Migrating out of Poverty in Zimbabwe

Vupenyu Dzingirai, Eva-Maria Egger, Loren Landau, Julie Litchfield, Patience Mutopo and Kefasi Nyikahadzoi

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Author's affiliation in order as above: Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Zimbabwe; Migrating out of Poverty, University of Sussex; African Centre for Migration and Society, University of Witwatersrand, Migrating out of Poverty, University of Sussex, Chinhoyi University of Technology, Zimbabwe and Thabo Mbeki Leadership Institute, University of South Africa, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Zimbabwe

Acknowledgements

1. Introduction

Migration has long been used as a way for households to seek work, improve their livelihoods and raise their incomes, as well as to escape more extreme situations of persecution, conflict and hunger. While the global migration crises in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean currently attract the attention of the international press and national governments, much less is written about the movements of people within their own borders or within their regions to neighbouring countries. The Migrating out of Poverty (MOOP) research consortium aims to redress this imbalance by documenting and analysing internal, regional and international migration patterns, determinants and effects with the objective of investigating the role that migration plays in the strategies of households to escape from, or avoid falling into, poverty.

The study in Zimbabwe is one of a number of comparable studies carried out by MOOP partners in Ghana, Ethiopia, Bangladesh and Indonesia, and this working paper provides preliminary evidence from fieldwork conducted in April and May 2015. Specifically we provide a profile of Zimbabwean migrants and their households and we report on perceptions held by households in Zimbabwe on whether and how migration is a viable strategy to escape poverty. What we present here is a discussion of preliminary descriptive statistics on a small number of aspects of migration in and from Zimbabwe, with the intention of sharing preliminary observations and the aspiration of raising awareness of the availability of this data set for the wider research community.

To our knowledge, this is the first study which collects both qualitative and quantitative data in a survey of this size in Zimbabwe, with a sample of both households with migrants and without, and specifically addressing issues around migration, remittances and poverty. Our preliminary research adds to earlier work on the role of remittances and migration as a poverty reduction strategy by Bracking and Sachikonye (2006), Raftopolous (2011) and Crush and Tavera (2010) and we hope our data will enable further insights to be made on a this complex phenomenon.

2. A History of Migration in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe might be said to have two migration histories, the old and the new, broadly corresponding to the pre and post-independence periods. Old Migration follows the tribal warfare based displacements with roots in South Africa and appears to start with colonialism. In the early 1890s and early 1900s, pacified Africans migrated to farms, and new towns of Bulawayo, Salisbury, Gwello and Fort Victoria and their surrounding mines and farms. There are conflicting views about the causes of this migration. Some scholars say the movement was non-voluntary and induced, largely comprised of poor tribesmen migrating to raise the required head tax imposed by colonial administration to create labour for the emerging colonial economy (see for example Anich (2014) and Mavhunga (2008). Other scholars have argued that Africans migrated in response to the attractive opportunities of the new cities and the possibility of liberty from traditional control, (Brycesson 2001). It is more likely that migration arose from a combination of these two processes but the debate illustrates questions of agency in migration decision making.

The 1960s and 1970s saw two distinct patterns which illustrate the factors at play in migration decisions. During the 1960s Africans shifted their migration to South Africa, the main destination being the gold fields. In many ways this migration can be considered involuntary, given the very low standard of living of most of the population, although some young African males would undertake such migration to indicate their manhood and readiness to assume marriage. As with the migration of the early 1900s, this regional migration was circular, migrants oscillating between home and destination (Muzvidziwa, 2001).

A further development in this old migration arose in the late 1970s. The long war for independence caused massive internal and external migration in search of secure zones. Towns tended to be relatively safer than rural villages, explaining why Salisbury and Bulawayo were attractive destinations (Anich et al 2014). Such rural to urban migration was characterised by a return to the home as soon as the war pressure eased. This is the old migration, largely personal, circular and political.

The "new" migration starts after independence in the 1980s and continues to the present. This migration is produced by economic reforms and can be described as having two waves. The first wave of this migration peaks in the late 1990s in response to structural adjustment

with the second wave peaking in the 2000s following a populist land reform that saw in 2008 the virtual collapse of the economy with GDP contracting by 50%, inflation peaking at 231,000,000% in July and capacity utilisation in industry falling below 10% (Zimbabwe Country Analysis Report 2014). Unemployment rose to over 70%, resulting in scores of people migrating from the country in search of better opportunities.[1] This then is the new migration, a movement of people that is largely driven by economic circumstances.

