2000

No. 19: Botswana: Migration Perspectives and Prospects

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Migration Policy Series No. 19

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to thank Jonathan Crush and David McDonald for their extensive assistance and input at the research design and report-writing stages. The support given by Professor Sharon S. Silverts, Vice Chancellor of the University of Botswana, was invaluable. Dr John Gay provided important training support to our interview team. We would like to thank all the interviewers, respondents and data processors for their time and effort. The research was funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) through SAMP.

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

ISBN 1-919798-04-8

First published 2000
Design by Bronwen Dachs Müller
Typeset in Goudy

Bound and printed by Logo Print
Print consultants Mega Digital, Cape Town

Botswana: Migration Perspectives and Prospects

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Series Editor:
Jonathan Crush

Southern African Migration Project 2000

Contents | Page

TABLES PAGE

INTRODUCTION: MIGRATION AND MODERN BOTSWANA

The Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) is committed to supporting basic research on the dimensions, causes and consequences of cross-border and internal migration within the SADC region and to making the results accessible to a range of partners.[1] We believe that a well-informed policy-maker or official is more likely to appreciate the workability of policy choices in the area of migration and immigration management. Policies based on poor or misleading information will not only fail but could have negative unintended consequences. From a human rights perspective, we are concerned that without accurate information about migration, decisions may be made which will violate constitutional guarantees and arouse public hostility towards non-citizens.

SAMP is also committed to conducting policy research at a regional scale. Research in one country, such as Botswana, can be systematically compared with the results from other SADC countries to highlight similarities and differences, and to ascertain the degree to which governments face similar challenges of migrant management and treatment. The information can also be useful to civil society and NGO's as they attempt to deal with the challenges of migrant integration and xenophobia. Economic data on migration impacts can be invaluable to a wide range of actors, including government and the private sector.

Ultimately, the successful management of migration in Southern Africa depends on inter-governmental cooperation in data collection and policy harmonization.[2] This is a long-term goal which has been temporarily stalled by the legitimate opposition of governments to moving too far, too fast. The SADC Draft Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons and its more restrictive successor, the SADC Draft Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement, have both floundered and there is little immediate likelihood of a Protocol that it equally acceptable to all SADC states. SAMP believes that the next step, before such a debate is re-initiated, is to gather reliable and accurate data on the volumes, trends, causes, impacts and remedies of migration at a regional scale. Only then can there be informed debate and forward movement on regional harmonization.

Botswana is a country with an unusually rich migration history. Batswana men and women have been migrating across colonial and international borders for decades for a multiplicity of reasons. Within the country, post-independence economic development and growth has been accompanied by rapid urbanization. Botswana's current levels of urbanization make it one of the most urbanized countries within the SADC. As in many countries of the region, the monitoring of these processes through the ongoing collection of migration and immigration statistics is a challenging task. Botswana's last census was in 1991 and there have been significant changes in migration movements and trends since that time. In this respect, the research community can play a vital role in supplementing official and census data collection with sound and representative inter-censual surveys of citizens and non-citizens, migrants and non-migrants.

Botswana has a long and vigorous tradition of migration research. This began with the work of the noted anthropologist Isaac Schapera in the 1930s and 1940s, work that is still consulted by researchers today.[3] Botswana's pre-colonial and colonial history of internal and cross-border migration has now been well-documented.[4] In the post-independence period, there have been regular contributions to understanding contemporary patterns and dynamics of internal and cross-border migration.[5] The most notable enterprise was the Botswana National Migration Survey in 1979. This project provided an exhaustive analysis of migration within and from Botswana in the late 1970s.[6] Since that time, most researchers have relied on data from the 1981 and 1991 censuses, supplemented by local area and sample surveys. Twenty years have passed since the NMS was conducted. The census data shows that the changes since that time have been dramatic. Much less in known about the changes since 1991.

In an effort to provide the government and people of Botswana with basic, up-to-date information on migration trends, volumes, impacts, and attitudes, in 1997 SAMP entered into a research partnership with the International Training Programme in Population and Sustainable Development at the University of Botswana. This publication represents the first phase of this ongoing collaboration. It brings together the research findings from three national surveys of migration attitudes and behaviours undertaken in Botswana in 1997 and 1998. These were: (a) a national random sample survey of Batswana resident in Botswana at the time of the survey; (b) a sample survey of potential skilled Batswana migrants and emigrants; and (c) a survey of skilled and professional foreign citizens currently resident in Botswana.

This first chapter in this publication, by Professor John Oucho, provides an invaluable background overview of domestic and migration trends in Botswana from 1981 to the present. He stresses the importance of accurate classification and definition of what he calls inward and outward migration. These distinctions are vital since different forms of migration are motivated by different dynamics and require a differentiated policy response. Professor Oucho demonstrates that Botswana's recent migration history has been profoundly shaped by its vibrant economy and political system. Botswana sends out proportionately fewer migrants for work outside the country than other SADC states and is also a major recipient of legal skilled and professional migrants (and increasing numbers of undocumented migrants).

As a migrant "sending and receiving" country, Botswana faces particular dilemmas and challenges. Botswana's strategic recruiting and utilization of foreign skills is a forward-looking model for other countries in the region. There is always a danger, however, that unauthorized migrants will become the scapegoat for social problems (as has happened in South Africa) and that they will be treated with growing intolerance.[7] This can only be countered if there is accurate information on the nature and impact of undocumented migration. What must also be a concern is the way in which South Africa treats Batswana citizens. Professor Oucho shows that the volume of cross-border traffic between Botswana and South Africa has now increased to over two million crossings a year. Significant numbers of Batswana are overstaying their permits in South Africa. So far, the South African government has not responded as harshly to unauthorized Batswana as it has to Mozambicans and Zimbabweans. But that could quickly change. It is in Botswana's interests that migrants do not fall foul of South African immigration regulations.

The paper by Professor Oucho is based primarily on official statistics and census data. This also helps us to appreciate that there are significant gaps in official data collection and knowledge on migration and immigration, particularly for the 1990s. After the next census we will be in a good position to assess the changes of this inter-censual period. However, the three SAMP/University of Botswana surveys undertaken in Botswana to date provide a new and vital national picture of the migration situation at the end of the 1990s. These surveys are in the tradition of the earlier NMS and are the first round of what we anticipate will be an ongoing migration research enterprise in Botswana.

The second chapter by Elizabeth Mukamaambo presents the results of the first survey. This survey instrument – SAMP's Five Nations Public Opinion Survey – has previously been administered in Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe. The results of these surveys can be consulted elsewhere.[8] Her chapter draws on this massive migration data base to contrast the Botswana experience with that of other SADC countries.

In general the findings about Batswana migration behaviour and attitudes are similar to those of other SADC countries, with minor variations. For example, more than 40% of Batswana have been to South Africa at some point (comparable to Namibians but less than Mozambicans and Basotho). Many go often and for short visits of less than a month. Like migrants from other countries, they go for a variety of reasons but mainly shopping and visiting. However, relatively few Batswana (10%) went to work or to look for work on their last visit to South Africa. This is the lowest figure amongst the five countries surveyed. Also of interest is the evidence of considerable cross-border traffic between Botswana and its eastern neighbour, Zimbabwe.

Batswana migrants are extremely law-abiding and respectful of international ports of entry. The vast majority enter South Africa legally and with proper papers. They show little interest in permanent residence or South African citizenship. In fact, Botswana is seen to be a much better place to live across a range of indicators. The chapter concludes by recommending that policy-makers in Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe take these results seriously and devise systems of management that do not obstruct such legal and economically constructive movements of people.

The third chapter by Dr Eugene Campbell focuses on a sub-set of Batswana – the skilled and professional class. Using a mail-out survey of a representative sample of skilled Batswana from the private and public sectors, Dr Campbell assesses their satisfaction with conditions in Botswana and the likelihood of their leaving temporarily or emigrating permanently. The basic question is whether Botswana is experiencing or is likely to experience a "brain drain" in the near future.

The survey showed that skilled Batswana have a significant "emigration potential." Over 40% have given some or a great deal of thought to moving to another country. Nearly 60% expressed a desire to leave the country for up to two years; and 30% said it was likely that they would leave for more than two years. When asked about the time frame, however, only 3% said it was likely or very likely they would leave in the next five years. The preferred destination is the United States (27%) followed by South Africa (21%).

The desire to move has little to do with alienation or dissatisfaction with Botswana. Most are intensely patriotic, trustful of the national government and committed to the development of their country. Only a handful would ever contemplate giving up Botswana citizenship. What skilled Batswana are interested in is not permanent emigration. But they are interested in leaving for further study, to better their qualifications or for personal economic advantage, such as lower taxation or higher wages. Domestic unemployment hardly emerged as a "push factor", underscoring the high levels of job assurance for skilled nationals in Botswana. This could, of course, change rapidly if Botswana went through tougher economic times. As Dr Campbell concludes, "skilled migration is only going to grow and the government of Botswana would be well advised to address these issues in a proactive, rather than reactive, manner."

The final chapter by John Oucho visits the question of skilled expatriates in Botswana. This is the first survey of its kind in Botswana. In many countries, this is a very delicate political issue. Although there was some understandable wariness on the part of respondents, the participation rate was sufficient to allow some general conclusions to be made. The expatriates occupy a range of posts in both the private and public sector, come from an array of (primarily African) countries, and are significant earners by local standards. The overwhelming majority say that Botswana offers a better quality of life than in their own country. What is striking about Botswana (compared say with South Africa where skilled foreign Africans complain bitterly about their treatment by ordinary South Africans) is the lack of conflict and antagonism with locals. The vast majority of expatriates feel they are accepted and valued and report good relations with Batswana.

Although the vast majority of expatriates are classified and treated as temporary residents, many desire a more permanent commitment. As many as half are interested in becoming permanent residents of Botswana and a third are even interested in renouncing their citizenship and becoming citizens of Botswana. These are noteworthy findings and demonstrate the commitment of many "expatriates" to what they increasingly see as their "adopted country." Few countries within SADC promote permanent immigration and few have expatriates willing to put down roots. In Botswana, there is clearly a case for examining whether there would be advantages to securing the permanent commitment of this group of highly skilled people.

In general, SAMP and its partners trust that the results of the surveys reported here will help government and civil society in Botswana to construct the knowledge base about migration that is urgently needed. These findings clearly reveal the distinctiveness of the Botswana experience with in and out migration. However, Botswana also shares many policy concerns and dilemmas about migration with its neighbour states. International experience shows that effective migration management is not something that a state can unilaterally implement. A renewed cooperative, regional, and harmonized approach (based on sound and reliable migration data and analysis) within SADC is therefore essential. This publication is designed to provide the people and government of Botswana with the information to advance confidently towards that goal.

Professor Jonathan Crush
Dr David McDonald

CHAPTER ONE: BOTSWANA: A MIGRATION OVERVIEW

JOHN O. OUCHO

The Republic of Botswana covers an area of 581,730 square kilometres at the centre of the Southern African plateau. It is the same size as Kenya but has a relatively small population of around 1.5 million people. Botswana is also a landlocked country, bordered by Namibia in the West and North-West, Zambia in the North, Zimbabwe in the North-East and South Africa in the East and South. The country's climate is continental, semi-arid and sub-tropical, with generally low, erratic and unevenly distributed rainfall (ranging from 650mm in the North-East to less than 250mm in Kgalagadi), much of it in the summer months November-April.

Most of the population is Setswana speaking. However, the country also has Bakalanga, Hambukushu, Bayei, Basarwa, Baherero, Ovambo, a few Ndebele, Shona, and other people from neighbouring countries. As it is not Government policy to classify people (at least in the census) according to their ethnic groups, the people are known and classified simply as Batswana. This fact is acknowledged by Batswana, although some continue to refer to themselves by their ethno-linguistic groups.

Since its independence from Britain on 30th September 1966, Botswana has remained politically stable with a relatively robust economy. While many Sub-Saharan countries have witnessed economic decline in the last three decades, Botswana's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita has actually increased from P1,683 in 1966 to P7,863 in 1994/95, growing at an average annual rate of 6.1%.[9]

The major economic activities of the country are cattle rearing, for both traditional and commercial purposes, and mining (diamonds in particular). Both sectors have provided the country with reliable foreign exchange earnings which have, in turn, been invested in infrastructure and social services. The country has also relied heavily on an immigrant labour force, much of it highly skilled, in areas such as education, health, engineering and livestock. Following South Africa's reduced reliance on foreign unskilled labour for its mining industry, emigration of Batswana to that country has declined dramatically, along with remittances.

Administratively, Botswana is divided into regions and districts (which constitute rural localities) and urban areas. It consists of nine regions, each divided into districts. The Central region has the largest population (412,970 in 1991), followed by Kweneng (170,437), Southern (147, 389) North West (108,660) and Kgatleng (57,770). The most sparsely populated districts include Ghanzi (24,719), Kgalagadi (31,134) and South East (43,584) (Table 1.1). Population densities vary widely from region to region depending on the location of major urban centres.

This chapter provides a general overview of internal and international migration, as well as urbanization, in contemporary Botswana, based on census data and other official statistics from Botswana and South Africa. The next Botswana census should provide invaluable data on trends during the 1990s. At present, these can only be inferred since systematic immigration and migration data are unavailable.

The first section is devoted to internal migration, providing broad outlines of the country's demographic profile and the urbanization process. The ensuing sections address international migration, discussing immigration and emigration respectively.

INTERNAL MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION

In order to appreciate the underlying population dynamics of internal migration and urbanization in Botswana, it is necessary to first examine the demographic profile of the country and its urban-rural distribution in some detail.

Botswana has a very small population relative to its size. The total population increased from 941,027 in 1981 to 1,326,796 in 1991[10] and is projected to reach 2,648,195 in 2021.[11] This represents a total population increase of 41% in the intercensal year 1981-1991 and a projected 99.6% in the period 1991-2021. Yet these projections, made before the onslaught of HIV/AIDS, may need to be revised.

Population size and growth by administrative district and citizenship in 1981-1991 are provided in Table 1.1. Slightly more than one-third of the population (i.e. 34.4% in 1981 and 31.1% in 1991) lives in Central Region.

Previous analyses of urbanization in Botswana show that before 1963 only about 1.0% of Botswana's population lived in urban centres.[12] The "proportion urban" increased to 9.3% in 1971, and 17.7% in 1991. The average annual urban population growth rate also grew from 10.1% in the period 1964-71, to 11.8% in 1971-81 and 13.8% in 1981-1991.[13]

Evidence of accelerating urbanization is also provided by urban population size and growth in the two decades 1971-1981 (Table 1.2). By 1971, only five years after independence, the country had only five urban centres (using the United Nations threshold of 2000), two of which (Selebi Phikwe and Orapa) were basically mining towns. The urbanization process reflects the country's settlement policy, rural-urban migration and natural increase in the rapidly urbanizing settlements, including urban centres where economic growth continues to spur accelerated urbanization.

There were seven areas designated as urban centres in the 1991 census. These, in rank order, were Gaborone (the national capital with a population of 133,468 in 1991), Francistown (65,244), Selebi Phikwe (a mining town with 38,284), Lobatse (a commercial centre in the south with 18,261), Jwaneng (10,318), Orapa (4,635) and Sowa (1,861). Further evidence of urban primacy is the fact that 22% of the urban population lives in the national capital city of Gaborone. Apart from the North East and Kgalagadi regions, all other regions contain urban centres. Except for Gaborone and Francistown, all urban centres are outgrowths of mining activity. Yet, the concept "urban" understates the urbanization process which of necessity includes some localities designated as villages.

The annual growth rate of the urban population between 1981 and 1991 is illustrated in Table 1.2 (column 5). Greater Gaborone (which includes Gaborone, Tlokweng and the sprawling Mogiditshane) is growing at 10.4% p.a. The contribution of rural-urban migration to the urbanization process is illustrated by the migration ratio in Table 1.2 (column 8). It was clearly highest in Greater Gaborone, lowest in the villages and negative in Serowe, largely due to out-migration.[14] It is evident that the tempo of urbanization in Botswana surpasses that of most Sub-Saharan African countries.

In 1991, 45.7% of the country's population was classified "urban" (Table 1.3). This makes Botswana one of the most urbanized countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. In fact, this figure under-represents the urban population of the country due to the fact that many settlements designated as "villages" would rank as urban centres using the United Nations definition.

While the population of mining towns increased from 40,264 (4.3% of all towns) in 1981 to 62,015 (4.7% of all towns) in 1991, population in non-mining towns increased from 126,001 (13.4% of all towns) to a phenomenal 544,244 (41.0% of all towns).[15] It would appear therefore that urbanization is spurred by forces, including internal migration, other than the magnetic pull of mining towns. These towns are generally located in remote areas with very little else to offer.

