

**MIGRATION & RURAL DEVELOPMENT:  
An Assessment of the Impact of Migration on  
Rural Communities in Huancavelica, Peru**

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**Abstract:** This paper explores the impact of migration on rural livelihoods in the Peruvian Andes and the implications of such impacts on rural development policies. Traditionally, rural development strategies in Peru have tended to focus on building agricultural capacities. Yet this overlooks the fact that most rural households are no longer able to survive solely off of a farming income. Instead, my hypothesis is that migration, both temporary and permanent, is an integral part of rural livelihoods that should not be overlooked in rural development policies. In this paper, I set forth two theoretical frameworks within which to examine the impact of migration on rural development: (1) livelihoods approach to development theory and (2) the new economics of labor migration. Addressing development and migration at a household or community level, both theories emphasize coping strategies used by families to alleviate their socio-economic risks. This nexus of migration and development helps to illustrate the changing realities of rural households in response to a variety of forces. My analysis of these forces and their impact on rural households is based on the findings from interviews I conducted in seven rural communities and with six Non-Governmental Organizations in the department of Huancavelica, Peru. Drawing from my analysis, I propose several policy recommendations that take into account the critical role of migration in rural development.

## **I. Introduction:**

Interest in the relationship between migration and development has found a new audience in the last decade. Much of this interest stems from a rapid growth in economic remittance flows, which have caught the attention of political, multilateral, and academic actors. An Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) report estimated that the Latin American Region received \$20 billion in remittances in the year 2000 alone (IDB 2001). While the IDB and other development institutions explore ways in which they can play a role in managing these financial flows, academic scholars of migration are increasingly focused on understanding the real impact of such remittances on development. An important dimension of such discussions that is often overlooked by financial institutions is the social and cultural implications of remittances. In other words, in addition to the potential economic impact of remittances, how do social remittances- or the ideas, practices, identities and social capital that migrants remit home (Levitt 1998<sup>1</sup>, Goldring 2003) play a role in deepening the intricate relationship between migrants and their home communities.

In order to delve deeper into this discussion of migration and development, a clearer conceptualization of what the latter term signifies is a crucial first step. Post WWII development theory targeted the macro-economic shortenings of Third World countries as a means of eradicating poverty, whereas in the 1990s, development theories have shifted to both market-based theories and more human-centered perspectives. Here, I focus on the latter of

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<sup>1</sup> Peggy Levitt was one of the 1<sup>st</sup> scholars to recognize the importance of social remittances in the relationship between migrants and their home communities.

these two theories, which is more commonly known as human development theory. As argued by the economist Amartya Sen's (1997, 2000), development is far more than income generation because it also demands the realization of human capabilities. He refers to these capabilities as "individual freedoms" to achieve what one values. As such, he contends, "What a person has the actual capability to achieve is influenced by economic opportunities, political liberties, social facilities, and the enabling conditions of good health, basic education, and the encouragement and cultivation of initiatives." The United Nations Development Program has also latched onto this concept of fostering capabilities as the key to development. As such, the UNDP statement on development is as follows:

"Human development is about much more than the rise or fall of national incomes. It is about creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives in accord with their needs and interests. People are the real wealth of nations. Development is thus about expanding the choices people have to lead lives that they value. And it is thus about much more than economic growth, which is only a means —if a very important one —of enlarging people's choices."<sup>2</sup>

In response to such notions of human-centered development, programs funded by multilateral organizations, government agencies, and NGOs have honed in on participatory and capacity strengthening approaches in planning and implementing their development projects. Participatory practices go hand in hand with Sen's statement that human beings are their own engines of change rather than passive beneficiaries of aid.

If we accept that successful development hinges on the active participation of individuals in achieving progress, I argue that we can also start to understand that the impact of migrants on their origin communities extends far beyond the money that they send home. Indeed, migrants are agents of change as they are likely to influence local attitudes, ideas, and practices when they share their experiences and new knowledge attainment. Social remittances therefore have the potential to be a powerful tool for change within the sending community. As stated by Levitt (1998):

When a small group is regularly involved in their sending country, and others participate periodically, their combined efforts add up. Take together and over time, these activities constitute a social force with tremendous transformative significance that can modify the economy, values, and everyday lives of entire regions.

### **Rural Development in Peru:**

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<sup>2</sup> <http://hdr.undp.org/hd/>

Having recognized the potential role of economic remittances and social remittances in the development of sending communities, I now turn to a more specific area of development; that of rural development in Peru. Like most developing countries, Peru has undergone a process of rapid urbanization in the last half century. The internal flows of migrants from rural areas (particularly in the Andean highlands) to urban areas (primarily Lima) have been well documented (Degregori et al. 1986; Roberts and Long, YR; Golte and Adams 1990; Llona, Rosa. 2004; Doig, Enrique Rodriguez, 1994; Dietz 1980, Roberts 1995; Long and Roberts 1978). Much of the scholarly attention has been focused on the social, cultural, and political role that migrants have played in the growth of cities. Far less attention has been paid to the communities that are left behind. There are a few scholarly examples (Salvador Rios, 1991; Brougere, 1992, Alber, 1999) but with the rapid rise in international migration from Peru (mostly from Lima) in the last decade, rural areas have fallen even more into the shadows of migration research. In this paper, I hope to contribute to the discussion of development and migration by looking back at the origins of migration on the Peruvian Sierra and assessing the level to which the process of migration and migrants themselves have impacted rural communities.

