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Swazi Migrants in Johannesburg: quiet living

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NON PLAGARISM DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature:  Date: 17/07/2014

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Abstract

This study will explore how Swazi skilled migrants become insiders when they move to Johannesburg. It will focus on the bureaucratic and social mechanisms they employ to facilitate this process. As an under researched group skilled Swazi migrants remain relatively unknown. The study looks at the functions of blending in and distinctiveness; which encompass the social and bureaucratic mechanisms that manage the negative perceptions and attitudes towards foreigners. The study pays some attention to the historical and contemporary factors that Swazi migrants encounter and how they deal with them. There are two main theoretical frameworks that base the study; the documentation of migrants and the ideas of foreignness in South Africa. Documentation is examined from a legal/bureaucratic and symbolic understanding. Foreignness is examined as both advantageous and disadvantageous. This brings forth issues of contradiction and dichotomies in migrancy and how these can be understood. Lastly it considers citizenship and belonging. By examining how Swazi migrants validate their South African citizenship in cases where citizenship has been obtained illegally or without due process.

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Introduction

I had known Nkululeko from when I was missing my front set of milk teeth, running around as part of the neighbourhood children's gang. We played in the swamp together, tried to roast our own potatoes stolen from the kitchen pantry and shared stories of late arrivals at home and consequent punishment. Into high school, university and employment we stayed in touch with each other. He was 5 years older than I was, but the friendship forged from when we were younger remained, even though we were usually at different places in our lives. We were never the type of friends who spent too much time together especially during the teen years, but we always kept lines of communication going. Later on in life when we had more things in common our interactions were a lot more regular. It was as I watched his mother try and process his life insurance claim that I began to wonder about some of the ways in which Swazis try to create educational and employment opportunities in and outside of Swaziland. I wondered not only about the processes but also the unintended consequences of the measures taken. I watched his mother try to make sense of documents. I observed her trying to convince others of what she knew to be true- that her son was dead and the money she was entitled to was being stalled by bureaucracy. For me, Nkululeko's story raised practical questions about some of the measures taken by him and his family. Was it all worth it? Would they do it again knowing what they know now?

When Nkululeko was 18 years old, his older male cousin Vulindlela was offered a job in Asia. Vulindlela offered to take three relatives with him, to open them up to better opportunities at school. Under the company's relocation program, Vulindlela could be accompanied by his family. Since Nkululeko was already 18 years old and was according to the law considered an adult, he could not be put under Vulindlela's guardianship in order to travel with him as family. To overcome this problem, Nkululeko used a contact within the government to change the date of birth on his birth certificate. The new date of birth placed him two years younger and with this change he was able to travel with Vulindlela to Asia.

After two years in Asia, Nkululeko returned to Swaziland to find that his brother, Bheki, had moved to South Africa for work. During his stay in South Africa, Bheki had become a South African citizen with a South African identity document. When Nkululeko returned from Asia, his family looked for opportunities for him. One option was for Nkululeko to live with his brother in Johannesburg while he either finished his tertiary education or found a job. Bheki arranged a South African identity document for Nkululeko. The identity document used Nkululeko's original date of birth. Bheki also took out family life insurance policies with a South African insurance company for Nkululeko, himself and their parents. Bheki and Nkululeko's insurance policies were taken under their South African identities and the rest of the family with their Swazi identity.

Before Nkululeko moved to Johannesburg, he was offered a scholarship to the United States of America by the Swazi government. He stayed in the United States for six years completing his undergraduate and graduate studies before returning to South Africa initially. His family protested against this move, telling him that there were more opportunities to be gained in the United States of America than either in Swaziland or South Africa. Despite family protests Nkululeko moved to Johannesburg and spent 18 months looking for employment. In that year and a half Nkululeko used the South African identity documents Bheki had arranged for him. Failing to secure employment in South Africa, he moved back to Swaziland. He stopped using his South African identity and started using his Swazi identity. Back in Swaziland Nkululeko joined the king's regiment and partook in Swazi national celebrations such as *Incwala* (first fruits ceremony) and in *kuhlehla* (tribute labour) for the king.

After two years of being back in Swaziland, Nkululeko passed away. The death certificate issued contained his current identity details including the falsified date of birth and had his nationality as Swazi. When settling his estate Nkululeko's family put a claim through to the South African insurance company. Due to the inconsistency in documentation between his South African identity details which the insurance policy was under and his Swazi identity details which his birth certificate reflected, the insurance company refused to settle the claim. Nkululeko's family tried to pass the different dates and nationalities

as a mistake made in the heat of the moment. However, the insurance company insisted that they needed the death certificate to be amended to show the correct age and nationality. This would prove to them that it is the same person who passed away. In order to be able to change the death certificate, Nkululeko's family also then needed to change his Swazi identity document details so both would be consistent with each other. When the family tried to have the Swazi identity document amended they were told that to change the deceased identity details was impossible as someone dead cannot change their identification. This meant the details on the death certificate could also not be changed.

The next option was to have the death declared in South Africa under Nkululeko's South African identity. This would result in a South African death certificate which the family could then use to claim from the insurance company. However since Nkululeko's original South African identity document was lost and the family only had a photo copy; they had no legal way of proving Nkululeko was a South African. Bheki could not testify to Nkululeko's nationality because they were not registered as siblings on the South African national system. It would also be a risk for Bheki to declare a death with inconsistent details and should the authorities question Nkululeko's death it could lead to an investigation which would place Bheki at risk because of his having a South African identity document even though he is Swazi[1]. *Make* Nxumalo, Nkululeko's mother organized with *Babe* Msimang, someone she knew with an authentic South African identity document living in South Africa to declare and have the death registered in South Africa. He was to do this under the pretence of being the Nkululeko's uncle. An affidavit stating that the Swazi officials had incorrectly filled out the deceased details was filed and papers lodged with the South African authorities. Once the death was notified with the South African authorities, the family took the South African death notice with all the correct South African identity details amended the Swazi death certificate and used that to claim from the insurance company.

[1] Since citizenship in South Africa is obtained mainly through birth, descent or naturalization. None of which Bheki or Nkululeko met the requirements for, which made them illegal.
http://www.services.gov.za/services/content/Home/ServicesforForeignNationals/Permanentresidence/sacitizenship/en_ZA

This study comes from my time spent living in South Africa as a Swazi. I have wondered why emaSwati and I suppose Basotho and Batswana almost never fell under the category of foreigners when discussions about foreigners in South Africa were taking place. Especially after the recent wave of xenophobic incidences and the public discourse on foreigners that has followed since. Somehow although officially they are foreigners, their presence in the country did not seem to produce the same negative public attitudes that other African nationals produce. Trying to think of it from a statistical perspective did not help as it appeared to me that the majority of Swazi families that I knew had at least one member of their family in South Africa for various reasons. Therefore it seemed unreasonable to say it was because Swazis are few in South Africa. Secondly I always wondered why emaSwati from Swaziland in South Africa were 'hard' to locate. Unlike other nationals to hear the language and an accent on the streets at various places was normal, yet the siSwati accent is uncommon in the streets of Johannesburg that I have walked. Sometimes I would hear siSwati from Mpumalanga spoken which is different from siSwati from Swaziland. When I hear someone speaking siSwati in public areas my attention is immediately drawn because it is infrequent. Again I wondered what the reason could be, was it intentional or unintentional not to be 'heard or seen' or was it just part of integrating into the society?

This study will explore the various bureaucratic mechanisms; which are the official and administrative tools such as identity documents, passports, and drivers licences and it will explore the social mechanisms; such as formal and informal groups, institutions and social activities, used by skilled[2] Swazi migrants in Johannesburg to facilitate their integration into South Africa and become 'insiders'[3]. In particular, it discusses the contradictory actions of blending-in and separation used concurrently during their stay in South Africa. This is achieved through the acquisition of South African identity documents, and by being distinctive when it comes to ethnicity. By identity documents I mean full citizenship including a South African passport and the right to vote, which are the main differences between

[2] Skilled meaning that they are either formally educated and/or trained or have experience in a particular profession.
[3] I use the term 'insiders' to mean belonging in South Africa.

citizenship and permanent residence in South Africa[4]. I argue that Swazi migrants use distinctiveness and blending-in as a means of managing the perceptions, attitudes and the immigration system which generally place the migrant as undesirable. With the aim of showing migrant agency when historically South African migrant literature has placed the migrant in a disadvantaged position, and vulnerable to the state and the public. I also although indirectly look at why Swazis migrate to South Africa.

For the purposes of this study, unless otherwise specified, what I mean by identity documents is full citizenship and not permanent residency. This I discuss in more detail later in the thesis. I use the term blending-in instead of assimilation because assimilation expects foreigners to adopt the culture, views and beliefs of their host country (Parekh 2008). This is not the purpose of the tactics and methods used by Swazi migrants. I do use the term integration and blending in equally, because they are the closest to each other. I must state that I do not include in the use of the term integrating the assumption that places the responsibility of integration on the immigrant (Parekh 2008). Instead by using the term integration and blending in, I assume that both the immigrant and society they are entering into make adjustments to allow for positive mixing/integration. Distinctiveness is used to imply a separation and uniqueness of Swazis. It is not only that they are separate or not similar to South Africans and other ethnicities but the claim is that there is something unique, and exclusive about being Swazi from Swaziland which is being highlighted as distinctive.

The reason I offer for Swazi migration being about blending-in is because of an incident that occurred in the mid-1990s, where two prominent Swazi media personalities were publically fired from the South African Broadcasting Corporation. Media attention from their presence and positions within the South African Broadcasting Corporation caused public outrage. This occurred at a time when there was a lot of public discourse about the role of black foreigners and exiles[5] in leadership and industry in South Africa.

[4] http://www.intergate-immigration.co.uk/south-africa-citizenship/ 01-07-2014
[5] I use the term exile broadly including those exiled for political and other various reasons

The exiles and other foreigners were seen as taking over[6] as opposed to black South Africans who stayed and endured the *apartheid* system and now were being discriminated against again for their lack of education. When these two personalities were fired their false South African identification was the reason given for their loss of employment. This reason was not wholly accepted because in the media reports at the time there was much discussion on foreigners getting 'South Africans' jobs and the South African nationals opportunities. This incident I propose has served as a warning to other Swazi migrants about the risks of bringing too much attention to oneself, owing to existing views about foreigners in South Africa, and the risky use of South African identity documents by Swazi migrants.