The degree to which this delineation of migration is applicable may be contested but it is beyond doubt that migration in Zimbabwe has a long history. It starts in colonial times and continues in the post-independence state in response to economic pressure. In the section below we look at the patterns of current migration.

3. Patterns of the New Migration in Zimbabwe

The exact number of people who have emigrated is not known. It is estimated that 2 to 3 million Zimbabweans are working and living in the Diaspora.[2] Of this total, 1 to 1.5 million Zimbabweans are conservatively estimated to be living in South Africa alone, with at least 20% estimated to be "irregular", (Crush and Tevera 2010, Alich et al 2014). In Zimbabwe's high migrant sending areas (including Chiredzi, Chipinge, Gwanda, Bulilima and Plumtree), more than 80% of households have at least one family member who is an irregular migrant, (United Nations Zimbabwe Country Analysis Report 2014, Raftopolous 2011, Bracking and Sachikonye 2006).

Regarding the nature of migrants leaving Zimbabwe during this time, it is possible to identify two groups. The first, and largest, group consists of unskilled workers. These migrants choose nearby destinations such as South Africa. They tend to work for relatively short periods and in menial jobs, for example as farm labourers, domestic works and casual workers. Crush, Chikanda and Tawodzera (2012), and others, describe some of this group as survival

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[1] See Landau (2008), Dzingirai, Mutopo and Landau (2014) and Mugabe et al 2012) for a more detailed discussion.

[2] According to the latest Census, Zimbabwe has a population of around 13 million (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency, 2012)

migrants,[3] fleeing persecution and extensive livelihood breakdown in Zimbabwe but that more broadly the profile of migrants from Zimbabwe to South Africa is mixed, consisting of both refugees seeking long term refugee, and those seeking temporary economic opportunities, with a range of motivations and intentions concerning duration.

One feature of the mixed nature of migration from Zimbabwe is that it also includes professionals. Regarding the exodus of skilled professionals, 20,000 health care professionals are believed to have left the country since the turn of the new millennium. These professionals are working in the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Australia and Namibia. The Middle East and Asia are not professionals' preferred destination, except for some very specific sectors of engineering, aviation and insurance. Zanamwe and Devillard (2009), Crush, Chikanda and Tawodzera (2012) and Anich et al (2014) provide excellent discussions of brain drain in the context of migration from Zimbabwe.

4. Linkages between Poverty and Migration

The causes or triggers of migration in Zimbabwe appear to be associated strongly with poverty (Dzingirai et al, 2014). The literature suggests that migrants tend to be those who are no longer employed as a result of closure of industries (Raftopolous, 2011) and are people living on less than a dollar a day, (Bracking and Sachikonye 2006, Raftoplous 2011). Furthermore migrants are drawn from households whose consumption expenditure per capita is below the food poverty line. Poverty is indeed severe in Zimbabwe: the United Nations Country Office report (UN, 2014) suggests that almost 80% of the rural population is poor, compared to just under 40% in urban areas.

But if poverty gives rise to migration, it appears to be eased by it. A recent study suggests that households with migrants are better off than those who do not have migrants (Crush, Chikanda and Tawodzera 2012; Anich et al 2014). One important channel for this is remittances. While some of migrant income is remitted formally, through for example

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[3] Crush, Chikanda and Tawodzera (2012) provide a detailed profile of Zimbabwean migrants living in South Africa using data on a sample of 500 migrants living in Cape Town and Johannesburg in 2010.

transfer agencies and, more recently, mobile banking, much of it is through informal networks based on trust (Bracking and Sachikonye 2006). The use of 'omalaitshas', personal couriers, relatives and spouses and other religious networks are noteworthy forms of remitting income and goods. Because they are based on trust, these forms have their own risks. However, they remain attractive to the poor migrants who often cannot afford formal channels of remitting income or goods (Dzingirai et al, 2014).

Regarding its use, remitted income is often used to ensure food security among sending households (Crush and Tevera 2010,). While it is true that a large part of remitted income is invested in non-productive areas such as funerals, marriage, and ceremonies, and of course food, (Dzingirai, Mutopo and Landau, 2014), it appears that some is directed towards economic production, including purchasing of livestock, land and small business (Bracking and Sachikonye, 2006; Zanamwe and Devillard, 2009).