The exceptionally high mobility of the Batswana is underlined by the fact that at the time of the 1991 census, a total of 87,732 people (7% of the country's population) were living in a district other than their districts where they had been residing a year previously. Some 30% of this number moved in or out of Gaborone city, the major destination, followed by the adjacent Kweneng East district, Francistown and Serowe/Palapye.[16] Table1. 4 depicts the pattern of internal migration in 1991.

Table 1.1: Population by District and Citizenship, 1971-1991									
Administrative	Total Population			Batswana			Non-Batswana		
District	1971	1981	1991	1971	1981	1991	1971	1981	1991
Urban Centres									
Gaborone	18,799	59,657	133,468	16,945	54,247	121,487	1,854	5,380	11,981
Francistown	21,083	31,065	65,244	19,939	29,871	62,416	1,155	1,194	2,828
Lobatse	12,362	19,034	26,052	11,322	18,261	25,160	1,040	765	892
Selebi-Phikwe	5,259	29,469	39,772	4,724	28,026	38,284	535	1,443	1,488
Orapa	1,222	5,229	8,827	1,022	4,635	8,016	200	594	811
Jwaneng	–	5,567	11,188	–	4,806	10,318	–	761	870
Sowa Town	–	–	2,228	–	–	1,861	–	–	367
Regions/Districts									
Southern	80,667	119,653	147,389	79,902	119,155	146,658	765	498	731
Ngwaketse	70,211	104,182	128,989	69,674	103,767	123,365	537	415	624
Barolong	10,456	15,741	18,400	10,228	15,388	18,293	228	83	107
South East	20,324	30,649	43,584	19,965	30,097	42,395	359	552	1,189
Kweneng	62,552	117,129	170,437	62,328	116,230	168,923	224	397	1,514
Kweneng East	–	–	141,611	–	–	140,144	–	–	1,467
Kweneng West	–	–	28,826	–	–	28,779	–	–	47
Kgatleng	31,101	44,461	57,770	30,876	44,177	57,323	225	284	447
Central	215,620	323,328	412,970	213,336	321,269	409,260	2,284	2,059	3,710
Serowe-Palapye	–	–	128,471	–	–	127,257	–	–	1,214
C. Mahalapye	–	–	95,433	–	–	94,756	–	–	677
C. Bobonong	–	–	53,558	–	–	53,139	–	–	419
C. Boteti	–	–	35,459	–	–	35,348	–	–	111
C. Tutume	–	–	100,049	–	–	98,760	–	–	1,289
North East	25,074	36,636	43,354	24,471	36,168	42,694	603	468	660
North West	53,124	75,997	108,660	51,726	74,980	106,945	1,398	1,017	1,715
Ngamiland	–	68,063*	57,811	–	67,400	56,881	–	663	930
Okavango	–	–	36,723	–	–	36,437	–	–	286
Chobe	–	7,934	14,126	–	7,580	13,627	–	354	499
Ghanzi	11,790	19,096	24,719	11,638	18,990	24,528	152	106	191
Kgalagadi	15,117	24,059	31,134	15,030	23,904	30,971	87	155	163
Kgalagadi South	–	–	19,794	–	–	19,659	–	–	135
Kgalagadi North	–	–	11,340	–	–	11,312	–	–	28
Total	574,094	941,027	1,326,796	563,214	925,324	1,297,239	10,880	15,703	29,557
Note: * For 1981 Ngamiland includes Okavango									

Analysis of internal migration from the 1991 census reveals that urban-urban migration accounted for 34.4% of the movement, rural-urban for 25.5%, urban-rural for 20.9% and rural-rural for 19.2%.[17] This is inconsistent with the situation in most Sub-Saharan countries where rural-rural migration is by far the most important type of internal migration.[18]

Surprisingly, 50.2% of internal migrants were females. Slightly more

Table 1.2: Population Size and Annual Growth Rate of Urban Population, 1971-1991

Settlement	Population Size			Annual Growth Rate		Migrant	(%)	Migration	Percent of Urban Population		
	1971	1981	1991	1971-81	1981-91	Population		Ratio (%)	1981*	1981	1991
Gaborone	18,799	59,657	133,468	12.24	8.39	51,876	70.3	38.9	17.4	35.9	22.0
Francistown	21,083	31,065	65,244	3.95	7.70	19,267	56.4	29.5	9.1	18.7	10.8
Lobatse	12,362	19,034	26,052	4.41	3.19	1,923	27.4	7.4	5.6	11.4	4.3
Selebi Phikwe	5,259	29,469	39,772	18.81	3.04	2,647	25.7	6.7	8.6	17.7	6.6
Orapa	1,222	5,229	8,827	15.65	5.38	1,937	53.8	21.9	1.5	3.1	1.5
Jwaneng	–	5,567	11,188		7.23	3,574	63.6	31.9	1.6	3.3	1.8
Sowa	–	–	2,228		–	–	–	–	–		–
Tlokweng		6,653	12,486		6.50	3,562	61.1	28.5	1.9		2.1
Ramotswa		13,009	18,682		3.69	614	10.8	3.3	3.8	3.1	
Gabane		2,688	5,975		8.32	1,783	54.2	29.8	0.8		1.0
Mogoditshane		3,125	14,246		16.38	6,832	61.4	48.0	0.9		2.3
Thamaga		6,520	13,026		7.17	2,574	39.6	19.8	1.9		2.1
Molepolole		20,565	36,931		6.03	5,556	33.9	15.0	6.0		6.1
Kanye		20,215	31,354		4.49	3,076	27.6	9.8	5.9	5.2	
Moshupa		6,612	11,444		5.64	1,559	32.3	13.6	1.9		1.9
Mochudi		18,386	25,542		3.34	857	12.0	3.4	5.3	4.2	
Mahalapye		20,712	28,078		3.09	308	5.2	1.4	6.0		4.6
Palapye		9,593	17,362		6.11	3,647	46.9	21.0	2.8		2.9
Serowe		23,661	30,260		2.49	-486	-7.4	-1.6	6.9		5.0
Bobonong		4,711	7,708		5.05	781	26.1	10.1	1.4		1.3
Tutume		3,736	9,997	10.34		2,890	46.2	28.9	1.1		1.6
Tonota		6,566	11,129		5.42	1,867	40.9	16.8	1.9		1.8
Letlhakane		5,169	8,583		5.20	1,508	44.2	17.6	1.5		1.4
Maun		14,925	26,769		6.02	5,190	43.8	19.4	4.3		4.4
Kasane		2,317	4,336		6.47	1,349	66.8	31.1	0.7		0.7
Ghanzi		3,281	5,552		5.40	1,241	54.6	22.4	1.0		0.9
Total	54,416	166,268	606,239	11.80	13.80	124,490**					

Source: Republic of Botswana (1991) *Population and Housing Census: Administrative/Technical Report and National Statistical Tables*, table A5, p. 209; E.K. Campbell (1995), table 3, p. 70.

than one-fifth of these females were rural-urban migrants (compared with 9.2% of males) and 20.3 percent were urban-urban movers (compared with 11.8% of males).[19] This is yet another feature that is inconsistent with the situation in most Sub-Saharan countries where males dominate both types of internal migration.[20]

Legal Inward Migration

The concept of "inward migration" is sometimes seen as synonymous with "immigration", though the latter is generally limited to documented permanent migration, and tends to understate temporary migration into a country. This section analyses two forms of legal inward migration: (a) immigration involving permanent movers who have become naturalized citizens; and (b) migration involving temporary workers from other countries.

PERMANENT IMMIGRATION

Permanent immigration to Botswana includes the naturalization of former non-Batswana and their dependents or descendants who may have been born in Botswana. Here there is a legal distinction between naturalization

Table 1.3: Distribution of Population by District and Urban Centre, 1991

Administrative District	Total Population	Urban Population	Rural Population
Urban Centres			
Gaborone	133,468	133,468	–
Francistown	65,244	65,244	–
Lobatse	26,052	26,052	–
Selebi-Phikwe	39,772	39,772	–
Orapa	8,827	8,827	–
Jwaneng	11,188	11,188	–
Sowa Town	2,228	2,228	–
Regions/Districts			
SOUTHERN	147,389	42,798	104,591
Ngwaketse	128,989	42,798	86,191
Barolong	18,400	–	18,400
SOUTH EAST	43,584	31,168	12,416
KWENENG	170,437	70,178	100,259
Kweneng East	141,611	70,178	71,433
Kweneng West	28,826	–	28,826
KGATLENG	57,770	25,542	32,228
CENTRAL	412,970	113,117	299,853
Serowe-Palapye	128,471	47,622	80,849
C. Mahalapye	95,433	28,078	67,355
C. Bobonong	53,558	7,708	45,850
C. Boteti	35,459	8,583	26,876
C. Tutume	100,049	21,126	78,923
NORTH EAST	43,354	–	43,354
NORTH WEST	108,660	31,105	77,555
Ngamiland	57,811	26,769	31,042
Okavango	36,723	–	36,723
Chobe	14,126	4,336	9,790
GHANZI	24,719	5,552	19,167
KGALAGADI	31,134	–	31,134
Kgalagadi South	19,794	–	19,794
Kgalagadi North	11,340	–	11,340
Total	1,326,796	606,239	720,557

Source: Republic of Botswana (1991) *Population and Housing Census: Administrative/Technical Report and National Statistical Tables*, table A3 p. 207

Table 1.4: Inter-District Migration in Botswana, 1990-1991				
DISTRICT	People Migrating in from Other Districts	People Migrating out to Other Districts	NET MIGRATION	
			Number	%
Gaborone	15.547	14,599	948	0.7
Francistown	7,604	6,904	700	1.1
Lobatse	3,072	2,909	163	0.6
Selebi-Phikwe	4,959	4,004	955	2.4
Orapa	932	986	-54	-0.6
Jwaneng	1,554	1,765	-211	-1.9
Sowa	780	535	245	11.0
Ngwaketse	4,785	6,422	1,637	-1.3
Barolong	754	1,273	-519	-2.8
South-East	3,503	2,151	1,352	-3.1
Kweneng-East	8,138	6,211	1,927	1.4
Kweneng-West	1,293	1,689	-396	-1.4
Kgatleng	2,733	3,297	-564	-1.0
C. Serowe/Palapye	7,246	6,822	424	0.3
C. Mahalapye	4,496	5,954	-1,458	-1.5
C. Bobonong	2,560	3,436	-876	-1.6
C. Boteti	1,811	1,561	250	0.7
C. Tutume	4,534	6,709	-2,175	-2.2
North-East	2,850	3,136	-286	-0.7
Ngamiland-South	2,486	4,484	-1,998	-3.5
Ngamiland-North	2,326	692	1,634	4.4
Chobe	1,296	863	433	3.1
Ghanzi	940	909	31	0.1
Kgalagadi-South	833	747	86	0.4
Kgalagadi-North	700	775	-75	-0.7
Source: C. van der Post (1995), table 5, p. 92				

and permanent residence. Naturalization is a situation when a non-Batswana is permitted to become a Motswana, enjoying the same rights as other Batswana by birth, while permanent residence is where the right of residence is accorded short of citizenship. While a permanent residence permit may be canceled and permanent residence revoked, naturalized citizens cannot have their citizenship revoked. Of the country's population of 1,326,796 in 1991, only 29,557 (2.2%) were non-citizens.[21] Unfortunately, the census does not distinguish between naturalized Batswana and immigrant non-citizens.

TEMPORARY INWARD MIGRATION

This primarily involves foreign workers and their families, and business men and women and those who have not been granted the status of permanent immigrants. It is much larger than the previous category (legal immigration) which consists of those already classified as permanent residents or naturalized citizens enjoying the same status as all other bona fide citizens. The small migrant population of 15,619 accounted for 1.5% of Botswana's population, approximately half of whom were African immigrants.[22] As could be expected, a substantial proportion (92%) of these African migrants came from SADC member states, with South Africa and Zimbabwe accounting for 70.8% and 62.3% in 1981 and 1991 respectively (Table 1.5).

Non-African inward migration involves a good spread of countries in Europe, Asia, America and Oceania (Table 1.6). More than half of this non-African migration was from Europe, with the United Kingdom alone accounting for about 53% in 1981 and 64% in 1991 of all Europeans. Another notable feature is that in 1991 virtually all migration originated from the Commonwealth countries, highlighting the importance of a common language (English) in migrants' work setting and social interaction.

UNDOCUMENTED INWARD MIGRATION

In this category we include (a) unauthorized migrants from other countries (also known as "undocumented", "illegal" or "clandestine" migration); and (b) refugee (forced) migration.

Table 1.5: African Migrant Population by Country, 1981 and 1991

Country of Citizenship	Census Year				Change	
	1981		1991		1981 -1991	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
South Africa	3,807	43.6	6,254	33.7	+2,447	-9.9
Zimbabwe	2,375	27.2	5,308	28.6	+2,933	+1.4
Zambia			2,154	11.6		
Malawi	234	2.7	771	4.2	+537	+1.5
Angola	403	4.6	596	3.2	+193	-1.4
Ghana*	93	1.1	569	3.1	+476	+2.0
Lesotho	464	5.3	547	3.0	+83	-2.3
Tanzania			498	2.7		
Rest of Africa	612	7.0	331	1.8	-281	-5.2
Uganda*			319	1.7		
Mauritius			316	1.7		
Namibia	521	6.0	310	1.6	-211	-4.4
Kenya*			132	0.7		
Swaziland	125	1.4	117	0.6	-8	-0.8
Nigeria*	99	1.1	117	0.6	-18	-0.5
Total	8,733	100.0	18,538	99.9	-9,805	-58.9

Note: *Non-SADC state

Source: Botswana 1991 Population and Housing Census, Table A6-1, p. 210

Table 1.6: Migrant Population from Europe, Asia, American and Oceania, 1981 AND 1991				
Country of Citizenship	**Census Year**			
	1981		**1991**	
	Number	**Percent**	**Number**	**Percent**
Europe				
Denmark			110	2.0
Germany			359	6.4
Ireland			200	3.6
Italy			174	3.1
Norway			125	2.2
Netherlands			203	3.6
Portugal			148	2.6
Sweden			140	2.5
United Kingdom	3,650		3,559	63.5
Yugoslavia			104	1.9
Rest of Europe	1,335		484	8.6
Total	**4,985**		**5,606**	**100.0**
Asia				
China			946	22.6
India			2,128	50.7
Pakistan			157	3.7
Sri Lanka			431	10.3
Rest of Asia			531	12.7
Total	**946**		**4,193**	**100.0**
America				
United States	631		653	74.1
Canada	122		121	13.7
Rest of America	23		107	12.1
Total	776		881	99.9
Oceania				
Australia			130	83.9
Rest of Oceania			25	16.1
Total	**179**		**155**	**100.0**
Source: 1991 Population and Housing Census.				

UNAUTHORIZED/UNDOCUMENTED MIGRANTS

The extent of unauthorized migration into Botswana is not identifiable in the censuses, for obvious reasons. Even in surveys it is an exceedingly elusive category for which to gather reliable quantitative data. The only data available on undocumented migration is from the Department of Immigration and Citizenship who record the absolute number of deportations per year from Botswana (Table 1.7). There are no records of the nationalities of those repatriated (or how many of these are repeat offences) but officials suggest that most undocumented migrants come from contiguous SADC member states, namely Zimbabwe, South Africa

Table 1.7: Illegal Immigrants Repatriated by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship, Government of Botswana, 1992/93 - 1995/97	
Year	**No. of People Repatriated**
1992/93	17,943
1993/94	8,810
1994/95	14,346
1995/96	16,930
1996/97	16,553
Total	74,582

Source: Data provided by Department of Immigration and Citizenship, Government of Botswana (courtesy of Head of Investigation and Repatriation Division, November 1998).

and Namibia. This is attributed to movements of people from the same ethnic groups across unpoliced and unpoliceable borders. Anecdotal evidence suggests that Botswana is also a stopping-point or through route for undocumented migrants from Zimbabwe moving to South Africa.

This paucity of data on undocumented migration is of concern in a country, and region, where movement of people across borders would appear to be on the increase and where "illegality" in particular is seen as a major migration issue.

REFUGEES

The second category of unauthorized in-migration is refugee movements. Prior to the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980 and Namibia in 1991, as well as majority rule in South Africa in 1994, Botswana hosted thousands of refugees from these contiguous states. Over the last few years, however, the refugee population has dwindled dramatically. This declining trend is attributable to the growing political stability of the region starting with Zimbabwe's independence and the return of Zimbabwean asylum seekers.

