

HUMAN MOBILITY AND NAMIBIAN FAMILY TRANSFORMATION: AN  
ANALYSIS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND FAMILY-  
MIGRANT CONNECTIONS IN CONTEMPORARY NAMIBIA

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT  
OF THE REQUIRMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN SOCIOLOGY  
OF  
THE UNIVERSITY OF NAMIBIA

BY

BRUNO VENDITTO

201312301

APRIL 2018

MAIN SUPERVISOR: DR. THOMAS FOX

CO-SUPERVISOR: DR. ARTWELL NHEMACHENA

## **Abstract**

The dissertation attempts to present migration from a holistic perspective where the decision to move is the result of an assessment of *competing strategies open to potential migrants*. This is a bid by globally marginalised populations for economic security; a deliberate decision taken by the family to improve their livelihood. Migrants are here seen as social actors, or agents, who confront structural socio-economic contexts, which offer both constraints and opportunities. The migrants' reflexive rational assessment of such limiting and enabling structures determines the decision-making process, and the subsequent behavioural outcomes. Namibia is currently experiencing a high level of unemployment and underemployment across large portions of its population, and hence levels of poverty and inequality remain high, 26 years after independence from South Africa. Migrants now seek lifestyles, work, income, welfare benefits, and the chance to aid family networks back home through the strategic axial advantage of the remittance system. This thesis critically utilised the structuration and agency theory as a contextual and conceptual means to make sense of Namibian migration, while at the same time focusing on the way in which both financial and social remittances can modify the socio-economic status of the migrants' families, providing empirical evidence from Namibia on the role that migration can have on local development. The epistemological design used emphasizes a multidisciplinary approach, which combines economic and sociological paradigms, to investigate the impact of internal migration on transforming the socio-economic structure of the Namibian family. These considerations were instrumental in the choice of Charmaz's (2006, 2014), constructivist grounded theory version for the study. Using the grounded theory approach allowed the participants to express their own experiences related to the

decision to migrate and to present their perspective on the consequences of such a decision, while at the same time giving the participants and the researcher, the possibility of reflexively investigating on it. Internal migration appears to be a mix of specific coping strategies put in place by the family to face the socio-economic adversities, combined with the migrants' personal motivations. The research found that individual aspiration to materially progress in life goes beyond mere economic gratification. The moral sentiment of the migrant, out of a sense of responsibility for the family, and concern for the community (or country), is linked with the gratification and respect received by their family members, community and friends. Shifting the emphasis to the migrants' personal motivations, as suggested in the thesis, provides an unconventional explanation of the drivers of migration compared to the one presented by mainstream migration theories and doctrine. This research's approach was found to provide a phenomenologically more meaningful and comprehensive understanding of the complexities (personal, familial, and community) of the migration challenges facing Namibians.

## List of Publications/Conferences proceedings arising from this PhD

- 2017 - Water, migration and environment in a Mediterranean perspective. *International Journal of Migration and Residential Mobility*, InterScience Publisher. (In press). Retrievable at <http://www.inderscience.com/info/ingeneral/forthcoming.php?jcode=ijmrm>
- 2014 -The Challenge of Food Security in the Euro Mediterranean Area, *Discourse Journal of Agriculture and Food Sciences*, 2(2), 39-52. Retrievable at [www.resjournals.org/JAFS](http://www.resjournals.org/JAFS). ISSN: 2346-7002, (in collaboration with Caruso, I & Noviello, V.).
- 2013 -*Human mobility: Migration from a European and African viewpoint*. Bruno, G. C., Caruso, I., & Venditto, B. (Eds.), Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino. ISBN 978-88-498-4068-1.
- Introduction. In G. C., Bruno I, Caruso, & B., Venditto (Eds.), *Human Mobility: Migration from a European and African Viewpoint* (pp. i-x). Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino. ISBN: 978-88-498-4068-1.
- African Migration: the case of Western Africa. G. C., Bruno, I, Caruso, & B., Venditto (Eds.), *Human Mobility: Migration from a European and African Viewpoint* (pp. 233-253). Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino. ISBN 978-88-498-4068-1, (in collaboration with Caruso, I.).
- 2012 -The Mediterranean's future. Preliminary study on environmental refugees. In M., A., Valleri, R., Pace, & S. Girone (Eds.), *Il Mediterraneo: uno studio e una passione. Scritti in onore di Luigi Di Comite* (pp. 251-269). Bari: Cacucci Ed. ISBN 978-88-661-1165-8 (published in Italian in collaboration with Caruso, I.).

## Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
List of Publications/Conferences proceedings arising from this PhD	iv
Table of Contents	v
List of Tables	viii
List of Figures	ix
List of Graphs	x
List of Boxes	xi
List of Abbreviations and/or Acronyms	xii
Acknowledgments	xiii
Dedication	xiv
Declaration	xv
Chapter 1 The purpose and nature of the research	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 An overview of the migration phenomenon	5
1.3 Conceptual framework of the study	8
1.3.1 <i>Beyond the economic models of migration</i>	10
1.3.2 <i>The migrants' sense of belonging</i>	12
1.4 The meaning of development and the nexus migration – development	14
1.5 The relevance of the study to the Namibian context	18
1.6 The research questions	20
1.7 General methodology	23
1.7.1 <i>The research methods</i>	23
1.8 Organization of the thesis	24
1.9 Conclusion	25
Chapter 2. Literature Review: The study conceptual and theoretical basis	26
2.1 Introduction	26
2.2 A methodological debate over the literature review	27
2.2.1 <i>The literature review in the grounded theory approach</i>	27
2.3 The thesis intellectual paradigms	31
2.3.1 <i>The development conceptual paradigm</i>	31
2.3.2 <i>The development debate: the 50s – 60s period</i>	34
2.3.3 <i>The development debate: the 70s period</i>	35
2.3.4 <i>The development debate: the 80s and the Washington consensus</i>	38
2.3.5 <i>The development debate: from the capability to the participation approach</i>	40
2.4 The Migration debate	43
2.4.1 <i>The spatial context: Internal vs. international migration</i>	45
2.4.2 <i>The spatial context: Internal leading to international migration</i>	47
2.4.3 <i>The determinants of migration: Economic and sociological theories</i>	49
2.4.4 <i>A socio-economic approach to the migration movements</i>	54
2.5 The concept of family/household	60
2.5.1 <i>The nuclear family</i>	60
2.5.2 <i>The extended family and the household</i>	62
2.6 The concept of remittances	66
2.6.1 <i>Economic remittances</i>	67

2.6.2	<i>The importance of economic remittances in Africa</i> .....	71
2.6.3	<i>The social concept of remittances</i> .....	76
2.6.4	<i>Social remittances: Findings from contemporary studies</i> .....	78
2.7	<b>Conclusion</b> .....	<b>81</b>
<b>Chapter 3</b>	<b>The migrants stocks</b> .....	<b>84</b>
3.1	<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>84</b>
3.1.1	<i>Internal and international migration</i> .....	85
3.1.2	<i>Internal and international migrants in Namibia</i> .....	90
3.2	<b>Conclusion</b> .....	<b>99</b>
<b>Chapter 4.</b>	<b>Methodology</b> .....	<b>100</b>
4.1	<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>100</b>
4.2	<b>The choice of the grounded theory methodology</b> .....	<b>103</b>
4.2.1	<i>Which grounded theory to use?</i> .....	104
4.2.2	<i>The classical grounded theory</i> .....	105
4.2.3	<i>The Straussian grounded theory</i> .....	108
4.2.4	<i>The feminist grounded theory</i> .....	110
4.3	<b>The constructivist grounded theory</b> .....	<b>111</b>
4.3.1	<i>Limitation of constructivist grounded theory</i> .....	114
4.4	<b>The investigation context</b> .....	<b>115</b>
4.4.1	<i>Gathering data</i> .....	116
4.4.2	<i>Quantitative sampling of internal migrants</i> .....	116
4.4.3	<i>Qualitative sampling of internal migrants</i> .....	119
4.4.4	<i>Interviewing internal migrants</i> .....	122
4.4.5	<i>Coding</i> .....	124
4.4.6	<i>Memoing</i> .....	125
4.4.7	<i>Elaboration of the theory</i> .....	127
4.5	<b>Conclusion</b> .....	<b>128</b>
<b>Chapter 5</b>	<b>A descriptive analysis of the Namibian internal migration</b> .....	<b>129</b>
5.1	<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>129</b>
5.2	<b>The quantitative findings</b> .....	<b>130</b>
5.2.1	<i>Migrants' characteristics and geographical location</i> .....	130
5.2.2	<i>Structure of the family/household in the village</i> .....	132
5.2.3	<i>Personal migration history</i> .....	132
5.2.4	<i>Remittances</i> .....	133
5.2.5	<i>Family's role</i> .....	135
5.3	<b>Conclusion</b> .....	<b>136</b>
<b>Chapter 6</b>	<b>Achieving migration goals</b> .....	<b>138</b>
6.1	<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>138</b>
6.1.1	<i>Advancing educational level vs. getting a job: A false dichotomy</i> .....	139
6.1.2	<i>The migrant's growing process: Facing the obstacles</i> .....	152
6.1.3	<i>The migrant's growing process: The narrative construction of the self</i> .....	165
6.2	<b>Conclusion</b> .....	<b>174</b>
<b>Chapter 7</b>	<b>Creating opportunities</b> .....	<b>176</b>
7.1	<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>176</b>
7.1.1	<i>Being responsible</i> .....	177
7.1.2	<i>The remittances' developmental effect</i> .....	182
7.2	<b>Conclusion</b> .....	<b>196</b>
<b>Chapter 8</b>	<b>Changing status</b> .....	<b>199</b>
8.1	<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>199</b>
8.1.1	<i>The changes in the migrant - family connexion's</i> .....	200
8.1.2	<i>The inter family conflicts</i> .....	206

8.1.3	<i>The migrant - community developmental transformation</i> .....	210
8.1.4	<i>The migrant - community social transformations</i> .....	216
8.2	<b>Conclusion</b> .....	<b>223</b>
<b>Chapter 9</b>	<b>Conclusion and Reccommendations</b> .....	<b>225</b>
9.1	<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>225</b>
9.2	<b>Constituting a grounded theory of internal migration in Namibia</b> .....	<b>225</b>
9.2.1	<i>Drivers to migrate</i> .....	228
9.2.2	<i>Remittances</i> .....	230
9.2.3	<i>Social impact of migration</i> .....	233
9.3	<b>Conclusion: Dependent Separatness</b> .....	<b>235</b>
9.4	<b>Reccommendations</b> .....	<b>239</b>
<b>References</b>	.....	<b>243</b>
<b>Appendixes</b>	.....	<b>295</b>
1	<b>Ethical Clearance</b> .....	<b>295</b>
2	<b>Permission to Undertake Fieldwork Research</b> .....	<b>296</b>
3	<b>Face-to-Face interview</b> .....	<b>297</b>
3.1	Participants' biographies.....	297
3.2	Migrant's Households description.....	299
4	<b>Consent Letter</b> .....	<b>301</b>
5	<b>Quantitative-Qualitative Questionnaire</b> .....	<b>302</b>
6	<b>Qualitative Questionnaire</b> .....	<b>305</b>
7	<b>Questions to participants to the face-to-face interview:</b> .....	<b>307</b>
8	<b>Questions to family members taking part to the face-to-face interview:</b> .....	<b>309</b>
9	<b>Statistical Appendix</b> .....	<b>310</b>

## List of Tables

Table 1 World Economic Remittances 1980-2015 in billions of US\$	68
Table 2 Remittance inflows (US\$ billion) period 2000-2015 in developing and developed countries	69
Table 3 Migrant remittance inflows (US\$ billion) period 2000-2015	72
Table 4 - International migrant stock at mid-year by major area, 1990-2015	89
Table 5 Internal migrants in Namibia -2011	94
Table 6 Urbanisation, period 1991-2011	95
Table 7 Namibia Population and Urban growth -2001-2011	96
Table 8 Net Migration 2015	98
Table 9 Area of destination of Namibian's migrants 2015	98
Table 10 Gender Composition	130
Table 11 Ethnic Group	131
Table 12 Reasons to move	133
Table 13 Main sources family income	133
Table 14 Sending remittances (money) home	134
Table 15 Additional assistance	134
Table 16 Use of remittances	135
Table 17 Determining category 1: Achieving migration goals	138
Table 18 Determining category 2: Creating opportunities	176
Table 19 Determining category 3: Gaining status	199
Table 20 The emergence of the theory	228

## List of Figures

Figure 1 Migration movements	47
Figure 2 Internal migrants	86
Figure 3 The concrete fence	184
Figure 4 The tractor	187
Figure 5 The house improvement	190
Figure 6 The renovated house with the satellite dish	192

## **List of Graphs**

Graph 1 Migrant economic remittances and financial flows to developing economies, 1970-2013 (\$ millions)	70
---	----

## **List of Boxes**

Box 1 Remittances as for the Balance of Payments Manual 6<sup>th</sup> Edition 67

## **List of Abbreviations and/or Acronyms**

<b>BPM6</b>	Balance of Payment and International Investment Position Manual
<b>FDI</b>	Foreign Direct Investments
<b>GDP</b>	Gross Domestic Product
<b>GNI</b>	Gross National Income
<b>GNP</b>	Gross National Product
<b>HDI</b>	Human Development Index
<b>HDR</b>	Human Development Report
<b>IDPs</b>	Internal Displaced Persons
<b>ILO</b>	International Labour Organisation
<b>IMF</b>	International Monetary Fund
<b>MDA</b>	Migration Defining Area
<b>MDG</b>	Millennium Development Goals
<b>ODA</b>	Overseas Development Assistance
<b>PHCS</b>	Population and Housing Census Survey
<b>SAPs</b>	Structural Adjustment Policies
<b>SAMP</b>	Southern African Migration Project
<b>SDG</b>	Sustainable Developments Goals
<b>WB</b>	World Bank

## **Acknowledgments**

This research would not have been possible without the support of my Supervisor Dr. Thomas Fox, who introduced me to the realm of sociology and of the constrictive grounded theory, which were unexplored territories His positive and inspiring contributions have help me during this process.

Particular appreciation I own to the director of the Istituto di Studi sulle Società del Mediterraneo, (Napoli –Italy) Prof. Salvatore Capasso, who allowed me to take study leave in order to complete the thesis.

The thesis could have not made sense and be completed without the kindness of the Namibian participants, who took their time to participate to the research and opened their household to me. To all of them go my special thank.

Finally, but not least my thanks goes to all in my transnational family on both continents for keeping with my moodiness and understanding of my reasons to complete this thesis.

## **Dedication**

The thesis is dedicated to my wife Mwatile, and our four children, Viola, Augustine, Kelvin and Junior

**Declaration**

I, Bruno Venditto hereby declare that this study is my own work and is a true reflection of my research, and that this work, or any part thereof has not been submitted for a degree at any other institution.

No part of this thesis/dissertation may be reproduced, stored in any retrieval system, or transmitted in any form, or by means (e.g. electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the prior permission of the author, or The University of Namibia in that behalf.

I, Bruno Venditto grant The University of Namibia the right to reproduce this thesis in whole or in part, in any manner or format, which The University of Namibia may deem fit.

Bruno Venditto ... ..

**Name of Student**

**Signature**

**Date**

## **Chapter 1    The purpose and nature of the research**

### **1.1    Introduction**

The aim of this research is to better understand the phenomenon of human mobility, also known as migration, in contemporary Namibia. It considers the migration movements, and their contribution in transforming the Namibian family institution, focusing on the socio-economic consequences of migratory decisions at family level defined as “... *a group of people related by economic emotional, moral, etc. ties, connecting them*” (Greiner, 2012, p. 205).

After obtaining independence from South Africa in 1990, Namibia’s migration patterns and dynamics have been subject to significant changes. From a system of “restricted and forced mobility”, the country has moved to a new dispensation in which Namibians were, and are, free to decide if, and where to move. The rapid urbanisation experienced in the last two decades is just one of the direct effects of such an increase in mobility. Yet, not enough is known on these new patterns of migration, and the impact of migration on the economic and social structures of the country is not fully investigated. The study aims at filling the knowledge gap in the existing literature considering that, currently, there are limited studies that focus on migration and the family in post-independent Namibia, and which also establish connections between migration and development. Understanding the migration-development nexus is of importance to a country like Namibia, which, despite all the progresses achieved in the last 26 years<sup>1</sup> still experiences high levels of inequality<sup>2</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> Namibia is currently classified by the leading International Organisations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund or the European Union, as an upper middle-income economy. World Bank database 2015 indicates a per capita Gross National Income of 5,870 US\$.

<sup>2</sup> Namibia ranks 126 out of 188 countries with an Inequality Adjusted Human Developed Index of 0.628. The IHDI combines a country’s average achievements in health, education and income with

Sen's (1989) idea of development as "capability expansion" will guide the research's attempt to provide new insights on the nexus between migration and development, and on the social and economic impact of migration on the Namibian family. Sen's capability approach is based on the view that human life should be seen as:

*... a set of "doings and beings"– we may call them "functionings"– and it relates the evaluation of the quality of life to the assessment of the capability to function. (p. 3).*

In this research, development is perceived as a "process" that determines "transformations" in different interrelated dimensions, aiming at expanding the individual capabilities, ultimately increasing the satisfaction of the human basic needs. Development, for this reason, will not be associated exclusively with economic growth, but will be considered in the much broader perspective of the fulfilment of the individual's basic needs. The family member/s, by making the decision to move, can be associated with agents that, despite the external structural constraints they are facing, and/or as a result of the interaction with them, are aiming at accomplishing their values and goals, acting in such a way to change their and/or the family life and conditions. The study will try to shed light on the way in which migration impacts on the individual and family development. The decision to migrate, in Namibia as elsewhere in the world, is often the result of a reflexive family strategy to diversify risks and overcome structural constraints. Based on Giddens' (1991) analysis on the self-identity, the term reflexivity is here used as the idea that a person's actions are based on his/her biographical narratives as him or her goes through life:

*Self-identity has continuity - that is, it cannot easily be completely changed at will - but that continuity is only a product of the person's reflexive beliefs about their own biography. (p. 53).*

---

how those achievements are distributed among the country's population by "discounting" each dimension's average value according to its level of inequality (Human Development Report, 2015).

Applied to migration the decision to move is seen as a lucid assessment aimed at finding a response to the family's economic or social needs, associated to, or in accordance with, the aspiration of the individual to change/improve his or her status, (de Haas, 2010). The impact of the migration experience results in an improvement of the individual's and the family's living standards, which will have a multiple effects on the national economy as a whole. Financially, the family disposable income will increase, hence, directly impacting on the local economy and indirectly on the national. Similarly, being better educated or in good health means that both the migrants and the family members can contribute more to the national economy, or cost less to the public welfare system. The types of migrants considered in the study are those who move from rural to semi urban and/or urban areas. This is because since independence Namibia has witnessed a rapid urbanisation process, while the number of citizens emigrating is still a very small percentage of the population.

To understand the impact that human mobility has on the migrants and their families in the study, attention will be given to the possible material and financial improvements that occur in the migrants' families as result of the migrants' direct and indirect financial contributions. These are here defined as economic remittances and include:

*... cash and non-cash items that flow through formal channels, such as via electronic wire, or through informal channels, such as money or goods carried across borders. (IMF 2013, p. 272).*

Generally, these economic remittances can be considered as transfers between residents and nonresidents, regardless of the source of income of the sender and the relationship between the households, which are however registered in the balance of payment of the receiving country. In 2015 financial remittances sent by developing

countries' migrants home, accounted for 431.581 billion of US \$, the second source of funds after Foreign Direct Investments (FDI), and well above the Overseas Development Assistance, (ODA) (Ratha, Dervisevic, Plaza, & others, 2015). For the majority of the African countries, the financial remittances were also an important source of foreign exchange (Sander & Maimbo, 2003).

While the literature on migration has focused on the impact of economic remittances, less attention has been rendered to the analysis of the changes that occur in the migrants' attitude as a result of their being segregated from their families in a different environment, and the way in which these transformations have an impact on the family and the rural community at large. This second aspect is often linked to the social remittances, which have recently received attention from scholars writing on migration. According to Levitt (1998 and 2001), social remittances are defined as that set of values, norms, ideas and behaviours that constitute the migrants' background, expanded and modified during the migrants' permanence in the host countries/areas and then transferred back to the home countries/areas. The impact of these "non-financial" remittances on the migrants and their families will complement that of the economic remittances providing a broader understanding on the socio-economic effects of migration in Namibia, thus, filling a void in the study of migration dynamics in the country.

The constructivist grounded theory approach will inform the research and will allow the elaboration of a comprehensive "theory of migration", which will link migration, family and development. Semi-structured questions were used when interviewing the family's members and the migrants. The participants will be open to supplementary questions based on unforeseen new ideas that may arise during the interviews.

## 1.2 An overview of the migration phenomenon

It is important at this stage of the introduction to shortly describe the role that migration studies have in the social sciences and how their perception has changed during the years. The relevance that internal and international mobility have in the migration studies will also be discussed here.

From a broader perspective, the history of the world is a history of human mobility, which can be regarded as the essence of the evolution of the human species. Since the Homo erectus “moved out” of Africa a million years ago, our species has never stopped moving, both within and across different areas, despite the physical, cultural, and economic obstacles. Migration can simply be defined as the change in the spatial distribution of population over time. Internal migration occurs if the population movement occurs within a given country, while in the case of international migration the movement occurs between different countries (Saracoglu, Roe & Terry, 2004). The latest United Nations (UN) statistics (UN, 2015) indicate that, roughly, there are almost 244 million international migrants in the world, with a sharp increase in the last 25 years of almost 60 per cent since 1990, representing 3.3 per cent of the world’s population in 2015<sup>3</sup>. With regard to internal migrants, as observed by Lucas (2015), no systematic compilation of the magnitudes of internal movements exists. Bell and Charles-Edwards (2013), had estimated that by 2005 763 million people would be living outside their region of birth, a figure which was nearly four times the number of people living outside their country of birth in the same year<sup>4</sup>. Adding the international migrants’ data, the figure of the total migrants reaches almost a billion, which, if actualised, represents 13.5 per cent of the world population in the year

---

<sup>3</sup> Based on the UN World Population statistics world population counted on the 1<sup>st</sup> July 2015 the number of 7,349 billion United Nations (2015).

<sup>4</sup> The stock of international migrants in 2005 was of 191,269,100 individuals (UN, 2015).

2015. These facts provide a first general justification for the attention given in this thesis to the study of internal and international migration. Furthermore, migration is a complex phenomenon, whose description and analysis brings together different branches of the social sciences, chiefly geography, demography, economics, sociology, to mention just a few. However, as indicated by Massey et al., (1994, p.700-1):

*Social scientists do not approach the study of immigration from a shared paradigm, but from a variety of competing theoretical viewpoints fragmented across disciplines, regions, and ideologies. As a result, research on the subject tends to be narrow, often inefficient, and characterized by duplication, miscommunication, reinvention, and bickering about fundamentals and terminology.*

Working together among scholars of different disciplines has been challenging and this has made it difficult to create a more connected area of study by which to understand migration in a globalized world (Blanton, 2017). By using an interdisciplinary approach that combines economics and sociology this research is an small attempt to follow the path indicated by Massey, and recently recommended by Brettell and Hollifield (2000), of making different disciplines collaborate when addressing migration. A preliminary step in this direction is to move away from the simplistic typology of migration, and hence of migrants, that may lead to the impression that “internal” and “international” migration are totally distinct. Having said that, however, one cannot but recognize that in the last decades the word “migration”, both among the common men in the street, and the academics, has been almost automatically associated with the idea of “international migration”. A simple quest for the word “migration” on the main web search engines such as *Google*, *Yahoo*, *Bing*, leads to web sites or articles/news referring to international migration, and human movements from poor and/or war-torn countries to Western countries,

mainly in Europe<sup>5</sup>. The images of immigrants trying to climb on the barbed wires of the anti-immigration fences, built on the Moroccan-Spanish borders of the enclaves of Ceuta e Melilla<sup>6</sup> as result of the closure of the Balkan passage after the EU-Turkey agreement to block the migrants' flows to Europe, or the images of migrants rescued in the Mediterranean sea on overcrowded boats, while trying to reach the "*Europe's promised land*" (Euronews, 2014), captured the attention of the media, and then of the academics, more than the movements of the African peasants from rural to urban areas. Internal migration does not, and has not received the same level of attention as international migration, unless when associated to events of crisis such as war or famine, which determine the proliferation of Internal Displaced Persons (IDPs) in general connected with internal movements. The IDPs are in fact defined by the United Nation (1998, p.1) as:

*Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of, or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border.*<sup>7</sup>

Considering the relevance that Eurocentric vision has on academia this implies that the study of the internal migration has lost its appeal, with internal migration often analysed primarily as a domestic affair of the developing nations.

---

<sup>5</sup> In the first 4 months of 2016 there were 180,245 migrant arriving in Europe using the Mediterranean route as indicated by the IOM (2016 April, 22).

<sup>6</sup> "*Le enclave spagnole di Ceuta e Melilla costituiscono uno dei fronti più caldi in relazione alla pressione migratoria. La settimana scorsa a un gruppo di 300 profughi siriani è stato impedito l'ingresso, mentre ai primi di febbraio 1400 persone sono state respinte con la forza dai militari spagnoli*". Euronews (2014) "*La rotta migratoria dei Balcani è ufficialmente chiusa. E mentre la Germania insiste per un accordo con la Turchia per arginare il flusso dei rifugiati verso l'Europa, gli spagnoli pensano al Marocco, temendo un effetto a imbuto e lo spostamento della rotta a Ovest*". Baratta (2016, March 15).

<sup>7</sup> When the issue of internal displacement emerged onto the international agenda in the early 1990s, no definition of "internally displaced persons" existed, the definition here given is that eventually emerged contained in the introduction to the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. United Nation (1998).

Internally displaced people will not constitute the object of the current research; rather internal migration will be linked to the rural to urban movements that constitute an important part of the urbanization process, and continue to be significant in scale, in many developing countries (Brockerhoff, 1995). The latest comprehensive data on urbanisation growth indicates that the urbanisation rate in the world has reached a very high level of growth, 51.6 per cent, (according to the UN Population Division, 2015), with a growth in the less developed regions of 46 per cent. Namibia is not an exception considering that in 2011 the urban population represented 42.8 per cent of the total population, moving up from the 33 per cent of 2001, (NSA 2012). Although, the rapid urban growth in the last decades indicates that urbanization is caused by a number of different factors (Cohen, 2006), rural to urban migration does play a role, because the rates of natural increase are generally slightly lower in urban than in rural areas. Hence, by investigating the reasons underlying the rural to urban movements, and by assessing the socio-economic impact of such movements on the Namibian families, this research will provide useful insights for the Namibian policy makers to address. For instance, the study invariably interrogates the problem created by the rapid urbanizations and, concurrently will assist them in planning appropriate policies to further promote rural development.

### **1.3 Conceptual framework of the study**

Migrants have always crossed “borders”; these being political-legal formal barriers between nations, but equally within them. Of importance to this study, is the impact of migration on the individuals and their families and also, to understand what triggers such human movements. In answering this preliminary question, is the belief that the drivers to migrate are for the most part the same. This is particularly functional considering the African context, where the subtle distinction between

internal and international migration has been originated as a consequence of the artificial demarcation determined by the colonization, and the subsequent creation of independent nation states during the decolonization process (Adepoju, 1988).

What triggers human mobility is often the result of an array of determinants intermingled within economic, social, political factors, and changing environmental conditions. Such forces can either influence people to abandon their place of origin or attract them to move to different places, abroad or in the same country of origin.

Factors, which influence actor decisions to migrate, are varied and complex. The lack of job opportunities in a country or place of origin of the migrants may push the individuals to move. At the same time, the perception or the knowledge, that in a different country, area or town, there are better job opportunities, may attract/pull the migrants towards that area. Socially, the fear of prosecution for political or religious beliefs or views, or political instability and war, has historically forced millions of people away from their homeland. At the same time, the presence of better education systems or health facilities constantly attracts individuals and their families. Environmental concerns, caused by adverse physical conditions such as water scarcity and recurrent droughts or floods, have, particularly in the African continent, obliged people to move away from the affected areas; conversely particularly favourable climate conditions or landscapes, do exercise an attraction, especially for certain categories of individuals, for example, the western pensioners.

A variety of theoretical models have, to-date, been developed to assess the determinants of migration (Arango, 2003). However, it is beyond the objectives of this research to present a full account of all of them; hence the focus on the prevalent ones. Initially, in the first two thirds of the Twentieth Century, given the features of the migration flows, and the idea, among academicians and politicians alike, that to

promote development it was necessary to foster economic growth, migration movements were analysed under the lens of economic theories.

### *1.3.1 Beyond the economic models of migration*

The neo-classical model is the most popular theoretical model used to explain the migration movements. According to the neo-classical scholars, migration occurs as a consequence of the economic differences, mostly wage differentials, resulting from variances in labour supply and demand, which exist in different places, (Lewis, 1954; Harris & Todaro, 1970). Although this driver of migration has been subject to revision in more recent years, it has not explained why migration continues over time, even when the wage differentials between country/area A and country/area B have been eliminated.

More significant, even with the push – pull mechanism of migration, (pushed to leave the home place, or pulled by the prospects offered in the new places), the decision to move cannot be presented simply as the result of a cost-benefit rational decision of the individual. While it is also important to link the causes and consequences of migration, the social process, exemplified by the interaction between the migrants and their families, must be considered;

The New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) framework (Stark, 1991), is a relevant alternative to the neo-classical model because it links causes and consequences of migration explicitly and does not assume that the individual decides to migrate independently from the decisions taken with and within the family and the community. Faist (1997) further elaborates on the NELM. To explain the patterns and volume of the migration, once it is underway, he analyses the role of social linkages, with reference to the migrant networks, which he defines as the meso level of migration. Massey (1990) observes that the existence of such networks and

improved communications, results in migration being part of the knowledge resource of local culture, as a sort of shared community information from those who have migrated. The migrants reflexively assess the information received. In this way they prepare themselves on what to expect in the host place in terms of constraints and opportunities. Family relationships, and the migrant social networks, became central in explaining both why people migrate and how the migration flows progress. Migration, be it internal or international, becomes more and more accessible to all levels of the population, sustaining itself in the long run.

The NELM's framework hence portrays migration as the result of a strategy put in place by the individual, and/or his/her family, to respond to the external elements, or to cope with the economic and other difficulties and constraints they encounter in the place of origin. Migrants originated from the developing countries, moving away from their area of origin due to the development failures of their governments. As such, migration is perceived as a family strategy to escape and overcome lack of economic opportunity and social/cultural restrictions over individuals. The family involvement is also more evident in the African context, given the vital role played by the family. It can have a dual function: 1) supporting the individual in difficult circumstances, such as finding a place where to live in an alien environment and hence *"can contribute(s) to the social and economic empowerment of individuals"* (Mokomane, 2012); and 2) being the unit on which the individual can come back, and thus playing the *"role of insurer of last resort, providing aid and solace when all else fails and preventing temporary setbacks from becoming permanent"* (Canning, et al., undated p. 4).

The application to the migration movements of Giddens' (1984, 1991) duality structure model, which provides insights on the relationship between *the structure*,

representing the external forces, and *the agency*, representing the migrants with their internal motivations, offers a sociological backing to the economic framework of the NELM and will escort the empirical analysis of the intentions/motivations in this present research of the Namibian internal migrants. Understanding such reasons will provide a better platform to assess the socio-economic impact that internal migration can have on the Namibian families, thus contributing to the current debate on migration.

### *1.3.2 The migrants' sense of belonging*

The migrants in their movement from A to B create a continuous pattern which links economically, socially, politically and culturally both the sending, and the receiving area/countries. In their move towards more affluent societies, the international migrants along their journey often stop in transit countries, creating what is now known correspondingly as 'transit migration'. The term defined by Düvell (2006) as the movement of people entering a national territory, and staying for several weeks or months to organise the next stage of their trip for the final country or destination, well describes this current form of migrations (Caruso & Venditto, 2008).

The migrants, in their journeys, do not really identify, or to borrow an expression used by Brubaker (2010), do not "belong" completely, even when the process of integration/assimilation is fully accomplished, to the receiving countries. It has been observed that international migrants can be at the same time integrated in the host country and be positively involved in activities in the country of origin (Guarnizo, et al., 2003; De Haas, 2005). Family contacts and social networks facilitate the link with the country of origin, as noted by Philipp and Ho (2010), in their observation of South African migrants in New Zealand. Close contact with family and friends in the country of origin was guaranteed not only by the use of telecommunication but also

*“shopping at the South African butcher”* which represented *“an important space for socialising and conversation”* (Philipp & Ho, 2010, p. 98).

This description, *ceteris paribus*, can be applied to the internal migration as well. On the one hand often, the international movement is the product of, or the continuation of a journey previously undertaken from a rural area to an urban one within the country of origin. On the other hand, the feeling of belonging to the village rather than to the town where they have moved, is predominant among internal migrants. It is in fact the village that they call “home”. In the Namibian case this has a visual representation during the Christmas holiday period when, for example, the capital Windhoek is virtually empty while the villages in the north are filled with people who flock there mostly to cultivate the fields, to extend the household, or to attend weddings and other family gatherings.

As such, the migrants can be perceived as both transnational and local actors whose movement is facilitated by a network of connections in which the family has an important role. Such networks and family connections are also important because, particularly for the Namibian internal migrants, they help in understanding the connection that is preserved with those remaining in the village. Subsequently, the drivers of migration and the role that the migrants’ financial and social contributions have in transforming the economic condition of the family, the social structures, the norms and practices used in the village, can be linked to the broader definition of development. Migration has therefore its own dynamics, which are relevant in clarifying the impact that it can have on the process of development in both the sending and receiving area of the migration fluxes (Taylor, 1999). The analysis of the nexus migration–development is, in the logic of the research, instrumental in

bringing together causes and consequences of migration movements, which have been often studied separately.

#### **1.4 The meaning of development and the nexus migration – development**

The migrants in the context of this research are seen as agents of change. In other words the decision to move produces a set of changes in the socio-economic status of the migrants and their families that, broadly speaking can be associated to development. To assess the appropriateness of this statement, it is therefore, important to have a clear understanding of what development is when applied to the social science environment.

Development in its very narrow interpretation has usually been associated with the concept of economic growth (Feldman, Hadjimichael, Kemeny, & Lanahan, 2014).

Haller (2012), defines development as:

*... an increase of the national income per capita, and it involves the analysis, especially in quantitative terms, of this process, ..., it involves the increase of the GDP, GNP and NI, therefore of the national wealth... We could therefore estimate that economic growth is the process of increasing the sizes of national economies, the macro-economic indications, especially the GDP per capita. (p. 66).*

In the scope of this study, such an approach, which has characterized most of the economic thinking until the mid-1980s (Rostow, 1960; Cherney, 1974; Williamson, 1999), will not be followed. Development, in its wider association with advancement is considered as a normative concept, and is seen as a process that brings change and transformation in “*fundamental attitudes to life and work, and in social, cultural and political institutions*” (Streeten 1972, p. 30). Following Sen’s (1999) line of thought, one may argue that these transformations can be linked to development if they are able to increase the satisfaction of the human basic needs, or expand the individual capabilities. This view presents, indeed, many points of contact with the way in

which post-development theorists define development. Maiava (as cited in Siemiatycki, 2005), emphasises the importance of the people in:

*... determining their own future, confident, not intimidated, but free people determining what they want to do and doing it for themselves, exercising agency, actively moving forward to create better lives and improve their well-being according to their own priorities and criteria as they have done for millennia. (p. 58).*

Development, for these reasons will not be associated exclusively with economic growth but will be considered in the much broader perspective of the fulfilment of the individual's needs<sup>8</sup>. Migration, is defined as a coping strategy put in place by the individuals and/or their families to face the personal or external constraints, or explained as the result of a combination of pull and push factors, produces socio-economic transformation in the life of the migrants and their families both in the area of destination of the migrants, and in that of origin. To date, such transformations have been considered mainly in terms of the variation of national economic indicators, such as the Gross National Products, and (GDP) Gross National Income (GNI) or Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In addition, the study also focused on the international migrants. The causality migration-development has been, therefore, analysed mainly in terms of the impact that migrants' financial contributions, or the economic remittance, had on the economic indicators of the migrants' countries of origin (Meyer & Shera, 2017). A vast literature has been generated on the arguments focusing on the benefit/hindrane of the economic remittances (Lubambu, 2014), but mostly in relation to the international migrants, as if internal migrants would not themselves also remit. De Haas (2010), identifies two different groups of scholars working on the impact of remittances on the country's development: *the heartily*

---

<sup>8</sup> In this context it is perfectly conceivable, as in the case of many developing countries today, that average GNI might have raised but income inequality have also increased. The Africa 2016 Wealth Report has ranked Namibia seventh in terms of growth of millionaires from the period 2007 to 2015, (the Namibian 9 May 2016) but the gap between the rich and the poor has not decreased substantially, see footnote 2.

*optimistic* who indicate that thanks to remittances, the poverty has declined significantly in the developing countries (Adams and Cuechuecha, 2010; Anyanwu and Erhijakpor, 2010); and *the convinced pessimists* who highlight the meagre role played by economic remittance coupled with the disadvantages of the brain drain and the loss of “manpower” in general, (Mishra, 2007; Stratan, 2013). The focus of these studies is confined to a narrow definition of development. This makes it difficult to reach a consensus on the impact of migration on a country’s development because the emphasis will predominantly be only on the economic/financial impact of remittances. In this thesis the core idea is not only that both the economic and social impact of remittances should be considered, but, more significantly, that the impact of internal migration should also be factored in since internal migrants too are an integral part of a country’s developmental process. The thrust of this study is to comprehend the processes and characteristics of internal migration and their impact on, and contribution to, socio-economic development at the level of the Namibian family. More specifically, this research intends to shed light on the impact that the migrants’ economic remittance can have at family level and, indirectly, at national level.

As indicated earlier, there is a vast literature on migration explaining the contribution that the economic remittance has, and can have, in alleviating poverty. Such literature includes: economic remittances that comprehend the monetary transfers via official financial institutions (i.e. banks, money transfer such as money Gram etc.), the unofficial monetary transfers (i.e. the transfer via friends, etc.) and also the non-strictly financial transfers such as “in kinds” and goods that can be associated with cash substitutes (foods, cloths, electrical appliances etc.). This study pays particular attention to the way in which such varieties of remittances are used by migrants and

their families and how they promote development. Perennial questions addressed in the research include the following: Are the remittances used to promote local investment (based for example on something that the migrant has learned in the area where he migrated), in new productive activities? Are they used to improve the methods of cultivation in the traditional homestead, or they are instead used to buy consumer/luxurious goods to improve the standard of living of the family in the traditional areas? Receiving remittances allows the family members to save, or to use differently, their own personal income? These are just a few of the questions to which this research will try to give answers.

Besides the economic remittances, social remittances, described as the new ideas, values, and behaviours that became part of the migrants resulting from the internalisation of the experiences gained by the migrants while staying in the new environment, (Levitt, 2001), will also be considered in the analysis of the socio-economic impact of internal migration on the Namibian families. It has been observed (Markely, 2011; Levitt and Lanba-Nives, 2011) that the migrants do not move away from home as an empty box, but have their own cultural and social background, as well as their knowledge and experiences. During their permanence in the new environment, the migrants are also exposed to a different culture with its values and norms, and to different practices. As a result, the migrants' personal values and experiences interact with the new ones, producing, in most cases, a different set of values, norms and beliefs that the migrants bring with them back to the place of origin. These, defined as social remittances, can have an impact as strong as that of the economic remittances in affecting the family's socio-economic structure. Although usually studied in the analysis of international migration, social remittances in this study will be assessed with regard to internal migration, hence,

broadening the scope of application of this interpretative model of migratory phenomena.

### **1.5 The relevance of the study to the Namibian context**

Regarding the Namibian context, one can observe that migration studies have tended to focus on internal migration in the pre-independence period (Bauer, 1998; Gordon, 1977; Moorsom, 1977). Migration being analysed in a “historical perspective”, has been seen as the result of the forced contract labour system introduced during the colonial/apartheid period, being the central element of the Namibian colonial economy (South West Africa -SWA) for almost one hundred years. Initiated under the German Administration (1884-1915), the forced labour regime instituted in 1907, was fully utilised under the South African Administration (1915-1990), and it remained practically unaltered until the workers' strike for its abolition in 1971-72, (Hishongwa, 1992). As indicated by Cooper (1999, p. 122), under the contract labour system, the colonial government of SWA served as an employment agency through which:

*... native Africans sold their labour and white employers could obtain African workers. The government would provide each worker with transport from a recruitment centre to the place of employment. During the term of the contract, the workers were confined to the place of work, could not visit home, could not accept visits from family (who possibly would have had to travel hundreds of miles anyway), ate only what their employer was willing to feed them and suffered whatever punishment an employer thought appropriate for any suspected offences. (p. 122).*

As a result of such practices, thousands of native workers, mainly from the northern districts of the country (the former Owamboland, Okavango and Caprivi), were displaced hundreds of kilometres away from their place of birth, often to the coastal towns in the south, the central area, and the capital Windhoek. The aim was to fill the growing needs of cheap manpower coming from the mining and the fishing

industries, as well as the needs of the commercial farming sector. This migration was a forced movement, rather than originated by the specific need/decisions of the migrants, who had very little control over it. It would be nonetheless incorrect, as emphasised by Moorsom (1997), to consider these migrants as “a mass of impotent labour units”, since the hardship of such system, ultimately contributed to the creation of a social consciousness that was instrumental in the fight to end the South African apartheid regime.

On the other hand, post-independence migration studies have largely focused on the impact of rural migration on the urban growth (Niikondo, 2010), while studies on international migration, and particularly on Namibians leaving the country are almost negligible. This research fills this knowledge gap by focusing on internal migration in Namibia, thus, advancing the debate on migration in the country, and providing additional, country specific information on the topic of migration.. This objective will be achieved by analysing internal migration to directly assess, if and how, it is a determining socio-economic transformation at family level and, indirectly, to assess the impact of internal migration on the process of national development.

The significance of the study to the Namibian context is hence twofold.

Although (as indicated in the literature review chapter) several studies have been carried out to analyse the rural-urban migration patterns (Clemens, 2010; Niikondo, 2010), there is still the need of investigating the broader contribution of migration to family socio-economic development and, indirectly, to national development. Even in the case of internal migration, or perhaps even more in the case of the internal migration, it is sensible to believe that the concept of *double rootedness*, explored by Muzvidwa (2010) in his study on the urban migrants in Zimbabwe, applies to the African internal pattern of migration. The Namibian case is not an exception. The

areas of origin of the people who migrate to the major cities are still considered *the true home* even if the people are actually located in a different setting. This behaviour can be easily observed during the summer holidays (or other long weekends) when the capital city seems to be a sort of *ghost town*, with most of the people returning to their homesteads.

Secondly, of equal significance, is the need to fill the knowledge gap on the “connection” between internal and international migration flows and the differences/similarities among the two forms of migration in terms of both the drives to migrate and the impact of migration to the family socio-economic development.

The findings of the research will also provide valuable practical information to the Namibian policy makers. In fact, the way families use migrants’ contributions, even if they are used for consumption goods, or for the construction of houses in the area of origin, (just to mention two of the mostly common uses of economic remittances), is going to contribute to, or to modify, the wellbeing of the families and communities. For this reason, it is considered as a productive use, and can be assimilated to the broader definition of development used in this thesis. Understanding the patterns and the use of such flows among migrants’ families will allow the government to better identify the priorities for the regional and national development policies.

## **1.6 The research questions**

The “key questions” to be investigated in this migration research are:

- Do internal and international migrants have the same drivers to migrate?

The social/sociological point of view will be addressed specifically when answering this research question. The objective here is to determine similarities and/or complementarities between these two types of migration and to focus on the actors’

meaning and intentions to migrate and their expectation from migration. In other words, to understand the motives behind the decision to move and the impact on the migrants, is the thrust of this study. Understanding this will also indirectly help in understanding the migrants' behaviour concerning the use and the transfer of remittance to family members, which is part of the second research question.

The migrants' ethnicity, family dynamics and migrants networking, are all elements that will be examined when addressing this point.

- What is the contribution of migration in changing the socio- economic structure of the Namibian household?

The objective is to observe how the lives of the migrants' family members change from the social and economic point of view as a result of the individual's decision to migrate. In other words, the focus is on how the actor and actor's strategies to achieve personal goals reflex on the family's wellbeing and on family relationships.

From a purely economic point of view, particular attention will be given to the way economic remittances, and other cash contributions, are used. Economic remittances are here defined as all current personal transfers, in cash or kind, made or received by resident households to or from other non-resident households.

Assessing the economic use of remittances received by the families from those members who have migrated is vital not only because those transfers represent a lifeline for those who are left at home, but also because remittances, by modifying the household economic patterns, may be seen as one of the *trait d'union*, the joining elements, which link the family and development. This means that the use of remittances by the families, may promote economic and social changes in the household, which can be associated directly and indirectly to development. The underlining general assumption of a univocal direction in the transfer flow, i.e. from

the migrants to the families, will also be verified with reference to the internal migration case.

From a social point of view the interest is on the expectations of the migrants and particularly on the transformations that the migration movement determines on the family social relationship; those transformations, in fact, have also to be considered as development on the bases of our wider definition of this concept.

The reasons why people decide to move away from their place of birth, is related to the research questions and will provide important information on the socio-economic transformations occurring to the individual, as well as on family levels in Namibia, and on the individual and family's reflexive strategies put in place by them (Giddens, 1991). As already indicated, migrants often move away from their area of origin due to the development failures of governments back home, and migration becomes a strategy to escape and overcome the lack of economic opportunity and social/cultural restrictions over individuals. Such a strategy is the result of the reflexive analysis of the individual/family and has an impact on the future level of income/development of the migrants and their families. Understanding how the migrants elaborate their intentions/motivations to move will enhance the current debate on migration and will facilitate a more informed assessment of the overall impact of internal migration on the country's socio-economic development.

Before moving to the next chapter, two more things will be presented in this introductory chapter. The first, which takes up the next section, is a brief presentation of the methodology used. The other consists of explaining the way in which this thesis is structured.

## 1.7 General methodology

There is a general consensus on the fact that mixed-method approaches are more conducive to understanding social issues and their relevance to individual and group life (Castles, 2012). The research design of this project emphasizes, however, qualitative methodology to better identify the impact of migration in changing the migrants and the migrants' family socio-economic status. Qualitative methods are believed to better address the research questions requiring in-depth information and meaning, and they will be used to understand, and give an answer to the specific sociological research questions. The constructivist *grounded theory* approach will be deployed for the qualitative methods using the work of Charmaz (2014). This seeks to build a systematic theory of Namibian migration from participant meaning and knowledge through interviews, and uses both inductive and deductive thinking.

Quantitative methods will be used instead to have an overall description of the migration phenomenon; existing secondary national and international database will be examined and data analysed specifically to obtain a comprehensive picture of the migration fluxes in Namibia.

### 1.7.1 *The research methods*

Questionnaires will be specifically developed to capture information pertaining the research questions on migration. A sample of families, whose members have migrated either internally or internationally, will be identified, and interviews with the family members and the willing migrants will be conducted to gain insight into and shed more light on Namibian migration.

The specific observations of migrants and migrants' family members, and the information obtained, will allow a broader generalisation of the concepts. This will lead to a preliminary elaboration of the theory, which will be, subsequently, better

defined through the deductive analysis of the researcher. The in-depth analytical interpretation of the participants' data, will, in fact give ground to the development of the theory.

## **1.8 Organization of the thesis**

The thesis is divided into two parts; part I is descriptive and discusses the theoretical basis of the research; part II is analytical and presents the empirical results of the research.

Part I includes the introductory chapter 1, which is followed by chapters 2 and 3.

**Chapter 2** is a literature review of the main themes on migration directly relevant to the study. The intention of the review is to emphasize the study's knowledge gaps with regard to the analysis of the internal and international migration movements, contextualised to the Namibian situation. These are gaps that this thesis will aim to fill.

Chapter 2 also encompasses an analysis of the sociological paradigms that might be useful to explain and understand the relationship between family and migration as well as the interaction between migration and remittance considered in the double aspect of economic and social remittances, which ultimately will help in explaining the nexus migration-development.

**Chapter 3** ends part I of the thesis; this chapter incorporates a statistical analysis of the migration phenomenon worldwide and in Namibia, presenting the latest statistical data on international and internal migration.

Part II, with the methodology chapter and the results of the empirical investigation, is the hearth of the thesis and it includes three chapters.

The methodology and research instruments described in the introductory are elaborated in greater detail in **Chapter 4**. This includes a full description of the data

collection methods that were followed, the qualitative and the quantitative methods employed in the study, the field questionnaire semi structured interviews developed, and the focus groups description.

The in-depth analytical interpretation of the participants' quantitative and qualitative data will be presented in **Chapter 5, Chapter 6, Chapter 7 and Chapter 8**; this will provide the interpretative elements for the development and presentation of the substantive migration theory presented in the last chapter.

**Chapter 9** completes part II of the thesis; it briefly revisits the theoretical debates reviewed in Part I under the light of the findings from the case-study, before laying out some concluding considerations on the future prospects for Namibia, the recommendations for further studies and the policy implications of the research.

The Appendix with the description of the instruments used to conduct the research concludes the thesis. As indicated above, chapter 2 and chapter 3 will complete part I of the thesis; the following chapter 2 has the specific aim to make the reader familiar with the theoretical basis of the research, how they have been applied and developed. At the same time, to have a correct understanding of the research themes, the key conceptual categories (i.e. development, migration, remittance, family) will also be presented in this chapter.

## **1.9 Conclusion**

This introductory chapter has outlined the purposes and nature of the research, the conceptual framework of the study has been highlighted and the relevance of the study in the area of migration and for the Namibian context has been emphasised. The research questions have been presented and the relevant methodology introduced, concluding with the presentation of the organisation of the thesis.

## **Chapter 2. Literature Review: The study conceptual and theoretical basis**

### **2.1 Introduction**

The chapter aims to present both the socio-economic paradigms on migration and the theoretical framework that guides this research. For this reason, it has been sequentially structured into three parts. The nexus migration-development is the underlying relationship that is analysed in the thesis, and the first part includes an analysis of the way in which the paradigm of development has evolved in the last fifty years. The existing literature on the socio-economic paradigms associated with the concept of development will be critically analysed and used to describe the nexus migration-development. This will help to narrow the scope of the migration literature review undertaken subsequently in the second part. The second part will focus on the existing literature associated with the core substantive area of the study, and critically defines and assesses the meaning of migration. The third and last part is a critical analysis of the literature on the concept/definition of remittances and family, which are the basic concepts utilised in this thesis. The bond between them may indicate the existence of a connection between migration and development whose causality and impact on the Namibian internal migrants, their family and the country, will have to be explored and eventually determined through the empirical part of the research.

The chapter is, however, preceded by a brief section explaining the current debate on the role and timing of the literature review in qualitative research, a debate that is very vibrant among the grounded theory scholars.

## 2.2 A methodological debate over the literature review

Usually in quantitative research, the literature review precedes the fieldwork and data collection. This is done to help the researcher in shaping the research questions based on the existing identified gaps and contradiction that emerge from the literature review. This is not always the case when using a qualitative methodology, with some scholars, particularly those following the grounded theory approach, recommending the postponement of the review until after data collection. The methodological approach of this thesis, as indicated, emphasises the use of the qualitative over the quantitative methods, and the use of the grounded theory approach, which will be discussed in chapter 4. Before engaging in the principal literature review, it is critical to acknowledge that there is a disagreement among the grounded theorist scholars about the role and the timing of the literature review in the research process. Using Giles, King and de Lacey argument that: “*knowledge and concepts drawn from the immediate field can provide a useful guide to analysis, provided we keep an open mind about their cogency and relevance to the data*” (Giles, King & de Lacey, 2013, p. E35), one notes that a preliminary literature review, if used in a reflexive mode, may improve the research results. Reflexivity permits the researcher to *scrutinize* the work done, eschewing that the investigator’s point of view and assumptions pre-empt and influence, the results of the research.

### 2.2.1 *The literature review in the grounded theory approach*

In their pivotal book ‘The Discovery of Grounded Theory’, which can be considered as the manifesto of this new methodological approach, Glaser and Strauss (1967) clearly indicated that: “*An effective strategy is, at first, literally to ignore the literature of theory and fact on the area under study*” (p. 37). In other words, they

direct the practitioners to delay the literature review in the principal area of research after data collection and analysis. The rationale behind this position was that, by delaying the literature review, the researcher will not be contaminated by other theories, which will prevent him/her to develop his/her own idea. In that way, following Glaser and Strauss's recommendation, the researcher can instead develop a new theory that would naturally emerge from the empirical data collected in the field study.

Strauss, subsequently, after parting from Glaser, in the 1990s changed his position on this strict methodological rule, arguing in favour of a more lenient approach explaining when and why, to conduct the literature review, by acknowledging that:

*Literature can be used as an analytic tool if we are careful to think about it in theoretical terms. Used in this way, the literature can provide a rich source of events to stimulate thinking about properties and for asking conceptual questions. It can furnish initial ideas to be used for theoretical sampling.* (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 47).

For Strauss, the focus of the literature review is how it can be used to facilitate, rather than limit the development of the grounded theory. This simply means that referring to the relevant literature before the field study, can enlarge, rather than limit, the researcher's angle of the conceptual analysis.

The debate on the role and timing of literature review among the grounded theory practitioners is, however, still open. Charmaz, a student of Glaser, indicated that: "*the place and function of a literature review in Glaser's and Strauss' approaches are intensely debated and not unambiguous*", (Charmaz, 2006, p. 165). Nathaniel (2006) and Holton (2007) echoed the original Glaser and Strauss argument, while Charmaz (2006), acknowledged that formal requirements might impose a preliminary literature review. However, she also points out that, in depth literature

review prior to data collection, can influence the outcome of the study, particularly in the case of a “fresher” researcher.

McCann and Clark, (2003b), McGhee et al., (2007), Henwood and Pidgeon, (2006), just to mention a few, are on the other hand in favour of starting the literature review in the substantive area before collecting data and analysing it. Among other reasons, they intend to find out if something similar has already been investigated.

Similarly, Bryant and Charmaz (2007), accept that, a researcher, especially one with prior experience, does have a preconceived understanding and ideas on his/her research, which is not possible to disregard. The scholars acknowledge the possibility of a preliminary literature review which can be used to provide an orientation to the study. This is in line with what is indicated in Charmaz’s description of the constructivist grounded theory. In her 2006’s book *Constructing grounded theory*, she points out that the preliminary literature review preceding the data collection, should then be completed during the data collection and the analysis of the data, because a “*sharply focused literature review strengthens your argument — and your credibility*” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 166).

The approach followed in this thesis, or rather the authors position on the debate on the literature review in grounded theory research, is unambiguously in favour of consulting the existing literature on the core area of the study, at the initial stage of the research. As denoted by Dunne (2011), “*The arguments in favour of undertaking a literature review before commencing data collection and analysis are compelling*”, (p.116), both from a conceptual and a practical point of view. Without going too deep into expanding Dunne point, from a conceptual point of view, assuming, as is implicitly done by those arguing against early literature review, that the researcher does not have former knowledge of the existing literature on the subject he/she

intends to further investigate, is at least naïve. Often it is exactly because of such knowledge that the interest, to further advance the area of investigation, is motivated. The analysis of the existing literature makes it easier to identify current knowledge gaps that can direct the researcher and help him/her to determine the nature of his/her own research, providing, at the same time, a rationale for how the proposed study may enhance the knowledge on the subject. This supported by Coffey and Atkinson (1996), who observe that, “*It is after all not very clever to rediscover the wheel, and the student or researcher who is ignorant of the relevant literature is always in danger of doing the equivalent*” (p. 157).

Having said that, one must acknowledge the originality of the grounded theory approach, which ‘requires’ that the new theory emerges from the gathering of the empirical data, and their interpretation made by the researcher, rather than by testing hypothesis elaborated based on existing theories. However, as indicated above, this does not exclude the assessment of the literature review prior to the data collection. rather the necessity, of reflexivity, which is also part of the grounded theory approach. Reflexivity avoids that, revisiting the existing theories, the researcher impose them on the data (Dunne, 2011).

Critically revisiting the available literature on the substantive area of the study using reflective thinking, in other words questioning the existing literature while analysing it, together with what Henwood and Pidgeon (2006) define “*theoretical agnosticism*” (p. 350), is the way the literature review presented in this chapter has been conducted. This helps to avoid the risk of the existing theories superimposing, or openly influencing, the inductive analysis of the sample, that should ultimately lead to the development of the grounded theory.

Having clarified this epistemological point, one can move on to the review of the main theoretical approaches to the concept of development, the theoretical approach to the drivers to migrate, the role of remittances and family in the migration perspective. This chapter, ultimately, rather than simply offering an ex ante representation of the existing literature on the subject, will support the contextualisation of the study.

### **2.3 The thesis intellectual paradigms**

This thesis, as indicated in the introductory chapter, aims at discussing the socio-economic consequences of migratory decisions at family level in contemporary Namibia. It focuses, on the nexus *migration – development*, which will be observed both from an economic (i.e. direct and indirect migrants' financial contributions to the family) and sociological (i.e. reasons to migrate, modification of the migrants' family social structure) angle.

It is important, however, to have a common understanding of the main conceptual paradigms used in this context, in particular of the concept/definition of: development, migration, family and remittance.

#### *2.3.1 The development conceptual paradigm*

Defining the concept of development, is not an easy task; it appears in a variety of disciplines ranging from the physical to the social sciences. Within the social science family, it can have varied meanings depending on the angle from which it is observed, and the ideological, theoretical and practical assumptions used to elaborate such a concept (Sant'Ana, 2008; Todaro, 1999). It is important, hence, to make explicit the assumptions used to describe this concept.

The thesis's meta-perspective approach to the development concept is that development is a process that determines changes in the social system, measured with respect to the improvement of a set of criteria, which can be correlated to the human empowerment and wellbeing (Herath, 2009; Sen, 1999; Myrdal, 1974).

Based on that, development should be both an ahistorical concept, because it is based on structure that have not existed, and apolitical, because it is not associated to any particular type of political structure (Colman & Nixon, 1994). However, when the abstract objectives of development are indicated, and one move to the realm of the theories, the concept of development becomes historical and political. Development refers in such a case, both to a precise period in time, and to a specific geographical region, and requires socio-political structures to achieve its objectives.