Clearly there is indication that migration can help alleviate or reduce poverty. To be sure, there are serious questions about the circumstances under which migration can be expected to reduce poverty and about the developments and reforms of the financial sector that might be required to facilitate easy repatriation of remittances. But that migration seems to constitute a step away from poverty if not out of it, is not a tenuous hypothesis.   The challenges however in demonstrating empirically such as link cannot be overstated. Empirically there are challenges in establishing causality with available data and moreover understanding whether migration leads to lower poverty levels depends qualitatively on how one defines the inverse relationship between poverty reduction and migration strategies, (Dzingirai, Mutopo and Landau, Crush, Chikanda and Tawodzera 2012).

5. Survey Methodology

The Zimbabwe household survey follows protocols used in other countries that form part of the MOOP consortium, namely a core household questionnaire and a sampling strategy that ensures reasonably large sub-samples of households with and without migrants. Our approach differs from that of Crush, Chikanda and Tawodzera 2012, and others, in that we

capture data on the original household of the migrants, as opposed to interviewing migrants themselves, and we also have a group of households without any currents migrants which may be considered as a control group for our research. We define a migrant as a former member of the household who within the last 10 years has moved away from the village for at least three months for either work or study reasons and is currently away.[4] We distinguish between internal migration and regional and international migration by capturing destination.

This study was undertaken in three districts in Zimbabwe, namely Chivi in Masvingo province in the south-east of the country, Gwanda in Matelebleland province in the south-west and Hurungwe in Mashonaland West province, in the north, areas where the CASS team in collaboration with WITS had already conducted qualitative research and had established relationships with district officials and village elders.

Map 1 2015 Fieldwork Sites

In each district, two wards were selected, one close to the district's main town and the other some distance away, in order to facilitate eventually analysis of the role of proximity in

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[4] We have collected some data on return migrants but will not explore that data here.

migration decisions. From each of the selected wards, two villages (in practice VIDCOs, Village Development Committee,) were randomly selected. In each of the selected villages, listing of households was obtained from the village development chairperson. Using a number of key informants in each village, each household was categorised in terms of whether it had migrants or not. For the purpose of this household listing, migrants were defined as any member who was currently living outside the VIDCO for a continuous period of 3 months or more, irrespective of when the household member migrated as we did not expect key informants to have precise information on date of migration. One hundred households were then selected randomly from these lists in a ratio of 3:1, that is, 75 households with migrants and 25 households without migrants, giving a total intended sample size of 1200 households.

In practice, sampling based on information provided by key informants was more accurate in some areas that others. While an attempt was made to replace households wrongly sampled, distances between households made this difficult in some areas. The resultant sample is slightly more heavily weighted towards households without migrants in Gwanda but otherwise broadly as planned in Chivi and Hurungwe. The relatively low proportion of households with migrants in Gwanda (65% of the sample rather than the intended 75%) reflects concern by households with migrants in the area to volunteer information that could be used against their migrants in South Africa in the context of xenophobia. Table 1 below shows the sample broken down by district and migrant characteristics of the household.

While we used purposive sampling to select households with and without migrants, the breakdown between internal and international migrants within the group of households with migrants was not specified. Our sample reveals an interesting difference between the three districts. In Hurungwe, we observe that a far greater proportion of households with migrants have internal migrants (migrants still living within Zimbabwe), with relatively few households in Hurungwe having migrants living outside of the country. Chivi or Gwanda, both located close to the southern border with South Africa, have a much higher proportion of households with migrants located outside of the country: in Chivi, almost 72% of households have one or more migrants living abroad.