Defining rural development is no longer a clear-cut process but instead demands an acute awareness of the increasingly diverse coping strategies employed by rural households. In Latin America, the concept of “Nueva Ruralidad” (New Rurality)<sup>3</sup> acknowledges that rural areas are no longer islands of development nor are they reliant solely on farm incomes. In Peru, a recent study estimated that 51% of rural incomes are rooted in off-farm economic activities (Escobal 2001). Moreover, once regarded to be predominantly agrarian society, Peru’s national population is now overwhelmingly urban with 75% of the population living in cities. Within this shifting socio-economic context, the interconnections between rural and urban societies have also grown deeper and more complex. Although the population of Lima far out shadows other urban areas, in recent years, the importance of intermediary cities in Peru has become increasingly clear. It comes as no surprise then that scholars of rural development have started to recognize that such linkages are key components in sustainable economic growth for both

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<sup>3</sup> Instituto Interamericano de Cooperación para la Agricultura. March 2000. *El Desarrollo Rural Sostenible en el Marco de una Nueva Lectura de la Ruralidad*.

urban and rural areas. In a 2004 publication, a group of Peruvian scholars assessed urban-rural linkages in three sample intermediary cities: Chivay, Arequipa; Huancavelica, Huancavelica; and Villa Rica, Pacso. From this analysis, they re-defined residents in such intermediary cities as a blend of *campesino* and urban-dweller or a person whose lifestyle stretches between the two formerly dichotomous worlds. In other words, identities are not as easily delineated as concluded in the following comments in regards to the role of intermediary cities in development:

“Las ciudades intermedias en el Perú presentan...un escenario en el cual los límites entre lo rural y lo urbano son más difusos y sus compromisos mutuos más intensos. Ambas realidades se articulan e interactúan dando lugar a un nuevo espacio conceptual que no es del todo rural o del todo urbano y que requiere estudiarse para levantar nuevas políticas que orienten o reorienten los procesos de desarrollo, acondicionamiento territorial y ocupación del territorio. El poblador en estas tres ciudades mantiene una relación estrecha con el campo, dado que la actividad principal que solventa su existencia sigue siendo agropecuario. Podríamos hablar de un nuevo tipo de poblador que no es un campesino tradicional pero que continúa manteniendo una relación con el campo, y por otro lado no es obrero o profesional urbano pero tiene una relación y compromiso en la ciudad. ( Llona et al. P 197)”

Essentially, this analysis confirms that existence of a strong and interdependent relationship between urban and rural areas as a result of migration flows. Yet, despite the expansion of this rural-urban continuum, the rural sector has fallen deeper into the shadows of Lima’s centralized policy-making arena. Meanwhile, the incidence of rural poverty is two times higher than that of urban poverty, a clear indication of disproportionate impoverishment (FAO 2002).

To understand how rural families are coping with such economic insecurity requires an analysis of the current reality of rural “livelihoods”. The use of the term “livelihoods” allows for a more comprehensive analysis of the current reality of rural families by taking into account the strategies- economic, social, political, and cultural- they employ to make a living. I will address this concept of the livelihoods approach more extensively below. In this paper, I contend that migration- both temporary and permanent- is a key livelihoods strategy for rural households. While recognizing that migration is by no means a new phenomenon and that it is an integral part of expanding economies, I argue that it has become a key coping strategy for rural families, particularly in light of Peru’s economic instability and emphasis on market-based development.

The increasingly important role of migration- both internal and international- in the economic welfare of Peruvian families has evolved over the last fifty years in response to economic instability, shifting demands for labor, and internal violence. During this period, the volume of migrants increased rapidly, leading to the explosion of urban areas as well as to the exodus of Peruvians outside of their borders. Today, it is estimated that between 1.5 million and 2 million Peruvians are living abroad (Altamirano, 2000, Quintanilla 2003, Tamagno 2003, Rodriguez 2000). Yet despite the fact that this migration phenomenon is rooted in rural areas and that there is common awareness of its prevalence in Peru's population, there has been little effort at the level of policy-makers or NGOs to explore what its implications are for rural development. Migration, then, is an "invisible livelihood."<sup>4</sup>

## **II. Research Question**

Migration from rural to urban areas is a key part of the industrialization of an economy. Yet from a rural development perspective it is important to understand the impact that this very phenomenon has had on the households that stay behind. Understanding the magnitude of this impact is particularly crucial for rural development policies and programs. For this reason, in my research, I take a dual approach on rural development in the Peruvian Andes by addressing the development of new livelihood realities for rural households in the last fifty years and the policy implications of such changes. As such, in this paper, I address the following overarching questions:

**How has temporary and permanent out-migration impacted the socio-economic fabric of rural households?**

**Do current rural development policies adequately address the impact of out-migration?**

## **III. Context of Study**

To contextualize my research, I conducted field work in Huancavelica, Peru over a three-month period (from June through August 2005). I selected Huancavelica in part due to the fact that it is the most impoverished department in Peru (half of its population lives in extreme poverty)<sup>5</sup> and because more than 60 NGOs are in operation in the region.