Taking cognisance of the way in which the relation between the abstract concept of development and its theorisation has evolved since the end of World War II, it is evident that the definition of development has had, and has, a clear historical and political connotation.

The vision of development as a way to *improve the human wellbeing* appeared in the late 50s, but assumed a political implication when, in his inaugural address, Truman, the newly elected American president, indirectly defined development by stating that: "*we must embark on a bold new program for making the benefit of our scientific advance and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped area*" (Truman 1945, paragraph 44). Afterward, particularly when referring to the non-western world, (economic) growth has always been regarded as the major factor associated to the development process, as recently suggested by Szirmai (2005), who emphasised that growth "*remains one of the necessary conditions for long-term development*" (p. 9). Such association between growth and

development has been nonetheless criticized, both by those scholars who did not believe that development was an element of progress “per se”, and by those who were instead supporting such a vision. The former supported a positive and progressive image of development because they argued, that it implied the need to associate development with a specific model of economic growth. Consequentially, based on Truman’s statement, this meant that development was nothing other than just a *westernisation* of the ‘*underdeveloped countries*’.

As put by Esteva (2010), the western “*industrial mode of production, which was no more than one among many forms of social life, became the definition of the terminal stage of a unilinear way of social evolution*” (p.4).

The latter, on the other hand, without taking position on the validity of that specific model of production, were instead suggesting that development could not be explained just with the lenses of economic growth, but needed to be analysed from a much wider angle; advocating, as observed by Thrilwall (2002), that: “*development should be focused on and be judged by the expansion of people entitlements and capabilities that this entitlements generates*” (p. 43).

The following discussion reflects such a historical evolution and gives reasons for the manner in which the concept of development has evolved in the last decades.

From being correlated simply to economic indicators, the concept of development has been associated to a larger vision comprising the economic, social and human progress indicators.

This excursus will serve to better frame and contextualise the nexus migration-development which is the core subject of this thesis.

### 2.3.2 *The development debate: the 50s – 60s period*

Through the 50s and 60s the development economics was conceived. Development, under this new branch of economics had a positive connotation. It was perceived as a fight against poverty, and a process that would bring changes in the condition of poverty experienced by a large part of the people, particularly the ones living in the ‘less developed countries’ of Latin America, Asia and Africa (Myint, 1980). As observed by Esteva (2010), this also meant that development was perceived as an *inverted mirror* of underdevelopment, which could only spring into life via the magic wand of economic growth. This interpretation of development as *modernisation* was typical of the classical and neo-classical scholars who approached development within a national context and mostly in terms of economic growth (Thorbecke, 2007), measuring its achievements on the rate of improvements of the national accounts (Engel, 2010).

Agarwala and Singh (1988), offered a very good representation of the general and overall approach to development among the academic community in the fifties. Their collection of the seminal works of the prominent development economists at the time, included Baran (1988), Kuznets (1988), Lewis (1954), Rosestein-Rodan (1988), just to mention a few. Although they approach the subject from different angles, they all emphasise the importance of economic growth and the need to follow the western pattern of industrialisation as the necessary tools for development. The Gross National Product (GNP) and/or Gross Domestic Product (GDP)<sup>9</sup> were the

---

<sup>9</sup> The Gross National Product (GNP) and the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) are based on a system of national income accounts; GNP refers to the sum of all consumption, investment and government spending by a country’s nationals, regardless of where these occurred. GDP refers to all consumption, investment and government spending within the country, plus exports minus imports, regardless of the citizenship of the consumer or investor (Stanton 2007).

main indicators used as a proxy to measure economic expansion, development, and the level of welfare in a given country. Conceived in such a way, development was basically a quantitative concept based on the assumption that increases in the GNP/GDP improved the wellbeing of the people by determining a general reduction of poverty and inequality in any given underdeveloped country.

Such deterministic ideas of development did not go unchallenged. Thomas (2000), and all those scholars who criticised it, aligned with Sachs' (2000) observation that *"...from the start developments' hidden agenda was nothing else than the westernisation of the world"* (p. xviii). Development presented in this form, provided the scientific/academic justification to a specific political idea well represented by the words used by the United of States President Truman in his 1949 inaugural address. Based on such analysis, this group of scholars saw development as a way to impose a specific model of production to the rest of the world, which, could have only allowed the perpetuation of the condition of underdevelopment in the less developed countries.

At the end of this first decade, critiques started to emerge to challenge the main orthodoxy of associating economic growth with development. As recently indicated by Szirma (2005), in a critical assessment of the development debate, *"even if we limit ourselves to the economic sphere, it is clear that economic development is more than economic growth alone"* (p. 6). In an attempt to give an answer to such critical sentiments, in the seventies, the definition of the concept development was revised to include non-purely economic parameters in its developmental equation..

### *2.3.3 The development debate: the 70s period*

Seers (1969), based his argument on the experience of many developing countries. He argued that during the decades of the 50s and 60s, despite a sustained economic

growth, developing countries did not show a substantial improvement in the wellbeing of their populations. Seers was among the first scholars who made explicit such critical observations on the validity of the equivalence between *economic growth* and *development*. He raised the following about development:

*The questions to ask about a country's development are therefore: What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three these have declined from high levels then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result "development" even if per capita income has doubled. (paragraph 17).*

This was a major critique to the mainstream economics' vision of development; raising doubts that economic growth *per se* could not have automatically spawned a trickle-down effect on the wellbeing of the population. Streeten (1972), echoed Seers' critiques, confuting the mono-dimensional vision of development as economic growth. He considered the equation *economic growth = development* from another angle: "*just as there can be economic growth without development, there can be development without economic growth*" (p. 31), indicating the need to look at the concept of development from a more holistic viewpoint. This paved the road to the elaboration of the 'basic needs' approach to development<sup>10</sup> which, under the banner of the International Labour Organisation (ILO)<sup>11</sup>, was introduced in the mid-70s (ILO, 1976). It must be made clear that growth, and hence the increase in the GDP and/or other economic indicators of the national accounts was not abandoned as a focus of development (Cherney, 1974), but such increase was, this time, specifically

---

<sup>10</sup> The idea of basic need originated in the 1940s in an article of Albert Maslow in the Psychological Review 1942, where he identified five categories of needs starting from psychological and ending with self-actualization needs. However only in the 70s this idea was translated a developmental approach reorienting development towards people.

<sup>11</sup> In 1976 a World Employment Conference was held under the auspices of the ILO. It was attended by delegations from 121 member states, and each delegation included representatives of government, employers, and workers. The basic working paper for the conference was Employment, Growth and Basic Need, ILO (1976).

linked to the production of tangible results in ameliorating the condition of the poor. A set of objectives to be achieved in the areas of education, nutrition, health and sanitation, were hence identified to measure the wellbeing improvements of the poor. As suggested in the World Economic and Social Survey (2010),

*This approach reversed conventional practice, ..... by setting specific production targets and deriving the desirable rate of economic growth implied. In this sense, the basic needs development strategy was also more practical than conventional strategies. (p. 17).*

Critically assessing this new vision of development, it is possible to argue, as posited by Lummis (2010), that, by not questioning the model of production used to achieve economic growth, the advocates of the basic needs approach were indirectly accepting the status quo of the underdeveloped areas. The less developed countries would have, in fact, constantly been engaged in an endless process of economic *caching up* with the rich countries, which would have been always a step ahead of them. Besides such negative critiques, the basic need approach did not have the time to really be verified and put into practice; the late 70s early 80s were, in fact, characterised by the failure of the Latin America model of growth<sup>12</sup> led by the state intervention, and the contextual debt crises derived from it. As result of such crises, the improvement of the country's rate of growth, was linked again to the concept development. At the same time, conditions were also set to indicate the direction and the type of reforms that the economy had to undergo to achieve such a growth and hence to follow the path to development.

---

<sup>12</sup> The proposed Import Substitute Industrialization, with the protection of the national infant industry.

#### 2.3.4 *The development debate: the 80s and the Washington consensus*

In the 80s, under what was known as the *Washington consensus*, development was associated with a set of macroeconomic policies to be applied irrespective of the peculiarity of the country. These were aimed at fostering economic growth. Among the majority of the developmental practitioners, for both academicians and policy makers, unanimity was reached on the belief that for developing countries to expand their economies, they had to adopt Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) and pursue macroeconomic stability. Growth was an end in itself, and the reference to the wellbeing of the individual, which had characterised the basic need approach in the previous decade, was relegated to the realm of utility maximisation (Fukada-Parr, & Kumar, 2003). These policies were justified on the neoliberal standing that advocated economic liberalisation, the reduction of the government spending and the promotion of private sector intervention over the public one (Nik-Khah, & Van Horn, 2016). The Berg (1981), report, *Towards Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa*, best summarises this vision applied to the African context. The report argued that the failure of African economies to take a satisfactory development path was attributable to the excessive intervention of their governments, and the interventionist policies that they were pursuing. By restructuring the economy and reducing government intervention, SAPs would have achieved accelerated economic growth in the poorer countries. Governments were requested to reduce their role in the economy, put in place a SAP<sup>13</sup> aimed at privatizing state-owned industries, including the health sector, and to open up their economies to foreign competition. The implementation of such measures, in the view

---

<sup>13</sup> Such reforms included currency devaluation, managed balance of payments, reduction of government services through public spending cuts/budget deficit cuts, reduction of tax on high earners, reducing inflation, wage suppression, privatization, lower tariffs on imports and tighter monetary policy, increased free trade, cuts in social spending, and business deregulation.

of the authors, would have created, at the same time, a conducive environment for the release of the individual entrepreneurial capacity and skills, which would have lead to the improvement of the human wellbeing in the country (Harvey, 2005).

As noted by many critics of such an approach, for underdeveloped countries to achieve development, they were forced to be part of a globalisation process that brought the integration of their markets into those of the developed ones (Berthoud, 2010). Under the 'Washington Consensus' insufficient attention was paid to the social dimension of development, with the result that basic needs of individuals such as education, public health, and nutrition had to be reduced (Williamsons, 2004). The SAPs were expected to reduce poverty by fostering economic growth, particularly in the rural areas where most of the poor lived (World Bank, 1981). Ironically, because of their emphasis on expenditure cuts, implicit in the SAPs, the rural areas were particularly hard hit by the same policies, which aimed to support them (Heidhues & Obare, 2011). Significant to note is that, despite the introduction of the policy reforms, which according to their original intentions, by freeing the markets and the trade, and unlashng the potentials of the individuals, should have led to a rapid accelerating of growth, and the maximization of the human wellbeing, developing countries experienced a stagnation. Many scholars regarded this period as *the lost decade of development*<sup>14</sup> regardless of the angle one would have used to define the concept of development. In most of the cases, in fact, as result of the SAPs the developing countries experienced a deterioration of the basic economic indicators, growing poverty, increasing unemployment and widening social divide (Sörensen & Söderbaum, 2012; Easterly, 2001).

---

<sup>14</sup> Maurice Williams, President of the Society for International Development calls the 1980s "a lost decade for most of the developing world." Stephen Lewis, Special Adviser on Africa to the U.N. Secretary-General refers to the "brutal and mindless 1980s".

### 2.3.5 *The development debate: from the capability to the participation approach*

As the 1990s advanced, it was clear that rather than reducing poverty, it was increasing in the majority of the countries that had undergone SAPs. An initial attempt was made, from those scholars who still believed in the soundness of the SAPs approach, to ‘revamp’ the policies proposed; this led to a critical assessment of the SAPs’ impact on the human wellbeing of the population affected. A new term, “*adjustment with a human face*” was coined by the scholars (Cornia, Jolly, & Stewart, 1987) which, while maintaining the focus on the developmental role played by the structural adjustment programme, advocated paying more attention to the social dimension impact of those policies. Under this new strategy a series of state interventions were suggested and introduced to correct the potential short-term negative effects of the SAPs.

On the other hand, on the footing of the *basic need* approach, a different paradigm of development emerged, based on the ‘enhancement of the individual’s capabilities’, (Sen, 1989). The advocates of such an interpretation represented development as a process aimed at enlarging people choices. Thus, the level of personal or national income, or any other pure economic indicators of wellbeing, were deemed inappropriate to express the level/rate of a country development (Sant’Ana, 2008). Sen’s approach proved to be the intellectual base on which the United Nations Development Programme elaborated the Human Development Index (HDI). In this context the HDI was presented as a new, and more appropriate indicator to measure development. Ul Haq (1995), the principal author of the 1990 Human Development Report (HDR), underpins that with the use of the HDI it was possible to shift the focus of development from economic growth, and hence national income indicators,

to the satisfaction of people needs. Shani (2012) pursues this line of thought by submitting that:

*Proponents of human development reject the neoliberal view that economic growth can act as a panacea for all social ills, including mass poverty, and seek to re-inscribe the 'human' into the discourse of development by emphasising that human beings are the ultimate end of development. (p.103).*

Fukada-Parr and Kumar (2003), highlight this aspect observing that the 1990 HDR stated:

*Human development is a process of enlarging people's choices. The most critical of these wide-ranging choices are to live a long and healthy life, to be educated and to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living. (p. 307).*

Since then the concept of development has broadened to include the fight to overcome inequality and human deprivation, arriving at the point of considering development as a process resulting from the expansion of the individual/people 'substantive freedom', where freedom is both the aim of development, and the tool to achieve development. In this sense substantive freedom increases the capacity of the individuals to help themselves, and "people have the opportunity to achieve outcomes that they value and have reason to value" (Sen, 1999 p. 291). In Sen's definition of development as freedom, economic growth, even though if is not a goal in itself, remains significant. Through it the individual can achieve a wide range of freedoms, and remove all those constraints, which prevent the human being to fully utilize his/her capabilities and improve his/her condition<sup>15</sup>. This is a major point of critique of Sen's ideas of capabilities and the post human development approach. As suggested by O'Hearn (2009), in this way the dominant capitalistic model of production is implicitly accepted; a model which is instead

---

<sup>15</sup> To this end the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were elaborated; they established measurable, universally agreed objectives for eradicating extreme poverty and hunger, preventing deadly but treatable disease, and expanding educational opportunities to all children.

regarded by many critics of the positive vision of development, as the main reason why it is impossible to achieve the development objective, (Shina 2012). This is a relevant remark to Sen's capability perspective, however it underestimates the fact that, despite being neutral on the type of economic system in place, by emphasizing the role that the individuals play in such a process, *participation* becomes also one of the pillars to achieve the development objectives. In other words, the people are or can be, the agents of their own development. When understood from this perspective, development is connected to the people's empowerment. According to this view, the people hold the keys to shape their lives, and, incidentally in this process they can question, once empowered through capabilities and freedom, the dominant mode of production. The goals and the means of development are, therefore, to enhance peoples' capacities and the opportunities made available to them (i.e. access to education, employment, or decision-making processes), that make the individuals 'capable' of determining their present and to shape their future (Alkire, 2008; Nussbaum, 2011). Development in this respect is not something that is accomplished only by some external structures (for them) such as for example, the market or the state, but the individuals themselves, with their actions, are an integral part of it (Alvarez, Tinajero and Sinatti 2011). Migration in this vision of development can be seen, and is regarded for the purposes of this investigation, as one of the capabilities/freedoms that, the individuals should seek and/or have. The migrants are 'transformed' into agents who reflexively interact with the external environment and change the status of their wellbeing. In other words, the migrants can be seen as actors of their self-development whom by deciding to migrate generate other actions, which potentially can have also an

impact on their own development as well as that of both the countries/areas of origin and destination.

Having described the paradigm of development, and linked it to the migration movement, it is fitting to move on to illustrate what is meant by migration, and how this thesis fits in the current migration debate.

#### **2.4 The Migration debate**

Migration is a complex phenomenon which has been examined by all branches of social science. The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) defines migration as *“the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State”* (IOM 2011, p. 62). The IOM further describes internal migration as *“a movement of people from one area of a country to another for the purpose or with the effect of establishing a new residence....(i.e. rural to urban)”* (IOM, 2011, p. 51); while international migration is defined as the *“movement of persons who leave their country of origin, or the country of habitual residence, to establish themselves either permanently or temporarily in another country”* (IOM, 2011, p. 52).

Scholars have always approached migration from the specific angle of their disciplines, looking at it in terms of the distinction between internal and international movements considered either at a micro (individual) or macro (community/family/country) level of analysis. Scientific studies have progressed since the early migration works of Ravenstein (1885, 1889) which focused on internal migration. His initial studies were mostly based on a geographical and demographic viewpoint and were interested in explaining the patterns of migration in a space-time relationship, to understand how migration could have affected population changes over time. The early period of industrialization in the 19<sup>th</sup>

century, when “*some 48 million emigrants left the continent of Europe*”, (Massey (2003, paragraph 3) shifted the interest of the academics to the economic reasons behind such movements, in an attempt to explain the propensity to migrate and its effects on the receiving and the departing countries. Since then understanding the determinants of the migration movements, and their consequences both in the country of origin and the destination, has remained one of the main concerns of the social sciences studies. Disciplines such as history, anthropology, sociology, political science and law have since then added their contributions to find answers related to their specific areas of studies. Migration research, however, as noted by Castles (2016, p. 23), has for a long time remained “*compartmentalized, with little analytical and methodological collaboration across boundaries*”. It is not the aim of this research to construct a unifying theory of migration, rather, in an attempt to promote a dialogue across the different disciplines, to try to explain the determinant of migration, how it is sustained over time and its impact on the sending and receiving area, combining the economic angle with the sociological angle of migrants and their family social relationships and the social interaction affecting the decision to migrate.

The first step in this direction is, however, to clarify the research stands on the existing relationship between “*internal*” and “*international*” migration. This study prefers following King, Skeldon and Vullnetari’s approach which considers internal and international migration as “*an integrated system, which can be observed at a range of scales – family/household, community, national, and the constellation of countries linked by migration flows*” (2008, p. 48). This does not mean, however, that internal migrants, “*inevitably*” will be transformed into international migrants,

but that the two systems of migration are inter-related (Skeldon, 2006). The following paragraphs will make explicit such an approach.

#### *2.4.1 The spatial context: Internal vs. international migration*

Initially, human mobility studies looked at migration from the angle of the internal movements. Ravenstein (1885) developed his “laws of migration” by observing the individual movements from the rural counties to London, and for long, internal migration studies, irrespective of the theoretical angle they were approached, looked at it as a ‘rural to urban movement’. With the first wave of globalisation, and the rise of mass migration between the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the 1<sup>st</sup> World War when millions of Europeans emigrated to the Americas and Australasia (Ferrie and Hatton, 2014), scholars turned to international migration to understand and study the determinants and the effects of such movements, particularly for the receiving countries. Since then the gulf between the two disciplines has widened to the point that only the international movements of people are now a day, in the common understanding, associated with the term migration. The internal movements of people are not truly seen as a “real form of migration” but are associated with movements that affect the population distribution in a specific area/country, or related to the process of urbanization, mostly in the developing countries (Natali 2009, Skeldon 2008, Lucas 2015). This dichotomy is reflected even in the official definitions of migration. The attention given to the international over the internal migration movements by scholars and policy makers has never been as strong as in the last few decades, when human mobility has been an integral part of the globalisation process, and international migrants have been seen as a threat to the sovereignty of the receiving western country (Castles, 2001; King & Conti, 2013). At the same time, more studies indicate that the internal movement often leads to international

migration, which, looked at from the angle of a transnational movement, assumes more and more the form of step migration; internal migration became part of such new modality of migration which, Paul (2011) observes, became:

*... an alternative strategy for aspiring migrants from the developing world to surmount the structural barriers preventing them from gaining legal entry into their preferred destinations, often in the West. (p. 1843).*

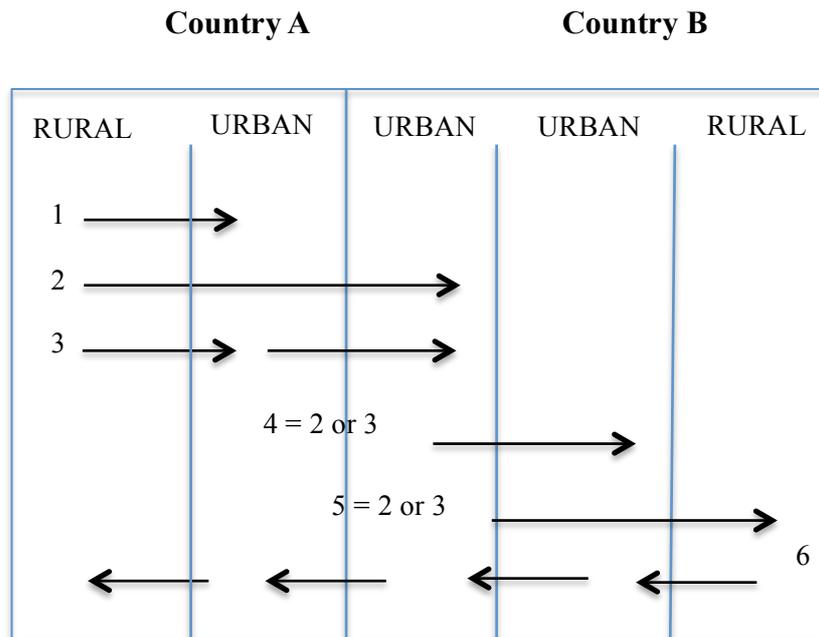
For these reasons, in an attempt to find answers to what is considered as a threat to the sovereignty of the Western countries, the analysis of the relationship between internal and international migration is increasingly attracting the attention of the scholars and policy makers (Czaika & de Haas, 2015), since it is clear that the determinants of internal and international migrants are often the same (DeWind & Holdaway, 2005). The choice between internal or international movements is addressed here as a result of an assessment of “*competing strategies in a matrix of opportunities open to potential migrants*” (King, Skeldon, & Vullnetari, 2008, p. 48). Intuitively internal movements are the first and easiest form of migration, as observed by Ravenstain (1885) in what he defined as the tendency of individuals to move initially over short distances;<sup>16</sup> such movements are typically associated with rural to urban migration. Long distance movements, require a set of conditions, including financial resources, which make this form of migration often a sort of ‘*second best option*’ compared with the internal one.

Figure 1 below gives a representation of the sequencing of the migration movements in their simplest form. This sequencing has been theoretically defined by Zelinsky (1971), who argued that the processes of modernisation and economic growth coincided first with the rise of internal (rural to urban) migration, indicated as 1 in Figure 1, followed by successive international migration flows.

---

<sup>16</sup> Ravenstein’s 1<sup>st</sup> law of migration.

Figure 1 Migration movements



Source: Author elaboration from King, Skeldon, and Vullnetari, (2008)

Such observations give substance to the *internal leading to international* migration flow, indicated in Figure 1 as (3) whose sequencing has been observed in many developing countries. Cases (4) and (5) in Figure 1 show instead the possible migration movements in the country of destination of the international migrants which may trace the pattern already experienced during the internal migration movements, while case (6) indicates the other possible trajectories of migratory movements that can characterize the return migration. Attention is here given to the internal leading to international migration, shown in case (3).

#### 2.4.2 The spatial context: Internal leading to international migration

The literature evidence of such sequencing of migration is robust. The Mexican migration, which has been extensively studied in the last decades, confirms the existence of this progression. Lozano-Ascencio, Roberts and Bean, (1999) among others, resolve that “*direct migration from rural areas to international destinations seems to have been the norm in international migration flows from Mexico to the*

*United States since the last century*” (p. 140). King (2004), analysing Albanian migration movements, detected a similar migratory pattern. More recently, Singh and Roy (2015), analysing the migration process in the Eastern Uttar Pradesh in India, found that more than two thirds of international migrants from the observed area, (82 per cent) have experienced internal migration, before moving internationally in order to improve their skills or to strengthen their networks, or simply to work in order to have sufficient funds to move abroad. Skeldon (2006), in his studies on the South Asian migration movements, noted that although the internal to international sequencing was present in some specific contexts, such progression was not a necessary precondition, and the two forms of migration may have occurred in a completely independent way one from the other. On the other hand, he found more empirical evidence of the inverse relationship, international determining internal migration, which was in line with the original theory of the step migration developed by Ravenstain, cited in Skeldon (2006), who observes that:

*The process of international migration from a community giving rise to internal migration is but a variant of the hierarchical pattern of migration observed for internal migration in nineteenth-century England by Ravenstein (1885): that migration proceeds in ‘steps’, with those leaving the village for overseas being replaced by migrants from settlements more isolated or further down the urban hierarchy.* (Skeldon, 2006 p. 26).

Çaro, Bailey, and Van Wissen, (2014, p.158), investigating the recent Albanian migration pattern, confirmed Skeldon’s observation that the decision to move internally “*was triggered by family member[s] living abroad*”, hence the correlation between the international and internal migration could also be explained by the type of family relationships, with the decision of moving internally influenced by these ties. All such findings seem to give substance to the study’s view that underpins the existence of interdependence between the two forms of migration. As indicated in the paragraph above, this aspect of the migration movements is still under-

investigated, and the thesis will aim to give some answers also to this aspect. The cloudiness among these two forms of migration is, in fact, even thicker when turning the attention to the African continent. As denoted by Adepoju (2011), in this case, geographical, historical and cultural reasons make, in most circumstances, even more difficult the distinction between internal and international migration:

*... this continent is rooted in migrations, voluntary and compelled, intra-regional migration configurations are fostered by shared culture, language and colonial heritage, factors which also blur the distinction between internal and international migration. (p. 299).*

Such an observation is strongly validated by the phenomenon of cross border migration, which dominates the movement of people within the continent. In Africa the borders are often the result of imposed decisions taken during the colonial period, without any concern to the existing social and political realities of the interested countries. Hence, it seems inappropriate to consider migration movements as a real form of international migration, but rather they could be seen as a different form of internal migration that should be associated with the circular migration, a form of migration that is very common in Southern Africa where the majority of cross border migration movements assume the form of a short stay in the border countries.

Having clarified the approach used in the thesis to analyse the relationship between internal and international migration, it is now possible to move on to describe the way in which different theoretical approaches have explained the determinants of migration, focusing particularly on the economic and sociology disciplines, with the aim of finding a bridge across them.

#### *2.4.3 The determinants of migration: Economic and sociological theories*

There are currently a variety of theoretical models trying to explain the determinants of migration, each of them using different assumptions and levels of analysis

(Arango, 2000). As indicated by O' Reilly (2012), besides economists, economic theories have influenced all other social theorists working in the field of international migration. The thesis will try to include the sociological interpretation of the social processes, resulting from the migration decisions, such as the role of remittances and of the migrants' families and networks, into the economic explanation of the same migration decisions.

There is a consensus among scholars of both internal and international migration belonging to the different areas of social studies, that economic dynamics are primary factors, which determine the decision to migrate (Adepoju, 1988). Currently, the prevailing economic theory in explaining the causes of migration is the neoclassical theory, also linked to the conventional push and pull model. The most basic model, when applied to internal migration (Lewis 1954; Harris & Todaro, 1970), explains migration as the result of geographic difference in wages among labour, abundant supply and demand areas. Migration is the result of differences in wages in the different locations, which are determined by the higher demand of labour in the urban areas with limited supply of labour, compared to the stagnant rural areas with an unlimited supply of labour. As a result, urban areas which can offer job opportunities with higher salaries, attract individuals who are pushed away from the rural area for lack of prospects, and/or because of lower remunerations. At international level the movement is similarly explained because of wage differentials between capital-rich industrialised countries, which can offer higher salaries and labour-intensive underdeveloped countries with fewer opportunities and lower salaries.

At macro levels, migration movements are analysed with respect to defined economic systems, industrialised versus underdeveloped countries, regions,

provinces, and municipalities. At micro level the decision to migrate is based on a 'rational' cost benefit assessment made by the individual who decides to move if "*the present value of the total benefits to move is higher than the present value of the cost of moving*" (Itzo 2008, p. 3). Expected, rather than actual earnings determine the intensity of the migration flows, which diminish as the country/region develops due to the reduction of the wage differential between the two locations.

Sociologically, at a micro individual level, such a rational economic explanation can be related to what Giddens (1991) calls "reflexive life planning". According to Giddens, the individual biography "*must continually integrate events which occur in the external world and sort them out into the ongoing story about self*", (p. 54). In this case, the decision to move or not to move, taken by the self (the migrant), is the result of a reflexive process, which makes him/her to balance between opportunities and risk. The way the Namibian internal migrants consider the external structures and interact with them is one of the approaches used to analyse the impact of internal migration on the Namibian family institution.

Giddens' interpretation of the interaction between structures and agents is also useful to better understand the criticisms raised against the neo-classical approach. From an economic angle, the wage differentials' explanation is based on the assumption that markets do not have any imperfections. The migrants on the other hand are considered as a homogenous category, which makes rational choices based on a free access to all the available information (Kurekova, 2010). Migrants, in other words, are atomized utility maximizing individuals whose decisions to move are not directly linked with the family, and the community to which they belong. Porters (1995), confutes from a sociological perspective, such a pure economics vision, arguing that, on the contrary: "*social relationship enter every stage of the [migration] process,*

*from the selection of the economic goals to the organisation of relevant means”* (p.3). Even from an economic perspective the original neoclassical theory of migration, focusing exclusively on the migrants, fails to explain the impact that migration has on the non-migrants. In other words migrants’ families, and friends’ networks, are not factored in the analysis (Diajic, 1986). Neither the impact of financial remittance (which is one of the economic outcomes of migration (Taylor, 1999), nor the impact and role that family and communities have on migration, are considered in the neoclassical explanation of migration (de Haas, 2010). Remittances and family/network relationships, which can instead be understood sociologically from the standpoint of structural functionalism (Parsons, 1951), are important components in the analysis of both the drivers of migration, and to assess its impact on the wellbeing of the migrants, the family and the society as a whole. In the structural functionalism vision, the society is considered as a system made up of interconnected parts. The family and the networks are part of such a system, which functions on the basis of a shared system of values and norms. Such norms and values become part of the actor, and the action is part of a process *“in the actor-situation system which has motivational significance to the individual actor”* (Parsons, 1951, p. 4). Applied to the migrant’s decision to financially remit, the thesis investigates the individual’s rational to contribute financially to the family, and the gratification the actor receives in return.

Besides such critiques, the pure neo-classical model does not stand the empirical investigation. Massey et al., (1998) empirically tested the case of international migration flows, and found that the expectation that with the elimination of the wage differential between the areas of origin and the destination of the migrants leads to a

reduction of the migration flows, “*while generally sustained – was by no means the strongest predictor of migration levels*” (p.132).

#### 2.4.4 *A non neo-classical migration model*

As a result of the limitation of the neo-classical explanation of migration, alternative models have been developed. The dual labour market theory (Piore, 1979), shifts the angle from which to look at the migration movements, focusing on the structural characteristic of the economies of the sending and receiving areas, and on the individual’s social motivation. According to Piore, migration movements are the result of the pull factor determined by the “*permanent demand for immigrant labor that is inherent to the economic structure of the developed nation*” (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1993, p. 440). It is the segmentation in the labour market, between the low skills labour intensive sectors, with low upward mobility and low salaries, and the high skills, capital-intensive sectors, with higher wages and labour mobility, which ultimately, attract migrants. The assumption is that the native workers tend to move upward to the high skills, and better remunerated capital sectors jobs. In this upward movement, employers in the low skills labour intensive sectors rely on migrants to fill the shortages. Although the migrants’ aspirations in terms of goal and status may be similar to that of the high skilled native, the structural differences between the economies of origin and destination of the migrants, make the salary of the migrant by local standards, sufficient to fulfill their specific goals (Gurieva & Dzhioev, 2015).

Although this mechanism mostly refers to international migration, it can easily be applied to internal migration, where the rural areas are associated with the labour intensive sector while the urban area is linked to the capital-intensive segment of the labour market. The dual labour market explanation of the determinant of migration

indirectly gives substance to the role that the personal motivations of the migrants has when analysing the determinant of the migration movements. These agents do not move in isolation from the contexts in which they are located. They are characterised by internal and external structures whose interaction causes the migration movement. Specific to the Namibian internal movements, a pure economic model is not sufficient to explain why often the migrants accept to experience a high degree of hardships to improve the state of the house in the village or to purchase animal stocks. By looking at the sociological angle of the human nature investigation, this study considers how the human nature, with, for example, the interaction between the actors' search for social approval and the achievement of their self interests, may influences the economic behaviours.

#### *2.4.4 A socio-economic approach to the migration movements*

A significant attempt in widening the angle of migration theory, linking the economic theory more directly with the social processes underlying migratory movements, was achieved with the elaboration of the new economic of (labour) migration (NELM) model. The NELM (Stark & Bloom, 1985), while accepting that economic imbalances/disequilibrium between different areas are among the causes that determine people's movement, introduces some other important elements to explain the determinant of migration. It is not the individual but rather the extended family, (or in some cases even the community) which makes the decision to migrate.

*Migration decisions are often made jointly by the migrant and by some group of nonmigrants. Cost and returns are with the rule governing the distribution of both spelled out in an implicit contractual arrangement between the two parties. (Stark & Bloom, 1985, p. 174).*

In this way the decision to move is not based on the optimization of the individual 's wellbeing but rather is the result of a 'family strategy'. In the migration perspective

by considering the family network (and or the community), the risk of migration, as well as the costs of the movement, are reduced, or shared among the members. Particularly in the African context, the family substitutes an absentee State in providing social protection via an informal welfare system, based on an unwritten, implicit understanding between the family members, which brings obligations and benefits for the family (Mokomane, 2012). Following Castles and Miller's (2009) suggestions and drawing from sociological studies, this research observes the interaction between the actors (the migrants) and the intermediary family structure (the family), in the Namibian setting. Although family is not the only social structure interacting with the migrants, it is the most easily observable to understand the path that leads to the migration decision. Concurrently the NELM literature stands out for providing an economic rationale for the migrants' material contributions (i.e. economic remittances (Bodvarsson, & Van den Berg, 2013). The family structure is, in fact, the first "beneficiary" of the migration decision via the material support which family members receive in terms of money or other goods. In this way economic remittances can be regarded as that outcome of the contractual agreement implicitly signed among the parties that link the migrants with the family/community (Rapoport, & Docquier, 2005; Chort, Gubert & Senne, 2011).

However, the NELM approach remains embedded in the economic view that the migrants and their families are completely free to make rational decisions (Sassen 1988; Massey et al, 1998, Portes & Rumbaut, 2014), and does not investigate the way the actor-structure relationship evolves. This is a grey area that the current research will try to further explore focusing on the impact that economic remittances have on the family socio-economic structure.

A more general source of critique to the NELM approach is raised by Bauer and Zimmerman (1999). They argue that associating the migration decision to a risk-sharing family behaviour, makes this model only fit to explain the migration decision in the developing country, where other institutional mechanisms of social protection do not exist or are very weak. While not disputing this type of observation, it seems however that rather than diminishing the relevance of the model, it makes it possible to analyse the migration determinants and its consequences from the Namibian perspective. All of the above reasons make the NELM a good starting point to understand the determinants of migration. As indicated by Kurekova (2010), “*it highlights the importance and relevance of institution and non-economic factors for migration decisions and hence brings in meso-level indicators and frames of reference*” (p. 6). At the same time, it allows the analysis of the role played by the family, network and community not only in the decision to migrate, but also on the impact they have in the perpetuation of the migration movements. From this starting point it is possible to look at migration from a socio-economic interdisciplinary perspective, paying attention on the determinants and the consequences of migration. Although economic evaluations have a role in the decision to move, migration remains primarily a social phenomenon in nature, hence, concurring with De Jong and Gardner (1981), Portes (1995) and Haug (2008), that the importance to integrate the economic with sociological thinking, and to understand both the reasons which make the agents (individuals or family) to move in different geographical areas, the way in which the external and the internal structures constrain or enable those movements and how the agents and the structures interact (de Haas, 2010). Internal and international migration, can be explained as “*part of a broader household livelihood strategy to diversify income and overcome development*

*constraints in the place of origin*” (de Haas, 2010, p.19); or as a deliberate decision taken by the family, to improve their livelihood (Bebbington 1999; Ellis 2000).

Social processes, as noted by O’ Relly (2012), are formed through “*constant interaction between external structure (what is out there), internalised structures in agents (what is in here) practice (actions) and outcomes (with intended and unintended consequences)*”, (paragraph 6); associating migration with a *broader household strategy* means that the individuals are not passive subjects to the structural constrains. This concurs with Giddens’ (1984) structuration theory, where the agents actively engage, and interact, with the different levels of the structure (Menz, 2009); the migrants hence can be considered as agents fighting to improve their status, tackling the existing constrains (Lieten & Nieuwenhuys, 1989).

The notion of social network introduced in economic sociology by Granovetter (1973), provides an additional, and clearer interdisciplinary view of the determinants of migration, while explaining also the motives that allow the continuation of the migration flows, even when all the economic imbalances are eliminated.

Boyd (cited in Elrick, 2005, p.1) gives particular relevance to the role played by family and household networks in explaining social interaction:

*... studying networks, particularly those linked to family and households, permits understanding migration as a social product – not as the sole result of individual decisions made by individual actors, not as the sole result of economic or political parameters, but rather as an outcome of all these factors in interaction.*

Social networks, which are typically made of people coming from the same geographical area, (village, town, country) are usually composed of family members, friends or other individuals, who either intend to migrate, or have already moved away or are returned migrants. In this way they can provide assistance and information to the prospective migrants. The family network introduces a meso-

element between the micro level (agent), and the macro level (external structure), that help in explaining both the decision, and the perpetration of the migration movements. Faist (2000), has further extended the network theory by linking it with the social capital that is defined as:

*... those resources that help people or groups to achieve their goals in ties and the assets inherent in patterned social and symbolic ties that allow actors to cooperate in networks and organizations, serving as a mechanism to integrate groups and symbolic communities. (p. 102).*

The actors through the networks can make available in a ‘*cooperative way*’, to all the participants, their resources and by sharing the social capital via the networks the actors can achieve their objectives. A general critique to the network theory even in its expanded form of the social network hypothesis is that it does not provide a clear explanation of why migration starts and how the first network is created (Elrick, 2005). This observation, although pertinent, does not seem to invalidate the theory, nor the importance of its prediction for policy makers particularly. A more specific critique is that raised by Martinez-Brawley and Zorita (2014), who argue that while useful to explaining migration behaviours and patterns of migration, network theories’ predictions “*are mitigated by the realities of entry policies of the receiving country*” (p.125). Such a critique which also does not seem to alter the foundation of the theory is useful since it may push for a more accurate analysis of the role of the state in the receiving countries (and/or the receiving area in the case of internal migration), an element which is objectively under looked in the social network theory.

In this paragraph an attempt has been made to critically revisit some of the major migration theories following an interdisciplinary approach, which has linked economy and sociology. An attempt has been made to indicate the relevance to integrate economic and sociological thinking to properly understand internal

migration. The traditional neo-classical economic theory of rational behaviour has been critically revisited via the NELM approach, which identifies in the family/household the principal agent of migration and links causes and consequences of migration. What seems to emerge from the analysis of the current migration debate is that the economic reasons continue to be the most relevant and used in explaining the migration movements. In the case of NELM, where the movement is seen as the result of a family decision, the family is regarded as a monolithic unit where the individuals do not have own motivations and aspirations. Not enough empirical research has been done to study the relation between migration and the individual empowerment or beyond the individual economic growth. This shortfall reflects in the relationship between migration and development making difficult to reach a consensus on its nexus. The current research, by mixing the economic and sociological paradigms tries to bridge the gap between the two disciplines, advancing the discussion on the drivers of migration, and ultimately on the nexus migration development. The migrants are in fact here considered as agents who reflexively interact with the external environment, and both directly and indirectly can change their social and economic status. The idea that family networks are the intermediary internal structure that at the same time determine the migration movements, benefit from the outcome of the action, and ensure the continuation of the process, has then been introduced, and needs to be confirmed through the analysis of the Namibian internal migration movements.

The paragraph also identifies in the financial remittances the outcome of the unwritten contract existing between the migrants, and their family, a contract that is at the foundation of the decision to move.

Given the relevance that family networks, and (financial) remittances have in the thesis's narrative, the concluding paragraphs of this chapter 2 will be dedicated to revisiting and contextualising these two concepts.

## **2.5 The concept of family/household**

The critical investigation of the migration theory literature, and the previous analysis of the migration – development debate, gives evidence to the prominent role that the family/household structure has in determining the decision to migrate. For this reason, in this section, such concept is further scrutinised.

The family is a vital institution, which is indispensable to fulfil specific social and economic functions, (i.e. reproduction, production and consumption, children's socialisation, etc.). At the same time, the family/household is assumed to be the primary place where it is possible to observe the effects of the decision of one or more of its members to migrate (either internally or internationally). The migrants' remittances first reach the family/household, changing the family socio-economic context, and then they can have an impact on the community and on the networks to which the migrants and their families belong; ultimately they may have an impact on the country as a whole. The family, from a functionalist perspective is considered as a social institution assimilated to a living organism, composed by different parts each working together for the existence of the organism. Individuals relate to the society through families and households, but there is no homogeneity among scholars on the interchangeability of the terms.

### *2.5.1 The nuclear family*

Rodgers and White (1993), define the family as a social group characterised by the institution of marriage. White, (1991, p. 7), specifically proposed that: “*A family is*

*an intergenerational social group organised and governed by social norms regarding descent and affinity reproduction and the nurturant socialisation of the young*". White's definition of family is useful, since it associates the term family with a social institution with a concrete dimension and precise norms (Amoateng & Richter, 2007), but it does not help in understanding its functions. Parsons (1944, 1951), sustains that the (nuclear) family is essentially a modern concept, evolved because of the industrialisation process. The effect was the disappearance of the extended family unit of production, which changed its primary function from "*social-institutional to emotional-supportive*" (Bengtson, 2001, p.1). Parsons framed such a vision of the family into the sociological theoretical framework of the structure-functionalism sociological theory. Functionalists maintain that the society is made of different social institutions, in which actors do not exist in isolation but interact with other social systems; it is the interaction between the different institutions that ensure the functioning of the society. The family is one of the social institutions with a specific function to perform (Jary & Jary, 1991); among them, giving equilibrium to the adults through the institution of the marriage, and transferring to the children the proper set of norms and values (Jacobsen, Fursman, Bryant, Claridge & Jensen, 2004). This structural-functional approach is not free from criticism. It is a 'conservative' definition that tends to idealize the western view of family and is elusive because it does not consider the empirical evidence of the diversity of the domestic structure. Under such a definition, a family is formed by a "legally married couple," composed of a husband, a wife and their dependent children; and other forms of relationship are considered as a deviation from the norm (Berger & Berger, 1983; Amoateng, 2007; Amoateng & Richter, 2007).

On the other hand, several family scholars, on the bases of empirical studies on parish census, have criticized the assumption that the nuclear family has been the prevailing form of family in the western industrialised societies.<sup>17</sup> In other words, the vision that before industrialization there commonly existed an extended family (i.e. a large family structure with several relatives), and that as society evolved and industrialized the extended family gave away to the nuclear family, was a myth. Laslett and Wall (1972) and Laslett (1983) in their studies indicated that the nuclear family existed in most of West Europe well before the start of the industrialization. Sjoberg (1960) on the other hand observed that in pre-industrial societies the extended family was more common in urban than in rural areas, adding additional arguments against the timing of the appearance of the nuclear family. Without extra digressions in exploring this case, rests the fact that the nuclear family had/has certain characteristics, and, as the extended family, it had/has specific functions to absolve being a functional structure of the society. For the purpose of the empirical research and census purposes, the nuclear family definition is mostly similar to the family definition used by the United Nations Statistics Division (2017), which, associates the family with a unit composed by two or more individuals connected, through blood, adoption or marriage.

### 2.5.2 *The extended family and the household*

While a nuclear family is one that contains no relatives other than a husband, wife, and their children, an extended family includes other kin. Stanton (1995) defines the extended family as an

*on going body with a geographical base and it transcends the lifetime of its members. The composition of the extended family with its nuclear families and*

---

<sup>17</sup> Accordingly to the functionalists the extended family was the typical family form in pre-industrialized societies, Giddens (1987).

*independent single adults changes constantly, but the extended family itself continues with new leaders and new members as individuals depart or as the generations pass away. (p. 100).*

The extended family is defined here as any group of related people who reside together. This form of family has been considered by some scholars as antecedent to the nuclear family. The extended family was not just a place of cohabitation but also a unit of production. As society industrialises, the family structure decreases in size and changes its production function into a more reproductive one (Burch, 1967). This pattern of family transformation is based on a latent ethnocentric bias, based on the western mode of production, which, however does not exclude the coexistence of the two forms of structures or the adaptation in other hybrid forms of family in dissimilar contexts, where subsistence sectors coexist with industrial one. This is probably the situation prevailing in Namibia.

The existence of the family in Namibia is safeguarded by the Constitution, Art. 14. it indicates that the family is the fundamental group unit of society, and that “*men and women ... shall have the right to marry and find a family*” (Namibian Constitution p, 12). Reference to the right to marry indicates that the legal form of family can be linked to the nuclear family structure, which however is not the sole family structure in the country. As noted by Winterfeld, Fox and Mufane (2002), in this specific context, labour migration, mostly driven by the search for better opportunities, has structurally transformed the social institution of the Namibian families. The inability of the economy to complete the transformation from a pre-industrial/rural to an industrial society has resulted in the coexistence of various types of families, which:

*should be interpreted within a conceptual framework of adaptation of structures of different origins and aspects to current individual needs and structural constraints of socio-economic nature. (p. 166).*

The household is instead a concept different from that of the family as most families live in a household, but not all households are families. From a socio-anthropological point of view, it is often closely related to the extended family, because the household is analyzed from the prism of marriage and kinship, and the relations that are determined inside. From this angle the household is a unitary model where the resources are pooled together in a cooperative way (Mattila-Wiro, 1999). This approach is also very similar to the vision economists have of the household, which is considered as the main unit of production and consumption. Goody (1996) challenged this approach based on the observation that the process of industrialization, and often of labour migration, has ‘de facto’ forced people to find work away from home, determining a separation of the physical unity of the household from the family. Many scholars, who have addressed the debate from an African perspective, share this view; in this case it is in fact difficult to associate family with co-residence<sup>18</sup> (Russell 2002; Turner 2002). As indicated by Giddens (2000), when co-residence is not a characteristic of the family it is difficult to accept the view that family and household are the same concept.

Greiner (2012), examines the Namibian context and tries to synthesize the apparent conflict between the family and the household definition. Citing van de Walle (2006), he indicates that the household is “*the most practical system for organizing the pattern of residence of a population accessible to interviewers to execute a complete and non redundant count of the population*”, Greiner (2012, p. 196). In other words, the household definition is important for data collection and time and space comparisons, being a basic structure in the organization of the everyday life,

---

<sup>18</sup> In Namibia a household is associated to a person or group of persons, related or unrelated, who live together in the same homestead/compound, but not necessarily in the same dwelling unit. They have a common catering arrangement and are answerable to the same head. Namibian Statistic Agency (2012)

(Townsend, Madhavan, Collinson & Garenne, 2006). However, based on the research done on migration movements in Namibia, which have observed the existence of a linked rural - urban household, Greiner has coined the definition of 'multilocal households', which referred to the Namibian context, well represents also the African condition often characterised by the human mobility of a 'family with two households'. This concept of a spatially fragmented family is described as: "*...a group of people related by economic emotional, moral, etc. ties, connecting them*" Greiner (2012, p 205). This definition of spatially fragmented family, which is different from both the UN definitions of household and family seems appropriate to describe the transformations that migration determines on the physical family structure in Africa and particularly in Namibia. On the one hand, it recognizes the existence of emotional relationships, which are the basic elements in the family definition. On the other hand, it links the family to a 'domestic' unit, which can be however multi located. At the same time the concept of multilocal households well represents the fact that many Namibian migrants, particularly those from the rural setting, maintain a strong economic and social relationship with the place of origin which, even after having spent a long period in the urban context, is still regarded by them as their main center of interest (Grenier, 2010). This aspect will also be investigated in the research.

In this paragraph it has been highlight how, in the Namibian context, besides the type of family one is observing, this family remains a functional structure unit, which performs specific social and economic functions (i.e. reproduction, production and consumption, children socialisation, etc.).

Having said that, probably the extended family structures and/or multi local households, have both a more prominent role in affecting the migration's decision,

and are the most affected by the socio-economic impact manifested by the migrant's remittance.

## **2.6 The concept of *remittances***

Remittances represent one of the ways in which the bond between the migrants and the families is maintained and strengthened. They have not only an economic, but also a socio-cultural impact on the life of those remaining in the place of origin. The existence of such a connection between remittances is widely accepted among academics, development practitioners, and policy makers. Divergent assessments exist instead on the nature and consequences of such correlations, ranging from the optimists Maimbo and Rotha (2005), Chimhown, Piesse and Pinder (2005) just to mention a few, to the pessimists, de Haas (2005), Gubert (2005), Ghosh, (2006), just to mention the prominent ones. The fact that, as noted by Markley (2011) in his analysis of Goldring's work (2003), remittances do not include just a monetary, and consequently economic component, but should be "*disaggregated into economic and beyond economic remittances*" (p. 336), is probably one of the reasons why there is such a diversity of opinions on the impact of remittance on development.

The approach followed in this section is to look at remittances from their economic/monetary and non-economic component. The latter being described with the definition given by Levitt (1996), who conceived the expression *social remittances* to draw attention to the fact that the migrants, besides 'physical things', be it money or any other type of goods, take back to their home place ideas and behaviours. This wider interpretation of remittances can help to better understand the overall contribution that remittances have on the advancement of the migrants' families (Goldring, 2003).

### 2.6.1 Economic remittances

Economic remittances, apparently, are mostly associated with the ‘physical’ transfer of money and goods from the migrants to the family at home. Hence, they are conceptually easy to define and identify, and their financial flow is also easy to determine. In the NELM approach to migration, they are considered the direct outcome of the unwritten contractual family agreements between the migrants, and the other members of the family and/or community, or network. This also justifies why most of the attention and studies on the developmental impact of migration, have focused predominantly on them.

The International Monetary Fund Balance of Payment and International Investment Position Manual (BPM6) considers this type of remittances as income to the households originated from abroad by individuals, temporary or permanent, residing outside their country of birth.

#### *Box 1 Remittances as for the Balance of Payments Manual 6th Edition<sup>19</sup>*

<b>Personal transfers</b>
All current transfers in cash or in kind made, or received, by resident households to or from other non-resident households
<b>Personal remittances</b>
(Gross compensation of employees – social contributions) + personal transfers + capital transfers from households to household
(Gross compensation of employees – social contributions – <i>taxes on income – travel – passengers transportation</i> ) + personal transfers + capital transfers to households
<b>Total remittances</b>
Personal remittances + social benefits + current transfers to non-profit institutions serving households

Source: Author’s elaboration from Balance of Payments Manual 6th Edition (IMF 2013)

<sup>19</sup> At its meeting in Frankfurt in October 2006, the IMF Committee on Balance of Payments Statistics adopted the conceptual definitions on remittances.

This definition includes both monetary and non-monetary items, transferred, via formal and informal channels, to the place of origin of the migrants. More specifically:

*Remittances include cash and noncash items that flow through formal channels, such as via electronic wire, or through informal channels, such as money or goods carried across borders. They largely consist of funds and noncash items sent or given by individuals who have migrated to a new economy and become residents there, and the net compensation of border, seasonal, or other short-term workers who are employed in an economy in which they are not resident (IMF 2013, p. 272).*

As indicated in Table 1 below, their flows in the period 1980-2014, show an increase of 1,525%, from 35.8 billion of US\$ in the year 1980, to 581.6 billion of US\$ in the year 2015. Breaking down in periods this growth, it is evident how the sharpest increase is seen in the period 2000-2015, when economic remittances, have an increase of 359 per cent, from 126.7 to 581.7 billion of US\$.

*Table 1 World Economic Remittances 1980-2015\* in billions US\$*

Remittances	US \$ billions			% Increase	
	1980	2000	2015	1980-2000	2000-2015
World	35.814	126.753	581.656	254 %	360 %

\* 2015 figures are forecasts

Source: Author's calculation based on World Bank Remittances inflow table updated April 2016 <http://econ.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTDECPROSPECTS/0,,contentMDK:22759429~pagePK:64165401~piPK:64165026~theSitePK:476883,00.html#Remittances>

This represents a growth even higher than that experienced in the previous period 1980-2000, when the flow augmented of 254 per cent, moving from 35.81 US\$ billions in the 1980 to 126.7 billion of US\$ in the year 2000.

This figures *per se*, while explaining the reason of the attention remittances have received from academics and policy makers (Ullah, 2017), are often used to emphasise the existence of a positive relation between the remittances and development, which is linked to an increase of the GNI. Even those who are

somehow skeptical to the direct contribution that remittances have in fostering development, cannot disregard the fact that, in the last three decades, financial remittances have increased enormously in importance, particularly if one considers their flow to the developing countries, as indicated in Table 2. In 2015, the remittances inflow to developing countries represented 74 per cent of the total world remittances, having increased in the last 15 years by 488 per cent, from 73.4 US\$ billions to 431.6 US\$ billion. In the same period the remittances inflow to developed countries showed a much smaller increase, from 53.3 US\$ billion to 150.1 US\$ billion corresponding to a 188 per cent increase. Interestingly, even during the financial turmoil, remittances inflow to developing countries has continued to increase.

*Table 2 Remittance inflows (US\$ billion) period 2000-2015\* in developing and developed countries*

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
Developing countries	73.408	331.766	374.307	396.979	415.392	429.962	431.581
Developed Countries	53.345	128.778	148.652	146.981	156.380	162.021	150.075
World	126.753	460.545	522.959	543.961	571.772	591.983	581.656

\* 2015 figures are forecasts

Source: Author's calculation based on World Bank Remittances inflow table updated April 2016 <http://econ.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTDECPROSPECTS/0,,contentMDK:22759429~pagePK:64165401~piPK:64165026~theSitePK:476883,00.html#Remittances>

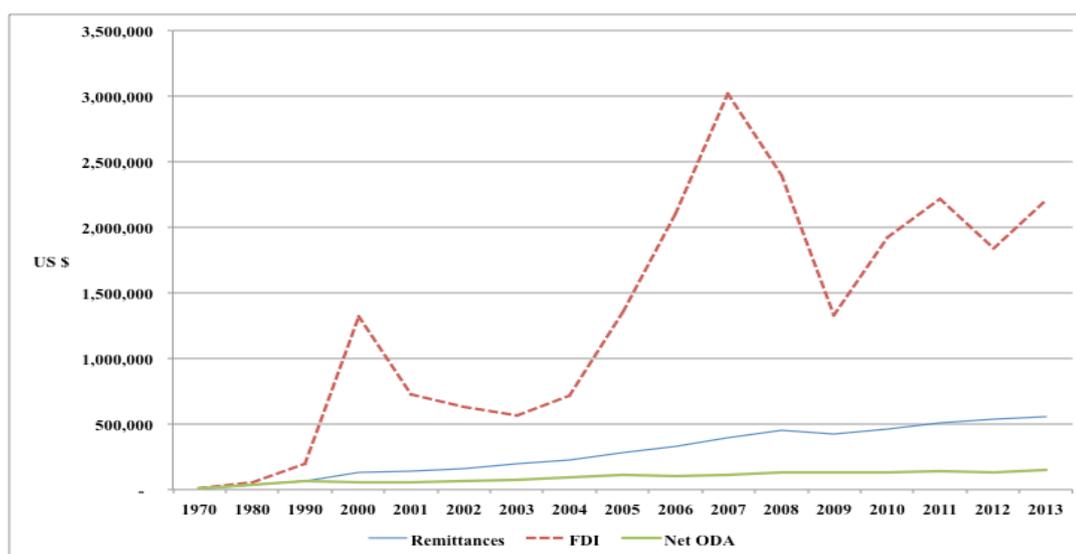
The importance of economic remittances on developing countries is even more apparent if one compares their increase with that of the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), and the Official Development Assistance (ODA), FDI and ODI being the other two main sources of capital inflow for this group of countries.

As it is possible to observe from graph 1 below, the remittances' size is significant relatively to FDI and ODI flows, (Barajas, Chami, Fullenkamp, Gapen & Montiel, 2009). More recently, (Ratha, Dervisevic, Plaza, Schuettler, Shaw, Wyss, Soonhwa, & Yousef, 2015), pointed out that economic remittances are the second source of

funds after FDI, far exceeding the ODA. They also noted that remittances are more stable than the FDI, and less dependent from political instability than the ODI.

Graph 1 below, also reveals that it is from the 1990 that remittances' flows have surpassed the ODA's and are constantly increasing since then, with a level of homogeneity much more consistent than that of the FDI.

*Graph 1 Migrant economic remittances and financial flows to developing economies, 1970-2013 (\$ millions)*



Source: Author's calculation from FDI and Net ODA Author's calculation based on World Bank Development Indicators, last update 7/1/2015 <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator?display=default>. Source remittances author's calculation based on World Bank staff calculation based on data from IMF Balance of Payments Statistics database and data releases from central banks, national statistical agencies, and World Bank country desks. Last review April 2015.

This shifted the attention of international organizations such as the World Bank, the UN, and the IMF, on the question of whether migrants' transfers promote financial development in the recipient countries (Aggarwal, Demirgüç-Kunt, & Martines Peira, 2006; Ratha & Mohapatra, 2007).

On the other hand, this shift has prompted the national accounts compilers to focus on the way the transfer of remittances is carried out, and accounted for in the national accounts. The way in which economic remittances are accounted for, and the difficulties in collecting the relevant data, are important elements to consider in

the overall debate on the positive or negative impact that remittances can have on the migrants' families and accentuate the importance to look at remittances with a wider angle in order to properly assess this relation, and hence the nexus migration-development.

Without going into the technicality of the BPM6's calculation of the economic remittances, although this new definition provides a broader and more fully articulated framework for the analysis of economic remittances, the difficulties of correctly capturing their dimension persists (Rucanj, 2009). The directions given to make provision for both the transfer of monetary and non-monetary items are difficult to transfer into practice. Most of the developing countries find it particularly difficult to monitor all the financial transfers, particularly when, and if, unofficial channels (i.e. the money given for example by hand to friends returning home), are used. The same difficulties, if not greater, are found to account for the non-financial/cash transfers, which, as suggested by Sander and Maimbo (2005), are a common way to assist the family at home, especially in the African context.