Compared to other SADC member states, Botswana hosted relatively small numbers of refugees in the 1980s. This is because it received few Mozambican and Angolan refugees. While the peak number of refugees in Botswana was approximately 5,000, the number of refugees in Zambia ranged between 102,000 and 149,000 and in Zimbabwe between 51,500 and 171,500 in the three years 1985-1988.[23]

In the mid-1980s, the number of refugees in need of Botswana's protection declined drastically from 5,100 in 1985 to 2,700 in 1988.[24] However, the trend of refugee flow into Botswana was mixed: while the number of South African refugees increased from 500 in 1985 to 900 in 1988, the Zimbabwean refugee population decreased from 3,800 to 1,300 as did the number of refugees from elsewhere whose number dropped from 800 to 500.[25]

OUTWARD MIGRATION

"Outward migration" refers to movements from Botswana, both permanent emigration and temporary departure. The latter can be either (a) legal or (b) unauthorized. Census data for Botswana distinguish between not only *de jure* and *de facto* populations but also absentee citizens and those enumerated as resident in censuses.

LEGAL OUTWARD MIGRATION

The number of Botswana citizens abroad dropped from 54,735 in 1971 to 42,015 in 1981 (representing an average annual rate of decline of 0.84% in the decade)[26] and dropped further to 38,606 in 1991.[27] According to the 1991 census, the vast majority (18,200 or 47.1% of the total) of Batswana abroad were male migrants working on legal contracts in the South African mines. The total number (38,626) of emigrant Botswana citizens in 1991 represented 2.9% of the country's population, of whom 72% were male. In 1981, some 6.1% of Botswana's population was residing outside the country.[28]

Because census data does not distinguish between permanent "emigration" and "temporary out-migration", it is impossible to arrive at a meaningful interpretation of the differences in Botswana. Comparison of Tables 1.5 and 1.6 with Table 1.8 indicate that, in total, out-migration from Botswana in 1991 outweighed inward migration (38,624 emigrants versus 29,373 migrants). Table 1.8 provides useful insights into the destinations and gender breakdown of out-migration from Botswana. South Africa was by far the most popular destination, constituting 80% of all departures (62% of which were people working on farms or in the mines). This was followed by Namibia and Zimbabwe at just 6% of departures each. Women were much less likely to go to South Africa then men (due in large part to the male-dominated mine workforce), twice as likely to go to Namibia, and almost five times as likely to go to Zimbabwe. It should also be noted that non-SADC African states were cited as a destination by less than 1% of the census.

Outside Africa, Botswana emigrants were mainly in Europe, more than three-fifths of whom were in the United Kingdom and 86% of whom went for training and education. America was a close second to Europe, with most again going for education. The past and current policy of the Government of Botswana is to sponsor its nationals for job-related post-graduate training overseas in an effort to try and meet the human resources shortage in the country.

Several developments since 1991 lead to the conclusion that the current picture may be rather different from that prevailing at the beginning of the decade. The end of apartheid and the advent of

Table 1.8: Emigration of Botswana Citizens, 1991						
	Total		Males		Females	
	Number	Percent of Total	Number	Percent of Total	Number	Percent of Total
Africa	36,884	95.5	26,841	96.3	10,043	93.4
Lesotho	231	0.6	103	0.4	128	1.2
Malawi	67	0.2	31	0.1	36	0.3
Namibia	2,499	6.5	1,357	4.9	1,142	10.6
Swaziland	149	0.4	67	0.2	82	0.8
Zambia	375	1.0	174	0.6	201	1.9
Zimbabwe	2,321	6.0	828	3.0	1,493	13.9
Tanzania	70	0.2	40	0.1	30	0.3
South Africa	30,998	80.3	24,146	86.6	6,852	63.8
Ghana	7	0.0	4	0.0	3	0.0
Nigeria	2	0.0	–	0.0	2	0.0
Uganda	3	0.0	2	0.0	1	0.0
Kenya	56	0.1	36	0.1	20	0.2
Mauritius	6	0.0	1	0.0	5	0.0
Rest of Africa	100	0.3	52	0.2	48	0.4
Europe	752	1.9	430	1.5	322	3.0
United Kingdom	501	1.3	305	1.1	196	6.8
Rest of Europe	251	0.6	125	0.4	126	1.2
Asia	96	0.2	74	0.3	22	0.2
America	647	1.7	385	1.4	262	2.4
Oceania	56	0.1	27	0.1	29	0.3
Not Stated	189	0.5	120	0.4	69	0.6
TOTAL	38,624	100.0	27,870	100.0	10,747	100.0
Source: Botswana 1991 Population and Housing Census, Table F10, p.38						

democracy in South Africa have made it much easier for Batswana to move temporarily to South Africa. South African data shows that the volume of cross-border traffic between Botswana and South Africa has jumped dramatically in the 1990s (Table 1.9).

Table 1.9: Legal Cross-Border Movement between Botswana and South Africa, 1993-1998[21]		
Year	**Number Leaving**	**Number Returning**
1993	130,678	126,324
1994	162,743	160,176
1995	597,939	573,885
1996	895,098	844,705
1997	1,075,228	810,828
1998	1,234,446	1,113,847
Source: South African Department of Home Affairs Annual Reports		

There has also been an increase in the movement of high school and post-secondary students to South Africa. In 1996, South Africa issued 1,157 study permits to Botswana citizens, compared to 93 in 1995.

Downsizing in the South African mines in the 1990s and a relatively robust economy in Botswana have resulted in a significant drop in the movement of migrant miners from Botswana to South Africa.[30] Table 1.10 shows that the number of Batswana employees in the South African mines dropped from 18,691 in 1983 to 12,048 in 1997, representing a decline of 36% over the period.

A deferred pay system is in effect for Batswana mine workers in South Africa as part of the Bilateral Agreement between the two countries.[31] These monies make an important (but declining) contribution to the Botswana economy – particularly to rural households.[32] From a high of R16,776,000 in 1984, deferred earning of Batswana miners sent back to Botswana has steadily declined to only R2,195,000 in 1997. Monitored remittances likewise decreased from R7,660,000 in 1983 to just R383,000 in 1997.

Much of the absolute decline in numbers and revenue is due to retrenchments in the South African mining sector, but many retrenched miners have been able to find work in mines in Botswana or in other sectors of the relatively robust Botswana economy. This is in sharp contrast to the bleak economic futures of returning miners from other source countries in the region, notably Mozambique and Lesotho.

In 1996, long-serving miners (those who had worked for 10 years or

Table 1.10: Employment of Batswana in South African Mines

Year	No. of Employees
1983	18,691
1984	18,916
1985	20,128
1986	20,994
1987	20,112
1988	19,320
1989	17,874
1990	16,983
1991	15,614
1992	13,399
1993	13,166
1994	12,342
1995	12,746
1996	12,983
1997	12,048

Source: TEBA

more on the mines) were given the opportunity to apply for permanent residence in South Africa.[33] Acceptance of the offer was interpreted in South Africa as a desire to settle permanently there. However, in the case of Botswana only 3,886 out of an eligible population of 9,580 (41%) actually applied for and were granted permanent South African residence. As Table 1.11 shows, these migrants were resident in the South African provinces with major gold and platinum mining operations. For reasons that are not clear, platinum miners appear to have been more interested than gold miners. Studies of miners in Mozambique and Lesotho who applied show that they took out permanent residence mainly to give themselves more job security and options in South Africa. Very few intended to emigrate permanently or take South African citizenship.[34] The same is probably true of most Batswana who applied.

UNDOCUMENTED OUTWARD MIGRATION

Given the porous, arbitrarily drawn and largely unpoliced border of Botswana, local unauthorized migration in all likelihood constitutes a significant amount of border traffic near and along the borders with South Africa and Zimbabwe as Batswana cross to visit family and friends and/or to shop in neighbouring countries. However, like migrants in other SADC countries, Batswana show the greatest respect for legal border crossing and the vast majority of those seeking to go to South Africa for work, study, health reasons, trading and shopping go through legal border posts.

The evidence suggests that the majority of Batswana who go to South Africa are legal and documented when they arrive. The problem arises when they overstay their permits. South Africa data on visa overstays shows that at the end of 1996, there were 41,911 Batswana still in South Africa with expired permits. In October 1999, there were 40,348 for the period 1996-8 alone. This data suggests that the trend towards

Table 1.11: Applications for South African Permanent Residence amongst Botswana Miners

Province of Application	No. of Applicants
Eastern Cape	0
Free State	198
Gauteng	429
Kwazulu-Natal	0
Mpumalanga	10
Northern Cape	0
Northern Province	2,337
North West	524
Western Cape	0
Total	3,488

Table 1.12: Permit Overstaying in South Africa, 1992-98		
Year of Entry	**Permit Overstayers at 31/3/97**	**Permit Overstayers at 1/10/99**
1992	4,952	
1993	3,286	
1994	3,934	
1995	13,242	
1996	16,497	
1997		8,053
1998		22,223
Totals	41,911	40,348

overstaying is increasing. However, this does not mean that all overstayers intend to remain in South Africa. Between March 1997 and October 1999, for example, almost 50% of the overstayers who had entered in 1996 left.

Given that there are probably 40-50,000 Batswana in South Africa at any one time with expired permits, it is striking how few get "caught". The South African police and defence force arrest and deport over 150,000 unauthorized migrants a year, mostly to Mozambique and Zimbabwe. In contrast, the number of Batswana who are deported each year has dwindled to less than 100 a year since 1994 (Table 1.13). The primary reasons are threefold: first, the majority of Batswana probably do not go to the areas where they are most likely to be arrested (such as Johannesburg and Pretoria). Second, given their ethnic and linguistic affinity with Tswana-speakers in South Africa, they are much harder to detect. Third, far fewer migrants from Botswana than other SADC countries go to South Africa to work, the major concern of the South Africans (see Chapter 2).

The final question is how many Batswana have emigrated permanently to South Africa. This question is impossible to answer with accuracy. However, the 1996 South African amnesty for SADC citizens who

Table 1.13: Deportations from South Africa to Botswana, 1990-97		
Year	**Total Deportations**	**Botswana Deportations**
1990	53,418	596
1991	61,345	604
1992	82,575	458
1993	96,600	105
1994	90,692	48
1995	157,054	11
1996	180,290	7
1997	176,349	77

had lived in South Africa since at least 1991 shows that the number is quite small. There were only 1,626 applications for permanent residence from Batswana, of which 1,321 (80%) were granted. Most of the applicants were resident in Gauteng (1,365).

CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided a summary picture of inward and outward migration to and from Botswana using official statistics from Botswana and South Africa. While general trends and dynamics can be identified, there are many information gaps. Data on urbanization and internal migration is also quite dated and does not allow for a complete understanding of the changes of the 1990s. The chapters that follow report the results of SAMP research in Botswana that was explicitly designed to fill in many of the gaps through surveying inward and outward migrants themselves.

CHAPTER TWO
THE ATTITUDES OF BATSWANA TO CROSS-BORDER MIGRATION: A NATIONAL SURVEY

ELIZABETH MUKAMAAMBO

This chapter presents the findings of the first national opinion survey ever undertaken in Botswana on cross-border migration. Based on interviews with a representative sample of 939 people from all parts of the country, the survey provides a comprehensive overview of people's experiences with, and attitudes towards, out-migration. The survey also allows for comparisons with the same survey undertaken in Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe and helps to provide a better regional understanding of migration patterns and expectations.

The first part of this chapter describes the methodology employed to conduct the survey. Given the size of the sample and the importance of the topic it is crucial that a reliable and rigorous methodology be employed and that the reader is aware of how the sample was selected. The report then provides a detailed demographic and socio-economic breakdown of the sample itself.

The second part of the chapter provides information on the migration histories of the interviewees (and their families) and provides details on length of stay outside the country, purpose of departure/return, number of visits, country of destination and modes of entry. Section Three discusses decision-making factors around migration and the relative importance of different variables. Section Four discusses the desire (or lack thereof) of Batswana to leave the country on a short- or long-term basis and discusses the "migration potential" of Batswana as a whole. The last two sections of the chapter look at the attitudes of Batswana towards residence in South Africa and that country's immigration policies.

In general, the findings in Botswana coincide with those of the other SADC countries surveyed by SAMP.[36] Batswana travel outside of the country on a regular basis – and this is true of young and old, men and women – but they tend to do so on a short-term basis for purpose-oriented trips and have little interest in leaving the country on a long-term or permanent basis. For the most part, Batswana are satisfied with conditions in the country. South Africa is seen to be a particularly attractive destination for economic activities, but the general impression is that Batswana prefer their home country in other respects. Importantly, these conclusions also help to challenge the common perception in South Africa that citizens of neighbouring countries will do anything to enter, work and live in South Africa in order to flee social and economic chaos at home.[37]

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

Botswana is a relatively large country of 582,00 square kilometres, but has a population of only one and a half million people. Moreover, 80% of this population is concentrated in the eastern quarter of the country with the rest of the population distributed in pockets over the remaining three quarters of the landmass.

Apart from the general distribution, the settlement pattern is such that most Batswana have three homes: one in their village; one in "the lands" where agricultural activities take place; and one at their cattle post. An increasing number of Batswana now have four homes with the growth of large towns and cities. The movement between these areas (especially between lands and village) is seasonal and dependent on the level of rainfall. With 80% of the population of Botswana still dependent on agriculture, most people in villages migrate to the lands areas during the agricultural season of November-July for the purposes of planting. They normally would remain at the lands through the planting season except for short visits to villages to get supplies or to attend social functions like burials and marriage ceremonies. During the slack period in agricultural activities, most people would be in villages where no large-scale agricultural activity is permitted apart from back yard gardening.

The 1997/98 agricultural year was a drought year in Botswana. As a result, there was very little agricultural activity and most people were in large villages or district centres during the time the fieldwork for this survey was undertaken (June to August 1998). This made it possible to target villages and administrative centres and sample a large number of people in a cost effective and statistically-representative manner. Target areas were selected on a random basis from a list of villages and administrative centres with the number of interviewees being proportional to the population size of the stratum. Areas where the sample size turned out to be less than 20 households were dropped from the sample to minimise travel costs. As a result, Masunga, which is the administrative centre for North East District, and Tsabong, which is a centre for Kgalagadi District, were left out from the sample. Table 2.1 provides a breakdown of the sample by district.

Within the selected survey centres, there were two selection procedures. In the villages, where the population is more homogenous, interviewers started the interviewing from the centre of the village and worked their way outward in a spiral fashion selecting every nth

Table 2.1: Sample Population by District of Enumeration	
Survey Areas	**Number of interviews**
Gaborone	294
Francistown	139
Lobatse	57
Selibe Phike	90
Kanye	48
Ramotswa	33
Molepolole	58
Mochudi	54
Serowe	42
Mahalapye	52
Tutume	25
Maun	47
Total	**939**

dwelling. In towns/cities, residential areas were stratified by type (high, medium and low cost) and a representative area of each was selected randomly. In both cases, a card selection system was used for households with more than one person to ensure intra-household randomness.[38]

Only household residents who were citizens of Botswana and 18 years of age and over were eligible for selection. The reason for this is that these are people who are more likely to be working and who, to some extent, can make an independent decision to travel or not to travel. The upper age limit was left open. All interviews were conducted in Setswana by senior students from the University of Botswana who had undergone two days of intensive training on selection procedures and interview techniques. The survey instrument had been designed previously for the surveys in Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe and was translated to Setswana from the original English version.

Based on these considerations, the total survey population was 939 persons. This is a large sample size for the relatively small and homogenous population of Botswana and is statistically representative of the country as a whole. It should be kept in mind, however, that the survey was conducted only with Batswana who were resident in the country at the time of the survey. It does not include those Batswana who were out of the country – i.e. those who were migrants at the time of the survey. This could conceivable skew the representivity of the research findings, but given the fact that only 2.2% of the population were enumerated as being outside of the country in the 1991 census (down from 4.2% and 7.3% of the censuses in 1981 and 1971) it is unlikely that it would significantly alter the overall results.

PROFILE OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION

The one anomaly in the sample is that the gender distribution was skewed in favour of women (56%). This is due in part to the fact that none of the predominantly male mining areas of Orapa, Jwaneng and Sowa were selected in the random selection procedure and that cattle posts, which are also predominantly male, were left out of the sample. This gender bias may also be because women are more likely to be involved in agricultural activities which would lesson their chance of being interviewed in villages and towns. Table 2.2 provides a breakdown of this and other demographic data.

In terms of age, most of the respondents interviewed were in the broad age group 20-39, accounting for 67% of the total population interviewed. The elderly population, as represented by those 65 years and above was only 5.5%. This is also consistent with national projections.

For the purposes of the survey, rural areas were defined as the villages selected for survey even though at times they could be classified as urban areas when taking into consideration their population and level of facilities (e.g. the "village" of Ramotswa has over 20,000 residents). Urban areas were taken as the four towns selected for the survey: Gaborone, Francistown, Lobatse and Selibe-Phikwe. Since the selection was based on the locality size, it is therefore not surprising that urban areas have a larger representation than villages. As a result, 62% of respondents were from urban and 38 % from rural areas.

