be low. Household surveys in 2000-01 revealed only nine per cent of the population were living outside their province of birth (684 000 people). Kigali is the main destination, accounting for thirty seven per cent of internal migration (Richard *et al.* 20004).

Rwanda has not only produced large numbers of refugees, but also up to 650 000 IDPs at the peak of internal displacement in 1998. Officially there are no longer any IDPs in Rwanda as they have been resettled. However, in October 2001, a multi-agency mission including UN, donor and Rwandan government representatives found there were still some one hundred ninety two thousand people living in IDP-like conditions, and it seems unlikely that this number has since decreased. There are also problems of internal and international trafficking of women and children, especially for labour and prostitution (Richard *et al.*, 2004).

#### **2.7.1.5 Causes of migration**

The causes of migration include periodic or chronic food insecurity, land pressure due to population density and continuous division of household land and the chance of better employment, education and training opportunities (NISR, 2007). There is also some evidence from food security surveys of significant periodic and seasonal movement due to periodic or chronic food insecurity. Chronic food insecurity in a N-S band west of Kigali

(especially parts of Gikongoro, Butare and Gitarama) appears to have caused migration eastwards, and to provincial towns.

#### **2.7.1.6 Migration and livelihood**

At the present time, failed crops in Eastern Province (Bugesera district and parts of Kibungo) have also caused fairly significant movement to Umutara district and Kigali city. Whilst there are likely to be some migrant labourers working in the tea plantations of Butare and Gikongoro, there also appears to be a recent growth in rural-urban migration, focused almost entirely on Kigali (Richard *et al.*, 2004). Although urbanisation remains low in Rwanda at around 10%, the government's 2020 Vision Strategy anticipates that this will rise to 30% by 2020 (NISR, 2007).

IMF figures on international remittances are also sketchy and incomplete, suggesting just \$30 million between 1990-99, or just one per cent of all resource flows to the country. The Rwandan Ministry of Finance has however reported a figure of \$40 million in official remittances for 2001 alone, and admits this is likely to be a significant underestimate (Richard *et al.*, 2004).

#### **2.7.1.7 Migration policies**

The parts of the Rwandan government involved in migration issues and policy include:

- **General Direction for Immigration and Emigration in the National Security Office:** Focus is currently on immigration controls, although there are plans to make it a Migration Department with a mandate to oversee migration policy and strategy.
- **Ministry of Foreign Affairs:** Oversees issues to do with Rwandan refugees and migrants overseas and has a new diaspora and development desk. Looks after the Rwandan Global Diaspora Network (Richard *et al.*, 2004).

- **Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning:** Oversees remittance issues.
- **Ministry of Education:** Nominal brief on brain drain, but nothing done until now.
- **National Statistics Office:** Monitors national migration statistics, but for now limited to census results.
- **National Refugee Council:** Established four years ago to oversee asylum cases and draw up a new immigration and asylum law.

In 2001, the government launched the Rwanda Global Diaspora Network (RGDN). One of the aims of this network is to establish a Diaspora Investment Bank, to try to promote the productive investments and savings of the diaspora. The launch took place at the First Rwandan Diaspora Global Convention, held in Kigali in December 2001. There were 385 representatives from the Rwanda diaspora in 32 countries (Richard *et al.*, 2004).

One aim of the RGDN is to engage diaspora skills and knowledge to contribute to Rwanda's development. Rwanda is held a discussion with IOM about a possible return scheme, and also with UNDP, which is launching a TOKTEN programme that aims to bring back short-term volunteers in engineering, medicine, and education. This will focus on attracting qualified expatriate nationals as short-term volunteers, and the US\$5 million project has been designed with MINEDUC (Ministry of Education) and the Human Resource Development Agency (HRDA). DFID is considering giving some funding (Richard *et al.*, 2004).

Rwanda has signed and ratified the 1951 Convention on Refugees and 1967 protocol and ILO Convention 182 on Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour. It has also recently signed Protocols of the UN Convention against Transnational Organised Crime

including on Trafficking. It has not signed the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (Richard *et al.*, 2004).

Overall, Rwanda does not currently have explicit migration policies or activities in other areas such as migrant protection or trafficking, nor is there currently huge press attention to the issue. The PRSP makes a passing mention to the reintegration challenges since 1994 but does not specifically mention migration, whilst the PPA makes no mention of migration issues at all. Finally, Vision 2020 sets out some of the broad lines of the strategies of villagisation, land consolidation, urbanisation and decentralisation.

#### **2.7.1.8 Research gaps**

Although migration to Europe and North America is less significant in much of Rwandan than elsewhere on the continent, the government of Rwanda has recently shown interest in promoting links with diaspora groups. Whilst research on remittances in Rwanda on international migration, research on internal migration including on the levels of formal and informal remittances, remittance behaviour and possible schemes to promote productive use of remittances would also be of value.

Evidence suggests that internal migration can play an important role in poverty reduction and economic development. In fact, studies carried out in Rwanda are mainly destination based, and attention on effect of out-migration at individual or household levels of a particular origin is ignored (Richard *et al.*, 2004).

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Overview**

This Chapter describes the study area and methodology employed in the study. Section 3.1 describes the study area. Research design and procedures for sampling the population are outlined in section 3.2 and 3.3 respectively while section 3.4 describes the data collection process and the techniques used for data analysis are presented in section 3.5. Section 3.6 presents the challenges in the field.

#### **3.2 Area of the study**

Rwanda is a landlocked country located in Eastern Africa, bordered by the Democratic Republic of Congo on the West, Uganda to the North, Tanzania to the East and Burundi to the South. Approximately 11.5% of Rwandan households are without land. About 55% of agricultural holdings are on less than 0.5 ha. An estimated 21% of rural households hold between 0.5 and 1 ha and 12% of rural households hold between 1 and 1.5 ha. Only 6.5% of rural households hold more than 2 ha of land (NISR, 2007). By 2020, the present population of 8.1 million is projected to double to 16 million; this could reduce by half the already tiny plot sizes that average 0.6 ha per household, as well as increase the number of households which hold no land at all (NISR, 2007).

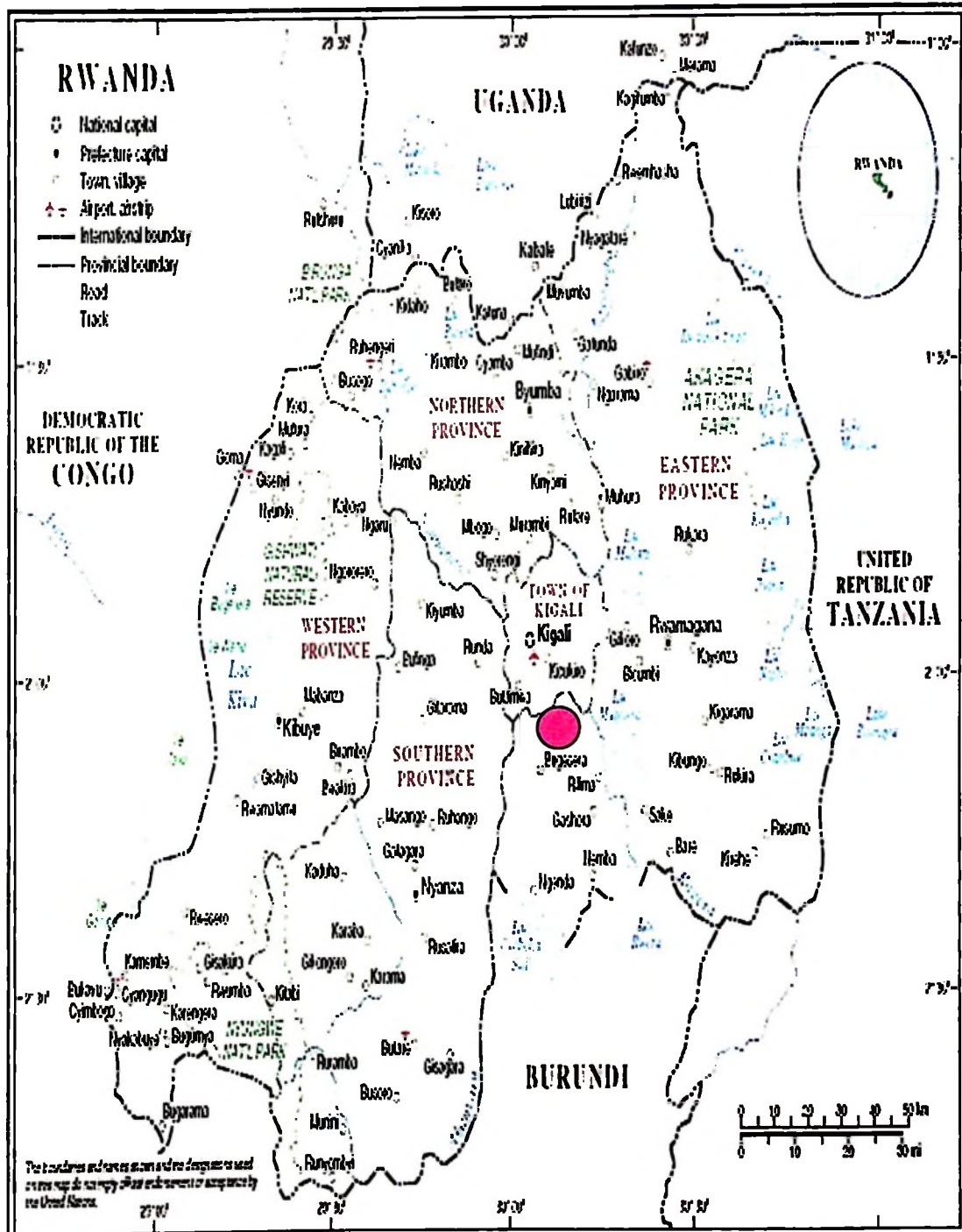
Bugesera District where this study was intended to be done, covers 1 334 km<sup>2</sup>, is situated in Southern-East of Rwanda. It is delimited in Northern-East by Akagera River, East by Akanyaru River and in South by lac Cyohoha and bordering by Burundi. In the past, Bugesera Region was the country's breadbasket as far as the major food crops were concerned (beans, sorghum, cassava, etc.). In 1994, the genocide had a devastating effect