I describe the use of South African identity documentation by Swazi migrants in this thesis as risky because of the illegal nature of most of the documentation. There are various ways in which foreigners can get identity documentation in South Africa. I found Swazi migrants were acquiring South African citizenship through; descent where one or two of the parents were South African citizens and they were born in Swaziland, familial descent where a South African family member or family friend would adopt the Swazi relative in order for them to get South African citizenship or through a reference where a South African member of the family, family friend and/or South African connection (preferably someone in civil service) would vouch for them in an affidavit as having been born in South Africa for their citizenship applications. This last option usually required a bribe of some sorts to the one vouching and the immigration officer processing the application since the documentation provided is usually not sufficient for the official procedural processing of the application. Thirdly they would bribe an official to process new identity documents without any supporting documentation. In my research I did not come across any marriages of convenience or changed identities ,where in some cases it has been known for foreigners to take up new names and identities and/or assume someone else's identity. Nor did I come across fake marriages where South African citizens are unknowingly 'married off' to foreigners in order for them to get identity documents through marriage. This is not to say it does not occur with Swazi

[6] http://www.rosalux.co.za/wp-content/files_mf/southafricanexile01_201136.pdf 10-12-2013

migrants. One of my participants, who used a family friend to get her identity documents, relates how the family friend had assumed a new identity when he got his South African identity document. He had changed his name and surname and was living under the new name in South Africa. In my research most of my participants had obtained their documentation legally albeit using legal loop holes to do so. The main form of risk for those with legal and illegal documentation is that they retained both their Swazi and South African citizenship. It is not illegal to have dual citizenship in South Africa[7], however it has to be declared to and approved by the department of Home Affaires which means one would have to declare their Swazi citizenship and in doing so take the risk of not having the dual citizenship approved. Secondly with dual citizenship the law states that when entering or exiting South African the South African citizen must use a South African passport they can use their other passport when outside of the country[8] . In Swaziland dual citizenship is permitted only to those citizens born in Swaziland and requires permission from government (Manby 2010:63). I found that Swazi migrants tend not to declare their Swazi citizenship[9] and depending on the circumstances will use both their Swazi and South African passports to enter and exit South Africa although this was rare. Since most of the Swazi migrants I have come across try to keep both sets of documentation and use a particular set of documents for each country, this I refer to as double citizenship and not dual citizenship. I do so in order to differentiate it from dual citizenship since dual citizenship is legal and the other double citizenship is illegal.

Coplan (2009), Comaroff and Comaroff (2001) state that there has always been a presence of African immigrants in South Africa. They question what has changed that has caused South Africans to feel like they are now being 'invaded' and/or 'penetrated' by foreigners[10]? The movement of people and crossing boundaries/borders has been linked to broader concerns about cultural displacement due to their movement. Based on accepted ideologies of identity and territory being bound together (Malkki 1992).

[7] http://www.paralegaladvice.org.za/docs/chap02/02.html 01-07-2014
[8] http://www.intergate-immigration.com/blog/dual-citizenship-south-africa/ 01-07-2014
[9] None of the participants who discussed their identity document acquisition had done so through naturalization. There was one participant who was considering naturalization but had yet not started the process.
[10] This invasion has especially been blamed on Africans from the north of South Africa's borders.

When individuals move across boundaries, the concern becomes that the individual is uprooting themselves and will need to be re-rooted at some point. This begs the question, can they re-root successfully in a different territory? That question is not the purpose of this study. Rather I question the belief that one needs to be re rooted somewhere again.

By naturalizing people to places, it has made normal the idea that people belong to particular places based on national borders usually and that moving outside of those boundaries is abnormal. This naturalization has been done in two ways, through metaphoric synonyms that link land to a people and cultures for example Thailand to Thais and Thai culture, secondly through the territorialization of culture to land through terms like native to the soil, indigenous and autochthonous (Malkki 1992:26-29).

The movement and entries of foreign African's into South Africa has been met with assumptions that those foreigners will need to take root elsewhere. The fear is that like alien plant species, they will take root thrive and suffocate the indigenous plant species (Comaroff and Comaroff 2001). In this case the indigenous plants symbolise South Africans, who will be made to suffer because of the presence of foreigners who have 'taken over'.

It is this fear of being invaded that Swazi migrant coping mechanisms are directed towards. The methods and tools they use to integrate into South African society are all meant to keep these assumptions and fears about being invaded at bay. Thus keeping South African attitudes towards Swazi migrants welcoming and open.

According to Reitzes (1995) (as cited in Reitzes and Bam 2000:81) categorization as insider or outsider has largely depended on national origin. The postcolonial African Natioal Congress government has historically made an effort to keep away from cultural or ethnic difference, and have adopted a universalist stance, however they have had to revise this stance when this contradicted the lived experiences of its subjects/citizes (Comaroff and Comaroff 2003:448-449). This is what Comaroff and Comaroff call the contradictions between the citizen who is rights-bearing and the subject who speaks the

language of the collective being, a collective being based on ethnic collectivity trying to co exist (2003). The two different types of citizens, constitutional and collective have lived awkwardly next to each other and at times coming into conflict with one another as the nation building has failed at creating a homogenous nation (rainbow nation) in South Africa.

Like in other post colonial nations according to Comaroff and Comaroff (2003) difference is the basis of these nations, differences in race are inherited from colonial regims that constituted colonial nations according to race. Comaroff and Comaroff (2009) also state that beyond the inherited differences, neo liberalism has extended the differences not only in race but ethnically and culturally through the commodification of culture and ethnicity. Meaning that ethnic and cultural differences have become products and are constantly being reinforced to ensure their continued value. It is this commodification that makes Swazi migrant distinctiveness possible. As it allows Swazi migrants to make positive value claims about their presence in South Africa.

There are nine sections all together in this thesis; an introduction, literature review, methodology, historical background, four chapters and a conclusion. I will preview the historical background and chapters here. In the historical background I discuss the socio-economic relationship between Swaziland and South Africa pre to post-colonial times. In order to contextualise Swazi migrancy to South Africa as well as provide an explanation for existing relations between Swazi and South Africans including the links of migration between the two countries and to show the factors that influence perceptions of Swazi foreignness by South Africans.

In chapter one I describe factors and changes that have occurred considerations of what increases the chances of employment in South Africa. I do this in order to contextualise the reasons why the South African identity document has become so integral to Swazis migrating to South Africa. I suggest that getting South African identity documents can be understood as a way for blending-in.

The second chapter examines the psychological effect and consequence of the bureaucratic identities/ labels (South African identity documents) assumed by Swazi migrants and why they need to be managed. I argue that Swazi migrants need to validate the legitimacy of the South African documentation they have as a way of bringing control to their unstable position in South Africa.

The third chapter discusses the contradictions that migrants feel and experience. I claim that through physical and figurative mobility for example when they change personas according to place and circumstances, migrants are able to pick and choose blending-in or distinctiveness according to the situation. This enables them to move between spaces and places and allows for changes in persona. The ability to change persona therefore allows the migrant to adapt according to the environmental requirements because the migrant's complex nature can be applied with reduced conflict based on contradictions.

The fourth chapter discusses visibility or the lack of visibility of Swazi migrants in South African general public. I consider how this lack of visibility is part of the blending in tactic employed. I also examine how far this 'invisibility' extends, if it extends to all aspects of migrant lives or not. I do this by looking at culture and how this area is a point of departure from the tactic, in this area cultural distinctiveness is assumed and I explore why that is? I argue cultural distinctiveness is acceptable due to notions of nation and the basis which those nations are founded on.

Literature Review

Various forms of spatial mobility have been a social and historical factor in Africa prior to colonialism (cf Adepoju 2006, Crush 1999, Williams and Peberdy 2005). Commonly configured around shared culture, language and colonial heritage intra-regional migration has been both compelled and voluntary within diverse socio political and economic contexts (Adepoju 2006). Migration can be described as "the response to structural disequilibria between and within sectors of an economy, or between countries" Arango (2000) (as cited in Adepoju 2006:26).

African migration is not a result of colonialism. Instead colonialists established present day migration patterns by reinforcing existing migratory patterns and instituting administrative tools and systems in the migration process in order to support the colonial project (Adepoju 2006:26). For example, the demarcation of national territories and creation of borders between nation states influenced how people moved and where they moved to especially after independence. Independence, which involved establishing territories into sovereign states brought about a change in how nations viewed international boundaries. Established nation states focused on preserving limited employment opportunities for their citizens (Adepoju 2006:28). During the colonial period people living in Southern Africa saw a rise in international[11] migration especially in the latter parts of the nineteenth century (Oucho 2006:47). As mining and commercial farming took hold in countries such as South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe, a rise in unskilled labour migration to those countries increased [12] (Ouch 2006). Between 1990 and 2000 Southern Africa experienced an unprecedented volume of cross-border migration (cf Oucho 2006: 49).

There are three main types of international migration. These are labour mobility/migration of skilled and unskilled labour, refugee movements and permanent migration. Undocumented or illegal migrants are a

[11] For this thesis the term 'cross-border' migration will be used for movement between common borders and international migration will refer to cross-border and long transit movement/migration.
[12] It must be noted that for a long time during the colonial period and *apartheid* borders were not as recognized as post-independence

subset of each of these migration forms (Kok, Gelderblom and van Zyl 2006:5, Oucho 2006). Internal migration is defined as "movements that occur when people move from one part of a country to another" (Wentzel and Tlabela 2006:91).

In southern Africa migration in the late 20th century occurred mainly to South Africa to meet the *apartheid* era's labour requirements (Adepoju 2006). Even with sanctions imposed on the then *apartheid* government, the established economy and thriving production especially in the mining and commercial farming sectors meant South Africa had increasing need for labour (Crush et al 2005, Kabundi and Loots 2007, Peberdy 2009). Attracted by wage employment unskilled labourers from Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe migrated to South Africa to work in the commercial farming, mining and service industries (Oucho 2006). In order to manage the influx of labourers and maintain *apartheid* policy the South African government engineered a system of circular[13] or oscillatory migration which sought to keep black migrant labour temporary (Oucho 2006). Permanent migration[14] was suppressed by contracting labourer for fixed periods requiring them to return home at least every two years.