A relatively low number of interviewees reported that they were married (22%), with an additional 12% saying they were cohabitating. Previous censuses have in fact recorded a decline in the percentage of population in marital unions over the years, with only 23% of the population reported to have been in marital unions in 1991. Those not married were in the majority, making up 60% of the total sample population, an indication of attitudes to marriage as a social institution in Botswana.

MIGRATION FEATURES AND FACTORS

For many generations, South Africa was a magnet for migrant labourers from Botswana, most of whom were miners, agricultural workers and domestic servants. The majority of these migrants were unskilled or semi-skilled. Employment opportunities in Botswana were few. As a result, it was assumed that at one point or another a person would find his or her way to South Africa in search of employment. These assumptions are supported by the survey findings for this research which show that 40% of respondents said that they have been to South Africa at least once in

Table 2.2: Profile of the Sample Population	
Total number of interviews	939
Gender (%)	
Male	44
Female	56
Age(%)	
18 - 24	31
25 - 34	33
35 - 44	19
45 - 64	12
65+	6
Urban or Rural (%)	
Urban	62
Rural	38
Marital Status (%)	
Married/cohabitating	34
Separated/Divorced/Abandoned	3
Widowed	2
Unmarried	60
Household Status (%)	
Household Head	31
Spouse	13
Child	28
Other Family	13
Other	13
Level of Education (%)	
No schooling	8
Primary	25
High school	49
Post secondary	9
University	1
Post graduate	8
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%.	

their lives and 41% have parents who went to South Africa to work. An additional 26% said that their grandparents had been to South Africa to work as well, underscoring the inter-generational aspect of migration to South Africa for work purposes. This is a significant proportion of the population of Botswana that have been to South Africa, and is second only to Lesotho amongst the countries surveyed for this research (Table 2.3).

However, it is also true that the majority of Batswana have never been to South Africa (60%) and that the majority of their parents and grandparents did not work there (51% and 48% respectively, with the remainder being "unsure"). As important as travel to South Africa has been, not everyone makes the journey, and with job opportunities and a strong economy at home there are fewer and fewer work-related reasons to go.

Table 2.3: Migration Histories in Regional Perspective

	Botswana	Lesotho	Mozambique	Zimbabwe	Namibia
Been to South Africa? (%)					
Yes	40	81	29	23	38
No	60	19	71	77	62
Parents worked in South Africa? (%)					
Yes	41	81	53	24	26
No	51	17	46	75	75
Don't Know	7	3	1	1	-
Grandparents worked in South Africa? (%)					
Yes	26	51	32	23	23
No	48	20	54	70	70
Don't Know	25	29	14	7	8

Table 2.4: Frequency of visits and length of stay of Batswana in South Africa and Zimbabwe

	South Africa	Zimbabwe
Number of Visits in Lifetime		
1-4	50	63
5-9	21	17
10-14	12	11
15-19	4	3
19-24	6	3
25 or more	7	3
Usual Length of Stay		
Less than a month	86	96
Between 1 and 3 months	7	4
Between 3 and 6 months	2	–
Between 6 months and 1 year	2	–
More than a year	2	–

Visits to Zimbabwe were also reasonably high, with 26% of the population saying they have visited that country on at least one occasion. This level of visits to a SADC country other than South Africa is noteworthy, given that results in the other countries were much lower. In Lesotho, for example, only 1% of the sample had been to a SADC country other than South Africa. No doubt this is a reflection of the close connections between residents of north-eastern Botswana and western Zimbabwe and the relative ease with which people can cross this border.

The frequency of visits to South Africa is another indication of the strong cross-border activity between the two countries, with 22% of the sample having been to South Africa ten or more times in their lives. However, half of the sample (50%) have been less than five times and 38% of the sample stays for less than a month when they do visit, once again underscoring the temporary nature of these cross-border movements (see Table 2.4).

PURPOSE OF MIGRATION

Unlike in the past when employment featured prominently as a reason for Batswana to visit South Africa, the most important reasons given in this survey for visiting South Africa were shopping, visiting friends and family and holiday/tourism (Table 2.5). Shopping may be a euphemism for buying goods in South Africa to sell in Botswana but it is likely that the majority of these responses referred to traveling to South Africa to buy durable goods that are either not available in Botswana or cheaper in South Africa. Given the relative strength of the Pula against the Rand and the intermediary charges involved with buying retail goods from South Africa in Botswana this may be an attractive option. The high percent of respondents who last went to South Africa to visit family and friends reflects the strength of familial and cultural connections between the two countries (particularly in the predominantly Setswana-speaking South African province of the North West which borders Botswana), as does the number of people who visited for travel/tourism purposes.

Only 10% of respondents went to South Africa to work or to look for work on their last visit. This contrasts dramatically with other SADC countries that border South Africa. The comparable figures are 67% of Mozambicans, 29% of Zimbabweans, 25% of Basotho and 13% of Namibians.[39] Clearly South Africans have little to fear from Batswana in terms of job competition.

The reasons for visiting Zimbabwe were similar, with the notable exception that the highest single response was holiday/tourism with 34% of respondents giving this as the reason for their last visit to that country. Interestingly, only 5% of respondents went to Zimbabwe to

Table 2.5: Reason for most recent visit to South Africa and Zimbabwe		
	South Africa %	**Zimbabwe %**
Looking for work	3	1
To work	7	2
Buy and sell goods	2	3
Education	3	2
Shopping	24	15
Business	6	4
Visit family/friends	23	26
Holiday/Tourism	14	34
Medical treatment	5	5
Other	12	9
	N=423	N=247

work or buy and sell goods and only 1% went to look for work.

When asked why they returned to Botswana, the vast majority (79%) simply said that their visit/holiday had ended and they wanted to come home. Others returned home because their studies had ended, their work contract was over, or they had sold out of their goods. Not a single respondent said they were deported from South Africa.

MODES OF ENTRY INTO SOUTH AFRICA

One of the most prevalent stereotypes in South Africa about migrants coming from other African countries is that they are entering South Africa clandestinely – sneaking across the border on foot, under fences and across rivers without proper documentation and/or overstaying their visas. The data from these surveys presents a very different picture. As outlined in Table 2.6, it is clear that the vast majority of Batswana cross the border into South Africa by regular modes of transport and have proper documentation. Fully 98% of the sample who had been to South Africa had a valid passport on their last trip and 87% had a valid visa. It is possible that these numbers are inflated due to interviewees not wanting to appear to have done something "illegal", but there is no reason to believe that these figures are not reasonable approximations of how Batswana enter South Africa.

MIGRANT DECISION MAKING

Decisions about whether or not to leave one's country – even for a short period of time – are never taken easily. There are myriad factors that go into the decision-making process and often more than one decision maker. A large survey of this kind with pre-defined questions and

Table 2.6: Modes of Entry into South Africa	
Method of Transport (%)	
Foot	1
Bus	25
Plane	4
Car	39
Horse/Donkey	-
Train	7
Combi/Taxi	22
Other	2
Possession of Passport (%)	
Yes	98
No	2
Possession of Visa/Entry Permit (%)	
Yes	87
No	13
N = 452	

response options is therefore not the best way to try and determine the complexities of why someone would migrate or not, but it is an excellent way to generate more general information on what the nation as a whole thinks about a possible destination country (in this case South Africa). We can see how they compare it to home to see if there are any nation-wide trends that may affect the migration decision-making process.

The results from this survey reveal two important trends. First, a very strong majority (86-95%) of those interviewed feel that Botswana is a better place to live than South Africa on a number of key fronts: democracy, freedom, crime, peace, safety and place to raise a family (Table 2.7). Despite the democratic reforms in South Africa, Batswana clearly feel that things are better at home when it comes to these intangible, yet critically important, quality of life indicators. These results should come as no great surprise given the relatively democratic, stable and peaceful post-colonial history of Botswana. The second trend works in favour of South Africa, however, with a majority of respondents (50-75%) feeling that social services like health care and education, as well as economic opportunities, are better in South Africa than Botswana. This result should come as no surprise either given the wider range of economic opportunity in South Africa as compared to Botswana and the broader range of health care and education.

In the end, there are factors which favour both countries and the decision to migrate would depend on the personal circumstances of the individual which were more important. What is important to note here is that the vast majority of Batswana think that their own country is a

Table 2.7: Relative Comparisons of Botswana and South Africa			
	Better in Botswana (%)	Better in South Africa (%)	About the Same/ Don't Know (%)
Overall living conditions	65	17	18
High levels of Peace	95	2	3
Safety of myself and family	94	2	4
A decent place to raise your family	92	3	5
High levels of freedom	89	3	8
Levels of crime	88	2	10
High levels of democracy	86	2	12
Availability of land	65	7	28
Cost of living	59	22	19
Treatment by employers	46	13	41
Availability of decent houses	39	29	32
Availability of clean water	38	17	57
High levels of disease	28	13	59
Availability of decent food	27	38	26
Availability of decent schools	24	50	26
Opportunities for trading, buying and selling of goods	22	58	20
Prevalence of HIV	19	22	59
Availability of decent health care	18	67	16
Availability of decent jobs	16	61	25
Availability of decent shopping	12	75	13
N = 903			

better place to live than South Africa on a number of important criteria and this once again challenges the stereotypes within South Africa that countries elsewhere on the continent are in chaos with their residents anxious to leave. In fact, it would appear to be the exact opposite in Botswana, with 65% of the sample saying that the "overall living conditions" are better at home than in South Africa.

Further insights into the factors that make Batswana want to migrate (or not) are gleaned from the responses given to questions about what would cause them to go to South Africa and to stay in Botswana. Interviewees were able to cite up to three factors. Table 2.8 presents what they then considered to be the "most important" factor for each question. The results support the conclusions drawn above that jobs and social services are the factors that are most likely to "push" someone to South Africa while the less tangible factors of peace, freedom, safety and democracy would appear to be the strongest "pull" factors keeping people in Botswana. What is interesting is that while many recognise the attraction of employment in South Africa (29%), few actually work there (Table 2.5).

The way people feel about their own country is also likely to influence

Table 2.8: Most Important Factor in Deciding Whether to go to South Africa or Stay in Botswana		
	Go to South Africa (%)	Stay in Botswana (%)
Jobs	29	3
Shopping	20	-
Health Care	18	1
Education	13	2
Trade	9	1
Overall Living Conditions	3	6
Other	3	2
Food	2	-
Safety of Family	1	19
Houses	1	1
Treatment by Employers	1	1
Water	1	-
Crime	-	2
Democracy	-	12
Freedom	-	22
Peace	-	22
Place to Raise a Family	-	4
N = 796, 869		

how they feel about migrating, and it is clear from this survey that Batswana are proud to be citizens of their country and are happy with the way the country is being run. In fact, Batswana rank second only to Basotho of the countries surveyed in terms of how important it is to be a citizen of their home country and are by far the most satisfied with their government's performance (Table 2.9). Were these responses strongly negative one might expect to see a greater propensity to migrate but as they are it would suggest, once again, that Batswana are generally pleased with their situation in the country and are committed to remaining citizens of the country.

PERMANENT MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA

We asked respondents a direct question about how likely it was that they would want to move to South Africa on a permanent basis in the near future. Once again it is clear that very few Batswana are interested in moving to South Africa on a permanent basis, with only 3% saying that this was "very likely" and almost two-thirds (62%) saying it was "very unlikely". Respondents were also given a range of options for moving to South Africa (permanent residence, citizenship, retiring, and being buried in South Africa), to which the responses were increasingly negative as the permanency implications rose (Table 2.10).

Not surprisingly, given the historical trends of cross-border migration around the world, young male respondents were the most likely to say that they want to migrate to South Africa on a permanent basis, with age being the most important variable. Sixteen percent of those under the age of 25 said it was "likely" or "very likely" that they would leave for South Africa permanently, as opposed to only 9% of the rest of the sample. As expected, those who are unemployed were slightly more likely to say they want to live in South Africa than those who are employed (13% versus 7%). The only finding that perhaps contradicts the migration stereotype is that respondents with higher levels of education were also more likely to want to migrate. This is no doubt partly a reflection of the so-called "brain drain" from Botswana to South Africa of people with university and graduate degrees, but it is also true that those with high school education are more likely than those with only primary or no education to want to migrate to South Africa.

ATTITUDES TO BORDERS

When it comes to questions about borders and the rights of migrants who are in South Africa there was something of a dichotomy. On the one

Table 2.9: Pride of Citizenship and Attitudes Towards the Government

	Botswana	Lesotho	Mozambique	Zimbabwe	Namibia
It makes me proud to be called a citizen of my country (%)					
Agree	97	95	98	95	96
Disagree	2	4	2	3	2
Don't know	1	1	1	2	1
Being a citizen of my country is a very important part of how I see myself (%)					
Agree	94	92	98	95	95
Disagree	3	7	2	3	1
Don't know	3	1	1	2	2
Do you approve or disapprove of the way that your national government has performed its job in the past year? (%)					
Approve	69	45	25	62	67
Disapprove	24	44	57	28	31
Don't know	6	10	17	10	3
How much can you trust the national government to do what is right? (%)					
Just about always	33	21	17	11	15
Most of the time	24	12	17	36	36
Only some of the time	24	40	48	34	37
Never	11	23	8	8	6
Don't know	8	4	9	9	5
Are you dissatisfied or satisfied with the way democracy works in your country? (%)					
Satisfied	75	40	52	54	68
Dissatisfied	22	56	28	27	26
Don't know	3	5	20	19	5

Table 2.10: Likelihood of Migrating to South Africa on a Permanent Basis		
How likely or unlikely is it that you would ever actually leave Botswana and go and live permanently in South Africa in the foreseeable future? (%)		
Very likely	3	
Likely	6	
Unlikely	18	
Very Unlikely	62	
Neither/Don't know	8	
	Yes (%)	No (%)
Desire to become a permanent resident of South Africa?	13	87
Desire to become a citizen of South Africa?	12	88
Desire to retire in South Africa?	6	94
Desire to be buried in South Africa?	4	96

hand, most felt that non-citizens in South Africa should have full access to social services like health care and housing. But these sentiments are countered by strong support for the sanctity of borders and the right of the South African government to determine its own immigration policies. As outlined in Table 2.11, a strong majority felt that the South African government should have the right to place some kind of limits on the number of people who enter the country and do not think that non-citizens should be allowed to vote in South African elections. In other words, non-citizens should be granted certain economic, social and human rights but should not necessarily be granted the same political rights as citizens of South Africa.

These results are consistent with the findings in Lesotho, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia and support the arguments made in the research reports on these four countries that people from neighbouring SADC nations do not simply expect the South African government to throw open its doors to immigrants and to grant them every right that citizens have.[40] People in the region are much more sophisticated in their attitudes towards sovereignty and the rights of migrants than popular myth in South Africa would have it, and Batswana would appear to be no different in this regard. Nor do Batswana expect special treatment from the government of Botswana with respect to immigration rights in South Africa.

CONCLUSIONS

The general picture that emerges from the survey is of a long history of migration to other parts of the region and a high degree of satisfaction on the part of Batswana with their quality of life in the country and the way the country is being governed. In other words, cross-border migration has been, and remains, an important past of the social and economic matrix

Table 2.11: Attitudes Towards Borders and Migrant Rights in South Africa	
Which one of the following do you think the South African Government should do? (%)	
Let anyone into SA who wants to enter.	28
Let people into SA as long as there are jobs.	24
Place strict limits on the number of foreigners who enter SA.	43
Prohibit all people from other countries.	1
Don't Know	4
The South African Government should offer people from other countries who are in South Africa the same access to medical services as South Africans (%)	
Agree	84
Disagree	9
Neither Agree nor Disagree	4
Don't Know	3
The South African Government should offer people from other countries who are in South Africa the same access to Houses as South Africans (%)	
Agree	72
Disagree	16
Neither Agree nor Disagree	9
Don't Know	3
The South African Government should offer people from other countries who are in South Africa the same access to Education as South Africans (%)	
Agree	80
Disagree	12
Neither Agree nor Disagree	5
Don't Know	3
The South African Government should offer people from other countries who are in South Africa the right to vote in South African elections (%)	
Agree	13
Disagree	74
Neither Agree nor Disagree	6
Don't Know	7
The South African Government should offer amnesty to all foreigners now living illegally inside the country (%)	
Agree	20
Disagree	65
Neither Agree nor Disagree	10
Don't know	5
The South African Government should give people from Botswana special treatment (compared to people from other countries) (%)	
Agree	33
Disagree	52
Neither Agree nor Disagree	11
Don't Know	3

of the country, but Botswana is not a place where mass, long-term migration is likely to happen in the near future.

At most, Botswana will continue to see reasonably high levels of movement to South Africa (and to a lesser extent, Zimbabwe) for short-term, purpose-oriented trips. These trips will likely continue to be related to social services like health and education and/or for shopping. Given the relatively small size of Botswana and the proximity of the very diverse South African job and consumer market, it is unlikely that Botswana will be able to match its neighbour in these kinds of services in the foreseeable future.