Equally important, specifically for the arguments presented in this thesis, is the recognition that the definition of remittances commonly used to account the financial transfers, only covers the case of the international movements, as if the internal migrants did not also remit to the family members remained in the rural areas. This characteristic will be further discussed in the following sections and will form an integral part of the thesis' findings.

### *2.6.2 The importance of economic remittances in Africa*

Sander and Maimbo (2003) show that for most of the African countries remittances are a *“tremendously important source of finance and foreign exchange, helping to*

*stabilize irregular incomes and to build human and social capital*” (p. 1). Table 3 below, clearly can confirm their observation.

Focusing only on the last 15 years, a period which has been characterized by economic recession and financial turmoil, overall African remittances inflows, have increased by 503 per cent, moving from 10.9 to 65.7 US \$ billions. Sub Saharan countries have experienced the highest remittances growth, with a 721 per cent increase compared to the North African ones, with a 361 percent increase.

*Table 3 Migrant remittance inflows (US\$ billion) period 2000-2015*

	2000	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Africa	10.905	52.749	59.279	64.372	62.603	65.715	65.706
Sub Sahara Africa	4.284	29.716	33.694	34.369	33.549	34.824	35.178
North Africa	6.605	22.983	25.527	29.952	29.005	30.840	30.475
Other	0.015	0.050	0.058	0.051	0.049	0.051	0.052

\* 2015 figures are forecasts

Source: Author's calculation based on World Bank Remittances inflow table updated April 2016 <http://econ.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTDECPROSPECTS/0,,contentMDK:22759429~pagePK:64165401~piPK:64165026~theSitePK:476883,00.html#Remittances>

These figures are, as indicated by Sander and Maimbo (2003), an under estimation of the potential values represented by remittances, considering that for 2001, for example, only 60 per cent of the African countries, and only 16 out of 49 Sub-Saharan countries, were able to report official remittances figures.

Besides the relevance of the numbers indicated, recent evidence seem to confirm, that the inflow of remittances in many African countries, has an impact on the ‘*broad well being*’ of the household, as shown by Mohapatra, Joseph and Ratha (cited in Zeyede, 2016, p. 17). Zeyede (2016), using data from the Ethiopian National Survey 2010, confirms that Ethiopian households that receive international remittances are less likely than other households to sell their productive assets to cope with food shortages. He found that one third of the sample remittances-recipient households (34 per cent) spent what they received to cover

costs such as food, clothes, housing, utilities, health care, and family events (wedding and funerals). The remaining two thirds of the sample used the financial remittances for education, productive investments, building their own houses and savings. Osili as cited by Adams, Cuecuecha and Page (2008, p. 2) confirm that in the case of Nigeria “*a large proportion of remittance income in Nigeria is spent on housing*”. In Ghana, using data from the 2005/06 Ghana household survey Adams, et al. (2008, p. 21) found that remittances’ households use them “*just like any other source of income*” coming into the households. Their study differed from most of similar studies on the impact of remittances on households because it considered the fluxes of both internal and international remittances. It included all that the households received from family members and close friends, including both cash and in-kind type of remittances, (food and non-food goods). The study provided, therefore, a more precise measure of the total flows of remittances, and of their uses. Such innovative approach was very useful to capture the full dimension of the remittance in a context strongly characterized by both internal and international migration, as well as by official and unofficial financial transfers. The study conducted in 2010 by Bendixen and Amadi International, for the World Bank, on Ethiopia and Kenya, while not exactly matching Adams et al.’s findings, mostly in the Kenyan’s case<sup>20</sup>, did not contradict their findings. Rather it confirmed their assertion that “*... remittances can actually have a positive impact on economic development by increasing the level of investment in human capital*”, (Adams, et al., 2008, p. 21). Adams’ study also highlights the shortfall, in using the national financial accounts to determine the developmental impact of remittances, because

---

<sup>20</sup> 37% of the Kenyan sample indicates that they use either all or at least  $\frac{3}{4}$  of remittances received for daily consumption, while 32 % use about  $\frac{1}{2}$  of them, this means that two third of sample use at least half of the remittances for daily consumption and the remaining third used them mostly for small business, education, housing and for saving purposes.

of their scantiness to capture the remittances flows originated by internal migration. Ajaero and Onokala (2013), in their study of the rural to urban migration in Nigeria observed that internal remittances and their use by the rural recipients have to be considered “*as an indicator of socio-economic development*” (p. 8). If we look at another geographical areas where internal migration is numerically significant, such as the Asia continent, we find similar results to those of the African continent. Zhu and Luo (2014), analysing the impact of rural migration in China, found out that rural to urban migration, by increasing the income of rural households, in the end reduced the level of poverty in the rural areas.

Data on the remittances and their impact on receiving households in Southern African countries are instead scarce. This is somehow surprising considering that, as noted by Greiner (2010, p. 133), “*the processes of migration are embedded in historical patterns of pre-colonial mobility, colonial wars, land dispossession....and the recent post-colonial transformation*”. This is even more surprising given the long history of migration from neighboring countries to South Africa. Altogether, the studies conducted seem to indicate that, particularly in poverty-stricken countries, remittances increase the disposable income of the recipients, although not directly impacting on the propensity to invest (Braking & Sachikenye, 2010). Maphosa (2007), observing remittances flows to Southern Zimbabwe, found that the proportion of remittance used for consumption is much higher than that used for productive investment, with small proportions also used for education purposes. Nzima, Duma and Moyo (2016), somehow echoed those findings, although noticing that often the propensity to invest is curtailed by government impediments to innovative investments. Gustafsson and Makonnen (1993), studying the impact of remittances in Lesotho, showed that if these flows had been excluded by the

computation of households' overall income, the number of poor households in Lesotho would have increased in a range of 11 to 14 per cent, depending on the definition of poverty used. Gallego and Mendola (2011), examining Southern Mozambique migration patterns, revealed that financial remittances, by ensuring a stable source of income, besides improving the wellbeing of the households, also improved the network relationships of the migrants and migrants' families. In the case of Namibia, Hasting (1999), while stressing the absence of studies on remittances in the country, based on NHIES data referring to the period 1993-1994, confirmed the existence of positive relationships between remittances and household income. Such an observation was particularly valid for the poor households where cash remittances represented more than 2/3 of the family's cash income. More recently some other relevant information can be drawn from the studies conducted under the banner of the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP). They not only confirm that the majority of remittances are sent through informal channels which are difficult to be recorded in the official statistics, but also the high level of internal and cross-border migration (Black, Crush & Peberdy, 2006); also this type of remittances does not appear normally in the national accounts.

Through this paragraph it has been highlighted that, to correctly assess the size of remittances and the impact remittances have on the family/country development, it is necessary to include the analysis of internal remittances too. This consideration strengthens the decision to investigate internal migration movements in Namibia considering that very few studies have been conducted on remittances.

At the same time, in order to properly understand the socio-economic impact of remittances on the migrants' families, it has shown the necessity to go beyond the purely economic vision of remittances. Even when used for non-productive

consumption, such as buying medicines, paying for the children education or for house improvements, the income remitted by the migrants does change the socio-economic condition of the migrants' families. A family/household with running water, or whose children can continue their studies at tertiary level, besides the material benefits deriving from it, enhances the social prestige at community level, and the migrant may move up in the consideration of other family and community members. These are some of the aspects, which are seldom considered when studying the impact of migration on development, and they will be part of the thesis' investigation.

Lastly, the need to look at remittances from a wider angle leads the investigation to consider also the role played by the social remittances, which complement economic remittances and add a different perspective to the relationship migration – development.

### *2.6.3 The social concept of remittances*

The term social remittances was first coined by Levitt (1998, p. 927) to refer to the fact that, “*in addition to money migrants export ideas and behaviours*”, directly or indirectly, to both their families and communities. She identifies at least three types of social remittances: *normative structures*, *systems of practice*, and *social capital*. Normative structures are referred to as those ideas, values, and beliefs, with which the migrants come into contact with during their stay, including those notions about social/community responsibility. Systems of practice are the actions that arise as a result of the new normative structures endorsed by the migrants. Social capital is the civic engagement of the migrants in their home environment, which is the result of both the new normative structures and the human capital acquired during their stay in the host countries. Since then the debate over social

remittances has gained momentum, adding a new sociological perspective to the nexus migration–development dominated mainly by the economic/financial aspect of remittances. Gakunzi (2006) defines social remittances as:

*... ideas, practices mind sets, world views, values and attitudes, norms of behaviour and social capital (knowledge, experience and expertise) that the Diaspora mediate and consciously or unconsciously transfer from host to home countries. (p.13).*

Such a definition clearly encompasses the three types of social remittances identified by Levitt, and underlines the fact that they are generated as a result of a process that bring the migrants to interact with the host society. Based on that it is consequential that social remittances must be seen in a transnational perspective (Levitt & Lamba-Nives, 2011), which implies that they are not unidirectional (i.e. host to home place) but bi-directional (i.e. home to host to home place) (Mahamoud & Fréchaut, 2006). Migrants are not a '*tabula rasa*' but have a personal and socio-cultural background that goes with them when moving to a host place, and characteristic initially helps them to cope with and adjust to the alien location. Successively, by the interaction of the migrants with the host environment, their native *social and cultural baggage* is mediated and transformed, to then reappear in the home place as social remittances (Markley, 2011). In the thesis, the concept of social remittances, mostly discussed with reference to the international migrants, is used to investigate the behavioural changes of the Namibian internal migrants, and the impact those changes have on the home environment. Moving from a rural to an urban location, in a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic context such as the one that characterises Namibia, is not, *ceteris paribus*, very much dissimilar from the experience of an international migrant moving to a western town.

It is possible to distinguish between individual and collective social remittances. The former refers to the interaction between the individuals and the family, as well as

friends and neighbours, while the latter refers instead to those actions put in place by the returnee migrants, which directly or indirectly, may benefit the collectivity or the network to whom they belong. Contributing to the renovation of a school, for example, falls in this category; such actions, that are common among the Namibian internal migrants, have the double result of contributing to the community's wellbeing, and contemporarily they enhance the status of the migrant, and/or the migrants' family at home (Grabowska & Engbersen, 2014; Levitt & Nieves, 2011). Being mostly non-material, social remittances are difficult to measure, and are generally unreported in the official statistics, which mainly account, numerical indicators. It is therefore challenging to quantify the real contribution of this form of remittances to a country's development. In spite of that, as it appears from the analysis of empirical studies, social remittances are equally critical, and in some cases, they are even more meaningful than financial remittances, in providing a better and appropriate assessment on the nexus migration-development. Overall social remittances, as indicated by Boccagni and Decimo (2013, p. 6), "*have a major influence on the outcomes of the economic ones*", because social relations, and the impact of the host normative structures on the migrants, ultimately affect both the decision to remit, the amount transferred and the way the remittances are used by the recipients. In such a way social remittances are also enhancing and keeping into life the social migrants' network and can provide an additional explanation to the social network theory and a better and more appropriate tool to understand the determinants of migration and to assess the impact of migration on development.

#### *2.6.4 Social remittances: Findings from contemporary studies*

Empirical studies analyzing the role that social remittances have in explaining the nexus migration – development are still few, compared to the vast amount of

literature available on financial remittances. The available findings provide growing evidence on the existence of a relationship between social remittances and changes in the migrants' home environment, both at individual, family and community level. As in the case of the correlation between economic remittances and development, in this case, there is no agreement on the sign of such correlation (i.e. positive or negative relationship). Sandu (2006), argues that working abroad modifies the life-style of the migrants. In a study of Romanian citizens working abroad, it emerged that 90 per cent of them believed that being a 'risk taker' was a necessary characteristic to be successful, compared with 70 per cent with the same belief at home. Similar changes in migrants' behaviours are confirmed in a more recent study by Vlase (2013), who, examining the behaviour of Romanian women migrants, observed that, returning home after having lived and worked in Italy, they started to question the traditional relations that regulate family relationships. Fargues (2006) found a correlation between the type of the family structure existing in the host country and the behaviour of the migrants towards family relationships when returning home. Similarly, Frank (2005), found that Mexican women, whose partner had moved to the US, smoked less than those who did not move.

Looking at a different cultural milieu, more specifically the African migrants, the findings on the impact of social remittances on the migrants' home environment do not differ. Diabate and Mesple-Somps (2014), investigating the influence that Malian returnee migrants have on the existing social norms as result of their 'contamination' in the host countries, found that female genital mutilations (FGM) were fewer in those villages with a high number of returnees. Gakunzi (2006), assessing African diaspora in the Netherlands and Portugal, observed that Cape Verdian, Guinea Bissau and Senegal diasporans residing in Portugal, perceived social capital (i.e. the

technical and academics knowledge acquired abroad) as a resource that they were bring back home, to be *used* to contribute to the wellbeing of their communities.

The above conclusions indicate that social remittances do have an impact both on the migrants and migrants' family structure, as well as on the networks and communities associated to the migrants. Extrapolating from the findings the way in which social remittances may work, one could say that, as result of the exposure to different social norms in the host country, first there is a change in the returnee own attitude, as in the Malian case towards the FMG, or the Mexican migrants in the US, and then there is the capacity of the returnees to convince the other family members and the home community to change their attitude towards traditional practices or habits. Internal migrants seem to follow a similar pattern.

One of the very few studies conducted in Namibia on social remittances, and relevant for this thesis, is the research conducted by Greiner (2010). In his study on the rural urban migration in north-western Namibia, Greiner observed that social remittances, and in particular the norms assimilated by the migrants during their dwelling in the urban context, do shape and transform the lives of the migrants, their families and the community in the place of origin, via the actions that they put in place once back home. Reporting the transcript of a returnee migrant from Windhoek to rural Fransfontain it appears that:

*We move, we go to cities, we come back. We believe in our roots, even the rules we have here on the farm, we apply them in our houses in Windhoek and the rules we have got there in Windhoek, we apply them here. The experience we pick up in Windhoek, we bring it back.* (p. 149).

The finding indicates that the migrants are not like a sponge that passively accepts the set of norms and values discovered in the urban context, but rather they reflexively elaborate the new experience on the basis of their own values and bring

back what is useful to the home environment. The urban social structure is somehow transformed and reproduced in the rural context.

*You know, we build toilets, showers. Some people bring TVs, they watch. You know what we are doing at the farm? We modernize with our tradition. You know, we don't throw our tradition away, we mix. (p. 149).*

In the observed case the clash between the tradition and the new urban norms appears to be mediated, the thesis' findings will try to establish if this pattern can be generalised in other local contexts.

Equally important is the fact that Greiner's discovery suggests that values, normative structures, and social capital, which are at the core of the social remittances concept, similarly influence the actions of those moving inside an apparently homogeneous environment such as that of a national state. It also corroborates the view here expressed to integrate the analysis of economic remittances with the social remittances. Both economic and social remittances are necessary to understand the nexus migration-development, even more so if the concept of development is understood as aiming at satisfying the people's wellbeing beyond the mere increase of economic parameters. It is not argued that social remittances have a univocally positive impact on development; rather that it is necessary to assess them as well, particularly when considering the transformation that they can determine on the family structure, the community and the networks associated to the migrants. Restricting the research to just one of the two remittances' components reduces the possibility to fully understand the way structures and agency interact through practice.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

The literature review presented in this chapter has suggested the path and the objectives of the thesis in relation to the assessment of the socio-economic impact of

rural to urban migration on the Namibian families. Initially the main concepts, and the different academics' opinions on the theoretical paradigms associated with the concept of development, have been clarified. The position taken in the thesis is to follow the idea that development cannot be understood only with economic interpretative tools, because development is more than just "growth", (Thrilwall, 2003; Szirma, 2005). Being capable to offer substantive freedom, (Sen, 1999), to the individuals, is what development should eventually aim at.

Migration can be seen as the response to those internal and external constraints that impeded achieving that goal (Stark & Bloom, 1985). Such a response is the result of a reflexive process (Giddens, 1991); a process that considers the family as well. The decision to move is not carried out by the individual alone, but it is the product of the interaction between the individual, and the family structure (Porters, 1995). The research will provide empirical findings aiming at confirming, or rejecting the idea that, in the Namibian case, migration is the result of the (extended) family's decision (de Haas, 2010).

Successively, the concept of economic remittances has been introduced; these are the tangible representation of the tacit bond, which links the migrant with the family (Bodvarsson & Van den Berg, 2013), generating obligations and bringing benefits for both (Mokomane, 2012). The study aims to increase the information available in Namibia on the economic remittances' impact; expanding the investigative angle to the non-economic effects of the transfers, and to the social remittances (Levitt, 1998). The role that the different environment with its norms, customs and opportunities has in shaping the migrant' self (Giddens, 1991), has received little attention in the internal migration studies conducted globally, and in Namibia (Granier, 2010). To empirically determine the impact of social remittances, which

are the result of the reflexive elaboration of the migrants of his/her own migration experience, as well as the non-economic impact of financial transfer, requires the identification of a sample, which combines both the migrants and their families. This will be explained in the methodology chapter 4.

Before concluding this descriptive part I of the thesis the following paragraph provide a quantitative indication of the stocks of international and internal migrants worldwide and in Namibia.

## **Chapter 3    The migrants stocks**

### **3.1    Introduction**

Migration movements are usually measured observing the changes in residence, i.e. the movement of the migrant, from one Migration Defining Area (MDA) to another, associated to the duration of residence of migration. The country's administrative boundaries, in the case of internal migration, and the country as a whole, in the case of international migration, represent the MDA. To measure the movement the focus is on establishing the timing, the origin and the destination of the determined migratory event. The current place of residence is considered as the destination of the movement, while the place of birth, or the previous place of residence, is considered as the place of origin of the migrant, (Xu-Doeve, 2008). Such classifications can be applied to both internal and international migrants; in-migrants and out-migrants are persons who enter into, or depart from, a MDA coming from, or going to, other MDAs within the same country; immigrants and emigrants are those who come from, or are going to, a MDA external to the country of residence of the migrants.

Short-term migrants are those who move to a MDA other than that of usual residence, for a period of at least three months but less than twelve months; long-term/lifetime migrants remain in a MDA for a period of at least 12 months (UN, 1998).

It is relatively easier to determine the number of international migrants than that of the internal ones. In the first case one refers to movements between two clearly identified MDAs, the States, which require border controls to regulate the passage from State A to B. Internal movements instead occur between several MDAs whose demarcation is not always unmistakably defined, and, unless specific restrictions are put in place the migrants are free to move between them.

Statistics on migration are usually a secondary product of administrative practices of the States, and are typically compiled by consulting and analysing three categories of data sources (Cantisani, Farid, Pearce & Perrin, 2009), censuses and household surveys, which are compiled by National Statistic Agencies; administrative records collected by government bodies or agencies; and data collected at the borders at international entry and exit ports. Census and household surveys provide information for both internal and international migrants while the remaining sources provide information only for international migrants. This implies that the type of sources used to obtain data concerning the international migration movements are not only more than that available for the internal one, but that they are also qualitatively more accurate, considering that the census is generally undertaken each ten years. Often data concerning urban population growth are used as a proxy to estimate the growth rate of internal migration. The following section will provide an indication of the dimension of the migratory movements worldwide and in Namibia.

### *3.1.1 Internal and international migration*

Determining the size of internal migration patterns is not an easy task. Bell and Muhidin (2009) were the first in the last two decades to comprehensively analyse the internal migration fluxes. Using a sample of 28 countries<sup>21</sup> from the International Integrated Public Use Micro-data Series, developed by the University of Minnesota based on population census, they compared the internal migration intensity among different countries, undertaking the most ample study on cross-national comparisons on internal migration in the last twenty years. Although this was not their prime objective, additionally they were also able to provide a rough approximation of the

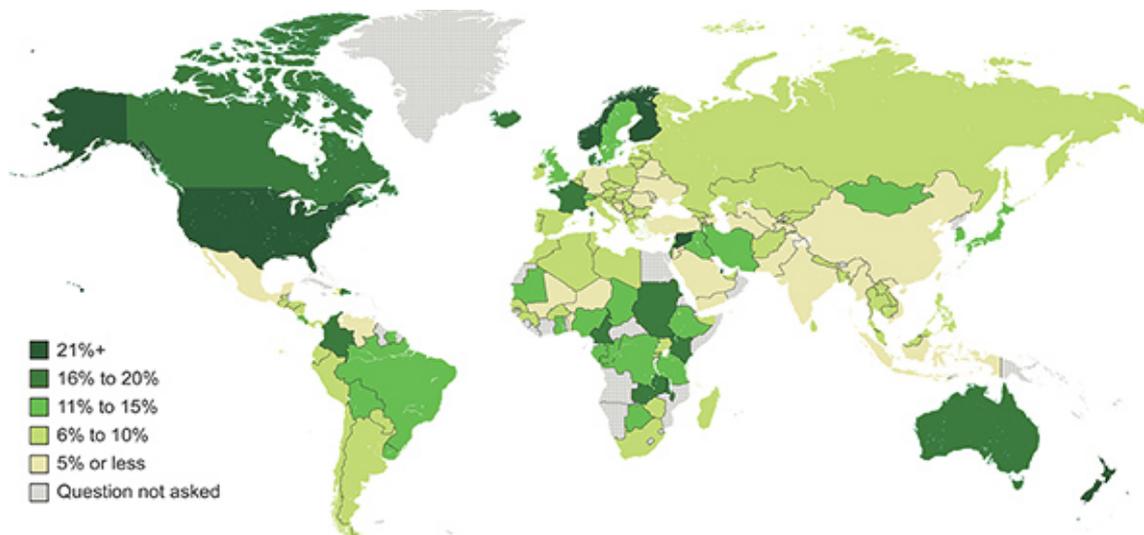
---

<sup>21</sup> 22 countries in the sample were from developing countries, 5 in Africa, 8 in Asia and 9 in Latin America, while the remaining 6 were from developed countries.

global scale of internal migration, suggesting that, “*at the turn of the millennium, in the world as a whole, some 740 million people were living within their home country but outside their region of birth*” (Bell & Muhidin, 2009, p. 55).

A new direct attempt to determine the number of internal migrants was conducted between the 2011 and 2012, when Gallup<sup>22</sup> World Polls, were conducted in 139 countries representing 97 per cent of the world’s adults. Gallup researchers asked 236,865 individuals, aged 15 and older, whether they had moved from another city or area within their respective countries in the past five years, (Figure 2).

*Figure 2 Internal migrants\**



\* People answering yes to the following question “Did you move from another city or area with this country in the past five years”

Source: Esipova, Pugliese and Ray (2013)

From the answers received Gallup researches were able to estimate that eight per cent of adults did move within their countries in the past five years. This percentage, translated in figures, meant that approximately 381 million adults worldwide moved during the five-year period of the poll, giving a good idea of the number of internal

---

<sup>22</sup> Gallup conducts nationally representative surveys in more than 160 countries and over 140 languages, covering the emerging and developed world, <http://www.gallup.com/home.aspx>.

migrants<sup>23</sup>, echoing the figures estimated in a study carried out by Bell and Muhidin in 2009.

Successively in 2013, Bell and Charles-Edwards using a much ample sample of 70 countries, extracted from the data set on the project “*Comparing Internal Migration Around the Globe (IMAGE)*”<sup>24</sup>, made an upward revision of the figure estimated by Bell and Muhidin in 2009, bringing to 763 million the number of people living in the country of birth but outside their region/area of birth<sup>25</sup>. This meant that nearly 12 per cent of the world population in the year 2010 was made of internal migrants. This figure, while indicated as a “preliminary estimate subjects to adjustments”, when compared with the number of international migrants clearly confirmed that internal mobility, was a far greater phenomenon than that of the international movements in and out of the country.

The relevance of internal mobility is also due to the fact that historically it played a key role in the rapid growth of the cities and in the process of urbanisation in most of the developing world (UN, 2011). Rural - urban movements have been conventionally associated to the push and pull factors accompanying the transformation of a country’s economic structure, which, with the introduction of cash crops, reduces the opportunities in the traditional agriculture sector while creating paid jobs in the manufacturing and services sectors in the urban centres and their vicinity. Having said that, it is also useful to acknowledge that the increase of rural to urban movement is not homogeneous among all regions in the world. Grimm

---

<sup>23</sup> This is still an underestimation of the total number of migrants, considering, that the Gallup poll does not include the children below 15 years of age.

<sup>24</sup> In 2013 IMAGE had data on round population census for the year 1999, 2000 and 2010 when available from 179 countries. The 70 countries selected by Bell and Charles-Edward for the studies represented 71% of the total population in 2010 have a full coverage of countries in all continents, 16 countries in Africa, 25 in Asia, 10 in Europe, 23 in Latin America and the Caribbean 3 in North America and 3 in Oceania.

<sup>25</sup> Table 9 Bell and Charles-Edwards (2013, p. 15).

and Deshingkar (2005) in their study for the International Organisation for Migration indicate that the patterns of mobility differ by regions; South East and East Asia show a noticeable increase of rural-urban migration due to the growth in the manufacturing sector. Similarly, South Asia also shows also an increase of rural-rural from agricultural poor areas to better irrigated ones. Literature has provided many descriptive insights into this phenomenon. Hugo (2003, p. 3), based on studies carried out in Indonesia from the seventies onwards, suggested a growth in rural to urban migration, with an urban population increase of about 5 per cent per annum over the period 1970-1990 compared with a decrease of rural population growth from “1.63 per cent per annum in the 1970s to 0.82 per cent in the 1980s, to 0.16 per cent in the early 1990s”. In the same geographical area, Mahapatro (2012), found out that in India there has been a steady increase in rural-urban migration in recent years, particularly from the low economic quintile of the male population.

Sub Saharan countries also show an increase in internal migration. A DFID (2004) study, estimates that 50-80 per cent of rural households have at least one migrant member, while an expected reduction in conflicts in the area would have also augmented the rural – urban movements. As observed by Oucho (2014), however, the presence of circular migration in this part of the continent and the strong links that remain between the migrants, and the rural areas determine a high level of turnover among urban migrants.

These findings overall give credit to the projection of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, (United Nation, 2015a), indicating that urbanisation has proceeded at a very high pace in the past six decades such that ... *by 2050, the world will be one-third rural (34 per cent) and two-thirds urban (66 per cent), roughly the*

*reverse of the global rural-urban population distribution of the mid-twentieth century.* (p.12).

Rural – urban migration is one of the components, which has determined the changes and is further expected to fuel the future growth.

When moving to the international migrants, the numbers of those moving are comparatively easier to determine, and the United Nations<sup>26</sup> provides accurate statistics that are regularly revised. The latest 2015 revision of the International Migrant Stock indicates in 243,700,236 million as the number of international migrants worldwide. This number does not consider the undocumented migrants, which of course do not appear in the official countries statistics, and hence it is an under representation of the actual number of international migrants.

*Table 4 International migrant stock<sup>27</sup> at mid-year by major area, 1990-2015*

Major area of destination	International migrant stock at mid-year (both sexes)		
	1990	2000	2015
Africa	15 690 623	14 800 306	20 649 557
Asia	48 142 261	49 340 815	75 081 125
Europe	49 219 200	56 271 885	76 145 954
Latin America and the Caribbean	7 169 728	6 578 428	9 233 989
Northern America	27 610 542	40 351 848	54 488 725
Oceania	4 730 858	5 360 027	8 100 886
World	152 563 212	172 703 309	243 700 236

Source: Own elaboration from United Nations (2015b), Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2015 revision (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2015).

As shown in Table 4 above, the number of international migrants has grown considerably in the past 25 years, with an increase of almost 60 per cent since 1990, the highest number of migrants being in Europe and Asia, followed by North America and Africa.

<sup>26</sup> UN Population and Statistics departments collect the data form the singles state and elaborate.

<sup>27</sup> International migrant stock is the total number of international migrants living in a country at a particular point in time. It is normally measured by number of “foreign born” or number of “foreigners” living in the country. United Nations “Recommendations on Statistics of International Migration 1988.

Adding the UN international migrants figure to that of the internal one, calculated using either the estimate of Bell and Charles-Edwards or the Gallup Poll, total migrants can vary between 620 million and almost a billion people, which if actualised to the year 2015, represents 8.5 per cent or 13.7 per cent of the world population in the year. In both cases internal migrants are the majority.

### *3.1.2 Internal and international migrants in Namibia*

Having presented in the previous section the latest available figures on the internal and international migrants, it is necessary to contextualise the migration movement in contemporary Namibia.

Namibia, previously known as the German colony of South West Africa, was occupied by South Africa during World War I, and administered under an apartheid regime. It gained its independence in 1990, after a prolonged liberation struggle led by the South West Africa People's Organisation. It covers an area of about 824,000 km<sup>2</sup>, with a population of about 2.3 million. The neighbouring countries comprise Angola and Zambia to the North, Botswana to the East and South Africa to the Southeast.

The economy is heavily dependent, both directly and indirectly, on the primary sectors, principally on the extraction and processing of minerals for export and on the agriculture and fisheries; tourism also plays a prominent role. In general, poverty was reduced since the end of apartheid, with a reduction of 40% between the period 1993 – 2010. Although results have been uneven across its 14 regions, poverty remains a serious problem particularly for the rural population resulting in an accelerated urbanisation rate (Phiri & Mubiana, 2016). In particular, the share of the urban population increased from 27 per cent in 1991 to 43 per cent in 2011, while overall in the same period those living in the urban areas have increased by 136 per cent

compared to a meagre 18 per cent of those living in the rural areas<sup>28</sup>. Despite those transformations in 2011, the majority of the Namibians still lived in rural areas, that is, 1,209,643 individuals, about 57.25 per cent of the total population, with subsistence agriculture as their main source of livelihoods. Employment and educational opportunities are significantly worse in the rural areas, as is the access to social infrastructure. The rural production system (predominantly livestock rearing) is equally low due to unfavourable climatic conditions, and the lack of know-how, ultimately resulting in lower per capita income among rural than urban populations. These conditions help to explain the extensive internal migratory movements, which had an impact on the urban growth.

When dealing with this migration, it is not possible to fail observing that internal migration, and to less intensity international migration, did arise during the colonial/apartheid period and somehow influenced it. Initially, migration was in the form of labour contracts, which can be considered as a form of forced migration to provide substantial quantities of cheap unskilled labour for the mining and the infrastructural works

Frayne and Pendleton (2002) indicated that the Herero and Damara people were the first to be moved to the urban areas during the German occupation from 1890 onwards, while Winterfeldt (2002) noted that with the contract labour system in place during the South African colonization also other ethnic groups, particularly the Owambo, moved to the south-western towns of the coast and the centre of the country as well as to the white settlers' farms. The mobility of this part of population, (i.e. the non-white ethnic groups) was, using Du Pisani words, "*systematically manipulated through a system of indirect control*" (Du Pisani, 2000,

---

<sup>28</sup> Considering that the Rural population in 2001 was of 1,226,718 this means that there has been a decrease of 1.4 per cent in the rural population growth in the period 2001-2011

p. 55), which did not really allow the migrant to choose where to go nor the length of his/her stay in the place of work. In particular, regulations prohibiting permanent urban settlement for most African/Black migrants meant that migration manifested mainly in the circular form (Posel, 2003). This regulation of the labour forces ultimately removed the workers from the household and separated the place of the production from the place of social reproduction, (Martiniello, undated). The circular rural-urban-rural movement strongly modified the Ovambo family structure, with the women having to substitute the males in traditional jobs, such as taking care of the domestic animals and of the subsistence farming (Hishongwa, 1992); cash and goods remittances sent by the migrants appeared to support the depleted family income.

In this way as indicated by Palmer and Parson (1982):

*Elements of the pre-capitalist system were deliberately permitted to survive ..., [and] were created variations of the “dual economy” which kept African families split but constantly moving between rural and urban “reserves” or settler estates. (Paragraph v).*

On the other hand, the nature of the labour contract meant that the reflexivity defined by Giddens (1990) as that element of social modern life that brings the individuals to act as result of a continuous examination of external incoming information, and in doing that modifying the same external setting in which his action was based, did not have a prominent role in the decision to migrate.

With the end of the colonial/apartheid regime, restrictions on free movements were lifted, but it has been difficult to reverse the size and the direction of the internal labour migration flows because the regional inequalities, determined during the colonial occupation have remained (Frayne & Wade Pendleton, 2001). As a result, the mobility pattern experienced during the post- independence period, has not differed much from that of the other countries, particularly the developing one. The new democratic government's strive to “modernise” the economy has even widened

the gap between the urban centres and the rural areas, with the effect that internal mobility has persisted and got stronger, and a less prominent international migration pattern has appeared. The recognition of a new administrative status obtained by the regional capitals after independence, has also meant that internal migration has also targeted other urban towns particularly in the north of the country. As indicated by Nikondo (2010), in quoting Witerfeldt, during the colonial time “*migration to northern towns was insignificant*”; after independence the northern towns have also experienced a significant influx of people, which has increased in the last decade.

The Namibian Statistic Agency’s (NSA) migration report is the most recent conclusive statistical data source on migration available in the country. It has been used here for two reasons: to acquire secondary data necessary to describe the state of migration, both internal and international in the country; and to represent the benchmark to compare the research quantitative empirical findings.

The NSA (2105), report, is based on the 2011 *Population and Housing Census Survey* (PHCS) and defines the migrants in terms of the administrative boundary<sup>29</sup> crossed by the individuals. As comprehensive as it can be, the report focuses primarily on the internal migration movements. By definition, in fact, a census will not give information on people who have migrated out of the country, as they are no longer residents in the national boundaries. Data on the international migration, on the other hand, are limited since the report’s observations are only based on the number of non-nationals residing in the country at the time of the Census, (i.e. number of immigrants). It is also necessary to further specify that the Census distinguishes between lifetime and short- term migrants where an:

---

<sup>29</sup> The administrative boundaries crossed refer to those of the region and of the constituency, which at the time of the 2011 Census were 13 for the regions and 107 for the constituencies. In 2015 the regions have increased to 14, with the division of the Kavango region into Kavango East and Kavango West, while the constituencies have increased to 121.

... individual is considered a lifetime migrant if the area of birth does not match the area of current residence. Similarly, an individual will be considered a short-term migrant if the areas of usual residence in 2010 and 2011 do not match. (NSA 2015, p. 3).

For the purposes of this section and to allow cross-country comparison, internal migrants will be mainly considered as those lifetime migrants crossing regional boundaries. Based on the above specifications, Table 5 below provides the stock of internal migrants in Namibia. It indicates that in 2011, there were 474,592 regional lifetime migrants, representing 22.5 per cent of the total population in the country. As expected by changing the MDA's administrative boundary and using the constituency's boundary, the number of migrants appears to be higher, given the higher number of constituencies, and the proximity among them, which encourages the migratory movement.

Table 5 Internal migrants in Namibia -2011

	Regions		Constituency	
	Value	%	Value	%
<b>Short-Term</b>	40,867	1.93%	64,768	3.07%
<b>Lifetime</b>	474,592	22.46%	707,256	33.47%
<b>Total Pop</b>	2,113,077			

Source: Own elaboration from NSA (2015)

The pattern of internal migration in Namibia appears to be consistent with that experienced by other developing countries with a comparable number of administrative demarcation and in the same geographical area. Lucas' (2015), analysis of the developing countries' UN migration database, indicates that overall the lifetime internal migration intensity, calculated as the total number of internal migrants in a given time period as a percentage of the population, in the year 2005 was for the African continent at 12.5 per cent, (Tab 1, p. 3). This measure had a wide range spanning from the 17.7 of South Africa, 29.0 of Zambia and the 30.7 of

Botswana (Lucas, 2015 Tab2 p.4). More recently, similarities can be found in particular with the South African data of the lifetime internal migrants.

The analysis of the 2011 South African Census, which follows the same protocols used by the Namibian 2011 Census, indicates that lifetime internal migrants crossing the administrative boundaries of the provinces, which can be assimilated to the Namibian regions, represented more than 11 million, with an intensity of 22.0 (Statistics South Africa 2015, p. 77), almost equivalent to the Namibian intensity for the same year.

The migration report also provides valuable information on the population living in the urban areas, and on the urbanisation growth, which is associated with the internal migration, due to the attraction urban areas have on people looking for better opportunities. In the last twenty years the urban population has more than doubled (136 per cent increase) while the increase of the urban population in the same period is negligible. Considering only the last ten years, while the urban population increase has been similar to the one experienced in the previous 10 years period, the rural population has decreased.

*Table 6 Urbanisation, period 1991-2011*

	Population			% Increase		
	1991	2001	2011	1991-2001	2001-2011	1991-2011
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,409,920</b>	<b>1,830,330</b>	<b>2,113,077</b>	29.8%	15.4%	49.9%
<i>Urban</i>	382,680	603,612	903,434	57.7%	49.7%	136.1%
<i>Rural</i>	1,027,240	1,226,718	1,209,643	19.4%	-1.4%	17.8%

Source: Own elaboration from NSA (2015).

Table 7 below gives a better description of the way urban growth has evolved in the period under scrutiny in the 13 Namibian Regions<sup>30</sup>. It is evident that the increase of the regional capitals is homogeneously higher than the population increase registered

<sup>30</sup> Kavango is still considered one region since it was split into two regions, Kavango East and Kavango West only in 2013. On the other hand the Zambesi region was until 2013 known as the Caprivi Region

in the regions. This can also be explained by the power of attraction exercised by the regional capitals. Interestingly, the other towns other than the capital Windhoek are experiencing a high population increase, an indication that rural to urban migration is no more confined to the traditional economic centres but more pole of attraction has emerged in the last twenty years. If the same pattern of urban population growth remains in Namibia, by the time the next census will be conducted, the urban population will have surpassed the rural population (NSA, 2014)

*Table 7 Namibia Population and Urban growth -2001-2011*

Regions	Population		Pop. Increase %	Capital	Capital Pop Increase %
	2001	2011			
Erongo	107,663	150,809	40.1%	Swakopmund	88%
Hardap	68,249	79,507	16.5%	Mariental	27%
//Karas	69,329	77,421	11.7%	Keetmanshoop	33%
Kavango	202,694	223,352	10.2%	Rundu	72%
Khomas	250,262	342,141	36.7%	Windhoek	40%
Kunene	68,735	86,856	26.4%	Opuwo	50%
Ohangwena	228,384	245,446	7.5%	Eenanha	96%
Omaheke	68,039	71,233	4.7%	Gobabis	35%
Omusati	228,842	243,166	6.3%	Outapi	144%
Oshana	161,916	176,674	9.1%	Oshakati	29%
Oshikoto	161,007	181,973	13.0%	Omuthiya	na
Otjzondjupa	135,384	143,903	6.3%	Otjvarongo	44%
Zambesi	79,826	90,596	13.5%	Katima Mulilo	28%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,830,330</b>	<b>2,113,077</b>	<b>15.4%</b>		
<i>Urban</i>	<i>603,612</i>	<i>903,434</i>	<i>49.7%</i>		
<i>Rural</i>	<i>1,226,718</i>	<i>1,209,643</i>	<i>-1.4%</i>		

Source: Own elaboration from NSA (2015), \* Omuthya has been given the status of administrative capital only in 2008 and there are no data for 2001.

Ultimately, this observation confirms the correlation existing between lifetime internal migration and urbanisation as observed by (Lucas, 2015), at international level for the developing countries.

The NSA (2015) report provides also additional information on the type of migrants, and the main reason why people move internally. Migrants are in the age group 15-39; this is consistent with the pattern of migration worldwide (Hare, 1999; de Haan,

2000; Gazdar, 2003; Muzvidziwa 2010). The report confirms Nikondo's (2011) finding indicating that there are more male than female migrants. This pattern somehow differs from what has been observed in recent years at international level with the increased demand for female labour (Posel, 2003; Tacoli, 2001). As indicated by Deshingkar and Grimm (2005), the feminisation of migration is one of the principal recent changes of population movement, which however seems not to have yet been fully captured by the report.

Seeking better opportunities remains the principal motivation behind the rural to urban movements, The NSA (2015) migration report indicates that 75.3 per cent of those who have moved from rural to urban areas did so looking for employment, while 57.2 per cent to better their education. The report does not provide any qualitative information on the movement nor on the impact that migration has on the socio- economic wellbeing of the migrants and their families. The research will try to fill this gap.

Moving to the stock of international migrants the report defines the migrants based on the citizenship questions recorded in the Census 2011, implying that international migrants are those who do not have a Namibian citizenship. The data are consistent with the revised 2015 UN data on international migrants, which indicates that in Namibia there were more than 93 thousand residents born outside the country, representing 4.5 per cent of the population in 2011, compared with more than 145 thousand Namibians leaving outside the country. This resulted in a net migration rate<sup>31</sup> of - 51.9 equivalent to a negative net balance of 51,964 people, (Table 8).

---

<sup>31</sup> The net migration rate is the difference of immigrants and emigrants of an area in a period of time, divided (usually) per 1,000 inhabitants (considered on midterm population). A positive value represents more people entering the country than leaving it, while a negative value means more people leaving than entering it.

Table 8 Net Migration 2015

Namibia	In	Out	Net Rate
	93 888	- 145 852	- 51 964

Source: Own elaboration from United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population (2015a). Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2015 revision (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2015).

74 per cent of the immigrants were coming from African countries, with South Africa, Angola, Zimbabwe and Zambia as top sending countries; the remaining 26 per cent were from the rest of the world with Germany as the principal country or origin of the immigrants.

Table 9 provides a better description of the destination of Namibian emigrants.

Table 9 Area of destination of Namibian's migrants 2015

Major area, region, country or area of destination	Total	Country of origin	
		Africa	Namibia
WORLD	243 700 236	32 600 127	145 852
Africa	20 649 557	16 427 315	138 719
Eastern Africa	6 129 113	5 370 279	2 278
Middle Africa	2 307 688	2 036 939	1 012
Northern Africa	2 159 048	904 723	298
Southern Africa	3 435 194	2 231 185	135 131
Botswana	160 644	109 102	1 845
Lesotho	6 572	3 266	4
Namibia	93 888	69 141	-
South Africa	3 142 511	2 025 576	133 282
Swaziland	31 579	24 100	-
Western Africa	6 618 514	5 884 189	-
Asia	74 884 958	4 120 372	-
Europe	76 342 121	9 213 584	4 480
EU 28	54 070 726	8 979 853	3 905
Latin America and the Caribbean	9 233 989	54 220	65
Northern America	54 488 725	2 281 770	1 195
Oceania	8 100 886	502 866	1 393

Source: Own elaboration from United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population (2015a). Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2015 revision (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2015).

Unsurprisingly, the majority of the Namibians, 91.4 per cent move to South Africa, the remaining move to Europe (2.7 per cent to one of the European Union countries), North America and Oceania; 69 per cent of the Namibians residing in Europe are living in the United Kingdom. Overall, Namibian migrants living outside the country only represented 7 per cent of the total population in 2011; these observations

strengthen the relevance that internal movements have in the country and the attention given to the analysis of the economic and social consequences of internal mobility on the Namibian family and consequentially on the country as a whole.

### **3.2 Conclusion**

In this chapter the migration movement has been contextualised in contemporary Namibia. Despite the transformations occurred after independence in 2011 most Namibians still lived in rural areas, with subsistence agriculture as their main source of their livelihoods. It has been observed that internal migration increased during the colonial/apartheid period because it was a form of forced movement. With the new dispensation people have been free to move but the direction of the internal migration, has remained the same because of the existing rural to urban inequality.

## Chapter 4. Methodology

### 4.1 Introduction

The epistemological design for this research emphasizes a multidisciplinary approach, which combines the economic and sociological paradigms to investigate the impact of internal migration on transforming the socio-economic structure of the Namibian family. It is important to acknowledge at this stage of the research that the primary academic background of the author is related to economic science, albeit development economics. The years spent as a researcher at the Italian National Research Council, investigating the migration flows in the Mediterranean area, has brought the belief that, as indicated by Breuer and Roth, (2003, paragraph 1) “*Knowledge is ... inherently subjective, inherently structured by the subjectivity of the researcher*”. Applied to the study of the migration phenomenon, there is the conviction that pure economic theories, and quantitative methodologies, are not sufficient to understand an event which is ultimately based on complex human decisions; where the individuals, seen as agents of their own development, interact both with other individuals (i.e. members of their own families, community or social networks) and with the external societal structures surrounding them. For this reason, although qualitative investigation has traditionally been subordinated to quantitative analysis and may not adapt well to a typical economic research, the use of such methodology seems the most appropriate, both for the interdisciplinary approach used in the research, and to give more articulated answers to the research questions identified in the thesis. As indicated by Staar (2014, p.1), the use of a qualitative methodology can be a “... *scientifically valuable and intellectually helpful way of adding to the stock of economic knowledge*”. The observations of Piore (2004, p.2) describing his own experience using “*a methodology centered on unstructured,*

*open-ended interviews with economic actors*”, further convincingly validates such an approach. Qualitative interviews are, accordingly to Piore (2004), the vessel through which the respondents can tell their personal story, a narrative that evolves during the interview, which the researcher must help to interpret.

*What worked in interviews was letting the respondents tell their stories. Indeed, I came to believe that this was the only thing that worked consistently. It seemed as though people agreed to be interviewed in the first place only because they had a story to tell. (p. 5).*

In this way a qualitative approach seems also to address better the intellectual problem of the relationship between an abstract theory and the ‘real world’ perceived by the individuals who are the actors in it. In other words, in qualitative research the emphasis is on the narrative process, which results from the interaction with the actors via the medium of interviews, letting the respondents to tell their stories. The participants’ narratives, however, are not just ‘stories’, but are packed with information capable of shedding light on the participants’ social life, and at the same time through the interpretative role of the researcher are capable of giving voice to unknown details of those lives (Erol Isik, 2015). The narratives are the inputs to use, and it is from these narratives that by using a grounded theory methodology that a theory can be derived. This process allows the researcher to present the intricacy of the problem investigated via its various dimensions. Creswell (1998), has in fact defined the qualitative research as:

*...an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting. (p. 14).*

These considerations have been instrumental in the choice of the grounded theory, which as indicated by Hutchinson (1986), unlike quantitative research that uses the data to verify if an existing theory is valid, “*utilizes an inductive, from-the-ground-*

*up approach using everyday behaviours or organizational patterns to generate theory*” (p. 113). Charmaz’s (2001, 2006, 2014), constructivist version has been adopted for the investigation of the socio-economic impact of migration on the Namibian family structure. As observed by Mills, Bonner and Francis, (2006), constructivist grounded theory emphasises the relationship between the researcher and the participant and the role that the researcher has in the construction of the knowledge. Being the researcher, rather than a simple objective observer, the researcher’s values must be acknowledged, making them an “inevitable part of the outcome” (Mills, et. al. 2006, paragraph 6).

Statistical data analysis has also been used in the study. Although this methodological choice, may be seen as a deviation from the normative way grounded theory is applied, it is supported by Glaser and Strauss’ (1967), suggestion to use the grounded theory methodology in a *flexible* way. Furthermore, Glaser, (cited in Charmaz, 2001) in a later period of his studies “*proclaimed that grounded theory methods may be used with quantitative data*” (p. 6396). In this study the analysis of the quantitative data, collected from primary sources via questionnaires, has initially been used to validate the existing information on the migrants providing a general description of the migration fluxes in Namibia. Subsequently, the responses of the internal migrants’ sample, have served as preparatory to the identification of a smaller sample with which to conduct the qualitative grounded theory investigation. An attempt has been made in a way, to add elements of a mixed-method approach to the research; mixed methods that are equally conducive to explaining complex social phenomenon such as migration and their relevance to individual and group life (Castles, 2012).

## 4.2 The choice of the grounded theory methodology

As observed by Fox (2012, p.67):

*Grounded theory uniquely provides a systematic methodology that allows the building and construction of analysis directly out of the lives and experiences of participants...., its main value is the priority it gives to participants for rationalising about the social processes and practices they directly encounter. It recognises that social actors are well-placed to provide their own initial interpretation and meaning which is then interpretively built on and refined by the researcher.*

This brief, but powerful description of the grounded theory, confirms the decision to use a qualitative methodology that was elaborated by sociologists, and initially applied in this area of social studies, and then transferred in other social science disciplines. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), offered a sort of ‘tools box’ to all the social scientists who wanted to pursue qualitative analysis without being accused of lacking scientific rigor (Charmaz, 2001), and challenged the belief that only positivist methods were unbiased. Grounded theory is a systematic methodology where the steps for the collection of the data and their analysis are specifically codified; by following such steps, the information grounded in the data surface, and the social theory referring to the phenomenon investigated can be expressed. As a methodology, grounded theory tries to understand issues that give insight into people’s experiences of events that impact on their lives, emphasising the central role that the participants’ perspective assumes. This makes it possible to capture the social and institutional contexts that are lost when a participant narrative is analysed using quantitative instruments (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Glaser, 1998). The role of the researcher is inductive in nature (Morse, 2001), and it is through the participant’s narration, the use of coding by the researcher and a reflexive strategy of constant comparison (Dunne, 2011; Giles, King, & de Lacey, 2013), that the objectivity of the core categories embedded in the data manifests to

the researcher, and the theory emerges. The researcher should have no preconceived ideas of the phenomenon (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) of which however, share a common interest with the narrator (Charmaz, 2001). The epistemological approach followed in this study to analyse the experience of the Namibian internal migrants focused on the centrality of the actor. Only the migrant is able to narrate the process that has brought him/her to move, considering the mesa structures developed by and around him/her, as well the interaction among them and the other external institutional structures. Using a grounded theory approach allows the participants to express their own experiences related to the decision to migrate and to present the participants' perspective on the consequences of such a decision, while at the same time giving the participants, and the researcher, the possibility of reflexively investigating it. It is believed hence that the grounded theory is particularly suited to analyse the migration phenomenon and for this reason has been chosen for such an investigation. The grounded theory approach encourages the interaction between the researcher and the local actors living the migration experience, may facilitate the emergence of a Namibian based migration theory free from external influences; and this, is an additional advantage of using this methodology.

#### *4.2.1 Which grounded theory to use?*

Since its conception, researchers and academics in a wider range of social studies, included areas not traditionally familiar with the use of qualitative analysis such as business and managerial studies, have extensively used the grounded theory approach, although it has not been much used by the economists (Finch, 2002). The extensive production of studies on grounded theory has been accompanied by a proliferation of procedures permutated from the original Glaser and Strauss' methodology, and one could argue that the same founding fathers were indirectly

behind such multiplication of interpretative models. LaRossa (2005, p. 839), noted that grounded theory methods “*as initially formulated, were designed to be pluralistic*”, while Charmaz (2001, p. 6397), observed that while being clear on the qualitative stand of their methodology, Glaser and Strauss were “*less clear on details about using the method*”. The divide among the different grounded theory’s schools of thought, hinges on the procedures to follow when implementing the method. This is ultimately linked to the ontological and epistemological approach taken by the researcher on its role in the investigation, and results in different views on the process and methods to use for the coding and the timing of the literature review. Fernandez (as cited in Evans, 2013), identifies four different forms of grounded theory: a) the classical Glaser grounded theory, b) the Straussian grounded theory, c) the feminist grounded theory (Wuest, 1995) and d) the constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2000, 2006). The remaining part of the section is devoted to concisely describing the different forms of grounded methodology, then focusing on the constructivist grounded theory which has been specifically chosen to guide the investigation on the socio-economic impact of migration on the Namibian family institution.

#### *4.2.2 The classical grounded theory*

The classical grounded theory is based on the original work of Glaser and Strauss (1967), and on Glaser’s subsequent elaboration of the grounded theory after the divide from Strauss. The epistemological viewpoint theory is based on the belief that there exists an objective truth, the data are there, outside in the world, and the researcher discovers theories from them, following a scientific procedures. This is very similar to Popper’s (1963), view that the “*establishment of objective and true knowledge*” (Åge, 2011, p. 1603), is the aim of a scientific procedure. The existence

of an objective truth waiting to be discovered brings Glaser's grounded theory closer to the positivist's theoretical perspective. It is premised on the principle that the "data" are the centre of the investigation, and the researcher without interfering with it, and with no pre-conceived ideas on the investigated phenomenon, constructs a system of interrelated propositions and concepts that allow the theory, which explains the observed phenomenon, to emerge from that data (Patton, 1981; Denzin, 1989).

As noted by Locke (2001, p. 36), "*The descriptive world captured in researchers' field notes, interview transcripts, and documents is given an organization, a shape and an overall coherence that could not be perceived before the act of conceptualization*". At the core of this methodological process, whose end result is to 'allow the data to speak', there is the epistemological position that the researcher does not have to force the data into his/her preconceived categories but must allow them to emerge, "*by constant comparison, initially of data with data, progressing to comparisons between their interpretations translated into codes and categories and more data*", (Milles et al., 2006, p.27). It is the use of constant comparison between the emerging theoretical concepts and new data, that allows the validation of the theory (Gasson, 2004). The grounded theory, approached differently from other research approaches does not consider the analysis of the data as an end to itself. The data, in fact, through constant comparison may lead to the need for additional investigation or may drive the researchers to new questions or areas of investigation. When a point of diminishing return from the data is reached, i.e. no additional coding categories can be identified, then the saturation point is reached (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), and the theory may start to emerge. Consequential to this methodological setting, and the positivist ontology that excludes subjective perceptions of the

observed phenomena, is Glaser's negative position (Glaser, 1992, 1998), toward the use of the literature on the substantive subject of the research, before the data analysis (Devadas, Silong, & Ismail, 2011). The ontological underpinning of the original theory remains objectivist in nature, with the data being separate from the researchers who act as '*midwives*' helping with delivering "*the theory from the data*" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 1) and hence remains in the realm of the positivist idea of research (Charmaz, 2001; Age, 2011).

The researchers in Glaser's view are "*above and methodologically separate from the actors they interview*" (Fox, 2011, p. 72). They stand at a distance from the data and then observe phenomenon. This implies that via a complex system of interviewing, and a process of constant comparison, the actors' viewpoints are captured. The researchers can scientifically identify grounded codes and categories, leading to the emersion of the grounded theory, which objectively represents the knowledge extracted from the observed phenomenon. The methodological approach in the original work of Glaser and Strauss considers the process which results in the emergence of the theory as inductive and positive in nature. This means that the reality of the investigated phenomenon, the knowledge which can be expressed in the theory, is *out there*, waiting to be discovered (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Strauss however in his later work with Corbin parted from such a strictly objective vision to move towards a more subjective and interpretative approach, resulting in the researchers having a different role in data collection and analysis. As noted by Kalle (2005), Glaser strongly rejected this deviation from the original methodological approach, which would have not allowed the free emergence of the categories from the data, further maintaining that there was "*the need not to review any of the literature in the substantive area under study*" (Glaser, 1992, p. 31). Following this

breakdown, the Straussian grounded theory began to spread among scholars, and parted from the original grounded theory proposed.

#### 4.2.3 *The Straussian grounded theory*

The Straussian approach, but even more Charmaz's constructivist method, prunes grounded theory methodology from many of the positivist branches, and repositions it in the qualitative territory (Tolhurst, 2012).

Strauss and Corbin in their successive elaboration of grounded theory, acknowledge that the researcher has a certain level of knowledge of the phenomenon that is to be investigated. As result, postponing the literature review on the substantive area of research, is no more a condition *sine qua non* (Corbin & Strauss 2008), but can help to identify the research questions, to generate theoretical sensitivity (Heath & Cowley, 2004), and “*it can furnish initial ideas to be used for theoretical sampling*” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 47). More relevant in this review of the different forms of grounded theory methodologies is their ontological vision of the reality and the position that the researcher assumes in the process of emergence of the theory. Strauss and Corbin (1994) indicated that there is not a “*pre-existing reality ‘out there.’ To think otherwise is to take a positivistic position that . . . we reject . . . Our position is that truth is enacted*” (p. 279) and “*grounded theory requires that the interpretations and perspectives of actors on their own and others' actions become incorporated into our own interpretations*” (p. 280). This seems to indicate that there is a sort of relativistic ontological position, which could relate their work to a constructivist idea (Mills et al, 2006). Corbin however, (cited in Fox, 2012, p. 72), in his later work indicates that “*we (the researchers) need to keep a distance*” from the interpretative process of the participants, by “*sticking to the data rather than our preconceptions*”. This assertion, de facto, downgrades the position of the actors,

making the data rather than the actors, the depositor of the constructivist process, while the researcher is relegated in the position of an observer (Fox, 2012). Those are some of the reasons why Charmaz (2008), still regards the Straussian approach (as well as the original Glaser grounded theory) as “*objectivist*”, and, as such, she observes that it:

*...assume(s) a single reality that a passive, neutral observer discovers through value-free inquiry. Assumptions of objectivity and neutrality make data selection, collection, and representation unproblematic; they become givens, rather than constructions that occur during the research process, and they shape its outcome.* (p. 401-402).

Strauss and Corbin (1990) develop a coding method that is more elaborate and rigid than that proposed one in the original work which Glaser, composed of open, axial and selective codes (Heatha & Cowley, 2004). The aim was to provide a tool for the researcher to consent the discovery of the theory from the data. Starting from the open coding, identified on the base of the initial research questions, it is possible to generate conceptual categories; then the axial coding allows the comparison of the data observation and the determination of the relationship between the different categories. Selective coding finally permits the integration of the different categories to build the theory (Thai, Chong, & Agrawal, 2012).

Strauss and Corbin put forward an 11 points procedure to follow which covers the deduction, identification and validation phases of the theory (Evens, 2013). Critics have however, argued that in the end the methodology takes over from the researcher who ends up using the methodology in a passive way, without interacting with it (Ramalho, Adams, Huggard, & Hoare, 2015). In the end it seems that rules determine the creation of the theory rather than the creativity of the researcher, and one can get to the conclusion that just by using the methodology in an appropriate way the researcher is able to achieve its results. Perceiving it this way further drives

away the Straussian grounded theory from the constructivist grounded theory whose ontological view acknowledged that *“it is not the research methodology that aims to discover a theory despite the researcher, but it is the researcher who aims to construct a theory through the methodology”* (Ramalho, et al., 2015, para 14). This implies that the method comes after the researcher who in the end is the one that gives life to the research.