This mobility is illustrated by Coplan (1994), Magubane (1973) and Lubkemann (2008) as they describe how labourers were always travelling between their 'homes' and places of employment. For example Magubane (1973) describes the constant travelling of internal migrants as they travel between their rural homesteads and urban East London for employment. Coplan (1994) describes the journeys of Basotho miners travelling to and from Lesotho and South Africa. By avoiding the permanent settling of migrants the South African government reduced the social costs incurred for permanent migrants; costs such as added benefits to their wages or having to accommodate them permanently (Adepoju 2006: 33). The studies on mobility highlighted the social, cultural and economic effects of migration on the migrant and

[13] Defined as "non-permanent movements in circuits within and across national boundaries, which begin and (must) end at 'home" Ouch (as cited in Adepoju 2006: 26)
[14] Defined as " when foreign nationals are given permanent residency in their new host countries after migrating there and meeting the immigration requirement of the host/ receiving country (Oucho 2006:51)

society (the societies they worked in and their home societies) (Gidwani and Sivaramakrishnan 2003, Jinnah 2013, Lubkemann 2008).

Within a larger argument migrant mobility falls under discussions of locations both figurative and literal and where migrants are said to be located[15] These discussions initially fixed migrants to single locations for example assimilation which fixes the migrant to their new environment through the adoptation of the new environments ways. Moving to a more multifaceted view of migrants and their locations or transnationalism[16] where the migrant can be located in more than one area at the same time ((eds) P.Levitt.& S. Khagram 2008, Pries 2001, Portez 1999, Rosenfield 2002 and Vervotec 1999). The change in the location of the migrant has changed how migrancy and migrant experience is understood. This has also changed the nature of the migrant, from being a state of static and powerlessness to a dynamic state where the migrant has agency (Neyers 2010).

The social and cultural aspects of migration have led to studies in the impact of mobility and space on the migrant, their ideas and beliefs on social and cultural matters (Geschier & Gugler 1998, Lubkemann 2008). This impact has been described in terms of a breakdown of cultural values and beliefs as migrancy and too much time away from home seen to corrupt those cultural values (cf Geschier & Gugler 1998).

In the 1970s and 1980s South Africa's migration studies were concerned with unskilled, continuously mobile labourers and the contextualizing *apartheid* political system that administered the migrants (Coplan 1994, Meyer 1962, Murray 1981). These studies focused on the institutional and administrative impact of *apartheid* on migration. Looking at what were the restrictions that *apartheid* policies put on migration, who could migrate, where they could migrate to and for how long. They also looked into the outcomes of these policies on the migrants, for instance the consequences of male migrations on family structures. Secondly these studies into South African migration documented and analysed the migrant experiences as they occurred and the outcomes of these experiences; socially, culturally and economically

[15] [15] These include geographical, economic, political and social locations.
[16][16] Refers to "multiple ties and interactions linking people to institutions across borders and nation-states" (Vertovec 1999:447)

for the migrant, his/her family and the society's they occupy both at 'home' and in their work environments (Coplan 1994, Hunter 1961, Meyer 1962, Murray 1981 Sharp and Spiegel 1990); how migrants dealt with policies and laws, for example how they dealt with restrictions on permanent settlement in South Africa (Coplan 1994, Hunter 1961, Murray 1981).

Prior to the 1970s migration studies looked at various racial groups and policies of inclusion and exclusion and especially focusing on white migrant assimilation into South Africa (Peberdy 2009:1), through the documentation of white immigrants usually defined by their nationality with their impact on Afrikaner nation building being the main factor in influencing categories they were placed in. It was at this time that Afrikaner nation building was the main project of the then republic government and migration played an important role in building that nationalism (Peberdy 2009). Not only were the immigration laws severe, they were also based on *apartheid* racial exclusionary system where some types of immigrants were better than other types and with no transparency in the systems. For example before 1994 industries such as mining and farming were able to bypass immigration laws and import labourers and white migrants were encouraged to immigrate and assimilate into South African Afrikaner culture unlike black migrants who were kept from integrating and permanent settlement (Crush 1999, Peberdy 2009). Race as well as industry was treated with double standards.

In the 1990s a shift occurs from the 1970s and 1980s migration studies, moving away from the nature and consequences of the migrant labour system in South Africa particularly of black migrants and moving into issues of immigration (Crush 1999, Crush 2000, Maharaj & Rajkumar 1997, Peberdy 2009 and Posel 2003). So instead of looking at migrants and their experiences in South Africa within the *apartheid* context, the focus moved to who was coming in and who was settling in permanently and how was the permanency of the immigrants being processed and perceived by the state and the public.

There were two main trends in South African migrations studies in the 1990s. The one focused on immigration, perceptions, attitudes and processes of ideas of permanent settlement in South Africa,

migration studies in the 1990s turned their focus onto the immigration system. By examining concepts of policy, citizenship, nationalism and the incorporation of foreigners into South Africa and drawing away from the descriptions and character of migration or of being a mobile migrant (Jinnah 2013 and Pebrdy 2009). After 1994 the 'floodgate' of immigration to South Africa from African and Eastern European countries opened (Adepoju 2008:22). Making the permanent settlement of all foreigners a matter of concern, on a level it had not been before because of the apartheid exclusionary policy.

The second was influenced by the opening up of borders and the rise in undocumented[17] migrants in the 1990s. The literature focused to immigration laws in South Africa, the bureaucracy around immigration and access to lawful documentation (cf. Crush 2000, Handmaker & Parsley 2001, Crush 1999, Crush et al 2005, Peberdy 2009). Those studies revealed South Africa's immigration system to be ineffective due to its lack of transparency and inability to process the numbers of foreigners coming into the country and restrictive because of the exclusionary foundations immigration laws were based on (Crush 2000), resulting in studies on the impact of the immigration system's structural inefficiencies on foreigners and the immigration process in South Africa (Crush 1999, 2000).

Studies on policy and the immigration system by Comaroff and Comaroff (2003), Coplan (2009), Crush (2000), Maharaj and Rajkumar 1997, Peberdy (2009), Reitze and Bam (2000), have also included a look into the official and public discourses on immigration. The official discourse showed an emphasis on exclusion and law enforcement when dealing with migrants, particularly when it came to policy which is still governed by the Aliens Control Act of 1991 drafted on *apartheid* ideology. There have been attempts by government to amend immigration policy and base it more on a rights based model in a draft Green Paper on International Migration bill and the Refugees Act in 1997 and 1998 respectively (Crush 2000, Handmaker and Parsley 2001). These papers proposed incorporating a commitment to human rights and

[17] Defined to be "comprised of immigrants who lack documents authorizing their stay or residence in the receiving country; those who have overstayed their authorized duration of residence/stay and who are determined to avoid contact with the law enforcement agencies; defaulters of amnesty or those who failed to exploit that opportunity; and unsuccessful applicants for formal granting of refugee or asylum status who try to avoid discovery in one way or another" (Oucho 2006:52).

proposed practical measures to address South Africa's labour requirements such as the need for skilled migrants (Handmaker and Parsley 2001). The Green papers were replaced by the White Paper on International Migration Bill and the Regulations to the Refugees Act presented to parliament in May 1999, February and April 2000 respectively which favoured more security and control promoting summary arrest and deportation without following procedure (Crush 2000 and Handmaker and Parsley 2001, Peberdy 2009).

There has been a growing concern by the public and the state over illegal migrants who have been on the rise in South Africa since the 1990s (Maharaj and Rajkumar 1997:255). This is partly because of the lack of knowledge about them. Their numbers are unknown and controversially estimated causing many misconceptions to be made about them (Adepoju 2008, Crush 1999. 2000, Maharaj and Rajkumar 1997). For example there have been misconceptions about undocumented migrants taking jobs from South Africans, being diseased and having a negative impact on South Africa's financial economy and society (Maharaj and Rajkumar 1997).

These misconceptions have resulted in growing hostilities towards foreigners (Crush 2000, Maharaj and Kumar 1997, Wentzel and Tlabela 2006). Although hostilities have been found to vary between foreigners, some foreigners have been viewed more favourably than others (Crush 2000 Peberdy 2009, and Posel 2003). For example initial assumptions have been that migrants from immediate neighbouring countries are better received than those from other countries. This has been questioned by Reitze and Bam (2000:87) whose study on Mozambican migrants has shown that a significant change in attitude towards foreigners occurs after the 1994 democratic elections in South Africa (Reitze and Bam 2000). Reitze and Bam show how the program of nation building in South Africa negatively affected attitudes towards migrants and foreigners because it placed them as outsiders in South African society (2000). However studies have also shown that despite popular belief, undocumented labourers can have a positive impact by creating wealth for their receiving countries (Crush 1999).

There has also been prevailing studies on the treatment and perceptions of foreigners by South Africans and how these perceptions have led to the creation of the foreigner as the other. As negative attitudes towards foreigners have been linked largely to policy and nation building, Coplan (2009) credits a history of social exclusion to the negative attitudes. According to Coplan from the eighteenth century exclusion between races and tribes; economic and social inequalities as the gap between rich and poor seemed to widen, and police and media discourse that criminalised the immigrant were some of the ways in which the foreigner was seen to be the other and as ought to be feared (2009). It is this creation of the other and fear of the other that has prompted violence against perceived foreigners or given the rise to xenophobic phenomena.

Studies on immigration literature have focused on citizenship and what it means to be a citizen, which Agnew (1999), Andrijasevic & Anderson (2009), Miller (2000), and Nyers (2010) declare, allows the migrant to enter the political economy of their host country. Citizenship as a bureaucratic label has been discussed in terms of what do labels do and mean (Anderson 1983, Hein 1999, Zetter 1999). Stating that labels are bureaucratic tools full of meaning, this meaning is attached through the definitions and values used to create the labels (Hein 1999, Zetter 1999). The studies on labels and meanings attached to bureaucratic labels in immigration and citizenship studies have been part of a broader discussion on questions of belonging and legitimacy.