on the region; in addition, Bugesera District has had to live with prolonged and repeated drought since 1998, resulting in food insecurity.

Rainfall is highly seasonal and the average precipitations are 810 mm per annum. The average temperature is 21°C. The agricultural sector is the backbone of the Bugesera District economy.

### **3.3 Research Design**

A cross-sectional research design has been used during the study. According to Bernard (1994) and Babbie (1999) the design allow data to be collected at single point in time since it employs a survey method and can be used for descriptive study as well as determination of relationships between variables. Due to limited resources such as time the selection of this research design was found necessary.



**Figure 3: Map of Rwanda showing Bugesera District,**

### **3.3 Sampling Procedures**

#### **3.3.1 The population of Bugesera**

Bugesera has a population growth rate of 2.37% it is projected to increase to 380 400 inhabitant in 2020. The population is young, with 65% of it inhabitant being between zero and 35 ages. Bugesera district, indeed, during the 1994 Genocide, it has lost a big party of its population estimated to 60 000 persons. As a result, the number of single-parent families exploded 38% of women and several young orphans now head families (PDD, 2008). Census conducted by Bugesera District in December 2006, shows that the total population is 274 113. Females being 142 134 (51.8%) against 131 917 of males (48.2%). 90% of its inhabitant is rural agrarian. 62% of its inhabitant is an active age (15-65 years) against 38% of inactive age (0-14 years and above 65 years) (PDD, 2008).

#### **3.3.2 The sample**

The sampling unit was the household. It was preferred as the ultimate sampling unit, since it is the most appropriate unit of measure when assessing the level of poverty and standards of living in a society (Blackwood *et al.*, 1994).

#### **3.3.3 Sample size**

A total size of 160 respondents was involved in the study from two villages (Ntarama village and Mayange village). In this study, a household comprised of both non-migrant households and migrant households and key informants. It was therefore selected on the principle that it meets research objectives and convenient to the researcher in terms of resource availability and study purpose.

### **3.3.4 Sampling technique**

Multistage technique was used during sampling to get require sample size. The selection of migrants and non-migrants' households was investigated because of lack of data on migration in the different level of administration (district offices and ward or *Umurenge* offices). Using purposive sampling technique, 160 people were selected guided by village register population, whereby 80 of them were migrant' households and 80 non-migrant' households. Simple random technique was used to obtain 120 respondents which is the study population size. To cover the information on migration, a modified definition of household was adopted. A household has been defined as a dwelling unit where a group of persons usually live together and takes food from a common kitchen. It, however, includes those who live outside the village but claim the household to be their own. Persons of this category who work outside the villages and often send remittances. Such persons are called the migrated members of the household and such households are known as migrant households. Naturally, complete household migration is not included in this study.

## **3.4 Data Collection and Instrumentation**

### **3.4.1 Primary data**

The main instrument used in collecting primary data in this study was the structured questionnaire containing both closed and open-ended questions focusing on livelihoods diversifications and development as the effect of out-migration. Open-ended questions were used to get in-depth information from the respondents.

The unstructured questionnaires were used to verify and supplement the survey information given by the studied households. This questionnaire involved the key informants. In this study three key informants: including one district authority in charge of socio-economic affairs, one secondary teacher and one church leader. The interviews were

conducted with them for the information regarding their views toward the role of rural-urban migration, policies and the consequences of out-migration (Appendix 1).

To ensure validity and reliability, the first draft of a questionnaire were pre-tested in ten households and key informants. Necessary changes were made on the basis of pre-testing results before administering the final questionnaire. This included restructuring of, and omission of some questions. The pre-tested households were not involved in the main survey.

### **3.4.2 Secondary data**

The information derived from secondary data can be very helpful to conceptualize and then contextualize the study. In this study, I have used secondary information from various sources, which include published and unpublished documentary sources; books, newspapers, articles etc. These were used to supplement the information obtained in the field.

Population data by NIRS (National Institute of Rwanda of Statistics) have been used to look at growth in Rwanda in general and Bugesera in particular. These give a picture of the socio-economic characteristics of the population in the study area. Furthermore, data recorded in the Bugesera office were collected to know the up-dated population size in the area.

## **3.5 Data Processing and Analysis**

### **3.5.1 General data management**

The questionnaires were designed to capture both quantitative and qualitative data on rural-urban linkages in terms of livelihoods diversifications. The collected primary data were

coded and analyzed using statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) software. Basically two methods of analysis were used, descriptive statistics and regression analysis. The Principal Component Analysis (PCA) has been employed to generate socio-economic quintiles and hence welfare categories. Descriptive statistics such as frequencies, percentages and means were determined. Cross tabulation involving Chi-square test were used to test association between demographic variables. This was also a major test significant relationship between some variables and wealth status with the two types of households.

### **3.5.2 Measuring household welfare status**

The outcome variable in this analysis is household well-being. The survey data set did not have income measures or consumption expenditures, which are conventionally used as indicators of household economic status. Also, the traditional concept of poverty, which places emphasis on income, has been identified in developing countries as too narrow (NISER, 2003), and often there are issues with the validity of income data due to reporting errors. Montgomery *et al.* (2000) have noted that in developing countries, households often draw their incomes from multiple sources that can change from year to year and even from season to season. The transitory nature of some employment, coupled with the uncertainty of net economic return, makes it implausible to regard any one year's income as representative of the incomes earned over the longer time span in which demographic decisions are made. In consideration of the above, sets of questions in the survey that relate to household well-being were used to construct household wealth index.

### **3.4.3 Wealth index**

The methodology for calculating wealth indices is by aggregating the various asset ownerships and housing characteristics variables basing on the method of principal

component analysis. According to Filmer *et al.* (1998) that household long run wealth is what causes the most common variation in assets variable. Then, the statistical procedure of principal components was used to determine the weight (scoring factor) for index of the asset variables and household main building characteristics. PCA is a technique for extracting from large number of variables those few orthogonal linear combinations of the variables that best capture the common information.

The asset variables considered in this analysis were related to main building quality (roofing, wall, floor, extra house), consumable durables (iron sheet, wooden bed, wood bed, spongy mattress and watch/wall clock) communication means (radio, bicycle) making a total of nineteen variables. The assets take value of one if it is owned and zero if otherwise in this procedure.