Table 1: Household sample by region and migrant status

	Households with Internal migrants		Households with International migrants		Households with both Internal and International migrants		Households with no migrants		Total	
District	*N*	Col %	*N*	Col %	*N*	Col %	*N*	Col %	*N*	Col %
Chivi	*85*	25.1	*190*	45.8	*27*	26	*98*	29.3	*400*	33.5
Hurungwe	*202*	59.6	*74*	17.8	*24*	23.1	*99*	29.6	*399*	33.4
Gwanda	*52*	15.3	*151*	36.4	*53*	51	*138*	41.2	*394*	33
Total	*339*	28.4	*415*	34.8	*104*	8.7	*335*	28.1	*1,193*	100

Our household survey questionnaire is similar in design to those developed by the consortium for other countries. It consists of several modules, including a household roster and a roster of migrant members, with details of gender, age, education, marital status and employment. Note that information on current migrants is provided by the household and thus there is inevitably some reporting error.[5] Households are asked to report further on the migration history of each member: when they last migrated, and why, where they are currently living and what their activities are, and also to report on remittances in cash and in goods received from each migrant. One innovative feature of our questionnaire is that we have a strong focus on decision making, with questions relating to the decision to migrate, decision making over use of remittances, and on migrant networks. A consumption module captures data on main items of food and non-food consumption, using a module similar in design but narrower in focus to the Living Standards Measurement Surveys consumption modules[6] and will eventually enable us to analyse the effect of remittances on expenditure shares. We also capture objective indicators of living standards (land and housing characteristics) and subjective perceptions of welfare and of the household's migration experience.

6. Profile of Migrants and their Households

We begin by describing some basic characteristics of households with and without migrants, as shown in Table 2. We observe very small differences in the size of households and little

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[5] It is not obvious how we might establish the extent of reporting errors without tracking migrants at their current location.
[6] Based on our recent survey in Ethiopia, we estimate we capture around 80% of household food expenditure.

difference in the number of migrants each type of household sends. We can say that households with migrants tend to be older, in that the mean age of the head of the household is higher for households with migrants, suggesting there are life-cycle processes involved in migration decisions, although not so much higher to suggest there are significant differences in demographic structure between households with and households without migrants. Households with migrants tend to be slightly more likely to have a female head than those without, which perhaps suggests a longer term pattern of male migration and male absence form households. The meaning of the term household head also needs to be understood from a local Shona perspective. Household heads in Zimbabwe are referred to as *samusha,* a mature male who has independent status from his parents. This male individual would normally have with his own village plot, fields, a wife and children. This particular person should be able to fend for the whole clan and not rely on his immediate family members for survival (Mutopo 2014). It is not clear how this might change in the face of long term male migration.

There are some small differences in the educational attainment of household heads but generally migrants are drawn from households with heads who have either primary or middle school education.

Table 2: Household characteristics										
	All		Households with Internal migrants		Households with International migrants		Households with both Internal and International migrants		Households with no migrants	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
Household size	1193	5.05	339	4.74	415	5.31	104	4.92	335	5.10
Number of migrants	1193	1.28	339	1.46	415	1.69	104	3.18	0	0.00
Household head:										
Age	1144	54.99	321	54.17	390	57.08	104	61.26	329	51.34
Female	424	0.37	117	0.36	155	0.40	40	0.38	112	0.34
Education:										
None	122	0.11	34	0.11	51	0.13	7	0.07	30	0.09
Primary	519	0.46	127	0.40	180	0.47	68	0.65	144	0.45
Middle	409	0.36	136	0.43	123	0.32	23	0.22	127	0.39
High	39	0.03	6	0.02	17	0.04	0	0.00	16	0.05
Other	39	0.03	13	0.04	14	0.04	6	0.06	6	0.02

Turning to the migrants themselves, we show basic characteristics by gender of the migrant, in Table 3. The first striking observation is that the majority, 72%, of migrants identified in our sample are male. We also observe that female migrants on average have been away for a period of 31 months, compared to 41 months for male migrants. This suggests that women are less disposed to migrate than men but perhaps too that female migration is a more recent phenomenon than among men.[7] Certainly there is evidence from other studies that female migration has been increasing in recent years (see Criuh and Tavera, 2010). Migrants also tend to be quite old: around 32 years old, older than the stereotypical youth, and older than the (adult) non-migrants in our sample (see Appendix Table A1 for non-migrant characteristics). The majority of migrants are sons or daughters of the household head.

In terms of education, there is little difference between men and women migrants, with most having either primary or middle school education. However they seem slightly better educated than non-migrants: Table A1 suggest that around 13% of non-migrants have no education, compared to just 1% of our migrants.

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[7] Note that we are not recording completed periods of migration here: instead our data shows how long current migrants have been away.

