

NAMIBIANS ON SOUTH AFRICA:  
ATTITUDES TOWARDS  
CROSS-BORDER MIGRATION  
AND IMMIGRATION POLICY



NAMIBIANS ON SOUTH AFRICA:  
ATTITUDES TOWARDS CROSS-BORDER  
MIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION POLICY

BRUCE FRAYNE & WADE PENDLETON

## EDITORIAL NOTE

SAMP's regional survey of public attitudes to migration and immigration, previously administered in Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, was extended to Namibia during 1998. The Namibian survey was implemented by researchers at the Social Science Division of the Multidisciplinary Research Centre at the University of Namibia. As well as reporting the results of the Namibian survey, this publication draws important contrasts with Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. This policy paper is a sequel to D. McDonald et al, *Challenging Xenophobia* (SAMP Policy Series No. 7).

The authors wish to give special thanks to Dr John Gay of Sechaba Consultants, Lesotho, who assisted in the training of the field team and to Christa Schier who undertook all aspects of data entry, processing and management. Data entry was done by R. Katzao, K. Matengu, S. Nangulah, J. Shapaka, N. Ndalikokule, E. Isaacks, F. Shilongo, S. Shipanga, and B. Kauahuma. Enumerators in the field were: R. Katzao, D. Gowaseb, G. Stephanus, E. Isaacks, K. Matengu, P. Sisinyize, C. Mahoshi, J. Mamili, F. Shilongo, A. Vatileni, S. Nangulah, J. Shapaka, B. Kauahuma, F. Shikesho, F. Xamises, D. Siteketa, J. Chapwa, C. Shilima, R. Ihemba. Thanks are also due to the SSD staff who provided the field supervision, including: K. Stephanus, S. Mafwila, M. Naanda, M. Shapi and G. van Rooy.

As always with a project of this nature, the greatest debt is to those people who gave freely of their time and knowledge. The authors' thanks go to participants in all areas of Namibia. The survey was funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) through the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP).

Published by Idasa, 6 Spin Street, Church Square, Cape Town, 8001, and Queen's University, Canada.

Copyright Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) 1998

ISBN 1-874864-84-5

First published 1998

Edited by Michail Rassool

Layout by Bronwen Dachs Müller

Typeset in Goudy

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without prior permission from the publishers.

Bound and printed by Logo Print

Print consultants Mega Print, Cape Town

NAMIBIANS ON SOUTH AFRICA:  
ATTITUDES TOWARDS  
CROSS-BORDER MIGRATION  
AND IMMIGRATION POLICY

BRUCE FRAYNE & WADE PENDLETON

SERIES EDITORS:  
JONATHAN CRUSH & DAVID McDONALD

CONTENTS	PAGE
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1
INTRODUCTION	4
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO MIGRATION IN NAMIBIA	5
A NOTE ON METHOD	7
MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA	8
FUTURE MIGRATION TRENDS FROM NAMIBIA	14
ATTITUDES TO MIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION POLICY	21
VARIABLE ATTITUDES	29
CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS	34
APPENDIX A: SURVEY METHODOLOGY	35
ENDNOTES	38
MIGRATION POLICY SERIES	39

## LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1	SAMPLE AREAS AND NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS FOR EACH AREA	7
TABLE 2	A PROFILE OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION	8
TABLE 3	PROFILE OF VISITORS TO SOUTH AFRICA	9
TABLE 4	LENGTH AND FREQUENCY OF VISITS TO SOUTH AFRICA	10
TABLE 5	REASONS FOR VISITING AND LEAVING SOUTH AFRICA	12
TABLE 6	METHODS OF TRAVEL TO SOUTH AFRICA	13
TABLE 7	FACTORS IN THE MIGRATION DECISION-MAKING PROCESS	15
TABLE 8	PERCEIVED IMPACTS OF MIGRATION ON PERSON/FAMILY/COMMUNITY/COUNTRY	16
TABLE 9	DESIRE AND LIKELIHOOD OF MOVING TO SOUTH AFRICA	17
TABLE 10	DESIRE TO STAY IN SOUTH AFRICA PERMANENTLY	18
TABLE 11A	LIKELIHOOD OF SHORT-TERM MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA FROM NAMIBIA	19
TABLE 11B	LIKELIHOOD OF PERMANENT MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA FROM NAMIBIA	20
TABLE 12	PRIDE OF CITIZENSHIP AND GOVERNMENT APPROVAL RATINGS BY RESPONDENTS	22
TABLE 13	ATTITUDES TOWARDS BORDERS	24
TABLE 14	ATTITUDES TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICAN IMMIGRATION LAWS	25
TABLE 15	ATTITUDES TOWARDS RIGHTS FOR NON-CITIZENS	27
TABLE 16	ATTITUDES TOWARDS POLITICAL INCORPORATION	29
TABLE 17	SUMMARY OF THE TRENDS IN THE NAMIBIAN DATA BY DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLE	30





## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The history of relations between South Africa and Namibia has profoundly affected cross-border migration between the two countries. Within the Southern African region, Namibia's relationship with South Africa is unique due to the fact that Namibia was basically a South African colony for more than 70 years. Namibians did not have to go to South Africa; South Africa came to Namibia, bringing with it people, language, religion, ideology, politics, trade, and commerce. South Africa also fought a major war on the Namibian/Angolan border for more than 20 years that seriously affected the lives of many Namibians, especially those resident in the northern parts of the country. This history has influenced the migration and visiting patterns of Namibians.

This report presents the findings of interviews conducted with 600 Namibians between May and June of 1998 about their experiences with, and attitudes towards, cross-border migration. The sample was selected from the major geopolitical regions of Namibia and, although the sample was intentionally biased towards urban areas due to budget and time considerations, it is broadly representative of Namibia's heterogeneous and widely dispersed population. The questionnaire used for the interviews was the same instrument used by SAMP to interview 2 300 people in Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Mozambique in mid-1997, meaning that the results from the Namibian survey can be directly compared to these other three countries.

The key findings from the surveys are as follows:

- Most Namibian visitors to South Africa are urban people living in the central parts of the country. About half of those who visit South Africa are African with the remainder being white and coloured. This high proportion of white and coloured Namibian visitors, relative to their percentage of the Namibian population as a whole, reflects the strong historical and social ties these two groups have with South Africa.
- In general, Namibians who visit South Africa have higher personal incomes and are better educated than visitors from Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. They are not unemployed, destitute people looking for work in South Africa. The major reason for visiting South Africa is to see relatives and friends with only 11% going for work related purposes.
- In Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, migration was seen to be a generally positive phenomenon. In Namibia, by contrast, migration is deemed to have a somewhat negative impact on families, communities, and the country as a whole. This negativ-

ity is also reflected in the lack of interest on the part of Namibians in becoming permanent residents or citizens of South Africa. The Namibian findings do, however, fit with the findings from the other three countries insofar as people feel that “home is best”. The majority of the Namibians interviewed said they do not want to travel to South Africa or will only do so for short periods of time.

- Namibians express high levels of national identity and take great pride in their country. They also said that international borders are an important part of defining who they are. Many Namibians were still in favour of the free movement of people and goods between the two countries. However, a high proportion of respondents want to remain totally independent from South Africa. While some sentiment exists for integrating Namibia into South Africa and for incorporating the northern Cape into Namibia, these amalgamation options were not generally popular among those surveyed.

These attitudes help to explain why approximately half the Namibian sample felt that there should be no preferential treatment for SADC citizens (Namibians included) when it comes to entry into South Africa, and why the same number of respondents said that “illegal immigrants” should not be granted amnesty in South Africa.

In fact, of the four countries surveyed, Namibia had the highest percentage of respondents who said that the South African government should try and send “illegal immigrants” back home to their own countries. These attitudes suggest that the implementation of government policies, which are at variance with these attitudes, may meet opposition from the Namibian population.

Namibians generally agreed that non-South African citizens in South Africa should have the same rights as South Africans when it comes to employment, education, housing, and access to medical services, and most are supportive of basic human rights and civil liberties for migrants in South Africa. However, Namibians generally did not think that non-South Africans should have the right to vote in South Africa.

Namibians are concerned about uncontrolled and undocumented migration. While supporting basic human rights and civil liberties for migrants, they are also concerned about the negative aspects of migration.

And while there is support for regional integration, it is felt that integration must be done legally and with respect for national borders.

The key policy implications emanating from the findings of the surveys are as follows:

- Economic integration and, in particular, freer cross-border trade between Southern African countries is supported.
- Foreign investment in Namibia is supported.
- National borders should be maintained, and only documented migration between Southern African countries is supported; the primary motivation being that free, undocumented movement may encourage criminal activities in Namibia and other countries in the region.
- Namibia does experience in-and-out migration, but by and large Namibians are not intending to emigrate from Namibia, and nationals from other countries in the region are not planning to immigrate to Namibia on a permanent basis.

## INTRODUCTION

**A**fter a successful round of public opinion surveys on cross-border migration with people in Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe<sup>1</sup>, the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) made a policy decision to extend the survey to two additional countries in the region, Namibia and Botswana. The survey carried out in Namibia is identical to that used in the other four countries and therefore offers important comparative information and data specific to Namibia. The results are therefore of interest to policy-makers and the general public in both countries.<sup>2</sup>

The intent of the survey is to record respondents' attitudes towards migration and immigration policy (with specific reference to South Africa). It also attempts to document people's experiences with migration and immigration to South Africa, as well as their future plans and ideas in this regard. Further enriching the analysis are questions regarding cross-border migration between Namibia and its neighbours other than South Africa (ie. Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana). Although not the central theme of this study, these additional findings are briefly described in the body of the report.