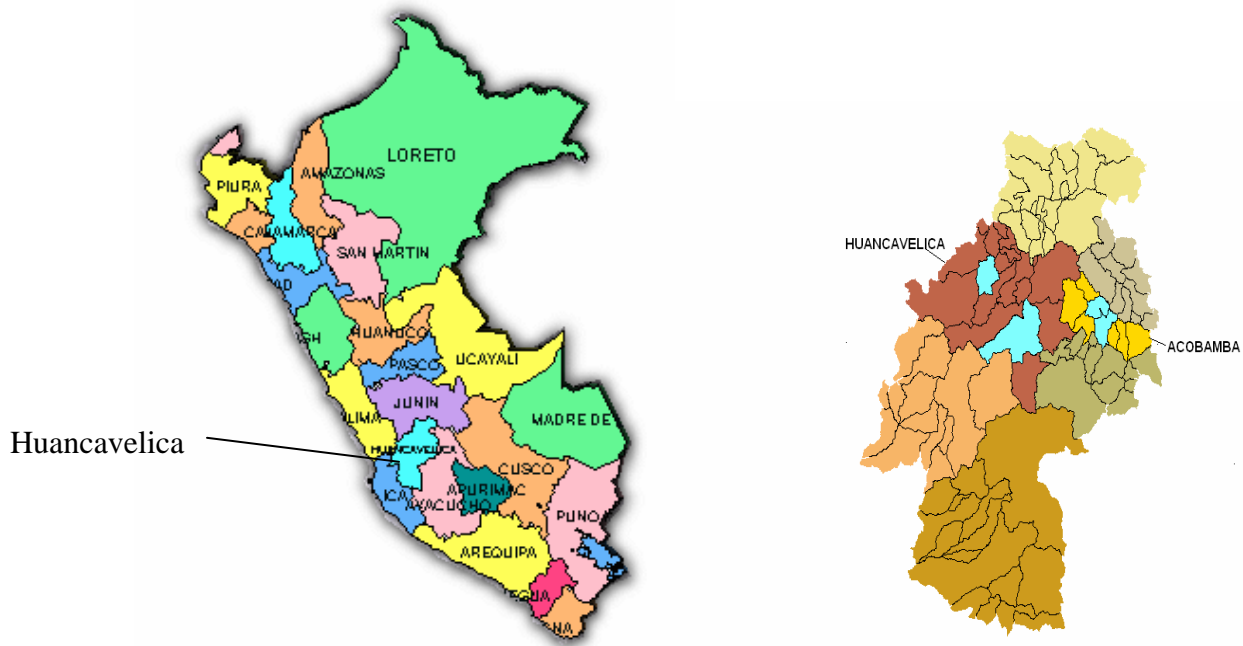
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<sup>4</sup> I borrow this term "invisible livelihoods" from Tony Bebbington who used it in his own evaluation of NGOs operating in the Peruvian and Bolivian Andes.

<sup>5</sup> Unless otherwise noted, all data on Huancavelica comes from Rubina, Alberto and José Barreda, 2000.

## Region of Peru

## Provinces in Huancavelica



Moreover, unlike most of Peru, three-fourths of Huancavelica's population is still rural yet only 14% of rural families are able to survive solely from their farming income. The remaining 85% subsidize their income with temporary or part-time off-farm activities such as construction, processing of agricultural products, mining, handcraft production, etc. While these alternative sources of income do not directly implicate dependence on migration, they do demonstrate the prevalence of non-farm income in the region. In the words of development specialists in the region:

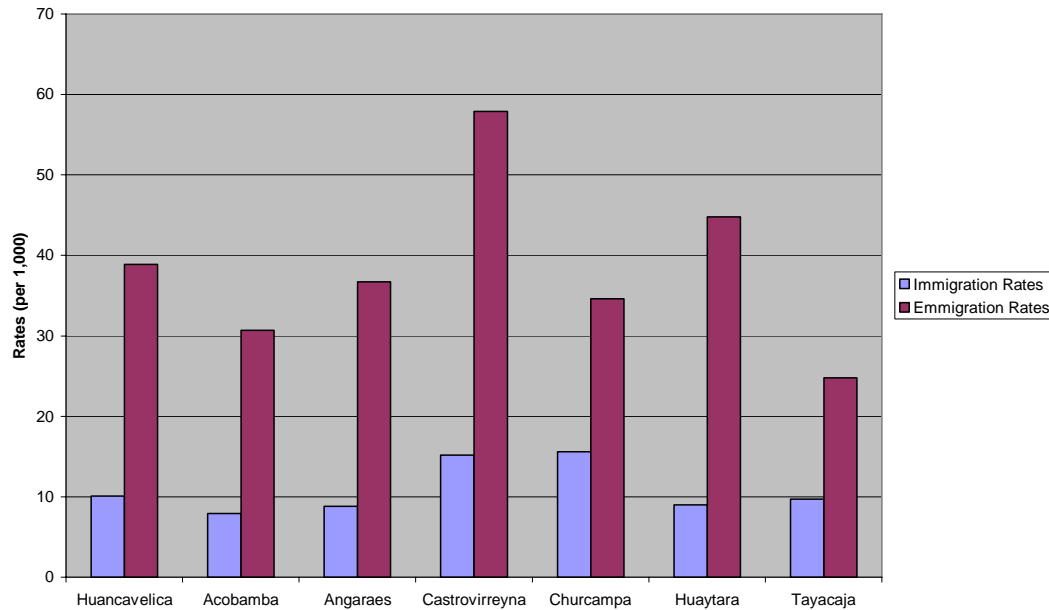
“Las cifras pueden inducir a pensar erróneamente que la población huancavelicana se mantiene atada a sus chacras y animales, pero sucede todo lo contrario: la gente del campo se muda y traslada constantemente, aunque sus destinos no son las localidades del departamento. Huancavelica sigue la tendencia universal de migración del campo a la ciudad, pero en su caso, el ciclo comienza pero no termina en sus fronteras: la gente que deja el campo es absorbido mayoritariamente por la ciudades de otra regiones.”  
(Rubina and Carillo, 2002, pg. 10)

Demographic evidence of the impact of migration is found in Huancavelica's negative net migration rate, which in 1993 was the lowest for all of Peru. In other words, for every 100 people that left Huancavelica, only 24 people entered. Such figures are not surprising given Huancavelica's level of poverty as well as the fact that it was one of the regions hardest hit by

the internal violence in the 1980s and 90s. Table 1 illustrates the vast differences between emigration and immigration rates for each of the region's provinces.

