

# *Land Tenure Security and Internal Migration in Tanzania*

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# MOTIVATION

- ▶ In developing countries: one characterization of rural land ownership ⇒ weakly defined property rights
- ▶ Rights: through continuous and productive use, not through possession of formal land titles [de Janvry et al. \(2015\)](#)
  - > Physical presence of the occupant of the land is mandatory
  - > Leaving the land uncultivated for an extended period of time ⇒ risk of losing the land
- ▶ Similar situation in Tanzania: Customary tenure system and informal ownership
  - > The process of land registration and titling: costly and complicated ⇒ majority of rural land remain untitled

## MOTIVATION...CONTD

- ▶ Problem: Inefficient allocation of resources, mainly labor
- ▶ Different channels are identified in the literature - from tenure in/security to resource allocation.
- ▶ Tenure insecurity ⇒
  - > Fear of expropriation ⇒ under investment in agri. plots
  - > Not possible to use land as collateral in credit market ⇒ Restricts access to credit
  - > Limits market exchange or transferability of land ⇒ distortion in allocation of labor
- ▶ The focus of most of the literature that studies the empirical link b/n tenure security & resource allocation
- ▶ This paper broadly speaks to the above literature

## MOTIVATION . . . CONTD

- ▶ However, our focus is on another important but scarcely explored aspect of tenure in/security over agricultural land
  - > Impact of tenure security on households' decision to have a migrant member
  - > Limited evidence and emerging only in recent years (See [de la Rupelle et al. \(2009\)](#), [Mullan et al. \(2011\)](#), [de Brauw and Mueller \(2012\)](#), [Valsecchi \(2014\)](#), [Chernina et al. \(2014\)](#), [de Janvry et al. \(2015\)](#)).
  - > The evidence in the context of Africa in general and Tanzania in particular is scant
  - > Only [de Brauw and Mueller \(2012\)](#) examine the empirical link between land transferability and migration in Ethiopia

## MOTIVATION: MAIN QUESTION

- ▶ Does tenure security have an impact on internal migration in rural Tanzania?
- ▶ Is there heterogeneity by age, gender and reasons of migration?
- ▶ Theoretically, effect of tenure security on migration can go in either direction
  - > Tenure insecurity  $\Rightarrow$  Risk of expropriation  $\Rightarrow$  Less Migration. OR,  
 $\uparrow$  **Tenure security**  $\rightarrow$   $\uparrow$  **Migration**
  - > Tenure insecurity  $\Rightarrow$  Fear of wasting labor the next period if the land is taken away  $\Rightarrow$  More Migration  
 $\uparrow$  **Tenure security**  $\rightarrow$   $\downarrow$  **Migration**
- ▶ Difficult to a priori determine the sign

## DATA

- ▶ Rely on the three waves of Tanzanian National Panel Survey (NPS): 2008/2009, 2010/2011 & 2012/2013
- ▶ A total sample of 3043 households
- ▶ Household members who are  $\geq 15$  years old are tracked
- ▶ Define two measures of migration
  - > Binary Indicator=1 if HH has at least 1 migrant member
  - > Continuous : share of migrant members in total HH size
- ▶ Tenure Security: based on households' perception
  - > Binary indicator=1: At least one secured plot
  - > Continuous: Share of secured plots
- ▶ Outcome is measured at period  $t$ , household and plot level controls are measured at period  $t - 2$

# MODEL AND ESTIMATION ISSUES

► Baseline model:

$$y_{ivt} = \alpha + \beta_1 TenSec_{ivt-2} + x_{ivt-2} \beta_2' + \gamma_v + \eta_t + \varepsilon_{ivt} \quad (1)$$

where

- >  $y_{ivt}$  is an indicator for migration
  - >  $TenSec_{ivt-2}$  is perceived tenure security over agricultural land at period at  $t - 2$
  - >  $x_{ivt-2}$  is a vector of household level controls which include both plot level and household level characteristics observed at  $t - 2$
  - >  $\gamma_v$  and  $\eta_t$  respectively capture village and year fixed effects
  - >  $\varepsilon_{ivt}$  is error term
- Identification is achieved using variation within a village across households and time



## MODEL AND ESTIMATION ISSUES . . . CONTD

### Two estimation concerns:

- > does not control for time varying village specific factors
- > Might also omit household specific time invariant factors that can potentially bias the result

**Augmented Model:** We thus re-specify the model as follows

$$y_{ivt} = \alpha + \beta_1 TenSecu_{ivt-2} + x_{ivt-2} \beta_2' + \gamma_v + \eta_t + \theta_{vt} + \lambda_{iv} + \varepsilon_{ivt} \quad (2)$$

where  $\theta_{vt}$  and  $\lambda_{iv}$  respectively capture time varying village specific and time invariant household specific factors.