With respect to immigration legislation, Batswana clearly want, and expect, to be able to travel with relative ease to South Africa and to have full access to that county's job market and social services, but are also willing to accept the sovereign right of the government of South Africa to determine its own immigration policies and to limit certain rights of non-nationals (e.g. the right to vote in elections).

Most important of all, perhaps, is the fact that cross-border migration from Botswana to South Africa and Zimbabwe is largely legal, using formal modes of transportation and crossing through formal border posts. It is important to try and capitalize on this regularity and to facilitate rather than obstruct people's temporary movements in the region in order to try and build a humane and manageable immigration regime for the region as a whole in the long term.

CHAPTER THREE: TO STAY OR NOT TO STAY

THE EMIGRATION POTENTIAL OF SKILLED BATSWANA

EUGENE K. CAMPBELL

When Botswana attained independence in 1966 there were very few "highly skilled" nationals to fill technological, managerial and other positions deemed critical to development. The commencement of diamond mining in the 1970s, and the related economic growth and development activities that followed, necessitated considerable importation of foreign skilled labour to assist in the nation building process. At the same time, the government of Botswana also implemented a strategy of human resource development for Botswana citizens. Between 1979 and 1989, primary school enrolment increased by 66% while secondary school and University of Botswana (degree) enrolment increased by 247% and 335%, respectively. Between 1991 and 1997 about P379 million was spent on human resource development, increasing annually by 9%.[41]

These educational policies have managed to localize a wide range of positions previously held by expatriates. However, income and position/rank held by nationals do not appear to be commensurate with that of expatriate staff. Meanwhile, job opportunities in South Africa are often more appealing. Vacant positions in Botswana that require a Masters degree may only require a Bachelors degree in South Africa and salaries are often better. A further source of frustration amongst skilled Batswana is the perceived failure of many recent University of Botswana graduates to realize their dreams of accelerated promotion in Botswana.

These concerns are strictly anecdotal, however. Statistical data on permanent emigration does not exist in Botswana (Botswana citizens are not required to complete immigration forms when leaving or entering the country) and there has never been any systematic or representative empirical research on the more qualitative aspects of skilled emigration from the country.

This study is an attempt to redress this research gap by providing baseline data on what skilled Batswana are thinking about emigration, whether they have emigrated in the past, and what their plans are for the future. After a brief outline of the methodologies used, and a description of the interview sample, the chapter discusses the "emigration potential" of skilled Batswana: i.e. how likely is it that skilled

Batswana will leave the country, how often have they considered leaving, where would they go, and so on? The chapter then assesses whether or not this emigration potential is a concern. In other words, does Botswana face an emigration exodus in the foreseeable future? The final section of the chapter looks at the decision-making factors related to emigration: what is it that keeps people in Botswana and what is it that may motivate them to leave?

In sum, it would appear that Botswana is not facing an immediate "brain drain" crisis. Ongoing efforts to localize skilled positions in both the public and private sector, continued investments in higher education and a relatively strong economy and currency serve to encourage skilled Batswana to stay in the country and to attract back foreign-trained Batswana. Nevertheless, strong economies in South Africa and Namibia, as well as opportunities in Europe and North America, combined with frustrations about the lack of income parity with expatriates and limited upward mobility could create the conditions for increased emigration in the near future. The Government of Botswana would be advised to monitor this situation and to generate regular and useful information on emigration statistics and expectations.

Survey Methodology

The intent of the survey was to interview a wide range of public and private sector professionals in areas deemed to be important to the development of Botswana. For logistical and budgetary reasons it was not possible to include every sector of the economy but the sample frame did include the private sector, the Ministries of Education, Health, Finance and Development Planning, the University of Botswana, the Botswana Institute of Accounting, the Botswana Institution of Engineers, and the Botswana Law Society. All these organizations were informed about the study and were requested to furnish a complete list of all their members and skilled personnel, nationwide. The information provided included names, rank, postal address and telephone numbers. The information from government ministries also included pay scales which helped distinguish between "skilled" and "unskilled" employees.

A smaller list of interviewees was then drawn from the master list using random selection methods, with the exception of the University of Botswana where random sample selection was done using the internal telephone directory. This initial sampling procedure gave a list of 900 possible interviewees, 80% of whom were sent a questionnaire by mail and 20% of whom received a hand-delivered questionnaire.

The research assistants were university students. After a week of training, the research assistants did the actual selection of samples, stamped, addressed and posted or hand-delivered the questionnaire packages and made follow-up telephone calls and visits to retrieve completed questionnaires within Gaborone. Each questionnaire package included a stamped envelope for easy return of completed questionnaires to the researchers. With very few exceptions, respondents preferred to complete the questionnaires themselves. Thus the canvasser method of enumeration was not applied, as was initially intended. Though attempts were made to retrieve completed questionnaires from respondents working outside Gaborone, almost all of them were returned by post. The survey was done between 10th August and 30th October, 1998 and the waiting period for completed questionnaires was up to the end of November 1998.

A total of 226 people returned the completed questionnaires for a response rate of 25.1% – a normal response rate for mail-out surveys. The data were then entered into an SPSS database.

PROFILE OF THE SAMPLE

As outlined in Table 3.1, the sample is drawn from a wide range of professions in the country. Education, health care and accounting make up the bulk of the interviewees, but there are also dentists, lawyers, graphic designers, radio producers and public relations officers included in the sample.

In terms of gender, 38% of the sample were men and 62% were women (Table 3.2). This gender ratio is due in large part to the high number of (female) nurses that responded to the questionnaire,

Table 3.1: Current Occupation of Respondents

Occupation	Number	Percent
Nursing	50	22
Accounting/auditing/finance	36	16
Other	28	12
Education (administration)	25	11
Lecturer/Professor	22	10
Teacher	16	7
Management	12	5
Statistician	12	5
Lawyer	11	5
Engineering	5	2
Dental/medical	5	2
Lab technician/analyst	4	2
TOTAL	226	99

Note: Percent columns do not add to 100% due to rounding.

however, and is not necessarily representative of the gender profile of skilled Batswana in general.

The average age of the sample is 37.5 years and just over half (53%) of the sample are either married or co-habitating with a partner, suggesting a relatively established demographic profile for the sample as a whole. Respondents also have an average of 4.1 dependents and 3.2 partial dependents, implying a significant degree of domestic responsibility (financial and otherwise).

Income levels of the sample vary considerably, from less than P2700 per month in joint household earnings to over P53,000 per month (before tax). One in five of the respondents interviewed reported household earnings of more than P16,700 per month – a considerable income by any Southern African standards, particularly when one takes into account the strength of the national currency (the Pula) relative to other currencies in the region. However, 43% of the sample is earning less than P4,300 per month in joint household income and 36% of the respondents said they only made it through the last 12 months by spending some of their savings and/or borrowing additional cash. It should also be noted that the modal point for joint monthly incomes is approximately P6000 per month – P4000 per month lower than that of skilled immigrants living in Botswana (see Chapter 4), giving credence to the oft heard complaint amongst skilled Batswana that they are paid less than skilled migrants in the country. However, the samples used in the two studies are not directly comparable in terms of occupations so it is difficult to draw a firm conclusion in this regard.

In terms of education, the largest portion of the sample (32%) hold a diploma from a college while a further 26% hold a bachelors degree, and 21% a Masters degree. Only 1% of the sample has a doctoral degree. The majority (64%) received their highest educational qualification in Botswana. Of those who obtained their certificates outside the country, the UK was the most popular location (16%), followed by the United States (10%). Although it costs less economically (and in terms of cultural and psychological stress) to study in neighbouring South Africa, only 2% of the sample completed their highest degree there.

It should be stressed, however, that the self-selecting sample is not entirely representative of the pool of skilled Batswana living in the country. Doctors, for example, are not well represented and women are disproportionately represented for the reasons described above. Nevertheless, the sample is the largest and most widely representative group of skilled Batswana interviewed to date and serves as a useful and methodologically sound indicator of the experiences and attitudes of this important group of people.

Table 3.2: Demographic of the Sample	
Gender	**%**
Male	38
Female	62
Average age	**37.5 years**
Race	**%**
African	96
White	2
Coloured	2
Household monthly incomes (before tax)	**%**
Less than P 2,700	11
P 2,800 - P 5,400	32
P 5,500 - P 8,200	15
P8,300 - P11,000	12
P11,100 - P16,600	10
P16,700 - P 30,600	6
P31,700 - P41,800	5
More than P44,700	9
Highest educational qualification	**%**
Less than high school certificate	3
Diploma without high school certificate	7
High school certificate	8
Diploma with high school certificate	32
Bachelors degree	26
Honours degree	1
Post Graduate Diploma	1
Masters degree	21
Doctorate	1

EMIGRATION POTENTIAL

In order to try and determine the "emigration potential" of skilled Batswana, we asked a series of questions related to how much consideration people have given to the idea of emigrating, their desire to emigrate and the likelihood of emigrating. The extent to which people have considered emigration is outlined in Table 3.3, where it is evident that the majority (58%) of the sample have never given it any consideration. However, 13% of the sample have given it a "great deal" of consideration and fully 28% have given it "some" consideration.

We then asked respondents how much they "want" to emigrate and

Table 3.3: Consideration Given to Moving to Another Country	
How much consideration have you given to moving to another country to live and work?	**%**
Great deal	13
Some	28
None at all	58
Don't know	1
N=222	

"how likely" it is that would emigrate. In both cases people were given the option of emigrating for "less than two years" and for "more than two years". The results are outlined in Table 3.4 and show that respondents are more likely to say they would move for a short period of time than they would for a longer period of time. In other words, temporary migration as opposed to permanent emigration is the preference. Nevertheless, 20% of the sample said they want to move to another country for more than two years "to a great extent" and another 33% said they would want to do this "to some extent".

When it comes to the "likelihood" of moving, only 4% said it was "very likely" that they would leave the country for less than two years and only 8% said it was very likely that they would leave for more than two years. More importantly, only 1% of the respondents said that it was very likely that would leave the country in the next six months (Table 3.5). There was a slight increase in the number of people that said it was very likely that would leave in the next two years or the next five years but these figures are still quite low, suggesting that there is

Table 3.4: Desire and Likelihood of Emigration

	Desire to move to another country for less than two years	Desire to move to another country for more than two years		Likelihood of ever moving to another country for less than 2 years	Likelihood of ever moving to another country for more than 2 years
To a great extent	19	20	Very likely	4	8
To some extent	40	33	Likely	25	19
Hardly at all	12	13	Unlikely	35	25
Not at all	21	28	Very unlikely	28	37
Don't know	7	7	Don't know	7	12

Table 3.5: Likelihood of Emigrating in Six Months, Two Years or Five Years

	Very Likely	Likely	Unlikely	Very Unlikely	Do Not Know
In the next six months	1	2	21	70	6
In the next two years	2	10	26	55	45
In the next five years	7	13	18	45	17
N = 189					

very little likelihood of a mass exodus of skilled Batswana in the foreseeable future.

Interestingly, women were more likely than men to want to emigrate and slightly more likely than men to say that there was a good likelihood that they would emigrate. This could be due to the fact that most of the women interviewed were in professions (i.e. nursing and education) where there are many opportunities outside of Botswana but it could also be a reflection of the growing mobility of women in Southern Africa in general.[42] In terms of age, younger respondents were more likely to say that they want to migrate than older respondents. Similarly, unmarried respondents were more likely to want to emigrate than married respondents, as were those with few or no children/dependents. These findings fit with international trends on migration, where it is generally younger, single, and less attached people that are more likely to migrate.

There was also a slightly higher propensity amongst degree holders to emigrate than non-degree holders. Interestingly, respondents with higher incomes are slightly less likely to be interested in emigration - perhaps because they are satisfied with their income situation in Botswana. In terms of occupations, lawyers and accountants would appear to be most the most likely candidates for emigration.

When asked what would be the "most preferred" country to live and work in if they were ever to leave Botswana, the most popular responses were the United States (27%), South Africa (21%), Britain (19%) and Namibia (8%). The rest of the responses were scattered amongst Australasian, European and African states. When asked the "most likely" destination if they were ever to leave Botswana, the same general set of countries emerge, but South Africa becomes the most common response (26%) and Britain drops to only 12%. Clearly, South Africa looms large on the list of potential emigration destinations – unsurprisingly given the physical proximity of the country, the cultural and linguistic linkages between the two countries, and the wide range of opportunity in a relatively diverse South African economy.

When asked how long they would stay in their most likely destination if they "had to leave Botswana", just over half (52%) said they would want to stay for less than 2 years but a third said they would stay for 2-5 years and 15% said they would stay for more than 5 years.

LEVEL OF COMMITMENT TO BOTSWANA

A large majority of the respondents surveyed have a very strong attachment to Botswana and are indeed quite patriotic. Over 80% expressed strong feelings of pride in being citizens of Botswana and approximately 70% said they hope their children will have the same feelings towards the country. Another 80% said they have a "strong desire" to assist in building Botswana's economy and society. This last point is reinforced by the fact that 60% of respondents disagreed with the statement that "It really does not matter where one is a citizen as long as the person has a good quality of life" (although 34% of skilled nationals did agree with this statement, with the rest being "unsure").

The skilled Batswana interviewed are also overwhelmingly trustful of their national government, with more than 90% saying that they "trust the government to do what is right". Another 82% of respondents agreed with the statement that "it would be justified for the government to pass legislation requiring citizens of Botswana to work in the country for several years after completion of their education". It should be noted here that a policy of national service (Tirelo Sechaba[43]) has been in effect in Botswana since the early 1980s, and has been generally well received, which may have influenced these results. Nevertheless, the highly positive responses are no doubt also a reflection of the generally high levels of satisfaction with government performance and the role that the state plays in development initiatives in the minds of the respondents.

This commitment to Botswana is further illustrated by the very low number of respondents (2%) who are interested in seeking citizenship in another country. As many as 96% said they are unwilling to give up their Botswana citizenship. Likewise, only a few would sell their house, take all their savings, or take all their investments out of Botswana if they were to leave the country (3%, 4% and 5%, respectively).

The only point where respondents qualified their commitment to Botswana was (revealingly) on issues of taxation. Less than 40% of skilled Batswana feel the government would be justified in requiring its citizens to pay a larger share of their income in taxes according to the ability to pay. Indeed, only 36% consider the tax level in Botswana to be better than that in South Africa, USA, UK and Australia and less than 30% feel that their relative share of taxes paid to the government is better than what applies in these other countries. Finally, less than half of those surveyed (49%) feel the government of Botswana would be justified in requiring citizens to pay taxes on income earned outside Botswana.

In sum, the majority of respondents are not interested in long-term emigration but there are a significant number that say they would leave the country if they had the opportunity (or were forced to leave for personal or economic reasons) and would stay out of the country for variable periods of time. These figures are not cause for alarm – particularly given the fact that very few respondents said they plan to leave in the near future and so many are clearly committed to Botswana – but they should not be ignored, and suggest that the government of Botswana and employers of skilled personnel do need to take the question of skilled emigration seriously. If there were to be a dramatic downturn in the economy in Botswana, for example, it is possible that the number of potential migrants could increase significantly, leaving Botswana with a serious skills shortage.

DECISION-MAKING FACTORS

COMPARING BOTSWANA TO OTHER COUNTRIES

In an effort to try and understanding the decision-making process on emigration, we asked a series of questions about how they compare Botswana to the country which they indicated as the "most likely destination" (MLD) if they were to leave Botswana. The results reveal three interesting trends (Table 3.6). On the one hand, respondents clearly feel that Botswana offers them more security in terms of job tenure and the safety of oneself and one's family. On the other hand, respondents clearly feel that opportunities for job advancement and income are much better outside of Botswana along with social services like schools, medical services, public amenities, shopping, and customer service. Finally, there is a

Table 3.6: Comparison of Conditions in Botswana and MLD

	Better in Botswana	About the Same	Better in Most Likely Destination (MLD)	Don't Know
Your personal safety	61	18	10	11
Your family's safety	60	20	9	11
The security of your job	52	17	15	16
The future of your children in Botswana	48	13	30	9
Overall living conditions	41	17	36	6
Cost of living	41	16	40	3
Your level of taxation	36	17	13	35
Ability to find the house you want to live in	33	16	23	18
Your job	31	13	49	7
The relative share of taxes you pay in comparison to others	29	17	14	40
Prospects for professional advancement	20	15	57	8
Your level of income	20	11	60	9
Ability to find medical services for your family and children	16	17	57	10
Ability to find a good school for your children	13	13	65	9
Availability of affordable quality products	11	10	70	9
Upkeep of public amenities (e.g. Parks, beaches, toilets etc.)	9	13	66	12
Customer service	8	21	44	17

polarization of responses on some of the indices, with respondents equally divided on which country had the better overall living conditions, cost of living, quality of job, ability to find a good house, and the future of one's children.