In terms of destination, surprisingly few differences exist between men and women migrants. Just over 40% of each remain within Zimbabwe, with well over 50% migrating to other countries within Africa, including South Africa and other southern African countries. Few go as far afield as the UK, USA or Canada or to other international destinations such as the Middle East. On average, around half of the migrants in our sample send money[8] back home to their families, with men being slightly more likely to remit than women. Of those migrants who remit, they remit approximately US$350 per year, and this differs substantially by gender. Male migrants send around 50% more than female migrants, which given they are approximately the same age, and approximately the same education and in the same destinations as women migrants, is surprising.[9]

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[8] We report here only on cash remittances, not the value of goods sent home.
[9] It is possible that the difference in cash remittances is made up with goods taken or sent home, yet to be explored.

Table 3: Migrant characteristics, by gender	All migrants		Male		Female	
	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N
Age	31.7	1393	32.5	1002	29.8	391
Education						
None	0.01	10	0.01	8	0.00	2
Primary	0.24	359	0.24	256	0.25	103
Middle	0.64	953	0.63	680	0.66	273
High	0.09	139	0.10	112	0.07	27
Other	0.02	33	0.02	23	0.02	10
Destinations						
Internal: Within same province in Zimbabwe	0.18	267	0.17	188	0.19	79
Internal: Other province in Zimbabwe	0.26	391	0.27	296	0.23	95
International: Other African country	0.54	822	0.53	581	0.57	241
International: English speaking outside Africa (eg UK, USA)	0.03	43	0.03	36	0.02	7
International: Other international destination	0.00	1	0.00	1	0	0
Average annual remittances sent by migrant in USD	348.15	795	381.43	592	251.10	203
Time of migration in months	38.78	1488	41.64	1074	31.34	414
Household size	5.15	1530	5.05	1104	5.40	426
Age of household head	58.10	1477	57.69	1059	59.14	418
Female household head	0.39	573	0.39	415	0.38	158
Education of household head						
None	0.11	158	0.12	123	0.08	35
Primary	0.52	758	0.49	509	0.60	249
Middle	0.31	451	0.33	341	0.27	110
High	0.02	31	0.02	22	0.02	9
Other	0.04	60	0.05	48	0.03	12
Relationship to household head						
Head	0.08	119	0.10	115	0.01	4
Spouse/Partner	0.05	71	0.05	60	0.03	11
Son/daughter	0.66	1005	0.64	701	0.71	304

However, when we break down remittances further, as shown in Table 4, we see that while, irrespective of destination, migrant women are less likely to remit than men, it cannot be concluded that they always remit less. We also observe that for male migrants, remittances are on average higher when sent from international destinations than from internal destinations; the converse is true for women.

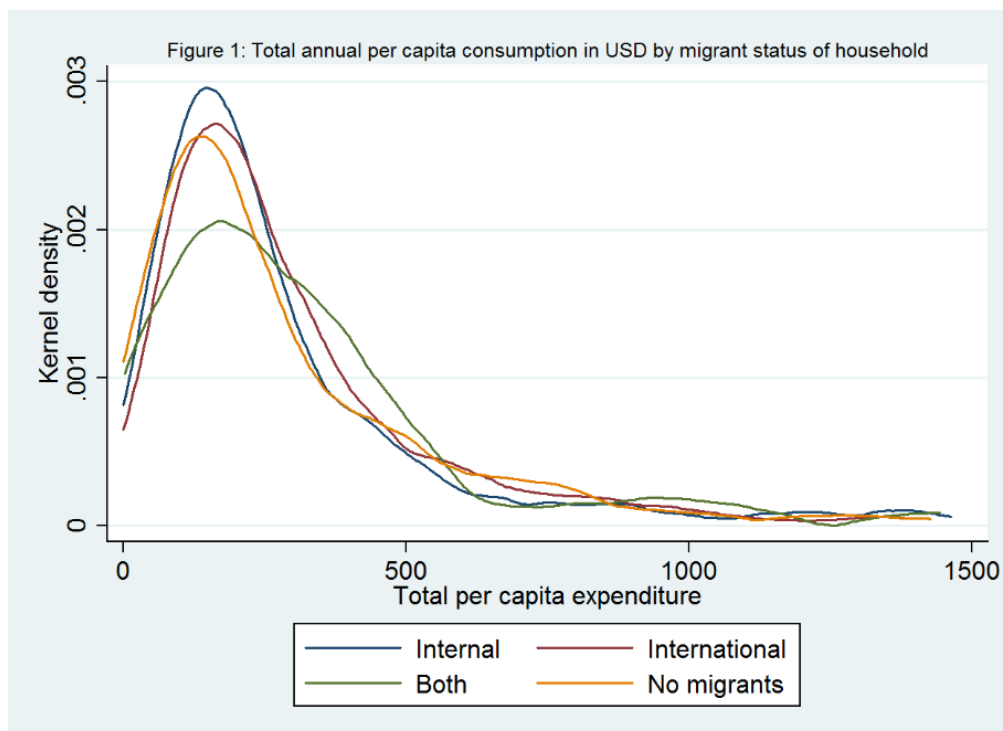| Table 4: Annual remittances in USD sent by migrants from different destinations by sex of migrant	Male		Female	
	Mean	*N*	Mean	*N*
Internal: Within same province in Zimbabwe	425.56	*101*	156.89	*28*
Internal: Other province in Zimbabwe	331.22	*183*	401.35	*51*
International: Other African country	387.44	*290*	202.67	*117*
International: English speaking (eg UK, USA)	578.31	*16*	666.67	*3*
International: Other international destination	0.0	*0*	0.0	*0*
All	381.43	*592*	251.10	*203*