#### 4.2.4 *The feminist grounded theory*

The feminist grounded theory is here presented to complete the description of the major evolution of the grounded theory’s paradigms. This approach has been used, initially in nursing studies, while leaving open to the researcher the choice among the three forms of methodology above described, it has many elements of similarity with the constructivist grounded theory and adds to the methodology a feminist perspective (Plummer & Young, 2010). From an epistemological point of view feminist research puts at the center of the analysis women’s experiences, and the relation with the structures that have determined those experiences (Maynard, 1994; Olesen, 2000). The aim of the research as indicated by Weiler, is not if what has been investigated is *“true according to an abstract criterion, but whether or not it leads to progressive change”* (Weiler, 1988 p. 63). Grounded theory methodology *“contains epistemological congruencies that can inform feminist inquiry”* (Malagon, Perez, & Velez, 2009, p. 259) and helps in investigating the lives of women which are often either ignored or looked from a male perspective (Maynard, 1994; Allen, 2011). As suggested by Harding (1993), the self-reflection of marginalised groups on their own life experience, such as women in a feminist perspective, *“can provide the most significant agendas for the feminist research process”*, (p. 54). Ackerly and True (as cited in Araojo, Masagca, Ibardaloza, Salih, De Leon & Lopez, 2014, p.

164) describe the way in which grounded theory, and particularly the constructivist version, relates to the feminist's research ontology, emphasising that:

*Grounded theory is a form of structured inquiry that is useful for studying questions that themselves have been concealed by dominant discourses, conceptualization, and notions of what questions are important. By design, then, grounded theory is a research design that enacts a feminist research ethic.*

Reflexivity is a key component in constructivist grounded theory, both for the participants in the description of the events, and the researchers when engaging with the data. Through this process the researcher, moving from a feminist standpoint, is capable to interpret and understand the phenomenon described by the participants, while being part of the data (Hall, 2014).

Having described in the sections above the various strands of grounded theory, it is possible to move on to an in-depth description of the chosen constructivist grounded theory methodology used in the thesis.

### **4.3 The constructivist grounded theory**

The discussion presented in the sections above indicates that both the original and the Straussian grounded theory methodology, even if with a different degree, are based on the ontological principle of a reality, which emerges from the data, with the investigator acting as a neutral observer (or with some sort of involvement in the Straussian grounded approach); and both use a objectivist epistemology, (Charmaz, 2008; Alemu, Stevens, Ross & Chandler, 2015). On the other hand, Charmaz's constructivist theory, while using the methodological medium of investigation of the general grounded theory, differs in the ontological and epistemological values being relativist and subjective (Breckenridge, Jones, Elliott & Nicol, 2012). Describing her version of grounded theory, Charmaz (2003) specifies that it:

*..assumes the relativism of multiple social realities, recognises the mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and viewed, and aims toward an interpretive understanding of subjects' meanings. (p. 250).*

The subjective and central role of the researcher is another distinctive element of the constructivist grounded theory, as shown by Guba and Lincoln (1994, p. 111). Constructivism assumes that “*The investigator and the object of investigation are ... interactively linked so that the "findings" are literally created as the investigation proceeds.*”. What this means is that concepts are constructed and not just discovered as indicated by Glaser (2003). Knowledge is a joint discovery, between the participant actor and the researcher who both, reflexively, construct an uncertain reality. Implicit in this view is the fact that the researcher has a certain level of knowledge on the investigated phenomenon, which allows him/her to better interact with the participants. It is not possible for the researcher to be as a “*tabula rasa*” since the way the research evolves reflects his/her value positions (Charmaz, 2008). In the constructivist grounded theory, the review of the existing literature is not a ‘taboo’ as in the other types of grounded theory methodologies, but “*constructionists advocate recognizing prior knowledge and theoretical preconceptions and subjecting them to rigorous scrutiny*” (Charmaz, 2008, p. 402). It is the particular use of the grounded theory methodology, specifically the way data are analysed that leads, through a categorisation process, to the development of the knowledge and the construction of the theory.

Following Charmaz’s (2006) guidelines, the first stage leading to the discovery of the knowledge of the argument investigated, is the coding process, which begins with the collection of the data (Benaquisto, 2008). Coding allows the identification and articulation of the categories (Finch, 2002), whose function is to explain a phenomenon rather than describing it (Nadler, 2009). Jones and Alony, (2011)

observe that, *“After the empirical data have been collected, the researcher begins the process of coding- categorizing the data to reflect the various issues represented”*, (para 43). As in all types of grounded theory, data collection and analysis are done simultaneously in an iterative interchange between the two (Alemu, et al., 2015). The coding process allows one to explain the meaning of the data, ultimately constructing an emergent theory. Initially the data examined, will have to be analytically broken down and coded, preferably using catch verbs, in a way that captures, in the wider form, the participants' tacit meanings recorded in the data. Initial coding results in the identification of codes (labels) that describe a specific phenomenon emerging from the data; they are provisional, and remain open to other possible interpretations. The data are made to speak, but it is the researcher that gives name to the codes, which represent at this stage a discrete thread of datum, (Charmaz, 2006). It is the constant interaction between the researcher and the data that may lead to modify the initial codes, bringing the construction of knowledge to different directions, so that a better interpretation of the participant's meaning can appear from the data (Charmaz, 2000).

The next step is the identification of the focused coding of codes; they appear from the initial codes, but are more selective, trying to synthesize conceptual categories. It is again the constant analytical comparison with the existing data that facilitates this process of selection among the initial codes. The researcher does not simply “read” the identified codes, but these are evaluated looking for their own assumptions and implicit meanings, as well as those of their research subjects (Charmaz, 2001). Differing from the other forms of grounded theory, and in line with the ontological and epistemological principles of constructivism, categories are identified by the interaction of the researcher with the data and their interpretation.

Theoretical coding is the last coding stage, it allows one to conceptualize the possible relationships existing between the different categories identified through the focused coding; such a process helps the researcher to move into the direction of a theoretical explanation of the data.

Memo-writing serves to record the researcher's reflections and annotations of data starting from the initial coding and continuing until the end of the research process, (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). In this way, memos act as an analytic tool helping in the conceptualisation of data. According to Alemu et al., (2015), written memos "*serve as enabling tools, allowing the researcher to reflect on the whole research process, including during data collection, analysis and write-up*" (p. 535). Writing and sorting memos, in constructivist grounded theory is instrumental to capture the ideas while they get form in the researcher's mind, and help in developing new ideas. It is not just a form to summarise the collected material but to further learn from the data (Charmaz, 2008). At the centre stage of the constructivist grounded theory there is the studied phenomenon rather than the method used, and reflexivity allows the researchers to "*scrutinize their research experience, ways of knowing, and products of knowing*" (Charmaz, 2001, p. 6397).

#### *4.3.1 Limitation of constructivist grounded theory*

The constructivist grounded theory, as with all versions of grounded theory, is not without criticism. Glaser (2002), does not recognize constructivist as belonging to the tradition of grounded theory describing it as a rather 'simple' qualitative data analysis methodology (Evans, 2013). Glaser is specifically against the idea of interaction between the researchers and the participants which may alter the results. Critics of the constructivist grounded theory also indicate that co-construction knowledge does not make it possible to discern the contribution and the "weight"

played by the parts in such a process. The risks are on the one hand that the views of the research impose on those of the actor (Hernandez & Andrews, 2012). Furthermore, the emerging theory relies too much on the views of actors, which cannot be scientifically validated (Goldthorpe, 2007). Such critiques, however, fail to acknowledge the different ontological and epistemological stand of the constructivist grounded theory, and the fact that reflexivity, and comparative procedures, which can be used to prevent the uncritically acceptance of the actors' perceptions, are 'tools' available to the constructivist researcher to prevent or minimize the negative effects of those risks.

#### **4.4 The investigation context**

In the above sections the basic versions of grounded theory methodology have been described. The review has allowed the researcher to conclude that Charmaz's constructivist grounded theory best matches the ontological and epistemological approach followed in the research and the use of such methodology can permit the development of a substantive theory which increases the understanding of the participants' migration experience. Through its use, it is possible to construct a theory, which on the basis of the data collected and the interactions between the researcher and the actors, can capture the motives behind the decision to move, as well as the way in which such decisions have an impact on the actors and their family. Constructivism grounded theory is ontologically related to the researcher believing that the "reality" of migration for the complexity of the phenomenon that determines it, is not unique, and cannot be understood without reference to the values and reasons that the actors (migrants and their families) attach to their actions.

#### *4.4.1 Gathering data*

The identification of the actors uncovering the meaning of their migration experience from a personal and family perspective was more difficult than expected. As indicated the study has attempted, to a certain extent, to combine a quantitative and a qualitative analysis. This has created an apparent contradiction since grounded theory is not really interested in measuring or simply describing a phenomenon but in co-constructing meaning during data collection and analysis through a process of iterative conceptualization (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Quantitative analysis has however been used with the objectives to widen the spectrum of the investigation and to provide a Namibian contextualization of the phenomenon researched. Concurrently, part of the participants included in the sample constructed for the descriptive quantitative analysis have been also used as informants to obtain data from their personal migration experiences. Ad hoc personal interviews were conducted with them and the analysis of the data collected then formed the core of the investigation. The result has been that two partly overlapping samples were used, one specifically to conduct the quantitative analysis, and the other to carry out the qualitative study

#### *4.4.2 Quantitative sampling of internal migrants*

A selection of the workers at the construction site of the Neckartal Dam was initially identified as sample population. Located in the Karas region, along the Fish River in the south of the country, the infrastructural project is the first step of a national irrigation scheme, which when completed, will encompass 5,000 hectares of land for the agricultural development in the areas south of Keetmanshop. The project, which is still underway, and is expected to be completed by the end of 2018, has already had an impact on the Namibian workforce, attracting both skilled and unskilled

workers from different regions, particularly Karas, Omusati, Ondangwa and other northern regions. Around 1500 people, 660 in situ, and the remaining in subcontracting, have been employed so far with contracts of different lengths. For these reasons, the typology of the workers at the construction place has been considered a good stratified sample for age, ethnicity and gender and proxy representation of the Namibian population of internal migrants. The management of the Italian company Salini - Impregilo gave permission to dispense questionnaires with quanti-qualitative questions, to a sample of 100 workers representing proximally 15 % of the total worker in situ. In order not to create difficulties in the daily running of the operation on the Neckartal dam site, with the assistance of the management, five willing informants, working at the dam, were identified; these were those who directly interfaced with the workers at the situ and had administrated the questionnaire. No specific *age range* was set for the participants, as this was to capture the experiences of both young adults who were at their first migration experience and mature migrants. On the 11<sup>th</sup> of December 2016, a meeting with the informants was held on the premises of the Neckartal Dam. A half-day informative session took place and the informants were briefed on the general objective of the research and the specific aim of the questionnaire.

A mock exercise was done to explain the rational of each question and the five informants expressed their readiness to participate subsequently in the second phase of the research<sup>32</sup>. The informants received 20 questionnaires each, for a total of 100 interviews, so as to provide a minimum of statistical significance. Furthermore, since the approach of this study was mainly interested in the qualitative aspect of the migration phenomenon, it was noted that the results obtained using quantitative

---

<sup>32</sup> They formed the first group with whom in-depth interviews were conducted accordingly to the constructivist grounded theory principles

analysis would not be invalidated, but rather would strengthen the qualitative part of the study. The questionnaires were distributed between the 12<sup>th</sup> of December, 2016 and the 1<sup>st</sup> of February, 2017 during which the Italian management in situ changed, and the permission to conduct the interviews was withdrawn. On the 4<sup>th</sup> of February the questionnaires were collected. What emerged from the feedback received were the difficulties experienced by the informants in getting all the planned 100 questionnaires; only 50 questionnaires (40% of the sample and 6.6% of the total population of migrants workers on the premises) were in the end collected. The remaining participants were identified via chain-referral sampling, using the network of friends, family and acquaintances. The technique, also known as snowball sampling, is a non-probability, non-random method particularly useful in context when it is difficult to find individuals who possess the required characteristics. This was particularly the case considering that other individuals randomly identified, explicitly requested monetary compensation in order to participate to the research. The snowball technique was also chosen because it was possible to apply it effectively with the use of emails, which made the distribution and the collection of the questionnaires relatively easy.

*Structure of the questionnaire:* The questionnaire had two components, a first component with 24 closed questions and 3 open-ended questions, divided into 5 groups: i) personal data; ii) geographical location; iii) structure of the family/household in the village; iv) personal migration history and, v) remittances. The purpose was to provide a description of the characteristics of internal migration to combine with the qualitative analysis; SPSS and Excel were used to extract frequencies and correlation information among the different variables.

The second part of the questionnaire had 23 open-ended questions divided in 4 groups: i) history of migration; ii) financial remittances and their uses; iii) social remittances; iv) changes in family/gender relationship. The information collected in this way was used as elicited texts to analyse as initial data; as pointed by Charmaz (2006), “*all qualitative research entails analysing text;... elicited texts involve research participants in producing written data in responses to a researcher’s request and thus offer a means of generating data*” (p. 35).

*Ethical concerns:* Questionnaires were designed in such a way to protect the dignity and welfare of the participants, so that participants did not feel humiliated, embarrassed, scared, anxious, stressed, saddened, or discouraged. Before the questionnaires were given the participants were given an explanation of the background of the research, with a consent form. The rights of the participants were clearly indicated on the consent form, specifying that the participants’ names would not be used in order to protect their identity. Further precautions to ensure the confidentiality of the participants were taken for those who agreed to be interviewed.

#### *4.4.3 Qualitative sampling of internal migrants*

The sample with the informants for the face-to-face interviews was created using the snowball techniques, apart from the initial 5 willing informants at the construction site of the Neckartal Dam who also took part in the quantitative analysis. The sample comprised mostly of individuals coming from Onangholo, a village in the Omusati region in the Northern part of the country, 10 km from the capital region Outapi, known to the investigator. The reason for this decision was because for the study to be meaningful, it was necessary to obtain the migrants’ consensus to interview members of their families. As indicated by Charmaz (2006), it is important that the researcher to better understand the participants’ lives from their perspective had to

establish rapport with them; “*if researchers do not establish rapport, they risk losing access to conduct subsequent interviews or observations*” (p. 19). Trust had to be built between the interviewer and the interviewee, which would not be created with occasional migrants identified randomly from the street.

At the same time, from a logistical point of view, it was also crucial, to identify those migrants whose homesteads were not too far from each other in order to reduce the travelling time and the costs during the stage of the “family interview”. For this reason, rather than choosing migrants representing all the Namibian ethnic groups, as initially planned, it was opted to concentrate on the face-to-face interviews mainly with Oshiwambo migrants. This solution, could have reduced the possibility to effectively verify the existence of similar/different patterns/drivers of migration among the various Namibian ethnic groups, but it did not hamper the validity of the analysis, considering that the Oshiwambo ethnic group is the largest in the country.

*Place of the interview:* interviews were conducted in different locations depending on the category of the informants. For logistic reasons, the informants from the Neckartal Dam were interviewed in situ, and all the other individual informants were instead interviewed in places they had suggested. The idea was to make them feel at ease. Some indicated their residence as the place of interview, others chose to be interviewed in public places or at their working place, a few preferred to be interviewed at the researcher’s location. All migrants’ family members were interviewed in their homestead in Onhangolo. No particular differences were observed in the behaviour of the respondents during the interviews that could be attributed to the location.

*Data collection:* Data was collected through indirect and direct interviewing as well as observations, at different stages and at different locations. All direct

interviews were recorded and transcribed in text form; pictures of the migrants' homesteads were taken and used as additional source of information.

- Firstly, elicited texts, represented by the qualitative questionnaires collected at the construction site of Neckartal Dam, were used to fine tune the questions, and represented the base from which initial coding was suggested. Not all 50 questionnaires collected at this stage could be used for this purpose. As noted by Murphy and Dingwall (2003), elicited texts rely on the writing skills of the participants and the capacity to express themselves, and for this reason only those questionnaires whose answers expressed substantive concepts were considered. Another limiting factor was represented by the fact that it was not possible to interact with the respondent and the memoing process was done while assessing the answers during the initial coding. This limitation was partially overcome when it was possible to probe, in a successive phase, the respondents, as in the case of the five informants from the Neckartal dam. Alongside the questionnaires collected from the willing informants, only other 7 questionnaires were used as elicited texts.
- In a second stage, 13 individual interviews took place in various locations from March to July 2017. The group was made of 9 females and 4 males; interviews lasted between 40 to 60 minutes depending on the commitment of the participants. During the same period, interviews were conducted at the migrants' families location in Onhangolo; only 7 migrants gave the permission to interview the family members. Although limited in number, the visits proved to be very helpful and were also used as a form of visual observation of the developmental economic impact of remittances on the family. The interviews were conducted with all the adult members of the family who had agreed to be

interviewed; in some cases the interview was only with the head of the family, in other cases it was with both parents and siblings or relatives of the migrant present at home. In all such cases, the interviews were in focus group form. In cases where the informant only spoke Oshiwambo a family member was always present to make the translation. This made redundant the use of a translator, as initially planned. In total, 16 individuals were interviewed.

- Lastly, other 12 interviews were conducted between August and September 2017.

This meant that in total 43 informants were interviewed. This was consistent with the proposed sample size for the grounded theory methodology; as a guideline for actual sample sizes (Creswell, 1998, p .64) indicates the number of 20-30 interviews while Morse, (1994, p. 225), proposes 30-50.

#### *4.4.4 Interviewing internal migrants*

Interviewing is the instrument with which the researcher gets to know the particulars of the topic under investigation by interacting with the persons who have the relevant experiences (Charmaz, 2006). It is because of this interaction, in fact, that as indicated by Mischler (cited by Wimpenny & Gass, 2000, p. 1486), *the meaning* can be located and interpreted in the realm of the context in which it occurs.

In a constructivist approach interviewing consents to get the participant's point of view of the phenomenon investigated and to *co-create*, from the multiple interpretations that could have been associated to the event, a representation of its reality, which can facilitate in the understanding of the phenomenon (Wimpenny & Gass, 2000). All questions were for this reason semi- structured and open to allow the participants to reflect and describe their experiences and views on that particular event. In line with constructivist grounded theory's approach, face-to-face interviews

were also steered in a *collaborating* way, allowing new related questions to clarify previous points to emerge. The interviews were conducted in an unconventional manner and the personal experience of the researcher as a migrant, allowed to create a conducive atmosphere which facilitated the free expression of the respondents. This easiness was even higher when interviewing the participants from Onangholo and their families, since the researcher was not considered an alien figure in the village. Lastly, the fact that English was not the mother tongue of both the researcher and the respondents created an additional empathy and was an incentive to interact to properly express their points of view. All that made irrelevant the ethnical and other social and economic differences, which could have in other circumstances emerged, if the researcher had been a white non-Namibian. Being at the same time a foreigner and/but at the same time a person accustomed with the Namibian different cultural and social contexts, reduced the hostility of the respondents when addressing sensitive topics such as those related to the uses of remittances. At the same time, it made it also easier to understand the gender and power dynamics that are always present in an interview process.

It is also important to acknowledge that in a constructivist approach the interviewer comes with a certain level of knowledge of the facts investigated, and this had to be taken into account in the process of knowledge construction. In this case the previous studies undertaken by the researcher on the international migration as well as the experience of the last ten years living in the country as a *migrant*, were reflexively considered during the interview to avoid imposing the researcher's views on the emergence of the knowledge of the internal migration experience of the Namibian migrants.

Constant comparative methods (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), as indicated by Charmaz (2006), were used throughout the interviewing process to compare the respondents' answers and identify similarities and differences in their personal migration experience. This helped to identify the initial coding and then successfully move to the identification of focused coding and relevant categories. These approaches were applied in all the different phases of the research and helped to reduce the danger of the researcher imposing a preexisting structure on them, while giving strength to the researcher assertions (Charmaz, 2006).

*Ethical concern:* The same precautions taken to protect the dignity and welfare of participants in the quantitative study were followed in the qualitative part of the study. Additionally, the consent form requested extra permission in order to make use of the voice recordings and to take photos; none of the participants refused to consent. For purposes of confidentiality the participants were informed that their names would not appear in the study and privacy and discretion about the information received would be maintained. All data, both in audio, electronic and paper forms, was kept safely with the researcher.

#### 4.4.5 Coding

Coding is the first analytical point when dealing with grounded theory and the constructivist grounded theory. It allows making sense of the data collected and associating them to ideas, as stated by Charmaz (2006); with this process, “you define what is happening in the data and begin to grapple with what it means”, (p. 46). It is through the coding that it was possible to start to create the link between the data and an emergent theory that could have explained the internal migration in the country.

The process of coding had been done initially with the elicited texts that had represented the first sort of data collected. They were very preliminary and were left very open since there was no the possibility to directly interface with the participants. These initial codes were part of the preparation of the memos and they were revised and in some cases modified, when face-to-face interviews were conducted. Maximum effort was made with the initial codes, to remain open to explore all sorts of interpretations but remaining grounded to the data, (Charmaz, 2006). As far as possible the initial codes were derived from the words and actions used by the participants to describe their experiences or indicated in their written answers from the elicited texts. They were instrumental in starting to understand the processes behind the migrants' migration experience and useful to identify areas where more data were necessary. Given the level and quality of some data, it was not always possible to code word by word, and in some cases the coding was done assessing incident by incident. In this process, the incidents were compared. Initial coding was collected also from the visual observation during field visits to the migrants' families and the following interviews. The second step in the coding exercise was to transform the initial codes into focused codes. Initial codes were compared among themselves and the data so that a higher level of analytical interpretation of the data could be achieved.

#### *4.4.6 Memoing*

Memo writing has been instrumental in all the processes of the construction of the knowledge about internal migration in Namibia. It was engaged during the phases of the interviews and the identification of the initial codes and was continued during the comparative analysis. Strauss and Corbin (1990) explain the function of memos as to provide the researcher with “*written records of analysis related to the formulation of*

*theory*” (Strauss & Corbin, p. 197). For Charmaz (2006, p. 72), memoing is the “pivotal intermediary step between data collection and writing drafts of papers”. It is a process that starts during the interviews and continues during the constant comparison of data with data, codes with codes, data, codes with categories, or categories and categories. Memoing helped to shape and fix the researcher’s ideas on internal migration and to bringing news ideas, to be then verified by new data. Memoing was also used to construct connections between the categories while leading to the emergence of the theory.

In the search for an understanding of the Namibians’ internal migration experience, memoing was conducted somehow differently from what is traditionally suggested in the literature on grounded theory and constructivist grounded theory. Everything that emanated from the data, starting from their entry was in varied forms memoed; in the end memoing followed the different phases of the investigation. So memoing in the end had a different purpose with the initial memoing followed by focused memoing at the stage of analytical and theoretical investigation. Charmaz’s (2006, p. 80) suggestion to address memo writing in a non-mechanical rather spontaneous way, was followed as far as possible using often an informal way of expression. It should be noted that this form had to be then revisited when moving to the construction of the theory.

Initial memos were made after the data from the questionnaires were recorded into an excel spreadsheet and while starting to identify the initial codes. This procedure was followed also with the first group of face-to-face interviews, and until saturation of information was not reached from the data available. This phase contributed to the early emergence of linkages to the existing theory of the drivers of migrations, which the quantitative analysis had already identified, but more importantly, indicated new

ways to revisit the same theories and at the same time to highlight aspects behind the decisions of migration that were not considered under this perspective.

Advanced memoing followed when diminishing returns were obtained from analysing new data. In other words no significant new understandings were obtained having reached theoretical saturation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Saturation was achieved through constant comparison of the different data until no new properties could emerge from further comparing and analysing the data (Holton, 2007). The point of saturation was not achieved at the same moment for all the focused code and categories identified. Categories associated with the identification of the drivers of migration very easily determined and saturated than those associated with the family transformations caused by the movement.

#### *4.4.7 Elaboration of the theory*

The elaboration of the thesis took place through a process of putting the memos together and sorting them out by identifying and establishing the existing connections between them (Charmaz 2006, p. 155). An effort was made to make it clear how the understanding of the investigated phenomenon could have been enhanced by the research. This required making connections related to the existing analysed migration literature so that the gaps and the differences could have been highlighted. The findings of the quantitative analysis were also used as an additional aid to help in the construction of the arguments and particularly in addressing Charmaz's "*So what*" question. The focused codes helped in setting the pace of the chapter which was developed around three main lines: the drivers of migration, the impact of remittances and the social impact of migration on the family. Evidence of the participants' contributions was extensively used to make the connection to the

emergence theory clearer. The concluding chapter brings together the parts in an attempt to present in a systematic way the subsequent grounded theory.

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

The methodological approach used to guide the analytical elaboration of the theory of knowledge on internal migration in Namibia has been prevalently explained in terms of the constructivist grounded theory. As shown in the chapter, there are some points of divergences from the standard approach both in the use of elicited texts and in the combination of a quantitative analysis which has been used to back up the analysis derived from the participants' contribution via the face-to-face interviews. This in line with Charmaz's (2006, p. 24) view that: "*grounded theory methods* [should be seen] *as a set of principles and practices, not as prescriptions or packages*".

The following four Chapters: 5, 6, 7 and 8, describe the main findings from a quantitative and a qualitative perspective; chapter 5 has to be read as a prelude to the elaboration of the constructivist grounded theory. In Chapters 6 to 8 the migrants' decision to move and consequentially the impact of such a decision on the migrants and their families, has been analysed around three central themes namely, the drivers to migrate, the remittances and the social impact; the migrants' history is the lens through which the three themes have been presented to lead to the elaboration of the emergent theory.

## **Chapter 5 A descriptive analysis of the Namibian internal migration**

### **5.1 Introduction**

The quantitative analysis presented in this chapter aims at giving an overall understanding of the internal migration in Namibia and is not an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon, which is instead analysed via the qualitative study. The quantitative findings remain mostly descriptive but can, however supplement, the qualitative analysis particularly when addressing the research question to attain the drivers to migrate and the nexus migration development. Before looking at them it is important to briefly present the status of the Namibian economy. In 2009 Namibia's economic status was raised by the World Bank from lower to upper middle income. This status while acknowledging the enormous progress achieved by the country since independence, also concealed a certain level of inequality, considering that the Gini coefficient, which measures the level of inequality, ranging from 0 to 1 (complete inequality), when the latest household census was conducted in 2011 was at 0.597 (Sherburne, 2016). The lack of sufficient employment opportunities is considered one of the root causes of inequality. When associated to migration patterns, the most common explanations of the driver to migrate is linked to the "necessity to work" and, in a context where job opportunities are few, it is undeniable that people do migrate looking for jobs. The latest available statistics on the labour market activities, for the population aged 15 years and above in Namibia, corroborate this interpretation. The data were collected by the NSA in 2016 and indicates that the broad unemployment rate for this population's group was estimated at 34.0 per cent. Unemployment was particularly pronounced among those living in rural areas with 39.2 per cent rate. The data also indicates that the female population unemployment was almost 10 points higher than the male rate and the youth broad unemployment

continued to increase from the previous recorded data of 2014 reaching and ever higher rate of 43.4 per cent (Namibia Statistic Agency, 2017).

Very minimal empirical research has been done to analyse and describe the migration phenomenon in the country. The latest available study is a report by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) made available in 2016 which mostly reports secondary data extracted by the NSA 2015 Migration Report based on the 2011 Census.

## 5.2 The quantitative findings

In analysing the data collected it is important to note that there is no claim that the sample fully represents the migrants' population in the country, and the statistical significance is reduced by the fact that only 84 questionnaires were properly filled and hence could be used. The findings, however, do provide some meaningful results that, while partially corroborating the IOM (2016) report, also offer a new perspective on internal migration, a perspective that constitutes the base on which to build the qualitative study.

### 5.2.1 Migrants' characteristics and geographical location

*Gender* The majority of the respondents, 63 per cent were female; this is despite the fact that half of those filling the questionnaires were coming from a construction site; a place that is not usually associated with a high presence of female workers. This is an indication of the feminisation of migration as largely observed at international level.

*Table 10 Gender Composition*

	N	%
Male	31	37%
Female	53	63%
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100%</b>

The relationship between female participation to the work force and economic progress is not however straightforward as these are motivated by several factors including social norms (Verick, 2014) which in the end hinder women's actions. Female migrants, in general are more likely to send money home than male migrants and this has an impact on the family's wellbeing.

*Age* The median age of the respondents is of 29 years and, while this helps to explain why the majority of the respondents are not married<sup>33</sup>, it is in line with the findings of the NSA (2015) report and consistent with the median of the international migrants population worldwide which corresponds to 30 years.

On the other hand, the sample's median age is significantly higher than that of the African continent which is 15-24 years (Adepoju, 2016), considering that we are dealing with long-term migrants, (i.e. migrants that are residing in town longer than 1 year) this is an indication that internal migrants move later than international ones.

*Location* Geographical data indicates that the majority of the respondents, 78 per cent, come from the Oshiwambo ethnic group<sup>34</sup>. This is consistent with the fact that this ethnic group represents about 50% of the Namibian population and also the direct consequence of the way in which the sample was determined.

*Table 11 Ethnic Group*

	N	%
Oshiwambo	66	78.6%
Kwangali	2	2.4%
Damara>Nama	6	7.1%
Colored	2	2.4%
Herero	3	3.6%
No answer	5	6.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

<sup>33</sup> This does not mean that they are single or do not have children.

<sup>34</sup> In Namibia there are 11 ethnic groups, Owambo, Kavango, Herero, Damara, Nama, Caprivians, Coloured/Basters, Bushmen, Himba, Tswana and White.

As expected rural areas, associated with a poor availability of services and scarce infrastructures are the places of origin of the majority of the respondents. More than two-thirds of them come from small rural villages.

### *5.2.2 Structure of the family/household in the village*

Significantly, the fact that a third of the respondents comes from densely populated urban and semi urban areas with family sizes between 6 and more individuals, is an indication that the migrants in their quest to move are looking at something more than just economic opportunities since it is assumed that urban areas are “per se” places where economic opportunities are found. The data also indicates that more than 70 per cent of the respondents are not the only members of the family to have left the homestead and, as expected the number of those moved is higher in the larger families. A cross tabulation analysis indicates the existence of a direct relation between the area of provenience of the migrants and the family size, with more than 60 per cent of the larger families originating from the rural areas. A close examination of the household sizes, reveals that more than 40 per cent of the respondents come from a large household with more than 10 people, another 40 per cent comes from medium size households, with between 6 and 10 components, and the remaining from small households.

### *5.2.3 Personal migration history*

The section shows data on the personal history of the migrants and the fact that remittances are indicated as a form of income for the family consents to start having an initial understanding of the drivers of migration. When asked directly why they had moved away from home, the answers provided by the respondents indicated that the pursuit for a job (or a better job) and the desire to upgrade their level of knowledge were the two principal reasons that had motivated them to move.

Table 12 Reason to move

	<i>N</i>	%
To study	37	44%
To join my family	1	1%
To work	44	52%
No answer	2	2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100%</b>

However, considering that more than 80 per cent of the respondents should be considered as long-term migrants having resided away from the place of birth for a period between 1 and more than 10 years, the educational reason answer implies that the school improvement has ultimately lead to a job prospect which has then kept the respondents away from the place of origin.

#### 5.2.4 Remittances

Responses to the main sources of income in the migrants' household give an idea of the economic status of the family. Overall it is possible to say that migrants come from medium to low income families, where the family's revenues consist of social benefits, the salary of other family members and/or remittances, as well as profit from agricultural activities either for self-consumption or for small commercial activities. This finding is coherent with the higher number of migrants originating from rural areas where agricultural activities still predominate.

Table 13 Main sources family income

	<i>N</i>	%
Social security benefits	18	16%
Salary of family members/remittances	54	47%
Occasional work	10	9%
Profit from agricultural/	34	29%
<b>Total*</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>100%</b>

\* N is higher than 84, corresponding to the total of the respondents, due to multiple answers. In this case the percentage has been calculated on the overall total of 116.

Almost all the respondents, more than 97 per cent, indicated that they send financial remittances home, either regularly (62 per cent of the respondents in the sample) or occasionally, (36 per cent).

*Table 14 Sending remittances (money) home*

	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Yes, regularly	52	62%
Yes, occasionally	30	36%
NA	2	2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100%</b>

More than 80 per cent also revealed that they provide additional assistance in the form of clothes, food and electrical appliances.

*Table 15 Additional assistance*

	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Yes, regularly Clothing	18	15%
Yes, regularly Electrical App	1	1%
Yes, regularly Food	18	15%
Yes, occasionally Clothing	37	31%
Yes, occasionally Electrical App	3	2%
Yes, occasionally Food	29	24%
No	15	12%
<b>Total*</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>100%</b>

\* *N* is higher than 84, corresponding to the total of the respondents, due to multiple answers. In this case the percentage has been calculated on the overall total of 121.

This is a clear indication that remittances play a critical role in supporting the family economy, not only in the international migration as has been widely researched, but also in the case of internal migration movement.

The analysis of the use of the remittances proves in the Namibian case, the existence of a concrete association between remittance and development. A consistent amount of remittances, more than 35 per cent, is used for activities that do have a direct and indirect impact on economic growth considered in terms of GDP increase and not used just for consumption as indicated by those scholars who argue that remittances do not contribute to economic growth.

Table 16 Use of remittances

	N	%
Food/clothing	57	24%
Education	45	19%
Health	37	16%
House improvements	42	18%
Agricultural / livestock activities	38	16%
Savings	11	5%
Other	2	1%
Other: Paying field workers	0	0%
<b>Total*</b>	<b>233</b>	<b>100%</b>

\* N is higher than 84, corresponding to the total of the respondents, due to multiple answers. In this case the percentage has been calculated on the overall total of 233.

Sustaining productive activities such as house improvements, agricultural and livestock activities have a trickledown effect that cannot be underestimated.

Financial institutions, such as a bank/postal transfer or an electronic transfer (e-wallet system), are the preferential ways used by the migrants to transfer money.

#### 5.2.5 Family's role

The quantitative analysis also provides information on the role that family and friends have in making the movement from the rural to the urban areas easier. Most of the respondents indicated that family and friends networks were instrumental both in getting information on the place where they intended to move and in supporting them during the initial period of staying in the new place. Thus, even if confined to the internal migration movement, this confirms the important role that networks in general play and exercise to promote and sustain the migration movements. Such family networks have the same function indicated by Ambrosini (2006), regarding the international migration which also confirms that migration is propagated and continued overtime despite all the difficulties encountered by the migrants both during the journey and in the chosen destination. Interestingly, the relationship with the family in the place of origin is kept alive, communicating almost on a daily or

weekly basis. More than 90 per cent of the respondents indicated that they use the phone to remain in contact with the other members of the family. This, while making the separation with the family less painful, allows the migrants to stay in contact with the village life. This element will be fully explored in the qualitative analysis where face-to-face interviews were conducted with a restricted number of migrants. Surprisingly, given the relatively not high median age of the respondents, the use of the social media, (i.e. Messenger, Whatsapp, etc.) as a means of communication with the family is not very common but this can be explained by the fact that the communication is with the older parents, grandparents, uncles and uncles living in the rural villages who presumably are not very familiar with such instruments and have no means to buy smartphone handsets.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

To conclude, this short chapter reveals that it is possible to say that the quantitative analysis of the Namibian internal migrants sample corroborates the view, here sustained, that internal and international migration are just different ways to respond to the same socio-economic problems faced by the individuals and their families. The descriptive analysis of the findings does, however provide supplementary information on the migratory phenomenon. The economic and personal motivations (i.e. education motivations) cannot be fully understood and interpreted via the quantitative analysis, which simply provides a snapshot of the situation. It is the qualitative analysis elaborated in the following chapter that, focusing on the personal narrative of the migrants and their reflexive journey, complements the descriptive quantitative part and provides a better and complete picture of the migration movement in Namibia. It also offers at the same time, a more detailed, and in some cases alternative explanation, to that proposed by the mainstream doctrine of the

drivers to migrate. Similarly, the quantitative findings do provide an indication of the weight that financial remittances have in supplementing the family's disposable income. It is however through the qualitative analysis that it is possible to understand the effective role that remittances play in the family and community context and to provide a sociological understanding of the complexities (personal, familial, and community) of the migration phenomenon in Namibia.

## Chapter 6 Achieving migration goals

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the aspects leading to the decision to move from the rural to urban areas; *achieving migration goals* is the category that conceptualises the process by which the Namibian participants express their motivation to move. The structure-agent contest (Giddens, 1984, 1991) is used as the explanatory framework to describe the social process of the interaction between the personal expectations of the migrants and the influence that the external structures have on the decision to move. Table 17 below has been developed to assist the readers in understanding how the category *achieving migration goals* has been determined. The table is a visual representation of the migration's history of one of the participants, which results from the constant comparative study, and interaction, of the Namibian sample data, the identified codes, and the categories emerged at the various stages of the analysis, as recommended by Charmaz (2006), in the use of the constructivist ground theory methodology.

Table 17 Determining category 1: *Achieving migration goals*

Questions	Initial Codes	Focused Codes	Category
<p><i>Reason to move/ meaning of migration</i></p> <p><i>Family perception/ impact of migration on the person</i></p> <p><i>Difficulties</i></p>	<p>Orphan Study, no good schools Staying with relatives Got a job Helping the family Life change Success Different cultures/tribes Seeing different places Supporting Family Better life Better health Leaving comfort of village Estranged uncles Transport home costly</p>	<p>Educational Achievement Getting employment Being empowered Growing process Being mature Adapting to new environment Bettering opportunities Getting out of the village box Construction of the self Being in a not conducive family environment Missing siblings and relatives/ Feeling guilt</p>	<p><b>Achieving migration goals</b></p>

### 6.1.1 *Advancing educational level vs. getting a job: A false dichotomy*

Participant 3 is a single male, 31 years old with no dependents. He holds a university degree obtained from outside the country. He was born into a medium size extended family in the rural area from the Northern Ohangwena region, and left the home village to complete secondary education. He spent seven years abroad, in the Russian Federation, where he completed tertiary education and was awarded a degree in engineering. He is currently working in Keetmanshop and since then, has helped both his parents and the extended relatives back home. He considers his stay away from the place of origin temporary since he wants to relocate back in the village as a farmer.

His personal migration history is particularly interesting since he first moved internally, from the rural to the urban area and afterward moved internationally to continue his studies. For this reason, his narrative can be related to one of the elite migrants, a category used to describe international migrants that returned home after achieving advanced qualifications abroad (Ammassari, 2004). Elite migration is often connected to the highly skilled migrants and implies that the migrant, as result of the international movement, besides getting relevant experience and/or higher academic qualifications, built connections which are then used when returning home to enrich him/herself and the community. As noted by Raman, (2010, para 23) *“Highly-skilled migrants that do return, return empowered with new knowledge and skills, and perhaps even the desire to contribute meaningfully to their home societies”*. This is a behaviour that has been recognised in most of the respondents’ narratives, regardless of the gender, or the level of education attained by the migrants.

Participant 3's initial description of the migration experience fits into Ramon's (2010), description. In this case migration is not linked to the margins of poverty, and the decision to move. Rather, it is a family survivalist strategy. It is described as the possibility to fulfill his own dreams of academic enrichment; an opportunity to be exposed to different opportunities that are not available in the home place.

*In 2005-2006 I left my home place (Ohangwena region) to Oshana region (Ongwadiva) for secondary education at Gabriel Taapopi Secondary School because I planned to study there when I was in grade 10. In January 2007 I left my home place for tertiary education at University of Namibia, because there was no UNAM campus that offers engineering or education at that time. In January 2008 I left Namibia to go further tertiary education in the Russian Federation, I was awarded a scholarship by the Russian and Namibian government and it has been always my dream to study abroad and gain new skills that we actually do not have here hence I could not turn it down. In September 2014 just a month after arrived from Russia I left home for Windhoek to look for a job. In December 2014 I left Windhoek for a job offer in Keetmanshop Neckartal Dam project.*

From this narrative it also shows that the desire to get involved personally in the development of the country prompted the movement from the home place:

*I have gained the knowledge and qualification I wanted, I was able to support my family and always sending money to my mother and cousins but I still have to reach my dream, my desire is to set up a company, I have not reached this objective but I am in the process.*

Transferred into the structure - agency debate, it appears that participant 3's movement away from the rural area, was indeed structurally determined, given the fact that there were no alternatives to further his education. The movement was however implicitly based on his belief that in a modern market society, as noted by Beissenova, Duisenova, and Muslimova (2013, p. 814), it is education "*that to a large extent determines the level of income and social status*". This view is commonly accepted in Namibia where employment surveys indicate that rates of

unemployment are higher for those with the lower educational attainments<sup>35</sup>. Participant 3 appears to be aware of that, and reflexively interacted with the external social structures and took the decision which best allowed him to achieve one of his migration objectives which, as indicated by him, represents:

*an opportunity to improve and taking advantages of what is offered outside”.*

This concurs with Giddens's (1984) structure-agency analysis, indicating the way in which the actors re-shape the structural environment itself.

Participant 5 can also be included in the “educational migrant” type; he was born in exile of a single parent. He is a male of 30 years of age with two children and a partner. He comes from a small and not well off “biological family, with a large extended family. The mother is originated from the rural area in the Oshana region where they returned after independence. Like participant 3, he left the village to continue his secondary and tertiary education and got supported by the mother during the whole school/university period. This background made him to be more conscious of the responsibility rested upon him, and, for this reason he started working immediately after graduating. He is currently employed in Mariental and sends money to the mother at home when needed via financial transfer.

*I come from an exiled single parent with a large extended family. In the village there were my single mother my sister and 12 more relatives. I left the village in Oshana after Grade 10 to go to Omusati for grade 12 and then I moved to Windhoek to continue my tertiary education. Because of my good academic results I was hand picked by a company and started to work in Rundu.*

For him education was the key to get access to a good job, to achieve his dreams, and fulfill his obligations.

*Migration is a dream, you have to know what you want in life, I come from a poor family, from a single parent house, I knew I had to support my mother*

---

<sup>35</sup> The latest 2014 Labour Force Survey confirms that trained teachers and graduates have the lowest unemployment rate, while there is little difference between those in possess of secondary and senior secondary certificates, (Sherbourne, 2016).

*and my sister so that they can support the other. I am the only one, I have to do this, this has motivated me, I know sometime it is difficult, but I am a man, I had my responsibility to fulfill and my own dreams to achieves. I had to leave, do justice to study and support the family.*

What emerges from this narrative is also the importance that both the social norms and the existing accepted behaviour, which the respondent indicates as “*the other living in the village*”, have been interacting with the migrant and have shaped his decision to move.

*I know from where I came from. I have seen other leaving the village, they have grown, they work now, they own cars and this motivated me so that I can also own my own car and support my mother, young sister and brothers and transfer the knowledge I have acquired to the other in the community.*

Participant’s 14 history gives a different perspective of the drivers to migrate, one that tends to delink the economic reasons to the migration decision and anchors it firmly into the desire to acquire education, to get more knowledge and to be involved in the country development.

She is a 36 years old female, from a small rural village in the Ondangwa region, married with one child. She started working very early after completing her secondary education and her paramount reason to leave the homestead was to further her studies and gain experience. The parents encouraged her to move and she now holds a Master’s degree and intends to further continue her studies. She does not support financially her biological parents because she was born into a very well-off family belonging to the royal family, but she supports other relatives of the extended family. She intends to return to the village after retiring

*I come from a well off family so there was not need for me to help them but I could have helped other members of the extended family instead. I have moved from the village to improve my education, it was my parents that encouraged me to do so; I was 19 when I finished grade 12 and I was also being trained as a teacher, so immediately finished the training college I started teaching at the village where I taught for 4 years. My parents then told me not to get*

*married and go to Windhoek to do University. Going to Windhoek for me has meant to better my life, not economically but educationally.*

She further makes clear that she did not move for economic reasons, or to support her family, but to further her studies and to be involved in the promotion of activities aimed at improving the development prospects of her community and even beyond their boundaries.

*If the University was in the North however I would still have moved because beside the education I wanted also to experience a different type of life, live in a context different from that of the rural areas. Here I am only to improve, to be exposed to new things but then I want to go back to the village and transfer what I have learned there, and not only in the village but in the whole Northern regions.*

Also, for participant 9a migration appears to be determined by a personal motivation of obtaining academic recognition. He is a single 27 years old male from Tsumeb, a small town in the Oshikoto region in the central part of the country. Living with the mother and his 3 younger siblings, improving his academic skills and attaining a degree is the drive he indicates as the prime reason to move. From his narrative transpires that the family is not involved in the decision to move since the choice to go and study in Algeria was taken by him and not dictated by the mother. He, however, acknowledges that indirectly the family and himself are conscious that by improving his education and getting a good degree, there will be better opportunities to find a rewarding job, and the family will also benefit from it.

*I moved to a new place for better opportunities and better outcome on life. I went to go study in Algeria, because I was by far the only family member to go outside of the country and do my studies. I needed to do that to come back and support my family and myself. Family is important but once they are part of your decision-making it will reduce the amount of knowledge you can accumulate from you errors.*

An examination of his words shows that it is not just the academic improvement that he pursues from this experience abroad, but also the exposure to a new environment and a different culture. The act of migration, critically observed, appears motivated

by the necessity to find his position in life. He leaves the familiar setting, to embark on a journey into a complete diverse environment where he has to rely on himself.

*I moved to better my understanding of life, as a young lad you only learn to understand when you are away from home; you get to see the world from a different perspective. Life will be unfair if you are only in one place. It's like reading a chapter of a book over and over and over again.*

Migration considered under this angle seems to indicate that the migrant is starting a process leading to loosening up the strong collectivist ties represented by the family bounds peculiar in the African tradition, in favour of an individualist behaviour, typical of a more modern western society. As noted by Knudsen (2017, paragraph. 3): “*An individual with strong ties to the traditional surrounding will be less likely to undergo this act [migrate]. Collectivists are thus less likely to migrate, while the opposite is true for individualists*”. Participant9’s tale does not contradict the existence of Grainer’s (2010) *multilocal household*, since what transpires from the description of the participant confirms that the family institution, based on traditional values here defined as “*those customary beliefs and values that ethnic, religious, and social groups transmit fairly unchanged from generation to generation*” (Guiso, Sapienza, & Zingales, 2006, p. 2), continues to influence the members’ behaviours, at the same time constraining their actions and giving rewards (Hockel, 2015). What emerges from the narratives of the participants is that the migration decision appears also as an attempt to break from these ties, and the migrants’ action leads towards the predominance of an individualistic society where people can express their own internal characteristics (Schwartz 1999).

Participant 1 seems initially to follow a different pattern; she is a single female, 34 years of age, with no dependents. Born in a small rural village in the Northern Omusati region, she is part of a large extended family. Between siblings and cousins, more than 10 people were living at the household at the time she left the village.

Lack of jobs opportunities, in the sector associated to tourism, the area she had chosen for her studies, were indicated as the motive to move. She is now living and working at the resort in Ais-Ais while studying part time at the University of Namibia in Windhoek. She supports the parents and the siblings at home by regularly sending financial remittances via financial institutions; she is also active socially in the village.

As for Participant 3, Participant 1 describes the migration event as an ineluctable act:

*I moved because I got a job, I was the successful candidate for the job I applied. I was not really planning to move away from the village; somehow it was a forced decision because of the type of job I had chosen to do I studied tourism and there was nothing that I could do there. My plan was to stay and get some job near home but then I got the offer I could not refuse.*

The decision to move is prompted by the current state of the economy; it is apparently not directly linked to the advancing of her academic knowledge but is rather linked to the chronic scarcity of job opportunities in her zone. Similar to the previous respondents' cases, in this case, the action to move is not a family planned decision; she moves because she grabs a *lifetime opportunity*. By probing her further, it appears that, although not planned in terms of a family strategy to cope with economic adversities, the movement was, however, by her expected. The area where she lives, in fact, does not accommodate any touristic structures, and moving away was the only way to get a job suited to her expertise. This suggests a sort of dual identity between her inner will to move away from the village life, and the safety net represented by the family life, corroborating the emerging thesis that migration is also motivated by the individual attempt to try to loosen up the traditional ties that keep him/her in the family, confirming Winterfeld, Fox and Mufane (2002), observation that the search for better job opportunities, has structurally transformed the Namibian families.

A further analytical observation of her thoughts also reveals that:

*My family was not directly involved in my decision to move in the sense that I informed them that I got a job and wanted to move, and they had to agree. They accepted because they knew I needed to get a job to support them. They were worried that I had to leave the village but were very supportive of my decision and they knew that in this way they would have also benefitted.*

She somehow acknowledged that leaving the village was what she really wanted, and in fact, after being informed that she got employed, she simply told the parents she was moving, and they were left with no other option than to *agree* with her decision. This implies that there was no direct influence of the family in the decision to move, bringing under a different light the association of migration with a family strategy to cope with adversities. At least in the Namibian context, this association neither appears to be in the form that is not traditionally explained, nor is as preeminent as in other more dominant rural economies.

The movement away from the village seems to be more the result of a reflexive assessment of the person of the external reality, based on her inner aspirations, which reproduces, while transforming the external structures (Giddens, 1984). She, similarly to Participant 4, wants to experience different things than what the village can offer. At the same time she is aware that starting to work is important not only because she can fulfil her dreams, but also because she will be able to help the family. In line with Giddens' structuration theory, human agency and external/internal social structures, feed into each other and through the agency's action the social structure is reproduced and can be changed. The norms that are part of her traditional culture are immanent, even if she is not aware of them. As shown by Parsons (2005, p.30), "*culture patterns have a dual relation to action, they may be objects of the situation or they may be internalized to become components of the actor's orientation pattern*". In this case the parents do not have to tell her that she

has to move to financially assist them because that cultural norm has already been internalised by the actor and has been reconstructed based on the personal motivations.

The inner reason that induces her to move, besides the eliciting factor of the job's offer, is her desire to experience a different reality of what the village has to offer, which results in the opportunity to grow and to be autonomous. She is trying to live as an individual, detached from the rest of the family, while at the same time fulfilling her obligations. This personal dream and those expectations make in the end the migration experience a pleasant experience,

*I am enjoying the new place environment and the job I am doing.*

Participant 6's migration account follows the same storyline. She is 23 years old, single with no dependents who moved very young from home. From a medium size family of modest economic status in the Omusati region semi urban area, she moved to look for work after completing G10. She is currently living in Windhoek where she is working, while at the same time improving her level of education. Since she gets a steady salary she is supporting her family, and remittances are sent via financial institutions.

*Left home when I finished Grade 10 to look for work outside the village, there was nothing there so I moved to Ondangwa where my aunty lived and she could support me with accommodation. I started looking for jobs and got a temporary work at Pick & Pay, the conditions there were not good; they did not pay every week and also taking money off the salary. I stayed six months and then decided to move to Windhoek to look for a better a job. In Windhoek I stayed at an aunty home, she helped me to get my current job. I am now working and can support my family at home and pay for my studies.*

Migration in this case is regarded as an opportunity to expand the knowledge and escape from the village's life, which was not offering much to her. The movement to town has moreover opened up new opportunities and motivated her to continue in this process of personal growth.

*I have changed a lot, I am trying to get something and being someone, not like before where I was just sitting, I am getting knowledge that I did not have before, in terms of education and openness to the world. I am independent and met some of the expectations I had, but now I want to continue to grow to help my family and myself as well.*

Participant 1a<sup>36</sup> is a single female, 39 years old with two children; she has completed secondary school. Born in a small village in the Kavango East rural area, she comes from a large household with more than 10 people. She is a long-term migrant that left the village to find a job and support the family in need after completing her grade ten. She is currently living and working in Windhoek and sends financial remittances regularly at home using financial institutions. Migration is a temporary experience; she wants to retire in the village.

Her migration history matches with the immediate motivations of participants 1 and 6 whose movement was prompted by the search/offer of a job.

*I moved with the purpose of finding a job.*

Different from the other participants interviewed, she directly associates the movement with the need to assist the family, which strongly supported her decision to leave. The reference to the family economic circumstances immediately locates her in a different social context; she had to move, “*due to the level of poverty in the family*”. This account seems to bring back the association of the drivers to migrate to the family survival strategy, when the decision to migrate depends “*on an evaluation made by the migrant of the expected incomes*”, (Konseiga, 2005, paragraph 9) s/he can obtain less the costs associated to the movement.

By critically interpreting her motivations it appears that higher the level of poverty stronger is the urgency to do something to support the family, but even this reason does not demote the individual’s own aspiration and expectations. Besides the

---

<sup>36</sup> Participant associated with the letter ( a ) indicates that the data are extracted from the elicited texts and non face-to-face interview was carried out, based on the data provided it was not always possible to determine a full personal history of the migrant.

necessity to support the family, she indicates that her innermost motivation to move was the expectation:

*to improve the standard of living for me and of course that of my family at home.*

This type of pattern highlights the relationship between the individual [agency] capacity of making choices and the structure that affects this capacity (Eriksen, 2001). Her inner motivations are what in the end seem to be prevalent and make her able to face the initial difficulties of the alien urban environment. She had to live in the two worlds at the same time, facing the difficulties of the new environment and struggling to provide support at home. Even if she had to struggle during her staying in town, she did not regret what she has done because that has allowed her to achieve something in life. She feels that she had achieved her goals, and is a different and more capable person.

*If I had not moved I would have remained the same, and would have not developed as a person.*

Participant 3a is a 36 year old woman with two young children from a rural context; she is from a large family with more than 10 individuals living in the household and she is the only one who has moved away.

*Jobs are scarce in my hometown; I was invited for an interview, where I am currently working, so I decided to move.*

The shortage of jobs in the area is the driving motive she initially indicates for her move to town; however, even in this context the agency's reflexive assessment of the context somehow prevails on the external structure. Having children and depending on the parents for all her needs affected her relationship with the rest of the family, and appears to be one of the triggering motives to move.

*The quality of my life is better, and emotionally I am in a better space than I was back home. My social relations also improved, because back at home I was jobless and it was tough and affecting us negatively.*

The family was behind her in this decision to move, but the migrating action can still be considered as an attempt to move away from the family; as an opportunity to be independent, change her condition at home, and achieve some other personal goals.

*They support me 100% because I did it to better my circumstances, and in that supporting them as well”.*

*I feel that I did not yet meet my expectations, but at least now I can afford to pursue further studies at tertiary level.*

Even if she is away from her children, she feels that emotionally she is better off, because now she is independent financially. Before this, she was jobless and dependent, with a child as an additional burden on the family.

Her migration's goals are not yet all met, but she sees a better future ahead; she is financially sound, not only can she look after herself but she is also able to support the family, and at the same time she can start her tertiary education. When it comes to the choices she made, undoubtedly, she is not a free agent, but as observed by Fitzpatrick (2012, p. 24) in her study of the international migration of young females in India, to understand the driver to migrate should be taken into account, “*both individual agency and a structure of constraining and enabling social, political, economic and cultural forces*”. This observation seems to apply well to the Namibian internal migration experience as described by the respondents.

The migration history of Participant 4a not only confirms that migration is an opportunity to *get out of the box* represented by the family and the village life, but it indicates that reaching independence from the parents is not a gender discriminant. Lack of jobs, has been the initial pushing motive to move, but he also used it as an opportunity to change his condition, to better himself. Migration in this case, is narrated as an action motivated by the necessity of being independent from the family, but without hiding from the family's responsibilities, which are felt by both male and female migrants.

*At home [before moving] I did not get anything for my personal things, to buy what I wanted, because there was no money; now I am living in a better situation and I am on my own no more depending on the parents ..... It was not easy to leave the parents because I was the one who was most helping them especially with the animals and the field.*

He recognises that moving away from the homestead has had an important impact on the family's economy, and acknowledges that the parents have also supported him, For this reason he cannot negate providing financial assistance. As a young male he feels the urgency of being independent from the familial ties, but he is also aware that there are responsibilities that he has to fulfil towards the parents.

*My movement has been crucial for the family ..., I cannot abandon my family that bought me this far.*

In the observed category achieving migration goals, the search for independence has also emerged as a common pattern from the migration narrative of the participants; such a desire has often been detected in young international migrants of lower middle-class origin. Rutten and Verstappen (2014), investigating the reasons of Indian youth migration to London, noted that apart from earning money to support the family and gain personal experiences, one of the key reasons behind the decision to move was the possibility to get free from the constraints of the family and being able to be independent. What the Namibian findings seem to indicate is that such a desire is not strictly dependent from the social status/economic class of the migrant, but rather from the strength of the collectivist notion of family. As suggested by Biddle, (2014, paragraph 3), in fact:

*The individual's life belongs not to him but to the group or society of which he is merely a part.....the group or society is the basic unit of moral concern, and the individual is of value only insofar as he serves the group.*

In this case, migration is an attempt to reduce the tightness of the family bond.

### 6.1.2 *The migrant's growing process: Facing the obstacles*

Moving from the rural to the urban area involves the re-construction of the migrant's identity; this phenomenon that has been mostly studied with reference to the international migrants, (La Barbera, 2015) does occur for the internal migrants as well. Internal migrants, even with a reduced impact, also experience what is described by La Barbera (2015, p. 3) as “...*leaving their country of origin, migrants lose their social status, family, ... In the receiving country, they find themselves without a history and without an image. Faced with an unknown universe of meanings, migrants feel lost, alone*”. Most of the participants interviewed describe their migration experience as challenging and difficult; none of the respondents however has regretted the decision to move; an indication that the reflexive elaboration of this experience has contributed to the re-definition of the migrant identity. The narrative representation of how the respondents have faced the obstacles encountered during their journey is instrumental in understanding the reconstruction of their identity.

For Participant 10a, the migration movement is the result of a rational decision of the individual and does not appear directly linked to the family's necessity, since he was already contributing to their needs when working at the village. He is a male of 36 years of age, not married at the moment of the movement; is from a large family in the rural area in the Northern Ohangwena region, Five of his siblings had also moved away from home and are contributing to the parents' support.

*I got a job in a town, which is 53 km from the home place, not having a car, and being the travelling cost too high, as well as punctuality at work, I decided to move to town and to cut costs. This has also given me more time to continue my studies. It [the movement] was also an opportunity to buy a property since in the end renting a room was not convenient.*

The family reaction was initially negative to the movement due to their fear of losing his financial support.

*Firstly they felt that it was a wrong decision and that by living alone in town, I was going to have an irresponsible lifestyle, later I explained the complication of travelling daily and the benefit of being based nearby the working place and they understood and supported my decision.*

He experienced emotional strains and a loneliness feeling determined by the fact that he has reduced the contacts with the other members of the family, and has lost many of the old friends.

*Moving has allowed me to live better, being away from the home environment taught me to live independently instead of depending from my parents, and also standing as the head of my own house being able to make livelihood decisions on my own.*

However, such difficulties are matched with the acknowledgment that the movement has stimulated him to create his own family away from the village, and achieve his independence from the parents.