The report begins with a brief historical background of Namibia in order to place the country's relationship with South Africa in a regional context. In particular, it is important to note that the lengthy history of migrant labour to South Africa, that is a typical feature of the other countries, is not as strongly evident in Namibia and this has altered to some degree the characteristics of cross-border movements between the two countries.

This analysis is followed by an explanation of the methodology used for Namibia and describes the sample size and demographics of the respondents. The key findings of the survey are then explored, and comparisons are made with similar data from Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Looking to the future, migration trends from Namibia to South Africa are then considered, and important regional policy questions investigated. Finally, a summary of the key findings that emerged from a more rigorous analysis undertaken for the Namibian data is presented.

In summary, only a minority of Namibians have any desire to move permanently or temporarily to South Africa. Of those who do want to go, the propensity to migrate from Namibia to South Africa is determined in large part by socio-economic status, with the wealthier and better educated sectors of society being the more mobile and having the greater desire and likelihood to visit and live in South Africa. One important conclusion to draw from this finding is that South Africa

does not appear to be facing a “flood” of migration from the poorest sectors of Namibia’s population. Indeed, the contrary appears to be true, with relatively few (and relatively skilled and better educated) Namibians making their way to South Africa.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO MIGRATION IN NAMIBIA

**N**amibia has an unusual relationship with South Africa.<sup>3</sup> Unlike other countries in the region, Namibians did not have to go to South Africa in order to experience apartheid. Rather, from 1915 to 1990, South Africa occupied Namibia, bringing with them people, policies, ideologies, religion, culture, language, trade, commerce, manufacturing and industry. Some of the major Namibian population groups who have South African origins include: the various Nama groups who are the only remaining descendants of the once great Khoi-Khoi who inhabited South Africa prior to European occupation; the Basters as well as the descendants of various Orlam groups who came from the northern Cape; coloured people from the Cape (people of mixed African and European ancestry); and Afrikaners. Some Germans remained in Namibia after the defeat of Germany during World War I, and other Germans migrated to Namibia from Germany and South Africa. Thus, many Namibians have strong historical links with South Africa.

The major African Namibian populations migrated to Namibia from central Africa some time after the 15th century, and they included the Herero (including Himba and Mbanderu) and the Owambo (a collective term for eight different but related ethnic groups). The Namibian Tswana population migrated from Botswana in the recent past. The Damara and various hunter/gatherer populations, generally referred to as Bushmen or San, are probably Namibian in origin.

From 1890 until 1914, Germany colonised and occupied Namibia, formerly called South West Africa, until independence in 1990. The initial South African occupation of South West Africa occurred after the defeat of Germany in the First World War under a mandate from the League of Nations. After its establishment in 1945, the United Nations tried unsuccessfully for several decades to revoke South Africa’s administration of the country. Only in 1989 did the organisation establish its presence in the country and supervise elections, which led to independence early the following year.

During South Africa’s administration of the country, it was ruled as though it was a fifth province of South Africa. South Africa introduced policies and laws that were virtually identical to those in force in South Africa. In some ways, the administration of apartheid in Namibia was

more strict than in South Africa because of the small size of the population and the remoteness of the country.

During the South African administration the links between Namibia and South Africa became very strong. All major paved roads, railway lines, and airline routes led to South Africa. Many white South Africans moved to Namibia and a commercial farming sector was established which took over about 40% of the land in the country. As towns were established and the capital, Windhoek, began to grow, the South African administration designated these towns primarily for white occupation. Africans were only allowed to reside in towns if they were employed.

Rural African Namibians were required to live in communal areas in the north, east, south and west of the country. These areas received virtually no development assistance, and movement from these areas to towns and commercial farming areas was limited and controlled. The area north of the commercial farming area was closed to white occupation and a "veterinary" cordon fence was established along this boundary that prevented cattle and people from crossing. The South African police patrolled Namibia and enforced the myriad laws and regulations that restricted people's freedom of movement and other human rights.

Lasting for more than 20 years, the South African Defence Force (SADF), together with the South West African Territorial Force, fought a war with the military wing (known as the People's Liberation Army of Namibia) of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) for the liberation of Namibia. The conflict was fought primarily along the Namibian border with Angola and Zambia. Many people were moved by the military forces, and the effects on the rural population were often devastating. The attitudes of many rural people in the Namibian north towards South Africa have been influenced by their experiences of the SADF and the Namibian war of liberation.

After 1980, most of the apartheid laws in Namibia were abolished, but many of the social and economic practices of apartheid remained. Even after independence the legacy of apartheid can still be seen in urban townships ("locations") occupied largely by poor Africans, and the dual system of land tenure (ie. no freehold land ownership in communal areas and freehold land ownership of commercial farm land and urban land). The Namibian population also continues to be exposed to extensive media information about South Africa. They purchase and make use of products manufactured in South Africa, watch television programmes about South Africa, meet many South Africans, and some have also visited, worked, and have relatives and/or friends in South Africa. The attitudes and opinions revealed in the SAMP public opinion survey in Namibia are therefore the result of a complex history of relations between the two countries.

## A NOTE ON METHOD

Namibia is a large, sparsely populated and heterogeneous country. These factors alone provide significant barriers to conducting nationally representative survey research. In the case of this project, both budget and time factors mitigated against achieving the ideal of national representation, and certain geographic areas and sectors of the population had to be omitted from the sample.<sup>4</sup>

The survey also wanted to capture the opinions, attitudes and possible plans of those without obvious ties and close proximity to South Africa. In addition, cross-border migration is an important issue with other countries, not only South Africa, and some sense of this dynamic needed to be captured, as it has relevant policy and development implications. Analyses of migration patterns from the 1991 population census, together with relevant studies and cumulative knowledge about migration in Namibia, provided a rational basis on which to make decisions regarding areas of selection.<sup>5</sup>

The sample was created from sites selected from the most significant areas of migration as well as sites where migration was less likely. The selected areas include major typologies of land use and population in Namibia. The sample includes representative areas where experience of South Africa would likely be high as well as areas where such experience would be lower. These include the following categories of place: northern rural communal areas; northern communal towns; and central, southern and coastal towns (Table 1). The number of household interviews (600) was determined largely by a trade-off between budget limitations and the minimum number required as a valid sample from the three typologies identified in the literature and data review. The sampling strategy and field methodology employed are described in greater detail in Appendix A. A profile of the sample population, together with

<b>Northern Rural Communal</b>	<b># of Interviews</b>	<b>Northern Communal Towns</b>	<b># of Interviews</b>	<b>Central, Southern &amp; Coastal Towns</b>	<b># of Interviews</b>
Caprivi	50	Katima Mulilo	50	Windhoek	50
Owambo	50	Rundu	50	Katutura	50
		Oshakati	50	Rehoboth	50
				Luderitz	50
				Keetmanshoop	50
				Walvis Bay	50
				Karasburg/Warmbad	50
<b>Total 600</b>	<b>100</b>		<b>150</b>		<b>350</b>

comparative data for Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe is provided in Table 2. The gender, age structure, marital and household status of the sampled population are broadly consistent across the four countries.

## MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA

Namibia's unique relationship with South Africa has shaped patterns of cross-border migration between the two countries. The first important observation is that 38% of the Namibian sample have been to South Africa, which is significantly higher than the other countries, with the obvious exception of Lesotho (Table 3).

When location and race are considered, a predictable picture begins

	<b>Namibia</b>	<b>Lesotho</b>	<b>Mozambique</b>	<b>Zimbabwe</b>
<b>Gender</b>				
Male	49	51	61	57
Female	51	49	39	44
<b>Race</b>				
African	73	99	96	99
White	7	-	-	-
Coloured	20	-	4	-
<b>Age</b>				
15-24	27	26	32	26
25-44	51	48	46	50
45-64	17	25	16	17
65+	5	2	5	6
<b>Urban or Rural</b>				
Urban	84	59	51	55
Rural	17	41	49	45
<b>Marital Status</b>				
Married	52	64	55	66
Separated/Divorced/ Abandoned	4	5	4	5
Widowed	5	9	5	3
Unmarried	40	22	36	25
<b>Household Status</b>				
Household Head	36	47	40	34
Spouse	24	26	17	26
Child	21	21	32	20
Other Family	17	3	9	7
Other	3	3	2	13
<i>Note: Figures in tables may not add to 100% due to rounding. A single dash (-) signifies a value of greater than zero but less than 0.5%.</i>				