Migration into South Africa has changed according to Crush, Williams and Peberdy (2005), Handmaker and Parsley (2001), Posel (2003). After 1994 South Africa has been not only opened its borders metaphorically but has also been engaged in non-racial nation building, producing a new interest in the influence of nation building on migrants and immigrants and vice versa (Crush 2000). This resulted in discourses about 'acceptable and unacceptable' foreigners in South Africa such as the Mozambican migrants Reitze and Bam (2000). These changes according to Crush (1999), Williams & Peberdy (2005:1) have been due to the end of *apartheid*, South Africa's reconnection to the global economy, a

growing number of rural and urban unemployed, HIV/AIDS and the consequences of forced migrations during *apartheid*.

Subsequently there has been a marked shift on the type of migrants going to South Africa and type of migration they engage in. With the opening up of the South African economy in the 1990s especially after 1994 South Africa after independence saw an increase in skill, scale and diversity of migrants (Adepoju 2006, Wentzel and Tlabela 2006). After the 1980s when there was an increase in the departure of skilled professionals in the southern African region, because of limited job opportunities (Wentzel and Tlabela 2006).

Migration between Swaziland and South Africa has generally been recognized as a result of issues caused by economic and political policies, implemented as a result of white colonial and Boer contact (Booth 1983, Kuper 1963, Marwick 1966, Simelane 2003). Economic policies such as the introduction of taxes and land partitioning in the 20th century by colonial administrators changed the economy of Swaziland from an agricultural subsistence economy into a monetary economy, creating a migrant labour system in Swaziland. Swazi migrant labourers went mostly to the Witwatersrand. They fed into the growing need for labourers in the mines from the mid-1900s. This generally accepted view has been challenged as not being the only factor that has been influential in Swazi migration into South Africa. Booth (1983) and Simelane (2003), for example, have pointed out that the Swazi monarchy in the past has used migrant labour as a strategy in the effort to increase capital in their independence quest, by taxing migrant labourers their wages in order to buy back land in the independence effort. This land had been lost due to concessions given out earlier and because of the land partitioning done by the British colonials which left only one third of the land to Swazi nationals and the other two thirds to whites (Booth 1983).

My thesis will concentrate on cross-border migration and undocumented migrants. I aim to add onto the limited literature on Swazi migrants. Thus far studies have generally added Swazi migrants to a larger study on various migrants coming into South Africa (Adepoju 2006, Oucho 2006, Wentzel and Tlabela

2006). Studies that have been directed to Swazi labourers have been restricted to unskilled Swazi male labourers mostly miners in the 1980s (Booth 1983, Leliveld 1994, Leliveld 1997). There is very little literature after the 1980s and none on labourers other than unskilled labourers.

Literature on Swazi migrants has been mostly on remittances and about the economic/financial aspects of Swazi migration into South Africa (Pendleton, Crush, Campbell, Green Tevera and de Vletter, 2006, Stahl 1975). Other Swazi migrant literature has included the impact of *apartheid* laws on migrants such as Leliveld (1997). Recently work on Southern African migration has also made effort to include females comprising of Swazi female migrants as well in the migration literature, this work has also used remittances to explore female migration in Southern Africa (Dodson, Simelane, Tevera, Green, Chikanda and de Vletter 2008). Lastly the effects of migration on migrant families in Swaziland have also been studied for example Booth discusses the effects of an absent father on child preparedness for school (1995). However all these studies have not examined the migrant experiences in South Africa but have looked at the impact of migration in Swaziland, ignoring the practices and descriptions of the Swazi migrants when they are in South Africa.

With my demographic of participants I will be filling a gap by focusing on skilled labourers working in diverse market sectors. Furthermore there is growing importance of skilled labour migration to South Africa as they have been on the rise (Adepoju 2006, 2008, Oucho 2006).

Although I did not set out to look specifically into gender my participants include both male and female participants, thus broadening the scope of Swazi migration and showing that it is not gender specific. Since immigration has become such a focal point in migrant's lives, I will be looking into Swazi migrant practices when dealing with immigration policy, concentrating on documentation. A rise of undocumented migrants has proven to be a concern for South African public and institutions. Even though my participants are technically[18] documented migrants, I explore their choice to get South African

[18] I use the term technically in that the participants although having official documentation did so using legal loop holes that place them in a grey area in terms of the legitimacy of their documentation.

identity documents versus other forms of migrant documentation such as work permits for example; by looking at the purpose and effect of getting this form of documentation.

Methodology

I officially started my field research in June of 2013, although I did the bulk of it over the months of September to November 2013. I employed different methods collecting data for this research including, interviews, participant observation, and archival research. I conducted research in two different sites, Mbabane, Swaziland and Johannesburg, South Africa. Nkululeko and Gcebile's account were both collected in Swaziland, both having returned to Swaziland after living in Johannesburg. I have known Gcebile for many years. I knew her before she went to Johannesburg. During our friendship I have been privy to her thought processes as she contemplated life between Swaziland and South Africa. She agreed to an interview to discuss her main considerations for moving back to Swaziland. Even though I had known Nkululeko for years, I formally got to meet most of his family after he passed away becoming involved (with providing transport to the various departments for instance) when I learnt of their struggles with conflicting documentation dealing with his insurance claim processing. I had met his mother once or twice throughout the years but never spent time with her up until last year.

The research was conducted in two capital cities, with the focus areas known to be of established (middle class) areas. In Swaziland I conducted my research in Mbabane which is the second largest city in Swaziland in an area called Thembelihle Township. I must clarify that the word Township in this case does not have the same connotations that South African townships have and is a Township only in name. Thembelihle is better compared to a suburb, with free standing family homes, middle class to upper middle class residents of all races, unlike South African townships, which are products of black discrimination and economic deprivation by the *apartheid* government. It is similar to the suburbs my participants in South Africa live in, in terms of economic and racial demographics; mixed race and usually economically upwardly mobile with a large middle class population. In Johannesburg I conducted my research in two areas. Most of my participants and research was in the northern Suburbs of Johannesburg, Fourways, Cresta, Parkhurst, Randburg and Northriding. I also conducted research in the

east of Johannesburg in Kempton Park. The sites themselves were representative of my chosen demographic of participant. Middle class working professionals with or without a tertiary education were the other characteristics for this demographic.

My research participant group comprised of six females and nine males, between the ages of 24 years old and 45 years old approximately. Three of the participants were based in Swaziland and I knew them prior to this research project. I kept the participant group in Swaziland small as I was only there for a month and preferred to concentrate on already willing participants. I did have informal discussions with other Swazis who had returned to Swaziland. However I used these conversations more for comparing and gauging what my three participants were saying. Since these conversations were neither frequent nor repeated I chose to centre the research in Swaziland around the three because I had an established relationship with them, where trust had been established and could return with follow ups freely. Trying to establish a relationship in a month with new participants then leaving and having to maintain those relationships telephonically was a concern for the effect it would have on the data. With these three participants I engaged in participant observation and conducted interviews.

For the participant observation, I spent time with Make Nxumalo, interviewing her and her family about the complications with the insurance as well as collecting copies of the documentation. Before June I had spent time with her as she went to the different government offices in Swaziland trying to find a solution to her documentation problem. With Gcebile, I spent time at her house, staying there for most of my time in Swaziland over that June period. We also travelled from South Africa to Swaziland on a road trip where we met her South African border contact as we were crossing back into Swaziland. Gugu lives in Johannesburg but I interviewed her in Swaziland and spent most of my research time with her in Swaziland. She is currently considering moving back to Swaziland and our discussions were based around what she would need to do bureaucratically in order to move from South Africa to Swaziland, as well as some social and economic considerations in terms of moving and the impact her move would have on her financially and socially.

Eleven of the participants lived in Johannesburg. For the Johannesburg phase of the research, two of the participants were people I knew through my social circle. For the rest I used referrals to connect with for the study. Three of my referees saw my search for research participants on a social media site and connected me with people either by giving me their contact details or setting up meetings. My research participants also gave me contact details of possible research subjects, thus they acted as referees as well research participants.

Going into my research I was somewhat anxious about how my participants would feel about the study as it touched on possible illegal actions by some of them and their identity documents, current governance issues in Swaziland and general apprehension about someone asking about their lives. Some of my participants had two different identity documents which were undeclared to either national government making them illegal. Issues of governance in Swaziland are currently a very contentious issue in Swaziland. I was also interested in how any discomfort they may feel would reflect on the data or our interaction. Bourgois and Schonberg (2009:9) discuss issues of personal privacy and representation when dealing with topics that may seem deviant, immoral or criminal by society stating that the risk of legal sanctions towards the participants adds further complication (2009:9). They note the impact of socially and culturally perceived deviant behaviour on their analytical approach and their decision to use a relativistic approach when conducting their research, analysis and presentation of their findings. Hence the is no consideration to whether their participants actions are right or wrong instead it is to present the participants within context of their daily lives and socio-economic factors that impact their lives. They also note that although they have used the relativistic approach, relativity does not apply in real life hence analytical methods may be all good and well in academic analysis but they do not have much merit. Therefore they would need to think about the legal considerations and other factors when deciding on how to represent their participants and issues of confidentiality.

As a student and representative of the university I had to fulfil the university's ethical requirements before getting clearance and embarking on the research, which Bourgois and Schonberg (2009:9), regard as a

bureaucratic formality for safeguarding institutions from law suits and not the interests of the research subjects. Although I believe the institution would not do anything improper when it comes to ethical dealings, as an institution they have many interests they are juggling at the same time with different levels of importance. Therefore I find it more appropriate that I increase my safeguards in keeping their anonymity than risk putting them at the institution's cover only. The participants made their agreements with me regardless of the fact that I work under the institution, I am obligated to keep their anonymity. Consequently I had to ensure extra precaution for my participants where privacy and anonymity are concerned because some were not 'legal' South African citizens. With that in mind it has been a conscious decision to use pseudonyms in the study and not to describe characteristics, individual traits and sometimes places. With issues of representation careful consideration has been taken to avoid an overly simplistic view of illegal activity around gaining South African identification, and thus labelling it criminal and deviant. Instead as Bourgois and Schonberg (2009), Trouillot (1995) and LeCompte and Schnesul (1999), all stress the importance of contextualizing, to allow for a more holistic account of what is being said or done, thus providing a greater base of analysis when discussing criminal actions for example which maybe oversimplified too easily.