**Table 1**

**Figure 2. Comparison of Immigration and Emigration Rates by Province (per 1,000 people)**



This demographic and empirical evidence indicates that there is indeed a culture of migration in Huancavelica. Yet I question the level to which the more than 60 NGOs operating in the region<sup>6</sup> have acknowledged the role of migration in the lives of the very rural families with whom they work. Within this context then, I turn back to my central research concern and question what this culture of migration means for the current realities of the region's rural households? How is it playing out in their everyday lives and how might its impact influence development strategies? Essentially, I explore if migration truly is a common "invisible livelihood" for rural households in Huancavelica.

#### **IV. Theoretical Framework**

I have framed my research on the impact of migration on rural households within the development theory of livelihoods and the theory of the new economics of labor migration.

<sup>6</sup> March 2005 DIRECTORIO DE ORGANISMOS NO GUBERNAMENTALES EN LA REGION HUANCAMELICA. Source: Gobierno Regional de Huancavelica (<http://www.regionhuancavelica.gob.pe/>)



Together, I contend that the use of these two approaches will help to harness a more complete conceptualization of the current realities and coping strategies of rural families. In turn, this clearer understanding will contribute to an evaluation of current rural development policies in the Peruvian highlands.

### **Livelihoods Approach:**

As briefly discussed above, the conceptualizations of development have changed over time. At the core of this study on rural development is the livelihoods approach, which attempts to integrate an analysis of household-level productive activities with the recognition that families have diverse coping strategies for mitigating economic and social risk. Branching from the conceptualization of human development, this approach has been adopted by much of the international development sector as a means of capturing a more detailed and holistic picture of people's everyday lives.<sup>7</sup> The UNDP definition of livelihoods includes the acquirement of assets and categorizes them social capital, human capital, natural capital, and human-made capital.

From these definitions of livelihood, one can see how migration can fit in as a coping mechanism. In Ninna Nyberg Sorensen and Karen Fog Olwig's collection of essays on work and migration (2002), the concept of "mobile livelihoods" emerges as a central theme. In the chapter written by Peruvian migration scholar Carla Tamagno, she borrows from Norman Long's (1997) definition of livelihoods as "the idea of individuals and groups striving to make a living, attempting to meet their various consumption and economic necessities, coping with uncertainties, responding to new opportunities, and choosing between different value positions." This expanded definition highlights the role of "new opportunities," under which migration can fall. In this same collection, Nyberg, however cautions against treating migration in the Peruvian highlands as a new livelihood. She aptly states that "mobile livelihoods should rather be understood as being embedded in Andean strategies to sustain living, as well as in socio-cultural institutions, customs, and ideologies (Nyberg 2002, pg 25). Positioning her argument within the context of Huancayo, Nyberg posits that the circular relationship between temporary migrants and their home village indicates a space in which agricultural livelihoods are supplemented with urban livelihoods. Here then we see what I have referred to as the

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<sup>7</sup> See UNDP report on Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (<http://www.undp.org/fj/pslp/sla.html>)

growing complexity in the interconnections between the urban and rural sectors. Within the Andean context, this complexity appears to be at least partially the result of well-established migration patterns. Migration then- as highlighted in the Sorensen and Olwig collection- is one of the key components in the diversification of socio-economic coping strategies among rural households.

### **New Economics of Labor Migration Theory**

The livelihoods approach is a good match for the migration-related theory within which I intend to frame my research. Known as the “new economics of labor migration,” this theory identifies as a household-based strategy for economic survival. Odet Stark and colleagues first advanced this theory to challenge the neo-classical perception of migration as an individual’s rationalized decision. Unlike neo-classical concepts of migration, new economics also does not assume a level playing field between economic markets but instead recognizes that migration is an insurance against unstable economies by diversifying the family’s labor portfolio. Although now typically applied to analyses of international migration, this theory is quite useful for understanding both migrant decision-making processes and the increasing reliance of rural household on migrant family members’ earnings for their own local investment and consumption. Within the context of Peru, characteristics of the new economics theory are present in various literatures (Tamagno 2002, Paerregaard 1997, Long and Roberts 1978, Radcliffe 1991).

The new economics theory in conjunction with the livelihoods approach to development provides a solid framework through which to assess the real impact that migration has on the economic and social well-being of rural households.

## **V. Methodology and Data Collection**

To carry out my field work for this research project, I used qualitative methodologies to bring out rich textured data on the experience of migrants and their families. In addition, I applied the “actor-oriented approach” to enhance my methodology. This approach analyzes how different actors perceive the same issue as a means of gaining a more complete image of the situation. In my study, the issue is two-fold: migration and development. The actors I have focused on to reflect perspectives on these two themes are rural families and NGOs. Within the

environment of decentralization and neoliberal policies, NGOs have taken on much of the rural development work in Peru. For this reason, I chose to focus on their perceptions of migration as it applies to development.

More specifically, to collect data for my research, I applied the semi-structured interviewing methodology. This entailed using a set of basic questions to guide a conversation about the realities of migration in rural communities and how this reality has affected development in these same communities. With NGOs, I focused more on their objectives and strategies for promoting development as well as their perceptions of the role that migration plays in rural communities and in their own work. With this methodology, I interviewed representatives from six NGOs and over 40 people in seven rural communities.

In my interviews with residents of rural communities, my questions emphasized the life history and experiences of their family members as a means of assessing the effect that migration has had on their livelihoods. For this research I identified the two provinces where the greatest number of NGOs is in operation: Huancavelica and Acobamba. Within these provinces, I selected at random seven communities where NGOs are in operation. Initially, I had planned to conduct focus groups in a selection of communities, however due to the limited time frame of my field work, I was not able to establish the necessary level of confidentiality with enough residents to apply such a methodology. In addition, I found that there was a high level of distrust and suspicion among many of the residents, part of which is likely due to recent history with political violence. As a result, I modified my methodology in order to allow for more a more flexible interview process.