TABLE 3: PROFILE OF VISITORS TO SOUTH AFRICA				
	Namibia	Lesotho	Mozambique	Zimbabwe
<b>Been to South Africa?</b>				
Yes	38	81	29	22
No	62	19	71	88
<b>Gender</b>				
Male	56	54	88	61
Female	44	46	12	39
<b>Urban or Rural</b>				
Urban	97	62	44	92
Rural	4	39	56	8
<b>Age</b>				
15-24	16	20	14	17
25-44	51	50	46	58
45-64	26	29	34	17
65+	7	2	6	9
<b>Marital Status</b>				
Married	68	68	74	73
Separated/Divorced/Abandoned	3	5	3	3
Widowed	4	9	4	2
Unmarried	26	18	19	22
<b>Household Status</b>				
Household Head	46	52	66	40
Spouse	28	27	9	25
Child	16	17	18	22
Other Family	8	1	5	5
Other	2	3	3	8
<b>Home Ownership</b>				
Live With Others/Illegally Occupy	2	-	4	4
Accommodation as Part of Job	3	-	1	1
Rent	18	15	8	16
Own	77	84	87	78
<b>Income/Household Member/Per Year (in Rands)</b>				
160 or less	7	19	17	11
161-450	5	14	18	19
451-1200	9	22	11	12
1200+	79	45	55	58
<b>Level of Employment Activity</b>				
Inactive	27	15	22	30
Looking for Work	15	32	29	28
Part-time	11	19	17	9
Full-time	48	34	32	33
<b>Level of Education</b>				
No Schooling	4	8	18	9
Some Primary School	14	38	30	14
Primary School Completed	4	17	14	18
Some High School	34	25	24	41
High School Completed	23	9	10	12
Post-Grad and Further	21	2	4	6
<b>Race</b>				
African	42	99	95	99
White	18	-	1	-
Coloured	40	-	4	-

to emerge. Ninety-seven percent of visitors to South Africa are urban residents, which exceeds the sample proportion of urban areas by 13%, suggesting that it is urban people who are largely the visitors, rather than rural dwellers. While 42% of the visitors were Africans, they are also primarily urban.

Of those Africans surveyed in the northern communal areas, only 8% had been to South Africa. In addition, the coloured and white populations (who have the strongest historical, economic and cultural ties with South Africa) comprise 58% of those who had visited South Africa at least once in their lives (even though they make up only 27% of the sample population). Again, these people are predominantly urban residents.

Namibian men only slightly out-number women as visitors, while for Zimbabwe and, especially, Mozambique, men are more likely to have been to South Africa. This may be explained by the very limited labour migration from Namibia to serve South African economic needs.

The age, marital status, home ownership, and employment profile of Namibian visitors is similar to that for the other countries. About 50% are between 25 and 44 years of age, about half are married and heads of households, about three-quarters own their home, and almost 60% are full or part-time employed. However, Namibian visitors are generally better educated and have higher personal household income levels than those from the other countries. Most Namibians who visit South Africa

<b>TABLE 4: LENGTH AND FREQUENCY OF VISITS TO SOUTH AFRICA</b>				
	<b>Namibia</b>	<b>Lesotho</b>	<b>Mozambique</b>	<b>Zimbabwe</b>
Average Number of Visits in Lifetime	14	68	5	6
Average Number of Visits in the Last Five Years	4	20	2	6
<b>Frequency of Visits (during past five years)</b>				
More Than Once a Month	1	19	10	6
Once a Month	-	13	1	18
Once Every Few Months	9	21	12	12
Once or Twice a Year	25	18	25	26
Less Than Once or Twice a Year	38	17	19	18
I Have Been Just Once	27	12	33	21
<b>Average Length of Stay</b>				
Less Than A Month	87	66	32	71
Between 1 and 3 Months	6	8	9	9
Between 3 and 6 Months	3	6	9	2
Between 6 Months and a Year	1	9	20	11
More Than 1 Year	3	10	31	6

do so only once or twice a year (Table 4). Almost 90% of all visits are for less than a month, with 14 being the average number of lifetime visits, which is greater than Mozambique and Zimbabwe but significantly less than Lesotho.

## MIGRATION TO OTHER SADC COUNTRIES

South Africa is not, of course, the only destination for Namibians. Namibia is also bordered by Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana. Generally speaking, the largest concentrations of Namibia's population live along these borders, not those with South Africa. In addition, there is much similarity in the people living either side of these borders. This is particularly true along the northern borders where socio-economic systems are truncated in many instances by these borders.

It is, therefore, no surprise to learn that 14% of the sample have visited Angola, and that 89% of these visitors are Africans. Sixty-nine percent of these visitors live in the northern areas, and are in close proximity to the border. Twelve percent of the sample have visited Zambia, and again the majority are from the northern communal areas and towns.

The profile for visiting Botswana and Zimbabwe is a little different, with more white and coloured Namibians visiting these two countries. Also, in contrast to the visitors to the northern countries of Angola and Zambia, 37% and 46% of visitors from Namibia are from the central and southern towns (including Luderitz and Walvis Bay).

## REASONS FOR MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA

By far the most important reason cited for going to South Africa was to visit friends and family, and to go on holiday. In fact 63% of visitors to South Africa go for these reasons alone. In contrast, only 11% of the sample visited South Africa for work purposes (Table 5).

The findings are significantly different to those from the other three countries. Twenty-five percent of respondents in Lesotho go to work or to look for work, with 29% and 68% in Zimbabwe and Mozambique respectively. Namibia's remoteness from the big urban centres of South Africa also ensures that very few people go to shop, which differs again from the other countries, particularly Lesotho and Zimbabwe. Namibia also has the advantage of a having a well supplied retail sector, thus reducing the need for Namibians to travel to South Africa specifically to shop.

Of those respondents who travelled to South Africa for work purposes, only four respondents actually went to seek work. Of the 11% who went to work in South Africa, more than half (51%) had arranged

<b>TABLE 5: REASONS FOR VISITING AND LEAVING SOUTH AFRICA</b>				
	<b>Namibia</b>	<b>Lesotho</b>	<b>Mozambique</b>	<b>Zimbabwe</b>
<b>Purpose of Most Recent Visit</b>				
To Look for Work	2	8	22	14
To Work	11	17	46	15
Buy and Sell Goods	2	3	2	21
School	1	1	1	1
Study at University/Technikon	3	-	-	1
Shopping	1	19	4	21
Business	7	2	2	8
Visit Family or Friends	44	34	12	13
Holiday/Tourism	19	2	5	3
Medical Treatment	4	6	4	2
Other	6	9	2	4
<b>Reason for Return</b>				
Returned After Holiday	24	35	16	26
Wanted to Come Back	44	15	22	25
Family Reasons	18	8	9	7
Sick/Injured	-	5	3	1
Contract Ended	4	2	18	9
Retired From Job	-	2	3	3
Lost Job or Retrenched	2	11	10	2
Found Job at Home	1	1	1	1
Travel Documents Expired	1	4	2	5
Expelled/Deported From South Africa	-	1	11	4
Studies Ended	2	-	-	1
Goods Sold Out	1	-	2	8
Other	4	18	5	8

employment before they left Namibia. Virtually all of the people who went to work were urban males, married, owned homes and represented a relatively stable sector of the population.

Approximately 85% of the Namibian sample reported that they returned from South Africa because their holidays had ended, or due to family reasons, or that they simply wanted to come back. It is noteworthy that losing work, a completed contract, and deportation are significant reasons for people leaving South Africa to return to Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. These factors are of limited significance for Namibia, with zero deportations being reported.

Perhaps the most significant findings are that those who go to South Africa are not the destitute of the country, nor are they people looking for work. Certainly the claim by the South African government that South Africa is being swamped by the neighbouring poor does not apply

**TABLE 6: METHODS OF TRAVEL TO SOUTH AFRICA**

	Namibia	Lesotho	Mozambique	Zimbabwe
Foot	1	4	14	14
Bus	19	17	20	35
Plane	9	-	3	5
Car	59	10	19	8
Horse or Donkey	-	-	1	1
Train	9	5	38	19
Combi or Taxi	3	63	4	16
Other	-	1	1	2

to Namibia.<sup>6</sup> Almost all of the respondents who visited South Africa went by road or air. Only two people claimed to have crossed the border by foot (Table 6). Given the remote and hostile environment in proximity to the Namibia/South Africa border, the opportunities for people to cross undocumented from Namibia into South Africa are few. In any event, there is little need to do this as temporary entry permits for travel to South Africa are readily issued at the border with the possession of a valid Namibian passport. In the past, when Namibia was administered by South Africa, there was no border crossing control and no documents were necessary.

These findings are supported by the information available from the South African Central Statistical Service on Namibians in South Africa and cross-border movements between the two countries. In 1996, 200 523 Namibians entered South Africa legally.<sup>7</sup> Of these, only 5 569 (3% of the total) overstayed their visas, providing further evidence that traffic between the two countries is indeed highly legalised.<sup>8</sup> In 1996 there were only 84 deportations of Namibians from South Africa. Further evidence of the limited number of Namibians illegally in South Africa at present is the fact that only 91 Namibians applied for the amnesty (77 successful) offered recently by the South African government to SADC citizens who had lived in South Africa since at least 1991.<sup>9</sup>

Given the findings of the survey, and the corroborating statistics from South Africa, it seems that there are indeed very few undocumented border crossings into South Africa by Namibians. Current estimates by the South African government are that there are fewer than 20 000 undocumented Namibians in South Africa.<sup>10</sup> The findings presented here would certainly not lead us to challenge these figures.

## FACTORS IN MIGRATION DECISION-MAKING

When asked what would be the most important reason that might cause them to go to South Africa in the future, substantially fewer Namibians (24%) cited jobs, compared to Lesotho (53%), Zimbabwe (35%) and

Mozambique (40%). Namibia has the highest percentage who would go to South Africa for educational purposes, and the lowest percentage who would go for shopping. Health care appeared to be about as important to Namibians as it is for people in Lesotho and Mozambique (about 10%). Trade as a reason is highest for Zimbabwe and Namibia, at about 8-9% (Table 7).