The result of principal component is an index and is for each household ( $A_j$ ) based on formula:

$$A_j = f_1 (a_{j1} - a_1) / (S_1) + \dots + f_N (a_{jN} - a_N) / (S_N)$$

Where:

$A_j$  = index for each household

$F$  = is the eigenvector (scoring factor) for the first asset as determined by the procedure

$a_{j1}$  = the  $j$ th household value of the first variable (one or zero)

$a_1$  and  $S_1$  are the mean and standard deviation respectively of value on the asset variable over all households.

The underlying assumption is that the household long –run wealth is what causes the most common variation in asset variables (Filmer *et al.*, 2001). This seem to be a better approach in assessing wealth compared to existing procedure based on expenditure and consumption data, and hence a better and convenient indicator of wealth. A variation to Filmer and Pritchett's approach is that we considered the components that make up at least 50% of variance from the principal components analysis. The sum of all 18 variable assets indices in the given household represented in its wealth index. The values obtained were used to compare with migration status.

### 3.6 Challenges in the Field

Field research is the process of getting information to acquire knowledge through interaction with people. Information that interviewees provide to the researcher depends on how much he/she could convince them about the issue and subject matter to acquire knowledge. It also depends on the issue of being an insider and outsider (Mohammad, 2000) to the researcher, and sometimes the role he/she plays in the field. Sometimes researchers have to face many challenges like language barrier, being stranger to the society (Mohammad, 2000). It usually happens if they have gone different societies, cultures and languages than they belong to. In this situation, the researcher may need some interpreters to assist in language translation and to give background information.

Although it was easy to find respondents with the help of list of population from village, it was difficult to get information about the two groups of my study (migrants and non-migrants households). People for the first time refused to answer the question if they have migrated members in their household. This question seemed to give them a lot of suspicions if really our purpose is only for research. Though, I had an introductory letter from the local authorities.

But with help the of two students from Kigali Institute of Public Finance who convinced them they don't have to be afraid that it will be for the purpose for research. I took these two people because they are from that area so that they can convince them. It was also difficult to get people at their residence. In this situation, I had to collect the required information only on Saturday and the Sunday afternoons. In this study I did not have information about ethnic characteristics, because it is forbidden to do a survey on ethnicity in Rwanda.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **4.0 RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS**

#### **4.1 Overview**

This chapter presents the results and discussions on the role of rural-urban migration in livelihoods in Bugesera District. The chapter addresses temporary as well as permanent internal migration from rural to urban areas. However it does not include forced removal and relocation of people under development and social engineering programs, trafficking or displacement by war and civil unrest. It does not discuss nomadic livelihood systems. More specifically, this chapter will discuss the relation between rural migration and livelihood strategy in Bugesera District.

The chapter starts with section one which is the overview. The section two contains a discussion on the demographic characteristics of the study population. Section three analyses the determinants of migration at the household level. This is followed by Section four that discusses livelihood strategy. The fifth section is the comparison of welfare being between migrants and non-migrant's households. The last section discusses how rural-urban migration influences the development of the place of origin. The effects of migration on individuals and their families as well as overall development and poverty reduction are also discussed.

#### **4.2 Background Characteristics of the Study Population**

It is important to note that the characteristics of migrated members are not sufficient to explain the selectivity of migration because the decision of a person to migrate is largely dependent on his family background. The individual characteristics can only give some idea about the type of people involved in the process of migration. Thus, it is important to

study the characteristics of migrant households to get an idea about the determinant of migration at the household level. This will provide a better understanding as to why some families participate in migration process while others not. Further, the demographic information is discussed in relation to age, marital status, education, and occupation of the sampled households. This part identifies the characteristics of the sampled respondents in Bugesera District. The presentation compares migrants and non-migrants population.

#### 4.2.1 Age

The respondents were grouped into eleven age groups. Respondents' age ranged between 24 and 74 years (Table 1). The results showed that, majority of respondents in migrant households were between the age group of 45-59. This implies that this age group is the category at which their children have a greater possibility of falling within the higher migrating age group that is 15-19 years and 20-24 years. Whereas majority of non-migrants households respondents were in the age groups 35-49 years. These groups belonged to the group of families with very young children who not attained yet the 15 years which is the starting age for migration or other groups belong to those of widowed who don't have any relatives. The mean average of age of the respondents was 48 years.

**Table 1: Background characteristics of the respondents**

<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Age</b>	
24-29	1.7
30-34	4
35-39	9.5
40-44	19.5
45-49	19.4
50-54	17
55-59	17
60-64	5.8
65-69	4.5
70-74	0.8
75-79	0.8
<b>Sex</b>	
Female	62.5
Male	37.5
<b>Household size</b>	
1-4	70.8
5-10	26.7
11 and above	2.5
<b>Marital status</b>	
Married	51.7
Widowed	42.5
Divorced	4.2
Single	1.6
<b>Educational level</b>	
No education	6.7
Primary	85.0
Secondary	6.7
<b>Income source of head household</b>	
Farming/livestock	31.5
Cash remittances	29.2
Salary	22.4
Business	16.9

#### 4.2.2 Sex distribution of population study

Of the 120 sampled respondents 62% were females (Table 1). The plausible reason of female dominance is a result of the devastating consequence of the 1994 Genocide and war in the region, worsened further by the exploding number of single-parent families (NISR, 2007). The Census of the district conducted in December 2006 revealed that, the total

population of Bugesera District was 274 113 inhabitants, females being 142 134 (51.8%) and 131 917 males (48.2%).

#### **4.2.3 Household size**

Respondents were asked to list all the persons who usually lived in the household or are considered as members of the household but have migrated. The study found out that, 78% of the households constituted four persons or less which is a small household size, with 21.7% large household structures of 6 to 10 persons. Only 2.5% of the sampled households was of 11 persons or more. The mean average of the size of the household 'respondents was five. Each household in Rwanda comprises of 5 to 6 members (ADB, 2006).

#### **4.2.4 Marital status**

In this study, majority of the respondents (51.7%) were married. Findings in Table 2 revealed higher percentages (42.5%) of widows were female heads of households. Very few respondents (4.2 %) were divorced.

#### **4.2.5 Education**

The result showed that the majority of sampled population (85.0 %) constituted of those with primary level of education, while 6.7% had ordinary level of secondary education. The explication of low level of education of many people in Rwanda has its roots in the political regime of the Second Republic, 1973-1994, which reinforced the policy of ethnic quotas and regional preferences in the education system (UNESCO, 2003). During this regime a discriminative quotas system was used for entry into schools, which was overtly based on ethnic and regional criteria, rather, than on scholastic performance. Bugesera being the Eastern regional and settled by many Tutsi couldn't have many intellectuals due to this system regime.

#### **4.2.6 Occupation**

The study looked into the source of income at the household level in order to know the current occupation of the respondents. As presented in Table three, 31.5 % earn their income from agriculture substance. Whereas an important observation has been made where income earned from remittances were constituted by migrant' households of 29.2%. and 16.9% earn their income from small business.

#### **4.2.7 Religion**

In this study all the respondents were found to be Christians. This may be justified by the fact that in Rwanda 90% of the population is Christian (NISR, 2007).

#### **4.3 Determinants of Migration at the Household Level**

The first objective of the study was to identify the determinants of migration at the household level. As mentioned earlier, the determinants of migration at household level provide a better understanding as to why some families participate in migration process while others not. Chi-square cross-tabulation has been applied to study the determinants of migration. Data in Table 2 shows the estimated relative risks and the number of cases for the categories of variables studied. The findings indicate that all the variables included in the analysis, age and the size of household have had significant relative risk on rural out-migration. An increased risk of out-migration from a rural household has been observed with the increased household head age ( $p < 0.001$ ). The age ranges of the heads in the sampled population were found to be determinant for the household to opte for migration as a strategy for livelihoods. The results showed that, the majority of respondents in the migrants' households were between the age group 49-53 years and 54-58 years.