The difference in remittance amounts by gender is perhaps best explained by considering the occupational differences at destination. Table A2 shows a detailed breakdown of remittances by occupation and gender. The single most frequent occupations for men is in skilled construction work whereas for women, domestic service is the most frequent occupation: our data shows that men working in construction send almost US$500 a year compared to around US$250 for female domestic workers. Male migrants are also more likely to be in higher paid technical/professional occupations than female migrants, although for this group, our data shows that women remit more than men. It is possible that there are differences in wage levels, or differences in employment conditions, which lead to different remittance behaviour.

7. Migration and poverty

We adopt two approaches to explore the relationship between migration and poverty. First we examine our survey data on consumption to see if there is any association between consumption levels and migrant status of households. Figure 1 shows the distribution of annualised total household per capita consumption for each group of households; means and standard deviations for total household per capita consumption as well as on key expenditure groups (food, education health etc) are shown in Table 5; and Table 6 shows expenditure shares.

We see that households without migrants are on average slightly worse off than households with migrants. Households with both internal and international migrants appear to the better off, although there is little difference between households with only internal migrants and households with only international migrants. Expenditure shares, including the food budget share, are very similar across groups, surprisingly even when comparing the better off households with both types of migrants with the rest of the sample. Here we confront a significant difficulty in reaching firmer conclusions as we do not observe consumption levels prior to the migration decision: we cannot be sure that any differences are due to migration, or if those differences provoked or hindered the migration decision. We intend to explore this in future work.

Figure 1: Total annual per capita consumption in USD by migrant status of household

Table 5: Annual Consumption per capita in USD, by migrant type of household: Total and selected expenditure groups

		Total	Food	Household items	Education	Health	Alcohol	Transport
All *(N=1,192)*	Mean	353.8	207.0	77.1	30.4	7.8	10.5	27.6
	SD	640.7	566.8	168.3	65.6	21.9	37.4	50.2
Households with Internal migrants *(N=339)*	Mean	359.4	208.4	77.5	30.9	8.4	9.9	24.8
	SD	575.3	456.9	160.5	71.5	23.7	46.7	54.9
Households with International migrants *(N=415)*	Mean	346.5	216.2	69.0	30.3	8.2	9.4	30.5
	SD	826.7	799.1	135.9	54.2	22.1	24.8	54.0
Households with Both International and Internal migrants *(N=103)*	Mean	448.0	279.8	91.5	26.5	5.4	6.2	21.1
	SD	643.3	525.4	275.3	43.5	18.3	21.1	44.1
None *(N=335)*	Mean	328.2	171.9	82.2	31.2	7.6	13.4	29.4
	SD	389.5	235.8	169.5	77.1	20.9	40.2	40.9

Table 6: Budget share of different expenditure items relative to total expenditure by migrant status of households