In sharp contrast to the reasons people would consider going to South Africa, 23% of the respondents cited “peace” as the most compelling reason for remaining in Namibia. The second most important reason given for remaining in Namibia was safety for oneself and one’s family (19%). The third most important response was that the respondents grew up in the country (12%). Personal safety and a peaceful environment are strong motivating factors for Namibians to remain at home. Also interesting is that, for Namibians, land is the least important reason to remain in the country, in sharp contrast to Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. However, the urban dominance of the sample may explain this difference.

Thus, while jobs are certainly considered an important reason for going to South Africa, they are by no means the key factor. There are a variety of factors that both induce people to move and hold people back and demonstrate that the migration decision-making process is undoubtedly diverse and complex.

## FUTURE MIGRATION TRENDS FROM NAMIBIA

### PERCEIVED IMPACTS OF MIGRATION ON NAMIBIA

**I**n stark contrast to the other countries, Namibians clearly feel little personal impact from the migration of people to South Africa (63%). Likewise, Namibians felt that migration to South Africa had little or no impact on their families. More people are of the opinion, however, that migration to South Africa has some negative impact on community and country (19% and 24% respectively) (Table 8).

In Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, the impact on people personally, and on family, community and country, was generally felt to be significant. In the case of Mozambique and Zimbabwe the majority feel the impact positively with somewhat more ambiguity in Lesotho.

This is an important finding, indicating that Namibians do not necessarily feel that migration to South Africa is of direct benefit to either themselves, their families or their communities, and that it may have some negative consequences for the country as a whole. Indeed,

<b>TABLE 7: FACTORS IN THE MIGRATION DECISION-MAKING PROCESS</b>				
	<b>Namibia</b>	<b>Lesotho</b>	<b>Mozambique</b>	<b>Zimbabwe</b>
<b>Most Important Reason For Going To South Africa [ie. conditions seen to be better in SA]</b>				
Land	-	-	1	2
Water	-	-	-	1
Food	-	1	2	-
Houses	2	-	-	1
Jobs	24	53	40	35
Treatment by Employers	1	-	1	1
Trade	9	1	4	8
Overall Living Conditions	9	2	14	5
Safety of Self and Family	1	1	1	-
Crime	1	-	1	-
Peace	1	-	-	1
Education/Schools	21	9	7	2
Health Care	9	10	14	3
Place to Raise Your Family	1	-	-	-
Diseases	-	-	1	-
HIV/AIDS	-	-	-	-
Freedom	1	-	-	1
Democracy	-	-	-	-
Travel Documents	-	-	1	1
Shopping	7	18	9	26
Nothing	8	1	-	8
Other	7	4	5	8
<b>Most Important Reason for Remaining in Own Country [ie. conditions seen to be better inhome country]</b>				
Land	6	42	17	14
Water	1	2	2	1
Food	-	1	2	2
Houses	2	6	6	2
Jobs	2	2	3	1
Treatment by Employers	-	-	1	-
Trade	-	1	-	-
Overall Living Conditions	5	7	5	5
Safety of Self and Family	19	1	13	12
Crime	7	5	4	6
Peace	23	10	18	23
Education/Schools	2	1	1	2
Health Care	1	-	-	1
Place to Raise Your Family	4	1	5	5
Diseases	-	1	-	1
HIV/AIDS	-	1	-	-
Freedom	8	10	3	6
Democracy	2	1	1	1
Travel Documents	-	-	6	1
Shopping	-	-	-	-
Grew Up Here	12	2	-	11
Other	6	6	12	8

<b>TABLE 8: PERCEIVED IMPACTS OF MIGRATION ON PERSON/FAMILY/COMMUNITY/COUNTRY</b>				
	<b>Namibia</b>	<b>Lesotho</b>	<b>Mozambique</b>	<b>Zimbabwe</b>
<b>Personal Impact</b>				
Very Positive	4	11	22	13
Positive	13	41	47	35
No Impact	63	12	21	46
Negative	15	27	8	4
Very Negative	2	8	-	1
Don't Know	3	2	3	2
<b>Impact on Family</b>				
Very Positive	2	10	19	11
Positive	13	37	51	34
No Impact	63	13	17	46
Negative	15	27	9	5
Very Negative	3	6	-	1
Don't Know	5	7	4	3
<b>Impact on Community</b>				
Very Positive	1	9	9	10
Positive	10	41	51	40
No Impact	48	4	15	25
Negative	19	25	12	6
Very Negative	4	9	1	1
Don't Know	18	12	12	19
<b>Impact on Country</b>				
Very Positive	3	10	12	10
Positive	12	37	47	36
No Impact	30	3	7	14
Negative	24	28	17	12
Very Negative	10	12	2	3
Don't Know	22	10	15	25

Namibians appear to be ambivalent about migration to South Africa. These results would indicate a propensity not to choose to migrate, or to encourage others not to do so, as the benefits are not apparent to the respondents. However, people may be just as likely not to discourage anyone who may indicate a wish to go to South Africa.

#### LIKELIHOOD OF MOVING TO SOUTH AFRICA

In keeping with the findings for Lesotho, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe, nearly two thirds of Namibian respondents indicated that they would be able to go to South Africa if they wanted to. However, only 17% of the Namibians said that they had a strong or moderate desire to move permanently to South Africa (significantly lower than the other countries)



(Table 9). When asked about the likelihood of their actually doing so, the figure dropped to 12% (comparable with Mozambicans and Zimbabweans who show little desire to go and live in South Africa permanently).

When asked about living in South Africa for a “short period of time (up to two years)”, the responses were slightly more favourable. When asked the “likelihood” of living permanently in South Africa in the foreseeable future, the largest response category was that it is “very unlikely”. Even when asked about living in South Africa for a short period of time, a large proportion of people said it was “very unlikely” (Table 9). These responses were polarised, however, with a significant number of respondents saying that it was “likely” that they might live in

<b>TABLE 9: DESIRE AND LIKELIHOOD OF MOVING TO SOUTH AFRICA</b>				
	<b>Namibia</b>	<b>Lesotho</b>	<b>Mozambique</b>	<b>Zimbabwe</b>
<b>Ability to Go to South Africa If Desired</b>				
Yes	62	64	76	68
No	37	35	17	31
Don't Know	1	-	8	1
<b>Desire to Go and Live Permanently in South Africa</b>				
A Great Extent	6	17	14	9
Some Extent	11	8	18	11
Not Much	15	9	15	12
Not at All	67	66	46	67
Don't Know	1	-	7	2
<b>Desire to Go and Live Temporarily in South Africa (for up to two years)</b>				
A Great Extent	12	15	15	22
Some Extent	31	35	42	28
Not Much	15	10	19	15
Not at All	41	39	19	34
Don't Know	2	1	6	2
<b>Likelihood of Going and Living Permanently in South Africa</b>				
Very Likely	4	11	3	4
Likely	8	14	11	8
Neither Likely nor Unlikely	6	3	13	7
Unlikely	19	5	36	19
Very Unlikely	61	64	33	59
Don't Know	3	4	5	3
<b>Likelihood of Going and Living Temporarily in South Africa</b>				
Very Likely	7	16	6	13
Likely	28	42	34	26
Neither Likely nor Unlikely	6	2	20	7
Unlikely	18	5	20	16
Very Unlikely	40	32	15	32
Don't Know	2	4	6	5

South Africa for a short period. Some 43% of Namibians have a strong or moderate desire to go to South Africa for a short period (with a likelihood of 35%). These figures are very consistent with those for other countries in the region.

Confirming the ephemeral interest of Namibians in South Africa, some 81% of Namibians have no desire to become permanent residents of South Africa, with 86% having no wish to become a citizen of the country either. Even fewer people indicated a desire to retire in South Africa or to be buried there (Table 10). These patterns of response are broadly consistent with those for Mozambique and Zimbabwe (with people from Lesotho showing greater, though far from overwhelming, interest).

In sum, South Africa remains a place of interest for a significant minority of Namibians. But not as a place to go and live permanently. The findings of the survey confirm that for Namibians, like other SADC country citizens, home is best, and South Africa is not a preferred place to live. The supposed settlement in South Africa by significant numbers of migrants from Namibia appears to be ill-founded.

#### FUTURE MIGRATION PATTERNS

The demography of future migration is, of course, notoriously difficult to assess, reflecting the complex and diverse dynamics of the migration process.

Tables 11a and 11b compare Namibia with Lesotho, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe in this regard. For all four countries, the highest response

<b>TABLE 10: DESIRE TO STAY IN SOUTH AFRICA PERMANENTLY</b>				
	<b>Namibia</b>	<b>Lesotho</b>	<b>Mozambique</b>	<b>Zimbabwe</b>
<b>Interest in Permanent Resident in South Africa</b>				
Yes	17	33	14	12
No	81	62	83	87
Don't Know	2	6	3	1
<b>Interest in South African Citizenship</b>				
Yes	12	34	7	14
No	86	60	90	85
Don't Know	2	6	3	1
<b>Interest in Retiring in South Africa</b>				
Yes	11	28	4	6
No	87	67	95	91
Don't Know	2	6	2	2
<b>Interest in Being Buried in South Africa</b>				
Yes	7	17	1	3
No	91	77	96	95
Don't Know	3	6	3	2

categories for short-term migration to South Africa are “likely” and “very unlikely”, with the younger age cohorts being more likely than older people to migrate.