Participant 11a has a similar experience. She is a young lady of 35 years; comes from a large family in the rural Northern region, and seven of her siblings have moved from the homestead already. As participant 10a, she was also working near home, and the decision to move further away represented an opportunity to grow professionally. Although it is described as a difficult decision, participant 11a regards this movement as an opening to stand on her own.

*The movement meant leaving my family and being alone, but that has taught me to stand on my own, I rarely ask for assistance from my parents, I bought all my needs for the house by myself, I even bought a house. But life is not soft, when I go to visit home I always overspend.*

Having partially achieved the goals set she considers the experience positively.

*I got a job that I wanted, the fact that I am able to sustain myself and support the family home is an indication that I am better than where I was before.*

Participant 11 is a 53 year old male, married with two children. During the apartheid period he spent part of his youthful years in exile in Angola where he also completed his secondary and tertiary education. He originally from a small rural village in the Omusati region; comes from a large extended family, and all of his siblings have moved out from the family home. He returned in Namibia after independence and left the homestead to find a job to support the family. He regards migration as a temporary movement intending to return to his place of birth after retirement.

From his narration, there does not transpire immediately the necessity to be independent from the family ties, but this is expected, having experienced migration during the apartheid period and being an adult who had already achieved his independence from the family.

*I moved to Angola during the apartheid period, there I did my grade 12 and the university. I come back after independence and was ready to go to work. I knew I had to get a work to support the extended family and myself as well as contribute to help the community at large [church – school].*

Besides the recognizable pattern of moving to address the family's needs and to fulfil his personal ambitions, already suggested by the other respondents, two themes emerge from the narrative of participant 11, a sense of guilt for not being able to be near to the elderly parents, and the role of the community as an additional direct beneficiary of the migration movement.

*Family relationship gets difficult, my mother for example getting older misses my presence and she asks me to go home to visit her; if I was living nearer I could go easily but now living in Windhoek make the movement more difficult, even if I speak with her on a daily basis.*

The concept of remorse has normally been studied from a psychological point of view, and linked to the private self-consciousness (Baumeister, Stillwell, & Heatherton, 1994). Baldassar (2010), moves from the work of sociologist Probyn

(2005), and has recently explored the transnational migrants' experience of *guilt*, defining it as a positive social force able to strengthen the family relationships.

*The fact that they are not physically present but are living hundreds, if not thousands, of miles apart causes them [the migrants] to feel guilty about their limited ability to be co-present. This guilty feeling motivates them to stay in touch as often and as effectively as they can by creating opportunities in which they can exchange co-presence and share the gift of self.* (Baldassar, 2010, paragraph 4).

In the context of the Namibian internal migration, the feeling of guilt is here considered as an additional element that could further strengthen the migrant's commitment to provide financial assistance to the family; a way to explain the migrant's responsibility towards the family.

*Guilt helps enforce the communal norms that prescribe mutual concern, respect, and positive treatment in the absence of self-interested return. Guilt may punish and hence reduce the frequency of interpersonal transgressions so that it makes people less likely to hurt, disappoint, or alienate their transnational kin. In general, if people feel guilty for hurting their kin, for neglecting them, and for failing to live up to their expectations, they will alter their behavior (to avoid guilt) in ways that seem likely to maintain and strengthen the relationship.* (Baumeister et al., 1994, p. 247).

When probed to elaborate more on the migrant - community relationship, the respondent associated the community life with a positive experience he has lost by living away from the village.

*I miss the social life one get in the village, going to church, looking at my livestock, now a day I call the heard man at the cattle-post to ask how the animals are doing, but I am not satisfied because I cannot check by myself. When I go to church I have the possibility to interact with other community members and participate to the community life, giving my inputs both financially and with my suggestions, I go to the meeting place and discuss with the elders and those left in the village how to develop the place.*

What emerges is that the community is where he can find recognition of the new status he has acquired as result of his long migration experience. Having moved from the homestead more than 40 years ago opens the possibility that, as noted by Thomassen (2015, vii), his representation of the migration identity is the result of

what further elaborated and re-articulated in this long period, because “*migrant identities are constituted through an open-ended and contingent process of re-appropriating and re-articulating them*”.

Participant 2a, is a 26 year old young lady from a semi urban area; she left home because of lack of job opportunities in her area. Migration is not depicted as an easy experience; she felt she was losing the connection with her family, making the guilty feeling associated with the detachment from home emerge.

*I lose not being active in the family functions. Sometime you may not be able to attend family members funerals and weddings because of [transport] funds. Not being able to see my siblings growing up or helping my parents at home, you basically lose your culture and your life style change as well.*

In her case, however, the guilty feeling comes to strengthen an already strong sentiment toward the traditional values. The environment outside the village is seen as hostile and it is only by sticking to what she knows, and what she calls her culture, that she has been able to cope.

*I learned that the world out there is different and big. I learned to appreciate my culture and the fact that I have a culture, having a culture is very important. I appreciate my family and values and I learned from my elders because that is what helped me to survive in a strange world.*

She took from the external environment what she needed to progress in life, meaning a better education and a job; but it has been the connection with the traditional values that has allowed her to survive in the alien urban environment and in the end transformed migration into a successful experience.

*I got an education and a career and [this] changed my family life, now I am doing better financially and career wise. Had I not moved I don't think I would have provided for my family like I do today.*

What surfaces from the participant's description of the obstacles faced during her migration experience is the presence of a clash between her sense of accomplishment, both in terms of the personal achievements and for having been

able to provide for the family's needs, and what she and the family have lost with her not being around.

*They [the family] do not have me around and I cannot attend all family functions, I feel left out from family decisions.*

The migrant's unexpressed guilty feeling, is similar with previous migrants', also in this case, helps explain the strengthening of the family relationships expressed with the uninterrupted financial assistance provided by the migrant. Support allows the migrant to gain a new position in the family structure despite the fact that she feels left out from family decisions.

*I am appreciated for the financial support; I am respected.*

The same conflicts between the appreciation for the opportunities that the new environment can offer, and at the same time the recognition that the new environment made her to lose contact with the family and the simplicity of the life in the village, is reflected in the narrative of participant 3a.

*I learned that sometimes you don't have a choice but to adapt to any situation if you want to be successful. I myself became more social and its good because you get into a network where new opportunities rise up. The cultural values around here are quite interesting but I still feel people are taking it too seriously.*

Not being able to see her children, and the reduced communication with the rest of the family's members, are viewed as obstacles that have loosened the family ties.

*I don't communicate with all of them too often, I have more time at hand don't have to do housework chores, I can rest and study which I could not really do at home due to duties and responsibility, but now they value my financial support.*

But she notices as well that life at the homestead is better because the frictions caused by the fact she was not working are gone and she is appreciated for the support she is providing to the whole family.

The description of Participant 19's migration history further highlights the different types of fear that the migrant, and the family, associate with the relocation from the

rural to the urban environment. She is a mature lady of 40 years of age from the small rural village of Onangholo in the Omusati region; she comes from a large extended family with 6 siblings of whom 5 had left to move to different towns away from the place of origin. She left home at a young age, initially to complete her secondary education, and then to enrol at the university in the capital Windhoek, where she obtained her first degree. After graduating, she got employed and continued with her advanced studies. She moved to live alone in Windhoek where she has stayed until her recent marriage. She is now planning to move abroad with a non-Namibian husband.

*My mother had conflicting sentiments on me going to study in Windhoek, on the one hand she was motivating me, but on the other one she was scared because she did not know how I would have coped with the life in town and at University, and neither did I, so it was a time of uncertainty, considering that I was also the first one to leave to go to study in Windhoek. Nobody knew at the time how I would have turned out after completing the studies.*

What surfaces is the family's fear that their effort to support the daughter would have not returned the expected returns in terms of long-term financial assistance.

*The discussion was focused on how I would have behaved, would I also complete my studies and then helped the other members of the family, or not? There were in fact cases of peoples that had not completed their studies or after getting a job had then neglected the family who had helped them. This type of conflicting ideas were in my mother mind, but her expectation was that when I would have completed my studies and got a job then I would have been able to support her and the rest of the household. Of course all that was never explicitly said, it was implied and made evident by examples referring to other people who had moved to study and had a responsible behavior. The direct emphasis was always on the fact that I had to study and do well for my own benefit.*

Her words contribute to support the findings from other respondents indicating that it is not the migration decision *per se* that is part of a family's coping strategy, but rather the implicit assumption that the household's members have to support the family; this belief constitutes an accepted norm which is part of the cultural tradition.

Participant 12, recalling her negative experiences of the period spent studying at the university in town, introduces an element of novelty in the narrative of the migrants interviewed, the feeling of being neglected as result of the separation from the parent/s.

Migration literature has analysed this phenomenon with regard to the children left behind as result of the parents' movements due to the migratory process (Page, & Stevens, 2004; Mazzucato & Schans, 2011; Antman, 2013). In this case the causality of the feeling is reverted.

*Not living with my parents was bad, you feel weird, that nobody cares about you, if you eat or not, but you also know that they are supporting you and care for you, so you are caught in two sides, from one side you feel neglected, but on the other side you understand that they are trying their best but could not afford more, so you do not ask for more and sometime you go to class without eating. That was frustrating because it was difficult to face that; but by thinking that if I had failed I could have not been able to face the parents kept me, and all those in the same situation going, and give us strength.*

The unpleasant experience is however used to reaffirm the responsibility felt toward the parents and the obligation to meet the expectation reposed on her.

This seems to give substance to the NELM idea that migration is the result of a family strategy (Stark & Bloom, 1985), but the critical interpretation of the participant's narrative gives reason to a different interpretation. Overall, her sense of independence emerges from the indication that she is not interested in returning back to the parents' village; with the decision of leaving the country after marrying a foreigner, the umbilical cord with the parents is severed.

*As result of migration you have changed and transformed, have adapted to the new urban environment and one cannot go back there and live as nothing has happened. I do not want to go back to live in the village, because for me the way of life in the village has not really changed.*

Through the migration experience she has been able to obtain greater freedom and autonomy, thus confirming the findings of many scholars of women's migration

from rural to urban areas, indicating that individual expectations are important motives for women to migrate (Williams, 1990; Hugo, 2005; Yu, 2007).

Participant 13 is a very young man of 22 years of age, an orphan with a younger sibling and born into a modest small family coming from a small rural town on the border with South Africa in the Karas region. Before moving to Windhoek he lived with his aunt, the brother and her extended family. Thanks to the financial support of a friend, he initially moved to Keetmanshop to complete grade 12 and then to Windhoek to go to college. Currently, he is completing an internship programme in a company as part of his college diploma. Although he does not have yet a proper job he has already started to support the family at home with the little he can spare.

From his description of the difficulties encountered while living away from home, emerges the strain of adapting to the town life where he is still a stranger. Emblematically, he is acknowledging that he is now a different and more mature person, but he also regrets having lost his village' friends as result of this transformation.

*My behavior now is that of an adult in the village my peers do not behave and act like me, they are still immature, they have not developed they act as kids, their mind set has not evolved because they are not exposed to many things like me it is like being in a box, they only know what is inside the box they do not know what is outside the box, they only think what is in there [the village] not what is outside. Relationships with those remained in the village have been affected; socially I lost most of my contacts with the village friends, now I only have one friend there.*

Participant 24's description of his perceived negative aspects connected to the movement. Indirectly, there emerges the recognition that by moving away from home he is providing to his aunt less direct assistance than before. The fact that his brother is replacing him in this duty and is taking care of her allows him to reduce the guilty feeling and justify the action to move away from home.

*My brother is still living with my aunt so he is taking care of her and doing what I used to do when at home so overall my absence is not felt much.*

The effort he makes to provide small financial support to the aunt and the family, even if he does not have yet a real job, stands up for the unexpressed guilty feeling he has for not attending to the aunt's needs.

*Even if I do not have a full regular paid job I do help my aunt at home financially. Since the moment I received my pockets money I have send something. I also pay her debit order of 300 N\$ a month, plus I help her in case she needs something else.*

His young age means also that he is still in the process of constructing his self and the experience he is nurturing by living in town is instrumental in this process.

*I want to go back there because now my family is there, I know the place, it is safe, I am thinking like that now because everything I have now is in the village, maybe in future if things change I may decide not to go back in the village.*

Both Participant 8 and Participant 18 express similar feelings of nostalgia for the life in the village. This sentiment is motivated by a social responsibility toward the community that is not expressed by Participant 13, probably because of the difference in age and the different level of maturity.

Participant 8 is a young lady of 28 years old of age; single with one infant child, and living with the grandmother. She is from a small biological family, but part of a large extended one, located in a small village in the Omusati region, rural area. She spent most of her childhood in the grandparents' homestead, and moved later to the urban area to attend school, upgrade her education and find a job. She graduated while working and is now supporting the elder grandfather's homestead.

*Life in the village was quite nice, but from grade 8 I moved to the hostel, away from the village so I was going back there only during school holiday. Then I moved from Onangholo to Swakopmund to improve my grade 12 results. Successively I started working at the Namibian Police in Gobabis, where I stayed for 5 years. I then moved to Windhoek, where I started to study while working. A better education and a job was what initially motivated me, now I*

*am not yet fully satisfied looking at what other people at my age in town have achieved, like getting a car or a house; this also motivate me.*

She has not fully accepted the town life style, and remains attached to the simplicity of the village life; and she identifies the lack of interpersonal contacts, which characterize her personal relationships in an atomized modern metropolis, as the negative elements of her migration experience.

*When you are in the village you can speak your own language, but when you are in town you must behave differently. In town you cannot joke with people you do not know, in the village you know every one, and you know who accepts a joke and who does not.*

This feeling of nostalgia for the village life is also represented by her aspiration to return and contribute to the development of her area.

*If I get a job near to Omusati I will go back home, this because I also what to help other in my village. I want to contribute as a Namibian to the development of my country. I am a police officer and if people need assistance I have to be there.*

Participant 18 is an adult lady of 28 years of age; single with no dependents. She comes from a large extended family with more than 10 siblings and relatives. She's an orphan and has lived with the grandmother who is the head of the household. From a small rural village in the Omusati region she moved to town to improve her education; she started working and then attended university and got a degree. Her personal motivation to move has been to improve her life prospects. She regularly supports the grandmother's household where she grew up.

*I come to town to improve my level of education, with the hope to continue to tertiary and have a better carrier. My inner motivation was to improve my future; by remaining in Onangholo [the home village] I felt as there was no future for me, there was no information and I could not improve. After finishing my matric and moved to town, I have learned a lot, I have met new people, upgraded my knowledge. I am in a new environment, so I met my expectations. The decision to move was the right decision to take, I am now at the level that I wanted to be and my life is progressing.*

In this case she confirms the findings that emerged from the migration's narrative of the majority of the respondents; describing migration as a journey that has made her to grow. Apart from the material difficulties encountered by living with relatives in town, she indicates the lack of communication with the parents and siblings as the most emotional stress she had to cope as result of the movement.

*Transport money to go back home was always a problem, my uncle was struggling to help me and my sister, so we could not go home together, one time it was me the other my sister. Food was also a problem, in the north you do not struggle for food, there is always something to eat, but in this case we had to wait for my uncle to get paid and we could not ask for food before. The fact that we could not speak regularly with my parents, grandmother and siblings was also been hard to cope.*

The guilty feeling towards the parents and the rest of her family is combined, in this case, with the nostalgia for the village life. In her case, as in that of the other respondents, the nostalgia is associated with the willingness to plough back in the hometown what she has learned during the time spent away; a sort of social commitment towards the community and the country.

*I see the move to town as a temporary movement, Onangholo is my "permanent place" I see myself going back there when I retire, I can see that I have done better, that I have improved, so I need to go back and help others in the village and my younger.*

Participant 12a is a 30 year old young woman from the Northern Namibian rural area; her description too highlights this apparent conflict between the new vision of life resulting from the experiences she had when living in town, and the feeling of commitment towards the community and the family associated with the cultural values embedded in the migrant's personality.

*I moved because I wanted to be closer to my work place, this allowed me to be independent from my parents, having my own place and know how to handle different people. At the same time I am also providing accommodation and shelters to the family members at time, it is convenient for the family to have someone in town to assist with accommodation. The family send people or*

*other relatives even when I cannot accommodate them; sometime this gets out of hands and I am left with no choices but to refuse or say no to a visitors.*

The interaction between the actor (the migrant) and the intermediary structure (the family) is observed by Castles and Miller (2009) as a means to justify the decision by the migrant to move. In this case creates a contradiction between the two feelings of meeting the family expectation, what is considered right by tradition, and to follow the personal desire to grow. Mayer (1961), observes that this contradiction rests on the fact that a villager remains a villager, even when exposed to the urban life. The empirical findings from the respondents' narratives seem to contradict Mayer's observation and rather substantiate Gilbert and Gugler, (cited in Erman, 1998, p. 546) who observed that: "*Adopting urban patterns of behaviour does not mean forgetting how things were done at home. Working life migrants will continue to behave in urban or rural ways as the situation demands*".

This statement can be applied even in the case of an apparent different narrative of Participant 8a. He is a young 29 years old from a large family with more than 10 siblings in the Northern region of Ondangwa; consequentially the necessity of finding a job to contribute to the family needs is paramount; migration is hence perceived by him as a natural action and accepted as the right and customary thing to do, since '*The man has to play his part as head of the house, even for he is far*'.

At the same time the movement to town is also used to take advantage of other opportunities; it has offered him the opportunity to meet different people belonging to other cultures, of being exposed to other ethnic groups and learning how to interact with them.

*The fact that I have moved to other places is not to say that my village is not better, but meeting new people and knowing other people culture have allowed me real to learn a lot on the diversity of other [ethnic] groups.*

This description, even from a different angle confirms, what has emerged so far from the analytical assessment of the respondents' narrative; in particular the discovery that, as observed by Nghiulikwa's (2008, p. 17), the migrants' identification with the rural to urban movement, is not static, but is capable of changing in relation to the "*spaces, the situations and the circumstances*" which the migrants had to face.

The process of the migrant's construction of the self is explored in the following section through the analytical interpretation of their narratives.

### *6.1.3 The migrant's growing process: The narrative construction of the self*

The migration experience, regardless of the difficulties endured by the respondents, is presented by the majority of those interviewed, as a growing process that, in the end, resolved to a profound transformation of the migrant self. The change experienced by the Namibian internal migrants appears to be in line with Strauss' (cited by Kazmierska, 2003, paragraph. 10) observation that identity is subjected to a constant process of adjustment, determined by the experiences made by the individual. Strauss (1969, p. 94) was reflecting on the transformation that occurred to the international migrants noting that, "*Any return home, insofar as you have really left it, will signalize some sort of movement in identity*" but can be associated to the experience gained by respondents who compare their movements in town with the previous experiences they had in the village.

Participant 1 identifies from the exposure to the different cultures and the knowledge acquired in the new working environment, what has determined her change; making her a different and transformed person from the one she was while living in the village.

*I have learned of other ethnic groups culture and languages. I am enjoying the new place environment and the job I am doing. I am satisfied with the decision taken, I have been exposed to new experiences, knowledge,*

*environment and culture this has made me a different, a better person. The experiences matured as result of me moving and working away from home has changed me a lot. I live with different persons, with different cultures and I have learned to respect them, even if we are different I have learned act and operate, as one nation and I want to contribute to this building of the nation. This is totally different from what I have experienced at home where there is no diversity. The experiences I am gaining now cannot be compared with the life I had in the past in the village.*

In her narrative, she additionally refers to what one could decode as ‘social responsibility’, the commitment towards the development of the nation; indicating that the new self she is creating, reflects the social representation of the post independence in Namibia. Being a modern State, which values diversity, in line with the government narrative of ‘*one Namibia one nation*’, Namibia condemns tribalism, and promotes multiculturalism, proposing the concept of *Harambee*<sup>37</sup> as a positive and progressive value.

As previously noted when presenting the migrants motive to move, this interest for the country’s development is a typical behaviour observed in the modus operandi of the international elite migrants. They moved abroad mostly to study, and on returning home, besides getting relevant positions in the public sector, they are inclined, and consider it their duty, to contribute to the development of their country of origin (Ammassari, 2004).

Participant 2 is an orphan, a young lady of 25 years of age, single with no children. She was born in a large extended family located in the Northern region of Omusati and left her place of birth for educational purposes as a little girl. Initially the decision to move from the village was made by her guardians. The village was remote and there were no good schools nearby. After completing secondary school

---

<sup>37</sup> The Harambee Prosperity Plan is constructed around the Namibian narrative of the Namibian House. It acknowledges that we are not starting afresh, but that we can continue with the construct of an inclusive Namibian House that is built on a solid foundation of peace, reconciliation, security and stability. Office of the President, (2016 p. 13).

she took the decision to continue studying until she completed tertiary education. She is now a law graduate, and is currently working in Keetmanshop in the South of the country. She supports her four young siblings who remained in the village by sending remittances regularly.

*Migration changed my life so much, at first as a child it was tremendous, it meant to leave the comfort of the village and living with an estranged uncle/devious aunt, however in the long run it was worth it. If I did not leave the village to go to school in the urban area I would be sitting at the village, perhaps with 5 children (there is something about the village and reproduction everyone has babies, babies too have babies), I will be physically not the same as I am now, and our household would be so poor and filled with hungry children.*

The decision to move is described by the respondent as an opportunity to move from the backwardness of the village life; going out of the box. An opening to the world, an opportunity to be exposed to new cultures and different people, and getting in this process, empowered as a woman.

*There is learning in travelling I am more broad-minded open for new experiences and appreciate every social and cultural norm.*

*When you are at the village you see that women that are not educated, they can only aspire to have a lot of children, living conditions are also not good. I wanted a better condition for me, a better life, better health, having my own house. I could have not stayed in those conditions.*

This motivation is shared by Participant 7a, a young lady of 23 years of age, from a large family. For her, migration is the answer to the difficulties endured by the parents in a bid to satisfy the family needs. As soon as she completed the obligatory school she was ready to take up her responsibility and moved out of the homestead to find a job.

*The sort of income that has been low and low and it cannot satisfy all of us in the house so I decided to leave the house so that I could become a supply for the house one day.*

In her case as well, moving to town represented an opportunity to be independent and to start to think about herself, away from the house constrains and daily menial obligations.

*If you remain with the family you cannot do anything for yourself because you will do all the house works. I feel proud of myself for taking the decision because I have achieved my goals; as I look at myself now and think about backward many things have changed in better.*

As noted by Rutten and Verstappen (2014), restraining the analysis of the drivers to migrate only to economic motives is reductive; among other considerations gendered social motivations for migration, particularly in traditional contexts should not be underestimated. Although Rutten and Verstappen were referring to the international migration, their observation can easily be applied to the case of internal migration as recently investigated by Yu (2007), with regard to the female internal migration in China.

Within this broader angle the migrants' identities, as noted by Duveen and Lloyd (cited in Andreouli 2010, p. 14.3), "*reflect individuals' efforts to situate themselves in their societies in relation to the social representations of their societies*". This means that, initially, the migrants position themselves in relation to what they reconstruct of the social representations (Duveen & Lloyd, 1986; Lloyd & Duveen, 1990), i.e. what is normally expected by the individuals who have the same type of experience, based on their social norms. This process is completed with the migrant's reflexive assessment of his/her own expectations and migration experiences, which in the majority of the cases, are presented in such a way to create a positive biography. Migration is hence the trigger that sets in place such a transformation, allowing the migrants to start eroding the traditions, and to move into a post traditional/modern society. This interpretation is in line with Gardner and Osella's (2003, p. x) belief that '*ideas, hopes and dreams of something called 'modernity' and*

*'progress' are continually appealed to in people's economic endeavours, political projects and identity crafting*". This implies that, in the quest for the drives to migrate, researchers should focus on what the migrant perceives as modernity and progress. On the other hand modernity and progress are often associated with the concept of mobility (Garden & Osella 2003; Goodall, 2013) and consequently, the respondents' reference to the concepts of independence and freedom could be seen as a way to achieve such an objective through migration.

The storylines of Participants 10a and 3, provide further evidence of the association between modernity, independence and migration.

*Moving has allowed me to live better, being away from the home taught me to live independently instead of depending from my parents, and also standing as the head of my own house being able to make livelihood decisions on my own.* (Participant 10a).

*Migration as a way to be independent which my parents could not notice at first stage, and cultural oriented, getting more knowledgeable, getting experience and in this process reaching my dreams.* (Participant 3).

In this pattern, it is the account of participant 11 which best describes the way migrants reconstruct their images, and offer an interpretation of the interactions that are created between the life in the urban and the rural environment.

*I have travelled a lot and see many places I have been exposed to many cultures but these have not really changed the beliefs I have in my Owambo culture. I am a changed person because I have been exposed to new things and I am now an educated person but I do not renounce to my values. This does not mean that I have not changed, my forefather were doing things differently than me, and my self is behaving differently as how I was behaving in the 70s and 80s this is because the access to education, the exposure I have had and the access to new technologies. Of course in the village it is more difficult to disseminate this changes among those who do not have education and do not for example understand how to use a smartphone. But both myself, and all those like me who have left the village to work and are educated, are changing the way the village is looking both economically and culturally.*

What the narrative confirms is the overlapping of the new migrant 'modern' identity, resulting from the exposure one had during the time spent away from the village,

with the 'traditional' identity, resulting from the cultural values which are part of the migrant's upbringing, reinforced by the contacts the migrant has with the family and the village peers living in town. Nghiulikwa (2008. p. 91), in her observation of the rural-urban migrants' experiences in Katutura, finds a similar pattern and concluding that:

*Though migrants retain rural modes of behaviour and frequently hold rural values, they also have varying degrees of familiarity with urban conventions of behaviour and ways of thinking. Adopting urban patterns of behaviour does not mean forgetting how things were done at home. They will identify concurrently with the urban and the rural and develop a synthesis of both.*

The synthesis between the integration in the urban setting and the connection with the traditional values is well represented in the observation of Participant 11.

*I have bought a house in Windhoek, which will be for my children who have grown up here, but I have also build my own house in the village, have bought my own cows and other animals. If had not moved I would not have achieved what I have both economically and socially with the respect from the family and the community. If I compare myself with those who did not move I can say that. Even if it is not nice to leave the house in the village if one want to improve it cannot be avoided.*

Participant 7, a young lady of 30 years of age, single with no dependents, validates Participant's 16 narrative. She comes from a family of four with a single parent, and lives in a small rural village in the Omusati region. She relocated to Windhoek after grade 10 to improve her level of education and, at the same time, get a job. While working she furthered her education obtaining a bachelor's degree; currently, she is studying part-time towards her second degree. Occasionally, she financially assists the mother living in the home village.

*I have changed a lot living in town but when I go back to the village it is difficult to modify the way traditional things are done, it is difficult to communicate with the elders. If you arrive home and they are pounding mahangu you have to join them. There you cannot for example sleep out at night and I do not do it to respect my mother. With my peers I do share what I have learned but not much with my mother and elders, I do not try to modify her values.*

From her description emerges the necessity and the migrant's capacity to adapt to the different environments, a sort of dual identity that allows her to fit accordingly to the rural and urban contexts.

Participant 8 expresses the same adaptive capacity, showing that migration has been a self-growing experience providing her with the competence of handling different cultures and adapting to different contexts.

*I have changed a lot, I have matured academically and I know how to handle life when I am in the village and when I am with people in town. This is the result of the experiences I had in the villages and living in the urban area. Sometime you feel discriminated because you act differently and they say: "she acts differently because she has moved to town that is why she acts like that". Even if I have now accepted new norms and values, at the village I have to go back to the roots. I have to accept that even if I am trying to make them to understand that things have now changed and that I am a different person.*

She shows a capacity that not all the migrants interviewed seemed to have, as in the case of participant 12a. She is a mature 35 year old woman, married with two children, who left home after completing grade 12 and started working in the Namibian army. Originally, she left the homestead under her parent's request to better the family's living conditions, but from the narrative it appears that the movement also represented an opportunity "*to get more experiences and study further*". While serving in the Army she has further advanced her education up to the level of a master's degree, for this reason she indicated that: "*I live better now compared to the way I was living before moving*". She has been assigned to many foreign missions and exposed to different social settings; this has profoundly changed her perception of the external world, to the point that she feels uncomfortable with her traditional backgrounds.

*Living in different environments has taught me that everywhere you go you should respect the norms and cultural values of the place although it is different from yours. It really changed me in the way that sometime I am not used to my home place values.*

Participant 10, as well finds it difficult to adapt to the village's norms after living in town and being exposed to new forms of communication that have broadened her horizons:

*Before I was not aware of what was happening outside the village life, by living in Windhoek I can see the world with a different perspective, now I can see with the TV that things really happen. I have adapted to the norms followed in town; in the village if people come and visit you, you have to offer them something to drink or eat, but here in Windhoek it is not the case. I behave in the same way I behave when in town as when I am back in the village.*

Participant 12 expresses the same difficulties in adapting to the daily village life because she feels she's a very different person after having modified her behaviour to adapt to the urban way of life and learned to live independently.

*In the town life is busier, you can learn and have to adapt to it, but when you go back home you have a "crash" with the way of life I say that I have changed "extremely". When you are in the village you are under the care of the parents, they discipline you, you have to greet the people accordingly, and you must wake up very early and do the house chores. In Windhoek things are differently, you do not wake up early, nobody expect you to do things in the house, you can postpone the chores; in the north things must be done. There have been changes also with regard to other members of the house, for example now I am not used to pound mahangu so I do not do it; this is not well perceived because all in the house if they eat they are supposed to work. If I do not do it then they think that I consider myself better than them and this creates a challenge. I have also modified my eating habits, now I do not eat a lot, while before when I was at the village because you worked hard in the field you had more appetite and also ate more. Now they think that I am behaving fanny because I want to be different, better than them, but I do not blame them because they see me as the same person, they have not been in Windhoek and lived my life, being in my shoes, so for them is difficult to see me as a different person, because I look always the same person, but I have changed in terms of habits and personality.*

Although she seems to demote the conflict with the family members to petty reasons, further enquiry and critically assessing her narrative, it appears that the differences propound and underpin a generational and a cultural conflict; her decision to leave

the country and move to Europe is an indication of the difficulty in adapting to the old setting.

As in the case of the other respondents providing financial assistance help in reducing the existing family conflicts

*On the other hand since I have started working and helping them financially there is also a sort of respect towards me, because "I must be some sort of important.*

Participant 9 although not a migrant in *strictu sensu*, describes the cultural contrast that exists between the 'urbanites' who have left the rural area and are assimilated in the urban context, and those remaining in the villages, particularly the elders, the depositors of the traditional values. She is a 39 year old lady born in exile with one child; her parents were born in a rural village in the Omusati region. After independence the parents moved straight to Windhoek where she completed her tertiary education. She never spent her childhood in the village, but went back there only during school holidays and after the parents' retirement.

*I cannot really say that I am different from my peers that have spent their childhood in the village, this because most of them have also been exposed to city life via education. When we consider the post independence period most of the young people also have had access to what we were having in town. If we consider instead those who were born before independence and had never left the village, in such a case there are big differences. In terms of cultural value there are also major differences but this is due to the exposure one has had through technology and education, compared to the lack of exposure in the village. One could say that there is a sort of generational gap between the new generation and the old generation, with little differences among the new generation between the living in the village and those living in town while major differences with the elderly people.*

Participant's 9 further helps in understanding the duality of the migrants' behaviour when staying in the urban and in the village environment. Her narrative highlights at the same time the difficulty to transfer the same values to the second generation migrants who were born in town where they spend most of their life.

*When I go to the village I behave differently than the way I behave in town, I have to adapt again to the way of life; my daughter instead expects to have the same things she gets in town. When coming to cultural value, there is the fear from the elderly people that we are losing our tradition, for example my grandmother says the we Obalantu<sup>38</sup> are losing our traditions. Even if I am trying to maintain the links with that, I do see that there are changes; my daughter for example does not wear oshilanda<sup>39</sup> nor I do and my grandmother reprimand me saying that it is not possible that we do not wear the beads. There is a conflict between this element of the tradition values that are lost and however the search for economic development and the material satisfaction so maybe one should find a point of equilibrium between the two*

This description helps to better contextualise the participant's observations, in the frame of the narratives of the other migrants who were interviewed, underlining the emergence of a potential 'conflict' between the migrants who have become accustomed to a different way of life through the exposure to the town environment. The access to education and the financial independence, and the older people (i.e. parents, other relatives, community members) left in the rural areas with whom it is getting difficult to relate and communicate, also reveal this conflict. The agents reflexively consider the action of migrating, and reconstruct, based on their experiences, a new 'modern' identity of the self, interfacing with the social structure represented by the traditional values and cultural norms. Ultimately, it is through the financial and non-financial assistance that the migrants provide to the family members and the community, and responsibility, that the new migrants' identity is able to mediate and make manageable the conflict.

## **6.2 Conclusion**

The findings of the migration history of the participants indicate that the economic theories are not sufficient to explain the decision to move. Internal migration among the Namibians appears not to be simply the result of an individual rational economic

---

<sup>38</sup> One of the seven Ovambo tribes from the North of the country.

<sup>39</sup> The beads belt women and girls wear around the waist.

assessment as proposed by the neo-classical scholars (Harris & Todaro, 1970; Lewis, 1954; Sjaastad, 1962). The alternative NELM's (Stark & Bloom, 1985; Stark, 1991; Faist, 1997) explanatory framework, initially used in the thesis to explain the migration movement, seems equally inadequate to reflect the empirical findings. Moving away from the NELM methodology, the thesis utilises a structuration approach considered to be the most appropriate to analyse the complexity of the human migration. The NELM, by referring to the migration movement as a reflexive family strategy to diversify the risks, and overcome the structural constraints, attempts to factor-in social theory by introducing some elements of the agency-structure debate but it fails to indicate the influence that the agency and the structure have in the decision to move. This is central to understanding the impact of migration, and to produce an explanatory theory, which can provide useful inputs in the development of national policies useful to regulate the movement.

What emerges from the process leading to the construction of the category *achieving migration goals*, is that migration is not always associated to an image of poverty; among the respondents there is often a common pattern that links the attainment of better education to opening of job prospects. The rural to urban movement is presented by the majority of the respondents, as an opportunity *to get out of* the family and the constraints of the 'village's box'. The migrants' feeling of guilt appears to be the element that maintains the bond with the family and village, while strengthening the migrants' decision to remit and to get involved in the uplifting of the community life.

## Chapter 7 Creating opportunities

### 7.1 Introduction

The category *creating opportunities* reflects the findings that are linked to the impact that remittances have on the migrants' family's wellbeing and indirectly assess the impact that financial and non-financial contributions have at community level providing valuable insights on the nexus migration-development. The category has emerged from the constant comparative analysis of both the migrants' migration histories and their families' reflections. Visual observations of the household's conditions during the face-to-face interview have also been considered as an additional data source.

As in the previous chapter, Table 18 helps to visualise the analytical process that has led to the identification of the category *creating opportunities*, which emerged from the Namibian internal migrants' empirical data.

Table 18 Determining category 2: Creating Opportunities

Questions	Initial Codes	Focused Codes	Category
Remittances and use	Obligation behind home Discuss together Everyone eats Clothing House improvements Happy to see changes Responsible person Culture Guilty of not helping Food Education Brick House	Obligation to remit / Being responsible  Material improvements  Distributing benefit of remittance  Addressing family and parents' basic needs Achieving developmental goals	<b>Creating opportunities</b>

### 7.1.1 *Being responsible*

Participant 11, after getting married, continued providing assistance to the parents and the siblings living in the homestead, while financially supporting his wife who continued to live in the home village with their children.

*I started sending money and other goods the moment I began to work. I provide assistance to both my own family and now my mother's house since she only has her pension, and it is we, the children, who have the responsibility to help her.*

From this narrative it is possible to follow the elaboration of the motivation to remit and the way the agent re-constructs the relationship with the social structures. Remittances are part of the rite of passage associated with the migration movement and the respect for the social norms that regulate the family relationships, regardless of the gender. Contrary to the view of the NELM which advocates that migration is a deliberate decision taken by the family to improve their livelihood (Bebbington 1999; Ellis 2000). The respondent seems to indicate that the decision to remit was not imposed upon him but it was tacitly accepted.

*The decision to move was taken by me but somehow the family was part of it since it is understood by everyone that it is the responsibility of the children to go and look for work and so in this way support the family back at the village. My family was also expecting that I behave like that, even if it was not said explicitly; in Owambo culture it is expected that family members contribute [remit] to the family, we all know that. This is part of the growing up process, by helping the family one shows that is a responsible person and this is expected from both boys and girls.*

The respondent in his description provides secondary information on the fact that financial remittances are used both for the direct consumption and for human capital investments, contributing in this way to the family's wellbeing under a broad interpretation of the concept of development, (de Haas, 2005). At the same time financial remittances are also used in productive investments, which can have spill-

over effects on the whole community contributing to the local and national development even if associated to the classical concept of economic growth.

*I also assist my wife at the village sending both money and other goods, such as food and clothes. I have been able to enroll the kids to a good school, and bought a house in Windhoek while building my own house in the village. I have also bought animal stocks and a tractor, which I use in my field, in the parent's field, and I rent it to the neighbors.*

It emerges from the respondent's narrative that while bringing a direct advantage to the respondent and his family, remittances can also change the migrant's social status, and this is an aspect that has seldom be considered in the traditional literature of financial remittances.

His description also echoes the experiences of the other migrants interviewed, revealing that sending remittances, in the form of financial assistance and non-monetary items, usually starts the moment a migrant commences working. As suggested by participant 1a, even if she had to struggle to settle in the new urban context, she succeeded to send some small contribution at home from the moment she got a job.

*Almost from the beginning [I sent money] but it was difficult because initially I had also the rent to pay, so it depended from the money I was making.*

Other participants interviewed, conveyed similar accounts, regardless of the age or the gender. Participant 7a, a young 23 year old lady from a large family, with no dependents, indicates that she had to support the family, and send financial remittances home, because that was expected from her.

*Since I started working I began sending money to my parents because I know they raised me up to help each other.*

Participant 5a and 8a, a young male of 29 years old from a large family with more than 10 siblings, both give similar answers.

*Ever since I started working I am sending money back home, it is part of my obligation. (Participant 5a).*

*Since I started working I have been sending money home, reason being I know I have obligation behind at home. (Participant 8a).*

Participant 2's migration experience was not an easy one, being an orphan, but she does not regret it because she knows that the responsibility to look after the siblings rested upon her.

*The uncles who took care of me did it because it was their obligation; it was their responsibility to help me. It is the same for me now; I know that I have to help those who are left in the village. One feel guilty if does not help the member of the family; there is a sense of implicit responsibilities. If do not do it nobody will do it, the kids are young, they do not have anyone else apart from me. If I do not do it no one will support them.*

What emerges is that the migrants are expected to remit by the family and/or the family members, and this responsibility is embedded in the migrants' behaviour, making remittances a sort of institutionalised action. Remittances in this way are not just the outcome of an unwritten contract between the migrant and the family as the NELM migration theory suggests, but the agent's action to remit, reproduces the parents'/ family expectations, giving strength to the social structures themselves. As indicated by Giddens and Pierson (1998, p .77), "*Society only forms, and that form only has effects on people, in so far as structure is produced and reproduced in what people do*". At the same time the agent reflectively assesses his direct and indirect benefits deriving from the action to remit.

Participant 4, a young male of 25 years of age, single with no dependents, has recently completed his tertiary education; apparently, he presents a migration's narrative that is different from the one described by the other respondents. He explicitly indicates that the decision to move was taken by the parents. Born in a rural area from the Northern Ohangwena region, he moved initially to continue his secondary education and subsequently to further his university studies in Windhoek. Thus, he follows the pattern of many of the other migrants interviewed. Coming

from a medium sized extended family he started working immediately after graduation and ever since has never stayed in the home village for more than a month. He is regularly supporting the family and relatives at home.

*My family was very much involved in my decision to continue my study; it was a good decision, everyone expected that I would have continued my studies. Maybe they never realised that because of the subject I had chosen, and the nature of my job, I would have not come back home so often. It was a sort of chain; they allowed [supported], me to go and study away from the village, then to continue with the University in Windhoek, and then I end up working far from home. We could say that my family made an investment in me, it was not something that was explicitly said, that I had to help them in return, but it was expected by default. They were helping me to get better opportunities in life, so that I could support them in case they needed assistance; but nothing was ever explicitly said to allude such relationship.*

There is the implicit assumption that the migrant will, in return of the help received by the parents, send financial remittances; this becomes his duty, a responsibility he feels he has towards the family.

*The reason why I sent remittances home is due to the fact that I realize the needs that my family has. Now my parents are not working and depend from the pension, and their needs cannot be satisfied only by the pension grant they receive. I have to support them and supplement what they need. Their request varies goods and it is not always the same, one time could be for paying the water bills another for food. As my responsibility I budget an amount to give them regularly.*

What emerges from Participant 4's description, is that the migrant deems the decision to migrate as determined by the family, because for him supporting the parents is a norm. If the migrant does not provide support to the parents, or the family members, the peers and the community at home, will regard him, in a derogative way. This tale is analogous to what is described by Nghiulikwa (2008, p. 52), in her investigation pertaining to the experience of the rural migrants living in Katutura, a suburb in the capital Windhoek, "If a migrant does not make efforts to enhance his home in the village, people start questioning the reason for his stay in town. People develop negative perceptions of him".

A similar story is portrayed by Participant 6a; she is a young female migrant, 25 years old, and from a large a family. What motivates her to move was not only the need to support the family, but her aspiration to study further; migration in this case is seen as an opportunity for academic's enrichment.

*After I completed my grade 12 they decided that I should look for a job because they could not afford to pay for my studies while we were many in the house. They were willing to see me working as other family members could also benefit.*

Supporting the family is something that she cannot avoid; it is what is culturally expected.

*According to our customs as long as you are working you have to send money at home. Looking at this situation I have grown up and as I got work my parents told me that I have to help them as they have been doing it before, with theirs, and this is obvious to every member of the house. At this situation I am now I think it is better, not like before, because now I can even support my family. I want to go back so that I will also develop the place of our mother and make sure it also reach a very good standard of living.*

This description adds further doubts to the family strategy's explanation of the drivers of migration (Faist, 1997). One should ask if migration in this context, is really a strategy per se or it is something that has become part of the person's life, as suggested by participant 11, a *rite of passage*. She has been reminded by the parents that she has to work and support the family but she has not been told to move. She would have helped the parents even if the job was in the village, because that is what everyone else in the family, and in the community, it is recognized as the norm.

*My parents told me that I have to help them as they have been doing it before me, and this is obvious to every member of the house.*

The accounts provided seem to suggest that the action to remit should be interpreted in the realm of the injunctive and descriptive social norms. Cialdini (2007, p. 264), defines an injunctive social norm as the individual's perception of what others approve, and hence the norm "*directs [the] action by promising informal sanctions*

*(mostly in the form of interpersonal approval/disapproval) for what is deemed by these others to be morally relevant behaviour*". The descriptive social norm refers to the observations made by those around the actor, and the individual's perception of what the others actually do (Cialdini, 2007). The action to remit in this case is primarily associated to the migrant's perceptions that this is the socially accepted behaviour; what most of the family and the community approve, non-compliance with this norm results in the family/community's disapproval. The fact that the majority of those in the same environment act in the same way, strengthens the conviction of the migrant to remit. *"If a lot of people are doing this, it's probably a wise thing to do"* (Cialdini, 2007 p. 264).

Participant 3's words, who as indicated previously can be defined as an elite migrant who graduated abroad, gives analytical substance to these observations.

*My parents and relatives did not ask me to send money but it is in our culture; as a man, to be seen that you are a responsible person, you have to support your family and community. The moment I started working it came natural to me to immediately sending money.*

Supporting the family, the close or the extended one, is a natural action for the individual; an action which is not determined simply by the act of migrate, but is associated with the moment a member of the family starts to work, regardless of the type of job he/s/he has and the location of the work.

### *7.1.2 The remittances' developmental effect*

Face-to-face interviews with the relatives of the migrants interviewed, offer additional information useful in the assessment of the remittances' contribution to the family's wellbeing. They also provide an analogous narrative to the one offered by the migrant explaining the motive to move and remit which in turn clarifies the relation between the migrants/the agency and the social external structure

represented by the family, i.e. the tacit bond, which according to Bodvarsson and Van den Berg, (2013), links the migrant with the family.

Participant 1b<sup>40</sup> is respondent's 16 wife. She lives with her three sisters and their children in the house the husband has built in the home village and is residing there as head of the household. Her narrative illuminates the type of responsibilities faced by the migrants, particularly the married ones, and together with the visual observation provides a first-hand account of the impact that remittance can have on the family.

*My husband initially left [the parent's homestead] to go and work to town, but that was long before we got married. I was already working at the village [she is a teacher at the village school], and after the wedding I remained here. When our children started schooling we decided that they should also move to Windhoek where my husband was working, because the schools were better than the one in the village. I continued to stay in the North to support my parents, and to look after my sisters and their children; now there are six people all together with me. Even if I work, he [the husband] is still supporting me in the village because with my salary I do not manage to get to the end of the month; he is also taking care of our children in Windhoek, and of his mother in the village. With what he sends to me I can buy what is needed in the house, or for example, I can fill the car with petrol. He does not tell me what to buy, but he knows what are the monthly needs of the family here and he sends the money that I then use. The money is also used to develop the house and to pay those who come and work in the field during the ploughing and harvesting time.*

Her narrative is comparable with the narrative of the husband previously interviewed.

*I assess the needs situation and either I send every month a fix amount or every 3 months; otherwise when I go back home I buy all that it is needed, this because one knows that for example before school starts the kids need books, or when winter comes they need warmer clothes and shoes, while during harvesting or ploughing they need assistances in the field. Normally we consult each other, but it is me that send the money. (Participant 11).*

---

<sup>40</sup> Participants labeled with the letter (b) are members of the migrants' family who were interviewed in the rural area. The interview in this case was conducted in English without the assistance of a translator. Authorization was obtained to take pictures of the house.

As already denoted with the quantitative analysis elaborated in Chapter 5, particularly Table 13, and Table 16, the qualitative investigation confirms that remittances are used for the migrants and their families' requirements. On a global scale, there is agreement among the migration scholars on this aspect, particularly on the increase of consumer goods, together with the possibility of providing better education to the children or access to better healthcare services (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific 2008). Divergences among practitioners occur on the assessment of the developmental impact since these are considered as non-productive consumption (Kofman 2006). House improvement, or providing seasonal employment to community members, as indicated by Participants 1b and 16, can hardly be regarded as non-productive uses, especially if one considers the multiplier effect that these can have to foster rural economic activities. Additionally, the social mobility cumulative effects that remittances could have for the migrants, their families and the home community should not be disregarded. The visual observation of the participants' homestead confirmed that remittances were used to improve, holistically the level of development in the homestead.

*Figure 3      The concrete fence*



Figure 3 indicates the presence of signs associated with the accepted concept of modernity; the traditional wooden fence, delimitating the perimeter of the inner household, has been substituted by a concrete wall recently completed, running water and electricity, via solar system was available in the house. The interview was conducted in a sitting room, fitted with a TV and modern furniture. From an economic point of view, those visual signs are elements that indicate the achievement of material satisfactions, but also denote the potential of generating opportunity for the local work force, and small business activities. From the social angle they testify the acceptance of a style of life typical of an urbanite, reflecting the transformation from the migrant's perspective, while symbolising the migrant and the family's different status, particularly if compared with the average household in the village.

Together with the wife, Participant 16's mother, designated as Participant 2b<sup>41</sup>, was also interviewed. Her narration provided further evidence in terms of the material development attained as a result of the remittances received. She is a widow aged 83, head of the household located in the village of Onangholo in Omusati region. All six of her children moved away from the homestead when they were young, either to study and/or to work, and are now living and working in Outapi and in Windhoek. Overall there were ten people living in the homestead with three adults, grandchildren of the respondent, and several grand grandchildren, ranging from few months to 14 years.

*Since they [the children] have started helping us, our life is improved because we got things that we never used to have, and everyone benefitted because we can buy food which everybody eat and clothes when we need them.*

---

<sup>41</sup> The interview was conducted in English, one of the respondent nieces living in the household acted as translator for the grandmother, both contributed to the discussion although it was the niece who reported both her and the grandmother answers and comments.

Her explanation of the motive to move is remarkably similar to those obtained from field studies of international migrants. Humphries, Brugha and McGee (2009, paragraph 53), when assessing the use of remittance by migrant nurses in Ireland, observed that “*Remittances ... enabled family members back home to pay for their health care and education expenses as well as providing support for those who were retired or unemployed*”, confirming the homogeneous behaviour between internal and international migrants affecting the case of remittances. Interestingly, Humphries et al.’s (2008), study also suggests that the way remittances are used is independent of the level of educational attainment of the migrant; the findings from the Namibian respondents seem to confirm such a point, at least with regard to the satisfaction of the basic material needs represented by food, access to education and better health facilities.

The visual observation of the homestead confirmed that the level of development in the house was substantial. Also, in this case of respondent 1b’s homestead, the traditional fences, which delimitate the inner part of the household, were replaced with iron-corrugated palings; new rooms were added to the original house, all made with bricks. Most of the house’s roof, even those of the traditional huts, were replaced with corrugated iron. Running water and electricity were available in the homestead. At the same time there was direct evidence of that remittances were used to purchase productive assets and not just consumables; a tractor, which the respondent’s son had bought to use in the family field’s while renting it also to the neighbours, was parked in the inner courtyard of the house.

These observations provide credits to the findings of other scholars of African remittances (Gallego & Mendola, 2011; Gustafsson & Makonnen, 1993), indicating their positive contribution in improving the wellbeing of the households.

Figure 4      The tractor



The critical evaluation of Participant 2b’s narration adds another dowel to the understanding of the driver to migrate; migration is described in *layman terms* as the inability of converting the traditional subsistence agriculture sector into a commercial profit sector. This lack of inability to transform the sector underlines the difficulty of the traditional social context, characterized by the dominance of family-based social relationships (Shukla, 2015), to endorse a different, or innovative system “*based on the division of labor and specialization*” (Naswem, & Ejembi, 2017, p.11).

*If they [the children] had not moved our situation would not be the same. If they had stayed they would have worked in the field and looking after the animal, but we would have not got any cash money because in our culture the mahangu that we cultivate are used for our consumption, we do not use to sell, the same with the goats. If they [the children] did not get a salaried job there would have been no money to buy other necessities.*

It is however always the individual's assessment of the context and its interaction that in the end, determines the decision to migrate or to change towards a different system of production (Thomas, 1923).

The parents of one of the respondents, indicated here as *Participants 3b*<sup>42</sup>, were among the group of the migrants' families interviewed, and their narrative completes what is indicated by participant 2b. The household was composed of the parents aged 77 and 78, and a niece who was staying with them helping in the daily chores. All the children of the couple, two sons, (one also interviewed), and three daughters, moved away and are currently living in the towns of Windhoek, Oshakati and Outapi where they work. The under-aged grandsons/daughters were staying in the family house. In their narratives the respondents provide additional information, which presents the "other side of the coin". They associated the movement with the necessity to send the children to school since there were no secondary schools at the village.

*The decision to move was related to the fact that they had to go to school so it was not really that they had an option, in the village school was only to grade 7. Since they were good at school they had to continue to go to school. They completed successful grade 12 and wanted to continue to the University and some went to study abroad. As parents they we were happy that the children were continuing with the school and education because then not everyone was doing well, even if we had to look for means [they had to borrow money] to maintain them at University. After completing the University they got jobs in town so it did not made sense for them to relocate to the village.*

From the family's perspective emerges that the parents made an investment in the children's education, and in their narrative it was acknowledged that their expectation was that:

---

<sup>42</sup> Authorisation was obtained to take pictures of the house. The interview was conducted in English with the help of one of the adult grandchild present in the house and had the form of a "group interview" since both the parents jointly participated.

*... after completing education they would be able to support us at the village. And this did pay back because all the improvements in the house were possible thanks to the assistance received by the children.*

The father, having experienced migration as a contract migrant, was eager to share other information that helped to better contextualise the decision to send the children to further their studies to town. He indicated that he left home “*straight to find a job, because cultivation from the field was not enough*” and it was not “*for selling*”. This is confirmation of what is said by respondent 2b and Werner’s (1993, p.136), observation that the German colonial regime first, and the South African apartheid regime had successively put in place a land system that ultimately “*denied small communal farmers the opportunity to accumulate capital for themselves*”, making it impossible for the black farmers to increase agricultural productivity and move from a subsistence to a commercial organisation. As a result the black households had to depend on salaried jobs, to be found in the commercial white’s farms, the mines and the emerging industries<sup>43</sup>.

The informant further specified that “*there was no possibility to go to school in the past, nor there were other type of jobs available in the North*”, making the search for a job outside the area the only opportunity available at the time. Seeing little opportunity in being engaged in the rural activities he supported his children studies in the urban centres, which offered better facilities; a desire common among rural parents in many developing countries (Punch & Sugden, 2013), and also relates to the belief that better education would have opened the possibility to find good employment (Crivello, 2011).

---

<sup>43</sup> In 1970 the South African government adopted the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission, which recommended the parcelling of Namibia’s land into different “homelands” for different racial groups, with the central block of most productive farmland reserved as “commercial farmland” which could be owned by whites only – a policy which has left a considerable legacy of resource degradation, (Office of the President, 2004, p.29).

The son, Participant 13a<sup>44</sup>, who was also contacted, substantiated their narrative adding his own expectation from the movement to the urban area.

*I moved to study and work so to improve the quality of my life and that of the people that look up to me [the parents]. For my parents it was a bold decision, which however paid off well for everyone; I can see that now I am connected to the global community.*

From the reflexive observation of his words emerges both the interaction between the agency and the social structures, and the reconstruction of a *new individual* that has been able to get out from the boundaries of the village's life. The visual observation of the homestead confirmed the transformation that occurred in the homestead. The traditional fences, which delimited the inner part of the household, were replaced with modern fences; new rooms were added to the original house, all made with bricks. Water and electricity via solar panels were available in the homestead.

*Figure 5      The house improvement*



---

<sup>44</sup> Male, 33 years hold, married, had left the country for studying abroad.

*They build the rooms even if they will not in future inherit the house, they do it because in this way they have a place to stay when they come to visit, and when they get married they can leave a tangible sign of appreciation for all that we parents have done for them, leaving us in a better condition.*

These contributions while representing a motive of pride for the parents, as indicated in the following paragraph, were at the same time increasing the parents' reputation in the village and were also an indication of the children respecting the cultural values.

Participant 3b<sup>45</sup> is the mother of one of the migrants interviewed; aged 63. Following the recent death of her husband she is the head of household, composed of the siblings of the migrants (an elder sister and younger brother) and a cousin who helps in the house. On describing the contribution of the daughter to the family's wellbeing, there emerged a similar pattern indicated by respondent 2b. The family encouraged and supported her in her endeavours to go to town where she went to continue studying and to obtain a degree.

*She [the sister] was supported a lot during her studying in Windhoek; she [the mother] borrowed money for her to study and encouraged her to get a good job. She was lucky that while studying already got offered a good post; it would have been a terrible thing if she did not get a job. If you look into the house all what we have, she is the one who has contributed most, we have also another sister, older than her, but she did not contribute the same, because her job is not as good as the one of xxx.*

The level of development in the house was noticeable, new rooms were added to the original house all made with bricks. Water and electricity were available in the homestead; a DSTV satellite dish was installed for the TV in the living room, where the interview was conducted.

---

<sup>45</sup> Authorisation was obtained to take pictures of the house. The interview was conducted in English with the elder daughter acting as translator for the mother; it took the form of a "group interview" since both participated; an aunt who was present in the house also took part to the interview, overall 3 people participated to the exercise. The mother and daughter were both very vocal the aunt joined in to clarify some of the points and to rectify what the mother had said.

Figure 6      *The renovated house with the satellite dish*



From the discussion among the three respondents, emerged a new element, which similarly surfaced in the other migrants' family members previously interviewed, namely the migrant's change of behaviour when s/he creates a separate family. This aspect, analytically observed, sheds more light on the migrants' remittances behaviour, adding additional doubts on the NELM's survivalist explanation of the drivers to migrate.

*Before getting married she was really helping us a lot, she paid for water, electricity, she bought food, now she is focusing more on her family and is contributing less. She still pays for those who come and help in the field, and those who look after the cattle. After the death of our father, last year, my mother also pays for a domestic worker who helps in the house.*

This description is in line with what was observed for the international migrants when new social obligations, determined by marriage, compete with, and affect the family one, resulting in unmarried migrants remitting more than married migrants (Banerjee, 1981; Ronald, Rindfuss, Piotrowski, Entwisle, Edmeades, & Faust, 2012;

Reyes Uribe, 2013). Apart from this similarity, however, what emerges from further investigating this aspect, is that, as indicated by the daughter:

*My mother is upset not much because my sister is not contributing as she was doing before, but because she was used to the fact that she was sending money every months; now can pass few months without her sending anything. She was expecting that her [the migrant daughter] would have contributing forever. At her [the mother] time, when she got married she was not working so she could not really supporting her parents financially, but now that her daughter is working she did not consider that when she got married she also had her family to think. Somehow she is not accepting that times have changed and her daughter is thinking differently from her and now that she is working is not supporting her [the mother] forever. She wanted that her got married but she did not considered that after getting married she would have created her own family and her contribution to us would have been less. Her feeling when xxx decided to continue with university studies were conflicting because she was losing someone to help her in the house work, the animals and the field, but on the other hand she knew that if she got a good degree then should would have got a job and helped us. That is why she is upset that after married she [the migrant daughter] has reduced her assistance.*

The excerpt of the interview clearly highlights the existence of an intergenerational gap, already described in section 6.1.3, between the new identity that the migrants have constructed during their residence in the urban environment, and the exposure to different cultures and new technologies, and the elderly parents who, in the majority of the cases, have never left the rural area and have in general a level of education inferior to the children. Such conflict is also expressed in the words of the migrant's sister, who instead has a different view from the mother pertaining to the sister's support to the family. She is a young lady, 35 years old who, due to her physical disability, could not continue school after grade 12, but she is very active on the social media, fighting for the rights of the people with disability, and equally active in the community promoting positive values among the youth.