It would appear, therefore, that it is only job security and safety where skilled Batswana feel that Botswana is clearly better than their MLD. These are important issues, of course, and could well be decisive in keeping skilled people in the country. If safety or job security were to become a concern it could very well tip the balance in favour of emigration. Alternatively, if social services were improved it could well convince those who are thinking about emigrating to stay in the country. Indeed, on almost every index, those who think conditions are better in their MLD are also more likely to have given a lot of consideration to emigrating. This association is particularly strong with respect to opportunities for professional advancement and income.

POSSIBLE REASONS FOR LEAVING BOTSWANA

We also asked which factors would be most likely to cause them to want to stay in Botswana and which would be most likely to cause them to leave. Not surprisingly, the primary factor influencing a decision to leave is prospects for professional advancement (Table 3.7). This reason

Table 3.7: Possible Reasons for Emigrating

Reason to Emigrate	Proportion of total sample citing as reason for wanting to emigrate(%)	Proportion of those who "have considered emigrating" citing this as reason for wanting to emigrate(%)
Prospects for Professional Advancement	27	29
Income	19	27
Cost of Living	19	18
Ability to find Good School for Child	11	4
Respondent's Job	6	12
Ability to find Good Medical Services	3	1
Personal/Family Safety	4	1
Availability of Quality Goods	2	4
Customer Services	2	2
Future of Children in Botswana	2	0
Ability to find Good Housing	1	0
Taxation	1	1
Job Security	1	0
Upkeep of Public Amenities	1	0
Other	2	1
N	180	84

comprised 27% of valid reasons for all skilled Batswana and 29% for those who have considered emigrating. Income is a close second for those who have considered migrating (27%) but is not quite as important for the sample as a whole. Cost of living, a factor directly related to income and taxation, appears as the third most important factor that may influence a skilled Motswana to emigrate.

Also not surprising is the fact that few respondents listed job security as a possible reason for wanting to emigrate. In fact, it has zero effect on those who have considered emigrating, once again underscoring the high levels of job assurance for skilled nationals in the country. Housing, personal safety and children's future in Botswana also have little effect on the consideration to emigrate, as do other social services like public amenities, shopping and medical services, suggesting that these may not be critical decision-making factors.

It is interesting to note, however, that the ability to find good schools for children in Botswana has much less effect (4%) on those who have considered emigrating than those who have never considered emigrating (11%). This may be due to the fact that those respondents who have considered emigrating tend to have higher incomes and are therefore not as likely to be able to send their children to expensive private schools of their choice in Botswana. The fact that the ability to find good medical services for one's family and children in Botswana is less a factor in the migration decision process among those who have considered migrating is probably due to the same reason. Gaborone Private Hospital and several private clinics in Gaborone and Francistown offer very good medical service.

POSSIBLE REASONS FOR STAYING IN BOTSWANA

The reasons given for staying in Botswana are essentially a reverse of the reasons given for leaving (Table 3.8), with personal/family safety and job security constituting the two most important factors. Cost of living is the third factor and illustrates the polarization in attitudes on this subject referred to above. It is noteworthy that the survey was conducted at about the time that salaries of government staff and related organizations were increased by 25%. The initial expectations which followed this increase may explain at least some of the respondents' positive view towards cost of living in the country.

The second column in Table 3.8 gives the responses of those who have "never considered migrating". These responses are effectively the same as the total sample and suggest a high degree of consensus amongst skilled Batswana on the factors that would influence them to stay in the country.

Table 3.8: Possible Reasons for Staying in Botswana		
Reason for staying in Botswana	**Proportion of total sample who cited this as a possible reason for staying in Botswana**	**Proportion of those who said they have "never considered migrating" citing this as a reason for staying in Botswana (%)**
Personal / Family Safety	36	39
Job Security	26	25
Cost of Living	11	11
Respondent's Job	6	6
Taxation	6	4
Prospects for Professional Advancement	4	3
Income	5	4
Future of Children in Botswana	2	3
Ability to find Good Housing	2	3
Ability to find Good School for Child	1	–
Ability to find Good Medical Services	1	1
Being at Home	1	–
N	168	177

THE ROLE OF INFORMATION IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

Information plays a role in the migration decision-making process. As evidenced in Table 3.9, respondents who have given a "great deal of consideration" to emigrating are far more likely to have obtained information about living conditions and job opportunities in other countries on a regular basis. Whether the consideration to emigrate came first or the search for information came first is impossible to determine from the data, but there is a clear and very strong relationship between the two, with newspapers and professional journals being a source of information for a large majority of those who have given a lot of consideration to emigration. Interestingly, a significant number of those who said they have not given any consideration to emigration still seek information on living conditions and job opportunities elsewhere, suggesting that there may be some latent potential here for them to also consider migration. In total, approximately one-third of the entire sample said they "often" use newspapers and journals for information on living conditions and jobs in other countries.

ABILITY TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY

The likelihood of migration is also a factor affecting one's ability to actually leave the country. We therefore asked respondents "how easy or difficult it would be for them to go and work in another country if they

Table 3.9: The Role of Information in Decision Making			
	Amount of Consideration Given to the Possibility of Emigrating		
Source of information for those (in each category) who "often" get information about living conditions in other countries			
	A Great Deal	Some	None at All
Professional journals/ newsletters	52	41	30
Newspapers	76	59	47
Friends	66	23	25
Family	45	24	13
Professional associations	45	31	27
Source of information for those (in each category) who "often" get information about job opportunities in other countries			
Professional journals/ newsletters	69	27	21
Newspapers	76	36	24
Friends	48	10	9
Family	38	11	6
Professional associations	45	15	12

wanted to" and whether or not they would be able to afford moving to another country. The results are presented in Table 3.10 and suggest that over a third (39%) of respondents would be able to leave the country if they wanted to and approximately one quarter (26%) would be able to afford it. The flip-side of these responses is that 43% said they would find it difficult to leave the country and 52% said they would not be able to afford it – once again underlining the fact that although some emigration may occur, mass emigration is highly unlikely in the near future.

THE ROLE OF FAMILY IN DECISION MAKING

Decisions about international migration usually involve more than just the potential migrant. We therefore asked who would be the final decision maker on the question of emigration and what role family encouragement (or discouragement) plays in this process. Table 3.11 presents the findings for the sample as a whole, from which it is apparent that most families would discourage emigration. No doubt this would have an influence on the decision-making process, despite the fact that over two-thirds (68%) said that they would be the final decision makers.

Proof of this family influence is seen in the strong correlation between those who say they have given a "great deal" of consideration to emigration and those who say their families would encourage them to go. Those who said they had not considered emigration were more likely to say their family would discourage it. Furthermore, those who have given a lot of consideration to emigrating are more likely to claim to be the final decision makers on these issues.

Table 3.10: Ability to Leave Botswana	
Ease of Leaving Botswana to Go and Work in Another Country (%)	
Very Easy	11
Easy	28
Difficult	24
Very Difficult	19
Don't Know	18
N=222	
Affordability of Costs of Traveling to Another Country and Finding a Good Home (%)	
Very Affordable	3
Affordable	23
Unaffordable	35
Very Unaffordable	17
Don't Know	22
N=221	

Table 3.11: The Role of Family in Decision Making	
Would your family tend to encourage or discourage you from leaving Botswana?	
Strongly encourage	6
Encourage	9
Neither	14
Discourage	28
Strongly discourage	33
Don't know	10
N=187	

CONCLUSION

Based on the interviews in this study it seems unlikely that Botswana faces a major exodus of skilled nationals in the foreseeable future. The economy is relatively buoyant, the currency is strong and the state continues to invest significant resources into training and localization. More tellingly, the vast majority of those interviewed are generally happy with conditions in Botswana, proud to be a citizen of the country and trust the government. There are clearly areas where respondents would like to see conditions improve in Botswana (e.g. social services, room for professional advancement) but these do not appear to be fatal flaws – at least not yet.

These largely positive results are not grounds for complacency, however. Rather, they should be seen as an indication of what Botswana is doing well and what it is doing less well in terms of retaining skilled Batswana. The results should be seen as a warning sign of what could happen if the economy were to stumble, if the government were seen to be corrupt or if personal safety were to become a problem.

The present study has succeeded in identifying the major concerns (good and bad) of skilled Batswana when it comes to emigrating and many of the key decision-making criteria. Future studies should expand the number of professions interviewed and also interview policy makers and public and private sector executives with the aim of obtaining information on hiring practices/obstacles and attitudes towards policy reform. What, for example, would policy makers and employers have to say about the perceived limits of professional advancement or the apparent differential between the salaries of skilled Batswana and skilled immigrants? As Southern Africa heads towards a more unified and globalized future, skilled migration is only going to grow in importance and the government of Botswana would be well advised to monitor and address these issues in a proactive, rather than a reactive, manner.

CHAPTER FOUR
SKILLED MIGRANTS IN BOTSWANA: A STABLE BUT TEMPORARY WORKFORCE

JOHN O. OUCHO

Botswana became independent in 1966 with an economy that revolved around animal husbandry and little more. When diamond mining began in the 1970s, the country underwent rapid transformation and the country's economy began to grow. Today, Botswana has one of the most vibrant and fastest growing economies in Sub-Saharan Africa, and, as a result has also become a major destination for migrants from all over the world – particularly skilled migrants.

The purpose of this chapter is to assess the attitudes of these skilled immigrants: why did they come to Botswana, what do they do in Botswana, how long do they intend to stay. It is hoped that this information will lead to a better understanding of the role that skilled foreigners play in the socio-economic make-up of Botswana and what their plans are for the future. Are skilled people from outside the country happy with Botswana? Is there anything that the government of Botswana can do, or should be doing, to attract or retain skilled immigrants in the country?

Currently, the Government of Botswana has an informal policy of "promotional entry" where it tries to attract skilled personnel from other countries to fill critical areas of skills shortage (e.g. doctors, university professors). Moreover, the Directorate of Public Service Management has been sending recruitment missions all over the world to recruit skilled personnel. It is critical, therefore, to have a better understanding of skilled migration into the country and what the future may hold. This research is the first attempt to systematically evaluate the experiences and attitudes of skilled immigrants in Botswana and sheds light on a wide range of issues.

The chapter consists of six sections. The first section provides an overview of the country's economy, population and government policy as they relate to skilled immigration. The second section explains the methodology used to select respondents, collect and analyze data, and presents the profile of the sample in terms of their demographic and socio-economic characteristics, economic status before and after immigration into Botswana, and their work status in the country. The conditions experienced by these skilled immigrants while living in Botswana is the focus of section three. This discussion includes foreigners' relations with Batswana, their perceived treatment in the country, their perceived socio-economic status, and their social relations and networks. Section four is a discussion of how skilled immigrants compare Botswana with their home country and a third country. The responses provide useful insights into the reasons for emigration from, and maintenance of links with, the home country, as well as the possibility of returning there or moving to a third country. Section five reports on the nature and extent of the maintenance of links with the home country. Indices of such links investigated include periodic return home and remittances made to the home country – their frequency, recipients and value. Finally, the chapter offers some recommendations for policy as well as future research.

Botswana as a Migration Destination

Most sub-Saharan African countries have been in economic decline for the past two decades.

Of the few African countries which have recorded economic growth, Botswana has exhibited an unusual economic resilience, largely attributable to its political stability and rich diamond deposits. In the three decades since independence, the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita has increased from P1,683 in 1966 to P7,863 in 1994/95,[44] growing at an average annual rate of 6.1%.[45] With the exception of Seychelles and Mauritius, the country also had the most impressive Human Development Index of all the SADC member states (0.741 in 1993), although this dropped slightly to 0.678 in 1995.[46]

Incorporated in this impressive record is the development of infrastructure. The length of tarred roads increased nearly twenty times from 219 kilometres in 1975 to 4,177 kilometres in 1995, while ownership of motor vehicles went from 15,400 to 191,500 in the same time period. Domestic electricity generation increased from 270 million kwh in 1975 to 1,040 million kwh in 1995 and the number of telephone subscribers went from virtually nothing to 50,477 by 1995.[47] These are dramatic strides by any measure and demonstrate the relative prosperity that the country and its nationals have enjoyed in the first thirty years of independence while much of Sub-Saharan Africa has witnessed decline. The National Development Plan 8 expects that this prosperity will continue, with real economic growth projected at 4.5% per annum over the period 1995/96 to 2020/21, a rate higher than the growth rate of population.[48]

Source Countries of Legal In-Migration

The importance of Botswana as an immigration country is attested by

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 which report African and non-African sources of immigration into the country before 1992. African immigrants were mainly from South Africa, followed by Zimbabwe in the two census years 1981 and 1991. While the majority originated from SADC countries, the non-SADC countries of Ghana, Uganda, Kenya and Nigeria play an appreciable role in the immigration equation. This country-of-origin mix is rare in a small population such as Botswana's and attests to the country's growing importance as an immigration country in Africa.

Non-African immigration involves a good spread of countries in Europe, Asia, America and Oceania (Table 4.2). More than half of immigration was from Europe with the United Kingdom accounting for about 53% in 1981 and 64% in 1991 of all Europeans. Asia accounted for a mere 14% of total immigration in 1981 but almost 40% of all non-African immigration. India accounted for just above half of the Asian total, followed by China with approximately one-fifth. American immigration was predominantly from the United States. Oceania's immigration was insignificant.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

Data collection for the survey was based on a sampling of employees of five principal employers in Botswana: staff of the University of Botswana; members of the Institution of Engineers; members of the Botswana Law

Table 4.1: African Population of Botswana by Country of Origin (1981 and 1991)

Country of Citizenship	Census			
	1981		1991	
	Number	%	Number	%
South Africa	3807	44	6254	34
Zimbabwe	2375	27	5308	29
Zambia			2154	12
Malawi	234	3	771	4
Angola	403	5	596	3
Ghana	93	1	569	3
Lesotho	464	5	547	3
Tanzania			498	3
Uganda			319	2
Mauritius			316	2
Namibia	521	6	310	2
Kenya			132	1
Swaziland	125	1	117	1
Nigeria	99	1	117	1
Rest of Africa	612	7	331	2
Total	8733	100	18538	100

Note: Percentages may not total to 100% due to rounding

Table 4.2: Resident Population from Europe, Asia, America, and Oceania (1981 and 1991)				
Country of Citizenship	**Census**			
	1981		**1991**	
	Number	**%**	**Number**	**%**
Europe				
Denmark			110	2
Germany			359	6
Ireland			200	4
Italy			174	3
Norway			125	2
Netherlands			203	4
Portugal			148	3
Sweden			140	3
United Kingdom	3650	73	3559	64
Yugoslavia			104	2
Rest of Europe	1335	27	484	9
Total	**4985**	**100**	**5606**	**100**
Asia				
China			946	23
India			2128	51
Pakistan			157	4
Sri Lanka			431	10
Rest of Asia			531	13
Total	**946**	**100**	**4193**	**100**
Americas				
United States	631	81	653	74
Canada	122	16	121	14
Rest of Americas	23	3	107	12
Total	**776**	**100**	**881**	**100**
Oceania				
Australia			130	84
Rest of Australia			25	16
Total	**179**	**100**	**155**	**100**
Note: Percentages may not total to 100% due to rounding				

Society drawn from the law firms registered with the society; members of the Association of Accountants; and three key Government Ministries (Health [where lists of doctors and nurses were available], Education, and Finance and Development Planning). Other professional institutions who had been approached to provide lists of their employees failed to provide the information in time and were unfortunately dropped from the survey. The sample is therefore not representative of all skilled sectors in the country but it does provide a representation of key skilled occupations – both in the public and private sector.

From these lists of professions, a random, unstratified sample of non-Botswana citizens was generated and a total of 850 questionnaires were dispatched in August 1998 in two ways. First, research assistants hand-delivered questionnaires to the prospective respondents in the Gaborone area. On delivery of the questionnaires, the research assistants requested an appointment for face-to-face interviews. Where this was not possible, respondents were asked to complete the questionnaires and return them by mail to the research coordinator, using pre-stamped and addressed envelopes. Second, the research assistants mailed questionnaires and followed them up after some time to determine whether the questionnaires, in pre-stamped envelopes, had been mailed back to the research office. By November, 1998, 140 surveys had been completed (either in person or sent in by mail). Of these, 15 had to be discarded, leaving a total sample size of 125 individuals (or 14.7% of the initial list).

One possible explanation for this relatively low return rate (25% is normal for most mail surveys) is that some skilled immigrants suspected that the research was meant to elicit information which was either too confidential or which could be prejudicial to their tenure as expatriate workers in Botswana. Although some of these prospective respondents called the research coordinator's office for assurance, they were still reluctant to complete and return questionnaires or have them collected. Nonetheless, the sample size is adequate for purposes of providing insights into skilled foreigners in Botswana and for application of inferential statistical analysis where applicable. Most importantly, the sample represents a broad cross-section of important skills areas (see below) and thereby provides invaluable insight into this hitherto under-researched group of non-citizens in Botswana.