## MODEL AND ESTIMATION ISSUES . . . CONTD

- ▶ Take 1<sup>st</sup> difference → control time invariant HH and village specific factors
- ▶ Only 2 time periods → differencing will also eliminate the time FE and time varying components of any village specific factors
- ▶ Reduces the model to a time invariant village fixed effect model

$$\Delta y_{iv} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \Delta TenSecu_{iv} + \Delta x_{iv} \beta_2' + \Delta \theta_v + \Delta \varepsilon_{iv} \quad (3)$$

# DESCRIPTIVES

TABLE 1: Summary Statistics on Tenure Security

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
Any Secured	0.94	0.23	0	1	3043
Sh. of Secured LS	0.92	0.25	0	1	3043
Any Plot Titled	0.12	0.32	0	1	3043
Sh. of Titled LS	0.09	0.27	0	1	3043
Colla/Sell Any Plt	0.76	0.43	0	1	3043
Colla/Sell: Sh. of Plt Size	0.71	0.43	0	1	3043
Total Land Size	5.06	5.06	0.02	36.5	3043

- ▶ 94% of the Households feel tenure security for at least one of their plots
- ▶ Only 12% of the households have at least one plot that is titled
- ▶ 76% of the households feel that they have sell/collateral right in at least 1 plot

## DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS ... CONTD

- ▶ shows the weak link between land title certificates and tenure security as well as the right to sell or use land as collateral

# DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS ... CONTD

**TABLE 2:** Correlation between the Different Measures of Tenure Security

	Any Secured	Sh. of Secured LS	Any Plot Titled	Sh. of Titled LS	Colla/Sell Any Plt	Colla/Sell: Sh. of PS	Total LS
Any Secured	1.000						
Sh. of Secured LS	0.888	1.000					
Any Plot Titled	0.050	0.045	1.000				
Sh. of Titled LS	0.043	0.047	0.925	1.000			
Colla/Sell Any Plt	0.281	0.250	0.040	0.027	1.000		
Colla/Sell: Sh. of PS	0.253	0.286	0.013	0.024	0.931	1.000	
Total LS	0.095	0.095	0.021	-0.007	0.198	0.212	1.000
Observations	3043						

- ▶ Perception of land security has some correlation (around 25%) with selling/using land as collateral
- ▶ On the other hand, households' perception of land security has very weak correlation with land title- puzzling

# DESCRIPTIVES ... CONTD

**TABLE 3:** Summary Statistics on Household and Land Characteristics

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
HH has Migrant Member	0.23	0.42	0	1	3043
No. of Migrant Members	0.44	1.14	0	19	3043
Sh of Migrant Members	0.07	0.16	0	1	3043
Household Size	5.62	2.99	1	55	3043
Male	0.77	0.42	0	1	3043
Head Age	48.92	15.64	19	105	3043
Went to School	0.71	0.46	0	1	3043
Married/Liv. Togeth.	0.78	0.41	0	1	3043
Separated/Divor/Widow	0.2	0.4	0	1	3043
Went to School	0.71	0.46	0	1	3043
Economic Shocks	0.57	0.49	0	1	3043
Water Shortage	0.3	0.46	0	1	3043

- ▶ On average, 23% of the households have at least 1 migrant member
- ▶ The average share of migrant members in the data is 7%

# DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS ... CONTD

**TABLE 4:** Mean Comparison of Tenure Security Status in 2010 vs 2012

	Year 2010		Year 2012		Difference		
	Obs	Mean	Obs	Mean	Mean	SE	p-val
Any Secured	1365	0.95	1678	0.94	0.00	0.01	0.569
Sh. of Secured LS	1365	0.92	1678	0.91	0.01	0.01	0.389
Any Plot Titled	1365	0.10	1678	0.13	-0.03	0.01	** 0.014
Sh. of Titled LS	1365	0.07	1678	0.11	-0.03	0.01	*** 0.001
Colla/Sell Any Plt	1365	0.72	1678	0.79	-0.08	0.02	*** 0.000
Colla/Sell: Sh. of Plt Size	1365	0.67	1678	0.74	-0.07	0.02	*** 0.000
Total Land Size	1365	4.93	1678	5.17	-0.23	0.18	0.201

NOTE: Own computation \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

- ▶ On average, households' perception of land security has not changed significantly between 2010 and 2012
- ▶ Land titling and households' perception of having the right to sell or use land as collateral has increased