Men are marginally more likely to go than women (48% v 41%). Those with experience of South Africa are more likely to go than those

<b>TABLE 11a: LIKELIHOOD OF SHORT-TERM MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA FROM NAMIBIA</b>					
	<b>Very Likely</b>	<b>Likely</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Unlikely</b>	<b>Very Unlikely</b>
<b>Total Sample</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>Gender</b>					
Male	13	35	9	16	27
Female	9	32	8	15	36
<b>Age</b>					
15-24	15	40	9	13	22
25-44	10	35	10	17	28
45-64	10	24	6	15	46
65+	6	18	4	13	59
<b>Employment</b>					
Inactive	11	32	9	16	33
Looking for Work	15	40	7	14	24
Part-time	10	38	13	12	27
Full-time	10	29	9	17	35
<b>Education</b>					
No Schooling	5	27	9	17	42
Some Primary School	11	32	9	14	34
Primary School Completed	13	32	7	13	37
Some High School	13	36	9	15	26
High School Completed	11	37	8	17	26
Post-grad and Further	13	36	11	19	21
<b>Been to South Africa?</b>					
Yes	16	38	5	12	29
No	8	30	11	18	32
<b>Family in South Africa?</b>					
None	10	30	7	17	37
Few	12	29	11	13	25
Most	16	34	11	17	22
Almost All	27	24	5	22	22
<b>Overall Impression of South Africa</b>					
Very Favourable	21	38	6	13	22
Favourable	9	39	10	18	25
Neutral	7	26	14	14	39
Unfavourable	7	31	5	15	42
Very Unfavourable	8	12	11	13	57

<b>TABLE 11b: LIKELIHOOD OF PERMANENT MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA FROM NAMIBIA</b>					
	<b>Very Likely</b>	<b>Likely</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Unlikely</b>	<b>Very Unlikely</b>
<b>Total Sample</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>Gender</b>					
Male	6	11	8	21	53
Female	5	9	6	19	61
<b>Age</b>					
15-24	9	14	9	23	45
25-44	4	11	8	20	57
45-64	5	6	5	17	68
65+	4	1	3	16	77
<b>Employment</b>					
Inactive	6	10	7	21	57
Looking for Work	7	14	7	20	52
Part-time	5	12	10	20	54
Full-time	5	8	7	20	60
<b>Education</b>					
No Schooling	3	8	9	18	62
Some Primary School	6	8	6	17	63
Primary School Completed	4	10	7	19	60
Some High School	6	11	8	23	52
High School Completed	7	15	6	23	50
Post-grad and Further	6	12	8	25	50
<b>Been to South Africa?</b>					
Yes	8	12	6	16	58
No	4	10	8	23	55
<b>Family in South Africa?</b>					
None	4	9	6	19	62
Few	7	12	8	21	52
Most	7	14	9	28	42
Almost All	13	26	3	18	40
<b>Overall Impression of South Africa</b>					
Very Favourable	12	12	8	19	49
Favourable	4	12	8	23	53
Neutral	3	8	11	21	58
Unfavourable	2	9	3	18	69
Very Unfavourable	3	1	8	12	76

who have not (54% v 38%). Better-educated Namibians are also more likely than people with less education to go for a short-term visit. The same is true for those who already have family in South Africa, as well as those who have a favourable impression of the country. These figures once again support the notion that South Africa is of interest as a short-

term migration destination for Namibians. However, there are clear differences along lines of gender, experience, age and education. Even then, more than half of the population has little or no interest in going to South Africa.

## NAMIBIANS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRATION TO NAMIBIA

The survey indicates that while Namibians favour both foreign investment in Namibia and cross-border trade, they do not support the free movement of people into the country. The respondents' opinions in this regard tend to reflect their own economic and socio-political experiences. For example, with some 70% of Namibia's population involved in (semi-) subsistence crop and livestock farming, and given the marginal productive value of much of the country's farm land and the history of land dispossession, it is not surprising that there is a perceived shortage of land. Thus, when asked whether or not Namibia should allow other Southern Africans to farm in the country, it is not surprising that 80% either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the idea. Likewise, 59% felt that there should be a strict limitation on foreigners entering the country. On the other hand, more than half of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed that Namibia should allow Southern Africans to trade and invest in the country.

On the question of "free movement" of people in the region, responses were more polarised. Thirty eight percent of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the notion of free movement in the Southern African region, whereas 52% disagreed or strongly disagreed with the proposition.

## ATTITUDES TO MIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION POLICY

### CITIZENSHIP AND BELONGING

**N**amibians have a strong attachment to their own country. Table 12 indicates that most Namibians "agree" or "strongly agree" that they are proud to be called a citizen of their country (97%). Namibian citizenship is an essential component of identity and self-definition. The strong feelings of national identity are very similar to the levels observed in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Lesotho.

The rating for government performance is not as positive as for pride and national identity. However, 67% of Namibians interviewed still approve or strongly approve of the performance of government over the last year, 51% have confidence that government can be trusted to do

<b>TABLE 12: PRIDE OF CITIZENSHIP AND GOVERNMENT APPROVAL RATINGS BY RESPONDENTS</b>				
	<b>Namibia</b>	<b>Lesotho</b>	<b>Mozambique</b>	<b>Zimbabwe</b>
<b>It Makes Me Feel Proud to Be Called a Citizen of My Country</b>				
Strongly Agree	62	81	58	61
Agree	35	14	40	34
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	1	1	1	2
Disagree	2	3	2	3
Strongly Disagree	-	1	-	-
Don't Know	-	-	-	-
<b>Being a Citizen of My Country Is an Important Part of How I See Myself</b>				
Strongly Agree	54	79	47	52
Agree	43	13	45	40
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	1	1	6	3
Disagree	1	5	3	3
Strongly Disagree	-	2	-	1
Don't Know	1	-	-	1
<b>Rating of Government Performance over the Past Year</b>				
Strongly Disapprove	9	27	8	9
Disapprove	22	17	50	19
Approve	51	33	22	50
Strongly Approve	16	12	4	12
Don't Know	3	10	17	10
<b>How Often Can You Trust Government to Do What Is Right?</b>				
Just about Always	15	21	17	11
Most of the Time	36	12	18	37
Only Some of the Time	37	40	49	34
Never	6	23	8	9
Don't Know	5	4	9	9
<b>Are You Satisfied with Democracy in Your Country?</b>				
Very Dissatisfied	8	32	8	10
Dissatisfied	18	24	20	17
Satisfied	49	27	45	45
Very Satisfied	19	13	7	10
Namibia Is Not a Democracy	3	1	4	4
Don't Know	2	4	16	15

the right thing, and 68% are satisfied or very satisfied with democracy in Namibia.

All of this suggests that the Namibian government enjoys significant legitimacy and that political discontent is not particularly widespread at present. The confidence levels in government are significantly higher than in any of the other countries. Levels of distrust are higher in Lesotho and Mozambique, though in the latter case there is a high level

of satisfaction with the functioning democracy. The survey results suggest that people are relatively satisfied with living in Namibia at present. Deeper loyalty to Namibia, strong national identity and an absence of widespread political dissatisfaction are all factors that would discourage Namibians from looking over the fence for greener pastures.

## NAMIBIAN ATTITUDES TO BORDERS

Despite the similarities with other countries on questions of pride, national identity and democracy, Namibians feel differently about national borders (Table 13). Whereas many people in Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Mozambique “agree” or “strongly agree” with the assertion that freedom of movement is a fundamental human right that transcends national boundaries, 57% of the Namibian sample “disagree” or “strongly disagree”. Namibians are equally divided on the issue of the artificiality of borders.

The pattern duplicates that in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Only in Lesotho, as expected, is there an overwhelming sentiment about the artificiality of boundaries. A clear majority of Namibians, like people in the other three countries, believe that people on opposite sides of an international boundary are different from one another. Also, 80% of Namibians (easily the highest) believe it is very important for a country to have borders that differentiate it from other states.

The general Namibian belief in the integrity and importance of state boundaries shows important differences across racial lines. Coloureds feel more strongly that crossing borders freely is a basic human right, and that borders are artificial, than do white or African Namibians. In contrast, white Namibians tend to feel that borders do not separate people of different background and character (possibly reflecting their historical affinity with white South Africa). Nonetheless, the majority of Namibian respondents, from all racial groups, are not supportive of free cross-border movements, and they considered national pride and national borders as an integral and important part of their identity as Namibians. On the question of “free movement” of people in the region, responses were more polarised. Thirty nine percent of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the notion of free movement in the Southern African region, whereas 52% disagreed or strongly disagreed with the proposition.