	All	Households with Internal Migrants	Households with International Migrants	Households with Both internal and International Migrants	Households with no Migrants
Food	0.56	0.55	0.58	0.56	0.55
Household items	0.22	0.22	0.21	0.21	0.23
Education	0.11	0.11	0.12	0.09	0.10
Health	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.03
Other	0.08	0.09	0.06	0.12	0.19

Given the difficulties of drawing strong inferences from the consumption data, our second approach to exploring whether migration enables households to escape poverty, is simply to ask them. First we asked households if generally they felt households with migrants were better off. Table 7 shows that a majority of households responded that they did think that households were better off if they had migrants, although a sizeable 44% believe the opposite. Interestingly among households with migrants, those with family members abroad

(primarily in South Africa and southern Africa) were very negative on the impacts of migration: 52% felt that migration was beneficial. This may reflect concerns for safety of migrants in South Africa: our fieldwork coincided with the recent escalation in xenophobic violence. Thus while we may conclude that there is a widespread belief among our sample that migration is generically beneficial, much may depend on the destination of the migrant, a nuance we will explore in further work.

Table 7: Responses to Q95a "Thinking generally, do you think that households in your community with migrants are generally better off than those households without migrants?"										
	Households with Internal Migrants		Households with International Migrants		Households with both Internal and International Migrants		Households with no Migrants		Total	
	N	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
No	*120*	36.5	*210*	52.2	*37*	38.9	*129*	40.1	*496*	43.2
Yes	*207*	62.9	*189*	47	*58*	61.1	*184*	57.1	*638*	55.6
Don't know / Refusal	*2*	0.6	*3*	0.6	*0*	0	*9*	2.7	*14*	1.1
Total	*329*	100	*402*	100	*95*	100	*322*	100	*1,148*	100
Pearson chi2(12) = 31.4339 Pr = 0.002										

When we asked households with migrants to reflect on their own situation, and consider if their household was better or worse off since their member had migrated, we see that around 40% of households report that they their own situation has improved and only around 22% report that it has declined. Again we see, in Table 8, that those with international migrants have a less positive view of the impact of migration on their households, in contrast to those with only internal migrants or both internal and international migrants.

Table 8: Responses to Q98 "Overall, thinking about the household in general, how would you describe the household's daily life now compared to before your household member moved away?"

	Households with Internal Migrants		Households with International Migrants		Households with Both Internal and International Migrants		Total	
	N	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
Much improved	14	4.1	10	2.4	4	3.8	28	3.2
Improved	132	39.1	141	34.1	45	43.3	318	36.9
Neither improved nor getting worse	128	37.9	149	36	33	31.7	310	36.6
Worse	56	16.6	93	22.5	17	16.3	166	19.3
Much worse	8	2.4	20	4.8	5	4.8	33	3.8
Don't know / Refusal	0	0	1	0.2	0	0	1	0.1
Total	338	100	414	100	104	100	856	100

Pearson chi2(15) = 18.6915 Pr = 0.228

8. Conclusions

This working paper reports preliminary findings from a survey conducted in April and May 2015 on a sample of households in Zimbabwe comprising of both households with current migrants and households without migrants. Our sample of almost 1200 households is relatively large compared to other surveys exploring Zimbabwean migration and moreover covers migration both with the country and to international destinations, not just South Africa.

The literature suggests that migrants tend to be poor and often driven by unemployment, vulnerable livelihoods and insecurity. Our findings do not dispute that. What is not clear from the existing evidence is whether migrants are disproportionately drawn from the poor or whether there is a group of households or individuals in Zimbabwe too poor to migrate. Our preliminary results suggest that there are few differences between migrants and non-migrants, except that the former tend to be slightly better educated, and that generally households with migrants are not better off than those without. We observe little difference in household consumption expenditure levels between households of different migration statuses. While acknowledging difficulties in drawing conclusions about welfare from the

simple descriptives of our expenditure data presented here, there does appear to be a negative perception of the benefits of migration among those households who have migrants abroad, in contrast to those whose migrant members remain within the country. As our sample of international migrants are predominantly based in South Africa, we infer this to be related to recent xenophobic attacks. In a related qualitative study in the same regions, a similar observation was made, but this negative perception was more likely to be held by households with long–term migrants abroad (Dzingirai et al 2014). It appeared that the longer the migrant stayed abroad, the more disappointing their contribution became. This suggests that perceptions, if not objective indicators of poverty, may be influenced by the destination of the migrant but also by the duration of the migration episode, a theme we will return to in future work.