## RESULTS: TENURE SECURITY & INTERNAL MIGRATION

- ▶ Looked at impact on both probability of having at least 1 migrant and share of migrant in total HH size as alternative outcomes
- ▶ Tenure security in at least 1 plot and share of secured plot in total land size are used as alternative measures of tenure security
- ▶ Estimation is done based on Random Effects, Fixed effects, FE Poisson and RE-Probit Methods
- ▶ In all estimations the unit of analysis is the household and standard errors are clustered at village level
- ▶ **Main finding:** negative and statistically significant association between perceived tenure security and internal migration in Tanzania



# RESULTS: BASELINE MODEL

TABLE 5: Tenure Security and Migration of Members

	Share of Migrant Members			HH Has a Migrant Member		
	RE	FE	Poisson-FE	RE	RE-Probit	FE
Any Secured	-0.039** (0.015)	-0.041** (0.017)	-0.644*** (0.217)	-0.090** (0.035)	-0.085*** (0.031)	-0.113*** (0.044)
Log Total Land Size	0.009** (0.004)	0.005 (0.004)	0.084 (0.073)	0.027*** (0.009)	0.027*** (0.009)	0.012 (0.011)
Household Size	0.008*** (0.001)	0.008*** (0.001)	0.112*** (0.021)	0.042*** (0.004)	0.042*** (0.003)	0.046*** (0.004)
No. of Obs.	3043	3043	1821	3051	3051	3051
<i>adjR</i> <sup>2</sup>		.031				.093

Additional Controls include: Married/Liv. Togeth., Went to School, Dist to Maj Road, Sh. of Rented LS , Economic Shocks, Water Shortage . Standard errors clustered at Village Level in Parenthesis

- ▶ On average, HHs with at least one secured plot have 4.1 pts less migrant members (Col. 2)
- ▶ The share of migrant members, is on average, 64% lower for HHs with at least one secured plot (Col. 3)
- ▶ On average, HHs with at least one secured plot have 11.3 pts. less prob. of having a migrant (Col. 6)

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# RESULTS: BASELINE MODEL

TABLE 6: Share of Size of Secured Plots and Migration of Members

	Share of Migrant Members			HH Has a Migrant Member		
	RE	FE	Poisson-FE	RE	RE-Probit	FE
Sh. of Secured LS	-0.026** (0.013)	-0.026* (0.015)	-0.446** (0.215)	-0.057* (0.031)	-0.055* (0.029)	-0.072* (0.039)
Log Total Land Size	0.009** (0.004)	0.005 (0.004)	0.076 (0.074)	0.025*** (0.009)	0.026*** (0.009)	0.011 (0.011)
Household Size	0.008*** (0.001)	0.008*** (0.001)	0.111*** (0.021)	0.042*** (0.004)	0.042*** (0.003)	0.046*** (0.004)
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<i>adjR</i> <sup>2</sup>		.029				.091

Additional Controls include: Married/Liv. Togeth., Went to School, Dist to Maj Road, Sh. of Rented LS, Economic Shocks, Water Shortage. Standard errors clustered at Village Level in Parenthesis

- ▶ A 1 ppt. ↑ in the share of secured plots is associated with a 0.026 ppt. ↓ in the share of migrant member (Cols. 1 & 2)
- ▶ A 1 ppt ↑ in share of secured plots is → 45 % ↓ in the share of migrant members (Col. 3)
- ▶ A 1 ppt. ↑ in share of secured plots is associated with 0.072 ppt ↓ in the prob. of having a migrant (Column 6)

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# RESULTS: BASED ON 1ST DIFFERENCE MODEL

**TABLE 7: Tenure Security and Migration of Members: Using Differenced data**

	Share of Migrant Members			HH Has a Migrant Member		
	OLS	RE	FE	RE	RE-Probit	FE
D_Any Secured	-0.037* (0.020)	-0.039* (0.021)	-0.056* (0.030)	-0.080* (0.048)	-0.048 (0.042)	-0.129* (0.069)
D_Log Total Land Size	0.001 (0.010)	0.003 (0.010)	0.014 (0.011)	-0.007 (0.023)	-0.003 (0.020)	-0.000 (0.031)
D_Household Size	0.037*** (0.006)	0.037*** (0.006)	0.040*** (0.007)	0.125*** (0.012)	-0.026*** (0.010)	0.132*** (0.016)
No. of Obs.	1324	1324	1324	1330	1330	1330
<i>adjR</i> <sup>2</sup>	.074		.078			.1

Additional Controls include: Married/Liv. Togeth., Went to School, Dist to Maj Road, Sh. of Rented LS , Economic Shocks, Water Shortage . Standard errors clustered at Village Level in Parenthesis