Representation was also a consideration when choosing this particular demographic to work with. To allow for greater representation of Swazi migrants I chose to look into a previously ignored sector of the migrant population. Although statistically it is hard to say how many Swazi migrants are working in South Africa or the ratio between unskilled migrants/miners and skilled migrants the comment highlights the perceptions of a growing sector of skilled Swazi migrants in South Africa.

Since meaning is created through interaction, this study employed participant observation as a research methodology. I encountered some challenges in trying to access the social spaces of the research participants. Many of them worked during the week. When I tried to meet up with them on weekends they would say they were busy with chores and tasks they are unable to do during the week. Consequently I arranged my time with them around social gatherings. I would arrange for interviews in public areas such

as over a meal to see their interactions in public. Later I would arrange for one on one interviews. It also meant that out of my fifteen participants I worked with a core group of six participants whom I hung out with extensively at home and in public. The other nine participants I hung out with to a lesser extent in more contained and pre-arranged locations and times.

I compiled my research participant group using both interlocutors from my existing social network to find research participants, or participants from my existing social network, as well as for instance a dinner arranged by one of my participant which can be seen as an ego centred network (LeCompte and Schnesul 1999). The study also looks at understanding what networks are there and how they work for Swazis living in Johannesburg when they arrive and when they settle down.

I went into this study as what one might call a "native anthropologist", being Swazi and also having moved to South Africa myself. However this category of native is not as simple as it appears, it assumes that being of the same culture/background there will be automatic understanding of the subjects as well as situations. As Narayan (1993) points out the fixing of nativity or foreignness to a more insider/outside, observer /observed ascribes categories which are not necessarily that clear cut and defined for the anthropologists. Instead like Narayan (1993) I suggest that a view of a hybrid identity is more effective. At different times different aspects of identity can be highlighted, for instance at a dinner Mcedisi had organized with some of his friends my gender was a cause for possible conflict. Present at the dinner was Mcedisi, three of his male friends, Vumile, Bhekiwe, Manqoba and Manqoba's wife Sakhile. Mcedisi found it necessary to clarify who I was and my role, clearly stating "*akasiso sincanakazane sami*" (she is not my mistress). He himself was married but his wife was not at this dinner. In contrast when I was interviewing Fundzile age and not gender was the predominant factor for me. I found the interview to be a lot more relaxed because of her young age in her late twenties and three years younger than I, and she is studying and doing research. I felt she was more comfortable with the process as she was preparing to start data collection soon. Therefore as Narayan (1993) state multiple identities are highlighted at different times hence anthropologists, native or not, shift their identities according to time and space.

Narayan also states that even as 'native' anthropologists we could be distanced from our subjects for various reasons such as education, class, emigration and so forth (Narayan 1993:677).

Just as anthropologists can be complex in their identity with multiple identities at multiple levels, the 'native' themselves have the same complexity that the category of native seems to suppress. Instead as Mamdani (2013) and Appadurai (1998) (as cited in Narayan 1993) state, nativity has been defined as fixed to territory, in history as well as time. None of which applies to my participants. Their experiences and lives go beyond singular spaces/localities, time and histories. Instead they occupy multiple identities, at any given moment they live in different forms of time and their history is both local and global. Even those Swazis who have not had similar experiences as my participants, have although different very complex perceptions of space, time, history and identity a contrast to the definition of nativity.

Choosing this demographic also allowed me more leeway in terms of ethical considerations when it came to issues of consent, vulnerability and reciprocity (Onyango-Ouma 2006) because this sector is not generally regarded to be susceptible to unethical research practices. However what developed were issues of distance, and 'objectivity' or the lack thereof. It is generally accepted that one needs to maintain distance from ones' subjects when doing fieldwork in order to be able to do a 'proper' analysis of subject by juxtaposing cultures to each other. This methodology of doing research though is one that comes from the natural sciences, where objectivity is used as a means of showing non bias. Hastrup (2004) opposes this idea when applied to anthropological research. Stating that " in fieldwork the anthropologist gains knowledge by way of social relations, this relational aspect has general bearing on the processes by which facts are established as (relevant) facts in the first place" (Hastrup 2004:456).

The more time I spent with my participants the harder it was to maintain that distance. Tools that one would use to maintain distance such as keeping one's personal life separate from the research were inadequate as we would find interconnecting networks between ourselves, our families and social circles. Therefore distance became a relative concept as time spent together created closeness then when you add

a personal history as with some of my participants and a national history which we all shared to some degree those barriers become even less.

The size of Swaziland's population, about 1.2million [19] and the way in which the society takes an interest on everyone meant that confidentiality would be a priority in my study. This can be most commonly be described as small town mentality; however it is not a case of idle gossiping about ones neighbours. Swazis on a macro and micro level take a keen interest in the affairs of one another. They are constantly building their social network and social knowledge through people they know and new people they meet. Mlungisi Dlamini a Swazi anthropologist in Swaziland was giving an introductory lecture on Swaziland to a group of university students from South Africa said that Swazi's are constantly making or trying to make social connections and one of the main ways of doing this was by asking of the family name and the location from which this name is from. For instance upon meeting somebody a person would most likely ask one their surname as well as their homestead, the homestead not being where you currently reside but rather your 'ancestral' homestead usually the grandparents homestead (2012).

Backgrounds on participants such as descriptions of family seemed to be markers of identification. To find the balance of what to add to my participant's descriptions and what not too was very difficult especially so because of the small size of the population and interest taken in 'knowing ones neighbours'. For example in Nkululeko's story I do not mention which country in Asia he went to live in, nor do I mention the state he lived in in the United States of America. Or with Fundzile to mention the country her mother comes from would expose her as a participant. Nkululeko I knew for a long time and thus knew that the association with me would easily make him identifiable, Fundzile although I did not know prior to the research turned out to be part of my childhood social circle, one that still exists today. Sakhile is a Zulu married to a Swazi man. She has ties to Swaziland through her matrilineal line and I have therefore kept her background minimal. She also works in a highly scrutinized industry and she is careful about making her experiences on certain aspects of employment known because they would impact her and the

[19] www.worldbank.org/en/country/swaziland 24-12-2013

reputation of the company she works for. Thus pseudonyms alone proved not enough for keeping my participants anonymity. At the same time, for the integrity of my thesis, methodology used and scholarship it was apparent that lack of comprehensive descriptions would leave the study lacking in validity.

I was also faced with the difficulty in bringing validity to my study through my participants. One of the core ways in which anthropologist substantiate their data when writing ethnography is by showing their knowledge of their participants and their field site (Hastrup 2004). This is done by immersing oneself in the field and then representing the different characters holistically by writing them in context of their histories. This includes giving the background to their lives in order to make them rich and multi-dimensional characters. However I especially found that with the participants I have a history with, giving any background would increase the likelihood of exposure. Thus every piece of background seemed to be glaring obvious as to whom I was talking about. Not including the background on the participants I knew and including it with the participants I had no previous experience with was a problem as would give a disparity between the participants, making some participants appear more authentic and valid than others. Hence I decided to pick a few select stories where I provided some background, even then I tried not to be too specific as per above examples and left the rest of the accounts to stand on their own without the background that would be used to turn the evidence into knowledge/fact.

I did find that some of the participants were talking about the study and having participated in it, meaning that who had participated in the study was becoming more and more public knowledge. For instance Mcedisi at our first meeting was evaluating my intentions and said "they have told me about this study and the questions, I was particularly interested about my focus on going back to Swaziland at retirement and factors contributing to that". He had also done a background check on me and was able to tell me intimate family details which he dropped in the middle of conversation throughout our first meeting, which the referee I met him through said he did not know about me. This helped me gain access as well as legitimacy in terms of whom I was and showed the good intentions for the study. This also meant that I

would have to take more precautions when writing up my thesis to ensure privacy and anonymity, since the most insignificant detail could lead to the uncovering of the participants. When the public already knows who to look out for, small details can reveal a lot.

The extra precaution is necessary because Swaziland is currently going through political and economic upheaval. Pro-democracy and anti-monarchy groups are calling for political reform as they refer to the current economic conditions in Swaziland to rally support for their political objectives, creating an environment which people must navigate with care, asked what he thought the study was about and its purposes, Mcedisi said;

> I thought the study was a covert operation to collect a database of diaspora Swazis for the purpose of having an asset that would be tapped into by any relevant interested individuals or grouping. Why? Because we know how things work KaNgwane[20].

[20] kaNgwane meaning in Swaziland however it can also refer to the monarchy, Ngwane was the first king of modern Swaziland and the country is named after him, commonly kaNgwane is used to refer to the royal residences instead of saying the palace they would say kaNgwane.

Historical background, political and economic (in) dependence

In this section I describe some of Swaziland's history from pre to post-colonial times, in order to highlight the role of migrancy in the country. Migrancy in Swaziland has played a large role in the general economy of the country and in the establishment of the nation state; a state bought back from white concessionaires in part using funds raised from taxing migrant wages by the then reigning Swazi monarchy who used the migrants taxes to buy back Swazi land from the whites. I suggest that it is the combination of Swaziland's ability to keep its political independence from South Africa, the economic relationship between Swaziland and South Africa and the relatively stable political climate of Swaziland in the southern African region that distinguishes Swazi migrants from other migrants from Southern Africa, especially different from other front line states to South Africa which may have some similarities to Swaziland but not all, therefore making each state different. Lastly I describe some of the social and economic links between Swaziland and South Africa as a way of displaying a multifaceted relationship between the countries.

Where in South Africa is Swaziland? Why is Swaziland still separate from South Africa? These questions are put to Swazis regularly. In many respects these questions about Swaziland's sovereignty tie into questions on what makes Swazi migrants different from other migrants, such as migrants from Botswana, and Lesotho. In his review article of Potholm's 1972 book called Swaziland: The Dynamics of Political Modernization' Martin (1975) states that Potholm ignores and idealises the real position of Swaziland and the role Swaziland plays in Southern Africa. A role which according to Martin (1975) can be seen as that of a Bantustan even though it was not officially called a Bantustan and not the modern and economically viable country with a charismatic leader, attuned to his subject's needs as according to Potholm (1972) (as cited in Martin 1975).