## **VI. Data and Findings**

### **Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs):**

I have divided my findings into two sections: NGOs and Rural Communities, focusing primarily on the latter subject. To contextualize my research within the realm of rural development policies, I interviewed representatives from six NGOs that are in operation in Huancavelica. With the exception of one, all of the NGOs focused primarily on improving agricultural production. To measure the organizations' level of familiarity and personal

knowledge of the region, I asked how many of the staff members were originally from Huancavelica. In only three of the NGOs were there more staff from Huancavelica than from other departments. This is not to say that those staff members who are not from Huancavelica are less effective but it does indicate a lower personal familiarity with the region and its socio-economic and cultural context.

In terms of migration, the representatives of the six NGOs were all equally aware that it is a reality in the rural communities with which they work however they tended to stress the temporary aspect of it as well as their feeling that migration was decreasing as the result of improved living conditions. There was also the general notion that migration is a threat to their development initiatives because it can be viewed as a potential indicator that programs are not effective enough to retain populations. Moreover, the NGOs tended to emphasize migration as a product of the political violence during the era of the Shining Path rather than acknowledging the socio-economic factors that influence current migration flows. Such general observations of the approaches that NGOs operating in Huancavelica take to their work as well as their views on migration provide the background for this study on migration and development. Essentially, they demonstrate that a deeper comprehension of the potential impact of migration on rural livelihoods is lacking within NGOs rural development policies.

### **Rural Communities:**

To ground my research in the current realities of rural livelihoods, I conducted interviews in seven communities in Huancavelica. A combination of formal and informal interviews yielded substantial qualitative data related to the scope of the impact of migration- both temporary and permanent- on the changing profile of rural communities. In the following excerpts, I present five case studies in which I illustrate how migration has impacted each community. I also highlight key observations that compare and contrast the different experiences of that the communities have had with migration.

#### **Manta, Ccollpa, and San Luis (District: Manta)**

Manta is a district located in the northern cone of the province of Huancavelica. Despite being a short distance from the city of Huancavelica, there is no easy access between the two. As a result, Manta is more directly connected to the city of Huancayo, which is a three hour drive on a dirt road. Manta's

location between Ayacucho and Huancayo is in fact the reason that it became one of the focal points of the military's retaliation against the Shining Path. In 1983, the Shining Path first entered Manta and declared it a "liberated zone". The majority of the local authorities fled the area in response to threats and the assassination of several of their colleagues. Many other families followed suit, fearing for their lives. Huancayo and other parts of Huancavelica were the main destinations for the displaced people. In 1984, the military replaced the Shining Path and set up a base in the town of Manta. They too threatened, abused, and caused more displacement of the people of Manta. There was military presence in Manta until 1993.

Manta was one of the mostly deeply wounded areas during the period of internal violence. Considering how recently the violence took place, it is not surprising that many of the wounds have yet to heal. Such wounds can be perceived in the distrust of outsiders as well as the lack of strong organization within the community. In addition to such devastation, the people of Manta barely scrape together a living from what they cultivate in their fields.

There are currently several NGOs working in Manta. Here I will mention two- the first of which is focused on improving the production of native crops and the 2<sup>nd</sup> which focuses more on the social rights side of development<sup>8</sup>. The former NGO sponsored an agricultural fair while I was in Manta. At over 10,000 feet, agricultural production is limited to an assortment of varieties of tubers, beans, grains, and livestock. Despite their proud display of their harvest, most of the farmers I talked to admitted that they mostly used their crops for their own consumption. Little success has been made in linking them with markets.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> NGO I spoke to was far more involved in the human rights side of development. The NGO representative who spends most of her time living in the village of Manta has helped to organize a women's group as well as a group for survivors of the violence. It was interesting to see these two approaches- that of agricultural production and that of human rights advocacy- working within the same communities. It is clear that Manta is in need of both approaches but yet it is not clear how significant of an impact either NGO has made in a district in which poverty is rampant.

Migration, on the other hand, plays a strong role in the lives of the people of Manta. Of the 15 people I spoke to, every one said that they had several siblings or children living in Huancayo or Lima. They also made clear that the teenagers in the area see migration as one of the few options they have after completing high school. Besides leaving Manta during school vacations to work in Lima and Huancayo, the vast majority of students end up moving to one of the two destinations after graduating. One of the high school teachers estimated that only 15% of students remain in the district. Such observations indicate that migration is in fact a strong reality in Manta.

When asked about the impact of migration in the area, a man from Ccollpa, another village in Manta, said that the population was changing. Whereas 80 families used to live in the village, now there are only 40. In addition, he claimed that attitudes among the youth were changing—they are more stubborn and less willing to help out. He also mentioned that a Group of Residents living in Lima had assisted the village somewhat with uniforms for the soccer team and paying for the band for the fiesta.

In terms of Manta's future, most parents admitted that they want their children to pursue their studies and to become professionals. According to many of these parents, there is little future on the farm. Going to school in the city, however, is a common goal. Education is not taken for granted but instead is seen as the only way to succeed. With clearly established migrant paths to Lima and Huancayo as

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<sup>8</sup> In order to maintain confidentiality, I have chosen not to name the NGOs or the individuals in the communities who I interviewed.

well as the lack of opportunities in Manta, migration seems to be one of the few livelihood strategies that the people of Manta have.

#### **Chilcapite (District: Acobamba)**

Chilcapite is located in Acobamba, one of the most temperate provinces in Huancavelica. The mild climate of the area allows for more diversified production. Crops grown in the area include oats, wheat, lima beans, and peas. All of these crops tend to have a higher market value. In addition, Chilcapite is located near to the town of Acobamba, which hosts a weekly market and has a small university.

In Chilcapite, I interviewed the community president as well as three women and one older man who spoke of high levels of temporary migration particularly to Huancayo and to the Amazonian region. There are also a few examples of people who have migrated across borders to Argentina and Bolivia.