This implies that this age group is the category at which their children have a greater possibility of falling within the higher migrating age group that is 15-19 years and 20-24 years. Whereas the majority of non-migrants households respondents were in the age groups 39-43 years and 44-48 years. These groups belonged to the group of families with very young children who have yet reached 15 years which is the age for starting to migrate.

This is similar to what has been found by others studies. For example Lucas (1997) found that human capital in terms of education, skills, knowledge, age and health determines access to economic opportunities. Individual human capital, therefore, has long been seen as a key determinant of migration probability, and there is a significant amount of evidence indicating that those with young age have a comparative advantage in destination labour markets and are more likely to migrate. In this study it has been found that education may not be a determinant of the migration probability. The plausible reason could be the fact that in this group, the majority of the non-migrant's households were employees (69.0%) in different positions in civil service in Bugesera District which may not be advantaged in the destination area due to higher competition where much skilled manpower are presents.

Another important determinant of migration probability is the household size. Several studies argued that migration is positively related with family size (Lucas, 1997; Reardon, 1997). In other words, people migrate mostly from large households because it is easy to spare some members to go outside for work. This study also showed a similar result. The family size of the migrants was found to be an advantage to diversify household livelihood so as to resist shocks and stress in order to reduce vulnerability as compared to the non-migrants family size in rural ( $p < 0.001$ ). The study found that, migrants households were constituted with large household structures of 6 to 10 persons (51.7%) and households of

11 persons and more (5.0%) whereas for non-migrants households, the size households were found in small number.

It implies that the total labour supply available within the household is also likely to be an important determinant of whether the household has excess labour capacity and can therefore afford to send migrants out without adversely affecting domestic production.

**Table 2: Age and household size by migration status of the respondents**

Characteristics	Migrants household N=60	Non-migrants households N=60	Total	Chi-square
<b>Age groups</b>				
24-29	0.0	3.3	1.7	
30-34	0.0	6.7	3.3	
35-39	3.3	15.0	9.2	
40-44	6.7	31.7	19.2	
45-49	15.0	21.7	18.3	
50-54	30.0	3.3	16.7	
55-59	18.3	15.0	16.7	
60-64	11.7	0.0	5.8	
65-69	5.0	3.3	4.2	
70-74	8.3	0.0	0.8	
75-79	1.7	0.0	0.8	0.000***
<b>Household size</b>				
1-5	43.3	98.3	70.8	
6-10	51.7	1.7	26.7	
11 and above	5.0	0.0	2.5	0.000***

\*\*\* Statistically sign. at (p<0.001)

#### 4.3.1 Reasons for leaving home

Several studies have showed that out-migration from rural areas is closely associated with negative (push) factors including, the difficulties in rural areas such as poverty, unemployment, land shortages (Lee, 1966; Reardon, 1997). The findings of this study showed similar results. In order to know why the household is involved in out-migration, the respondents were asked to report the reasons for migration. As shown in Table 3, 45%

of the respondents said they send a relative in urban area because of difficult economic conditions due to effect of the 1994 Genocide, while 28.7% migrated due to poor returns from agriculture, 16.5% sent a relative in town because of land shortage, 5% sent their relative in town because of lack of employment and 4.6% migrated for education.

**Table 3: Reasons for leaving home**

<b>Reasons for leaving home</b>	<b>%</b>
Difficult economic conditions due to effect of 1994 Genocide	45.2
Poor returns from agriculture	28.7
Land shortage	16.5
Lack of employment opportunities	5.0
Further educations	4.6

In many developing countries, especially in Rwanda, rural-urban migration is taking place because of unfavorable situation in the place of origin, for example, armed conflict, seasonality, and unemployment of the youth (ADB, 2006).

#### **4.3.2 Place of migration**

The quality and quantity of opportunities available at a particular place of destination play a major role in attracting migrants towards it. In the developing countries like Rwanda, migrants of a particular origin follow some established routes because resources (opportunities) are disproportionately distributed to a few cities. Responding to the question where they member migrated and why they have chosen that that place, all respondent answered that their members migrated in Kigali.

**Table 4: Reasons of choosing Kigali city as area of destination**

<b>Reason of choosing Kigali as area of destination</b>	<b>%</b>
Employment opportunity	60
Easy to run business	15
Hope of Cash income	10
Best place for study	8
Better future	7

The findings indicate (Table 4) that 60% were migrated to Kigali in the hope of getting employment, 15% mentioned that they choose Kigali because it is easy to start business, 10% mentioned availability of cash income earning, 8% was motivated because Kigali is a best place for study in higher institutions, and seven percent went to Kigali in hope of getting better future.

#### **4.4 Livelihood Strategy**

In the pursuit of their livelihoods, the options that people have depend upon their ownership and access to resources, the environmental situation created by the institutions and processes, and their ability to utilize these in order to derive the livelihood outcomes they aspire to. From these, assets serve as the basic building blocks upon which households are able to undertake production, engage in labor markets, and participate in reciprocal exchange with other households (Ellis *et al.*, 2004). Different circumstances may limit the ability of a household to own or have access to a wide array of resources. Since it has an implication on the possible strategies and outcomes, the migration status in terms of ownership of different assets has been investigated.

##### **4.4.1 Composition of household headships**

Different studies in documents in Rwanda have indicated the composition of household headships to be on average about 51.8 % of women headed as opposed to 48.2 % of men headed ( NISR, 2007). An attempt has been made to collect the composition of household heads of the respondents. The finding is within the range of existing knowledge (Table 5). The portion of female heads migrant households was found to be 61.7 % against 62% on non-migrant heads household, while migrant households headed men was found to be 38.3% against 37.5%.

**Table 5: Household headship compositions**

No	Characteristics	MHH	N-MHH
		Share %	Share %
1	Female	61.7	63.3
2	Male	38.3	36.7

Apart from being a comparative figure, the headship type also has some social and economic implications that have significant meanings in relation to livelihoods. The largest portion of the poorest of the poor of the society in the region is assumed to be Female Headed Households (NISR, 2007). Various societal analyses have come up with findings that portray Female Headed Households to be with a relatively lower possession as compared to their Male Headed Households counterparts. The findings of this study are in line with the already existing information with regard to the livelihood situations of Female Headed Households as could be understood from the details presented subsequently.

#### **4.4.2 Livelihood assets**

Available human resources within a household in terms of quantity and quality are among the determinants in shaping livelihood situations. Elements that come under the human capital components such as skill, knowledge, active labor, health and the like highly influence the ability of households to acquire more income through purchasing various livelihood strategies and concomitantly to withstand shocks. In view of this, the following features are identified in the surveyed households.

##### **a) Age**

The mean age of the heads in the sampled migrant households was found to be widest comparable with the youngest mean age recorded in non-migrant households.

**Table 6: Mean age and mean household size by migration status of the respondents**

<b>Migration statuses</b>	<b>Mean Age</b>	<b>Mean Household Size</b>
MHH	53.9	7.1
N-MHH	43.7	2.8

The average mean age (Table 6) of migrant households ( 53.8) being the highest as compared to the non-migrant households (43.7) implies that the former age group is the have a greater possibility of falling in the migrating age group. Whereas majority of non-migrant households belong to the group of families with very young children who are less migrating. This is important to enable the household to pursue different livelihood strategies including migration, in response to prevailing economic condition. Important to this process is access to different forms of "livelihood resources' (Ellis *et al.*, 2004)

#### **b) Household Size**

Several studies argued that migration is positively related with family size (Ellis *et al.*, 2004). In other words, people migrate mostly from large households because it is easy to spare some members to go outside for work. This study also showed to be a similar relationship. The average size of the migrant and non-migrant households was found 7.1 and 2.8 members respectively (Table 6). Hence this study argues that a higher risk of out-migration from the households with many members may be due to the fact that it is easier to spare some persons to migrate outside and remaining members can look after the household's work.

#### **c) Education**

With regard to educational status, different findings have been obtained in other studies state that the risk of out-migration was higher for the households attaining at least primary level of education, having occupation other than agriculture (Ellis *et al.*, The findings of

this study do not support the above proposition. In this study, it was found that among non-migrant head households they were a significant number of family members but did not get involved in migration as diversification means of survival Table seven shows that 83.3% were with primary education while eight point three percent were with secondary education.