A Profile of the Sample Population

The skilled immigrants in our sample originate mainly from African, European and Asian countries (Table 4.3). Interestingly, despite the fact that we did not sample by country of origin, our sample is nevertheless similar to that of the universal sample of immigrants enumerated in the 1981 and 1991 censuses (see Tables 4.1 and 4.2), suggesting a high degree of representivity and limited change in the 1990s. Approximately 60% of the sample come from Africa, with South Africa emerging as the most important country of origin, followed by Zambia, Zimbabwe, Ghana, Tanzania and Kenya. Of the European source countries, the United Kingdom emerges (not unexpectedly) as the single most important country of origin, but a striking feature of the European immigration is the spread of origins in Western and Eastern Europe. Those of Asian origin are dominated by India (also not unexpectedly), followed by Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. Finally, North America the Caribbean and Oceania are unimportant origins, though the case of the United States is contradicted by census data and may represent a low response rate. In racial terms, 50% of the sample was African, 36% white, 12% Asian and 2% coloured.

The official status of the sample is overwhelmingly "work permit holder" (85%). Only one person among the respondents had permanent residence, 3% had temporary residence and 11% hold exemption certificates. The reason for this pattern will become clear later.

As evidenced in Table 4.4, the occupational spread of the sample fits with the targeted categories of "skilled" professions, with the largest number of interviewees being in a medically-related field. It is also worth noting that 90% of the sample were employed full-time in their home countries before coming to Botswana, with an additional 8% and 1% being self-employed in the formal and informal sector respectively.

While the average age of internal migration in Sub-Saharan African countries is 20-29 years, it is generally higher in international skilled migration – a rule that is supported by this sample with a mean age of 42.[49] This result is also consistent with the stepwise migration hypothesis which suggests that most skilled foreigners must first have worked and gained experience in their own or other countries before migrating to Botswana.

Also unsurprising is the finding that the highest percentage of skilled foreigners in this random sample are males, accounting for 85% of the total. Men have traditionally dominated cross-border migration in Sub-Saharan Africa and gender inequalities in terms of access to higher education. Access to senior managerial and professional positions has no doubt exacerbated these gender imbalances when it comes to skilled migration.

Nevertheless, it is equally evident that women are increasingly participating in cross-border movements in the region and it is likely that skilled women will come to feature more prominently in the area of skilled migration as well.[50] In fact, many of the spouses of the predominantly-male sample are already working in skilled or semi-skilled areas, suggesting a considerable skilled cohort of women is already in place in Botswana – if not by design then at least by default (Table 4.5). There is also the possibility that skilled female immigrants self-selected themselves out of the survey by not returning the questionnaires. Unfortunately, the census data does not allow us to cross-reference these gender statistics.

Some 84% of the sample is married, once again underscoring the fact that skilled migrants tend to be older and more established than non-skilled migrants.

Of the 123 skilled foreigners indicating their academic qualifications,

Table 4.3: Sample by Country of Origin				
Country and Region	Country of Passport		Home Country	
	Number	%	Number	%
Africa	**74**	**60**	**77**	**63**
South Africa	12	10	15	12
Cameroon	1	1	1	1
Liberia	1	1	1	1
Sierra Leone	1	1	1	1
Ghana	7	5	7	6
Nigeria	2	2	2	2
Sudan	1	1	1	1
Eritrea	-	-	1	1
Ethiopia	2	2	1	1
Kenya	8	7	7	6
Tanzania	6	5	7	6
Uganda	5	4	5	4
Burundi	1	1	1	1
Zimbabwe	8	7	8	7
Zambia	14	11	14	11
Malawi	5	4	5	4
Asia	**19**	**15**		**14**
India	11	9	11	9
Sri Lanka	4	3	4	3
Bangladesh	3	2	1	1
Israel	1	1	1	1
Europe	**25**	**21**		**20**
Netherlands	1	1	1	1
Belgium	1	1	1	1
Yugoslavia	1	1	1	1
United Kingdom	15	12	13	11
Norway	1	1	1	1
Germany	1	1	1	1
Ireland	3	4	3	2
Russian Republics	2	2	1	1
Bulgaria	1	1	3	2
North America and Caribbean	**4**	**3**	**3**	**2**
United States	2	2	2	2
Canada	1	1	-	-
Trinidad and Tobago	1	1	1	1
Oceania	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**
Australia	1	1	1	1
Total	**124**	**100**	**123**	**100**

Table 4.4: Occupation of Interviewees		
Current Occupation	**Number**	**%**
Medical practitioner/doctor	21	19
Accountant	20	18
Professor/Lecturer	25	22
Finance Manager	9	8
Auditor	5	5
Radiographer	5	5
Director	3	3
Lawyer	3	3
Librarian	3	3
Specialist Surgeon	3	3
Financial controller	2	2
Manager/managerial office worker	2	2
Chief technical officer	1	1
Engineer (mining)	1	1
Graphic Designer	1	1
Speech Therapist	1	1
Physiotherapist	1	1
Vocational Training College Instructor	1	1
Technical advisor	1	1
Education Officer	1	1
Cosmetologist	1	1
Psychiatrist	1	1
N=111		

85% hold a Bachelors degree or higher, with fully 23% of the sample holding Doctorate degrees (due in part to the large sub-sample of university lecturers). The degrees themselves cover a wide range of disciplines, from chemistry to education to commerce, and represent a galaxy of reputable institutions in Africa, Europe, Asia and North America (e.g. Oxford, Yale, University of Cape Town, Chittigong Medical College).

The United Kingdom was the most common country of education, with 23% of the sample obtaining their highest qualifications in Britain. But African countries account for 46% of the educational institutions attended, with South Africa alone accounting for 14%. Interestingly, only 2% of the sample obtained their highest educational qualification in Botswana.

All in all, the sample represents a very highly qualified group of people with an impressive list of qualifications from 28 countries on four

Table 4.5: Occupations of Spouses of Interviewees		
Current Occupation	**Number**	**%**
Teacher/Lecturer	20	19
Nurse/Medical Technician	14	13
Professional Worker	10	9
Accountant	9	9
Managerial Office Worker	6	6
Employer/Manager of Establishment with less than 10 Employees	4	4
Lawyer	3	3
Medical Doctor/Practitioner	3	3
Engineer	2	2
Non-manual Office Worker	1	1
Services Worker	1	1
Supervisory Office Worker	1	1
Housewife/Househusband	30	29
N=104		

continents – a truly cosmopolitan source of expertise.

The joint monthly income of the sample (before tax) is shown in Table 4.6. Some 24% of the households earn an income of between P5,500-P8,200, and the mean monthly income is P6,517. It is also important to note that 29% of skilled foreigners earn between P8,300-P13,800 a month, 23% earn P19,500 and above, and 8% earn P53,000 or more. These are extremely high income levels by any standards in the SADC region.

BOTSWANA AS A HOST COUNTRY

This next section looks at Botswana as a host country. Are skilled immigrants happy living in Botswana? Do they feel they are well treated in the

Table 4.6: Joint Monthly Household Income Before Tax	
Income (in Pula)	**%**
P2,800-P5,400	11
P5,500-P8,200	24
P8,300-P11,000	18
P11,100-P13,800	12
P13,900-P16,600	9
P16,700-P22,200	6
P22,300-P33,400	7
P33,500-PP53,00	8
Over P53,00	8
N=125	
Mean = P6,517	

country by citizens and government? How do they perceive their personal situation in the country *vis-a-vis* other groups? And finally, do skilled immigrants feel they have an important role to play in the country?

For the overwhelming majority of respondents (70%), life is deemed to be better in Botswana than in their home country (Table 4.7). Only 4% said things are "worse" in Botswana, suggesting high levels of overall satisfaction. An overwhelming majority of respondents (83%) also said that their relations with Batswana are good, with only 3% saying they are "negative" (Table 4.8). Clearly the people interviewed in this survey are satisfied with their interactions with Batswana and with their overall life situation.

Surprisingly, therefore, almost half of the sample (46%) feel that foreigners are perceived negatively by Batswana (Table 4.9). These opinions take a turn for the better when it comes to the perceptions of the attitudes of co-workers and others in the respondent's profession, but there would appear to be a widespread unease with how they are perceived by the public at large.

This concern is also evident in two questions about "unfair treatment" in Botswana (Table 4.10). Over a third of respondents (36%) felt

Table 4.7: A Comparison of Life in Botswana and Home Country

Quality of Life in Botswana versus Home Country	%
Much better	10
Better	60
About the same	20
Worse	4
Don't know	6
N=124	

Table 4.8: Skilled Foreigners' Relations with Batswana

Relations with people from Botswana	%
Very positive	37
Positive	46
Neither positive or negative	14
Negative	2
Very negative	1
N=125	

Table 4.9: How Skilled Foreigners Think They Are Perceived by Batswana

	Positive (%)	Negative (%)	Neither/Don't Know (%)
By Batswana	30	46	24
By Co-workers	60	18	23
By People in Profession	64	12	26

that foreigners as a whole are treated unfairly by Batswana at least "to some extent", and about a quarter (24%) felt that they personally have been treated unfairly by Batswana. These figures are only 18% and 13% for perception of how the government of Botswana treats foreigners or them personally unfairly, suggesting once again an institutional behaviour which is more accommodating to skilled foreigners than the general public's reception. Nevertheless, it must be kept in mind that a majority of respondents have "hardly" or "never" been treated unfairly by Batswana citizens or government, underscoring the generally high levels of satisfaction with life in Botswana.

Respondents were also asked about their satisfaction with a range of socio-economic conditions (Table 4.11). With the interesting exception of "customer service", a large majority were either satisfied or neutral on

Table 4.10: Unfair Treatment in Botswana

	Large Extent	Some Extent	Hardly at All	Never	Don't Know
Unfair treatment of foreigners in general, by:					
Batswana	5	32	36	14	14
The government of Botswana	3	15	34	33	16
Unfair treatment personally, by:					
Batswana	2	22	36	36	4
The government of Botswana	3	11	31	51	5

Table 4.11: Perceived Socio-Economic Conditions in Botswana

Level of Satisfaction with:	Satisfied (%)	Neutral (%)	Dissatisfied (%)	Don't Know (%)
Your personal safety	77	15	6	2
Your family's safety	73	14	7	6
Your job	70	18	11	1
Your level of taxation	67	12	10	1
Ability to find medical services for your family and children	63	15	19	2
The relative share of taxes you pay in comparison to others	61	22	12	5
Availability of affordable quality products	56	23	20	1
Your level of income	55	20	25	–
Cost of living	52	17	31	–
The security of your job	49	30	20	2
Ability to find the house you want to live in	45	22	31	3
Ability to find a good school for your children	42	19	27	13
Prospects for professional advancement	39	23	35	4
Upkeep of public amenities	37	14	43	6
Customer service	28	15	60	1
The future of your children in Botswana	25	33	25	18

each of the points. Moreover, a large majority expect conditions in Botswana to remain the same or get better over the next five years, with only 24% saying they expect conditions to get worse.

These results also highlight the probable importance of non-economic factors in the retention of skilled immigrants in Botswana (e.g. housing, schooling for children, safety). As important as "Pula power" and high salaries may be, access to services like good health care and the safety of oneself and one's family undoubtedly play into the decision-making process. It seems evident from Table 4.11 that the majority do not have any major grievances on the social front.

When it came to comparisons with other groups in Botswana, the vast majority were again satisfied with their situation, saying that their personal conditions and that of foreigners as a whole are equal to, or better than, each of the groups we asked about (Table 4.12). Interestingly, these responses applied equally to comparisons between foreigners as well, suggesting a relative degree of socio-economic parity amongst the various nationalities represented in the sample.

Finally, the vast majority of the respondents feel that they have a role to play in the development of the country (Table 4.13). Fully 44% of the sample feel that they personally have a "major" role to play while an additional 50% feel they have "some role" to play. Only 1 out of 125 respondents felt they had no role to play. No doubt this is a reflection of the satisfaction that respondents have with their social and work lives in the country and the generally good relations they have with Batswana and corporate/government institutions. If people are made to feel that they belong then they are more likely to feel like they can contribute. The fact that 55% of the sample are involved in some kind of community association and 52% are involved "to some extent" in community service indicates a considerable amount of extra-curricular activity as well.

The only real concern with respect to the experience of the respondents living in Botswana is a concern with crime: 29% say they have been "harassed" and 29% say they have been "robbed". Only 4% claim

Table 4.12: Perceived Conditions of Skilled Foreigners Versus Other Groups in Botswana

	Better (%)	Same (%)	Worse (%)	Don't Know (%)
Other foreign residents living in Botswana	26	55	13	6
Other people from your home country living in Botswana	27	59	9	5
Citizens of Botswana	49	33	14	9
Other people in your profession	17	69	13	2
Other people in your economic class	9	76	13	2
Other people of your race	23	60	9	8
N=125				

Table 4.13: Perceived Role of Skilled Foreigners in Botswana					
	Major Role (%)	Some Role (%)	Minor Role (%)	No Role At All (%)	Don't Know (%)
You personally	44	50	5	1	–
Foreign residents who live here	47	44	6	1	2
People from your home country who live here	33	57	7	1	2
People in your economic class	45	49	5	1	1
People who share your home language	45	49	5	1	1
People of your race	28	55	10	3	4

to have been "assaulted" in Botswana, however, suggesting that the crime experienced by this group of foreigners is not particularly violent (and perhaps explaining why 77% of respondents said they were satisfied with their personal safety in Botswana (Table 4.11). Nevertheless, the high rates of robbery and harassment are of concern. There was also one reported case of rape.

CONTRASTING CONDITIONS

As noted earlier, the majority of the sample said that "life is better" in Botswana than their home country. This does not mean, however, that conditions in the home country are necessarily bad. In fact 44% of the sample said that conditions at home are "satisfactory" (Table 4.14). Moreover, close to half (45%) said they expect conditions in their home country to improve in the next five years.

Table 4.15 provides a more specific breakdown of how the home country compares with Botswana. It would appear that income-related issues are where Botswana is deemed better. Other important issues like schooling for children, job security, housing and prospects for professional advancement were actually deemed to be better in the home country by a majority of respondents, suggesting that most skilled foreigners in Botswana have opportunities and satisfactory conditions to go home to.[51]

This last point is reinforced by the fact that 98% of the sample have visited their home country on at least one occasion since being in

Table 4.14: Satisfaction with Overall Conditions in Home Country (%)	
How satisfied or unsatisfied are you with overall conditions in your home country?	
Very satisfied	10
Satisfied	34
Unsatisfied	35
Very unsatisfied	19
Don't know	3
N=124	

Table 4.15: Comparison of Conditions in Botswana and in Home Country			
	Better in Botswana (%)	About the Same/ Don't Know (%)	Better in Home Country (%)
Overall living conditions	60	33	7
Your level of taxation	66	21	13
Your level of income	64	21	16
Cost of living	55	16	29
The relative share of taxes you pay in comparison to others	49	38	14
Your personal safety	49	30	22
Your family's safety	48	32	20
Upkeep of public amenities (e.g. parks, beaches, toilets)	36	26	38
Your job	33	41	26
Availability of affordable quality products	32	26	40
The future of your children	27	27	46
Ability to find medical services for your children and family	25	29	46
Prospects for professional advancements	20	26	54
Customer service	20	20	60
Ability to find the house you want to live in	17	27	55
Ability to find a good school for your children	15	25	60
The security of your job	14	30	56
N=125			

Botswana and 29% return home "often". Furthermore, 61% own a house in their home country, 85% have a bank account in their home country and 56% have investments there. Only 28% have a job to return to at home, but presumably they gave up their job to come to Botswana. It should also be noted that 79% of the sample have sent remittances to friends and/or family in their home country – with 22% sending at least a quarter of their income.

The close ties of non-citizens with their home country is further evidenced by the responses given to the questions in Table 4.16. The sense of pride, attachment and responsibility to the home country comes out very clearly in these responses, and although there is strong resistance to the notion of paying taxes to the home government this does not mean they would necessarily want to avoid paying taxes if living *in situ*.

Nevertheless, this sense of close ties with the home country is balanced by the fact that a majority of the sample also appear to be very happy with the overall living conditions in Botswana. As a result, there is no reason to suspect a mass exodus of skilled foreign workers from Botswana in the near future. Skilled immigrants in the country do have options outside of Botswana that they would be happy to return to and a strong commitment to "home", but they also appear to be satisfied with their lives in Botswana.