From these conversations, one of the most striking issues that came up was the impact that the community high school has had on the community. Five years ago, a vocational school opened in Chilcapite. The high school curriculum emphasizes skills such as auto mechanics, tailoring, sewing, etc. A group of Chilcapite residents living in Lima have supported the school with computers, sewing machines, and even a car engine on which to practice. The first class to graduate from the high school was in December 2004. The community president informed me that all of the graduates have since left Chilcapite in search of work or in hopes of enrolling in college in Lima or Huancayo.

#### **Bellavista (District: Acobamba)**

Located a short distance from the town of Acobamba, Bellavista is a small village that was founded in 1995 by farmers from a nearby village. The residents of Bellavista benefit from access to water and more surface territory than neighboring villages (the average size of land tenure is 2 hectares vs. less than 1 hectare in other villages). Like Chilcapite, they also benefit from the temperate climate which allows for the production of a diversity of crops. It is likely that these factors explain for the fact that migration- both temporary and permanent- is minimal in Bellavista.

In Bellavista, I interviewed a group of 20 farmers (all men, ranging in ages from approximately 20-60) who were attending a course on calculating crop production costs. I was surprised to find out that among these 20 farmers, only three had left the community temporarily to work. Moreover, very few had family members who live outside of Bellavista. Most said that they did not have time to leave due to the work on their farms or that the community leader would not give them permission if there was community work to be done. I spoke to one 28 year old man who had left to work on the coast temporarily but returned because he claimed that he did not like working for someone else. An older man told me that he had lived in the Amazonian region for 25 years but recently returned due to the availability of land and better prospects in Bellavista.

#### **Chanquil (District: Rosario)**

On the road to Paucara, one of the central towns in Acobamba, Chanquil is one of the largest communities I visited (pop. 3,900; approximately 780 families). It has two high schools and the mayor was in the process of building an impressive, three-floor community center. The local economy is based in the production of a variety of crops similar to those in Bellavista and Chilcapite. Unlike Bellavista, however, there is little access to land with most families farming less than one hectare of land. As a result, they are more dependent on the sale of meat and animals for income generation.

In Chanquil, I met with a group of four women who were part of a newly-formed baking cooperative. With assistance from an NGO, they were learning to bake cakes and cookies in a large bread oven that had been abandoned several years earlier. Talking to the women, I learned that all of them had siblings living in Lima or in the Amazonian region. The president of the cooperative- a 20 year old woman- had herself lived in Lima for eight years where she worked in a factory. She returned to Chanquil to raise her young daughter. Outside of the bakery, I talked to three men, one of whom was the mayor. They estimated that 80% of the men in Chanquil are seasonal migrants who leave in September/ October or December/ January to work on the coast, in Huancayo, or in the Amazonian area. One of the men, a thirty year old farmer, told me that he support two of his younger brothers who are living and studying in Lima. He, himself, has never left Chanquil for work or studies.

#### **Antacocha (District: Huancavelica)**

Antacocha is located on the road from Huancayo to Huancavelica, only about five kilometers from the latter city. Its proximity to Huancavelica allows for direct access to a large market where much of Antacocha's population sells meat, milk, other dairy products, and some vegetables from their greenhouses (NGO sponsored project). Crop production in Antacocha is limited to potatoes and barley since it is located at a high altitude (approx 3,400 meters). I interviewed four families here, three of which had children under the age of 12. In the fourth family, there were 10 children- four who were married and lived on their own in Antacocha and six who still lived at home. Among all four families, only one of the adults had one sibling living outside of Antacocha. Moreover, the only mention of temporary migration was to work in construction in the city of Huancavelica or other parts of the region.

Several themes emerge from these case studies. Here, I will highlight five themes: economic sustainability, land tenure, youth, political violence, and geography. Together, these themes intersect to create the setting in which migration plays out in each of the communities. Table 2 (located in Appendix A) describes each of these themes by community (with the exception of geography, which is addressed in the map below) and helps to show that while each community is distinct, there are some commonalities between them. Antacocha and Bellavista, for example, are the two places that are least affected by migration. Both are more economically successful- Antacocha because of its proximity to the markets in the city of Huancavelica and Bellavista because as a new community in a temperate zone, its residents benefit from access to more land and from production of a diversity of crops that tend to have more value than the potatoes and barley grown in higher elevations. As a result, there is less impetus for migration.

On the other hand, the communities most impacted by migration, are those where there is far less gain from agricultural production and where land is far scarcer. This is particularly clear in the case of the communities in Manta where subsistence farming is more common. Moreover,

these communities were hardest hit by the political violence of the 1980s and 1990s. The forced displacement of hundreds of their residents to Huancayo and Lima forged migrant paths that are still in use today, primarily by the 15-25 year old population. Teenagers and early twenty-year olds are in fact the main actors in migration from the communities I studied. Parents, teachers, and younger residents themselves confirmed this in their comments on the impact of migration in their communities. Migration starts as a temporary means of earning money for books and school uniforms during vacations. However, once students complete high school, many follow the migration trail again in hopes of pursuing their studies or of finding a job in urban areas. While this phenomenon of youth exodus was true for all of the communities except for Antacocha and Bellavista, the most extreme example is that of Chilcapite where all of this year's graduating students have gone to Huancayo or Lima. This is an interesting case since the community chose to open a vocational school that trains its students for more urban-related jobs rather than agricultural jobs. While such education might benefit the students by preparing them for higher skilled jobs, it may ultimately be detrimental to Chilcapite through the loss of human capital- both in terms of knowledge and manual labor. Another telling dimension of this story, as mentioned in the case study above, is the fact that Chilcapite's group of residents in Lima has been supporting the expansion of this school. This is a good example of both economic and social remittances working together: the group of residents has provided funding and actual materials to improve the school while also promoting what they value as important skills that the students should learn. In turn, practices and ideas are changing within Chilcapite's teenage population.