*My sister is the one who is helping the other relatives who go to town supporting them as well. She accommodates more than six family relatives who are still schooling, and others that are working in Windhoek but do not have a place where to stay, and they are all on her back and my mother does*

*not consider that as assistance. All what we have in the house we got mostly from her, especially before her wedding she made a lot of changes in the house because she wanted to show to the rest of the community that she had a good job in town and that she was taking care of her parents.*

The last comment in this extract introduces an important analytical element, which indicates the relevance that the accepted traditional norms have on shaping the migrant behaviour particularly when it comes to the reason to remit.

Participant 5b<sup>46</sup>, the father of one of the respondents, was also interviewed. Just retired, 63 years old, he was staying in the house with the 57 year old wife, who was working as a teacher at the village's school, and the 25 year old, last-born son. He was the head of the household, had seven children and of these six had left the house either to study in Windhoek or to work. Similarly, with the other parents interviewed, he(who??) worked under the contract system during the apartheid period and described his experience to compare it with his children's contemporary movements.

*I started working in 1973, and then I was a migrant worker; during the apartheid period being a migrant was not a easy, you were picked up, you had no choices to where to go. Under the contract system we were only supposed to stay in the place of work and we could not go looking for jobs where we wanted. Migrant workers had different responsibilities, and did not have the same benefit of permanent workers. My initial contract was of 18 unbroken months, when I was working the systems was phased out and I got a 6 months contract, then the system was eliminated and I got a permanent contract. My parents did not have problems with me going to work away, because I could earn money and help them with want was necessary in the household.*

*There reason why my first born moved was different; after concluding teacher training school she got a job to a nearby town and she moved, after a while she applied for another position in Windhoek and she moved there. The other children also moved because they got jobs away from here, because there were no jobs around suitable for them. We as parents did not have any choice in their decision to move, because they were following the jobs where they were available. If they had not moved that would have meant that they did not had a job, and we had to look after them, and this would have put a strain on us.*

---

<sup>46</sup> The interview was conducted in English with no needs of a translator

What transpires from the respondent's narrative are the differences between his and his children's motives to move. His children's movements do not appear to be part of a family strategy to survive, but are an individual natural decision related to career improvement and the search for a job. The respondent explains this difference in view of the cultural changes he and his children have gone through, and the fact that both himself and the mother were employed and they did not have to depend on the children for survival, although the children did provide assistance when requested.

*In the African culture even when you get married you still have your parents and relative to look after, so in the past it was expected that the children continued to support the parents when they get a job, and got married. We are not following this way any more, but in the past this was the norm. Previously kids were mother family, now things have changed, our kids are my kids as well; you support them until they are adult, then they look by them self. I cannot go and ask them to help me, I cannot say 'you must send me money', but if you feel that this month you have extra money and you can spare it, then you will send money to me as your own will. If one gets married if she feels that she can contribute she will, but since married she has her own family and is no more part of our family. We are following the European system we supported the children during their studies, and even after, until they got a job, that is our responsibility as parents, the children are not anymore obliged to support their parents. Those [parents] who still expect their married children to support them forget that now they have started a new family, and they [the children] cannot look after them anymore. In the past it was not like that, even if you got married it was expected from you to contribute, so it is a sort of clash of culture, most of the parents are remained in the old time, while the children have moved to the new time. If I am married I have to look after my family and now a day my family is my wife and my children, the link with the parents is thinned. Those children who have moved have been exposed to the new culture and so they think differently from the parents.*

The respondent is himself part of the cultural transformation described, having been exposed to the urban environment during his working years and being financially secure. The change from a traditional to a modern way of thinking, however, does not imply that the children have rejected the traditional norms but that they have been adjusted to suit their necessities, and as such, they have contributed to the house's development and occasionally supported the family. Although no pictures

were taken of the household, the visual observation showed that the level of development in the house was marked, there were new rooms being added to the original house, modern furniture in the living room where the interview was conducted, connection to the main electrical grid, and running tap water was available in the house.

*Each and everyone has helped a bit to support us and to renovate the house, but we do not expect them to they are trying to build their future. If I need something I ask directly for what I need. If the amount is too big the children discuss among themselves and each contribute to it.*

From the critical analysis of the respondent's deep interview finding, and the visual observation of the homestead, emerged that the responded was relatively well off, and this condition, as documented is like other cases (Kreager, 2006; Reyes Uribe, 2013). He was able to look after his children, providing opportunities and supporting their studies. The children's feeling of moral responsibility, defined by Lai (2010, p 205) as: "*an attitude, values, and behavioral prescriptions for how children interact with their parents*" is what, in this case, motivates their action to remit and support the parents; a feeling of *pietas* which is taking over the traditional value of responsibility belonging to a past from which they are slowly moving away.

## **7.2 Conclusion**

The findings related to the category *creating* opportunities, provides additional evidence in explaining the process leading to the migrants to remit. It has also emerged that the concept of remittance is an *institutionalised norm*, which brings the migrants to behave in a specific way not just for altruistic reason, but also not to be side-lined at home and in the village. At the same time, it surfaced that the internal migrants' remittances, both financial and non-financial, have a role to play in

promoting local and national development. These concepts are instrumental, in the logic of the thesis, for the construction of a substantive theory on migration.

Overall few empirical studies are available either to assess the contribution that internal migration remittances have in sustaining socio-economic development in the rural areas (Ajaero & Onokala, 2013), or providing noneconomic explanations to the migrants motivation to remit (Mahmud 2014). Migration literature suggests that remittances are the monetary transposition of the social and emotional relationships that exist between the migrants and his/her family and/or the local community (Mashayekhi, 2013; Bodvarsson & Van den Berg, 2013); an implicit promise which determines obligations for both (Mokomane, 2012). Remittances from international migrants are normally measured to evaluate the developmental impact of migration. There is little agreement among economist scholars on whether migrants' monetary remittances do alleviate poverty in the migrants' country. Migrants' financial contributions are considered as private transfers which have, for this reason a negligible effect on the country economic growth and a limited one on the migrants family being mostly used to cover basic needs, and not to promote productive uses and investments (Datta, McIllwaine, Wills, Evans, Herbert, & May, 2006; Gubert, 2005; Ghosh, 2006). As suggested in the literature review chapter, one of the limitations of this argument rests in the association of development with economic growth, measured in terms of the improvement of the traditional quantitative economic indicators. Using Sen's (1999) human capability concept, the contribution of monetary remittances to the nexus migration-development at both micro-local and macro-national level is instead easily identified and defensible as it appears from the quantitative analysis elaborated in chapter 5.

On the other hand, to properly assess the way remittances are used it is important to maintain the focus on the reasons why migrants remit. Weber (cited by Mahmud 2014, p. 461) demonstrated that individuals' rationality consists of both the meaning they attach to the act, and their own subjective understanding of the existing structural constraints and opportunities. In other words, the action to remit should be associated with the confidence that the migrants have in the relevance of the act. This also means that the rationality of the act is not simply associated with economic principles, but must take into consideration social and cultural values as well. The interaction between the agency-migrant and the external structure represented by the traditional social norms and values, is fundamental in the identification of the individual's interests and in the assessment of the consequences of the action, leading to the agency's re-construction of the social structure, ultimately giving sense to the migrant's remittance (Hechter & Kanazawa, 1997; Mahmud, 2014).

## Chapter 8 Changing status

### 8.1 Introduction

Changing status is the third category that emerged from the constant comparison of the data gathered through the field interviews of the internal migrants and their families, and the visual observation of the families' homesteads. It is associated with the changes in the migrants' social status as a result of the rural to urban movement. Assessing the way in which either the family and/or the home community considers migrants, as a result of their experiences in town, helps to better comprehend the decision to migrate and the transformation of the social relationships, derived from the migration experience (Alcántara, Chen, & Alegríad, 2014).

Table 19 is a visual representation of the process that has led to the construction of the category which has emerged by focusing on the transformations that the migration experience produces both 'inter' the migrants and the home family, and 'intra' the migrants' families and the local community.

*Table 19 Determining category 3: Changing status*

Questions	Initial Codes	Focused Codes	Category
Family and community social changes	Family Values Acceptance, very useful and helpful Parents appreciation Part of the decisional process Different (new) person Respect (family and community) Responsible as a man Role model Giving advice Leave a legacy Creating employment Transfer information. Freedom Part of the decisional process I can socialise	Being appreciated Gender Empowerment, Taking decision as a man Being considered/respected Working less Advising other	Gaining status

The concept of social status is inspired by Weber's analysis of the social structures (as cited in Gerth & Mills, 1944, p. 274) and his designation of "*status situation* [as] *every typical component of the life fate of men which is determined by a specific, positive or negative, social estimation of honor.*" Honour, is in this case associated with the prestige connected to having obtained a status linked to a particular 'style of life'. Wealth, although relevant, is not automatically linked to the status since social mobility is rather assessed looking at what one has achieved considering the starting point and the rate at which one has been able to get there, (James, 1963).

#### *8.1.1 The changes in the migrant - family connexion's*

The critical elaboration of Participant 1's narrative permits to understand the impact that migration has had on the family relationships, while at the same time confirming that the migration's experience has a relevant role in the creation of the respondent's new self.

*At home and in the village I was a very shy and a quiet person, now I am open to everyone and enjoy my freedom with no fear. The major change this has produced is the respect people, inside and outside the family, are showing to me. They say that now I am responsible as a man.*

She is aware that the migration experience has transformed her into a completely differed person, advancing her level of self-confidence to the point that her prestige in the family has *de facto* modified her status, which is equated to that of a man. This sense of freedom, but more significantly of the self-gratification, results in the fact that she is now capable of expressing her views and participating in the decisions related to the family's matters, and her comments are considered by the parents.

*... before I had to follow what my parents used to tell me, whatever their decision was. Now I am also part of the decisions.*

What surfaces from her story is that, as a direct consequence of the migration experience, she feels equal to the parents; in this way the balance of power in the family has been modified, showing a change in the gender perception.

The family's transformation is reflexively analysed by the same respondent that rationalizes it associating the change of her family status with the parents' recognition of her capacity to deal with problems, and the assistance she is providing to the parents and the family.

*I am sure that my family has accepted these changes, because now I am very useful and helpful for all. My parents have always been supportive of me and have thought me good values, now after moving away and supporting them I have also gained more respect. I have never stopped to help them, and my parents really appreciate what I am doing.*

The respect of the traditional values and norms is among the 'good values' she mentions. The belief is that when the agent-migrant adheres to the norms, s/he gains good reputation in the family resulting in a personal feeling of being appreciated. This sentiment was also revealed by the Participant 1 does not 'obey' the norms because she expects a reward but the reflexive assessment of the action encourages her to behave in that way. The duality of the agency and social structure relationship results in the social structure to be reconstructed by the agent, so that the structure continues to exist in a modified form (Giddens 1991).

Participant 11, who is older than Participant 1, also reveals that obtaining the family's respect is one of the tangible outcomes of his migration experience.

*It has not really changed the social relationship since I still communicate with the rest of the family and contribute to the decision-making; actually I have gained more respect from both the family and the community. Inside my family I am always consulted even for small things. My role has changed now and I am more respected by the community. There is a big difference between those who did not move, and those who did, like me.*

Since he is a man it was expected that he participates in the family decision. He observes that his peers who did not have the same experience are not regarded in the same way he is, both by the family and the community.

His narrative further substantiates Participant1's observation of the impact that migration is starting to have on the gender relationships at family and community level.

*Gender relationship have changed in the sense that now it is accepted that women do the things done by the men, somehow the differences between men and women was also caused by apartheid because we were thought to believe that women could only do certain things for example being nurses or teachers, or maid. Living in a different environment and with access to education, has opened my mind more. Now women are respected and expected to behave the same as men, contributing to the support of the family at home.*

He reflexively associates this change to the wider access to education, and to the transformation in the education system, but at the same time he acknowledges that the exposure received, as result of him living abroad and his working experiences away from the rural area, has also contributed to modify his personal beliefs regarding women.

Participant 4 reveals that there have been changes in the family relationships, with particular reference to his siblings, as result of him working away from home. A loss of family solidarity and personal intimacy that has been loosely associated with the international migrants (Lane, 2000; Silver, 2006), is also evident among internal migrants.

*We [the siblings] used to be very close to each other, we knew almost everything happening in our lives, but now that has changed. Although the connections are still strong, the fact that everyone is at different places had some impacts on our relationships.*

Migration literature based mainly on the economic theory explains the acceptance of this loss with the financial benefits derived by the family and the migrants; *“Expected economic gains from migration will likely outweigh the potential*

*psychological costs during the decision-making process, particularly in societies where migration is so prevalent that it has become a normative life event” (Silver 2006, paragraph 9).*

An analysis of the respondent’s narrative from a sociological perspective, reveals an additional social reward that the migrant obtains, represented by the fact that he is treated, both by the family members and the community, with more respect. The migrant’s reputation/status is, in other words, as result of his movement, enhanced.

*I get involved in every conversation; there is nothing that happens that I am not involved, if I had not moved this would have not happened. The family is now confident in me that I can handle all situations. There are people that have not moved from the village and they are not treated or considered in the same way as me, so the changes they see in me probably make them to realise that now I can be involved in all type of discussion.*

Migration has also changed his gender prejudices, indicating that his university and working experience have compelled him to respect women for what they can do, and as a result he treats them as equals.

*When you get exposed to different way of life and listen to different stories than the one you were used to the village you feel that is not right that the father [the men] is more important than the mother. Those days women were allowed only to do certain jobs, nurses or teachers, my mother for example is a nurse, but now you have women in all lines of jobs, it is their choice, you come to realise that it is a stereotype to think that women can only do certain things. Having been in the same classes with women you realise that is more a psychological thing. Now there is much respect and understanding I usually engage in serious conversation with women. If there is the need to do some works that it is usually done by women at my house I will definitely find a way to help.*

In his description of the events, Participant 4 highlights the differences between the life in and outside the village’s protected environment, alluding to the beneficial effects of living in a more open environment.

*The world is big, much bigger than a village culture; the world is moving very fast, faster than a village and what may be normal in the village life maybe is regarded as a taboo to the world.*

This last observation mirrors what is indicated by Participant 11, bringing the attention on the reflexive analysis based on the inner conflict between the traditional life style and the advantages associated with living and working in an urban environment.

*Yes I have meet almost all my expectation of course there is same room for improvement. Even if it is not nice to leave the house in the village, if one wants to improve in life, it cannot be avoided.* (Participant 11).

Participant 1a, who has a different educational and economic background from Participants 16 and 4, echoes the sentiments of the other respondents, emphasising, on a more practical way, the acceptance of the new urban values and the concrete way this manifests in the village context.

*Living in Windhoek has opened me to new way of acting, for example before I moved when one was sick in the family we used to go to the witch doctor, here in Windhoek I go to the doctor and to the hospital. Now also in the village we do the same, but this is also because now we have money to spend on medicines.*

Being able to provide financial assistance to the family is also a contributory cause of the acceptance by the family of the different behaviour manifested by the migrant family member.

Participant 6, coming from a family setting similar to that of participant 1a, uses an identical example applied by Participant 1a to visually represent how living in an urban environment, has changed her behaviour and the impact that this change has had on her family.

*I am a changed person, in the village if you are sick they tell you to go to the witch doctor, but now I don't go, and I tell my family also not to go there and to go to the hospital instead.*

A closer scrutiny of her narrative, shows the self-awareness of having changed from the type of person she was when living in the village with the family, and the disappointment for this change not being fully recognised in terms of more respect.

At the same time, is the satisfaction that in the extended family network, she is regarded with more consideration than the male component of the family.

*My immediate family still treats me as before, I do not see that the relationship has changed much, they still treat me as a "small girl", even if I feel they should treat me differently because now I am helping them and I know more than them. My uncles instead look at me in a different way because I helped them more than they expected. They look at me compared to my brother and they think that I am more important than him; now they consult me and ask for assistance.*

Participant 3, who has spent several years studying abroad, and has since returned is working far from the parents' homestead, spending very little time in the village, confirms, in his narrative, the loosening of the family relationships. He conveys a feeling of estrangement from the younger members of the family; a feeling he projects to the future, when he will have his own children, which prompts him to make a self assessment of his migration experience.

*The young one who were born when I was abroad do not really know and recognize me. I fear that if continue with this type of life when married also my own children will not recognise their own father.*

This description, as noted by Ahmed (1999, p. 343)), indicates that the migrant's feeling of separation from home, and the family, can be considered as "*a process of becoming estranged from that which was inhabited as home*". However contrary to Ahmed's findings in this case migration does not imply "*a reliving of the home itself*", (Ahmed 1999, p. 344), since the respondent, indicates that he is conscious that he is '*a different person*', thus, implying the necessity for him to readjust to the village life.

*After living 7 years away my cultural values have also partially changed, as well as my habits, to the extend that people in the village, in and out side my family, look at me in a different way.*

He is now a role model and an inspiration to the younger members of the extended family, to whom he transfers his knowledge and expertise. The family, both for the

assistance provided and for the professional and social status he has acquired, respect him. The respect received by the members of the family is something that he appreciates and represents a further stimulus to continue supporting the family, while at the same time it is a way to self-justify his action to move away.

*When I went most of the young kids where not going to school, but since I have returned everyone want to go to the university, the majority also want to do engineering, and it was me that had to guide them and give advice. For example I have explained that there are also other faculties that they can attend, not only engineering, now one of my nieces is doing medicine. I receive much respect from all in the family, which I appreciate. I inspired young children in the family, now some are graduate engineers and other have started working hard.*

His perception of women has also changed.

*When I went to study abroad I saw that a lot of men where doing nursing, while in my course in water engineering the majority of the students, let's say 70%, were women and they were performing very well. This made to reverse my ideas on women, realising that I had a wrong perception. When I was young, like the others in the village, I believed that women could only do certain type of jobs, and as profession they could be only nurses and teachers. At UNAM [the university of Namibia] I was laughing at a friend of mine who chose to do nursing. Now I have changed my vision of the gender relationship I see and recognise that men and women can do the same things. I have transferred this new vision also to other men, members of my family, and I encourage the girls at home, telling them that they can do what ever they want.*

### 8.1.2 *The inter family conflicts*

Participant 2a, shifts the attention to the inter-family conflicts which are as result of the migrant's movement to town. Her involvement in the traditional women's work is reduced even when she go back to visit at the village. This is seen as a weakness on her side, but is justified and accepted because it has brought financial rewards for the family that is better off, and they can afford things that could not afford before her movement to town.

*I was doing more things before [moving out] than what I am doing now, I am less active and spend less time with my family members, but I am still appreciated for the financial support. I am a big girl now, before my mother did not really include me in the family discussion as she does now.*

Participants 4b and 6b's narratives complement, from the family's position, the account given by the migrants interviewed concerning the transformation occurred among the family members as result of their movement away from home. Their narratives, compared with the migrants' narratives, provide a better understanding of how the actors, in this case represented by the family members, perceive the movement, and the potential inter-family conflicts that can emerge from the family transformations determined by the migratory action (Bryman, 2012).

Participant 3b, in this case the sister's migrant, who during the interview expressed both her personal feelings and reported the mother's feelings, indicates the emotional loss felt by the siblings as a result of the absence of the sister. The emotional loss is also echoed by her migrant sister, as well as the other respondents previously interviewed, when they left the homestead to move to the urban setting.

*Emotionally things have changed because we used to share words and ideas on how to do things in the house or even general talks, but now we do not talk much. It is difficult to communicate, either the network is down or we do not have credit or she is busy working and we cannot really talk.*

Also apparent is the initial conflict between the siblings living at home and the one who had left; a conflict ultimately caused by the migrant family member neglecting her house chores. A conflict, which was resolved later by the migrant; when she left home, the 'left back siblings' started to appreciate the benefits and the assistance provided by the far away sister.

*When she was here we shared a lot, since she moved schooling in Windhoek the relationships changed because she was working less in the house than us and we were not happy because we were thinking that she was more loved, but when she started to support us we changed our thinking.*

On the other hand, in the respondent's account of the mother's words, indirectly transpires the recognition of the new status acquired by the sister previously described by the same migrant.

*The relationship with my mother is also changed because now she is having her own house [she is independent and recently married] so she has to treat her differently, she cannot say things that she used to say when she was living in the house.*

Participant 6b's narrative offers the same conflicting scenario among the left behind siblings and/or extended family peers, and the migrant.

Participant 4b<sup>47</sup> comprehends the family's members of respondent 18, previously interviewed, living in the rural village of Onangholo in the northern region of Omusati. The household is headed by the grandmother, aged 67, who is residing with the migrant's young brother, aged 14, three cousins, aged 19, 22, 24, and their children. What emerged from the cousins' description of the inter-family changes resulting from respondent 18's movement to town, was their frustration because of the increased load of the menial jobs they were now supposed to do. As already indicated by Participant 3b, this situation was resolved given the direct financial assistance received by the family member.

Participant 18 when describing the changes that occurred at family levels, indicated the difficulty of adapting to the village life and the negative reaction this has created in the family relationships.

*In terms of my behavior I have also changed; I am not more used to do things I used to do at home, for example pounding. When I am asked to do it my hands pain, before I could pound for hours with no problems. I am not able to recognise the type of animals we have, when to take them out or bring them in, so I am not asked to assist to this job, when a visitor is outside the gate, I do not wait to hear 'meumbo'<sup>48</sup>, but open the gate straight away. The rest of the*

---

<sup>47</sup> One of the cousins acted as a translator during the interview.

<sup>48</sup> A visitor, while approaching the inner part of the house is supposed to shout for 3 times the word *meumbo*, which could be translated in English as: "is there anyone at home?". Only after hearing that, and giving an positive answer the gate can be opened.

*family does not receive very well all these changes, particularly when I do not pound the mahangu<sup>49</sup>, My grandmother complains because she says that the oshifima made with the grounded mahangu does not taste the same as the one pounded and that in this way I am also influencing my cousins who get lazy. If I do not help also my cousins complain because they have to work more. So in the end I take the mahangu to the crusher so they do not have to pound and mix it with some pounded, and everyone is happy, both my grandmother and my cousins.*

From the description of the changes that take place in the migrant's family as a result of the movement, a conflict emerges with the other members left behind. The conflict is mediated by the fact that the migrants provide financial and non-financial assistance to the family, which offsets the negative impact that the movement may have caused. What is more profound is, however, the impact that the cultural changes evoked by the process of acculturation and assimilation of the different values and customs, to which the respondent has been exposed, have on the family's members left behind.

Assimilation similar to that experienced by the international migrants, whose cultural identities "*may be lost during the assimilation process as he or she moves within the host society*", is indicated by Bhugra and Becker (2004, paragraph 17). In the Namibian cases the narrative of the respondents indicates that the transformations experienced do not stop with the migrants, but, as described by Giddens (1986) in his structuration theory, are connected and transferred to the surrounding social structure, thus constructing a double relationship between the agents/migrants, and the social structures where the structures influence the agents and vice versa.

Participant 13 describes the passage from the protected communal rural environment to the urban atomistic setting and the resulting transformation of the self and the effects of his transformation on the family, the community and hence the social structure.

---

<sup>49</sup> It is like the sorgo and is used to make porridge called *oshifima*.

*The lifestyle in the village is different from that of the town. In the village you are free because we know everyone, we know each other and we are free to speak. Here [in town] you need to think, who you have in front of you and know how to speak, you have to make your own decisions everything depends on you, it is up to you if you make the right decision to go forwards, people will not help you if you do not help yourself. I have learned a lot on how to interact with people, how to treat the next person I have developed on my own by meeting with different people. I am now more responsible because I am living on my own; in the village they were looking after and for me, now it is me that is looking after them. I get a lot of respect from the family but also from friends and the elders, they think that I am now a successful person, but I also respect my family and the elders more because I know now what is responsibility.*

Reflexively considering respondent 24's description, it transpires that migration has been a transgressive and liberating experience, which has allowed his self-identity to emerge, away from the confined rural space (Chambers, 1994; Ahmed, 1999).

*My vision of women has changed a lot, in the village you do not think of women as persons, you only think of them as 'sex object' but now I have seen a lot of value in women and since I have moved to Windhoek I have a lot of respect for them. In the village now I encourage them to study and I also speak with the guys I know that beat their girlfriends to explain that this is not correct, at least while I am in the village they do not do it anymore. Those are small changes that can also change the life in the village but it will take time because when I am not there I do not know how they behave.*

The exposure to the urban life, as already acknowledged by the other male respondents, has modified his long standing traditional beliefs on gender relationships, making him to act differently and encourage his peers to act the same. , To fully comprehend the social impact of migration, it is however, necessary to critically examine also the way the relationships between the migrants and the home community are being developed and how they evolve.

### *8.1.3 The migrant - community developmental transformation*

As indicated by Levitt (1998), in her description of the social remittances, and as emerged from the respondents' narratives, the migrants bring back with them, and

transfer to the home place, more than just goods and financial remittances to the families (Devasahayam, 2013). The migrant's new self, with his/her innovative ideas obtained from the exposure to an open modern environment and as result of the experiences gained while living and working away from the village, does have a wider socio-economic impact on the community. This impact is recognised by the same community, hence strengthening the migrant's role in the same community.

Participant 1, as already specified, indicated that the migration experience allowed her to interact with different cultures and to open up to the world, hence transforming her personality.

*Comparing myself with other people that have not moved, but also with some that have moved, everyone agree that I am a very different person. Everyone look at me with more respect and I am looked at as a role model by other parents who compare me with their children.*

The home community and her family recognise the transformation and she receives respect from both. Furthermore, there is a reversal of gender roles as she is admired by the community and performs tasks not normally expected of the women folk. A sense of self-gratification is attained through such achievements.

*In the village the elders and other families say that I behave as a man should behave, that I doing things that a man is expected to do and that I manage to do things that those left in the village do not manage to do.*

*I do not socialize much with my age group, but I do speak with them and give them advice based on my experience. I do that also at home and with the elders, I teach them that they must respect all people because this is the most important thing, and that we are all equal, men and women.*

Through her actions she is equally committed to make a difference in the village life, and she directly and personally applies the experience gained by living away from home. Significant to note is that migration avails to her the possibility of achieving a sort of 'double opportunity'. Away from the village, she fully utilises the chances offered to her to be economically successful, and back home she tries to create

opportunities for herself and other members of the community, to replicate the same success experienced away from home. This description reflects Levitt's (1996), definition of social remittances.

*The experiences matured as result of me moving and working away from home has allowed me to partially achieve my dreams, I always had a dream to run my own business but did not have the resources and the exposure and experience necessary to do it. Now I do have my own business back at the village; unfortunately working far from there I cannot run it on a daily basis and my mother runs the business.*

Contrary to the traditional migration economic literature (Kofman, 2006; Entzinger, 1985; Lipton, 1980) the narrative of respondent 1, indicates that the combination of the financial and non-financial contributions made by the migrants, generates 'productive assets' which can have spill-over effects and create further economic opportunities in the area of origin of the migrants. Opening a business activity was one of the respondent's dreams before leaving, and a co-motive for her to move; but it was the exposure and the experience gained that made possible the realisation of her dream. On a broader perspective, this narrative is consistent with the fact that returnees migrants, and hence migration, can culminate in direct economic benefit, confirming the existence of a potential nexus migration – development at local and national levels, even adopting a strictly economic index to measure development.

Besides generating economic opportunities for herself and the community, the opening of an activity in the village is an additional motive, for Participant 1, to be self-satisfied since it amplifies the consideration obtained from the community. She is satisfied with the outcome of the migration, which has strengthened her conviction of having made the right decision, ultimately reinforcing her commitment to invest in a business activity in the village and continue to be involved in promoting the development of her village.

*I am very proud of what I have achieved and these comments make me stronger and inspire me to do more. I want to go back to the village, what I have learned so far I want to put it back to my village, I like to change things if I implement what I have learned I can leave a legacy for my children and in doing this earning even more respect from the people there.*

Her motivations reaffirm the relevance that social remittance has towards the national developmental interests. Significantly, the altruistic motives are combined with the self-rewarding stimulus of being acknowledged by the community to be respected and increasing her 'community status'.

Participant 5 also inspires younger members of the community, motivating them to follow his path.

*Young kids ending grade 10-12, come to me for advice, when they see me they ask what courses they should do at University and also technical assistance. Also the schoolteacher asks for advice to set up a small school garden to sell vegetable and help the school and the students.*

He, being an agronomist, has started his own commercial farm and is keen to share his knowledge with the other members of the community in the area.

*People in the village ask me to teach them how to produce what I am producing in my field; I am inspiring them. They are using my knowledge. I am the only one from my area that has studied crops and I feel I can help the others.*

Participant 5's altruistic motives overlap with the recognition he is obtaining from the community as a result of his actions.

*The regional council also asked my assistance to develop project to address poverty in the area. My role in the community in general has changed you can see when you participate to social events I am not more the young boy who grow up in the village, I am recognised, I receive special treatment, the elder speak with me, they want to tap on my knowledge.*

Participant 3 describes the same pattern of actions of the other respondents; being a role model for the family and the people in the village. He uses what he learned away from the village to establish economic activities, which he implements back in the home village, involving in this enterprise the local community. The experience

gained in a foreign country gives him additional advantage. He is exposed to a completely different environment from that of the internal migrants who have moved internally to the capital Windhoek. His approach is not different from their *modus operandi*; the difference is merely based on the different levels of exposure and education.

His idea to start a business activity to set up a company is similar to Participant 1's. He had generated the idea, but got strengthened by the experience gained during the period spent abroad. Migration has given him the opportunity to *look out of the box*, which, in this case, was represented by the national borders.

*The idea of setting up a company come to me because of the experience I have gained while studying abroad. I am one of the few Namibians who has this type of skills in water engineering. Migration has changed me, what I have seen in Russia with water catchments for example, made me to realize that there are a lot of things that we can also do in Namibia.*

He is also interested in directly transferring his new knowledge to the village environment.

*I have now bought a piece of land in the north and I am farming. I want to show that we can cultivate different types of crops, not just mahangu. My experience of living away and studying make me to think that. I could see that it is possible to cultivate other types of crops and now I have also more technical experience.*

Transferring the information is not an easy task. He acknowledges the difficulties of changing the mind set of those living in the rural areas, particularly when it comes to agriculture. However, by proving to be successful, he managed to achieve his objectives.

*I tried to talk to family members also to convince them to cultivate other type of crops. They initially laughed at me, but now that I am starting to harvest, they also want to do the same because they saw it was possible.*

The community also perceives him differently. There is a sense of distance determined by the new professional status, and he gains respect. He is also a motive of inspiration for the young generation and uses his skills to the benefit of the village.

*In the village if I do something differently than the way it should be done or it is use to do, they say: You know why? That is because he has been abroad for many years. The people in the community got inspired by me, I am often invited to give motivational speech at the schools, so the learners can see there are other and new opportunities, that there is the possibility to study abroad. One guy from my village has gone to study in Russia, and now is a medical doctor. I am also a Board member of my home local school and I help in fundraising.*

Based on the respondent's indications it is possible to corroborate the findings from other respondents, seconding the argument that there is a direct link between migration and development.

*I am a member of the Namibian society of Engineers and mobilising youth to take up engineering and address socio-economic challenges, I provide job to young people at my village like builder, bricklayers and general work (farming work)".*

The narrative of respondent 3 situates him in the description of what Cerase (1974), analysing the behavior of the Italian migrants returning home, defined as the “*return of innovator*”. The term refers to those migrants that were “*prepared to make use of all the means and new skills they have acquired during their migratory experiences*”, (p 25). This finding is consistent with an abundant literature indicating the existence of a direct connection between economic and social remittances, and validating the role of social remittances in sustaining the community development (Vari-Lavoisie, 2016).

Participant 5a's description captures the same phenomenon of a young male of 30, single, and who regarded the migration experience as an occasion to grow.

*Greater opportunities have come my way. I was able to venture into business where I am getting extra money.*

He utilises this opportunity to invest in the village, setting up a business. Consequently, he created employment opportunities for the members of the community, but most importantly, raised the migrant's status.

*I am active [in the community] in the sense of creating employment through the venture I have started. This provided me the opportunity to employ people and to contribute to their wellbeing, and has given me respect from community.*

This is an indication that migration through the social remittances can have a direct economic return in the areas of origin of the migrants, hence affirming the point of view of those linking migration with economic development (Grabowska & Engbersen, 2014; Levitt & Nieves 2011).

#### *8.1.4 The migrant - community social transformations*

Participant 2's story helps to contextualise the social changes in the home place of the migrants, from a gender perspective. She indicates that migration has opened her mind and offered new opportunities.

*There is learning in travelling, I am more broad-minded, open for new experiences and appreciate the diversity of this world. I try to communicate with other and explain that through education you can achieve all in life, but it is difficult, they prefer to sit and wait for your assistance rather than taking the life in their hands.*

She, like the other respondents, acts as an agent of change by transferring the knowledge she has acquired to the siblings and the community's members in the village. Although she acknowledges that change is slow, she explains the change in attitude towards her.

*They [the siblings and the other family members] regard me as an adult, even those that are older than me; I am more respected as the owner (head) of the house. In the village they look at you [her] differently; most of the people respect you more, they assume that you have made it in life, even if it not always the case.*

She has gained respect from the new responsibilities and witnesses a change in her status to that of an adult. As a woman she feels empowered. Because of this new situation she attempts to change the female stereotypes levelled against women. She nevertheless, recognises that it is not a simple task to achieve, especially outside the family setting.

*They respect me more because of my role and responsibilities, I can decide and give advice, which I did not do before. In a normal context they would look at a woman as less important than a man. Now that you are educated, and a provider, they look at you with more respect; this is because in general a breadwinner is considered with more respect.*

*At home I teach the kids that girls can achieve the same things of the boys, but it is difficult to change the mind set outside the family context where the setting particularly among the elderly people, is still the same, with the stereotype that the woman is inferior to the man. It takes time to change people mind, one cannot expect the change to happen in few years. Outside the family, even if you are more educated than the one at the village, there are still people who regard my brother more than me, even if he is not educated and does not contribute much home.*

A comparison of participant 2's home village experience, and her reflexive assessment, with that of participant 1 and the other female respondents, exudes a common sense of empowerment understood as 'conscientization.' According to Freire (1973), this empowerment is the capacity of the women to critically challenge their 'subordinated' condition, and actively engaging in the debate to modify it. At the same time, one realises the agent-structure interaction, where the participant, the agent, individually takes cognisance of the fact that the self, and her path to empowerment is "*negotiated within the stringent structural constraints*" (Yu, 2007, p. 33).

Participant 6a, also presents a narrative which shows her willingness to challenge the gender '*status quo*', and, at the same time, to be active in addressing the national social economic imbalances.

*I have seen how the world is going forward, not like before. I decided to come up with different ideas making sure I will work hard for my goals. I hope by vision 2030<sup>50</sup> I would have changed everything in my place bringing a new development. Now I have seen that I can do something when it come to the development of our country; I could become someone important everywhere, someone who could change the situation.*

Such confidence is premised on her feeling of empowerment as a women; she is conscious that the migration movement affects the men-women relationships and that there is an attitude of hostility towards women by men, but her experience proves that becoming a breadwinner may help reduce this imbalance, shifting the woman's position upwards.

*People believe that a woman cannot leave a house because the man would not believe she went to earn a living but to look for something else; they may end up in disagreement with each other and affecting the relationship very badly. In my case i have shown that this is not true.*

*It is me that has determined the changes because now their situation [of family] can be compared with that of a family with very good standard of living; they do not struggle like before in term of paying education for the younger children and to buy school uniforms for them.*

A further examining of participant 2's narrative also shows that the relationship with the community has conflicting elements. For instance, even if she is not very active in the village, she assists the most vulnerable. Interestingly, this has determined a change in the way she is considered by the other people living in the village.

*For Christmas I give away food, old clothing and other supplies to the people in the village. They think that you are better than them but that is not the case. They think that now you are not going to act in the same way as before because you are from town.*

She's disturbed because both her family, and some community members take advantage of the situation, a phenomenon that has been observed often in the case of international migration, as if the money earned away from the village is not hard earned, and hence can be distribute as a gift, (Kurein, 2008).

---

<sup>50</sup> *Vision 2030* is a government policy to promote and foster development in the country.

*They [family members] rely on you entirely and do not do any effort to find alternative solutions; this is frustrating for me. You end up spending more on them than on you, which is stressful. They [community's members] always ask for money, or food and want favour from you, as you own them something.*

Ultimately, the interaction with the external structure for the negotiation of the self becomes more challenging, and in the end discourages her from further engagements, and reduces the assistance provided to them.

Participant 1a, introduces another element in the female social mobility analysis; she comes from a humble family setting and providing financial support to the family has already changed her position in the family. Being financially independent has meant that the community as well now accepts her, and her status among the village's members has also changed.

*I did not have proper clothes to wear for the Sunday's functions, now I can buy and I can go and socialise with people while this I could not do it before.*

She does not feel ashamed of being seen in public gatherings, and this means that she is more accepted by the community and her self-esteem is also increased.

Participant 11, is very active in his home village, taking part in and supporting many social events and initiatives. His narrative echoes the description of the previous respondents concerning the respect obtained by the community members. It also confirms the existence of a divide between the returnees, and the members of the community based on a perceived difference in status.

*The relationship with the other members of the community has changed both in positive and negative terms. When I compare myself with those that have not moved I can see that I am different, not only for the fact that I am more educated, but because I am more considered. I am consulted when there is something important to discuss, or to support some of the initiatives that are done in the village. We have just completed a new church, and I was asked to be present at the inauguration, if there are manual works to do, such as to cut trees or put up a fence, the elders do not ask me because of the high respect they have in me. In this way I can say that accepting the suggestions I give to them the village is changing.*

*On the other hands some of the people in the community feel that now I am too big for them, and are afraid to be near to me, because now they think that I am superior, although I do not treat them differently.*

Participant 12 supports various households in the local community. Her narrative of the way in which the community's relationship has been shaped following her migration experience, depicts the same ambiguity between recognition and deference described by the other respondents, and offers additional critical elements in explaining the phenomenon.

*I try to help those who are in the village, even if they are not part of my family. I help elderly people and the neighbors; I do that because they do not have anyone who can help them. I buy them staff when I buy for my family and bring to them as well. This also because it is not nice if you are better off not to support other in needs; it does not make you to feel nice if your neighbor is poor.*

The initial apparent indirect outcome of her actions is the community appreciation, "they respect me more". On the other hand, there exists the sense of apparent conflict between the urbanite migrant, who has undergone a process of acculturation and assimilation, and those left behind in the rural setting (Bhugra & Becker, 2004).

*The way you look, the better clothes you wear, the fact that you can change your hairstyle and even the way you speak and laugh is now different. There is a "you and them". Your peers, may feel intimidated by this new way you look, and even the conversation is now different, for example my mother and sisters they speak of what happened at the shabeen<sup>51</sup>, who insulted who etc., so you find no words to contribute; and even when they speak of the facts that happened in the world, their understanding it is totally the opposite of what has happened. If you try to make them reason otherwise, they do not budge and by doing that it is as if you want to show that you are better than the other people.*

She is conscious of her own transformation and of the difficulty of communication with the parents and the other members of the community, but this does not prevent her from interacting with her peers and constructively engaging with them.

---

<sup>51</sup> The shabeen is a local tavern, often the major meeting point in the village.

*So when you move away from your homestead and stay away for a while, your life there [in the village] will not be the same any more. However the communication with the peers and other interested people remains open and it is with those that I share the information and those are the one who most benefitted from me, and what I can bring to the village in terms of knowledge and information.*

Paradoxically, despite the perceived differences between the returnee and the members of the community, these do not determine social discrimination and spatial segregation, as often is in the case with the international returnee migrants, (Guarzino, 1996). On the contrary, there is an attempt to confront and help to ameliorate the community. As indicated by participant 9a, he too, is committed to transfer the knowledge acquired abroad back in the family, and in the community.

*I am now a role model, I inspire other in the family and in the community, I engage constantly with home community to transfer what I have learned to them, and everybody respects me.*

However, he tends not to spend much time back home<sup>52</sup>, mostly because he feels that he is now a different person, and this makes people in the community not to understand him. His values and priorities are changed and those who have not had a similar growing experience cannot really understand him.

*Yes, when you become a different person people do not understand you because you see and understand things on a different scale. Like being materialist and investing money or saving.*

Participant 2b complements the respondents' narratives adding substance to the duality of the relationship, migrant-community.

*The one who are left in the village are normally the less educated because they did not go beyond grade 10, but until grade 10 they school together with the one who then continued their study away from the village, so they build a bond among them; they grow up together. It is them that identify the problems that are in the village, and inform the one who are not living here and have the financial possibility to help addressing the problem. For example we have electricity at the school, but not at the shops near to the school, so the one*

---

<sup>52</sup> He is now moved again out of the country to continue with his study at Master level in Milan – Italy.

*living in the village come together with those living in town in order to address this problem, and now also the shops have electricity.*

This narrative describes the migrant as a ‘plural man’ (Lacroix, (2014, p. 15-16), and the agency – structure interplay.

*Individuals possess multiple facets, roles and identity levels. This is all the more so for migrants who have to manage their social positions at destination and origin, ... and are thus to cope with an array of expectations and obligations.*

Migrants’ actions must consider not only their family expectations, but also to comply with community obligations, based on the values that, despite their urban acculturation, continue to be part of the migrant self. Migrants reflexively assess the compliance to the norms; this has a dual faction, attesting the migrant’s personal success in life, and increasing the migrant’s position in the community.

The migrants’ families, benefit as well from the migrants’ change in status, as conveyed by respondent 19’s mother, recorded as participant 2b.

*People look at us differently they are not jealous but somehow they think that we have achieved a lot because the children have gone to school, are better educated, the house is in good condition, we have things that other do not have, and they know that they can come for assistance from us.*

In her narrative participant 12 also indicates that the family is indirectly benefitting from her new status among the peers and other community members, receiving more respect.

*When coming to the perception that others have on my family in the village, it is difficult to say exactly because other people cannot come and see what you are now eating; if we eat better than them or not. There are other things that are there for everyone to notice, for example I do not like that the children that stay at home go to school with no shoes, so I make sure that they always wear them. Of course they go to school with other kids who do not wear shoes and that difference is noticed, and villagers say that we are now better off. As result they also start to treat us better, you are consulted more, they come to ask for your help and assistance, my mother who lives there tell me that and I can see the same when visiting.*

Participant 1b also indicates that the family benefitted from the community's different attitude towards her migrant husband.

*Our status in the community has changed that is not only because I work in the village, but mostly because my husband is known and people come asking for support if they need something, for example they ask assistance to buy bags of maize meal. But also my personal status is changed, before people did not ask financial assistance from the women, they only went to the men, now things have changed, this is not only because I work but also for the reputation that our family now has, they regard me as a man and they know that they can come and ask money from me if they are in needs. During the community discussion or even during church meetings I am also considered more, and sometime they ask me to give speeches.*

The analytical assessment of the respondent narrative indicates the cumulative impact that the migrant change of status within the community has on the other components of the migrant family, regardless of their gender, thus, suggesting that migration can have a general impact in transforming existing gender prejudices.

## **8.2 Conclusion**

This chapter has attempted to present a valid alternative to the prevalent migration literature explaining the drivers to migrate mainly as the result of a combination of the migrant's altruistic reasons and the family rational decision to face external economic adversities. The findings leading to the creation of the category *changing status*, indicate that migration decisions are also influenced by cultural and social factors (de Haan, 1999). The reflexive assessment of the actors, which are a result of the movement, are regarded differently by the family members, the peers and the community members, and should not be underestimated. The concept of *respect* has emerged as a leading conceptual structure of the grounded theory; a respect that the migrants obtain both from the family and the members of the community. While financial remittances appear to be one of the prevalent explanatory factors in the family change of perception; the migrants' direct and indirect social involvement in

the community explicates the respect obtained in the home village by the migrants themselves. The members of the migrants' families benefit as well from this new status acquired by the migrants, being themselves regarded as a point of reference for the collectivity.

The modification of the individual and the collective *gender perceptions* is a further conceptual structure, which is the thesis's grounded theory logic. It equally indicates that the rural to urban movement, through the reflexive assessment of the migrants' experience, modifies the existing social structures.

Women empowerment is twofold, both as the female individual self-acknowledgment of the new role played in the family and in the community context, and as the male recognition of the transformation occurred in the traditional gender role.

## **Chapter 9 Conclusion and Recommendations**

### **9.1 Introduction**

This final chapter summarises the points discussed in the three previous chapters, leading to the emergence of an explanatory framework capturing the internal migration movement in Namibia and the presentation of a substantive theory describing the impact that internal migration has on the migrants and their families.

Starting from the migration history of the participants, in a procedure coherent with the grounded theory constructivist approach (Charmaz, 2006, p.180), the participants have narrated their migration experience providing information and details of the participants' social life (Erol Isik, 2015). Through the mediation of the researcher the narratives have been grounded "*in the social, historical, local and interactional context*", and in this way the emergence of the theory has been strengthened.

The research questions aimed at understanding the similarities between internal and international migration and to assess the impact of internal migration on socio-economic transformation of the Namibian families.

Three main themes have been explored: the *drivers to migrate*, the *remittances*, and the *social impact of migration*.

### **9.2 Constituting a grounded theory of internal migration in Namibia**

The constant comparison process of the data, codes and memos has led to the identification of explanatory categories for each of the themes, which have in turn provided the analytical body for the emergence and the elaboration of the substantive theory regarding the explanation of the Namibian internal migration movement and its effects at family level.

*Drivers to migrate:* Understating the reasons why people migrate internally has allowed the researcher to identify the similarities with the drivers of international migration. The findings have at the same time provided the opportunity of exploring the meaning the migrants have associated with the movement, the family perception and the difficulties experienced by the individuals. The elaboration of these sub-themes has determined the emergence of the personal reasons explaining the migration movement.

Central in the construction of the theory is the conceptual codes of *education accomplishments vs. employment, guilt* and the *construction of the self*. These elements, captured in the category *achieving migration goals*, assisted establishing how the migrants have reflexively negotiated the external structures and reached the decision to move. Rural to urban migration in the Namibian context is not simply the result of a family rational calculation between current costs and expected economic gains resulting from the member movement, but a social act that sees the interaction of a plurality of actors, ultimately affecting their social and economic lives.

*Remittances:* These are essential to assess the socio-economic impact of migration; the angle used to assess them has been extended not just to the economic remittances, but the impact of non-financial remittances has also been considered as an important element in providing an answer to the research question. Under this theme was explored the way in which the migrants' families have used the financial resources provided to them. In addition, families' direct experiences, and visual observation have been compared with the migrants own description of the remittance experience.

The exploration of this theme has been helpful in understanding the reasons, which determine the migrants' financial transfers, and ultimately the nexus migration –

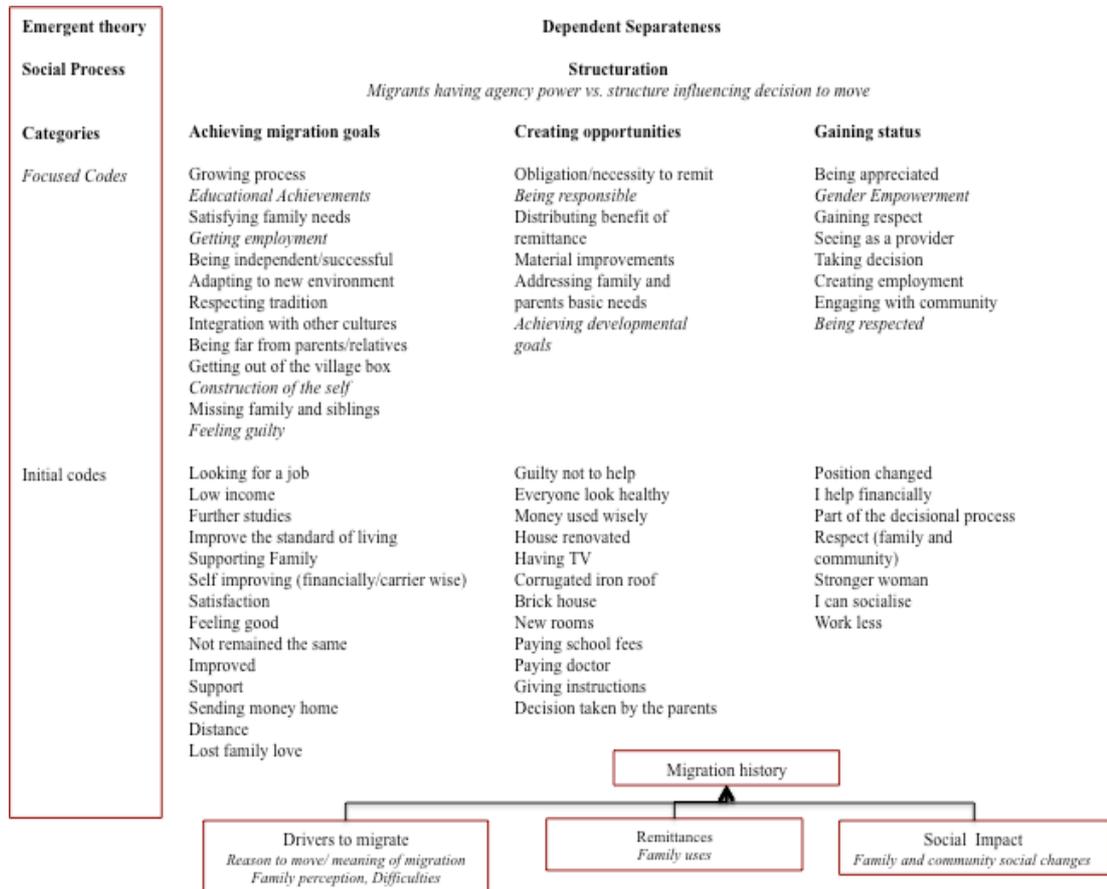
development. The emergence of the conceptual code of *responsibility* has proved to be an essential element in the elaboration of the substantive theory of the Namibian internal migration. It has assisted to rationalize the migrants' motives to remit and, at the same time, the concept of responsibility appears to be the thread that links the other conceptual codes, and on the whole, explains the migrants' motives to move. This aspect addressed issues affecting the *developmental impact* of remittances untimely associated with the category named *creating opportunities*.

*Social impact of migration* This theme has explored the social transformation in both the migrant's family, and in the home community. The transformation is a result of the participants' movement from the rural to the urban areas. The constant comparison of the data, codes and categories, all analytically determined, have led to the emergence of a crucial category identified as gaining status, which, through a process of deeper abstraction represents the voices of the migrants themselves. It also captures the contextual experiences of the participants and their families, and offers a sociological understanding of the migration phenomenon.

The conceptual code of *attaining respect*, from both the family members and the community, appears to be central in the observed overall pattern of social transformation which occurs as result of the migrants' movement. *Gender empowerment* is the main direct and indirect outcome of this change of status. In the same way, the existing traditional norms are reflexively assessed by the migrants in light of the newly acquired status which prevents the emergence of conflicts in the community, ultimately leading to the creation of a mutual beneficial situation for both the migrants and the home community.

Table 20 summarises the most representative codes and links the themes to the categories via the identification of initial and focused codes that have led to the construction to the substantive theory.

Table 20 The emergence of the theory



### 9.2.1 Drivers to migrate

The Namibian’s findings suggests that *education accomplishment* is a contributory factor in explaining the rural to urban movement. Most of the respondents moved to the urban areas at a young age, either to have access to education, beyond primary level, at secondary and tertiary level, or to upgrade their secondary level results. This pattern is in line with what the literature on rural youth migration has indicated; under specific circumstances, young people move to urban centres due to the lack of rural schools or to access to better schooling opportunities (Deotti & Estruch, 2016;

Elder, de Haas, Principi & Schewel, 2015).

In the Namibian case, the historical difficulties of transforming the subsistence rural sector into a commercial one, and the expectation that education opens access to better and more job opportunities, animated the parents, who supported and encouraged the children in the decision to move. Linking schooling and job opportunities was mostly an implicit assumption in the narrative of the Namibian respondents, both on the side of the migrants and their parents.

The researcher's reflexive interaction with the participant's narrative, particularly when assessing the migrant's *construction of the self*, highlights the weakness of explaining the migrant decision only in the context of a family strategy. It appears that the participants' decisions to migrate, even if, and when structurally determined, because they had little alternatives, were always combined with the individual's personal expectations. Moving in search of *employment* opportunities, or answering to a job offer, cannot be, in the researcher's assessment, automatically associated with a family strategy to cope with structural economic adversities; unless the movement is associated with the feeling of *guilt* and *responsibility*, as expressed by the respondents. It is through them that the migrants maintain the links with the family, and the community setting. Expanding Baldassar's (2010, paragraph 4) hypothesis that "*the act of migration, by causing physical separation, absence and longing, places the migrant in a difficult moral bind... [and] motivates them to stay in touch*", the analytical observation of the respondent narrative makes the researcher to conclude that it is the feeling of guilt for leaving the often ageing parents, the siblings, or their infant children, that strengthens the migrants' decision to remit.

The description of the respondents confirms the quantitative findings shown in Table 12 of Chapter 5, indicating that 44 per cent of the respondents moved for educational

purposes, ultimately leading to the attainment of a job. However, it is noted that movement occurs particularly when associated with the decision to upgrade the secondary level results, or pursuing tertiary education, from the participant's migration history, was apparent that the decision to move was the result of the individual's reflexive assessment over the parents' expectation. Moving out of the village, looking for independence and using the movement as an opportunity to be exposed to the modern world, is what led to the migrants' *construction of the self*.

The migrant's sense of responsibility helped mediating between the urbanite migrant and the traditional norms, ensuring a balance between agency and structure, which affected the outcomes of the migration experience. In other words, migration, particularly when focusing on the rural to urban movements, is consistent with the social structures and norms, but the reflexive assessment of the migrant experience influences, modifies and reconstructs, these social structures and norms. In this way, the agency - structure perspective suggested in the thesis as an explanatory conceptual structure, proposes a different framework to the prevailing economic description of the migrants' decisions to move.

### 9.2.2 *Remittances*

The concept of *responsibility* proved to be stronger than the one of *guilt*, which is a component of the former. Assisting the parents, and often the extended family members, i.e, being responsible, is part of the social and cultural norms of most traditional society. It is based on the existence and the strength of these family ties that the NELM theory regards the decision to migrate as a family strategy to cope with external stresses (Massey et al., 1998). Financial remittances appear, in this approach, to be the way to honour the unwritten contract between them (Fleischer, 2006). What emerges in the elaboration of this constructivist grounded theory of

migration is the recognition that the concept of *responsibility* transcends the motive to migrate. Taking care of the family members and concurrently providing financial assistance to them, would have occurred even if the prospective migrant had not moved, or had got a job at the home place. Adapting Lacroix's (2014, p. 21) observation that economic (collective) "*remittances in different forms can be understood as a type of communicative action ... a way of expressing their [the migrants] interpretation of the rights and duties attached to their role of migrant*", the narratives of the Namibian migrants indicate that individual financial remittances have a similar purpose. Besides providing material benefits to the family, financial remittances are a way to fulfill the individual's responsibilities in line with the social and traditional norms, and simultaneously, a way to modify their status in the family and community social structure. This means that financial remittances can be simultaneously motivated by relational dynamics and economic concerns; this conclusion is important to better contextualise, from an interdisciplinary perspective, the overall impact of financial, and non-financial remittances at the family and community level.

The *developmental impact* of financial remittances in the case of the Namibian internal rural to urban movement has initially emerged from the descriptive analysis of the quantitative data presented in Chapter 5. The analytical elaboration resulting from the face to face interviews of the selected participants, and the visual observations, using a constructivist grounded theory approach, have vividly confirmed the quantitative finding, providing further empirical evidence of the nexus migration – development while contributing to the rise of a grounded theory of migration in Namibia.

Findings from the Namibian respondents appears to contrast the critics of the

beneficial developmental impact of remittances, who have instead stressed their limited spill-over effects in the community (Datta, et al. 2006), or their unproductive family consumption uses (Kofman, 2006), resulting in a limited impact on the social mobility of the migrants and their families (Taborga 2008).

The reflexive analytical interpretation of the findings, concurs with Duran (1994) and Goldring (2004, p. 59), that “*remittances are not a unitary package*”, allows moving away from the sectorial academic distinction between productive vs. nonproductive remittances towards a multidimensional assessment of the way remittances are used. The empirical findings indicate that financial remittances, besides being used for daily family needs, serve a plurality of purposes. Additionally, even when merely used for direct consumption, as indicated by some of the respondents, the extra cash available has allowed the family to engage in alternative uses of the limited financial resources. Overall, it appears that remittances have been spent to create income-generating activities, associated with the agriculture and the retail sector, and in human capital advancements, investing in the children’s education and in health. These uses do have a broader developmental impact, both for the family, the community and the country as a whole. It would be difficult, in fact, to deny the impact that a more educated and healthy population has on the individuals; giving them access to substantive social, economic and political freedom in such a way that the individuals can be actors of their own development, (Sen, 1999). Moving away from the developmental impact of remittance, the reflexive analysis of the findings provides evidence that remittances are part of the structuration process which proposes the duality of the agency–structure relationship. Migrants through the remittances reassert or modify the social position they have either in the family or in the community. This aspect cannot be underscored since, while adding other dents

into the NELM theory of migration as a family strategy, it also broadens the understanding of the drivers to migrate and consequentially of their reasons to remit.

### 9.2.3 *Social impact of migration*

The dominant economic framework for understanding the migrants' decisions has often neglected the social act of migration, the social processes associated with it, and its social consequences. Even the NELM literature in interpreting migration as a family strategy, simplistically assumes that the family is like a single unit with common aims. The emphasis given in the study on the mutual dependency of human agency and social structure helps to have a more holistic approach, facilitating the observation of the interactive dynamics which are part of the migration process (Goodall, 2013).

