

Ed. B.

NATIONAL MIGRATION STUDY  
PROJECT COMPLETION REPORT

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THE PROBLEM

Urban

Throughout the past decades, the rate of urbanization in Botswana has reached dramatic proportions. Between the 1964 and the 1971 censuses, the urban population of Botswana grew approximately 200%. In 1964, 3.9% of the population were urban dwellers, whereas by June, 1974, this figure had reached 14%, which implied a major shift in population as evidenced by the growth of Gaborone, Selebi-Phikwe and Francistown.

This rate of migration continues to have a considerable impact on urban labor markets, infrastructure and social conditions. In the early 1970's, unemployment rate among males in peri-urban areas was conservatively estimated at 15%. As a consequence, the issue of urban job creation became a primary concern for the Government of Botswana (GOB). Another source of concern associated with the rapid growth of urban areas was the pressure placed on existing infrastructure, such as roads, sewage, schooling, electricity, fuel and particularly water. Traditional life was being affected by this migration, because of the sex and age imbalance of immigrants.

Rural

Urban migration was also having profound ramifications on rural areas. A primary area of uncertainty was the effect of labor withdrawal on the agricultural production of the country. The effect of remittances on these rural areas was also in need of investigation for purposes of long term planning. Evidence on a related issue indicated that internal rural settlement patterns were witnessing a major shift. In the past, Botswana resided in nucleated villages surrounded by cultivable zones called "the lands". Due to soil exhaustion, serious overgrazing, the lands were pushed increasing distances from the villages. This was followed by a trend for people to relocate permanently at the lands, which in turn had repercussions on GOB policy issues regarding rural schooling, health and water facilities and proposed small rural industries.

Republic of South Africa (RSA)

Since the 1860's Botswana has been supplying labor to the mines and to other sources of employment in RSA. The 1971 population census estimated that one quarter of Botswana's adult males were absent and working in RSA during the year. The allocation of a major portion of the male labor force to RSA impacted on a number of Botswana's development related concerns, including agricultural production, production in the urban sector and the balance of payments. Complicating this issue was the increasing tendency for RSA to substitute domestic labor and capital for foreign workers. It was critical that the demographic and skills spectrum of temporary emigrants be explored to prepare for the eventuality of a major reduced demand for immigrant labor in RSA.

BACKGROUND

In 1975-76 interest in a study of migration on a national basis was expressed within the Ministry of Local Government and Lands. In response to this

interest a Steering Committee was formed in August, 1975, to design a National Migration Study (NMS). A proposal prepared by the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, the Ministry of Local Government and Lands, the Ministry of Agriculture, the University of Botswana and Swaziland, and Boston University, African Studies Center, was submitted to USAID/Botswana (USAID/B) in September, 1976. The Project Agreement for the National Migration Study was signed September, 1977 by USAID/B and the GOB, with USAID/B providing \$400,000 for the study. Following this, the GOB and Boston University entered into a contract in November, 1978 in which Boston University was to assist the GOB in conducting the study through short term consultant services, computer analysis and participant training in analytical skills.

The duration of the original project was 30 months and the project was to cover three phases: 1) an initial review of existing data; 2) a critical examination of the results of Phase I, a determination of specific information lacking, followed by a national migration survey to collect such deficit data; and 3) an analysis of the data collected, a comparison of the findings with the results of Phase I, and a report on migration presented to the GOB. The report to the GOB was intended to present the data and evaluate existing policies affecting migration and provide guidelines and recommendations on policy issues that relate to migration. It was the intention of the proposal that the report of NMS would be available to the GOB by early 1979 so as to be used in the formulation of the National Development Plan.

An extension for the project was requested to permit an adequate analysis of the data generated by the survey, and to specifically concentrate on policy issues to ensure maximum usefulness of the data to Government policy makers and planners. The Amendment was approved; an additional \$300,000 was added, bringing the life-of-project cost to \$700,000 and extending the project activity completion date to September 30, 1982.

#### SUMMARY OF SERVICES PERFORMED

In September, 1978 to March, 1979 a Boston University graduate student conducted a literature survey on Botswana migration. A critical examination of this Phase I data was intended to precede the design of the National Migration Survey. Unfortunately, little analysis of the existing data took place prior to the survey and thus, Phase I had little impact on the design of NMS.

Within the theoretical framework of migration in Botswana, three significant streams of migration were conceptualized for analysis: 1) rural-urban; 2) rural-rural; and 3) external, mainly to mines in RSA. Two questionnaires, the Household Study Questionnaire and a Mineworker Questionnaire, were administered to study these labor flows. The main questionnaire was administered over a twelve month period to people in the rural areas (2436 dwellings sampled), in the urban areas (912 dwellings) and in the Freehold Farms (64 dwellings). (A Household Expenditure Study, which was being conducted by Central Statistics Office, was appended to the Household Study Questionnaire and was administered to 100% of the urban and large village sample dwellings and 50% of the remaining--rural--sample dwellings.) The Mineworker Questionnaire was administered to 760 miners (380 recruits, 380 returnees) at five separate recruiting depots over a seven month period. Both of these questionnaires involved a detailed investigation of the socio-economic aspects of 'household' members in relation to short

term movement and longer term migration.

The combined survey covered four areas. They included: 1) accurate national estimates of the volume of migration between districts, from rural districts to towns, and from districts to South Africa; 2) estimates of the levels and composition of consumption expenditures, by households of different income levels and social types and by districts; 3) estimates of migration within districts and projections of future settlement patterns; 4) estimates of the motivational forces behind migration decisions.