## ATTITUDES TO IMMIGRATION TO NAMIBIA

The survey indicates that while Namibians favour both foreign investment in Namibia and cross-border trade, they do not support the free movement of people into the country. The respondents’ opinions in this

<b>TABLE 13: ATTITUDES TOWARDS BORDERS</b>				
	<b>Namibia</b>	<b>Lesotho</b>	<b>Mozambique</b>	<b>Zimbabwe</b>
<b>It is a Basic Human Right for People to be able to Cross From One Country Into Another Without Obstacles</b>				
Strongly Agree	13	61	16	23
Agree	28	20	34	39
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	2	-	6	4
Disagree	42	16	28	25
Strongly Disagree	15	1	10	5
Don't Know	2	2	6	4
<b>It is Ridiculous That People from this Country Cannot Freely Go to Another Country, All Because of Some Artificial Border</b>				
Strongly Agree	12	56	10	12
Agree	27	20	28	27
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	7	-	14	12
Disagree	29	20	34	34
Strongly Disagree	13	2	9	7
Don't Know	3	2	6	8
<b>People Who Live on Different Sides of Borders Between Two Countries Are Very Different from One Another</b>				
Strongly Agree	12	33	11	11
Agree	40	35	33	31
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	8	1	16	10
Disagree	26	25	29	37
Strongly Disagree	11	3	4	7
Don't Know	4	4	8	5
<b>It Is Very Important for My Country to Have a Border That Clearly Differentiates it from Other Countries</b>				
Strongly Agree	35	24	25	30
Agree	45	20	41	41
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	4	1	8	7
Disagree	9	46	14	11
Strongly Disagree	7	8	2	5
Don't Know	1	2	10	6

regard tend to reflect their own economic and socio-political experiences. For example, with some 70% of Namibia's population involved in (semi-) subsistence crop and livestock farming, and given the marginal productive value of much of the country's farm land and the history of land dispossession, it is not surprising that there is a perceived shortage of land.

Thus when asked whether or not Namibia should allow other Southern Africans to farm in the country, it is not surprising that 80% either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the idea. Likewise, 59% felt that there should be strict limits on foreigners entering the country. On the other hand, more than half of the respondents agreed or strongly



<b>TABLE 14: ATTITUDES TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICAN IMMIGRATION LAWS</b>				
	<b>Namibia</b>	<b>Lesotho</b>	<b>Mozambique</b>	<b>Zimbabwe</b>
<b>Which One of the Following Do You Think the South African Government Should Do?</b>				
Let Anyone into South Africa Who Wants to Enter	19	68	13	22
Let People into South Africa as Long as There Are Jobs	21	25	67	35
Place Strict Limits on the Number of Foreigners	54	6	16	36
Prohibit All People Entering into South Africa from Other Countries	4	-	1	4
Don't Know	2	1	4	4
<b>What should the South African government do about People from Other Southern African Countries in the Country?</b>				
Send Them All Back to Their Own Country	5	2	2	11
Send Back Those Who Don't Contribute to Economic Well-being	11	12	28	23
Send Back Those Who Have Committed Serious Crimes	41	68	59	30
Send Back Those Who Have No Permission of the South African Government	36	10	8	27
The Government Should Not Send Back Any People	5	6	2	8
Don't Know	3	1	2	1
<b>Attitude to Amnesty for Foreigners Living Illegally Inside the Country</b>				
Strongly Disagree	14	11	11	21
Disagree	31	18	20	21
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	11	1	17	7
Agree	22	32	39	27
Strongly Agree	15	37	5	15
Haven't Heard Enough About It	2	1	3	2
Don't Know	6	1	6	7
<b>Attitude to Special Treatment for Other SADC Country Citizens</b>				
Strongly Disagree	12	21	5	16
Disagree	36	45	20	33
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	9	3	17	10
Agree	27	20	37	25
Strongly Agree	12	9	5	7
Haven't Heard Enough About It	1	1	6	1
Don't Know	2	2	10	7

TABLE 14 CONTINUED

Attitude to Special Treatment for Namibians				
Strongly Disagree	11	20	5	16
Disagree	34	43	24	35
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	11	3	16	12
Agree	20	19	31	21
Strongly Agree	20	15	16	10
Haven't Heard Enough About It	1	1	1	1
Don't Know	3	-	8	6
Strongly Disagree	7	8	2	5
Don't Know	1	2	10	6

agreed that Namibia should allow Southern Africans to trade and invest in the country.

#### NAMIBIAN ATTITUDES TO SOUTH AFRICAN IMMIGRATION POLICY

The strong respect for borders and territorial integrity among Namibians is mirrored in their assessment of the rights of the South African government to set its own immigration policy. Some 58% of the Namibian sample even felt that the South African government should place strict limits on the number of foreigners they allow into South Africa (Table 14), which is only slightly lower than what South Africans themselves think about the issue.<sup>11</sup>

Moreover, 36% of Namibians think that “illegal” residents in South Africa should be sent back to their home countries as the preferred policy option; a higher proportion than either Lesotho, Zimbabwe or Mozambique. Finally, Namibians are more inclined than Basotho, Mozambicans, and Zimbabweans to say that amnesty should not be offered to “illegal immigrants” in South Africa.

Surprisingly — given the existence of SADC and arguments within South Africa for immigration preferences for SADC citizens — Namibians do not see any particular reason why South Africa should show preferences for people from the region (only 39% in favour) or even Namibia itself (40% in favour). These figures are not dissimilar to those in the other countries, suggesting that a regional consciousness, if indeed it even exists, has a long way to go before it permeates people’s views about migration and immigration.

#### NAMIBIAN ATTITUDES TO NON-CITIZENS’ RIGHTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Most Namibians take a fairly liberal approach on the question of rights for non-South Africans living in South Africa. On the whole, they think that non-South Africans should have the same rights as South African

<b>TABLE 15: ATTITUDES TOWARDS RIGHTS FOR NON-CITIZENS</b>				
	<b>Namibia</b>	<b>Lesotho</b>	<b>Mozambique</b>	<b>Zimbabwe</b>
<b>The South African Government Should Offer People from Other African Countries in South Africa:</b>				
<b>The Same Chance at a Job as South Africans</b>				
Strongly Disagree	3	1	5	6
Disagree	18	5	9	14
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	5	-	5	6
Agree	56	32	61	53
Strongly Agree	16	62	18	16
Haven't Heard Enough About It	-	-	2	2
Don't Know	2	-	1	3
<b>The Same Access to Medical Services as South Africans</b>				
Strongly Disagree	2	1	5	6
Disagree	3	1	5	5
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	3	-	3	4
Agree	61	33	61	60
Strongly Agree	28	65	23	20
Haven't Heard Enough About It	-	-	1	2
Don't Know	2	-	2	3
<b>The Same Access to a House as South Africans</b>				
Strongly Disagree	3	4	6	6
Disagree	13	6	8	11
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	4	-	11	6
Agree	60	38	59	58
Strongly Agree	17	52	14	13
Haven't Heard Enough About It	1	-	1	2
Don't Know	3	-	2	4
<b>The Same Access to Education as South Africans</b>				
Strongly Disagree	1	1	6	6
Disagree	5	2	6	7
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	2	-	5	6
Agree	55	33	61	59
Strongly Agree	34	64	18	17
Haven't Heard Enough About It	1	-	1	2
Don't Know	2	-	3	4

TABLE 15 CONTINUED

<b>The Right to Vote in South African Elections</b>				
Strongly Disagree	29	15	30	24
Disagree	31	18	35	31
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	8	1	10	6
Agree	21	33	12	20
Strongly Agree	6	32	3	7
Haven't Heard Enough About It	2	1	2	3
Don't Know	4	1	7	9
<b>The Right to Become a Permanent Resident of South Africa</b>				
Strongly Disagree	6	7	16	13
Disagree	20	10	33	27
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	10	2	18	12
Agree	49	44	23	30
Strongly Agree	9	36	6	8
Haven't Heard Enough About It	1	-	1	3
Don't Know	5	1	4	7
<b>The Right to Become a Citizen of South Africa</b>				
Strongly Disagree	9	6	19	13
Disagree	19	9	35	26
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	10	2	18	12
Agree	47	46	20	30
Strongly Agree	10	35	3	8
Haven't Heard Enough About It	1	-	1	3
Don't Know	4	-	4	8

citizens to employment, medical services, housing and education.<sup>12</sup> Most also agree that non-South Africa citizens should enjoy the same basic human rights as citizens (Table 15), with the exception of the right to vote (with 60% opposed).

Namibians, like their South African counterparts, are generally supportive of basic civil liberties and human rights for migrants in South Africa — despite their strong support for retaining borders and controlling cross-border movements — but do not expect temporary migrants to receive the full political privileges of South African citizenship.

#### NAMIBIAN ATTITUDES TO INCORPORATION AND FREE MOVEMENT

Despite their relatively conservative attitude towards immigration policy, more than half of the Namibian sample holds that freedom of movement of people and goods between Namibia and South Africa (56%) should be the preferred policy (Table 16). Only 29% of respondents think that

<b>TABLE 16: ATTITUDES TOWARDS POLITICAL INCORPORATION</b>				
	<b>Namibia</b>	<b>Lesotho</b>	<b>Mozambique</b>	<b>Zimbabwe</b>
<b>Policy Preferences:</b>				
The Two Countries Join Together under One Government	13	41	7	9
Both Countries Keep Their Own Government, but Complete Freedom of Movement of People and Goods Across the Border	56	39	67	72
Total Independence Between the Two Countries	29	19	22	16
Don't Know	2	1	5	3
<b>Preferences of Those Favouring Incorporation:</b>				
Your Country Becoming a New Province Within South Africa	31	45	43	28
Your Country Becoming Part of [Nearest SA Province]	13	12	7	16
[Nearest SA Province] Becoming Part of Your Country	30	39	14	25
Don't Know	27	4	36	31

Namibia and South Africa should remain totally independent of each other. Although this figure is substantially higher than that reported for Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, it is nevertheless a minority of the sample. Of the small number who thought that the countries should join together (13% of the sample), opinions are relatively equally divided between Namibia becoming a province of South Africa, and the Northern Cape province of South Africa becoming a part of Namibia.