The plausible reason may be the fact that almost the place of destination is Kigali City where many skilled people are present; consequently the employment is very competitive. Another reason may due to the fact that, being employed and receiving salary they are able to take care of their families therefore there is no need to chose migration as diversification livelihood.

**Table 7: Socio-economic characteristics of heads households by migration status**

Level of education	MHH	N-MHH
	Share %	Share %
No education	8.0	5.0
Primary	86.7	83.3
Secondary	5.3	8.3
<b>Marital status</b>		
Married	58.3	45.0
Widowed	36.7	48.3
Divorced	5.0	3.3
Single	0.0	3.3
<b>Income source of head household</b>		
Salary	0.0	69.0
Cash remittances	43.3	0.0
Farming/livestock	35.0	24.1
Business	21.7	6.9

#### 4.4.3 Social capital

De Haan (2002) has further approached migration as a question of long-term economic adaptation. Migrants are viewed not only as individuals carrying their personal skills, but also as members of groups and participants in broader social structures that affect in

multiple ways their economic mobility. Migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and share community origin (De Haan, 2002). They increase the likelihood of internal movement because they lower the cost and risks of moving and increase the expected net returns to migrate. Network connections constitute social resources that people draw on to gain access to various kinds of financial capital employment, high wages, the possibility of saving and sending remittances to their place of origin (De Hann, 2002). In this study a similar observation has been made. A key insight of this later approach is that migration decisions are not made by isolated individual actors but within larger units of interrelated people, typically families. As shown in Table 5, the widest range of migrant households (58.3%) were married whereas the widest range (48%) of non-migrant households are widowed female headed households who don't have any relatives as a consequence of the 1994 Genocide. During this period men were most targeted. This implies that it is difficult for them to decide on migration as livelihood diversification.

#### **4.4.4 Financial capital**

This denotes the financial resources that people use to achieve livelihood objectives and it comprises the availability of cash to cost the livelihood diversification strategies. Migrant households are able to pursue migration as livelihood diversification because they can afford the financial costs of migrating. As data in Table 7 show, 35% of farming/livestock from migrant households against 24.1% from non-migrant households is an important asset to afford migration cost because it can be liquidated into cash at any time.

#### **4.5 Comparison of Welfare being Between Migrants and Non-Migrants Households**

Utilization of livelihood capitals results into livelihood outcomes such as income, food and nutrition security, and reduced vulnerability. From this perspective, household' welfare being which is the second objective of this study was calculated. In addition wealth index was computed.

While it has been argued that an asset index may not be a proxy for current standards of living, or appropriate for all kinds of poverty analysis following the multidimensional concepts of poverty, inequality, and inequity (Gwatkin *et al.*, 2000) Filmer and Pritchett (1998, 1999) show that the index has performed as well as more traditional measures such as household-size adjusted consumption expenditure, and point to its usefulness in establishing differences in long-run household wealth. Other recent research that has used this approach confirms that the asset consumption relationship is quite close (Montgomery *et al.*, 2000; Wagstaff *et al.*, 1991) and conclude that asset ownership can be taken as a reasonable satisfactory proxy for consumption, in addition to being an indicator of economic status in its own right. In this study, therefore, (with its obvious limitations to collecting data on income and consumption), the use of household asset index represents a pragmatic approach to get around the problem of data limitations to examine issues (such as household welfare) critical for understanding poverty and providing evidence for poverty alleviation policies.

##### **4.5.1 Wealth index**

The Principal Component Analysis (PCA) has been applied to prepare this welfare index. As described earlier in chapter three, PCA is a form of factor analysis used to reduce a large number of variables into few ones. Taking into account the correlations between them, and assigning appropriate weights to each of the observed variables in the form of

factor scores. This procedure creates a set of mutually uncorrelated components of the data, and the first principal component is intuitively the linear index of the underlying variables that captures the most common variation among them (Filmer *et al.*, 1999).

In this analysis, of the 18 household items selected for an exploratory factor analysis, that are highly correlated were selected as proxy variables for constructing the household welfare standard index. The wealth index score is a relative measure of household welfare. The higher the negative scores indicate poor living conditions; higher positive scores indicate higher and better standards of living. The scoring factors and summary statistics for variables, which were entered in the computations of the first principal component, are demonstrated in Table 6.

These values were used to compute the household welfare index values using the following equation:

$$A_j = f_1 (a_{j1} - a_1) / (S_1) + \dots + f_N (a_{jN} - a_N) / (S_N)$$

For example, if the household has the following characteristics:

cow, goat, poultry, land, bicycle, watch, sewing machine, wardrobe, small oil lamp, kerosene lamp, house, earth/sand, cement ( floor), sun-bricks, burnt bricks, concrete blocks, ( wall) wood door, iron sheet door ,the welfare value is obtained as:

$$\begin{aligned} A_j = & 0.123*(0-0.2333)/0.42473 + -0.197*(0-0.525)/0.50147 + 0.008*(0-0.7167)/0.45251 + \\ & 0.105*(0-0.8167)/0.38856 + 0.011*(0-0.475)/0.50147 + 0.036*(0-0.75)/0.43483 + \\ & 0.014*(0-0.917)/0.28976 + -0.167*(0-0.03417)/0.47626 + 0.016*(0-0.2)/0.40168 + - \\ & 0.007*(0-0.975)/0.15678 + -0.093*(0-0.525)/0.50147 + 0.093*(0-0.475)/0.50147 + - \\ & 0.0457*(0-0.5167)/0.50182 + 0.0465*(0-0.475)/0.50147 + 0.003*(0-0.25)/0.15678 + \\ & 0.001*(0-0.975)/0.15678 + -0.001*(0-0.025)/0.15678 = -0.5644 \end{aligned}$$

**Table 8: Factor analysis results for wealth index construct variables for sampled respondents**

Variable	%Variance accounted for	Scoring factor (f)	Mean (a)	Std dvtn(s)	Min.	Max.
cow	34.324	0.123	0.2333	0.4247	0	1
goat	11.762	-0.197	0.5350	0.5015	0	1
poultry	11.022	0.008	0.7167	0.5015	0	1
land	8.833	0.105	0.8167	0.3886	0	1
bicycle	6.252	0.011	0.4750	0.5015	0	1
watch	6.252	0.004	0.7500	0.4348	0	1
sewing machine	5.235	0.014	0.9170	0.2898	0	1
wardrobe	3.605	-0.167	0.0340	0.4763	0	1
small oil lamp	2.976	0.016	0.2000	0.0402	0	1
kerosene lamp	2.702	-0.059	0.7917	0.4078	0	1
house	2.522	-0.007	0.9750	0.1568	0	1
earth floor	1.640	-0.093	0.5250	0.5015	0	1
cement	0.822	0.093	0.4750	0.5015	0	1
sun-dried bricks	0.642	-0.046	0.5167	0.5018	0	1
burnt bricks	0.129	0.047	0.4750	0.5015	0	1
concrete block	0.106	0.003	0.2500	0.1568	0	1
wood	.000	0.001	0.9750	0.1568	0	1
iron sheet door	-0.00	-0.000	0.0250	0.1568	0	1

Refers to household amenities are coded "1" owning/possessing a durable item and "0) otherwise

The assets that were used to compute the wealth indices were subject to chi'-square analysis. Three assets groups were used for the purpose of comparison between migrants' households and non-migrants households; Housing quality (floor, wall, and house ownership), livestock (cow, goat, poultry) and consumable durables (bicycle, sewing machine, small oil lamp, kerosene lamp). Housing quality and consumable durables was a notable difference between migrants' households and non-migrants households (Table 9). This means in this study, floor, wall materials (improved or not) and livestock assets and means of transportation are a good indicator for wealth status. Source of energy (lightning and cooking), possession of toilet and source of water were almost the same for these two groups and hence cannot be used to distinguish them.