Further work will aim to explore the role of destination and duration of migration on poverty, and in particular the role of remittances in household economies. We will explore further the different factors associated with migration, such as low income, poor asset endowment, unemployment or livelihood insecurity, and how different individuals and their families respond to these different factors.

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10. Appendix

Table A1: Non-migrant characteristics, by gender

	All		Male		Female	
	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N
Age	26.15	6005	23.89	2902	28.27	3103
Education						
None	0.13	751	0.12	330	0.14	421
Primary	0.49	2860	0.49	1388	0.48	1472
Middle	0.30	1759	0.30	859	0.30	900
High	0.03	149	0.03	90	0.02	59
Other	0.06	365	0.06	176	0.06	189
Household size	5.99	6016	6.04	2905	5.93	3111
Age of household head	55.38	5786	55.58	2790	55.19	2996
Female household head	0.33	1935	0.28	792	0.38	1143
Education of household head						
None	0.10	579	0.10	264	0.11	315
Primary	0.48	2715	0.47	1305	0.48	1410
Middle	0.35	1991	0.36	981	0.34	1010
High	0.03	189	0.04	106	0.03	83
Other	0.04	224	0.03	95	0.04	129

Table A2: Occupation of migrants at destination by sex of migrant

	Male		Female		Total	
Occupation	N	%	N	%	N	%
Technical/professional (eg medical doctor/nurse/teacher/engineer)	113	10.4	25	6	138	9.2
Manager	6	0.6	0	0	6	0.4
Admin Staff	25	2.3	8	1.9	33	2.2
sales worker (eg sales/waiter/ress)	41	3.8	36	8.7	77	5.1
service worker (eg office cleaner/security guard/hotel worker)	101	9.3	26	6.3	127	8.5
own farm	2	0.2	1	0.2	3	0.2
paid labourer in agriculture	50	4.6	19	4.6	69	4.6
transport operator	50	4.6	2	0.5	52	3.5
skilled construction worker	133	12.3	4	1	137	9.1
paid labourer (non-farm)	101	9.3	16	3.9	117	7.8
production staff(textiles, electronics/other)	26	2.4	7	1.7	33	2.2
own business (non-farm)	47	4.3	14	3.4	61	4.1
domestic work	6	0.6	79	19.0	85	5.7
in school/education	15	1.4	17	4.1	32	2.1
unemployed and looking for job	74	6.8	35	8.4	109	7.3
unemployed and not looking /retired	14	1.3	22	5.3	36	2.4
Housewife	4	0.4	34	8.2	38	2.5
others, specify	2	0.2	0	0	2	0.1
Don't know	268	24.7	61	14.7	329	21.9
Not applicable	2	0.2	7	1.7	9	0.6
Total	1,084	100	415	100	1,499	100

About the Migrating out of Poverty Research Programme Consortium

Migrating out of Poverty is a research programme consortium (RPC) funded by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID). It focuses on the relationship between migration and poverty – especially migration within countries and regions - and is located in five regions across Asia and Africa. The main goal of *Migrating out of Poverty* is to provide robust evidence on the drivers and impacts of migration in order to contribute to improving policies affecting the lives and well-being of impoverished migrants, their communities and countries, through a programme of innovative research, capacity building and policy engagement. The RPC will also conduct analysis in order to understand the migration policy process in developing regions and will supplement the world renowned migration databases at the University of Sussex with data on internal migration.

The *Migrating out of Poverty* consortium is coordinated by the University of Sussex, and led by CEO Professor L. Alan Winters with Dr Priya Deshingkar as the Research Director. Core partners are: the Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (RMMRU) in Bangladesh; the Centre for Migration Studies (CMS) at the University of Ghana; the Asia Research Institute (ARI) at the National University of Singapore; the African Centre for Migration & Society (ACMS) at the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa; and the African Migration and Development Policy Centre (AMADPOC) in Kenya.

Migrating out of Poverty

University of Sussex

Falmer, Brighton BN1 9QN, United Kingdom

tel: +44 (0)1273 873535

email: migrationrpc@sussex.ac.uk

web: http://migratingoutofpoverty.dfid.gov.uk/

Twitter:@migrationrpc