What surfaced is that migration has a threefold social impact, initially on the migrant self, subsequently on the migrant-family relationship, and lastly on the migrants/migrants' family-community relationships. All of the respondents interviewed, indicated that as a result of the urban experience they changed as individuals, not only because of the financial independence obtained, but the widening of their horizons by living in town and interacting with different people. This was a common feeling among the respondents, ranging from the extreme case of Participant 12, who felt so out of place in the home village and decided to leave the country, to Participant 1, who considered the village as her '*real home*', and opened an economic activity, committed to leave a legacy for the children. The family and the community members do acknowledge the transformation that occurred to those who moved to work in the urban areas. As noted by Teye, Boakye-Yiadom, Awumbila and Yeboah (2016), by providing financial assistance at home, and making investments in the home village the migrants earn the *respect* of both the

household and the community members. Teye et al.'s (2016), conclusions were mainly based on the observation of Western Africa rural to urban migration patterns. The critical analysis of the narratives of the Namibian respondents provides additional information to the described phenomenon. *Respect* is earned not only because of the financial contributions made directly or indirectly by the migrants but appears to be the result of the newly constructed identity of the migrants, formed while living in the urban area. The words used by Participant 5, "*they want to tap from my experience and knowledge*" accurately describes the emerged concept of the social remittances associated with the migrants' change of status. Similarly, the respect the community members pay to the migrant is also reflected on the family; hence it is possible to argue that migration is an additional, or alternative way, to gain status/recognition in the family and in the home community, hence, stimulating social mobility in often traditional static social environments.

Namibian findings provided noteworthy insights associated with the social construction of gender; the act of migration by providing autonomy and independence to female migrants, directly promoting *gender empowerment*.

In the case of the Namibian female respondents, *gender empowerment* emanated directly out of the respect they gained. Similarly, in other empirical cases, financial remittances appeared as the catalyst for sparking the changes in the gendered power relations, (UN-INSTRAW, 2007; Jeffrey, 2010; Rao, 2011). Being respected for being a breadwinner, gave the women more freedom of choices, the opportunity to take decisions within the family, and the confidence to participate more actively in the community and public discussions. On a broader perspective, the critical elaboration of the narrative of the male migrants shows that the acculturation

processes to which they have also been exposed, and their personal migration experiences, indirectly facilitate the transformation of the traditional gender roles.

As suggested in the previous section, the concept of *responsibility* indicates that migration is embedded in the social and family rules, which strengthens the decision to move; the agency on the other hand, through the reflexive observation of the act of migration, is able to influence the social structures and to start a process leading to their reconstruction and modification (de Haan, 2000).

### **9.3 Conclusion: Dependent Separatness**

What is the contribution of this research to the formation of the knowledge of the migratory phenomenon? The initial research objectives, intended to establish if the internal migrants, in their drive to move from the rural to the urban areas, were led by the same goals of the international migrants; successively investigating the nexus migration-development under the lens of the impact of migration on the family wellbeing and on the family relationships.

With regard to the first question the findings indicate that there are similarities between the drivers of internal and international migrants; apparently both are motivated by economic reasons. The result went however, beyond the original objectives, indicating that, in the case of the Namibian internal migrants there is more in explaining the migration experience. The structure agency perspective offered an alternative to the dominant economic framework traditionally used to explain the migrants' decisions to move. From this angle the findings have highlighted the multifaceted connections between the migrants and their families, which emerge as a result of the migration movement.

Giddens' (1984) structuration approach, which emphasises the mutual dependency of agency and social structure, has served as an explanatory framework of the social

processes observed. The relationship between the capacity and the role of the agency migrant, and the structure, the social norms that affects this capacity have been assessed. In terms of the agency-structure duality, in investigating the drivers to migrate, the participants' narratives do not lead to the emergence of supremacy of the structural circumstances over the agency expectation, this led to the belief that the family economic conditions are not the only reasons, which determine the movement. Without overlooking the agency capacity to make the decision, even in the presence of modest economic family conditions, the findings led to the belief that individuals had a predominant role in the decision to move. Migration does not appear as a collective decision taken by the migrant's family in response to the poor economic conditions, as proposed by the NELM scholars. At the same time what emerges is that the movement is also not the result of a rational economic calculation of the individual, and/or the family but rather that the movement is consistent with the social norms. Moving to town, in other words, is considered as a rite of passage, something which is necessary to gain independence from the family. The agency migrant is at the same time *dependent* on the social norms, but looks for, and creates, a *separateness* environment, balancing the responsibilities towards the family and their own personal plans. The social norms are embedded in the migrant self, but when coming to the decision to move, the agency acts to achieve their own personal objectives, which are not limited to the financial satisfaction. In this way the migration decision is also *separated* from the structural constraints. The experiences and knowledge assimilated during the migration process influence the social structures and norms, and contribute to their reconstruction to fit to the new self.

An important finding which strengthens the role that personal expectations have in the decision to migrate, often under-investigated in the international migration

studies is the impact of migration on the migrant position in the family and community structure. Social mobility emerged as the most relevant effect of migration on the family structures and in the home community; an indication that both the social and the economic reasons have relevance in explaining the drivers to migrate. Also noted is the capacity of migration to transform the external social structures. These findings also provided an indirect answer to the second research question particularly the part focusing on the impact of migration on the family social structures

A finding that was not expected to show a strong connotation both as a motive and an outcome of migration was gender empowerment. The women respondents indicated that they moved to town also to be independent and “free” from family constraints, As result of the movement they often obtain financial independence and, more important social consideration. The modification of the individual and collective *gender perceptions* indicates that the rural to urban movement, through the reflexive assessment of the migrants’ experience, modifies the existing social structures. Women empowerment is twofold, firstly, as a self-acknowledgment of the new role they play in the family and in the community, and secondly, as a result of the male recognition of the transformation in the traditional gender roles. Based on this consideration it appears that the gendered nature of migration could therefore constitute the base for future ad hoc studies in the country.

With regard to the second research question, the impact that migration has on the socio-economic transformation on the Namibian family, the findings validate the existence of the nexus migration-development both at micro and macro levels. At micro level financial and non-financial remittances have a pivotal role in sustaining the migrants’ family members beyond the satisfaction of their material needs and in

creating an enabling environment that capacitates them. At macro level the findings have indicated that migrants do engage in productive investments and transfer their knowledge and skills to the family and community members, resulting in a larger economic spill-over effect. At least with regard to the Namibian case, the findings seem to indicate that rural to urban migration has an important economic and social role at family level and, as a result, migration can have an impact in transforming the rural context. On a local level, understanding both the motives to migrate and the impact that migration has on the rural areas may help policy makers in developing appropriate strategies to address the existing structural economic and social imbalances and reduce the pressure on the urbanites. This is particularly useful, and urgent in a country like Namibia, where the urban population, since independence has shown a staggering increase<sup>53</sup>, and is projected to surpass the rural population by the year 2020 (NSA, 2014).

On a methodological note, the findings, in the logic of the constructivist grounded theory, try to represent the participants' migration histories but are the result of the researcher reflexive interpretation of their narratives.

In the course of the investigation the researcher's reflexivity has had a double role, having personally experienced migration, and being an academic scholar of the subject. Knowing migration first hand and as a scholar, has allowed the researcher to understand the world of the respondents and to engage with them from a similar platform, despite the different cultural backgrounds, and the personal motivation to migrate. The academic training and experience have, however permitted to maintain the necessary distance from the subject investigated, reducing as much as possible the influence of prior knowledge in the construction of the theory.

---

<sup>53</sup> NSA estimate that urban population will 1,295,850 compared to 1,068,625 living in the rural areas, (NSA, 2014).

The researcher is aware that the elements emerged in the elaboration of the substantive theory are simply an early layer of analytical thoughts. To build an accurate grounded theory of migration will require engaging in additional and more comprehensive studies that further investigate the social drivers to migrate and assess the socio-economic effects of rural-urban migration on rural areas in developing countries. Although it was not the aim of the research to provide a general theory of migration, which could be used to explain both the internal and international human mobility, the research provides an analytical framework which could be used to investigate the migration experience in different social and economic contexts.

#### **9.4 Recommendations**

The research findings offer some valuable insights on the rural to urban movement. With migration providing direct job opportunities for the migrants, it not only contributes to poverty reduction, but it also expands the migrants and their families' capabilities, and indirectly sustains the national economy.

These conclusions can then be transformed into recommendations that may inform the public policies on Namibia migration and on future strategies of economic development.

The quantitative and qualitative empirical results highlight that migrants contribute significantly to the family disposable income, and the guilt/responsibility feeling of the migrants ensures that family members' left behind receive financial and non-financial transfers.

On the one hand, firstly the quantitative results indicate that most of the respondents assist the family members in the rural areas, with both cash and other material goods. This has a direct impact on the family's general wellbeing because of the financial and in-kind remittances. On the whole, the household has more financial resources,

which can be used to fully address the primary basic needs of education, health and safety that are often neglected due to the paucity of funds available.

Secondly, financial remittances are not simply used to acquire consumer goods, but also for productive investments, both in the traditional subsistence agricultural sectors, (i.e. the tractor bought by respondent 11 used in the family's field and rented to the neighbours) and in the commercial modern agricultural sector.

On the other hand, as indicated by the qualitative findings, social remittances such as the improved knowledge and skills acquired by the migrants during their staying in the urban areas, coupled with the start-up capital provided by the migrants, encourage the birth of small retail business initiatives; activities that are not always run by family members but employs local villagers. In this form, while directly increasing the income of the migrant's family, the business activities created by the migrants, contribute to reducing unemployment in the area, alleviating poverty and indirectly reducing it, and in the long run eliminating, one of the potential drives of the rural to urban migration movements.

These observations can be transferred in the following recommendations:

- First, one should notice that policies that seek to halt rural to urban migration are difficult to implement, and do not consider the positive dynamics and the spill-over effects set in place by the migration movement both in the urban and, moreover, in the rural areas.
- The majority of the rural migrants settle in informal urban locations; the fear and menace of eviction causes disruptions to the new life they are trying to re-create, and to the families they are supporting in the rural areas when their livelihoods fail. For this reason, it is necessary to find alternative solutions to informal settlement evictions, by upgrading them, increasing the availability

of affordable housing, and facilitating the access to basic services for the migrants living there. This means these initiatives will have a side effect benefitting the urban poor as well.

Ignoring the plea of the informal urban settlers will not reduce the rural to urban movements since, as the findings of this research indicate, the economic motives are not the only drives to migration, and if no other suitable and affordable alternatives are offered to them they will end up settling in the informal urban areas. By implementing such a recommendation, the government will also fulfill the realization of target 11 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG)<sup>54</sup>.

- Migrants should be encouraged to invest more in the rural areas, a mix of *ad hoc* fiscal and financial incentives could be instrumental to achieve such objectives.
- Considering that the distance of the family members left behind in the rural areas, is one of the major constraints for the rural migrants both emotionally and economically, more attention should be given to policies aimed at improving the transport infrastructure and strengthening alternative forms of transport to the prevailing road system (i.e. enlarging the coverage of the rail system). Making long distance travelling safer and cheaper will benefit the whole population while at the same time more efficient transport systems will have a significant impact on the growth of the economy and on employment creation.

---

<sup>54</sup> By 2030, ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums.

- Lastly, policies should be put in place to encourage the use of institutional financial systems to transfer remittances, giving particular attention to the reduction of the transaction costs associated with the use of electronic transfers.

These recommendations do not imply that the government should not continue to focus on rural growth but simply that the rural migrants' contribution to development should not be underestimated, instead they should be included in the national rural development policies. At the same time, more attention should be given to the informal urban areas where the majority of rural migrants live, and provide them with proper social protection.

## References

- Adams, R. H., & Cuecueca, A. (2010). Remittances, household expenditure and investment in Guatemala. *World Development*, 38, 1626–1641.
- Adams, R. H., Cuecueca, A., & Page, J. (2008). *Remittances, Consumption and Investment in Ghana*. The World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 4515 Retrieved June 10, 2015, from [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1093127](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1093127)
- Adepoju, A. (1988). Links between internal and international migration: the African situation. In C. Stahl (Ed.), *International migration today, volume 2 Emerging issues* (pp. 34-45). University of Western Australia: UNESCO.
- African Union. (2004). *Plan of Action on the Family in Africa*. Addis Ababa: African Union.
- Agarwala, A. N., & Sing, S. P. (Eds.), (1988). *The economics of underdevelopment*. (11<sup>th</sup> Ed.), Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Age, L. (2011). Grounded theory methodology: Positivism, hermeneutics, and pragmatism. *The Qualitative Report*, 16(6), 1599-1615. Retrieved September 2, 2017, from <http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol16/iss6/8>
- Aggarwal, R. Demirgüç-Kunt, A., & Martines Peira, M. S. (2006). *Do workers' remittances promote financial development? Evidence from a panel of developing countries*. (Policy Research Working Paper 3957). Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Ahmed, S. (1999). Home and away: Narratives of migration and estrangement. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 2, (3), 329-347. Retrieved October 22, 2017, from <http://ics.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/2/3/329>

- Ajaero C. K., & Onokala P. C. (2013). The Effects of Rural-Urban Migration on Rural Communities of Southeastern Nigeria. *International Journal of Population Research*. Volume 2013, Article ID 610193, 1-10 Retrieved September 9, 2015, from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1155/2013/610193>
- Alcántara, C., Chen, C. N., & Alegríad, M. (2014). Do post-migration perceptions of social mobility matter for Latino immigrant health? *Social Science & Medicine*, 101, 94–106. Retrieved October 20, 2017, from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4041158/>
- Alemu, G., Stevens, B., Ross, P., & Chandler, J. (2015). The use of a constructivist grounded theory method to explore the role of socially-constructed metadata (Web 2.0) approaches. *Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in Libraries*, 4, 517-540. Retrieved January 10, 2016, from [http://www.qqml.net/papers/September\\_2015\\_Issue/433QQML\\_Journal\\_2015\\_Alemu\\_517-540.pdf](http://www.qqml.net/papers/September_2015_Issue/433QQML_Journal_2015_Alemu_517-540.pdf)
- Alkire, S. (2008). Choosing dimensions: The capability approach and multidimensional poverty. In N. Kakwani, & J. Silber (Eds.), *The Many Dimensions of Poverty* (pp. 88-119). Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan. Retrieved October 1, 2015, from [https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/8862/1/MPRA\\_paper\\_8862.pdf](https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/8862/1/MPRA_paper_8862.pdf)
- Allen, M. (2011). Violence and voice: using a feminist constructivist grounded theory to explore women's resistance to abuse. *Qualitative Research*, 11, (1), 23-45.
- Alvarez Tinajero, S. P., & Sinatti, G. (2011). *Migration and development: A bottom-up approach*. (A Handbook for Practitioners and Policymakers) Brussels Office:

UN/UNDP Retrieved October 23, 2014, from  
[www.migration4development.org](http://www.migration4development.org).

Ammassari, S. (2004). From nation building to entrepreneurship: The impacts of élite return migrants in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. *Population and Space*, March 2004. Retrieved September 10, 2017, from  
<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/227680816>

Amoateng, A. Y. (2007). Toward a conceptual framework for families and households. In A. Y. Amoateng, & F. B. Heaton (Eds.), *Families and households in post apartheid South Africa. Socio demographic perspectives*, (pp. 27-42). Cape Town: HSCR Press.

Amoateng, A.Y., & Richter, L. M. (2007). Social and economic context of families and households in South Africa. In A. Y. Amoateng, & T. B. Heaton (Eds.), *Families and households in post-apartheid South Africa: Socio-demographic perspectives*, (pp. 1-26). Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Andreouli, E. (2010). Identity, positioning and self-other relations. *Papers on Social Representations*, 19, 14.1-14.13. Retrieved October 6, 2017, from  
[http://psych1.lse.ac.uk/psr/PSR2010/19\\_14Andreouli.pdf](http://psych1.lse.ac.uk/psr/PSR2010/19_14Andreouli.pdf)

Antman, F. (2013). The impact of Migration on Family Left Behind. In A. Constant, & K. F. Zimmermann (Eds.), *International Handbook on the Economics of Migration* (pp. 293-308). Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.

Anyanwu, J. C., & Erhijakpor, A.E.O.(2010). Do international remittances affect poverty in Africa? *African Development Review*, 22(1), 51– 91.

Arango, J. (2000). Explaining migration: A critical view. *International Social Science Journal*, 52(165), 283-296.

- Arango, J. (2003). La explicación teórica de las migraciones: Luz y Sombra. *Migración y Desarrollo*. Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México. Retrieved July 10, 2017, from [http://pendientedemigracion.ucm.es/info/gemi/descargas/articulos/42ARANGO\\_La\\_Explicacion\\_Teorica\\_Migraciones\\_Luces\\_Sombras.pdf](http://pendientedemigracion.ucm.es/info/gemi/descargas/articulos/42ARANGO_La_Explicacion_Teorica_Migraciones_Luces_Sombras.pdf).
- Araujo, A. E., Masagca, J. T., Ibardaloza E. T., Salih, D. DB, De Leon, C. G., & Lopez, M. M. (2015). Constructivist grounded theory approach in understanding couples' perceived fairness of gendered division of labor: Implications on Marxist feminist approach and third wave feminist thought. *International Journal of Social Science Studies* 3(5),161-171. Redfame Publishing.
- Baldassar, L. (2010). *The guilt trip: Emotions and motivation in migration and transnational caregiving*. (Migration Working Group, 8<sup>th</sup> December 2010) European University Institute. Retrieved October 10, 2017, from <https://www.eui.eu/Documents/RSCAS/Research/MWG/201011/12-08-Baldassar.pdf>.
- Banequisto, L. (2008). *Open coding*. The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Method: London.
- Banerjee, B. (1981). Rural-urban migration and family ties: An analysis of family considerations in migration behaviour in India. *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics*. 43(4), 321-355.
- Barajas, A., Chami, R., Fullenkamp, C., Gapen, M., & Montiel. P. (2009). *Do workers' remittances promote economic growth?* (IMF Working Paper No. 09/153), Washington DC: International Monetary Fund.

- Baran, P. A. (1988). On the political economy of backwardness. In A. N. Agarwala, & S. P. Sing (Eds.), *The economics of underdevelopment* (11<sup>th</sup> Ed. pp. 75-92). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baratta, L. (2016, March 15). Con i Balcani bloccati, la Spagna ora teme lo spostamento della rotta dei migranti. Linkiesta. Retrieved July, 10, 2016, from <http://www.linkiesta.it/it/article/2016/03/15/con-i-balconi-bloccati-la-spagna-ora-teme-lo-spostamento-della-rotta-d/29614/>
- Bauer, T., & Zimmermann, K. F. (1999). *Assessment of possible migration pressure and its labour market impact following EU enlargement to central and eastern Europe*. Retrieved November 10, 2016, from <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130401151715/http://www.education.gov.uk/publications/eOrderingDownload/RR139.pdf>
- Baumeister, R. F. Stillwell A. M., & Heatherton, T. F., (1994). Guilt: An interpersonal approach. *Psychological Bulletin*, 115(2), 243-267.
- Bebbington, A. (1999). Capitals and capabilities: A framework for analyzing peasant viability, rural livelihoods and poverty. *World Development*, 27(12) 2021- 2044. Retrieved April 1, 2014, from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.589.495&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Beissenova A. A., Duisenova S. M., & Muslimova K. S. (2013). Influence of education on social structure of society (on materials of focus group research and in-depth interviews). *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 82, 813-817. Retrieved September 25, 2017, from [https://ac.els-cdn.com/S1877042813014213/1-s2.0-S1877042813014213-main.pdf?\\_tid=5751c7e6-a79a-11e7-8ce3-00000aab0f27&acdnat=1506966879\\_b8c79284d8650a73865e1228d0c68a95](https://ac.els-cdn.com/S1877042813014213/1-s2.0-S1877042813014213-main.pdf?_tid=5751c7e6-a79a-11e7-8ce3-00000aab0f27&acdnat=1506966879_b8c79284d8650a73865e1228d0c68a95)

- Bell M., & Charles-Edwards E. (2013). *Cross-national comparisons of internal migration: An update on global patterns and trends*. (Technical Paper No. 2013/1). New York: United Nation. Retrieved July 2, 2014, from <http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/pdf/technical/T2013-1.pdf>
- Bell, M., & Muhidin, S. (2009). *Cross-national comparisons of internal migration*. Human Development Research Paper 2009/30, UNDP. Retrieved July 2, 2014, from [http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdrp\\_2009\\_30.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdrp_2009_30.pdf)
- Bengtson, V. L. (2001). Beyond the nuclear family: The increasing importance. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 63, 1-16.
- Berg, E. (1981). *Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington DC: The World Bank.
- Berger, B., & Berger, P.L. (1983). *The war over the family: Capturing the middle ground*. Doubleday: Anchor Press.
- Berthoud, G. (2010). Market. In W. Sachs (Eds.), *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power* (pp.70-87). London: Zed Books.
- Bhugra, D., & Becker, M. A. (2004). Migration, cultural bereavement and cultural identity. *World Psychiatry*, 4, (1), 18-24. Retrieved October 23, 2017, from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1414713/>
- Biddle, C. (2014). *Individualism vs. collectivism: Our future, our choice*. The Objective standard. Retrieved October 9, 2017, from <https://www.theobjectivestandard.com/issues/2012-spring/individualism-collectivism/>
- Black, R., Crush, J., & Peberdy, S. (2006). *Migration and development in Africa: An overview*. Southern African Migration Project: Idasa.

- Boccagni, P., & Decimo, F. (2013). Mapping social remittances. *Migration Letters*, 10(1), 1-10. Retrieved June 10, 2015, from [http://econpapers.repec.org/article/migjournal/v\\_3a10\\_3ay\\_3a2013\\_3ai\\_3a1\\_3ap\\_3a1-10.htm](http://econpapers.repec.org/article/migjournal/v_3a10_3ay_3a2013_3ai_3a1_3ap_3a1-10.htm)
- Bodvarsson, Ö. B., & Van den Berg, H. (2013). *The economics of immigration: Theory and policy*. New York: Springer Media.
- Bracking, S., & Sachikonye, L. (2010). Migrant Remittances and Household Wellbeing in Urban Zimbabwe. *International Migration*, 48(5), 203-227.
- Breckenridge, J., Jones, D., Elliott, I., & Nicol, M. (2012). Choosing a methodological path: Reflections on the constructivist turn. *Grounded theory review*, 1 (11). Retrieved July 12, 2014, from <http://groundedtheoryreview.com/2012/06/01/choosing-a-methodological-path-reflections-on-the-constructivist-turn/>
- Brettell, C., & Hollifield, J., F. (2000). *Migration theory: Talking across disciplines*. New York: Routledge.
- Breuer, F., & Roth, W. M. (2003). Subjectivity and reflexivity in the social sciences: Epistemic windows and methodical consequences. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 4(2), Art. 25, Retrieved July 2, 2014, from <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0302258>.
- Brockhoff, M. (1995). Survival in big cities: The disadvantages of migrants. *Social Science and Medicine*, 40, 1371 -1383.
- Brubaker, R. (2010). Migration, membership, and the modern Nation State: Internal and external dimensions of the politics of belonging. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, xii:1, (Summer, 2010), 61–78. Retrieved November 22, 2014 from

[http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/soc/faculty/brubaker/Publications/Migration\\_membership\\_JIH.pdf](http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/soc/faculty/brubaker/Publications/Migration_membership_JIH.pdf).

- Bryant, A., & Charmaz, K. (2007). Introduction grounded theory research: methods and practices. In A. Bryant, & K. Charmaz (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of grounded theory*, (pp. 1-28). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Bryman, A. (1988). *Quantity and quality in social research*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods* (4<sup>th</sup> Ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Burch, T. K. (1967). The size and structure of families. *American Sociological Review*, 33, 347-363.
- Canning, D., Mitchell, M., Bloom, D. & Kleindorfer, E., L. (undated). *The family and economic development*. Harvard: Institute for International Development.
- Cantisani, G., Farid, S., Pearce, D., & Perrin, N. (2009). *Guide on the compilation of statistics on international migration in the Euro-Mediterranean region*. MEDSTAT.
- Çaro, E., Bailey, A., & Van Wissen, L. J. (2014). Exploring links between internal and international migration in Albania: A view from internal migrants. *Population Place and Space*, 20(3), 264-276.
- Caruso, I., & Venditto, B. (2008). Le migrazioni di transito nel Mediterraneo. In P. Malanima (Eds.), *Rapporto sulle economie del Mediterraneo* (pp. 43-66). Bologna: il Mulino.
- Castles, S. (2001). International migration and the nation-state in Asia. In M.A.B. Siddique (Ed.), *International migration in the 21st Century* (pp. 178-201). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

- Castles, S. (2012). Methodology and methods: Conceptual issues, In M. Berriane, & H. de Haas (Eds.), *African migrations research innovative methods and methodologies* (pp. 31-70), New Jersey: African World Press.
- Castles, S. (2016). Understanding global migration: A social transformation perspective. In A. Amelina, K. Horvath, & B. Meeus (Eds.), *An Anthology of Migration and social transformation: European perspectives* (pp.19-41). Springer International Publishing. Retrieved April 1, 2014, from <https://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/files/events/castles.pdf>
- Castles, S., & Miller, M. (2009). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the modern world*, (4<sup>th</sup> Ed.). Basingstoke, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cerase, F., P. (1974). Expectations and reality: a case study of return migration from the United States to Southern Italy. *International Migration Review* 8(2), 245– 62.
- Chambers, I. (1994). *Migrancy, culture and identity*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Charmaz, K. (2000) Constructivist and Objectivist Grounded Theory, in N. K. Denzin, & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.), Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Charmaz, K. (2001). Grounded theory: Methodology and theory construction. In *International Encyclopedia of the social & behavioral sciences* (pp. 6396-6399). Elsevier Science Ltd.
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory*. London: Sage Publication.
- Charmaz, K. (2008). Constructionism and the grounded theory. In J. A. Holstein, & J. F. Gubrium (Eds.), *Handbook of Constructionist Research* (pp. 297-412). New

- York: The Guilford Press. Retrieved July 12, 2015, from  
[http://www.sxf.uevora.pt/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Charmaz\\_2008-a.pdf](http://www.sxf.uevora.pt/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Charmaz_2008-a.pdf)
- Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory*. (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.). London: Sage  
Publication.
- Chenery, H. (1974). *Redistribution with growth: Policies to improve income  
distribution in developing countries in the context of economic growth*. Oxford:  
Oxford University Press.
- Chimhowu, A. O., Piesse, J., & Pinder, C. (2005). The socioeconomic impact of  
remittances on poverty reduction. In S. M. Maimbo, & D. Ratha (Eds.),  
*Remittances. Development impact and future prospects* (pp.88-102). Washington  
D.C.: The World Bank.
- Chort, I., Gubert, F., & Senne, J. N. (2011). Migrant networks as a basis for social  
control: Remittance incentives among Senegalese in France and Italy. Retrieved  
March 21, 2016, from [https://www.csae.ox.ac.uk/conferences/2011-  
EdiA/papers/653-Senne.pdf](https://www.csae.ox.ac.uk/conferences/2011-EdiA/papers/653-Senne.pdf)
- Chudinovskikh, O. (2011). *Statistics on International Migration A Practical Guide  
for Countries of Eastern Europe and Central Asia*. Geneva: United Nations
- Cialdini, R. B. (2007). Descriptive social norms as underappreciates sources of social  
control. *Psychometrika*, 72(2), 263-268. Retrieved October 7, 2017 from  
[http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.464.6837&rep=rep1&  
type=pdf](http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.464.6837&rep=rep1&type=pdf)
- Clemens, G. (2010). Patterns of translocality: Migration, livelihoods and identities in  
Northwest Namibia. *Sociologus*: 60 (2), 131-161.
- Coffey, A., & Aktinson, P. (1996). *Making sense of qualitative data: Complementary  
research strategies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Cohen, B. (2006). Urbanization in developing countries: Current trends, future projections, and key challenges for sustainability. *Technology in Society*, 28, 63–80. Retrieved July 2, 2014, from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.120.7666&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Colman, D., & Nixon, F. I. (1994). *Economics of change in less developed countries*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Cooper, A. D. (1999). The Institutionalization of Contract Labour in Namibia. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 25(1), 121-138.
- Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (1990). *Grounded theory research: Procedures, canons and evaluative criteria*. *Qualitative Sociology*, 13(1), 3-21. Retrieved September 4, 2017 from <http://med-fom-familymed-research.sites.olt.ubc.ca/files/2012/03/W10-Corbin-and-Strauss-grounded-theory.pdf>
- Cornia, G. A., Jolly, R., & Stewart, F. (1987). *Adjustment with a Human Face. Vol. 1, Protecting the Vulnerable and Promoting Growth*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication.
- Crivello, G. (2011) Becoming somebody: Youth transitions through education and migration in Peru. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 14(4), 395-411. Retrieved October 16, 2017, from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2010.538043>.
- Czaika, M., & de Haas, H. (2015). Evaluating Migration Policy Effectiveness. In A. Triandafyllidou, & I. Isaakyan (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Immigrant and Refugee Studies* (pp.34-40). Routledge. Retrieved November 15, 2016, from

<https://heindehaas.files.wordpress.com/2015/05/2015-czaika-and-de-haas-evaluating-migration-policy-effectiveness.pdf>.

Datta, K., McIllwaine, C., Wills, J., Evans, Y., Herbert, J., & May, J. (2006).

*Challenging remittances as the new development mantra: Perspectives from low-paid migrant workers in London*. Queen Mary, University of London.

Retrieved October 3, 2017, from

<http://www.geog.qmul.ac.uk/globalcities/reports/docs/remittances.pdf>

de Haan, A. (2000). *Migrants, livelihoods, and rights: The relevance of migration in development policies*. (Social Development Working Paper 4). London:

Department for International Development. Retrieved July 3, 2014, from

<http://eldis.org/vfile/upload/1/document/0708/DOC7584.pdf>

de Haas, H. (2005). International migration, remittances and development: myths and facts. *Third World Quarterly*, 26(8), 1269-1284.

de Haas, H. (2008). *Migration and development. A theoretical perspective*. Oxford: International Migration Institute.

de Haas H. (2010). Migration and development: a theoretical perspective,

*International Migration Review*, 44(1). Retrieved November 5, 2016, from

[http://www.heindehaas.com/Publications/de%20Haas%202010%20-](http://www.heindehaas.com/Publications/de%20Haas%202010%20-%20IMR%20-%20Migration%20and%20development%20theory.pdf)

[%20IMR%20-%20Migration%20and%20development%20theory.pdf](http://www.heindehaas.com/Publications/de%20Haas%202010%20-%20IMR%20-%20Migration%20and%20development%20theory.pdf)

De Jong, G. F., & Fawcett J.T. (1981). Motivations for migration: An assessment and a value-expectancy research model. In: G. F. De Jong, & R.W. Gardner (Eds.), *Migration decision making. Multidisciplinary approaches to micro level studies in Developed and Developing Countries*, (pp. 13-58). New York: Pergamon Press.

- Delgado Wise, R., & Knerr, B. (2004). *Contribuciones al analisis de la migracion internacional y el desarrollo regional en Mexico*. Zacateca.
- de Walle, E. (Ed.), (2006). *African Households: Censuses and Surveys*. Armonk, New York: M.E.
- Denzin, M. K. (1989). *Interpretive interactionism*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Deshingkar, P., & Grimm S. (2005). *Internal Migration and Development: A Global Perspective*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration. Retrieved July 2, 2015, from [http://www.prb.org/source/mrs\\_19\\_2005.pdf](http://www.prb.org/source/mrs_19_2005.pdf)
- Devadas, U. M., Silong, A. D., & Ismail, I. A. (2011). The relevance of Glaserian and Straussian grounded theory approaches in researching human resource development. *2011 International Conference on Financial Management and Economics, IPEDR vol.11, 348-352*. Singapore: IACSIT Press, Retrieved November 10, 2015, from <http://www.ipedr.com/vol11/67-W10043.pdf>.
- Devasahayam, T. W. (2013). Making the most of remittances: Obligations, aspirations, and precarity among Indonesian women migrants in Singapore. *Diversities*, 15(1), 22-36. Retrieved October 25, 2017, from [http://www.mmh.mpg.de/fileadmin/user\\_upload/Subsites/Diversities/Journals\\_2013/2013\\_15-01\\_art3.pdf](http://www.mmh.mpg.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Subsites/Diversities/Journals_2013/2013_15-01_art3.pdf).
- DeWind, J., & Holdaway, J. (2005). *Internal and international migration in economic development*. Fourth Coordination Meeting on International Migration, Division Department of Economic and Social Affairs United Nations Secretariat New York, 26-27 October 2005. Retrieved August 12, 2014, from [http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/events/coordination/4/docs/P11\\_SSRC.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/events/coordination/4/docs/P11_SSRC.pdf)

- Diabate, I, & Mesplé-Somps, S. (2014). *Female genital mutilation and migration in Mali, Do migrants transfer social norms?* Document de Travail, DT/2014-16.  
Retrieved July 2, 2015, from  
<https://basepub.dauphine.fr/bitstream/handle/123456789/14732/DT+2014-16+Diabate+-+Mespl%C3%A9-Somps.pdf?sequence=1>
- Djajic, S. (1986). International migration, remittances and welfare in a dependent economy. *Journal of Development Economics*, 21, 229-234.
- Du Pisani, A. (2000). State and society under South African rule. In C. Keulder, (Ed.). *State and society in Namibia*, (24-56). Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan.  
Retrieved September 1, 2015, from  
[http://www.kas.de/upload/auslandshomepages/namibia/State\\_Society\\_Democracy/chapter2.pdf](http://www.kas.de/upload/auslandshomepages/namibia/State_Society_Democracy/chapter2.pdf)
- Dunne, C. (2011). The place of the literature review in grounded theory research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 14(2), 111–124.  
Retrieved April 23, 2016, from  
[http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:mWkz4MI\\_T28J:citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download%3Bjsessionid%3D5A959791C4BDF087456F3542312B2D7D%3Fdoi%3D10.1.1.469.9108%26rep%3Drep1%26type%3Dpdf+%&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=na](http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:mWkz4MI_T28J:citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download%3Bjsessionid%3D5A959791C4BDF087456F3542312B2D7D%3Fdoi%3D10.1.1.469.9108%26rep%3Drep1%26type%3Dpdf+%&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=na)
- Durand, J. (1994). *Más allá de la línea: Patrones migratorios entre México y Estados Unidos*. México, DF: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes
- Duveen, G., & Lloyd, B. (1986). The significance of social identities. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 25, 219-230.

- Düvell, F. (2006). *Crossing the Fringes of Europe: Transit Migration in the EU's Neighbourhood*. (Working Paper 06-33). Centre on Migration, Policy and Society: Oxford.
- Easterly, W. (2001). The lost decades: Developing countries' stagnation in spite of policy reform 1980-1998. *Journal of Economic Growth*, 6, 135-157. Retrieved July 10, 2016, from <http://courses.arch.vt.edu/courses/wdunaway/gia5524/easterly01.pdf>
- Ellis 2000, Deotti, L., & Estruch, E. (2016). *Addressing rural youth migration at its root causes: A conceptual framework*. Rome: FAO.
- Elder, S., de Haas, H., Principi, M., & Schewel, K. (2015). *Youth and rural development: Evidence from 25 school-to-work transition surveys*. Geneva: ILO.
- Ellis, F. (2010). The Determinants of Rural Livelihood Diversification in Developing Countries. *Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 51(2), 289-302.
- Elrick, T. (2005). *Migration decision making and social networks: State of the art*. Retrieved October 2, 2016, from <http://www.migration-networks.org/Dokumente/Elrick%202005%20-%20SotA%20-%20Migration%20Decision%20Making%20and%20Social%20Networks.pdf>.
- Engel, S. N. (2010). Development economics: from classical to critical analysis. In R. A. Denemark (Eds.), *The International Studies Encyclopedia Volume II* (pp. 874-892). West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing.
- Entzinger, H. (1985). Return migration in Western Europe: Current policy trends and their implications, in particular for the second generation. *International Migration*, 23(2), 263-290.
- Eriksen, T. H. (2001). *Small places, large issues: An introduction to social and cultural anthropology*. New York: Pluto Press.

- Erol Isik, N. (2015). The role of narrative methods in sociology: Stories as a powerful tool to understand individual and society. *Journal of Sociological Research*, 18(1), 103-125.
- Esteva, G. (2010). Development. In W. Sachs (Ed.), *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, (1-23) London: Zed Books. Retrieved July 10, 2016 from <http://shifter-magazine.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/wolfgang-sachs-the-development-dictionary-n-a-guide-to-knowledge-as-power-2nd-ed-2010-1.pdf>
- Euronews. (2014 February 17). Melilla, decine di migranti superano le barriere di filo spinato. Retrieved January 10, 2016, from at: <http://it.euronews.com/2014/02/17/melilla-decine-di-migranti-superano-le-barriere-di-filo-spinato/>
- Evans, G. L. (2013). A novice researcher's first walk through the maze of grounded theory: Rationalization for classical grounded theory. *The Grounded Theory Review*, 12(1), 37-55. Retrieved November 10, 2015, from <http://groundedtheoryreview.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/Gary-Evans-Rationalization-for-CGTfinal-2.pdf>
- Faist, T. (1997). The crucial meso-level. In T. Hammer, G. Brochmann, K. Tamas, & T. Faist (Eds.), *International migration, immobility and development* (pp. 187-217). Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- Faist, T. (2000). *The volume and dynamics of international migration and transnational social spaces*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Fargues, P. (2006). *The demographic benefit of international migration: hypothesis and application to Middle Eastern and North African contexts*. Policy Research Working Papers, Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

- Feldman, M., Hadjimichael, T., Kemeny, T., & Lanahan, L. (2014). *Economic development: A definition and model for Investment*. Economic Development Administration of the U.S. Department of Commerce. Retrieved August 19, 2017, from <https://www.eda.gov/files/tools/research-reports/investment-definition-model.pdf>
- Ferrie, J., & Hatton, T. (2014). Two centuries of international migration In B. R. Chiswick, & P. W. Miller (Eds.), *Handbook of the Economics of International Migration 1A*, North Holland: Elsevier North Holland (forthcoming). Retrieved March 5, 2015, from <https://ideas.repec.org/p/auu/hpaper/023.html>
- Finch, J. H. (2002). The role of grounded theory in developing economic theory. *Journal of Economic Methodology*, 9(2), 213-234.
- Fitzpatrick, M. (2012). *Breaking free or staying? Migration decisions for female students in central Gujarat, India*. (ProGlo Research Report No. 3). Bangalore: National Institute of Advanced Studies and Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research. Retrieved October 2, 2017, from [http://provglo.org/sites/default/files/ProGlo%20Research%20Report%203%20Fitzpatrick%20Breaking%20Free%20or%20Staying%20Put\\_0.pdf](http://provglo.org/sites/default/files/ProGlo%20Research%20Report%203%20Fitzpatrick%20Breaking%20Free%20or%20Staying%20Put_0.pdf)
- Fleischer, A. (2006). *Family, obligations, and migration: The role of kinship in Cameroon*. (MPIDR Working Paper, 047). Rostock: Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research. Retrieved November 1, 2017, from <http://www.demogr.mpg.de/papers/working/wp-2006-047.pdf>
- Fox, T. (2012). *Mass media, lifestyle and young adults' (un)reflexive negotiation of social and individual identities in Windhoek*. (Thesis Ph. D.), Stellenbosch University.

- Frank, R. (2005). International Migration and Infant Health in Mexico. *Journal of Immigrant Health*, 7(1), 11-22.
- Frayne, B., & Pendleton, W. (2001). Migration in Namibia: Combining macro and micro approaches to research design and analysis. *International Migration Review*, 35(4), 1054-1085. Retrieved June 11, 2013.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3092002?origin=JSTOR->
- Frayne, B., & Pendleton, W. (2002). Mobile Namibia: Migration trends and attitudes. Cape Town: Idasa and Queen's University, Canada. Retrieved July 20, 2014, from <http://samponline.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Acrobat27.pdf>
- Freire, P. (1973). *Education for Critical Consciousness*. New York: Seabury Press
- Fukuda-Parr, S., & Kumar, S. (Eds.). (2003). *Readings in Human Development*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Gakunzi, D. (Ed.) (2006). *Social remittances of the African diasporas in Europe*. Lisbon: North South Centre of the Council of Europe.
- Gallego, J., & Mendola, M. (2011). *Labor migration and social networks participation: Evidence from Southern Mozambique*. WP N. 9/2011 Retrieved September 2, 2015, from [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1959802](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1959802)
- Gardner, K., & Osella, F. (2003). Migration, modernity and social transformation in South Asia. *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 37(1-2), v –xxviii.
- Gasson, S. (2004). Rigor in grounded theory research: An interpretive perspective on generating theory from qualitative field studies. In M. Whitman, & A, Woszczyński (Eds.), *The handbook of information system research* (pp. 79-102). Hershey, PA: IGI Global.

- Gazdar, H. (2003). *A review of migration issues in Pakistan*. Paper presented at the Regional Conference on Migration, Development and Pro-Poor Policy Choices in Asia. Bangladesh Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit, Bangladesh/DFID. Retrieved April 28, 2016, from [http://www.eldis.org/vfile/upload/1/document/0903/Dhaka\\_CP\\_4.pdf](http://www.eldis.org/vfile/upload/1/document/0903/Dhaka_CP_4.pdf)
- Gerth, H. H., & Wright M. C. (1944). Class, status, party by Max Weber. *Politics*, 271-277. Retrieved October 16, 2017, from <http://www.unz.org/Pub/Politics-1944oct-00271:22>.
- Ghosh, B. (2006). *Migrants' remittances and development: Myths, rhetoric and realities*. The Hague: International Organization for Migration.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Giddens, A. (1986). *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. University of California Press.
- Giddens, A., (1987). *Social theory and modern sociology*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-Identity. Self and society in the late modern age*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Giddens, A. (2000). *Runaway world: How globalization is shaping our lives*. New York: Routledge.
- Giddens, A., & Pierson, C. (1998). *Conversations with Anthony Giddens. Making sense of modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Giles, T., King L., & de Lacey, S. (2013). The Timing of the literature review in grounded theory research. An open mind versus an empty head. *Advances in Nursing Science*, 36(2), E29–E40.

- Glaser, B. G. (1992). *Emergence vs. forcing: Basics of grounded theory analysis*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G. (2002). Constructivist grounded theory? *Forum: Qualitative social research*, 3(3). Retrieved December 3, 2017, from <http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs/fqs-eng.htm>.
- Glaser, B. G. (1998). *Doing grounded theory. Issues and discussions*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G. (2003). *The grounded theory perspective II: Description's remodeling of grounded theory methodology*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. (1967). *Discovery of grounded theory*. Chicago, IL: Aldine.
- Goldring, L. (2003). *Re-thinking remittances: Social and political dimensions of individual and collective remittances*. Centre for research on Latin America and the Caribbean. Retrieved June 9, 2015, from <http://www.yorku.ca>.
- Goldthorpe, J. H. (2007). *On sociology, vol. 1. Critique and program*, (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Goodall, K. T. (2013). *Becoming informed: A grounded theory of how older Greek and Italian migrants to South Australia find everyday information*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Flinders University of South Australia. Retrieved September 1, 2017, from <https://flex.flinders.edu.au/items/507ac970-30bb-40dc-8a07-2c88530de479/1/?vi=file&attachment.uuid=7bae7dfe-8559-47fa-a763-eb3b60641654>
- Goody, J. (1996). Comparing family system in Europe and Asia. Are there different sets of rules? *Population and Development Review*, 22(1), 1-20.

- Gordon, R. J. (1977). *Mines, Masters and Migrants: Life in a Namibian Mine Compound*. Johannesburg: Ravan.
- Grabowska, I., & Engbersen, G. (2014). Social remittances and the impact of temporary migration on a EU sending country: The case of Poland. Retrieved June 19, 2015, from <http://www.ceemr.uw.edu.pl/articles/social-remittances-and-impact-temporary-migration-eu-sending-country-case-poland>.
- Granovetter, M. S. (1973). The strength of the weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology* 78(6) 1360-1380. Retrieved June 25, 2016, [https://sociology.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/publications/the\\_strength\\_of\\_weak\\_ties\\_and\\_exch\\_w-gans.pdf](https://sociology.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/publications/the_strength_of_weak_ties_and_exch_w-gans.pdf).
- Greiner, C. (2010). Patterns of Translocality: Migration, Livelihoods and Identities in Northwest Namibia. *Sociologus*, 60(2), 131-161.
- Greiner, C. (2012). Can household be multilocal? Conceptual and methodological consideration based on a Namibian case study. *Die Erde* 143(3), 196-212. December 10, 2016, from [https://www.academia.edu/3340567/Can\\_Households\\_be\\_Multilocal\\_Conceptual\\_and\\_Methodological\\_Considerations\\_based\\_on\\_a\\_Namibian\\_Case\\_Study](https://www.academia.edu/3340567/Can_Households_be_Multilocal_Conceptual_and_Methodological_Considerations_based_on_a_Namibian_Case_Study)
- Guarnizo, L., Portes, A., & Haller, W. (2003). Assimilation and transnationalism: determinants of transnational political action among contemporary migrants. *American Journal of Sociology*, 108(6), 1211-1248.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 105-117). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Gubert, F. (2005). *Migrant remittances and their impact on development in the home economies: The case of Africa*. *Migration, Remittances and Development*, Paris, OECD.
- Guiso, L., Sapienza, P., & Zingales, L. (2006). Does culture affect economic outcomes? *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 20, 23–48.
- Gurieva, L. K., & Dzhioev, A. V. (2015). Economic theory of labour migration. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Science*, 6(7), 101-109. Retrieved August 20, 2017, from <http://www.mcser.org/journal/index.php/mjss/article/viewFile/8601/8260>
- Gustafsson, B., & Makonnen, N. (1993) Poverty and remittances in Lesotho. *Journal of African Economies*, 2(1), 49-73.
- Hall, K. Q. (2014). Developing a dual-level capabilities approach: Using constructivist grounded theory and feminist ethnography to enhance the capabilities approaches. *Journal of Ethnographic & Qualitative Research*, 8(3), 128-143.
- Haller, A. P. (2012). Concepts of economic growth and development. Challenges of crisis and of knowledge. *Economy Transdisciplinarity Cognition*, 15(1), 66-71. Retrieved September 17, 2014, from <http://www.ugb.ro/etc/etc2012no1/09fa.pdf>
- Harding, S. (1993). Reinventing ourselves as other: More new agents of history and knowledge. In L. Kauffman (Ed.), *American feminist thought at century's end: A reader* (pp. 140-164). Cambridge, MA & Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Hare, D. (1999). 'Push' versus 'Pull' factors in migration outflows and returns: determinants of migration status and spell duration among China's rural population. *Journal of Development Studies*, 35(3), 45-72.

- Harris, J. R., & Todaro, M. P. (1970). Migration, unemployment and development: A two-sector analysis. *American Economic Review* 60, 126-142. Retrieved October 7, 2015, from <http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/>
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University.
- Hastings, T. (1999). *The role of remittances in the Namibian Economy*. NEPRU Occasional Paper, 15. Retrieved August 8, 2016, from <http://www.the-eis.com/data/literature/The%20Role%20of%20Remittances%20in%20the%20Namibian%20Economy%20-%20Thomas%20Hastings,%20Feb%201999.pdf>
- Haug, S. (2008). Migration networks and migration decision-making. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 34(4), 585-605. Retrieved June 9, 2015, from <http://crcw.princeton.edu/migration/files/library/Migration%20Networks%20and%20Migration%20Decision-Making.pdf??>
- Heatha, H., & Cowley, S. (2004). Developing a grounded theory approach: A comparison of Glaser and Strauss. *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 41(2), 141–150. Retrieved September 3, 2017, from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.459.4271&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Hechter, M., & Kanazawa, S. (1997). Sociological rational choice theory. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 23, 191–214.
- Heidhues, F., & Obare, G. (2011). Lessons from Structural Adjustment Programmes and their Effects in Africa. *Quarterly Journal of International Agriculture*, 50(1), 55-64. Retrieved June 7, 2016 [http://ageconsearch.umn.edu/bitstream/155490/2/4\\_Heidhues.pdf](http://ageconsearch.umn.edu/bitstream/155490/2/4_Heidhues.pdf)

- Henwood, K. L., & Pidgeon, N.F. (2006). Grounded theory. In G. Breakwell, S. Hammond, C. Fife-Shaw, & J. Smith (Eds.), *Research methods in psychology*, (3<sup>rd</sup> Ed., pp. 342-365). London: Sage.
- Herath, D. (2009). The discourse of development: Has it reached maturity? *Third World Quarterly*, 30(8), 1449-1464.
- Hernandez, C.A., & Andrews, T. (2012). Commentary on “Constructing new theory for identifying students with emotional disturbance”. *The Grounded Theory Review*, 11(2), 59–63. Retrieved June, 9, 2014, from <http://groundedtheoryreview.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/CommentaryVol1111.pdf>
- Hishongwa, N. S. (1992). *The contract labour system and its effects on family and social life in Namibia: A historical perspective*. Gamsberg: Macmillan.
- Hockel, L. S. (2015). Individualism vs. collectivism. How inherited cultural values affect the economic outcome of second-generation immigrants in the US Rheinisch-Westfälisches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung. Retrieved October 5, 2017, from [http://www.uniba.it/ricerca/dipartimenti/dse/e.g.i/egi-papers-2015/s3\\_hockel](http://www.uniba.it/ricerca/dipartimenti/dse/e.g.i/egi-papers-2015/s3_hockel).
- Holton, J. (2007). The coding process and its challenges. In A. Bryant, & K. Charmaz (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of grounded theory* (pp. 265–289). London: Sage.
- Hugo, G. (2003). *Urbanisation in Asia: an overview*. Paper prepared at the Conference on African Migration in Comparative Perspective, Johannesburg: South Africa. Retrieved June 9, 2014, from <http://www.china-up.com:8080/international/case/case/1141.pdf>

- Hugo, G. (2005). *Migrants in society: Diversity and cohesion*. National Centre for Social Applications of GIS. University of Adelaide. Retrieved October 23, 2017, from [https://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/site/myjahiasite/shared/shared/mainsite/policy\\_and\\_research/gcim/tp/TP6.pdf](https://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/site/myjahiasite/shared/shared/mainsite/policy_and_research/gcim/tp/TP6.pdf).
- Humphrie, N., Brugha, R., & McGee, H. (2009). Sending money home: A mixed-methods study of remittances by migrant nurses in Ireland. *Human Resources for Health*, 7-66. Retrieved October 3, 2017, from <https://human-resources-health.biomedcentral.com/track/pdf/10.1186/1478-4491-7-66?site=human-resources-health.biomedcentral.com>
- Hutchinson, S. (1986). Grounded theory: The method. In P. L. Munhall, & J. C. Oiler (Eds.), *Nursing research: A qualitative perspective* (pp. 111-130). New York: Appleton Century Crofts.
- ILO. (1976). *Employment, Growth and Basic Needs: A one world problem*, Geneva: International Labour Organisation.
- IMF. (2013). *Sixth Edition of the IMF's Balance of Payments and International Investment Position Manual (BPM6)*. Washington D.C.: International Monetary Fund.
- IOM. (2011). *Glossary on migration*. Geneva: International Organisation for Migration. Retrieved March 2, 2015, from <http://www.epim.info/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/iom.pdf>
- IOM. (2016 April, 22). Mediterranean Migrant Arrivals in 2016. *International Organisation for Migration*. Geneva: International Organisation for Migration. Retrieved June 10, 2016, from <https://www.iom.int/news/mediterranean-migrant-arrivals-2016-180245-deaths-1232>

- Itzo, I. (2008). Internal migration: a review of the literature. MPRA Paper No. 8783.  
Retrieved March 2, 2015, from <http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/8783/>
- Jacobsen, V., Fursman, L., Bryant, J., Claridge, M., & Jensen, B. (2004). *Theories of the Family and Policy*. (Working Paper 04/22), Wellington: New Zealand Treasury.
- James, C. L. R. (1963). *Beyond a boundary*. London: Stanley Paul and Company.
- Jary, D., & Jary, J. (1991). *The harper collins dictionary of Sociology*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Jeffrey, C. (2010). Timepass: Youth, class, and time among unemployed young men in India. *American Ethnologist*, 37(3), 465-481.
- Jones, M., & Alony, I. (2011). Guiding the use of grounded theory in doctoral studies, an example from the Australian film industry. *International Journal of Doctoral Studies*. Faculty of Commerce, University of Wollongong, Wollongong, Australia. Retrieved January 10, 2017, from <http://ro.uow.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1842&context=commpapers>
- Kalle, U. (2005). "Emergence" vs. "forcing" of empirical data? A crucial problem of grounded theory" reconsidered. *Forum Qualitative Social Research*, 6(2), Art 27. Retrieved September 3, 2017, from <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/467/1000>.
- Kazmierska, K. (2003). Migration experiences and changes of identity. The analysis of a Narrative *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 4(3), Art. 21. Retrieved October 5, 2017, from <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0303215>.
- King, R. (2004). Albania: interrelationships between population, poverty, development, internal and international migration. *Mediterranée*, 34, 37-47.

November 20, 2014, from [http://www.persee.fr/doc/medit\\_0025-8296\\_2004\\_num\\_103\\_3\\_3365](http://www.persee.fr/doc/medit_0025-8296_2004_num_103_3_3365)

King, R., & Conti, F. (2013). *Bridging the divide: The gap between the study of internal and international migration, with an Italian example*. (Working Paper 1, (13)). Malmö: Malmö University. Retrieved November 20, 2014, from <https://www.mah.se/upload/Forskningscentrum/MIM/Publications/WB%2013.1.pdf>.

King, R., Skeldon, R., & Vullnetari, J. (2008). *Internal and international migration: Bridging the theoretical divide*. Paper prepared for the IMISCOE Conference. Oxford: St. Anne's College. Retrieved November 20, 2014, from <http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/pdfs/russell-king-ron-skeldon-and-julie-vullnetari-internal-and-international-migration-bridging-the-theoretical-divide>

Knudsen, A. S. B. (2017). *The making of new world individualism and old world collectivism: International migrants as carriers of cultural values*. Economic History Society Blog. Retrieved October 5, 2017, from <https://ehsthegrun.net/tag/migration/>

Kofman, E. (2006). *Gender, remittances and migration: Latin Americans and Caribbeans in Europe*. International Forum on the Social Sciences – Policy Nexus, 20-24 February. Retrieved October 14, 2017, from [http://eprints.mdx.ac.uk/4448/1/Kofman-gender\\_remittances.pdf](http://eprints.mdx.ac.uk/4448/1/Kofman-gender_remittances.pdf)

Konseiga, A. (2005). *Household migration decisions as survival strategy: The case of Burkina Faso*. (Discussion Paper, No 1819). Bonn: The Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA). Retrieved October 1, 2017, from <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:fSxuffrj1DkJ:citeseerx.i>

st.psu.edu/viewdoc/download%3Fdoi%3D10.1.1.421.4009%26rep%3Drep1%26  
type%3Dpdf+&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=na

- Kurein, P. A. (2008). *A socio-cultural perspective on migration and economic development: Middle Eastern migration from Kerala, India*. University of Syracuse. Retrieved October 23, 2017, from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.729.718&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Kurekova, L. (2010). *Theories of migration: Conceptual review and empirical testing in the context of the EU East- West flows*. (CARIM-AS No.2010/44). Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI). European University Institute. Retrieved November 20, 2014, from [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228279066\\_Theories\\_of\\_Migration\\_Critical\\_Review\\_in\\_the\\_Context\\_of\\_the\\_EU\\_East-West\\_Flows](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228279066_Theories_of_Migration_Critical_Review_in_the_Context_of_the_EU_East-West_Flows)
- Kuznets, S. (1988). Underdeveloped countries and the pre-industrial phases in the advanced countries. In A. N. Agarwala, & S. P. Sing (Eds.), *The economics of underdevelopment*. (11<sup>th</sup> Ed, pp. 135-153,). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- La Barbera, M. (Ed.). (2015). *Identity and migration in Europe. Multidisciplinary perspectives*. Springer.
- Lacroix, T. (2014). Conceptualizing transnational engagements: A structure and agency perspective on (hometown) transnationalism. *International Migration Review*, 48(3), 643-679. Retrieved October 20, 2017, from <https://ideas.repec.org/a/bla/intmig/v48y2014i3p643-679.html>
- LaRossa, R. (2005). Grounded theory methods and qualitative family research. *Journal of Marriage and Family* 67, 837–857. Retrieved November 10, 2015, from

<http://www.webpages.uidaho.edu/CSS506/506%20Readings/Grouped%20Theory%201.pdf>

Lai, D. L. (2010). Filial piety, caregiving appraisal, and caregiving burden. *Research on Ageing*, 2(2), 200-223.

Lane, R. E. (2001). *The loss of happiness in market democracies*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Laslett, P. (1983). Family and household as work group and kin group: Areas of traditional Europe compared. In R. Wall, J. Robin, & P. Laslett (Eds.), *Family forms in historic Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Laslett, P., & Wall, R. (Eds.), (1972). *Household and family in past time*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Levitt, P. (1996). *Social Remittances: A Conceptual Tool for Understanding Migration and Development*. (Working Paper Series Number 96.04). Retrieved April 10, 2015, from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download;jsessionid=BA74A366998C0B36D81BDF333AFF023?doi=10.1.1.196.2278&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

Levitt, P. (1998). Social remittances: migration driven local-level forms of cultural diffusion. *The International Migration Review*, 32(4), 926–949. Retrieved November 10, 2015, from [http://media.library.ku.edu.tr/reserve/resfall12\\_13/intl551\\_AIcduygu/week6.PDF](http://media.library.ku.edu.tr/reserve/resfall12_13/intl551_AIcduygu/week6.PDF)

Levitt, P. (2001). *The Transnational Villagers*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Levitt, P. (2008). *Taking culture seriously: Unexplored aspects of the migration-development nexus*. (Migration and Development: Future Directions for research and Policy, SSRCC Migration & Development Conference Paper no. 13). New York, 28 February -1 March.

Retrieved October 1, 2017, from <http://essays.ssrc.org/developmentpapers/wp-content/uploads/MigrationDevelopmentSSRCConferencePapers.pdf>

Levitt, P., & Lamba-Nieves, D. (2011). Social remittances revisited. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37(1), 1-22. Retrieved November 10, 2015, from <http://www.peggylevitt.org/assets/socialremittancesrevisited.pdf>

Lewis, W. A. (1954). Economic development with unlimited supplies of labour. *Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies* 22, 139-191.

Lieten, G. K., & Nieuwenhuys O. (1989). Introduction: Survival and emancipation. In G. K. Lieten, O. Nieuwenhuys, & L. Schenk-Sandbergen (Eds.), *Women, Migrants and Tribals: Survival Strategies in Asia* (pp. 1–8). New Delhi: Manohar.

Lipton, M. (1980). Migration from the rural areas of poor countries: the impact on rural productivity and income distribution, *World Development*, 8, 1-24.