**Table 9: Ownership of household variables (%)**

Variables	N-MM	MHH	$\chi^2$
Poultry	53.3	90.0	0.000***
Kerosene lamp	71.7	86.7	0.440ns
Bicycle	10.0	85.0	0.000***
Goats	23.3	81.7	0.000***
Cement	13.3	81.7	0.000***
Iron sheet door	40.0	60.0	0.500ns
Wood door	40.0	60.0	0.500ns
Watch	48.9	51.1	0.417ns
House	51.3	48.7	
Cow	15.0	31.7	0.032*
Earth flow	86.7	18.3	0.000***
Sun-dried brick	90.0	13.3	0.000***
Sewing machine	10.0	13.3	0.115ns
Small oil lamp	30.0	10.0	0.006**
Concrete block	03	0.0	0.122n

ns not statistically significant \*\* statistically sign. at ( $p < 0.05$ ) \*\*\* statistically sign. at ( $p < 0.001$ )

Thereafter using the PCA equation, Aj values for each household were obtained using all the eighteen variables. Basing on the Aj values of the household, the percentiles (20, 40, 60 and 80) were used to categorize the households into five quintiles. The first quintile presents the poorest category while the fifth presents least poor (better off) group. The second, third and fourth quintiles lie according to the trend (Table 10).

**Table 10: Welfare quintiles**

Quintiles	Lower limit	Upper limit	No. Households
First	Minimum	-0.3772	24
Second	-0.3771	-0.1318	25
Third	-0.1317	-0.0060	24
Fourth	-0.0050	0.1575	25
Fifth	0.1576	Maximum	24

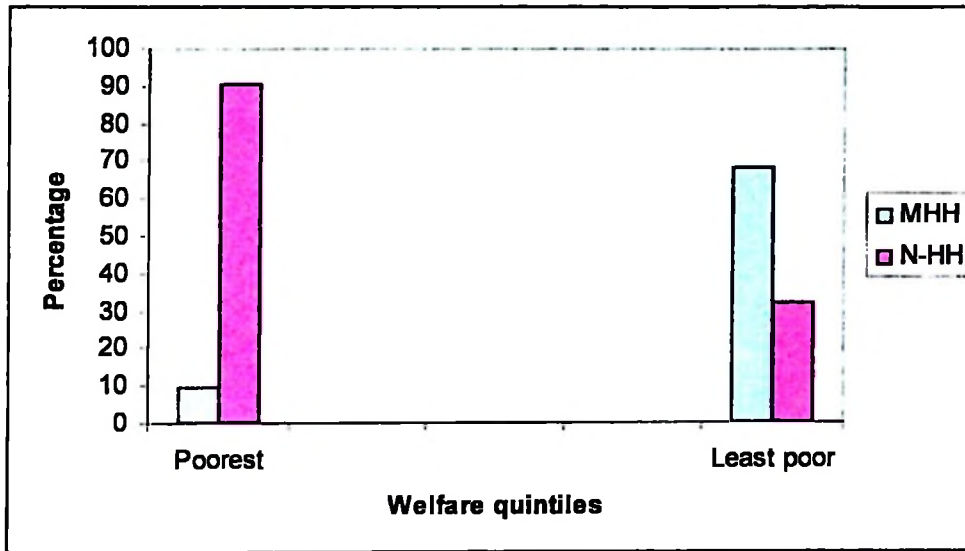
#### 4.5.2 Relationship between migrant households and non-migrant households and household welfare status

Based on Table 11, this information means that migrants' households had improved the main building and possessed more consumable durables which explain accumulated long run household wealth comparing to non-migrants households. It further shows how much wealth indices are distributed within these two groups as well. Migrants household have the widest gap (67.9%) in the fifth quintiles whereas for non-migrants households have the narrowest gap (32.1 %).

This study reveals that the majority of poorest household are non-migrant households, 90.6%. Those who belong in the first quintiles were female widowed who don't have any relative for support. Hence this study supports findings from other several studies that social capital is an important asset for livelihood diversifications. Social capital is often cited as a significant determinant of population mobility, particularly due to 'segmentation' of migration streams between specific regions of origin and destination due to kinship and other networks (De Haan, 1999).

**Table 11: Distribution of welfare quintile by migration status**

Migration status	% welfare quintiles				
	(poorest)1	2	3	4	5(least poor)
MHH	9.4	27.3	73.1	69.6	67.9
N-HH	90.6	72.7	26.9	30.4	32.1



**Figure 4: Distribution of wealth by migration status through 1<sup>st</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> quintiles.**

#### **4.6 Influence of Rural-urban Migration in the Area of Origin**

That option chosen to create conditions so that people particularly of Bugersera district can attain their life requirements and aspirations is a livelihood strategy that people enable to pursue through the assets which are, according to DFID (2008), what people use to gain a living. They are the core aspects of a livelihood. Then livelihood assets and migration are combined to produce several livelihood outcomes. So the utilization of livelihood capitals leads to livelihood outcomes that will improve not only the well-being but also reduce poverty in its broadest sense (DFID, 1999). From this perspective, the outcome variable in this study is household' wealth (through Income diversification and enhancement should enable migrants and their families at the origin to better cope with shocks and uncertainty).

##### **4.6.1 Livelihood outcomes**

Probably the most important contribution of the New Migration Economics is to provide new insights into the potentially positive link between internal migration and rural development, stressing the role of remittances sent to the rural area.

Stark (1980) who focus on migration as a family strategy, present migration of a family member as a way to diversify the risks associated with family earnings in the absence of a rural insurance market and/or when income diversification opportunities in rural areas are scarce. The analysis is carried further by Stark *et al.* (1988) who consider that migration of a family member can result from a cooperative arrangement struck between the migrant and his family. Both parties are risk averse but incur different risks at different times, which make co-insurance mutually advantageous. The migrant is insured by his family while looking for a job. Later on, the family can engage in the adoption of a new agricultural technology knowing that the migrant will be able to compensate adverse shocks.

Migration interfaces various positive dimensions of people's livelihoods. In the case of Rwanda, rural-urban migration is important for improving people's livelihoods. As discussed in the previous section, poor and landless people migrate to urban centres for subsistence livelihoods, and some better-off people migrate to gain and take monetary advantages in the cities. All the migrants do this for the betterment of life as compared to their origin. The following sub-section deals with rural-urban migration and their involvement in terms of improving livelihoods.

#### **4.6.2 Building capital assets**

Rural-urban migration can be understood as improving livelihoods in terms of building capital assets. In this study it was found that people involved in migration as livelihood strategy have improved a lot in most of the assets as well as status. They have improved financial status, they have been providing good education to their children, they have built their own houses which were destroyed during the war, as it has been revealed by (Table 12) and they have developed their skills and knowledge than before in terms of new

agricultural technology. In this study the respondents were asked to tell us their situation before getting involved and after migration, 82.0% said that their situation changed positively, whereas stand of living 16% reported that their life did not change. Only 2% said that they decreased.

**Table 12: Income status after involvement in rural out-migration**

<b>Income after migration</b>	<b>Respondents in %</b>
Improved	82.0
Not improved	16.0
Decreased	2.0

One interviewee key informant in this regard says:

*“After the 1994 Genocide, some relatives of the weakened families, (orphans, widows and old people) who had migrated to Kigali had to organize themselves to form a farm cooperative called Kodeka for 216 maize growing hectars of 108 plots aiming at giving support to their families left in the rural areas from the incomes they earned.”*

This finding is very important because is in line with Rwanda National Vision 2020 which emphasizes on substitution of agriculture subsistence in to modern agriculture by sensitizing rural people to put together their small plots into a form of cooperatives in order to produce more. In the country like Rwanda where approximately 11.5 % of Rwandan households are without land, about 55 % of agricultural holdings are on less than 0.5 of a ha. An estimated 21% of rural households hold between 0.5 and 1 ha, and 12 % of rural households hold between 1 and 1.5 ha. Only 6.5 % of rural households hold more than 2 ha of land, in the context of Rwanda green revolution program, this may be a good example.

#### 4.6.3 Managing risk and vulnerability

Income diversification and enhancement should enable migrants and their families at the origin to cope better with shocks and uncertainty. It is more related to livelihoods sustainability than improving. Livelihood sustainability or diversifying the earning opportunity, at the household level fosters improving livelihoods to the people. Human security may be strengthened in the short to medium term and dependence on external sources of income at the household level that can serve the migrants as a continuous safety valve for household tensions (Ellis *et al.*, 2004). Diversifying the earning opportunity supports household in many ways: it can assist in terms of cash flow, it can support by the increase investment in agricultural inputs, it can support to cover interior household requirements, it can also establish the households in higher social status and it can facilitate to invest in improving human assets. Ultimately, it can support to build capital assets and support managing risk and vulnerability in the origin.