The Mineworkers Questionnaire covered the following aspects of miners' lives: 1) general bio-social data; 2) previous minework history; 3) present contract-related information; 4) remittances; 5) employment history; 6) agricultural activity; and 7) injuries.

From the inception, it was intended that NMS would maintain close liaison with various researchers who were investigating socio-cultural data in Botswana. It was felt that their micro-studies would complement the more global national picture obtained by the primary fieldwork of the study itself. This close liaison between external researchers and the NMS was accomplished and a number of reports were produced.

Finally, a three volume document was prepared which covered the following specific topics: 1) migration flows, sizes, directions and composition; 2) rural settlement patterns; 3) urban migration; 4) determinants of migration decisions; 5) socio-economic and regional factors of wage migration and employment; 6) migration patterns of remote area dwellers; 7) migration to freehold farms and to farms in RSA; 8) education, mobility and employment; 9) migration and primary schooling; 10) migration and agricultural production; 11) out-migration, remittances and investment in rural areas; 12) migration and the roles of women; 13) migration to mines in RSA; and 14) economic effects of mine labor migration. In addition, the final report also included a summary of the NMS, a general discussion of Botswana migration during the 1970's and a policy and planning section.

#### FINANCIAL SUMMARY

Out of the \$700,000 obligated, \$486,869.60 was disbursed; an unliquidated obligation of \$213,130.40 remains. It is expected that this amount will be disbursed within three months.

#### SUMMARY OF PROJECT ACCOMPLISHMENTS

NMS was funded so that the information generated by the study would be of use to the GOB for policy planning purposes. It is yet to be determined if this has been accomplished.

Known project accomplishments include three NMS workshops which were held in 1977, 1979 and 1982. An extensive number of required and non-required reports were generated by NMS. Close liaison with various researchers in Botswana, who were undertaking micro-studies on issues related to migration, produced the following non-project reports:

- 1) Preliminary Report on Sefhare Village;
- 2) Bibliography on the Society and Culture and Political Economy of Post-Independence Botswana;
- 3) Absent Workers and Change in Subsistence Crop Production;

- 4) Primary School Attendance in Central District;
- 5) Interim Report of Tlokweng Research;
- 6) Short Note in Migration Based on Data from Ngwaketse Tribal Area;
- 7) Report from Oodi Weavers;
- 8) Preliminary Notes on Some Characteristics of Households and Population;
- 9) Effects of Migration on Primary School Attendance in Kweneng;
- 10) The Hut Tax and Migrant Labor in Botswana;
- 11) Recent Changes in Labor Supply Patterns to South Africa;
- 12) About Anthropological Fieldwork on Labour Migration;
- 13) Some Preliminary Perspectives on Social Stratification in Selebi-Phikwe;
- 14) Large Tswana Towns and the National Migration Study.

Documents which relate specifically to NMS include:

- 1) Information about National Migration Study;
- 2) National Migration Survey Study Methodology;
- 3) National Migration Study - Guide to Research in the Social Sciences;
- 4) An Interim Report;
- 5) National Migration Study Phase II - Project Description 1980-82.

Several non-project working papers were produced:

- 1) Rural-Urban Migration and Female Headed Households in Botswana Towns;
- 2) Economy and Society in Botswana;
- 3) Migration to Botswana Towns;
- 4) How Urban Workers in Botswana Manage Their Cattle and Lands.

In addition, working papers from Boston University, African Studies Center, were also published.

There were also several non-project reports produced under a consultation on migration in the Ministry of Agriculture:

- 1) Workshop on Migration Research;
- 2) Urban and Rural Female Headed Households' Dependency on Agriculture;
- 3) Botswana Mine Labor Migration to South Africa;
- 4) Rural-Urban Migration and Agriculture Production;
- 5) Rural-Urban Migration of Women in Botswana;
- 6) NMS Bibliography.

#### LESSONS LEARNED

From the survey component of the project, several lessons were learned. First, a project coordinator, experienced in carrying out national level surveys, must be on hand throughout the survey. The NMS coordinator was not on site until October 1978, although sampling design development and pre-testing had been underway since November 1977. Second, significant differences exist between a questionnaire designed for a national level survey and one designed for small scale field research. The NMS questionnaire was too long and presented conceptual difficulties for the enumerators. Third, a tabulation plan must be completed in advance of the actual survey. Fourth, a data processor must be consulted when a questionnaire is being designed, to assure compatibility of the survey instrument with the computer processing.

The project illustrated the potential advantages derived from a research program which combines the quantitative survey research and analysis with in-depth qualitative micro-studies. The complementarity of this interaction could have been beneficial to achieving project goals.

An important lesson learned was that a research project is similar to any other project; it requires close monitoring. There was a serious lack of quality control over the individual fourteen papers written up for the final report. More involvement by USAID/B in the Scopes of Work, and a closer monitoring of draft papers was required to insure that policy related information was included. Furthermore, realization of the potential advantages from the qualitative micro-studies was not accomplished because of a lack of monitoring.

The most important lesson is yet to be determined. Specifically, is it cost effective for AID to fund pure research projects? The intent of this project was to provide information to GOB decision-makers, who were to use the data generated by NMS to make "enlightened" decisions on policy matters directly or indirectly related to migration. To determine if this is occurring, it is recommended that an evaluation be conducted after a sufficient period which will allow GOB decision-makers time to assimilate a final NMS report.