Modern day Swaziland is said to have been established in the sixteenth century where the Swazi settled in Maputo north of Zululand. It is during Ngwane (Booth 1983). It was under Ngwane III from which the

Swazi derive their name that the Swazi moved south into current day Swazi territory and settled in the South of Swaziland in the eighteenth century (Bonner 1983). It was with Sobhuza I in the nineteenth century that the Swazi moved further north into the territory, due to conflict with Zwide where Sobhuza I had to withdraw north leaving a lot of his followers behind, even after Zwide was defeated by Shaka. In the period 1820-1838 Sobhuza I, engaged in the conquering of central and northern Swaziland at the time as these areas proved to have natural defences that could be used against Shaka and it also placed him further away from Shaka (Bonner 1983). As Sobhuza I gained territory and absorbed conquered clans into his state, it was not a unified state of assimilated people; instead it was more of a clustering of occupied territories (Booth 1983).

It was during the reign of King Mswati II from d. 1839-d. 1865 that state formation becomes apparent in Swaziland (Booth 1983:9-10). Mswati II instituted measures that would ritually and practically centralise and strengthened his authority as well as Dlamini legitimacy (Booth 1983). These measures included the age and clan based regiment system for example which he used to re organise his army and the ritualization of the king through ceremonies such as the Incwala (Bonner1983). It was also during his time that the first recorded land concession to a white man was granted in 1885, as prior to 1850 contact with white people in Swaziland had been sporadic (Crush 1980).

After Mswati II reign his son Ludvonga took over however he died suddenly and Mbandzeni was the next appointed king. It was during Mbandzeni's time around 1850 that Swaziland experienced a rapid penetration of whites into the territory. Swaziland has always played an important role in South Eastern Africa in the nineteenth century, with examples ranging from the *Mfecane*, the Great Trek, the establishment of a British colony in Natal, the expansion of Shangae and Pedi states, the slave trade and the civil wars of the Transvaal (Bonner 1983:4). The annexation of Transvaal by the British and the discovery of minerals in Swaziland influenced the turn in white involvement in Swaziland where prior they had been relatively uninvolved.

The discovery of minerals in 1881 put Swaziland between British and Boer rivalries. The mineral discoveries according to Booth (1983) brought hundreds of concessionaires who sought land for prospecting and property rights. This caused the Boer much distress as it led to both a Boer and British concessionaire invasion, resulting in other supporting industries such as printing and manufacturing being established thus changing the structure of the economy. It resulted in monopolisation and licensing of all these industries to whites, including the right to collect the king's revenue from land concessions and future allocation of concessions, which effectively meant the king, had signed away the entire country and all authority over future development (Booth 1983:14). The economic changes meant the monarchy was able to create and build cash capital but it also meant the monarchy was now dependant on the white administrators in accessing their revenue. This made the Swazi more vulnerable to future subdivision by foreign capital since now they were entering cash economy, which they were not in control of (Booth 1983).

The restructuring process however did not achieve full integration of the Swazi into a cash society, as according to Crush (1987) and Bonner (1983) the Swazi continued to view whites as secondary and were able to maintain relative freedom from the cash economy. Bonner (1983) states that the Swazi continued to pick and choose the terms of their employment and interaction with whites and the cash economy, because they were still largely an agrarian society and had many options for employment. The Swazi were known to prefer short term work contracts which allowed for flexibility, many disliked mine work and most that did work in the mines worked in mines outside the Witwatersrand as they were considered less hazardous (Bonner 1983). The considerations for work by Swazi men were based on the need to work and obligations to the chief and monarchy, so work closer to Swaziland was preferred for instance (Bonner 1983).

Queen Gwamile (also known as Labotsibeni) Queen Regent and her son Bhunu in (1898) succeeded Mbandzeni, during a period of economic deprivation between 1895-1899 because of a cattle disease as well as the inducement of wage labour due to taxes applied on the Swazi (Booth 1983:16). The British

having won the Boer war in 1902 took over the administration of Swaziland, claiming it had passed to the British Empire by virtue of their conquest over the Boer (Simelane 2003).

In 1906 Swaziland's position truly changed. From being governed under the Transvaal laws. Swaziland was placed as a British Protectorate together with Basutholand and Bechuanaland as the Transvaal was headed towards self -governance (Simelane 2003). A full time colonial administration was set up in 1906 under a Resident Commissioner within a system of what has been considered parallel rule. It was considered parallel rule since none of the Swazi chiefs had been under the direct control of the British administration, instead all "native" affairs were under the monarchy (Bonner 1983). However it must be stated that in the twentieth century race relations in Swaziland became more hierarchical with whites at the top and blacks at the bottom , whereas they had started off mostly egalitarian and more and more discriminatory (Dlamini 2007).

The lack of a stable labour force due to the aversion of Swazi men to labour or long term contracts and the problem with the concessions in 1907 to 1910 the Swaziland Land Partition was implemented (Crush 1987). This allowed the Swazi to keep one third of the land and gave the other two thirds to whites (Crush 1987). The prevailing problems with drought, taxation and the lack of land were some of the reasons for increase in Swazi migrant labour to the Witwatersrand mines by 1907(Bonner 1983). By 1914 the Swazi were fully subjugated into a wage economy, which changed the structure of the Swazi society (Crush 1987). The men took more responsibilities in the home; imported grain became the farmed grain which meant men needed to work to buy the grain and it means that women spent less time in the fields, and were part of the labour force with children as well.

Growing problems with land shortages among the Swazi, created tense relations and caused concern for revolt by the Swazi, and World War II caused Britain's change in economic and administrative policies in Swaziland from the 1940s (Simelane 2003:44). In 1941 the land issue in Swaziland was revisited when the South African Township Mining and Finance Corporation wanted to sell a large piece of land to a

ranching company. The British were forced into making a decision about the land; whether to allow the sale and resettlement of all the Swazis who would be evicted from the land once the sale was concluded or buy the land and keep it as part of Swaziland. King Sobhuza II who had by then taken over the reign of Swazi Kingship (although by the British he was considered Paramount Chief) petitioned that the land be restored back to the Swazi. The Swazi Native Land Settlement Scheme was set up with funding and migrant taxes, and by 1943 according to Simelane 229,160 acres had been bought back from European holders and Swazi families resettled back onto that land (2003).

There is a combination of factors that differentiate Swaziland from its neighbouring states, these factors separately are not exclusive to Swaziland as one or some can be found in the other state, however not all combined as in the case of Swaziland. These are; the Swazi state being able to draw its establishment originally not as a colonial formation but a Swazi formation, its retention of the monarchy, its economy and its political and economic role in the region is what differentiates it from other countries in the region. Even though the territorial boundaries of Swaziland may be a result of colonialism, the state lays claim to an earlier formation.

The Basotho for instance retained their monarchy for a while and were a pre-colonial state but are a military conquered territory in the Free State (Coplan 2001). To this day the Basotho continue to root themselves in their identification with that conquered territory (Coplan 2001:87). On the other hand although Swaziland continues to strive for the re incorporation of lands lost to South Africa in the colonial period through organisations such as the Border Restoration Committee. Swazi's make a clear distinction between Swazi's from Mpumalanga and Swazi's from Swaziland (which I discuss later in the thesis). Unlike the Basotho who perceive the border between South Africa and Lesotho creating "one nation, two countries" (Coplan 2001:87). Swaziland's political independence from South Africa while formally recognised has been the object of many puns by South Africans and other nations. "Swaziland is seen as the tenth province of South Africa" (Thandeka 2013). This view can be said to be largely based on Swaziland's interdependence on South Africa economically. Making relations between Swaziland and

South Africa more intricate than they would first appear, as Swaziland claims political independence from South Africa it is just as dependant economically.

The period after independence 1968 in Swaziland, economically was characterised by civil reform in the public sector where salaries, wages and terms and conditions of service were the main priority like most other African states post-independence (Dlamini 2008). However similar effort was not placed in the private sector with most of Swazi private sector investment occurring through the Swazi National Trust to this day. For example the Swazi National Land (SNL), having bought back a majority of the Swazi land back from colonialist, this land was kept in trust by the King for the people although people are allowed to occupy certain lands through the process of *kukhonta* (sworn allegiance to the king through the chiefs land) (Debly 2011). The establishment of *Tibiyo Takangwane* (wealth of the Swazi Nation) and *Tisuka Tankangwane* (foundation of the nation) are other examples of private sector investment in Swaziland and are also Swazi investment companies' in order to accumulate capital, grow investments and buying of SNL, said to be owned by every Swazi National, held in trust for the people by the king (Levin 1997). However these companies have caused much upheaval since it is unclear if they belong to the monarchy or the nation.

In the 1980s Swaziland was doing well with direct foreign investment growing in response to sanctions against the then South African *apartheid* government. When sanctions were being relaxed and in some cases lifted during the 1990s Swaziland began to suffer economically. The government had invested highly being the largest employer and it running at a deficit between 1992/93 and 1994/95 structural adjustment programs were implemented from about the mid-1990s (Dlamini 2008).

Despite all this Swaziland is still highly dependent on South Africa economically[21]. Subsistence agriculture employs 70% of the population and although diversified in the mid-1980s the manufacturing sector is struggling with sugar now being the main exporting industry in Swaziland after the wood pulp

[21] http://www.indexmundi.com/swaziland/economy_profile.html 21-06-2013

producer closed in 2010[22] Swaziland's main income came and still comes from the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) agreement between Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland and South Africa of 1969 which counts for about 50% of the country's revenue. At the same time 90% of its imports come through South Africa and 60% of its exports are between South Africa and Swaziland[23]. Swaziland's currency also forms part of the Common Monetary Area (Kabundi & Loots 2007) with South Africa thus its currency is pegged equal to that of South Africa and South Africa currency can be used in Swaziland.

Politically Swaziland continued being a stable nation in the region after independence. Having consolidated power to the Dlamini aristocracy, King Sobhuza II further entrenched his power as the ruling monarch by instituting a traditionalist[24] model that had already appeared in the 1920 with Queen Labotsibeni's regency to base Swazi hegemony around (MacMillan 1985). Having led Swaziland into independence in 1968 from the British he banned all political parties in 1973, asserting himself as a political and traditional leader, transforming himself from a constitutional monarch to an absolute leader in the following years (Mzizi 2004). Under his leadership and up until very recently, Swaziland has been relatively stable politically. This stability accompanied with Swaziland's modest economy placed Swaziland at a vantage point in the region as it was able to use this stability to its benefit, especially against South Africa before 1994. For example because of sanctions against South Africa, the Coca Cola manufacturing plant was moved from South Africa to Swaziland in the 1980s (Isdell & Beasley 2011).