- ▶ Table 7 is counterpart of Table 5.
- ▶ On average, HHs with at least one secured plot have around 5.6 ppts. less migrant members (Coln. 3)
- ▶ On average, HHs with at least one secured plot have around 12.9 ppts. less prob. of having a migrant (Col. 6)

# RESULTS: BASED ON 1ST DIFFERENCE MODEL

**TABLE 7:** Tenure Security and Migration of Members: Using Differenced data

	Share of Migrant Members			HH Has a Migrant Member		
	OLS	RE	FE	RE	RE-Probit	FE
D_Any Secured	-0.037* (0.020)	-0.039* (0.021)	-0.056* (0.030)	-0.080* (0.048)	-0.048 (0.042)	-0.129* (0.069)
D_Log Total Land Size	0.001 (0.010)	0.003 (0.010)	0.014 (0.011)	-0.007 (0.023)	-0.003 (0.020)	-0.000 (0.031)
D_Household Size	0.037*** (0.006)	0.037*** (0.006)	0.040*** (0.007)	0.125*** (0.012)	-0.026*** (0.010)	0.132*** (0.016)
No. of Obs.	1324	1324	1324	1330	1330	1330
<i>adjR</i> <sup>2</sup>	.074		.078			.1

Additional Controls include: Married/Liv. Togeth., Went to School, Dist to Maj Road, Sh. of Rented LS , Economic Shocks, Water Shortage . Standard errors clustered at Village Level in Parenthesis

- ▶ Table 7 is counterpart of Table 5.
- ▶ On average, HHs with at least one secured plot have around 5.6 ppts. less migrant members (Coln. 3)
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# RESULTS: BASED ON 1ST DIFFERENCE MODEL

**TABLE 8:** Share of Size of Secured Plots and Migration of Members: Using Differenced data

	Share of Migrant Members			HH Has a Migrant Member		
	OLS	RE	FE	RE	RE-Probit	FE
D_Sh. of Secured LS	-0.024 (0.018)	-0.026 (0.018)	-0.046* (0.027)	-0.041 (0.045)	-0.051 (0.039)	-0.088 (0.063)
D_Log Total Land Size	0.000 (0.010)	0.002 (0.010)	0.013 (0.011)	-0.009 (0.023)	-0.003 (0.020)	-0.002 (0.031)
D_Household Size	0.037*** (0.006)	0.037*** (0.006)	0.040*** (0.007)	0.125*** (0.012)	-0.026*** (0.010)	0.132*** (0.016)
No. of Obs.	1324	1324	1324	1330	1330	1330
<i>adjR</i> <sup>2</sup>	.072		.076			.099

Additional Controls include: Married/Liv. Togeth., Went to School, Dist to Maj Road, Sh. of Rented LS , Economic Shocks, Water Shortage . Standard errors clustered at Village Level in Parenthesis

- ▶ Table 8 is counterpart of Table 6 but using differenced data
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# RESULTS

**TABLE 9:** Tenure Security and Migration of Economically Active (EA) Members: using Differenced data

	Share of EA Migrant Members			HH Has an EA Migrant Member		
	OLS	RE	FE	RE	RE-Probit	FE
D_Any Secured	-0.041** (0.016)	-0.043*** (0.017)	-0.050** (0.021)	-0.081* (0.048)	-0.051 (0.041)	-0.123* (0.068)
D_Log Total Land Size	-0.001 (0.009)	0.001 (0.009)	0.004 (0.010)	-0.006 (0.022)	0.011 (0.020)	-0.001 (0.030)
D_Household Size	0.020*** (0.004)	0.021*** (0.004)	0.026*** (0.005)	0.124*** (0.012)	-0.030*** (0.010)	0.136*** (0.017)
No. of Obs.	1330	1330	1330	1330	1330	1330
<i>adjR</i> <sup>2</sup>	.034		.056			.11

Additional Controls include: Married/Liv. Togeth., Went to School, Dist to Maj Road, Sh. of Rented LS , Economic Shocks, Water Shortage . Standard errors clustered at Village Level in Parenthesis

- ▶ The result stays similar even if we count migration of only economically active members; b/n 15 & 65 years

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# CONCLUSION

- ▶ Examine the impact of tenure security on internal migration
- ▶ Negative association between tenure security and internal migration in Tanzania
- ▶ Results consistent across different specifications & sub-samples
- ▶ Has implication for the basic principles of structural transformation
  - ▶ structural transformation- rural to urban migration is needed
  - ▶ Increasing labor productivity in agricultural sector and provide cheap labor for service and manufacturing sectors
  - ▶ If the modern sectors could not cope up with the population pressure in urban areas, rural-urban migration may not be attractive

Thank You!