Geography is the last theme that emerges from the case studies. Each community is linked to its own migrant destination depending on its own location and the networks that have been established with settled migrants. Manta, which is far more connected to Huancayo than Huancavelica, is also linked through deep migration flows with the latter destination. As a result, several of the families I interviewed in Manta lead dual lives in which they have homes and family in Huancayo while also maintaining their farm in Manta. This ties back to the role of intermediary cities in development and of a new type of citizen who is indelibly linked to both urban-based and rural-based livelihoods. In Chanquil, Lima is the primary destination for migrants. This is likely due to the migrant networks that have been established between Chanquil and Lima. Rather than migrate to Huancayo or another destination where there are



far fewer people from Chanquil, a new migrant is more likely to choose a destination where s/he has social contacts on which s/he can rely.

Two other key destinations for migrants from Huancavelica are the *costa* and the *selva*. Neither of these destinations is urban but they offer seasonal work on agricultural plantations (of coffee, cotton, etc.). Such destinations are ideal for migrants who are in search of temporary work that will subsidize their own farm activities. There is also temporary migration to urban areas, particularly of young women who find short-term jobs in the domestic service. But a majority of temporary migrants from Huancavelica seem to be men who find jobs on large agricultural plantations. In Chanquil for example, the mayor estimated that 80% of men migrate during the off-season to the selva or the costa for to earn money for their own farms.

The map below illustrates the general geographic destinations for migrants from Huancavelica that were identified in my interviews.

**Main Migrant Destinations outside of Huancavelica**  
(in order of importance of migrant flows):

1. City of Lima
2. City of Huancayo (in Dept of Junin)
3. Selva (mostly in Depts of Junin and Ayacucho for agriculture)
4. Costa (mostly Depts of Ica and Lima for agriculture)
5. Trujillo (mines in north)
6. Arequipa (agriculture)
7. International (USA, Spain, Italy, Argentina, Bolivia)



## VII. Policy Recommendations & Conclusion:

In February 2005, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) released its draft revised policy on rural development. At the center of the rough draft is the recognition that rural populations and livelihoods have changed substantially over the last few decades. Migration is one of the causes of such changes. Indeed the IDB revised policy lists migration as one of the key “avenues out of poverty” along with on-farm work, nonagricultural rural employment, and pluriactivities (IDB 2005, p. 25). With this recognition of the role that migration has played in the shifting rural profile, one of the IDB’s general thematic lessons is as follows:

“Rural development strategies and policies must be consistent with macroeconomic policies and encompass the entire rural milieu and rural-urban relations, addressing the multiasset nature of rural families’ livelihood strategies and mapping out options for on-farm and nonagricultural employment, multiemployment, and migration. To that end, strategies and policies will need to be socially and territorially differentiated and, from the outset, look at conditions for replicability and prospects for scaling up successful small ventures to farther-reaching, higher-impact ones—i.e., piloting rural development programs as learning processes.” (IDB, February 2005, p. 11)

Drawing from the IDB’s recognition that rural livelihoods are more complex than traditional notions of agricultural development will allow and from my own research on the impact of migration on rural communities in Huancavelica, Peru, I propose the following rural policy recommendations. At the core of these recommendation is my conclusion that migration should be considered a *tool for* rather than a *threat against* local development and that migrants themselves are agents of development. It should be noted that in reflecting on these policy recommendations, I set them primarily within the context of NGOs rather than government agencies given that the latter group was one of the target subjects of my research.

### 1. **Invest in Youth.**

None of the NGO programs I learned about and/or observed specifically highlight youth (15-25 year olds) as one of their target populations. Yet, my research findings show that youth are the primary candidates for migration out of their communities. I therefore recommend that youth be treated as a unique sector of the population that requires special attention within NGO programming. By specifically addressing their concerns, NGOs can better assess more long-term strategies for the community. They can also help to ensure that those youth who do migrate are better equipped to adapt to life outside of their community.

Access to better and more appropriate education is likely to be the greatest need- be it vocational training for jobs in more urban setting or agricultural training for those who prefer to continue farming. An example of how this investment in youth might play out is a case I was told about a group of youth in a community on the Peruvian coast. An NGO operating in this community asked the group of youth what they would do if provided with a grant. The NGO

expected that they would want to use it to migrate to Lima or elsewhere. Instead, the group's response was that they would start a fruit processing business in their community. In addition to demonstrating entrepreneurial spirit among this group of youth, this example also shows that migration is not necessarily the first choice for many rural youth. This story also demonstrates that there is continued interest in investing in one's own community, which leads into the second policy recommendation.

## **2. Tap into Migrant Resources:**

Build capacities among migrants and non-migrants to work together in improving their community and to recognize their own organizational and financial capacities. By acknowledging the deep-rooted interdependence between migrants and their home communities, NGOs can tap into a wealth of resources and knowledge gained from migrants through their experiences in higher education, networking, technical advancements, and business expertise. Improved capacities in communication in the Spanish language (both written and spoken) also enhance the ability of a community to lobby public officials and NGOs. Such resources are linked to the idea of social remittances that were discussed before. Remittances are not solely financial. Equally important are remittances that allow for the growth of social capital. This recommendation is based primarily on the concept of collective remittances as described in Luin Goldring's research (2003) on Mexican communities. In this research, he shows how remittances that are sent by groups of migrants allow for increased capacities in organizational experience and institutional development both among the migrants and within their home communities. Indeed, as discussed before, this fits in well with Sen's conceptualization of human development as the strengthening of human capacities.