King Sobhuza II realizing he could not cut Swaziland from South Africa endorsed a policy of non-conflictual and accomodationist policy towards South Africa during *apartheid* (Bischoff 1988). This was despite the fact that he was against *apartheid* for example having been one of the founding contributors

[22] http://www.indexmundi.com/swaziland/economy_profile.html 21-06-2013

[23] http://www.indexmundi.com/swaziland/economy_profile.html 21-06-2013

[24] Traditionalism is "an ideology that seeks to preserve signals of the past in the economy of legitimating modern systems in the socio-cultural and political community" (Mzizi, 2004:97).

and members of the African National Congress and taking the stance of multi-racialism[25] in the country. Swaziland continued trading with South Africa despite pressure by the international community to impose sanctions against South Africa.

Today politically South Africa and Swaziland maintain good relations although there are some disagreements, especially when it comes to issues of democracy and governance, with South Africa calling for democracy to be instituted in Swaziland. These disagreements came to head when South Africa insisted on structural changes before granting a loan to Swaziland in 2011, which Swaziland refused to do. However this did not change the overall relationship between Swaziland and South Africa with South Africa still the main foreign direct investor to Swaziland. Instead there are continued political and economic relations, such as the hydroelectric plant program between the two countries that supplies electricity to South Africa and Swaziland. Socially members of the South African public, prominent business men and women and political leaders involved in the struggle for liberation in South Africa were raised in Swaziland in the 1990s are back in South Africa. Some of these former exiles continue to keep links with Swaziland as they still have family members and social obligations that they have retained. These social links include an engagement between the current South African president and a Swazi lady.

Within the region Swaziland differs from Lesotho and Botswana economically in particular. Botswana has from the 1970s been showing economic growth and rapid development, due to its mineral wealth, of diamonds and cupro-nickel and cattle farming (Taylor 1970). Till today Botswana has maintained its development and economic stronghold which can be seen in the Tswana currency being stronger than the South African Rand. Lesotho on the other hand having suffered major setbacks agriculturally is even more dependent on South Africa than Botswana and Swaziland.

[25] King Sobhuza II multi racialism was very different to the African National Congress (ANC) as it was more of a separate development compared to the ANC model of no- racialism.

Chapter 1

Building Careers: Getting that ID

"Well not much has changed wena LaNkosi (refereeing to me by my surname), the only thing now is that the miners have moved above ground….but we are still mining for gold here in Johannesburg"

(Manqoba)

My exploration of identity documents among Swazi Migrants in Johannesburg came after I realized that the majority of Swazis I knew, who were living and working in South Africa, had South African identity documents, and a minority had work permits. I wondered why citizenship seemed to be the preferred documents and how that came about. I then outlined a general view of migrant experiences in the work place from the mid-1990s until now to see if there was any link to type of identity documentation and employability, since I was specifically focusing on professional and/ or skilled migrants. The first section illustrates the course of growing importance of South African citizenship to secure employment for Swazi migrants. I do this through Gcebile's experiences of her move to Johannesburg and factors that influenced her employability[26] over a ten year period. I show how the South African identity document continues to grow more important whilst other factors in employability diminish in importance. Following this, I consider other reasons for why citizenship identity documents are the preferred identification documents by Swazi migrants, by discussing the benefits that come with citizenship; bureaucratic hindrances, increased opportunity: of employment and access and fluidity. I then suggest that citizenship documentations are used to reduce foreignness and make Swazi migrants insiders by reducing the bureaucratic markers of foreignness between Swazi migrants and South Africans. I hold the view that documentation as a label is also a tool and the main purpose for using this tool by Swazi migrants is to reduce bureaucratic markers of difference, as it is able to reduce the public awareness of your foreignness.

[26] Ability to getting and keep a job/employment

Getting In

> I arrived in Johannesburg in 1997 in my early 20s. South Africa was a happening place, especially for black people. Jobs were opening up and many blacks wanted to move to South Africa because of the opportunities. I had some job experience in Swaziland and had obtained a bachelor's degree from the University of Lesotho. I did not really want to move to Johannesburg initially, but *mama* wanted me to go, she was Go! Go! Go! I wanted to see the world and move to the U.S. I figured I could go to Johannesburg gain some professional experience at an international level and that would make me more employable when I got to the U.S. I distributed my curriculum vitae at various employment agencies. I was offered a job at the first organisation I interviewed with. It was at a parastatal from 1997 until 1999. After I moved to an international corporate in the private sector. In 2001 I returned to Swaziland for health reasons. Once sufficiently recovered I worked in Swaziland for a few years. During this period in Swaziland I had a child. I was not happy with the working environment there and decided to go back to Johannesburg. I found a job in 2007, leaving my child in Swaziland with my mother I moved back to Johannesburg. In 2009 I returned to Swaziland for good this time. I am much happier here. I feel freer and I have my family especially my child with me. It was hard leaving her behind…. Back then if you were young black and educated, South Africa was the place to be. The need for educated and or skilled workers was the chief concern for many companies and institutions in the 1990s. So much so that they overlooked other aspects such as levels of experience to ensure posts were filled by blacks. That was the way it was. The professionalism in South Africa was so different from Swaziland. In Swaziland I did everything myself. In South Africa I had to start dealing with external suppliers, for example, which changed the work in the job to some degree. Gone are the days when being black and educated was the foremost criteria for employment in South Africa. By the time I moved to the second company things had changed, you needed to have a developed skills set and experience. What you brought into the company was vital. When I was considering moving back to South Africa in 2007, a majority of the jobs I saw and applied were for South African citizens only. There was very little advertised for non-South Africans. I had my South African citizenship already. I obtained it in 1994 after my mother's insistence, through the assistance of a family friend. He had been living in South Africa for a few years already and knew of some immigration official who would process the documents for us. We had to bribe an official to get the identity document processed. The family friend from Swaziland at the time was residing in South Africa, organised for the official as well as provided the required documentation showing we were related since he had an identity document already. I was lucky because it made it much easier to find employment in South Africa again. When I got it initially I went because my mother insisted. I got it as a nice thing to have, I was not at the time planning on moving to South Africa but thought it would not hurt and it would appease my mother. My mother arranged that my siblings and I got the identity documents (Gcebile).

Gcebile's account reflects the changing nature of employment in South Africa. It highlights the role of migrants post democracy and it shows how changes in the employment of non-South Africans have occurred gradually through time. Democracy in South Africa brought about the lifting of economic sanctions starting in 1991 against South Africa. This increased foreign investment and the restructuring of existing industries and institutions in South Africa resulting in more employment opportunities as posts opened up. South African exiles returned and foreigners headed to South Africa to take advantage of the opportunities opening up. South Africa was also experiencing a shortage of skilled and experienced professionals who had emigrated abroad particularly from the 1970s and 1980s until the 1990s (Adepoju 2008:29). With the advent of democracy, the state demanded the integration and inclusion of previously

disadvantaged races into the economic sector. Swazi migrants took advantage of their ability to meet these requirements. Coming from better rated universities in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, Swazi migrants had increased chances of meeting employer's educational requirements and gain employment.

A few years into democracy and the implementation of Government policies and programs such as affirmative action and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and the Employment Equity Act meant to address inequalities caused by *apartheid*, make citizenship and race the foremost considerations for employers when deciding who to hire, followed closely by gender. The identity document/citizenship document becomes a means of increasing chances of employment in South Africa.

Further changes in employability in South Africa have since occurred. Currently work is being politicized, and employees now need to be more politically aware and connected to increase their chances of employment. Sitting in Sakhile's office after an interview session with her, having discussed all sorts of intimate details of her life, I asked her opinion on the idea that work and employment was getting more politicized? She said "now is the time to switch that recorder off" and proceeded to confirm that indeed work was becoming more politicized especially select industries and who and what you know politically will determine more and more if you get the job. Another participant told me that "the ability to provide insight to South African politics and political structures now decides if you get the job" (Majaha). During my research I was unable to collect much information on how the politicization of employment is being perceived and how my participants are meeting this development and still needs further research.

Choice of Documentation

All my participants have identity documents already or were in the planning stages of getting one, despite the different and varied circumstances that brought them to Johannesburg. Some came as students, other looking for work al at different ages and with different expectations. To only attribute employment as the only factor for choosing citizenship over other documentation would be too simplistic an explanation.

Different documentation has different levels of power and status legally and practically for the foreigner (Handmaker & Parsley 2001). There are work permits, permanent residency permits, temporary residency permits, citizenship documents and many others. The choice of which documents to apply for is based on official requirements. However perceived levels of power are very important to foreigners when deciding which documentation to acquire, sometimes more important than official and legal requirements which restrict what documents foreigners can and cannot apply for. This is displayed by their willingness to acquire illegal documentation instead of legal documentation they qualify for. Skilled Swazi migrants prefer citizenship documents over any other during their stay in South Africa. (I reiterate that unless specified, I use the term identity documents to imply citizenship). Swazi migrants prefer citizenship because the of the power citizenship has to addresses bureaucratic hindrances Swazi migrants may encounter and citizenship allows for increased opportunities of access and fluidity and provides increased surety on behalf of Swazi migrants. Torpey (1998) states that the state needs to keep control of its subjects and in fact embraces its subjects because it is through the subject in the form of taxes, or as a labour resource and other ways that the state is able to gain powers. He describes the use of administrative and bureaucratic systems in order to reach its subjects and control them.