## VARIABLE ATTITUDES

In order to better understand the results of the Namibia survey, a rigorous statistical analysis was undertaken of 38 key questions, and considered against 14 profile variables. While these do not represent the complete data set, they are a comprehensive analysis of key issues. Table 17 provides a summary of the trends identified and the degree to which these variables influence people's opinions and attitudes on the 38 questions, based on an inspection of the percentage difference in responses.<sup>13</sup> The trends uncovered in the analysis show quite clearly the dominant factors that influenced the Namibian sample's opinions and attitudes to migration and immigration.

**TABLE 17: SUMMARY OF THE TRENDS IN THE NAMIBIAN DATA BY DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLE**

<b>Profile Variable</b>	<b>Percent of Questions Influenced</b>
Race	71
Age	45
Income	37
Education	34
Urban versus Rural	34
Location	32
Likelihood of Short-Term Migration to South Africa	32
Likelihood of Long-Term Migration to South Africa	29
Home Ownership	18
Economic Activity	16
Household Status	16
Impression of South Africa	13
Marital Status	13
Gender	8

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RACE

Race is by far the most influential variable affecting attitudes. In 71% of the questions, race influenced the response given. The chi-square test found that race was significant in at least 15 of the 38 questions identified. The strongest correlation with race was for opinions on whether or not people wanted to become a permanent resident of South Africa, wanted to become a citizen of South Africa, or wanted to retire or be buried in the country.

Africans showed the least interest in settling in South Africa permanently, but it is noteworthy that the overwhelming majority of Namibians from all racial categories have no interest in these possibilities. While the reasons for these differences are not entirely clear from this survey, the historical and cultural links between South Africa and coloured and white Namibians are stronger than those between the various groups of (northern) African Namibians.

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AGE

Although not as important as race, age is a key variable influencing people's attitudes and opinions about migration to South Africa. The trend suggests that the older a person is, the less interested they are in migration, and yet the less satisfied they are with their own government's performance and system of rule.

Although a lack of satisfaction with various aspects of national governance might be expected to influence people positively in terms of migrating (in search of more favourable conditions), age appears to

counter this likelihood directly. The most statistically significant correlations were observed between age and who visits South Africa, and whether or not respondents want to become permanent residents or citizens of South Africa.

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF INCOME

As might be expected, income is an important variable in determining behaviour and opinion. The trend from the Namibian data is for higher income groups in the population to be more mobile, have more choice, and be more likely to visit or live in South Africa for a short period of time. The relationships with the most significant correlations were found to be between income and who visits South Africa, and issues concerning borders. From a developmental point of view, these people may be more attractive to South Africa and represent a bigger loss for Namibia since they tend to be educated, employed and urban.

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF EDUCATION

Like income, education influences many of the questions identified. With better education comes greater mobility and a greater desire to visit and/or live in South Africa. Also, better educated people feel that they are more likely than their less educated counterparts actually to live in South Africa in the foreseeable future. Notwithstanding this trend in the data, the correlation coefficients were generally weak.

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LOCATION

There can be no doubt that the location (urban/rural) of the respondent also influenced their responses. Urban dwellers are more likely to visit and to stay permanently in South Africa. The correlation coefficient is strongest between the urban/rural variable and the questions of who visits South Africa, the importance of borders to differentiate people, South Africa's returnee policy, the question of amnesty for "illegals", rights relating to access to medical care and education, and the rights to vote, to become a permanent resident and a citizen. This finding is supported by the opinions and behaviour of urban versus rural residents in the survey. The urban residents are the most mobile of the two groups, and it is this group that is more liberal towards most of the issues described.

Location in the country (eg. north versus south) is also an important factor. The trend is for those people living in the central, coastal and southern towns of Namibia to be more inclined to move between Namibia and South Africa, with residents of the northern communal towns being less likely, and the rural communal dwellers being the least likely, to move. The most significant statistical correlation is between

location and who visits South Africa. Location is strongly correlated with additional questions, the most interesting being respondents' attitudes towards government and border, policy and amnesty issues. Rural dwellers tend to be more conservative, and are more satisfied and trusting of their government. This again supports the hypothesis that rural people, despite their relatively unfavourable circumstances, are not ready migrants to South Africa.

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ATTITUDE

Dissatisfaction with Namibia's democracy increased the likelihood of short-term migration to South Africa from Namibia. Of course, a positive desire to go to South Africa influenced people's likelihood positively too, as did the number of friends and family people had in South Africa. What is most compelling in this analysis is that Namibians have little desire at all to become permanent residents or citizens of South Africa. The correlation coefficient for these variables is strong. The same is true for retirement, and most Namibians answered "no" when asked these questions. From a policy perspective, these responses support the argument that people from Namibia (and indeed, the region) have no strong desire to move to South Africa on a permanent basis.<sup>14</sup>

Namibian people's impressions of South Africa indicate that those who have been to South Africa are more favourable in their impression of the country. Interestingly, perhaps, those with the least favourable impressions tended to feel that Namibian borders were more important, compared to those with favourable impressions. Similarly, people favoured Namibia's independence more if they had a less favourable impression of South Africa. People who were positive about South Africa were more in favour of supporting migrants' rights in South Africa to permanent residence and citizenship. The strongest correlation measured was between people's impression of South Africa and their desire to live in the country, irrespective of whether or not they wanted to become permanent residents, citizens, or to be buried there.

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HOME OWNERSHIP

Home ownership is an interesting variable, as it influences, in particular, the degree to which Namibians visit South Africa, and their desire to live there, both in the short term and permanently. Owners certainly visit South Africa more than non-owners, and are more critical of government. However, it also seems from the trend that investment (the home) and security of tenure militate against migration, while a lack of investment, or ability to invest, and insecure tenure (illegal occupation) appear to increase the likelihood of migration. However, this must be considered



against the other factors that are positively correlated with migration, including income and education. These latter two factors are important variables, and appear more relevant than a lack of tenure security.

### THE INSIGNIFICANT VARIABLES

Economic activity appears surprisingly weak in its general influence on the range of questions posed in this survey. The employed are certainly more able to go to South Africa, and actually visit more often than the unemployed (that is, higher income, education and mobility), even though it is the unemployed who are more desirous of going to South Africa for a short term visit. The test for significance was disappointing. This is largely the result of too many categories for the economic activity variable, and it is likely that a substantial recoding of the data would draw out stronger relationships than those observed, supporting the trend identified.

Household status is generally not significant as an independent variable, although it is noteworthy that heads of households and spouses are the least interested in considering moving to South Africa, or wanting to become a permanent resident or citizen of the country. The strongest correlation reported was between household status and visits to South Africa.

The test for marital status provided no results. However, the trend indicates that married people are less likely to want to go to South Africa, or to become permanent residents, than single and separated/divorced people. This is not surprising, as married people tend to be less mobile than single and separated/divorced people, and are more settled in a place.

Surprisingly, gender was the least influential demographic variable on the 38 questions selected from the survey for this analysis (although marital status failed the test for significance in all cases, it had higher percentage responses than the gender variable). Although not unusual, more men reported going to South Africa to work than women (17% and 2% respectively). The most statistically significant relationship was between gender and questions on South African returnee policy, although still weak.

## CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

**P**erhaps the most significant outcome of the Namibian survey is the low propensity of the Namibian population to migrate to South Africa. It is clear from the findings that it is the more stable and wealthier sectors of Namibian society who are the cross-border visitors to South Africa, not the poor and destitute. Also, it is urban residents who go to South Africa, not rural dwellers.

The pattern of internal migration in Namibia is for rural migrants to move to urban places within Namibia, often in a stepwise fashion, and not to travel directly to South Africa, or any other neighbouring country. The exception is the movement of rural people over the northern borders of the country, but this is a reflection of familial and economic links with people living in these neighbouring countries, rather than a tendency for the rural population to want to migrate out of Namibia. Given that nearly 70% of Namibia's population is rural, and that it is the more affluent and mobile urban sectors who move, this suggests that there is not likely to be an exodus of people from Namibia to South Africa, now or in the foreseeable future.

An important adjunct to this picture is the fact that most cross-border migration with South Africa is short-term, and for non-economic purposes. In addition, the overwhelming majority of Namibians have no desire to become permanent residents or citizens of South Africa, and have no intention of retiring there either. These factors again reinforce the emerging trend that South Africa is not threatened with a flood of migration from other countries in the Southern African region and should address immigration policy reform accordingly.

Namibians indicated in the survey that, in general, they do not favour the removal of borders. Rather, they appear to favour a policy of non-integration, border controls and the strict maintenance of a Namibian national identity. Yet, there is also significant support for the free movement of goods and services within the SADC region and support for improving the ease with which people can move between countries. Thus, while ease of movement is considered important, Namibians also want to see a strict limit placed on foreigners entering Namibia and even South Africa.

Namibians did not support undocumented migration, and were of the opinion that "illegal immigrants" in South Africa should be sent home. Certainly, this opinion is reflected in Namibia's own domestic actions. Criminality is a concern for South Africa, and this is also the case in Namibia, where ease of cross-border movement is associated with a lack of control, and a consequent rise in serious crime. While

amnesty was not supported as an option for undocumented migrants, Namibians were supportive of civil liberties and basic human rights for migrants in South Africa, especially regarding issues of equality and access to services.