Table 4.16: Skilled Foreigners' Views about Their Ties to the Home Country	
	% Who Agree
It makes you proud to be called a citizen of your country	83
Being a citizen of your country is an important part of how you see yourself	72
You would want your children to think of themselves as citizens of your home country	67
It is your duty to contribute your talents or skills to the development of your home country	53
	% Who Feel This is Justified
Require citizens to work in the home country for several years after completion of their education	47
Require citizens who have received government bursaries for education to complete some form of national service	78
Require citizens to pay taxes on all income earned outside of the country	9
Require citizens to pay a large share of their income in taxes according to their ability to pay	32
Require citizens to serve in the armed forces in cases of national emergency	57
Limit the amount of money you may send out of the country	18
N=123	

FUTURE PLANS

We also asked a series of questions about plans for the future. The results show a stable, but clearly temporary, cohort of skilled migrants. When asked how they plan to stay in Botswana, almost a third (31%) plan to stay for more than 5 years, while a further 22% say they will stay for up to five years, with a mean length of stay of four years (Table 4.17). Only 7% plan on leaving the country within one year.

Nevertheless, the majority of the sample still see themselves as temporary sojourners in Botswana. But as Table 4.18 attests, 50% are

Table 4.17: Intended Length of Stay in Botswana	
Planned Length of Stay	**%**
Less than six months	3
Six months to a year	4
One to two years	20
Up to five years	22
More than five years	31
Don't know	20
Mean length of expected stay = 4 years	
N=124	

Table 4.18: Desire to Stay in Botswana					
	To a Large Extent (%)	To Some Extent (%)	Hardly at All (%)	Not at All (%)	Don't Know (%)
Desire to become a permanent resident of Botswana	21	29	11	33	7
Desire to become a citizen of Botswana	12	21	15	42	10
Desire to retire in Botswana	7	25	15	39	14
Desire to be buried in Botswana	7	14	10	50	21
N = 121					

interested in becoming permanent residents of the country. Fewer want to become citizens, retire, or be buried in the country.

When asked where they would go if they were to leave Botswana, 52% said they would return to their home country and 39% said they would go to a third country (the remaining 9% did not know). Of the third country possibilities, the United States and Australia were the "preferred" destination (Table 4.19).

As many as 42% of respondents said they would leave Botswana if it became difficult for them to renew their work permits (Table 4.20). The fact that the overwhelming majority of respondents had no problem applying for their most recent permit would suggest that there is no danger of this happening in the near future, but it does highlight once again the potential "foot looseness" of this pool of skilled foreigners.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The following policy-relevant questions and recommendations arise from

Table 4.19: Preferred Third Country Destinations	
	%
USA	16
Australia	15
New Zealand	10
South Africa	10
Canada	8
Namibia	7
Britain	6
Malta	2
Mauritius	2
Uganda	2
Other	12
N=87	

Table 4.20: Ease of Obtaining Work Permit	
Ease of Obtaining Most Recent Work Permit	**%**
Very easy	38
Easy	43
Difficult	6
Very difficult	2
Have never had one	6
Don't know	5
N=117	
Response if Work Permit was Difficult to Get in the Future (%)	
Leave the country	42
Unsure	19
Reapply for another	25
I have permanent residence	2
Don't know	14
N=188	

the research:

- Given the importance of skilled immigrants to Botswana's economy, the government should regularly undertake to collect and analyze data on skilled migration. This administrative data source would complement census data which are less detailed and generally static. That the vast majority of skilled foreigners expect to return to their home countries at the end of their work in Botswana underscores the need to have regular and dynamic information gathering. Since this survey, some significant changes have already taken place which may accelerate return migration of skilled foreigners. One important change is the taxation of expatriates' gratuities from July 1999, which may deter expatriates from an already expensive country. Another is the withdrawal of fringe benefits such as fees subsidies for expatriate workers' children. These and other future developments could have important implications for what skilled immigrants think about Botswana and it is important to understand how social and economic policy may affect the conditions (real or perceived) of this group of people.
- Generally good relations between skilled immigrants and local Batswana bodes well for the future by creating an environment in which immigrants feel welcomed, thereby helping to attract and retain skilled people. But the government of Botswana cannot afford to be complacent on this point and should take heed of the concerns that many of the respondents expressed about

negative treatment by Batswana citizens and the (latent) xenophobia that some perceive amongst the general pubic. Botswana is not immune from these kinds of attitudes, and should there be a significant downturn in the local economy there could be a parallel reduction in the amount of goodwill shown to immigrants occupying key skilled positions. The government of Botswana would be well advised to take a pro-active approach to information generation and public education so as to avoid any serious xenophobic sentiments and activities in the future. This point applies to all types of migrants and refugees living in the country, of course, but may require a particular strategic focus for skilled immigrants.

- There is a need for the institutions from which the sample for the study was drawn, as well as other institutions that employ skilled people in Botswana, to quantify and qualify the roles of skilled immigrants *vis-a-vis* those of nationals as a means of undertaking strategic employment planning (for themselves and the government of Botswana).
- As skilled migrant workers are generally a transient population, they are inclined to keep moving wherever their personal and their families' conditions are likely to improve. Therefore, the government of Botswana in general, and employers in particular, should be sensitive to how their policies and policy changes on migration compare to those of other SADC states in particular. By not doing this, employers in Botswana will lose out to their counterparts in Namibia and South Africa. The competition for skilled personnel in the SADC region is becoming increasingly intense as SADC member states try to improve their economies, and in lieu of a more harmonized and/or regionalized approach to immigration in the region, the government of Botswana will need to be more cognizant of the policies and strategies of their neighbours when it comes to attracting and retaining skilled persons.
- While Botswana has provided a viable economic climate for skilled immigrants and immediate members of their families, it should complement this with a viable social climate (which migrants currently consider to be better in their home countries). If skilled immigrants were sure that they could own houses as easily as nationals, that their children and families would have better access to good schools and medical services and that socially they would mix easily with Batswana, they would have less reason to emigrate or relocate from Botswana soon.
- The general satisfaction with the economy of Botswana

notwithstanding, the declining trend in "Pula power" is a source of anxiety. Should expatriates be paid in hard currencies such as the US dollar or UK sterling? Should expatriates' fringe benefits be improved and those already withdrawn restored? Should expatriates' gratuities be taxed? These are questions which must draw the attention of policy makers as changes take place in the economic arena, especially because of the growing need for human resources in fast developing countries such as Botswana.

In conclusion, skilled immigrants appear to be satisfied with their situation in Botswana, and although most intend to return to their home country within a few years there is no reason to expect a mass exodus in the near future. As long as the country remains economically vibrant, politically stable and safe, it is very likely that skilled immigrants will continue to remain in, and be attracted to, Botswana.

But despite these generally positive findings it is clear that respondents in this survey show some concern with how they are perceived and treated by the general public in Botswana. There is also some displeasure expressed with respect to social amenities like housing and education. These latter points are too broad to make any specific policy recommendations, but they do underscore the need for more detailed and regular research to track the attitudes of skilled immigrants.

For policy makers in Botswana, this chapter will hopefully serve as a benchmark of information for reviewing the country's immigration policy and for addressing the fears and concerns of skilled foreigners. For the research community, the study is but the beginning of a process that should continue in international migration research in the region.

NOTES

1. See the SAMP website at http://www.queensu.ca/samp
2. John O. Oucho, "Regional Integration and Labour Mobility in Eastern and Southern Africa" in R. Appleyard, *Emigration Dynamics in Developing Countries, Volume 1: Sub-Saharan Africa.* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) pp. 264-300.
3. Isaac Schapera, *Migrant Life and Tribal Life: A Study of Conditions in the Bechuanaland Protectorate.* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1947).
4. Jack Parson, "The 'Labour Reserve' in Historical Perspective" in L. Picard (ed.)*The Evolution of Modern Botswana.* (London, 1985); Camilla Cockerton, "Running Away From the Land of the Desert: Women's Migration from Colonial Botswana to South Africa, c.1895-1966." PhD thesis, Queen's University; Camilla Cockerton, "Less a Barrier, More a Line: The Migration of Bechuanaland Women to South Africa, 1850-1930" *Journal of Historical Geography 22* (1996); Camilla Cockerton, "Documenting the Exodus: The Dimensions and Local Causes of Bechuanaland Women's Migration to South Africa" *South African Geographical Journal 79* (1997); Wazha Morapedi, "The Agrarian History of Botswana, 1930-1966" PhD thesis, University of Essex (1998); Eugene Campbell, "Population Distribution and Urbanization" in Republic of Botswana, *1991 Population and Housing Census Dissemination Seminar* (Gaborone: Central Statistical Office, 1995).
5. Hoyt Alverson, *Mind in the Heart of Darkness: Value and Self-Identity Among the Tswana of Southern Africa.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974); Barbara Brown, "The Impact of Male Labour Migration on Women in Botswana" *African Affairs 82* (1983); R.K. Silitshena, "Intra-Rural Migration and Settlement Changes in Botswana." *Research Report No. 20* (Leiden: African Studies Centre, 1984); Wendy Izzard, "Migrants and Mothers: Case Studies from Botswana" *Journal of Southern African Studies 11* (1985): 358-82; Louis Molamu, Athaliah Molokome and Gloria Somolekae, "Perceptions and Attitudes of Batswana Migrant Workers Toward the South African Gold Mines." ILO International Migration for Employment Working Paper No.36 (1988); John Taylor, "The Reorganisation of Mine Labor Recruitment in Southern Africa: Evidence from Botswana" *International Migration Review 24* (1990): 250-72.
6. Carol Kerven (ed.), *Workshop on Migration Research*, (Gaborone: 29-30 March 1979); Republic of Botswana, *Migration in Botswana: Patterns, Causes and Consequences, Volumes 1-3.* National Migration Survey Final Report (Gaborone, 1982).
7. R. Mattes et al, *Still Waiting for the Barbarians: SA Attitudes to Immigrants and Immigration.* SAMP Migration Policy Series No. 14 (Cape Town

and Kingston, 1999).

8. David McDonald (ed.), *On Borders: Perspectives on Migration in Southern Africa* (Cape Town and New York: SAMP/St Martin's Press, 2000).
9. Republic of Botswana, *National Development Plan 8, 1997/98 - 2002/03.* (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1996).
10. Republic of Botswana, *1991 Population and Housing Census: Administrative/Technical Report and National Statistical Tables.* (Gaborone: Central Statistics Office, 1991) p 107.
11. Republic of Botswana, *1991 Population and Housing Census*, p 26.
12. T.D. Gwebu, "Internal Migration and Regional Development in Botswana" in *Internal Migration and Regional Development in Africa*, Regional Institute for Population Studies Monograph Series, No. 2 (Legon, Ghana: RIPS, 1981).
13. E.K. Campbell, "Population Distribution and Urbanization" in Republic of Bostwana, *1991 Population and Housing Census Dissemination Seminar*, p 65.
14. Ibid., p 68.
15. Republic of Botswana, *1981 Population and Housing Census: Administrative/Technical Report and National Statistical Tables.* (Gaborone: Central Statistics Office) p 21; Republic of Botswana, *1991 Population and Housing Census.* p 208.
16. C. van der Post, "Internal Migration" in Republic of Botswana, *1991 Population and Housing Dissemination Seminar*, p 85.
17. Ibid., p 91.
18. J.O. Oucho and W.T.S. Gould, "Internal Migration, Urbanization and Population Distribution" in K.A. Foote, K.H. Hill and L.G. Martin (eds.), *Demographic Change in Sub-Saharan Africa.* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1993) pp 256-296; J.O. Oucho, "Regional Integration and Intra- and Inter-Sub Regional Labour Mobility in Eastern and Southern Africa". (Gaborone: [mimeo], 1997).
19. C. van der Post, "Internal Migration", p 94.
20. J.O. Oucho and W.T.S. Gould, "Internal Migration, Urbanization and Population Distribution".
21. Republic of Botswana, *1991 Population and Housing Census*, p 210.
22. S.S. Russell, K. Jacobsen and W.D. Stanley, *International Migration and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa; Vol. 1: Overview.* World Bank Discussion Papers, No.10 (Washington, D.C., 1990) p 83.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., p 132.
25. Government policy on refugees is that Botswana no longer considers itself a host country of refugees, at least since majority rule came into effect in South Africa in April 1994. All refugees in Botswana have either voluntarily returned or have been repatriated to their countries, especially Namibia, Angola, South Africa and Zimbabwe. For this rea-

son, the Botswana office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) closed down in December 1998.

26. Republic of Botswana, *1981 Population and Housing Census*. 1987, p 69.
27. Republic of Botswana, *1991 Population and Housing Census*. p 441.
28. S.S. Russell et al, *International Migration and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa*. p 83.
29. The figures for 1993-4 may be artificially low since they do not appear to include border crossings between Botswana and the former Bophuthatswana.
30. Jonathan Crush, "Mine Migrancy in the Contemporary Era" in J. Crush and W. James, eds., *Crossing Boundaries: Mine Migrancy in a Democratic South Africa*. (Cape Town and Ottawa: Idasa and IDRC, 1995).
31. In the past, Botswana, like all other countries whose emigrant, unskilled workers went to South African mines, entered into a bilateral agreement with South Africa. The agreement covers recruitment of Batswana through established syndicates, duration of employment, and so on. Botswana does not have bilateral agreements with any of the countries whose citizens have immigrated into the country. Immigrants have generally come as individuals recruited by employers in Botswana, as family members joining those who have been offered employment or as job seekers trying their luck at securing employment. There are, however, different visa requirements for nationals of different countries.
32. S.S. Russell et al, *International Migration and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa*; R.E.B. Lucas and O. Stark, "Motivation to Remit: Evidence from Botswana" *Journal of Political Economy* 93: 901-918.
33. J.Crush and V.Williams (eds.), *The New South Africans? Immigration Amnesties and Their Aftermath*. (Cape Town: Idasa Publishing, 1991).
34. Sechaba Consultants, *Riding the Tiger: Lesotho Miners and Permanent Residence in South Africa*. SAMP Migration Policy Series No. 2 (Cape Town and Kingston, 1997); Fion de Vletter. *Sons of Mozambique: Mozambican Miners and Post-Apartheid South Africa*. SAMP Migration Policy Series No. 8 (Cape Town and Kingston, 1998).
35. J. Crush and V. Williams, *The New South Africans?*
36. David McDonald (ed.), *On Borders* (see chapters 3-6).
37. For a more detailed discussion see David McDonald, et al, *Challenging Xenophobia: Myths and Realities about Cross-Border Migration*. SAMP Migration Policy Series No.7 (Cape Town and Kingston, 1998).
38. To ensure as balanced a household representation as possible, researchers used a card selection process whereby each member of the household over the age of 18 who was going to be at home that evening was eligible for selection (this included those members who were not currently present in the household but would return later that day). Eligible members selected a serially numbered card from the researcher.

The cards were then shuffled and one member was requested to pick a card as in a raffle. The person whose number corresponded to the card picked became the respondent. In cases where there were only two persons, some interviewers reported that they found tossing a coin easier. Where they failed to get an interview from the selected individual, the next household was visited. Substitution within the same household was not allowed.

39. McDonald et al, *Challenging Xenophobia*.
40. McDonald et al, *Challenging Xenophobia*; Bruce Frayne and Wade Pendleton, *Namibians on South Africa: Attitudes towards Cross-Border Migration and Immigration Policy*. SAMP Migration Series No.10 (Cape Town and Kingston, 1998).
41. Republic of Botswana, *National Development Plan 8, 1997/98-2002/03*. (Gaborone: Government Printer, 1997); Republic of Botswana, *Annual Economic Report, 1998*. (Gaborone: Government Printer, 1998); Republic of Botswana, *Annual Economic Report, 1999*. (Gaborone: Government Printer, 1999); BIDPA, *Study of Poverty and Poverty Alleviation in Botswana*. (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1997).
42. Belinda Dodson, "Women on the Move: Gender and Cross-Border Migration to South Africa" in David A. McDonald, ed., *On Borders*.
43. Tirelo Sechaba ("work for the nation") is designed to expose students who have completed Form 5 to pre-employment work experience in areas outside their places of usual residence while at the same time giving these young adults the opportunity to give community services to the nation. Increasingly, it has become an important part of the educated Motswana's life. For instance, it is a prerequisite for gaining government scholarships to study in tertiary institutions within and outside Botswana. It is anticipated that this policy will be terminated soon, however.
44. Republic of Botswana, *National Development Plan 8, 1997/98-2002/03*. (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1997) p 18.
45. United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1998*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) p 144.
46. Ibid., p 137.
47. *National Development Plan* 8, p 39.
48. Ibid., p 41.
49. Oucho, J.O. and Gould, W.T.S., "Internal Migration, Urbanization and Population Distribution".
50. Dodson, Belinda, "Women on the Move."
51. It is worth noting again the strong dissatisfaction with "customer service" in Botswana; a point which may have some bearing on the international tourism ambitions of the country.

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