## **3. Encourage Community Investment**

Along with social remittances, it is important to take into consideration the potential impact of financial remittances. In my research financial remittances did not emerge as an important influence in the seven communities. This is likely due to the fact the most of the migrants still live within Peru and are therefore not earning as much as those migrants who have moved abroad to the United States, Europe, or other countries. There were, however, some examples of contributions from *grupos de residentes* or residential groups (similar to what are known as "Hometown Associations"). Examples of such contributions include those that financed the purchase of uniforms for soccer teams, chairs for the town hall, and computers for a vocational school. Yet, most of the contributions tend to go towards the annual *fiestas* or festivals held in each community. These fiestas play a central role in fostering a strong communal identity. Much research has also shown that the fiestas help to maintain a strong link between migrants and their communities by acting as an annual community reunion. NGOs can tap into this community identity by providing workshops on how migrants can help to support their hometown through more sustainable and productive projects. Migrants, in other words, should be considered important partners in NGOs' efforts to improve the lives of the families they left behind through greater access to education, potable water, health care, technical assistance, etc. This can be done through advocacy as discussed in Policy Recommendation #2 and through financial contributions.

## **4. Identify Migrant Markets and Business Partnerships**

Given their focus on agricultural production, most of the NGOs I interviewed with emphasize the importance linking rural communities with viable markets. An important source of consumerism is the migrant communities located in cities throughout Peru. One of the NGOs I interviewed was in fact capitalizing on the existence of one such community of migrants from Huancavelica located in Ica on the Peruvian coast. The NGO has promoted the consumption of alpaca meat from Huancavelica at an annual festival in Ica and recently opened a stand in one

of the markets in Ica. This effort demonstrates the NGO's recognition that migrants are important consumers. Migrants are also potential business partners as promoters of regionally produced goods, more direct links to urban markets, and generators of new and innovative ideas. Santa Natura is a good example of a successful business run by a migrant from Huancavelica. A company based on natural vitamins and medicines, Santa Natura draws from the knowledge of rural communities in Huancavelica to create its products. NGOs should make a concerted effort to partner with such business entrepreneurs.

5. **Establish Community Ambassadors.**

In Peru and abroad, there is increasing interest in service-based or social justice-related tourism and fair trade consumerism. Many NGOs are tapping into sustainable forms of tourism and hand-craft production as alternative sources of income for rural communities. To facilitate such programs, migrants can be trained to act as ambassadors for their communities both within Peru and abroad. Again, this recommendation presents an opportunity for partnership between NGOs and migrants.

Although not exhaustive, this list of policy recommendations does provide a framework from which to develop a more extensive set of strategies related to rural development and migration. In particular, it shows how NGOs can partner with migrants to establish effective programming that recognizes the role of migration as a tool in development. Lacking in this research is a more macro-level assessment of migration as a rural livelihood strategy. As I completed my field work, the Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas e Información (INEI) has embarked on the 2005 National Census data collecting. The data from this census will be an invaluable source of information on migration given the fact that the last census that the Peruvian conducted was in 1993 when the era of political violence was starting to subside. A follow-up on the research I have conducted using the 2005 census will provide a wider scope for the findings and recommendations I have presented in this paper. For now though, I maintain that NGOs would be wise to recognize the realities of migration as a key rural livelihood strategy and the potential benefits of such migration and migrants to the further development of rural communities.

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**APPENDIX A/ TABLE 2: COMPARISON OF THE AREAS OF RESEARCH**

AREAS OF RESEARCH				SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIAGNOSTIC				MIGRATION
Province	District	Village	Pop.	Avg. Size of Land	High School?	Primary Economic Activities	Political Violence?	General Observations on Migration
Huancavelica	Manta (Cono Norte)	-Manta -Ccollpa -San Luis	2216 pers (total in district)	< 1 hect	Yes- in Manta and Ccollpa	Chacra (subsistence farming); Cattle; Migration	Yes, strongly affected	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>♦ Mig flor directed mostly to Huancayo (est. during period internal violence)</li> <li>♦ Teenagers leave during vacations and after finishing high school</li> <li>♦ All of the people interviewed were one of the few members of their family still living in Manta</li> </ul>
Huancavelica	Hcva.	Antacocha	722 fam. (1258 pers)	1-2 hecets	Yes- recently opened; also HS in Hcva. (nearby)	Milk, other dairy products, cattle, (direct access to Hcva market due to proximity)	Not affected	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>♦ Migration (temp &amp; perm) from Antacocha is minimal</li> <li>♦ Recently teenagers have started to leave during vacations</li> </ul>
Acobamba	Rosario	Chanquil	780 fam. (3900 pers)	1-2 hecets.	Yes	Diversity of crops, cattle, temporary migration	Somewhat affected	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>♦ Approx. 80% of men leave in sept/ oct &amp;/or dec/ jan to Lima (agric, market), Huancayo (agric), or Amazon region (coffee)</li> <li>♦ Teenagers go to Lima to work during school vacations; few go to Huancayo</li> <li>♦ Many people from Chanquil live in Lima</li> </ul>
	Acobamba	Bellavista	25	2 hecets.	En Acob. (nearby)	Production for market of barley, wheat, lima beans, peas	Little affected	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>♦ Very little migration</li> <li>♦ A few examples of temporary migration</li> </ul>
	Acobamba	Chilcapite	120 families	¾ hect.	Yes- a vocational school opened 5 years ago	Production of wheat, peas, oats, etc.	Little affected	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>♦ Teenagers leave during vacation to work in Lima and in the Amazon region</li> <li>♦ All students from HS's 1st graduating class went to Lima</li> <li>♦ Destinations: Chanchamayo, Lima, Bolivia, Argentina</li> <li>♦ Residents' group in Lima has provided a lot of support to the HS</li> </ul>