It would seem that Namibia is no less concerned than many other countries around the world about controlling the negative aspects of undocumented and uncontrolled migration. However, there is clear support for greater regional integration, and improved access to countries within Southern Africa, but only on a legal basis. This is indeed an encouraging situation, and bodes positively for continued efforts at improving the well being of both Namibia and the Southern African region as a whole.

## APPENDIX A: SURVEY METHODOLOGY

### SAMPLING STRATEGY

**T**he northern regions of Namibia are home to about 65% of the Namibian population and most of these people share a common lifestyle. This part of Namibia is remote from the border with South Africa and it is relatively unlikely that many people from this area have visited South Africa.

Therefore, this area was under-sampled in terms of national population, but included to provide information and opinions about South Africa from populations that are unlikely to have had first hand experience of the country. In these northern regions, 100 interviews were conducted with rural communal dwellers (Caprivi and north-central Namibia) and 150 interviews were conducted with residents of northern communal area towns (Katima Mulilo, Rundu, and Oshakati). These 250 interviewees comprise 42% of the sample; of whom only 12% had been to South Africa.

The remaining 58% (350 interviews) was collected in central and southern towns (including Luderitz and Walvis Bay), and with 100 interviews in the capital, Windhoek; the population in these towns comprise about 25% of the national population. The urban bias of the sample is intentional in order to capture those segments of the population who are mobile and more likely to have visited South Africa; of the 350 urban interviews, about 56% had been to South Africa.

Data was not collected from the rural communal areas of the central and southern parts of Namibia because of the relatively sparse population in these areas (especially in the southern part of the country). Together the population in these areas make up only 7% of the total

Namibian population. In addition, no large-scale labour migration to South Africa to work on the mines or as farm workers takes place today or took place in the past from the central, southern or northern communal areas of the country, which would have required these areas to be surveyed more intensively.

The only exception to this pattern was the limited labour migration to South Africa's mines by people in the Kavango Region. However, this was discontinued more than 20 years ago. Thus, the Namibian situation regarding labour migration is quite different to that in Lesotho and Mozambique. Today and in the past, undocumented border crossings to South Africa were not part of the migration history of Namibians going to South Africa. The Namibian-South African border is remote from the majority of the Namibian population, is located in a dry and rugged part of the country, and is not easily accessible by foot.

#### SELECTION OF HOUSEHOLDS AND RESPONDENTS

Given that the sample was drawn from both rural and urban areas, the method of sampling had to be different for rural and urban areas. The rural area selection was based on a cluster/stratified method which consisted of designating three enumerator areas within each rural area that had been identified. The list of enumeration areas was obtained from the Central Statistics Office (CSO) of Namibia, demarcated on a regional map for the various sample areas selected for the survey. Using a table of random numbers, the three enumerator areas and substitute areas were selected from the maps within each rural sample area across Namibia.

Starting from the mid-point of the enumeration area, our team of field workers moved in four given directions outward, following a straight line as far as possible and interviewing the first household they came across. This process was repeated until the requisite number of households had been interviewed by the responsible field worker within that enumeration area. Substitutions were made by following the method until the next household was selected. The individual respondents were selected using a random card method, consistent with that used in the other countries.

Urban area sampling was based on a systematic\stratified method using data on urban population size provided by the CSO and local authorities. Using a sample interval determined by dividing the total number of questionnaires to be administered by the number of households in the selected urban area, the field supervisors selected an arbitrary starting point, and identified every *n*th dwelling.

The only areas where this method was not followed were Windhoek suburbs other than Katutura. Respondents for these suburbs were selected proportionally according to population size by drawing names from

the Windhoek phonebook systematically. Potential respondents were called and appointments made for interviews — necessary because of the difficulty of gaining personal access to dwellings due to high walls and guard dogs. As with the rural areas, the individual respondents were selected using a random card method.

## FIELD TEAMS AND TRAINING

Careful attention was given to constructing teams with the relevant language skills and local knowledge and experience that would facilitate the smooth operation of the field work. Six teams were assembled, reflecting the diverse language situation in Namibia; the north-central team who were OshiWambo-, English- and Afrikaans-speaking; the north-eastern team who were Lozi- and English-speaking; the central team and western team who were English-, Afrikaans-, OshiWambo-, OtjiHerero- and Damara/Nama-speaking; the southern team who were Damara/Nama-, Afrikaans- and English-speaking; and finally, the Rundu Team who were Rukwangali- and English-speaking. A week of fieldwork training was carried out before the fieldwork began.

Bruce Frayne, a PhD student at Queens University, is based at the Multi-Disciplinary Research Centre, University of Namibia, as a researcher. Professor Wade Pendleton is also at the centre.

## ENDNOTES

1. D. McDonald, J. Gay, L. Zinyama, R. Mattes, and F. de Vletter, *Challenging Xenophobia: Myths and Realities about Cross-Border Migration in Southern Africa*, SAMP Migration Policy Series, no. 7, 1998.
2. Comparisons are made with Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe only. The Botswana study was incomplete at the time of writing.
3. For a detailed discussion, see H. Bley, *South West Africa Under German Rule, 1884-1914* (London, 1971); I. Goldblatt, *History of South West Africa* (Cape Town, 1971); J. Grotpeter, *Historical Dictionary of Namibia* (London, 1994); and G. Pool, *Samuel Maherero* (Windhoek, 1991).
4. The omitted areas included: the commercial farms which are disproportionately expensive to survey, and yield little information as a percentage of the total Namibian population; remote and sparsely settled rural communal areas; and some major communal areas. A trade-off had to be reached between a nationally representative sample and a selection of important areas, without consciously biasing the sample in favour only of likely cross-border migrants.
5. A. Miranda, "A note on migration in Namibia, based on the 1991 Census", unpublished paper, 1998; I. Tvedten and M. Mupotola, "Urbanisation and urban policies in Namibia", Multi-Disciplinary Research Centre, University of Namibia, SSD, Discussion Paper no 10, Windhoek, 1995; H. Melber, "Urbanisation and internal migration: regional dimensions in post-colonial Namibia", NEPRU Working Paper no. 48, Windhoek, 1996.
6. D. McDonald, et al, *Challenging Xenophobia*.
7. Government of South Africa, Central Statistical Service, 1998, <http://www.css.gov.za/releases/demograp/deomgr01.html>
8. Information on overstays from SAMP data base.
9. J. Crush and V. Williams (eds.), *The New South Africans? The Immigration Amnesties and Their Aftermath* (Cape Town, 1998).
10. Ibid.
11. J. Crush and R. Mattes, "Xenophobia", *Crossings* 2(3), 1998.
12. The question, as posed, did not distinguish between non-citizens legally and illegally in the country.

13. The chi-square test was used to determine the statistical significance between each of the demographic variables and the questions. The strength of correlation was evaluated with a contingency coefficient for valid chi-square tests. The failure of the chi-square test to show significance is not necessarily an indication of no statistical significance. In many cases there are too many categories with too few cases in each for the test to be valid. Nonetheless, based on the findings of the survey which have been reported thus far, it appears that the chi-square test has approximated the general trends and patterns observed. The discussion which follows refers exclusively to the Namibian data set.
14. D. McDonald, et al, *Challenging Xenophobia*.

## MIGRATION POLICY SERIES

1. *Covert Operations: Clandestine Migration, Temporary Work and Immigration Policy in South Africa* (1997) Dr Jonathan Crush. ISBN 1-874864-51-9
2. *Riding the Tiger: Lesotho Miners and Permanent Residence in South Africa* (1997) Sechaba Consultants. ISBN 1-874864-52-7
3. *International Migration, Immigrant Entrepreneurs and South Africa's Small Enterprise Economy* (1997) Dr CM Rogerson. ISBN 1-874864-62-4
4. *Silenced by Nation Building: African Immigrants and Language Policy in the New South Africa* (1998) Dr Maxine Reitzes. ISBN 1-874864-64-0
5. *Left Out in the Cold? Housing and Immigration in the New South Africa* (1998) Dr David McDonald. ISBN 1-874864-68-3
6. *Trading Places: Cross-Border Traders and the South African Informal Sector* (1998) Dr Jonathan Crush and Sally Peberdy. ISBN 1-874864-71-3
7. *Challenging Xenophobia: Myth and Realities about Cross-Border Migration in Southern Africa* (1998) Dr David McDonald, Dr John Gay, Dr Lovemore Zinyama, Dr Robert Mattes and Fion de Vletter. ISBN 1-874864-70-5
8. *Sons of Mozambique: Mozambican Miners and Post-Apartheid South Africa* (1998) Fion de Vletter. ISBN 1-874864-78-0
9. *Women on the Move: Gender and Cross-Border Migration to South Africa* (1998) Dr Belinda Dodson. ISBN 1-874864-82-9.

PUBLISHED BY:

SOUTHERN AFRICAN MIGRATION PROJECT  
6 Spin Street  
Church Square  
Cape Town 8001



PARTNERS:

Idasa (South Africa)  
Queen's University (Canada)  
Sechaba Consultants (Lesotho)  
ARPAC (Mozambique)  
University of Zimbabwe

This project is funded by the  
Canadian government through the  
Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).