Lloyd, B., & Duveen, G. (1990). A semiotic analysis of the development of social representations of gender. In G. Duveen, & B. Lloyd (Eds.), *Social Representations and the Development of Knowledge* (pp. 27-46). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Locke, K. (2001). *Grounded theory in management research*. London: Sage Publications.

Lozano-Ascencio, F., Roberts, B., & Bean, F. (1999). The interconnections of internal and international migration: the case of the United States and Mexico, in L. Pries, (Ed.), *Migration and Transnational Social Spaces* (pp. 138-61). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Lubambu, K. M. K. (2014). *The impacts of remittances on developing countries*. Brussels: Directorate-General for External Policies of the Union, Policy Department. November 10, 2015, from

[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2014/433786/EXPO-DEVE\\_ET\(2014\)433786\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2014/433786/EXPO-DEVE_ET(2014)433786_EN.pdf)

Lucas, R. E. B. (2015). *Internal migration in developing economies: An overview*.

(Working Paper 6). KNOMAD. Retrieved August 2, 2015

<https://www.unescogym.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Internal-Migration-in-Developing-Economies.-An-Overview.pdf>

Lummis, C. D. (2010). Equality. In W. Sachs (Ed.), *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, (38-54), London: Zed Books. Retrieved July 10, 2016 from

<http://shifter-magazine.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/wolfgang-sachs-the-development-dictionary-n-a-guide-to-knowledge-as-power-2nd-ed-2010-1.pdf>

Mahapatro, S. R. (2012). *The changing pattern of internal migration in India. Issues and challenges*. Retrieved June 9, 2014, from <http://epc2012.princeton.edu/papers/121017>

Mahmud, H. (2014). 'It's my money': Social class and the perception of remittances among Bangladeshi migrants in Japan. *Current Sociology*, 62(3), 412–430. Retrieved October 1, 2017, from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/263518858>

Maimbo, S. M., & Ratha, D. (Eds.), (2005). *Remittances. Development impact and future prospects*. Washington D.C: The World Bank.

Malagon, M. C., Perez, H. L., & Velez, V. N. (2009). Our experiences, our methods: Using grounded theory to inform a critical race theory methodology. *Seattle Journal for Social Justice*, 8(1), 253-272. Retrieved July 2, 2015 from <http://digitalcommons.law.seattleu.edu/sjsj/vol8/iss1/10>

Maphosa, F. (2007). Remittances and development: The impact of migration to South Africa on rural livelihoods in the Southern districts of Zimbabwe. *Development Southern Africa*, 24(1), 123-136.

- Markley, E. (2011). *Social Remittances and social Capital. Value and practices of transnational social space*. Retrieved April 9, 2015, from <http://www.revistacalitateavietii.ro/2011/CV-4-2011/02.pdf>
- Martinez-Brawley, E., & Zorita, Paz M. B. (2014). The neglect of network theory in practice with immigrants in the Southwest. *The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*, 41(1), 123-136. Retrieved September 1, 2016, from <http://scholarworks.wmich.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3836&context=jssw>
- Martiniello, G. (undated). *Migrant labour in southern Africa: an Historical and theoretical perspective*, Unpublished master thesis, University of Leeds: England. Retrieved July 28, 2017, from <https://www.inventati.org/ababilonia/migrantlaboursouthafrica.pdf>
- Mashayekhi, M. (2013). *Maximizing the development impact of remittances*. UNCTAD. New York: United Nations.
- Massey, D. S. (1990). Social structure, household strategies, and the cumulative causation of migration. *Population Index*, 56(1), 3-26. Retrieved March, 1, 2015 from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3644186>
- Massey, D. S. (2003). *Patterns and processes of international migration in the 21st century*. Paper prepared for Conference on African Migration in Comparative Perspective, Johannesburg, South Africa, 4-7 June, 2003. Retrieved February 15, 2014, from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download;jsessionid=32FD970F88BB626F2DDB5896B4A668E5?doi=10.1.1.473.925&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, E. J. (1993). Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal. *Population and Development Review*, 19(3), 431-466.

- Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, E. J. (1994). An evaluation of international migration theory: The North American case. *Population and Development Review*, 20(4), 699-751.
- Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., Taylor, E. J. (1998). *Worlds in motion. Understanding international migration at the end of the millennium*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Mattila-Wiro, P. (1999). Economic theory of the household. A critical review. (Working Paper 159) WIDER/UN. Retrieved July 4, 2017, from <https://www.wider.unu.edu/sites/default/files/wp159.pdf>
- Mayer, P. (1961). *Townsmen or tribesmen: conservatism and the process of urbanization in a South African city*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press
- Maynard, M. (1994). Methods, Practice and Epistemology: The Debate about Feminism and Research. In M. Maynard, & J. Purvis (Eds.) *Researching women's lives from a feminist perspective* (pp.202-207). London: Taylor and Francis.
- Mazzucato, V., & Schans, D. (2011). Transnational families and the well-being of children: Conceptual and methodological challenges. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 73(4), 704-712.
- McCann, T., & Clark, E. (2003). Grounded theory in nursing research: Part 1 – Methodology. *Nurse Researcher*, 11(2), 7 –18.
- McGhee, G., Marland, G. R., & Atkinson, J. (2007). Grounded theory research: Literature reviewing and reflexivity. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 60(3), 334–342.

- Menz, G. (2009). The political economy of managed migration: non-state actors, europeanization, and the politics of designing migration policies. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43, 156-160 . Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Meyer, D., & Shera. A. (2017). The impact of remittances on economic growth: An econometric model. *EconomicA*, 18(2), 147-155.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Mills, J., Bonner, A., & Francis, K. (2006). The development of constructivist grounded theory. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(1), 25-35.  
Retrieved November 10, 2015, from  
[https://sites.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/5\\_1/PDF/MILLS.PDF](https://sites.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/5_1/PDF/MILLS.PDF)
- Mishra, P. (2007). Emigration and wages in source countries: Evidence from Mexico. *Journal of Development Economics*, 82(1), 180–199.
- Mokomane, Z. (2012). *Role of families in social and economic empowerment of individuals*. Paper presented at the United Nations Expert Group Meeting on “Promoting Empowerment of People in Achieving Poverty Eradication, Social Integration and Full Employment and Decent Work for All”, 10-12 September 2012. New York: United Nations. Retrieved October 12, 2015, from  
<http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/egms/docs/2012/FamilyZithaMokomane.pdf>
- Moorsom, R. (1977). Underdevelopment, contract labour and worker consciousness in Namibia, 1915-1972. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 4(1), 52–87.
- Morse, J. M. (1994). Designing funded qualitative research. In K. N. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 220-35). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication.

- Murphy, E., & Dingwall, R. (2003). *Qualitative methods and health policy research*.  
New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Muzvidziwa, V. N. (2010). Double-rootedness and networking among urban migrants in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Sociology Anth*, 1 (1-2), 81-90.
- Myint, H. (5<sup>th</sup> Ed.). (1980). *The economics of developing Countries*. London: Hutchinson.
- Myrdal, G. (1974). What is development? *Journal of Economic Issue*, 8(4), 729-736.
- Nadler, R. (2009). *A grounded theory approach on mobility of transnational migrants in Milano and Leipzig*. Università degli Studi Milano-Bicocca.  
Retrieved January 10, 2017, from  
[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/287808774\\_A\\_grounding\\_theory\\_approach\\_on\\_mobility\\_of\\_transnational\\_migrants\\_in\\_Milano\\_and\\_Leipzig](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/287808774_A_grounding_theory_approach_on_mobility_of_transnational_migrants_in_Milano_and_Leipzig)
- Namibian Statistic Agency. (2010). *Namibia 2011. Population & housing census main report*. Windhoek: Namibia Statistics Agency. Retrieved, October 11, 2015, from  
<http://cms.my.na/assets/documents/p19dmn58guram30ttun89rdrp1.pdf>
- Namibia Statistics Agency. (2014). *Namibia Population Projections (2011-2041)*. Windhoek: Namibia Statistics Agency.
- Namibian Statistic Agency. (2015). *Migration report*. Windhoek: Namibia Statistics Agency. Retrieved, December 11, 2015, from  
[http://cms.my.na/assets/documents/Migration\\_Report.pdf](http://cms.my.na/assets/documents/Migration_Report.pdf)
- Namibia Statistics Agency. (2017). *Namibia labour force survey 2016 report*. Windhoek: Namibia Statistics Agency. Retrieved, July 21, 2017, from  
[https://cms.my.na/assets/documents/Labour\\_Force\\_Survey\\_-\\_20161.pdf](https://cms.my.na/assets/documents/Labour_Force_Survey_-_20161.pdf)

- Naswem, A. A., & Ejembi, S. A. (2017). Reviving agricultural extension for effective transition from subsistence to commercial agriculture in Nigeria. *Journal of Rural Social Sciences*, 32(1), 3-20. Retrieved October 16, 2017, from <http://journalofruralsocialsciences.org/pages/Articles/JRSS%202017%2032/1/JRSS%202017%2032%201%203-20.pdf>
- Natali, C. (2009). Linkages between internal and international migrations: Policy implications for development. Conference Rural-Urban Linkages and Migration September 16<sup>th</sup> 2009. Dortmund. Retrived February 14, 2014, from [http://www.raumplanung.tu-dortmund.de/ips/cms/Medienpool/documents/Conference\\_urban-rural\\_\\_1/4\\_Natali\\_Public\\_policies\\_for\\_migration\\_16\\_09\\_09.pdf](http://www.raumplanung.tu-dortmund.de/ips/cms/Medienpool/documents/Conference_urban-rural__1/4_Natali_Public_policies_for_migration_16_09_09.pdf)
- Nathaniel, A. K. (2006). Thoughts on the literature review and GT. *Grounded Theory Review*, 5(2/3), 35-41.
- Nghiulikwa, R. W. (2008). Re-situating and shifting cultural identity in contemporary Namibia: The experience of rural-urban migrants in Katutura (Windhoek). Unpublished Master Thesis, University of the Western Cape. Cape Town. Retrieved October 15, 2017, from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.935.2817&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Niikondo, A. (2010). *Migrants to cities and towns in Namibia: What their interests are?* Retrieved, October 11, 2015, from <http://ir.polytechnic.edu.na/bitstream/10628/249/1/Niikondo.%20Migrants%20to%20cities%20and%20towns%20in%20Namibia.pdf>
- Nik-Khah, E., & Van Horn, R. (2016). *The Handbook of Neoliberalism*. Routledge.
- Nussbaum, M. C. (2011). *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach*. London: Harvard University Press.

- Nzima, D., Duma, V., & Moyo P. (2016). Migrant Remittances, Livelihoods and Investment: Evidence from Tsholotsho District in the Matabeleland North Province of Zimbabwe. *Migration and Ethnic Themes*, 32(1), 137-62.
- O'Hearn, D. (2009). Amartya Sen's development as freedom: Ten years later. *Policy & Practice*, 8, 9-15. Retrived June 14, 2015, from <https://www.developmenteducationreview.com/sites/default/files/article-pdfs/o%27hearn%20focus%201.pdf>
- O'Reilly, K. (2012). *International migration and social theory*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Office of the President. (2004). *Namibia vision 2030*. Republic of Namibia.
- Office of the President. (2016). *Harambee prosperity plan. Namibian Government's action plan towards prosperity for all*. Republic of Namibia.
- Olesen, V. L. (2000). Feminisms and qualitative research at and into the millennium. In N. K., Denzin, & Y. E. Lincoln (Eds.), (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 215-255). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Page, M., & Stevens, A. (2004). The economic consequences of absent parents. *Journal of Human Resources*, 39(1), 80-107.
- Palmer, R., & Parson, N. (1983). *The roots of rural poverty in central and southern Africa*. London: Heinemann
- Parsons, T. (1944). The social structure of the family. In N. Anshen (Ed.), *The family: Its function and destiny* (pp. 173-201). New York: Harper.
- Parsons, T. (1951). *The social system*. New York: Free Press.
- Parsons, T. (2005). *The-Social-System* (e-Library ed.). Routledge. Retrieved October 17, 2017, from <http://voidnetwork.gr/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/The-Social-System-by-Talcott-Parsons.pdf>

- Patton, M. Q. (1981). *Creative Evaluation*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Paul, A. M. (2011). Stepwise international migration: A multi-stage migration pattern for the aspiring migrant. *American Journal of Sociology*, 116(6), 1842-1886.
- Philipp, A., & Ho, E. (2008). Migration, home and belonging: South African migrant women in Hamilton, New Zealand. *New Zealand Population Review*, 36, 81-101 Retrieved, August 11, 2017, from <http://www.population.org.nz/app/uploads/2012/02/nzpr-volume-36-philipp-and-ho-final.pdf>
- Phiri, M., & Mubiana, F. (2016). *Namibia. African Economic Outlook*. Retrieved July 28, 2017, [http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/sites/default/files/201605/Namibia\\_GB\\_2016%20WEB.pdf](http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/sites/default/files/201605/Namibia_GB_2016%20WEB.pdf)
- Pickles, A., & Rogerson, P. (1984). Wage distribution and spatial preferences in competitive job search and migration. *Regional Studies*, 18, 131-142.
- Piore, M. (1979). *Birds of passage. Migrant labor and industrial societies*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Piore, M. J. (2004). Qualitative research: Does it fit in economics? Paper presented at the conference *Do Facts Matter in Elaborating Theories? Cross Perspectives from Economics, Management, Political Science and Sociology*. CRG-Ecole Polytechnique, Paris, October. 2002 Retrieved, October 11, 2015, from <http://economics.mit.edu/files/1125>
- Plummer, M., & Young, L. E. (2010). Grounded theory and feminist inquiry: Revitalizing links to the past. *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, 32, 305–321.

- Porters, A. (1995). *The Economic sociology of immigration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R.G. (2014). *Immigrant America. A portrait, updated, and expanded*. University of California Press.
- Posel, D. (2003). *Have migration patterns in post-apartheid South Africa changed?* Paper prepared for Conference on African Migration in Comparative Perspective, Johannesburg, 4-7 Jun. Retrieved October 11, 2015, from [http://www.queensu.ca/samp/migrationresources/Documents/Posel\\_have.pdf](http://www.queensu.ca/samp/migrationresources/Documents/Posel_have.pdf)
- Probyn, E. (2005). *Blush: The faces of shame*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Punch, S., & Sugden, F. (2013) Work, education and out-migration among children and youth in upland Asia: Changing patterns of labour and ecological knowledge in an era of globalisation. *Local Environment*, 18(3), 255-270.
- Ramalho, R., Adams, P., Huggard, P., & Hoare, K. (2015). Literature review and constructivist grounded theory methodology. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 16(3), Art. 19. Retrieved, July 11, 2017, from <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/2313/3876>
- Raman, A. (2010). *Social justice and the migration of the highly skilled elites*. Stanford Philosophy Paper Series. Retrieved October 1, 2017, from <http://web.stanford.edu/~aaswath/phil277.pdf>
- Rao, N. (2011). Respect, status and domestic work: Female migrants at home and work. *European Journal of Development Research*, 23(5), 758–773. Retrieved October 28, 2017, from <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/2780775.pdf>

- Rapoport, H., & Docquier, F. (2005). *The economics of migrants' remittances*. (Discussion Paper 1531). Bonn: IZA. Retrieved May 1, 2015, from <http://ftp.iza.org/dp1531.pdf>
- Ratha, D., & Mohapatra, S. (2007). *Increasing the macroeconomic impact of remittances on development*. Development Prospect Group, The World Bank. Retrieved, October 11, 2015, from <http://www.worldbank.org/afr/diaspora/200802hlseminar/G8-Berlin-Increasing%20Macroeffects%20of%20Remittances.doc>
- Ratha, D., De, S., Dervisevic, E., Plaza S., Schuettler, K., Shaw, W., Wyss, H, Soonhwa, Y., & Yousef, S.R. (2015). *Migration and remittances: Recent developments and outlook. Special topic: Financing for development*. (Migration and Development Brief 24), Washington D.C.: The World Bank. Retrieved May 1, 2015, from <https://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1288990760745/MigrationandDevelopmentBrief24.pdf>
- Ravenstein, E. G. (1885). The laws of migration. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 48, 167-235. Retrieved March 1, 2014, from [www.jstor.org/stable/2979181](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2979181)
- Ravenstein, E. G. (1889). The laws of migration. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 52, 241-305.
- Reyes, U. A. C. (2013). Migrants support their older parents from a distance. *Migraciones Internacionales*, 7(1), 267-276. Retrieved October 14, 2017, from <http://www.redalyc.org/pdf/151/15125609009.pdf>
- Rodgers, R. H. & White, J. M. (1993). Family development theory. In P.G. Boss, W.J. Doherty, R. LaRossa, W. R. Schumm, & S. K. Steinmetz (Eds.),

- Sourcebook of family theories and methods: A contextual approach*. New York and London: Plenum Press.
- Rindfuss, R. R., Piotrowski, M., Entwisle, B., Edmeades, J., & Faust, K. (2012). *Migrant remittances and the web of family obligations: Ongoing support among spatially extended kin in Northeast Thailand, 1984–94*. Retrieved October 17, 2017, from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3886554/pdf/nihms523374.pdf>
- Rosestein-Rodan, P. N. (1988). Problem of industrialisation of eastern and south eastern Europe. In A. N. Agarwala, & S. P. Sing (Eds.), *The economics of underdevelopment*. (11<sup>th</sup> Ed., pp. 245-255) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rostow, W. (1960). *The stages of economic growth: A non-communist manifesto*. London, Cambridge: University Press.
- Rubenstein, H. (1992). Migration, development and remittances in rural Mexico. *International Migration*, 30(2), 127-154.
- Rucaj, E. (2009). *Remittances Data Quality: A review of progress*. *International Technical Meeting on Measuring Remittances*. Washington D.C.: World Bank. Retrieved June 1, 2015, from <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/DATASTATISTICS/Resources/EvisRucaj.pdf>
- Russell, M. (2002). *Are urban black families nuclear? A comparative study of black and white South African family norms*. (Working Paper No. 7). Centre for Social Science Research, Social Surveys Unit: University of Cape Town.
- Rutten, M., & Verstappen, S. (2014). Middling migration: Contradictory mobility experiences of Indian youth in London. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40(8), 1217-1235.
- Sachs, W. (2000). Preface to the new edition. In W. Sachs (Eds.), *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, (vi-xiv). London: Zed Books.

Retrieved July 10, 2016, from <http://shifter-magazine.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/wolfgang-sachs-the-development-dictionary-n-a-guide-to-knowledge-as-power-2nd-ed-2010-1.pdf>

Sander, C., & Maimbo, S. M. (2003). *Migrant labor remittances in Africa: Reducing obstacles to developmental contributions*. (Africa Region Working Paper, 64). Retrieved March 12, 2015, from <http://www.worldbank.org/afr/wps/wp64.pdf>

Sander, C., & Maimbo S. M. (2005). Migrant remittances in Africa: A regional perspective. In S. M. Maimbo, & D. Ratha (Eds.), *Remittances. Development impact and future prospects* (pp. 53-80). Washington D.C.: The World Bank. Retrieved March 12, 2015, from <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/419881444766663419/Remittances-DevelopmentImpcat-FutureProspects.pdf>

Sandu, D. (2006). *Living abroad on a temporary basis*. Bucharest: Open Society Foundation.

Sant'Ana, M. (2008). *The evolution of the concept of development: From economic growth to human development*. Democratic governance and theory of collective action. Sub-network on foreign direct investment and human Development. Retrieved July 10, 2016, from <http://iap6.cpdr.ucl.ac.be/docs/FDI-HD/WP-PAI.VI.06-FDI-HD-6.pdf>

Saracoglu, S., & Roe T. L. (2004). *Rural-urban migration and economic growth in developing countries*. Retrieved March 11, 2015, from <https://www.gtap.agecon.purdue.edu/resources/download/1734.pdf>

Schwartz, S. H. (1999). A theory of cultural values and some implications for work. *Applied Psychology*, 48(1), 23–47.

- Seers, D. (1969). *The Meaning of Development*. (IDS Communication 44). Retrieved July 10, 2016, from <https://www.ids.ac.uk/files/dmfile/themeaningofdevelopment.pdf>
- Sen, A. (1989). Development as Capability expansion, *Journal of Development Planning*, 19, 41-58.
- Sen, A. (1999). *Development as freedom*. New York: Anchor Book.
- Shani, G. (2012). Empowering the disposable? Biopolitics, Race and Human development. *Development Dialogue*, April, 99-113. Retrieved May 1, 2016, from [http://www.globalstudies.gu.se/digitalAssets/1430/1430108\\_empoweringshani.pdf](http://www.globalstudies.gu.se/digitalAssets/1430/1430108_empoweringshani.pdf)
- Sherbourne, R. (2016). *Guide to the Namibian economy 2017*. Windhoek: Institute for Public Policy Research.
- Shukla, S. (2015). Comparison between traditional society and modern society. Retrieved October 8, 2017, from <http://www.importantindia.com/17241/comparisonbetween-traditional-society-and-modern-society/>
- Silver, A. (2006). *Families across borders: The effects of migration on family members remaining at home*. Retrieved October 20, 2017, from <http://paa2006.princeton.edu/papers/61355>
- Singh, S. K., & Roy, A. K. (2015). *Understanding the linkage between International and Internal Migration process: A study of Eastern Uttar Pradesh, India*. *Population Association of America*. Retrieved February 14, 2014, from <http://paa2015.princeton.edu/uploads/152006>

- Sjaastad, L. (1962). The determinants of international migration: Theory. In O. B. Bodvarsson, & H. Van den Berg (Eds.), *The Economics of Immigration: Theory and policy* (pp.27-57). New York: Springer.
- Sjoberg, G. (1960). *The preindustrial city: Past and present*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.
- Skeldon, R. (2006). Inter linkages between internal and international migration and development in the Asian region. *Population, Space and Place*, 12(1), 15-30. Retrieved February 14, 2014, from [http://www.solutionexchange-un-gen-gym.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Skeldon\\_2006\\_Interlinkages-between-Internal-and-International-Migration-Asia.pdf](http://www.solutionexchange-un-gen-gym.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Skeldon_2006_Interlinkages-between-Internal-and-International-Migration-Asia.pdf)
- Skeldon, R. (2008). *Migration and Development*. UN/POP/EGM-MIG/2008/4 Retrieved February 14, 2014, from [http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/events/pdf/expert/14/P04\\_Skeldon.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/events/pdf/expert/14/P04_Skeldon.pdf)
- Sörensen, J. S., & Söderbaum, F. (2012). Introduction – The End of the Development-Security Nexus. In J.S., Sörensen, & F. Söderbaum (Eds.), *Development Dialogue: The End of the Development Security Nexus? The Rise of Global Disaster Management* (pp. 7-19). Uppsala: The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Retrieved June 14, 2016, from <http://gup.ub.gu.se/records/fulltext/170904/170904.pdf>
- Stanton, E. A. (2007). The Human Development Index: A History. (Working Paper 127). PERI: University of Massachusetts. Retrieved July 10, 2016, from [http://scholarworks.umass.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1101&context=peri\\_workingpapers](http://scholarworks.umass.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1101&context=peri_workingpapers)

- Stanton, M. E. (1995). Patterns of kinship and residence. In B. B. Ingoldsby, & S. Smith (Eds.), *Families in Multicultural Perspective* (pp. 97–116). New York: Guilford.
- Stark, O. (1991). *The migration of labor*. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell.
- Stark, O., & Bloom, D., E. (1985). The new economics of labor migration. *The American Economic Review*, 75(2), 173-178 Retrieved September 1, 2016, from [http://www.migrationpolicycentre.eu/docs/SummerSchool2013/readings/Kaczmarczyk\\_Reading%206.pdf](http://www.migrationpolicycentre.eu/docs/SummerSchool2013/readings/Kaczmarczyk_Reading%206.pdf)
- Starr, M. A. (2014). Qualitative and mixed methods in economics: Surprising growth, promising future. *Journal of Economic Survey*, 28(2), (238-264). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Stratan, A. (2013). *Development and side effects of remittances in the CIS countries: the case of Republic of Moldova*. (CARIM-East RR 2013/25). European University Institute: Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.
- Strauss, A. (1969). *Mirrors and masks. The search for identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1994). Grounded theory methodology. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 273-285). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (3<sup>rd</sup> Ed.). London: Sage.
- Streeten, P. (1972). *The frontiers of development studies*. London: Macmillan.
- Szirmai, A. (2005). *The Dynamics of Socio-Economic Development: An Introduction*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Tacoli, C. (2001). Urbanisation and migration in sub-Saharan Africa: changing patterns and trends, in M. de Bruijn, R. van Dijk, & D. Foeken (Eds.), *Mobile Africa. Changing Patterns of Movement in Africa and Beyond* (pp.141-152). Brill: Leiden.
- Taylor, J. E. (1999). The new economics of labour migration, and the role of remittances in the migration process. *International Migration*, 37(1), 63-88.
- Taborga, C. (2008). *Remittances, migration, gender and development: Future directions for research and policy*. (SSRC Migration & Development Conference Paper 18), New York, 28 February-1 March. Retrieved October 3, 2017, from <http://essays.ssrc.org/developmentpapers/wp-content/uploads/MigrationDevelopmentSSRCConferencePapers.pdf>
- Teye, J. K., Boakye-Yiadom, L., Awumbila, M., & Yeboah, C. (2016). *Social benefits and losses of migrating into cities in Ghana*. Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Retrieved October 30, 2017, from <http://migratingoutofpoverty.dfid.gov.uk/files/file.php?name=2015-16-4-cms-rp13-counterf-migration-into-cities-social-benefits-and-losses-final-bfp.pdf&site=354>
- Thai, M. T., Chong, L. C., & Agrawal, N. M. (2012). Straussian grounded-theory method: An illustration. *The Qualitative Report*, 17, Article 52, 1-55. Retrieved September 3, 2017, from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR17/thai.pdf>

- the Namibian (2016, May, 9). Namibia ranked 7th in growth of millionaires. *the Namibian*, Retrieved June 11, 2016, from <https://www.namibian.com.na/150525/archive-read/Namibia-ranked-7th-in-growth-of-millionaires>
- the *Namibian Constitution*. Retrieved, August 15, 2017, from <http://www.lac.org.na/Pdf/namcon.pdf>
- Thomas, A. (2000). Development as practice in a liberal capitalist world. In *International Development*, 12(6), 773-787.
- Thomas, W. I. (1923). *The unadjusted girl*. Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company.
- Thomassen, L. (2015). Forward. In M. La Barbera, (Ed.), *Identity and migration in Europe. Multidisciplinary perspectives*, (pp. v-vii). Springer.
- Thorbecke, E. (2007). The Evolution of the Development Doctrine, 1950–2005. In G. Mavrotas, & A. Shorrocks (Eds.), *Advancing developments. Core Themes in Global Economics* (pp. 3-36). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Thrillwall, A. P. (2002). *The nature of economic growth: An alternative framework for understanding the performance of nations*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Todaro, M. P. (1999). *Economic Development*. (7<sup>th</sup> Ed.), Addison Wesley.
- Tolhurst, E. (2012). Grounded theory method: Sociology's quest for exclusive items of inquiry. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 13(3), Art. 26.
- Townsend, N., Madhavan, S., Collinson, M., & Garenne, M. (2006). Collecting Data on Intra-Household Relationships in the Agincourt Health and Population Survey: Benefits and Limitations. In E. van de Walle, (Ed.), *African Households: Censuses and Surveys* (pp. 35-57). Armonk.

- Truman, H. S. (1949). Inaugural Address. In *Documents on American Foreign Relations*, Connecticut: Princeton University Press. Retrieved July 07, 2016, from <http://www.bartleby.com/124/pres53.html>.
- Turner, L. (2002). Book review: Anthony Giddens, Runaway world: How globalization is reshaping our lives. *Transcultural Psychiatry* 39, 394–415.
- ul Haq, M. (1995). *Reflections on Human Development*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ullah, A.K.M. Ahsan. (2017). Do remittances supplement South Asian development? *Remittances Review*, 2(1), 31-45. Retrieved August 15, 2015, from <http://www.tplondon.com/journal/index.php/rem/article/viewFile/862/598>
- United Nations INSTRAW. (2007). *Feminization of Migration*. United Nation, Retrieved November 1, 2017, from [http://www.renate-europe.net/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/Feminization\\_of\\_Migration-INSTRAW2007.pdf](http://www.renate-europe.net/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/Feminization_of_Migration-INSTRAW2007.pdf)
- United Nation. (2011). *Population distribution, urbanization, internal migration and development: An international perspective*. New York: DESA United Nations.
- United Nations Development Programme. (2009). *Human Development Report: Overcoming barriers: Human mobility and development*. New York: UNDP.
- UNDP. (2015). *The 2015 Human Development Report*. Washington: United Nations.
- United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific. (2008). *Key Trends and Challenges on International Migration and Development in Asia and the Pacific*. (Expert Group Meeting on International Migration and Development in Asia and the Pacific), Population Division, Bangkok: Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Retrieved October 10, 2017, from [http://www.un.org/esa/population/meetings/EGM\\_Ittmig\\_Asia/BGpaper\\_ESCAP.pdf](http://www.un.org/esa/population/meetings/EGM_Ittmig_Asia/BGpaper_ESCAP.pdf)

- United Nations Statistics Division. (2017). *Households and families definition*. New York: United Nations. Retrieved February 2, 2017, from <https://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/sconcerns/fam/fammethods.htm>
- United Nations. (1998). *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*, (E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.1, February 11). New York: United Nations. Retrieved December 10, 2015, from <http://www.brookings.edu/fp/projects/idp/resources/GPsEnglish.pdf>
- United Nations. (2015). *World Population Prospects: The 2015 revision* (UN DESA report). New York: United Nations.
- United Nations. (2015a). *World urbanization prospects: The 2014 revision*, (ST/ESA/SER.A/366). New York: United Nations, DESA. Retrieved June 9, 2014, from <https://esa.un.org/unpd/wup/Publications/Files/WUP2014-Report.pdf>
- United Nations. (2015b). *Trends in international migrant stock: The 2015 revision*, (POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2015). New York: DESA United Nations.
- Vari-Lavoisie, I. (2016). The economic side of social remittances: how money and ideas circulate between Paris, Dakar, and New York. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 4(20), 1-34. Retrieved October 31, 2017, from <https://comparativemigrationstudies.springeropen.com/track/pdf/10.1186/s40878-016-0039-6?site=comparativemigrationstudies.springeropen.com>
- Verick, S. (2014). *Female labor force participation in developing countries*. IZA World of Labor. Retrieved September 10, 2017, from <https://wol.iza.org/uploads/articles/87/pdfs/female-labor-force-participation-in-developing-countries.pdf>
- Vlase, I. (2013). Women's social remittances and their implications at household level: A case study of Romanian migration to Italy. *Migration Letters*, 10(1), 81-

90. Retrieved June 10, 2015, from [http://econpapers.repec.org/article/migjournal/v\\_3a10\\_3ay\\_3a2013\\_3ai\\_3a1\\_3ap\\_3a81-90.htm](http://econpapers.repec.org/article/migjournal/v_3a10_3ay_3a2013_3ai_3a1_3ap_3a81-90.htm)
- Weiler, K. (1994). Freire and a feminist pedagogy of difference. In P. McLaren, & C. Lankashear (Eds.), *Politics of liberation: Paths from Freire* (pp. 12-40). London and New York: Routledge.
- Werner, W. (1993). A brief history of land dispossession in Namibia. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 19(1), 135-146. Retrieved October 16, 2017, from <http://www.the-eis.com/data/literature/Werner%20land%20disposition%20in%20Namibia%201.pdf>
- White, J. M. (1991). *Dynamics of family development: The theory of family development*. New York: Guildford.
- Williams, L. B. (1990). *Development, Demography and Family Decision-Making: The Status of Women in Rural Java*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Williamsons, J. (1990). *Industrialization, inequality, and economic growth*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- Williamsons, J. (2004). *The Washington Consensus as Policy Prescription for Development*. A World bank lecture, January 13, 2004. Retrieved March 2, 2015, from <https://piie.com/publications/papers/williamson0204.pdf>
- Wimpenny, P., & Gass, J. (2000). Interviewing in phenomenology and grounded theory: is there a difference? *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 31(6), 1485-1492.
- Winterfeld, V., Fox, T., & Mufane, P. (2002), Understanding the family sociologically in contemporary Namibia. In V. Winterfeld, T. Fox, & P. Mufane (Eds.), *Namibia Society Sociology* (pp.147 -168). Windhoek: UAM.

- Winterfeldt, V. (2002). Labour migration in Namibia – Gender aspects. In V. Winterfeldt, T. Fox, & P. Mufune (Eds.), *Namibian Society Sociology* (pp. 33-74). Windhoek: UAM.
- World Bank Development Indicators. (update 7/1/2015). Retrieved July 10, 2015, from <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator?display=default>
- World Bank. (1981). *Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for Action*. Washington D.C: The World Bank.
- World Bank. (2016). Remittance data. Retrieved May 10, 2016, from April 2016 <http://econ.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTDECPROSPECTS/0,,contentMDK:22759429~pagePK:64165401~piPK:64165026~theSitePK:476883,00.html#Remittances>
- World Economic and Social Survey. (2010). *Retooling Global Development*. New York: United Nation.
- Wuest, J. (1995). Feminist grounded theory: An exploration of the congruency and tensions between two traditions in knowledge discovery. *Qualitative Health Research*, 5(1), 125–137.
- Xu-Doeve, W. L. J. (2008). *Introduction to the measurement of internal and international migration*. ANRC publishing. Retrieved February 10, 2015, from <shttp://www.ernestoamaral.com/docs/POP866/XuDoeve2008.pdf>
- Yu, T. K. (2007). *An empowerment approach to female migration: A case study of China's manufacturing industry*. (Working Paper Series 07-79) Development Studies Institute, London School of Economics and Political Science. Retrieved October 26, 2017, from <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/137972/WP79.pdf>
- Zelinsky, W. (1971). The hypothesis of the mobility transition. *Geographical Review*, 61(2), 219-49.

Zeyede, A. (2016). Do Remittances Promote Household Savings? Evidence from Ethiopia. *International Journal of African and Asian Studies*, 9, 17-23.

Retrieved May 10, 2016, from

<http://www.iiste.org/Journals/index.php/JAAS/article/view/29284/30073>

Zhu, N., & Luo, X. (2014). *The impact of migration on rural poverty and inequality a case study in China*. Retrieved January 10, 2015, from

<http://www.cirano.qc.ca/pdf/publication/2014s-08.pdf>

## Appendixes

### 1 Ethical Clearance



**UNAM**  
UNIVERSITY OF NAMIBIA

**ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE**

Ethical Clearance Reference Number: FHSS /240/2017      Date: 27 September, 2017

This Ethical Clearance Certificate is issued by the University of Namibia Research Ethics Committee (UREC) in accordance with the University of Namibia's Research Ethics Policy and Guidelines. Ethical approval is given in respect of undertakings contained in the Research Project outlined below. This Certificate is issued on the recommendations of the ethical evaluation done by the Faculty/Centre/Campus Research & Publications Committee sitting with the Postgraduate Studies Committee.

**Title of Project:** HUMAN MOBILITY: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON THE NAMIBIAN FAMILY INSTITUTION

**Researcher:** BRUNO VENDITTO

**Student Number:** 201312301

**Faculty:** Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

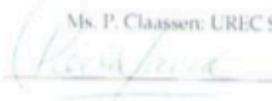
**Supervisors:** Dr. Thomas Fox (Main) Dr. Artwell Nhemachena (Co)

Take note of the following:

- (a) Any significant changes in the conditions or undertakings outlined in the approved Proposal must be communicated to the UREC. An application to make amendments may be necessary.
- (b) Any breaches of ethical undertakings or practices that have an impact on ethical conduct of the research must be reported to the UREC.
- (c) The Principal Researcher must report issues of ethical compliance to the UREC (through the Chairperson of the Faculty/Centre/Campus Research & Publications Committee) at the end of the Project or as may be requested by UREC.
- (d) The UREC retains the right to:
  - (i) Withdraw or amend this Ethical Clearance if any unethical practices (as outlined in the Research Ethics Policy) have been detected or suspected.
  - (ii) Request for an ethical compliance report at any point during the course of the research;

UREC wishes you the best in your research.

Prof. P. Odonkor: UREC Chairperson      Ms. P. Claassens: UREC Secretary



## 2 Permission to Undertake Fieldwork Research

University of Namibia, Private Bag 13301, Windhoek, Namibia  
340 Mandume Ndemufayo Avenue, Pioneerspark  
☎ +264 61 206 3111; URL: <http://www.unam.edu.na>



Department of Sociology

11 November 2016

***TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:***

***PERMISSION TO UNDERTAKE FIELDWORK RESEARCH***

**RE: PHD RESEARCH STUDENT: BRUNO VENDITTO (Student Number: 201312301)**

This letter serves to inform you that the above person is a registered postgraduate student at the University of Namibia in the Department of Sociology. We are notifying you for your information that the student has been granted full permission to carry out fieldwork research on *Migration and the Family in Namibia*. The research is undertaken for the purposes of his PhD thesis. Mr. Venditto is granted full permission under our university rules to undertake this research in Namibia.

The University of Namibia is kindly requesting your cooperation and participation in this migration information-seeking research. Beyond the PhD itself, the research will provide valuable policy insights for academia and government. Copies of the research will eventually be passed to the Government of the Republic of Namibia.

Thank you in advance for your kind participation, and for permissions for Mr. Venditto to undertake this research in your region during the year 2017. Further information of clarification can be obtained by contacting me direct.

Yours faithfully,

Dr Thomas Fox, Main supervisor & Senior Lecturer in the Dept. of Sociology; Tel: 061 2063808,

Email: [tfox@unam.na](mailto:tfox@unam.na)

### 3 Face-to-Face interview

#### 3.1 Participants' biographies

N	Age	Sex	Education	Background
1	34	F	Tertiary	From Omusati rural area, coming from a large family with more than 10 people living at the household, left the village to study. Living in Ais Ais where is working. Send financial remittances regularly at home using financial institutions. Single, migration is a temporary experience.
2	25	F	Tertiary	From Omusati rural area, orphan from a large family, the decision to move was taken by the guardians. She completed her studies until tertiary education away from the area of origin; is helping the siblings sending remittances regularly back in the village. Is working in Keetmanshop. Single
3	31	M	Tertiary	From Ohangwena rural area; medium size family, left the village to study after Grade 10 and continued his studies abroad (Russia) where he spent 7 years. Since starting working he is helping his parents and relative back home. Is working in Keetmanshop. Single.
4	25	M	Tertiary	From Ohangwena rural area; medium size family moved to continue his secondary and tertiary education Started working immediately after graduation and ever since never returned to the village for more than a month. He is regularly supporting the family and relatives at home. Is working in Keetmanshop. Single
5	30	M	Tertiary	Born in exile from single parent originally from Oshana rural area, small "biological family" but large extended family. Left the village to continue secondary and tertiary education. Supported by the mother during the school/university period, started working immediately after graduating. Send money home when needed via financial transfer. He is working in Mariental. Single, with kids.
6	23	F	G10	From Omusati rural area, medium size family, moved to look for work after completing G10; living in Windhoek where she is currently working while at the same time improving her level of education. Since she got a steady salary she is supporting her family, remittances are send via financial institutions. Single
7	30	F	G12 Tertiary	From Omusati rural area, from a medium size family, She moved to Windhoek to improve her level of education and get a job. While working has furthered her education obtaining a bachelor degree and currently is continuing further with part-time education. Occasionally she assists the single parent back in the village Single. <i>Household 5</i>
8	28	F	G12 Tertiary	From Omusati rural area, from a small biological family, but large extended one, with single parent, spent most of the childhood in the grandparent homestead. Moved to urban area to find a job and improve the level of education, which

				did after having found a job, reaching tertiary level, support regularly the grandfather homestead. Single. <i>Household 4</i>
9	39	F	Tertiary	From Omusati rural area, born in exile did never spent childhood in the village since after independence moved straight to Windhoek returned to the village only after parents' retirement. Strong cultural value Single, with kids
10	28	F	G12	From Omusati rural area, coming from a large family with more than 10 people, she has lived with the grandmother how is the head of the household. Moved to town to improve her education level started working and then got tertiary education. Her inner motivation to move has been to improve her future Helps both own mother and grandmother where she grow up Single. <i>Household 7</i>
11	53	M	Tertiary	From Omusati rural area, during the apartheid period completed his tertiary education abroad. Returned after independence left the homestead to work and support the family. After marriage continued to support both the parents and his own homestead. See migration as a temporary movement intending to return to place of birth after retirement. Married with kids. <i>Household 3a, Household 3b</i>
12	40	F	Tertiary	From Omusati rural area, Large family with 6 siblings of whom 5 had left to move to towns. She left to go to study at University. Regularly sending remittances home via financial institution, they represent a source of income for the family in the village. After working she moved to live alone in town. Single <i>Household 3a</i>
13	22	G12	College	From Karas rural area, living with the aunt and extended family, moved initially to Keetmanshop to complete grade 12 then to Windhoek to go to college. Got internship in company which allow him to continue the study and start to support the family at home

## **3.2 Migrant's Households description**

### **Household 1 –Participant 1b**

The wife of one of the two migrants coming from household 3a was also interviewed; she was the householder and was living with her sisters (3) and their children. Since the interview was conducted during the school vacation the two biological children of the couple were also staying at the residence. Authorisation was obtained to record the interview and to take pictures of the house.

The interview was conducted in English without the assistance of the translator.

### **Household 2 Participant 2b**

The widow parent (the mother aged 83) and 3 adult cousins, with several children ranging from few months to 14 years compose the household, overall there are 10 people living in the homestead. The mother is the head of the household; all her 6 children have moved away from the homestead, living and working either in Outapi or Windhoek, some of the grandchildren are also living with her. Most of the children have a high degree, Authorisation was obtained to record the interview and to take pictures of the house.

The interview was conducted in English with a cousin who also acted as translator for the mother; it took the form of a “group interview” since both participated;

### **Household 3 Participant 3b**

The household is composed by the widow parent (the mother) of the migrant interviewed, aged 63 an elder differently able daughter and a cousin who help in the house.

Authorisation was obtained to record the interview and to take pictures of the house.

The interview was conducted in English with the elder daughter who also acted as translator for the mother; it took the form of a “group interview” since both participated; an aunty present in the house also took part to the group interview

Number of people who took part to the interview: 3

### **Household 4 Participant 4b**

Seven people are living in the house, the grandmother, (aged 67), a young brother (aged 14) 3 cousins (aged 19, 22, 24) and the cousin children. The grandmother was the head of the household; all elderly members of the household (6) had moved away from to work either in Windhoek, none of them had a level of education higher than Grade 12. Authorisation was obtained to record the interview and to take pictures of the house.

The interview was conducted in English with the help of a translator, although all the 3 cousins spoke English; it took the form of a “group interview” since both participated;

Number of people who took part to the interview: 4

**Household 5 Participant 5b**

The parents, (the mother aged 57, father aged 63) and the last son (aged 25) and 1 young cousin composed the household. The father is the head of the household; all the other children of the couple (5) have moved away from the homestead, living and working in Windhoek. Some of them have a higher degree Authorisation was obtained to record the interview and to take pictures of the house.

The interview was conducted in English since both parents were fluently in the language; it took the form of a “group interview” since both participated;

**Household 6: Participant 6b**

The widow parent, (the mother aged 57) the last son (aged 19) and one young grandchild (aged 9) composed the household. The mother is the head of the household; all her 3 elder children (daughters) have moved away from the homestead, living and working either in Mariental or Windhoek, all three daughters have a high degree. During the time of the interview a neighbor was also present in the house and he also interacted with the household members during the interview. Authorisation was obtained to record the interview and to take pictures of the house.

The interview was conducted in English the son acted as translator for the mother; it took the form of a “group interview” since both participated;

Number of people who took part to the interview: 3

## 4 Consent Letter

University of Namibia, Private Bag 13301, Windhoek, Namibia  
340 Mandume Ndemufayo Avenue, Pioneerspark  
☎ +264 61 206 3111; URL.: <http://www.unam.edu.na>



Dear Participant,

### CONSENT LETTER

You are being asked to take part in a research study. The questionnaire has been developed to be used in the preparation of the doctoral thesis “*An investigation of the socio economic impact of migration on the Namibian family institution*” submitted for the fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Namibia.

The problem being researched is to understand the processes and characteristics of migration and their impact on, and contribution to, socio-economic development at the level of Namibian family. Little is known about the contribution of internal migration to the changing economic circumstances of family life and, consequently, the impact on national development. The study is going to assess the contribution of migration in changing the socio- economic structure of the Namibian family.

The objectives of the questionnaire are: A: to obtain preliminary information on Namibian internal/international migrants and to observe how economic and social remittances are changing both the family social relations and the development level of the family;

B: to streamline the sample in order to identified at least 20 migrants with whom to conduct in depth and focus groups interviews.

The questionnaire has two parts: Part 1 consisting of quantitative questions Part 2 consisting of qualitative questions

Before you decide to participate being informed that

6. The information provided by you in this questionnaire will be used for research purposes. It will not be used in a manner that would allow identification of your individual responses (i.e. personal name will not be used);
7. Your name will not be used in order to protect your identity and to ensure confidentiality, anonymity and privacy;
8. Notes, interview transcriptions, and any other identifying participant information will be kept in a locked file in the personal possession of the researcher and will only be used for the research purposes
9. Participant data will be kept confidential, and stored in safe place with the researcher, they will be kept for six months after the discussion of the thesis and will then destroyed (paper documents will be shred) and/or deleted from the memory of the computer or other technical devises.
10. You maybe chosen for a face-to-face interview, which will be tape-recorded, to facilitate the transcript. Your consent is requested. Should a translator be necessary he/she will sign a declaration of confidentiality not to divulge the information collected.
11. Your participation in this study is voluntary. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part in this study. If you decide to take part in this study, you will be asked to sign a consent form. After you sign the consent form, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. Withdrawing from this study will not affect the relationship you have, if any, with the researcher. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is completed, your data will be returned to you or destroyed.

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in this survey

---

**CONSENT** I have read and I understand the provided information and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and without cost. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study. I give my consent to the tape-recording of the interview.

Participant's signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

## 5 Quantitative-Qualitative Questionnaire

No	Code	
		<b>1 Personal Data</b>
1	1.1	Tribe/Ethic group:
2	1.2	Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/> Male
3	1.3	Age:
4	1.4	Legal Marital Status: <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Unmarried <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify)
		<b>2 Geographical data</b>
5	2.1	Place of birth: Region Town <input type="checkbox"/> Densely-populated area (Urban) <input type="checkbox"/> Intermediate area (Semi-urban) <input type="checkbox"/> Thinly-populated area (Rural)
		<b>3 Structure of the family/household in the village</b>
6	3.1	How many people, including yourself, from you household in the village? <input type="checkbox"/> 1-5 <input type="checkbox"/> 6 -10 <input type="checkbox"/> more than 10
7	3.2	Are you the head of the household? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
8	3.3	If not, what is the relation with the head of the household?
9	3.4	Are there other members of the household that live or have lived away from the village?, if yes how many
10	3.5	What were the main sources of income in your family/household before leaving? <input type="checkbox"/> Social security benefits <input type="checkbox"/> Salary of family members / Remittances <input type="checkbox"/> Occasional work <input type="checkbox"/> Profit from agricultural/commercial activities

#### 4 Personal Migration History

- 11 4.1 Year of 1<sup>st</sup> Arrival:
- 12 4.2 How many years have you lived away from homestead?  
 less than 1  
 1 - 5  
 6 -10  
 more than 10
- 13 4.3 Why did you move out of your place of birth?  
 To study  
 To join my family  
 To work  
 Other (please specify)
- 14 4.4 Number of years spent in the current place  
 less than 1  
 0-5  
 6 -10  
 more than 10
- 15 4.5 Did you work before moving away from home?  
 Yes  
 No
- 16 4.6 How did you find out about living/studying/working the new place before you left your village?  
 Through family and friends  
 Through people I met on the in Internet  
 Through a non-governmental organization or association  
 Other (Please specify)
- 17 4.7 How often do you communicate with the house members who remained at the village?  
 Daily  
 Weekly  
 Monthly  
 Rarely  
 Never
- 18 4.8 How do you stay in contact with them?  
 Phone  
 Email or chat  
 Social networking sites (Facebook, Twitter etc.)
- 19 4.9 How do you think that these relationship were affected by the distance (please explain)?
- 20 4.10 Do you volunteer/participate in any social group or organization, at home or in the place of residence?  
 Yes  
 No

**5 Remittances (money sent home)**

- 21 5.1 Do you send any money to your family at home?  
 Yes, regularly  
 Yes, occasionally  
 No
- 22 5.2 How do you send the money to your family?  
 Financial Institutions  
 Friends  
 Other (Please explain)
- 23 5.3 How do you decide how much money to send home?
- 24 5.4 Who received the money and why ?
- 25 5.5 How the money is spent ?  
 Food/clothing  
 Education  
 Health  
 House improvements  
 Agricultural / livestock activities  
 Investments  
 Savings  
 Other
- 26 5.6 Who decided what to spend and why ?

27 5.7 In addition to money, do you send any other types of goods to your family at home?

<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, regularly	<input type="checkbox"/> Clothing	<input type="checkbox"/> electrical appliance	<input type="checkbox"/> food	<input type="checkbox"/> other
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, occasionally	<input type="checkbox"/> Clothing	<input type="checkbox"/> electrical appliance	<input type="checkbox"/> food	<input type="checkbox"/> other
<input type="checkbox"/> No				

## 6 Qualitative Questionnaire

### 1 History of Migration

- 1 1.1 Can you describe how and why have you decide to leave your home place?
- 2 1.2 What does moving away from the village has meant to you?
- 3 1.3 Did your received any help, from family members, or friends that facilitated the movement?
- 4 1.4 How does your family view your decision to move away?
- 5 1.5 How do you see yourself today, in terms of your migration decision?
- 6 1.6 Do you feel that you met the expectations that you had when you left your home place?, what did you achieved?
- 7 1.7 Can you describe any particularly difficult moment related to your migration experience?
- 8 1.8 What, if anything, would you change about your decision to move if you could?
- 9 1.9 What are the negative aspects of living away from home place (socially, economically emotional), what do you lose
- 10 1.10 Do you feel that the time you are spending or have spent away from home place, allows you to live better than you would if you had not moved?
- 11 1.11 Do you regard your stay away from home temporary and where do you see yourself when you retire in town or in the home village?

### 2 Financial Remittances and Use

- 12 2.1 Would you like to tell at which stage of you living away from home did you begin to send money to your family at home?
- 13 2.2 Do you know how the money sent is used in your household and who decide how to use them?
- 14 2.3 Do you believe that each member of the household benefit from what you send? And how ?
- 15 2.4 Do you have the impression that since sending money/goods at home the economic condition of the household has changed? In which way?

### 3 Social Remittances and Use

- 16 3.1 Can you describe if your departure has determined any changes in the relationship with the rest of the member of the house, both from your side and from the family side. What things do you do now that you did not do previously?
- 17 3.2 To what extent leaving in a different environment has changed your vision of the world, your perception of the social norms and cultural values?

18 3.3 To what extent do you engage in social activities or transfer the new knowledge you have acquired away in your home place and in the home community

19 3.4 Do you feel that members of the village treat/consider you, or the family differently as result of you having moved away?

#### **4 Changes in Family and Gender Relationships**

20 4.1 As a woman/man has the relationship with the rest of the family members changed as resulting of you leaving away? (Are you treated differently, what things can you do now that you did not do previously?)

21 4.2 If you were in a relationship did the separation affected the stability or quality of the relationship?

22 4.3 If you had left minor children at home, has the separation affected the relationship with them and how took care of them in your absence

## **7 Questions to participants to the face-to-face interview:**

### **1 Migration History**

1. Can you describe how and why have you decided to leave your home place?
2. What does migration/moving away from the village has meant to you?
3. Did your received any help from family members or friends that facilitated the movement?
4. How did your family view your decision to move away?  
*Family influence in the decision to move*
5. How do you see yourself today, in terms of your migration decision?
6. Do you feel that you meet the expectations that you had when you left the home place, what did you achieve?
7. Can you describe any particularly difficult moments related to your migration experience?
8. What, if anything, would you change about your decision to move if you could?
9. What are the negative aspects or living away from home place, what do you lose?
10. Do you regard your stay away from home temporary and where do you see yourself when you retire in town or in the home village?

### **2 Financial Remittances and Use**

1. Would you like to tell at which stage of you living away from home did you begin to send money to your family at home?
2. Do you know how the money sent home is used and who decide how to use it?
3. Do you believe that each member of the household benefit from the money sent? And how?
4. Do you have the impression that since sending money/goods at home the economic condition of the household has changed? In which way?

### **3 Social Remittances: Changes in family, community and gender relationships**

1. To what extent leaving in a different environment has changed your vision of the world, your perception of the social norms and cultural values?

2. Can you describe if your departure has determined any changes in the relationship with the rest of the member of the house, both from your side and from the family side. What things do you do now that you did not do previously? Elaborate the gender relationship more
3. To what extent do you engage in social activities or transfer the new knowledge you have acquired away in your home place and in the place you reside now?
4. Do you feel that members of the village treat/consider you, or the family differently as result of you having moved away?
5. If you were in a relationship did the separation affected the stability or quality of the relationship?
6. If you had left minor children at home, has the separation affected the relationship with them and how took care of them in your absence?

## **8 Questions to family members taking part to the face-to-face interview:**

### ***1 History of Migration /Drivers***

1. Can you describe how and why your son/daughter, (wife/husband) has decided to leave home
2. How did you, and the rest of the family, view his/her decision to move away?
3. Did you or other member of the family or friends provide any help, to those who moved away?
4. What are the negative aspects of having one or more members of the family living away, what do you lose?

### ***2 Financial Remittances and Use***

1. Do you feel that since your sons/daughter (wife/husband) is supporting you, the family is in a better economical condition? Explain in details
2. Do you believe that each member of the household benefited from what you receive? And how?
3. How the money sent is used in the household and who decide how to use it?
4. If he/her had not moved away, do you think that the overall social situation of your household would be different from what is today? Why?

### ***3 Social Remittances and perception of gender relationship***

1. Can you describe if the move of your son/daughter (husband/wife) has determined any changes in the social family relationships.
2. Do you see any changes in the way your son/daughter behave with you or other members of the family now that he/she is spending so much time away from the village
3. Do you feel that members of the village treat/consider your son/daughter differently now that he moved away? Please explain how and why
4. Has the perception of the community changed towards you / has your status in the community, changed since your son/daughter is living away

## 9 Statistical Appendix

*Table 1 Ethnic Group*

<b>Description</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Oshiwambo	66	78.6
Kwangali	2	2.4
Damara>Nama	6	7.1
Colored	2	2.4
Herero	3	3.6
No answer	5	6.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>

*Table 2 Gender*

<b>Description</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Male	31	36.9
Female	53	63.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>

*Table 3 Legal Marital Status*

<b>Description</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Married	14	16.7
Unmarried	68	81.0
Divorced	1	1.2
Other	1	1.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>

*Table 4 Median age*

<b>Description</b>	<b>Years</b>
<i>Median</i>	30
<i>Oldest</i>	53
<i>Younger</i>	19

*Table 5 Migrants' area of origin*

<b>Description</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Densely-populated area (Urban)	16	19.0
Semi Urban	8	9.5
Thinly-populated area (Rural)	60	71.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>

*Table 6 Head of Household*

<b>Description</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Yes	8	9.5
No	76	90.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>

*Table 7 Regions*

<b>Description</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Omusati	30	35.7
Kavango	2	2.4
Karas	4	4.8
Khomas	2	2.4
Oshana	6	7.1
Ohangwena	7	8.3
Oshikoto	5	6.0
NA	28	33.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Table 8 Members household*

<b>Description</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
1-5	15	17.9
6-10	33	39.3
>10	36	42.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>

*Table 9 Other family Members living away*

<b>Description</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Yes	61	72.6
No	23	27.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>

*Table 10 Number of family members living away*

<b>Description</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
1	16	26.2
2	19	31.1
3	7	11.5
4	3	4.9
5	3	4.9
6	4	6.6
7	2	3.3
8	3	4.9
10	3	4.9
M10	1	1.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

*Table 11 Reason to move*

<b>Description</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
To study	37	44.0%
To join my family	1	1.2%
To work	44	52.4%
No answer	2	2.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 12 Family main sources of income\*

Description	N	%
Social security benefits	18	15.5%
Salary of family members/remittances	54	46.6%
Occasional work	10	8.6%
Profit from agricultural/	34	29.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

\* Total higher than 84 due to multiple answers

Table 13 Years living away from home

Description	N	%
Less than 1	10	11.9
1-5	38	45.2
6-10	16	19.0
>10	19	22.6
NA	1	1.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 14 Sources of information and support to migrate

Description	N	%
Family and friends	63	75.0
People I met in Internet	1	1.2
Non-governmental organ. or association	3	3.6
Advert/news	9	2.4
Other	2	10.7
No answer	6	7.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 15 Employment status before moving away from home

Description	N	%
Yes	17	20.2
No	65	77.4
NA	2	2.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 16 Communication occurrences with family members

Description	N	%
Daily	29	34.5
Weekly	50	59.5
Monthly	3	3.6
Rarely	1	1.2
No Answer	1	1.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>

*Table 17 Sending remittances*

<b>Description</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Yes, regularly	52	61.9
Yes, occasionally	30	35.7
NA	2	2.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>

*Table 18 Instrument used to send remittances*

<b>Description</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Financial Institutions	75	89.3
Friends	3	3.6
Other	3	3.6
NA	3	3.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>

*Table 19 How remittances are spent\**

<b>Description</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Food/clothing	57	24.5
Education	45	19.3
Health	37	15.9
House improvements	42	18.0
Agricultural / livestock activities	38	16.3
Savings	11	4.7
Other Paying house/field workers	2	0.9
NA	1	0.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>233</b>	<b>100</b>

\* Total higher than 84 due to multiple answers

*Table 20 Additional assistance\**

<b>Description</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Yes, regularly Clothing	18	14.9%
Yes, regularly Electrical App	1	0.8%
Yes, regularly Food	18	14.9%
Yes, occasionally Clothing	37	30.6%
Yes, occasionally Electrical App	3	2.5%
Yes, occasionally Food	29	24.0%
No	15	12.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>100%</b>

\* Total higher than 84 due to multiple answers