For example one respondent at Mayange Sector remarked that:

*“After the war in 1994 in September my husband got arrested and jailed because he was charged to have participated in killings that happened during the Genocide. He left me with five children and I couldn’t manage to support my family myself. So we agreed together with my children that they had to go to work in town in order to be near their fathers’ place of jail and to provide him food and to enable him to communicate with his family. So three children went to Kigali to work in restaurants, they helped us a lot and at the same time they continued to provide food to their father.”*

Another respondent of Ntarama Sector commented that:

*"During the genocide, my family members including parents were killed and two of us were left. Three children of our relatives came to stay with us because their parents were also killed. We had hard time in searching for food and other necessities hence two of us had to go to Kigali to work at petrol stations that were owned by our late father's friend who employed them at his different petrol stations in order to help us survive. The two employed relatives supported in our basic needs as well as schooling."*

The respondents with help from their migrated members had tried to overcome problems that face in Bugesera Region. Data in Table 13 show how migration has helped to reduce shocks. All the responds stated that they have been assisted by their relatives from town. 50% stated that after receiving aids from their relatives, they were now able to fulfill their basics needs (food, cloth, education and health). Twenty six percent of the respondents reported that they been able to hire land for cultivation after receiving aids from theirs relatives working in town. Whereas 10% were involving in business helped by their relatives went to work in town.

It was also remarked by some respondents (7 %) that after they had had money from their migrated members, they had increased their livestock. Migrated members also helped their relatives stayed at homeland to participate in business and saving (Table 13). One respondent reported that:

*"My daughter who working in Cleaning Company in Kigali, has bought me a sewing machine which helps me now in several daily needs including schools fees for my children"*

**Table 13: Distribution of migrants household's responses to overcome problems**

<b>Activity</b>	<b>%</b>
Basic needs	50
Peasant farming	26
Business	10
Keeping livestock	7
Saving	7

Development in areas of origin usually goes hand-in-hand with migration, and expectations that rural development will decrease out-migration may be unjustified (though it is likely to change the conditions of migration and composition of migrants). For example, in the Punjab, the Green Revolution occurred simultaneously with both high rates of out-migration as well as in-migration from Bihar and other poorer Indian states (De Haan, 1997). In China the development of rural enterprises appears to increase rates of out-migration (except amongst the more educated peasant (Liang *et al.*, 1997).

In the case of Rwanda where policy-makers have tended to perceive migration largely as a problem, posing a threat to social and economic stability and have, therefore, tried to control it, perhaps least clarity exists about the effect of migration on the development of areas of origin, even though this is perhaps the most relevant question for development programs. Most migration concern has concentrated on the role of migrants at the place of destination, and much less is known about the areas of origin. In the case of Rwanda, an area with a long tradition of out-migration, for example, very few studies trace the effects of migration and remittances on the villages of origin.

However, in this study, more concern has been taken into consideration on how does migration affect development in areas of origin. This section aims at explicating as to how migration is an alternative livelihood strategy in families' and the entire community's development. In the discussion with key informants, it was observed that, migration to

some people is necessary due to the fact that, they are obliged to move for other income generating activities elsewhere so as to support war torn dependent families.

This ensures the best possible use of scarce resources while at the same time, ensuring adequate local incentives for sustainable progress. These initiatives that are undertaken by migrants, reduces vulnerability of conflict affected families hence a help in coping with the current life standards. This goes in line with PRSP and Vision 2020 that advocates participatory mechanisms in eradicating extreme poverty (EDPRS, 2008).

Rural – urban migration has been said to have a social development advantage. When migrants of a specific ethnic groups migrate to the urban area, they learn and mix with other ethnic group wherein they work together regardless of their ethnic identities hence social cohesion that creates economic exchange interest resulting to the sensitization of the rural population on the need and possibility of working together for the reduction of poverty by introducing projects that are ethnicity free.

This is a step to reduce 'poverty conflict trap' (Mushahara, 2004) that has affected Rwanda's population competition over natural resources and pitted livelihood groups against one another for many years one of the consequence being 1994 Genocide among other causes. Migration provides an escape from social hierarchies and in that way increase equality at least in the destination areas where discrimination based on ethnicity can be lower than traditional villages.

Through the study found out that migration is a livelihood strategy of poor households which helps to smooth seasonal income fluctuations and earn extra cash to meet contingencies or increase disposable incomes. It was found out that, remittances (43% as

displayed in Table 1) from migrated members help local communities invest in daily needs and expenses including food which improve food security and nutritional status. It as well helps in health care expenses or education which can improve the livelihood prospects of future generations. Migrant workers send both cash and non-cash (or in-kind) remittances. Cash remittances are received either in both foreign and local currency. Non-cash remittances include foodstuffs such as maize-meal, sugar, salt and cooking oil, consumer goods such as bicycles, radios, chairs, agricultural inputs and building materials.

It has as well been observed in this study that remittances help in improving housing or leasing land or livestock, investment in socio-cultural life (birth, wedding, death), loan repayments, savings income or employment generating activities, purchase of cash inputs to agriculture (hired labour, disease control etc), resulting in better cultivation practices. Thus findings from this study are in line with what have been observed in others studies. For example, a Club du Sahel report states unequivocally "Population mobility is a necessary condition of sustainable development and poverty alleviation in West Africa. Any policy, program or action which tend to restrain mobility or to provide incentives for people to stay on their land would, in the long run, lead to unmanageable situations." Similarly for Asia, based on secondary data from Bangladesh, China, Vietnam and Philippines, Amjad (1989) concludes that migration is a driver of growth and an important route out of poverty with significant positive impacts on people's livelihoods and wellbeing.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **5.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 Overview**

In the previous chapter the findings of the study were presented and discussed. In this chapter a summary of the major findings of the study are presented, followed by conclusion, recommendations and suggestion for further studies.

#### **5.2 Summary of the Major Findings**

The summary aimed at determining the role of rural-urban migration livelihood in Bugesera District. The findings are presented as follows:

##### **5.2.1 Determinants of migration at the household level**

The analysis of demographic variables has revealed that the size of the household, age of the head of household, environmental conditions in the place of origin, determine the rural out-migration. Poverty, job searching and family influence were the main push factors for out-migration while availability of jobs for young people, and education were the main pull factors behind migration. Option to diversify livelihood at the household level have been observed to be influenced by the accessibility of different assets as presented in DFID'S Livelihood Framework.

##### **5.2.2 Comparison of welfare being between migrants and non-migrant households**

Out-migration as livelihood strategy influences the welfare of the people. The proxy welfare index was, therefore, made using household assets, employing the PCA method, which is a form of factors analysis reducing the number of variables into few ones. The index was then used to categorise the households into welfare strata. Migrant households

have been found to be better off than non-migrant households. The lifestyle of migrants households have changed positively.

### **5.2.3 Influence of rural out-migration in the area of origin**

It has as well been observed in this study that remittances help in improving or building housing buying or leasing land or livestock, investment in socio-cultural life, loan repayments, savings income or employment generating activities, purchase of cash inputs to agriculture, resulting in better cultivation practices

Development means positive change of individuals and communities. This change can be accomplished through getting access to various assets or resources by the individuals and communities. In light of the objective of this study, rural-urban migration has impacted positively on people's livelihoods in the rural area in Bugesera District in particular. Thus through migration people reduced their vulnerability caused mostly by the war.

### **5.3 Conclusions**

The following conclusions were reached from these findings of the study:

- (i) Rural out-migration impacted positively people's lifestyle and wellbeing.
- (ii) The option of migrating is not available to all poor people, least of all the chronically (long-term) and severely (poorest) poor. The ability to adopt migration as a livelihood strategy is affected by the degree of social inclusion/exclusion, reflected in access to and control over resources.

#### **5.4 Recommendations**

There is no doubt that internal migration as livelihood strategy can play positive effect on people's life. Therefore based on the information gathered during the field study and the analysis of this dissertation, I wish to make the following recommendations. Given the central importance of migration, policies should aim at enhancing its contribution to people's livelihoods. This includes minimising discrimination against migrants. Policies should support the settlement of in-migration, enabling the development of their resources. Such policies can include providing information and communication channels, facilitating the integration of migrant populations in areas of destination, minimising tensions and environmental damages, and enhancing welfare of both migrant and host population.

With respect to the migrants' areas of origin, potentially promising measures include ways of facilitating remittances, and channels to invest these in productive and sustainable production. These are not clear policy prescriptions, and we know too little about how this could be achieved; but policies should start from the assumption that migration is a 'normal' phenomenon, and that it contributes greatly and positively to people's livelihoods.

- (i) Due to inadequacy of migration data, Rwanda needs to develop its capacity to collect and monitor both international and internal migration statistics. There is a need to monitor the flow of internal migration, even if the numbers are limited. Probably the most serious problem from the poverty viewpoint is that official statistics on rural-urban migration are very scarce and inaccurate owing to scattered locations of sending and receiving areas and the difficulty in enumerating all the streams.

- (ii) The Government has to cover some of the existing policy gaps of the lack of reliable estimates of the numbers, location and status of migrants and the scale and nature of internal movements. Indeed, given the massive inflows and outflows due to the conflict and the 1994 Genocide, and the lack of statistics, it is hard to get an idea of the levels of voluntary or labour migration of Rwandans, whether internally or internationally.
  
- (iii) This study found that migration is a livelihood and income diversification strategy. However, the extremely or chronically poor may lack access to migration as a livelihood choice due to the overwhelming costs of moving. There is a need to government policy, NGOs and Local association to seek to reduce the inequality between migrant households and non-migrant households by playing a crucial role in channeling remittances not for individuals and families, but also to community –level investments and initiatives.

### **5.5 Areas for Future Research**

A number of other areas can be highlighted where further work would be helpful:

- (i) It would be useful to understand whether there are de facto bureaucratic controls on migration. Whilst research on remittances in Rwanda's' internal and international – including on the levels of formal and informal remittances, remittance behaviour and possible schemes to promote productive use of remittances would also be of value.
  
- (ii) It would be useful also to study the selectivity and impact of migration at the place of destination.

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**APPENDICES**

**Appendix 1: Interview guide of migrants' households**

**SECTION A: INTRODUCTION/IDENTIFICATION**

Village.....Ward.....  
 Division.....District.....  
 Name of interviewer.....  
 Name of the household head.....  
 Date of interview.....

**SECTION B: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION**

1. Sex of the household head: 1 Male. 2 Female

2. Age of the household head.....

3. Level of Education (Tick where appropriate)

<b>1=None</b>	<b>2=Primary</b>	<b>3=Secondary</b>	<b>4=Tertiary</b>	<b>5=Other (Specify)</b>

4 Marital Status (Tick where appropriate)

<b>1=Single</b>	<b>2=Married</b>	<b>3=Widowed</b>	<b>4=Divorced</b>	<b>5=Separated</b>	<b>6=Living together</b>

5. Information on the number of member in the households; whether have emigrated or are living in the household.

**Table 1: Household members interviewer: fill in each row**

Number of H.H	Relationship to H. Head	Sex	Age	Education	Marital Status	Occupation

6. Do you have a migrated member in your household? YES/NO

7. If yes, how many.....

**Section C: Employment and cash income**

Now I have questions about your (present/last) occupation, employment and sources of income

6. What is your main occupation?

1=Farming	2=Livestock keeping	3=Wage employee	4=Fishing	5=Other (specify)

7. Have you received any cash income in the past 12 months?

Yes.....1

No .....2

8. If yes, mainly from

Wages.....1

Crop/livestock sold....2

Business income.....3

Cash remittances.....4

No reliable source.....5

9. How much income did you receive?.....Rfrcs

**Section D: Assets**

17. Do you keep any animals like cows, lambs, goats, and poultry?

Yes.....1

No.....2

(If No, to question 19)

18. How many cows/lambs/goats/poultry? Cow.....Goats...

Lambs.....Pigs.....

Poultry.....

19. Household items owned. Please tell me if you own any of these.

Interviewer: Write yes/no in blank space

Item	Yes..1 No...2	Item	Yes..1 No...2	Item	Yes..1 No...2
Bicycle		Sofa		Mosquito net	
Car		Wooden bed		Satellite dish	
Motorbike		Electric iron		Fan	
Radio		Mattress		Table	
Refrigerator		Water pump		Chairs	
Television		Wardrobe		Kerosene lamp	
Clock/watch		Sewing machine		Pressure Lantern	
Ox-plough					

20. Do you/husband/wife own this house?

Own....1 Rents...2

Other (specify).....

21. Do you or your husband/wife own other house?

Yes.....1

No.....2

22. What the materials are used to build your own house?

Floor	Yes=1 No=2	Walls	Yes=1 No=2	Roof	Yes=1 No=2	Doors	Yes=1 No=2
Earth/Sand		Sun-dried Bricks		Grass		Wood	
Finished floor: -Cement -Stone		-Bunt-Bricks -Concrete Block -plastered		Corrugated		Iron sheets	
Rudimentary wood planks		-Thatched Walls		Others (specify)			
Others (specify)		Others (specify)				Others (specify)	

23. How many rooms are used for sleeping in this house?.....

24. Do you have electricity in your house?

Yes.....1

No.....2

25. What is the source for drinking water in this household?

- (i). Piped into residence
- (ii) Rainwater harvesting
- (iii). Public tap
- (iv). Vendor
- (v). River, canal, spring
- (vi). Other (specify)

26. What is the time in minutes to the main water source.....

27. What is the main toilet facility for this household?

- (i) Private flush
- (ii) Shared flush
- (iii) Traditional pit latrine
- (iv) Ventilated pit latrine
- (v) Bush/field
- (vi) Other (specify).....

30. What is the main source of energy for cooking in this household?  
 (i) Electricity, propane, or solar  
 (ii) Biogas, kerosene, or charcoal  
 (iii) Firewood  
 (iv) Crop residue, coconut husks, sawdust, and animal dung chaff, grass  
 (v) Other

31. Do you own land?  
 Yes.....1  
 No.....2

32. How did you acquire your land  
 Purchase.....1  
 Rented.....2  
 Inherited.....3

33. How big is your land?.....acres.  
 34. How big is your cultivated land?.....acres

35. Have you expanded your acreage for the past five years?  
 Yes.....1  
 No.....2

36. How easy is it to get land?  
 Very easy..... 1  
 Easy.....2  
 Difficult.....3  
 Very difficult.....4

**SECTION E: LIVELIHOOD STRATEGY**

37. What type of Income Generating Activities (IGAs) do you undertake?  
 1.....2.....3.....4.....
38. Do you get remittances? YES/NO
39. If YES, how much in a year.....
40. Do you have any income generating project? YES/NO
41. If YES, did your project start before or after receiving remittances?  
 (1)Before (2) After
42. Please can you recall the amount of remittances you have had as initial investment capital on your project? .....
- 43 (i) Why do you decide to send a member of your household to work in town? (Tick the appropriate answer)  
 (1) Education (2) Provide support to the family (3) Self employment  
 (4) Other (specify)
- (ii) Which part of the country does your migrated member household is  
 .....
- (iii) For how long in years/months has a migrated member of your household been working in town?.....

**SECTION G: LIVELIHOOD OUTCOMES****How has your livelihood changed after acquiring remittances?**

<b>Livelihood component</b>	<b>Extent of change</b>		
	<b>Increasing</b>	<b>Decreasing</b>	<b>No change</b>
<b>Social capital</b>			
<b>Physical capital</b>			
<b>Natural capital</b>			
<b>Financial capital</b>			
<b>Human capital</b>			

**Appendix 2: Operational definitions of variables**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Indicator</b>
Assets	Selected properties that can be changed to wealth
Age	Total number of years from birth
Household size	No. of people in household
Group size	No. of people joining the group
Marital status	Being married or not
Education level	Highest level of respondent education
Activities done by using credit	Major economic activities undertaken by credit recipient
Income	Amount of money earned Tanzanian shilings
Other sources of income	Activities from which respondent earn income
Size of labour force	Number of people normally involved in farming activities
Types of remittances	Money or material