> I arrived in South Africa in 2000 for post matric. I did two years of A levels and then attended university in Cape Town, where I completed my undergraduate and honours degrees. I chose South Africa because it was closer to home and the university rankings. It (South Africa) was always in the planning process, everywhere else is too far. At university I got involved with Swazi societies and organisations. After school I moved back to Swaziland and tried looking for employment there. I even volunteered my services to the Tibiyo[27] who had funded my studies at university through a scholarship. I thought it would be a good way to give back to the community. Alas nothing, no response. I have not had any issues/experiences with xenophobia at the work place. I get comments like you speak English so well or comments on my ease of interaction around white people. Instead I see South Africans as being fascinated by Swazis. Also we look very similar to South Africans; there are no major differences to the way we look. Swazis are more respectful and less aggressive though. I would only move back to Swaziland after I get my citizenship[28], because that would give me the option of coming back whenever I wanted. I have been here and working for over six year and am eligible for citizenship. I do not mind giving up my citizenship for the South African, but you do know you can have both right? It took about five months for me to get my work permit. My employment had to stand up against the skills and abilities of other South Africans. A letter of motivation explaining why I was chosen as a non-South African was sent to the relevant governmental department. They also had to wait five months is a long time to be waiting to see if you will be allowed to work and for a company to

[27] Meaning wealth of the Swazi Nation, a royal investment 'trust' fund
[28] In Fundzile's account citizenship refers to permanent residency.

> wait to hire you officially or wait with the uncertainty is unreasonable. As a non-citizen there are many hindrances mostly bureaucratic, such as not being allowed to get a bank loan unless it is for property, any other is considered high risk, harassment for my Swazi driver's licence, and diminished prospects should I chose to look for another job. (Fundzile).

Time is also a crucial factor in the choice of documentation. Fundzile shows how citizenship versus non citizenship has an effect on time. How long it took Fundzile to start working after she was offered a job was caused by her non South African status. Had she been a South African she would have started working earlier than the five months it took to confirm her approval by the relevant government departments. Secondly Fundzile has had to wait a minimum of five years before she could consider applying for permanent residency only after another five years with a permanent residency can she apply for citizenship. In the six years she has been working in South Africa she had to deal with various hindrances, hindrances that have influence in planning her life course. For example when she states that moving to Swaziland would only be considered after getting her citizenship which meant career choices were within those five years limited to working in South Africa. It would also impact possible personal relations as within those five years would have to take into consideration her staying within South Africa unless she decided against the citizenship.

If we consider *apartheid* was a systematic structural implementation of exclusionary and oppressive laws against black people and that economic and social reform has largely been policy based in South Africa, the bureaucratic and administrative functions of identity documents in political and economic structures/systems become the formal barriers by which the state controls citizens and non-citizens. However in as much as non-citizenship bars non-citizens from economic and political structures, citizenship gives them access. For example by getting South African citizenship Swazi migrants are able to get bank loans, they can vote.

Identity documents permit Swazi migrants access to better employment opportunities and potentially other socio-economic benefits. South African citizens are targeted for the majority share of job postings and citizenships offers an advantage for Swazi migrants in a society that considers foreigners negatively. Therefore are forms of strategy or rather tactic used to enter the socio-economic social and bureaucratic

structures for citizens. The ease of employing a South African versus employing a foreigner shows how access is restricted for non-South Africans. The number of socio political organizations and structures that apply these restrictions to foreigners are wide and varied meaning all aspects of the migrant's existence are restricted/ affected. This goes from driving licences to if one can apply for credit accounts, or ability to get married legally, formal employment.

Citizenship documentation offers Swazi migrants proof of security. The reason why banks do not provide loans to foreigners is the risk of flight presumed to exist in foreigners. Once they become South African citizens that risk is no longer presumed. Therefore citizenship becomes a means of proving themselves safe risks to organisations, companies and institutions. Fundzile with her years in South Africa is still not able to use her historical records with the bank for instance to prove herself collaterally sound.

Lastly citizenship allows Swazi migrants more options in fluidity and a base of choice. By getting South African citizenship Swazi migrants open up their field of choice/consideration as Swaziland and South Africa become accessible. Meaning that Swazi migrants have the option of moving between Swaziland and South Africa, and are not fixed to either place. I explain this further detail later when I discuss double citizenship. The point to note now is that Swazi migrants keep both citizenships and do not surrender their Swazi citizenship when they acquire the South African citizenship.

Blending In, Reducing Otherness

Foreigners in South Africa are subject to the South African public and state fears about foreigners and undocumented migrants or the 'alien invasion'[29]. It is the attempt to counteract these negative perceptions about migrants that drives the acquisition According to Carteau's views we can explain it as a form of

[29] Comaroff and Comaroff 2001

tactic[30] serves to allow the individual some agency to direct their lives in a micro level Carteau (2000) (as cited in Buchanan 2000). As according to Scott (1986) the expectation of the norm is power that matters and when people act against the norm they are enacting forms of resistance against power. Getting identity documents can be thus understood as an expression of power and agency. Illegal actions are often seen as acts of attack or resistance against state actions, systems and power, but power is situated in four areas: physical power, structural power, resistance power and symbolic power, with varying effectiveness: symbolic power and resistance being more effective than structural physical power (Lukes 1997). Swazi migrants express their power by blending-in to reduce South African fears of foreigners and potential fears and negative perceptions and attitudes directed towards Swazi migrants. According to Anderson (1983) and Zetter (1999) labelling[31] is a necessary and unavoidable aspect of public policy making and language as well as nation building respectively as it establishes how people are conceived as objects of policy and the images that define them. Since state discourse on immigration has been said to be a contributing factor to anti-immigrants sentiment in South Africa, reducing state discourse centred on Swazi migrants, Swazis in South Africa influence the anti-immigration sentiment towards Swazi migrants more positively. I suggest that this is what they are indeed doing: Swazi migrants are reducing the bureaucratic markers of differences between them and South Africans/ blending in. Swazi migrants choose South African identity documents or citizenship because it allows them a relationship with the state (Hein 1999). The nature of the relationship then influences public perceptions about Swazi migrants.

Luyengo moved to South Africa in 1994, for his last two years of high school. After a few months in South Africa he had to change schools and was given a choice between schools in Botswana and Lesotho. He decided on the international high school in Lesotho, due to the mix of people from all around the world. In 1996 he came to Johannesburg to start his tertiary education. Dropping out of university after

[30] Where tactic can be defined as direct plan against a dominant system, and or organisation with the actor not having power to topple the existing system or organisation, but rather acting as a means to place themselves at a better (Buchanan 200:87).

[31] "Labelling is a way of referring to the process by which policy agendas are established and more particularly the way in which people, conceived as objects of policy are defined in convenient images" (Zetter 1999:44).

the first semester to follow his entrepreneurial spirit, he has been in South Africa since then, having worked in both Johannesburg and Cape Town. He is currently in the formal job market working in the private sector in Johannesburg.

> Swaziland is a tough nut to crack…..if you are not planning on getting ahead using connections, when you do not have a tertiary education it is almost impossible to make something of yourself. My mom suggested I get my identity documents. She had been mentioning it for a while. It was only when the school thing got real that we went to do it. It was a one day thing in Nelspruit, in and out. I got my identity documents because my father was South African. I don't plan on retiring in South Africa, I hope to retire on an island somewhere. Well that depends on the wife should I get married and if she is South African or wants to stay her or is against an island retirement then I will stay. (Luyengo)

By defining themselves bureaucratically through the identity documents, Swazi migrant build points of commonness and similarity between them and South Africans. These points are vital because they allow Swazi migrants to build socio-political and economic connections with South Africans which interlink their lives, as they can share the daily experiences with their South African counterparts and not have them be too different. This builds basis of commonality and identification between Swazi and South African which can work to look past the national and sometimes ethnic differences.

Reducing bureaucratic markers of foreignness in various structures/ institutions and or organisations in society make the migrant less publically noticed as a foreigner. The restrictions and policies that differ between citizens and non-citizens means that every time Swazi migrants without citizenship identity documents contact with bureaucratic structures they and the person interacting with them is reminded about foreignness This constant 'awareness' of the migrant/foreigner raises those fears about foreigners as by making them come to the fore.

By getting South African documentation public visibility of foreignness becomes limited especially because Swazi migrants look like a majority of South Africans, share a language and have many cultural and social references in common. Identity documents reinforce already existing similarities between Swazis and South Africans making the area of mutual interest greater.

Chapter 2

Risk and Fighting Precariousness

"I did not need a psychologist to relinquish my Swazi citizenship. How was it going to help me" (Majaha)

In this chapter I argue that Swazi migrants constantly need to validate and legitimize their South African identity. Due to the fact that viewed misconduct (identity documents are acquired through legal and illegal means) by Swazi migrants would add to already existing anti-immigrant sentiment towards foreigners in Swaziland. It would increase anti-Swazi immigrant sentiment by reinforcing perceptions of immigrants being negative influences on the society by the public and state. This would negatively influence Swazi migrants' ability to control perceptions and attitudes towards Swazi migrants. Swazi migrants legitimize and validate their identity documents by reducing risk (risk of imprisonment, disgrace and socio economic ramifications) and precariousness. It is risky because having double citizenship is illegal and if caught they risk imprisonment and or possible criminal record, public and private embarrassment, loss of employment and future employment opportunities and loss of good public standing/opinion and trust.

To legitimize identity documents is when Swazi migrants find social or nonofficial means to justify their having a South African identity document. To validate identity documents is when Swazi migrants find ways to further verify the authenticity and legality of their identity documents through other official documentation, systems and institutions.

The reason they have to legitimize and validate their identity documentation is because the use of identity documents creates risk for Swazi migrants and because of the precarious position they occupy in South Africa. Risk is controlled by documentation; time and repetition are used to control risk. Lubekemann in his article discusses the management of identity papers by Machazian (Mozambican) migrants in the early

twentieth century and how depending on the identity documents one possesses it meant different outcomes for them in terms of jobs they as migrants were likely to receive (2008). In the same article Lubekemann discusses how by acquiring various of types identity documents not legally endorsed by policy puts them at criminal risk if discovered by South African officials (2008). The risk is then countered by a process of management which Virilio (2010) argues against. By stating that technology and knowledge have in them successes and failures at improving the capabilities and the lives of human beings, have been the cause of ultimate destruction of humans and the world (Virilio 2010). All technological advances have according to Virilio (2010) come at a major expense on the world/earth. For example, energy power has come with major pollution. The same can be said about getting the identity documents.

If the identity document can be likened to a technology/tool, it then has a purpose, and if we apply Virilio's (2010) argument, over and above the identity documents purpose there is also a by-product to it which according to Virilio (2010) needs to be managed. Therefore for reasons such as time, opportunity, blending in and administration Swazi migrants choose identity documents as a tool to manage these reasons. The bye-product of the identity document in the case of Swazi migrants is the risk. The precariousness comes from being strangers/foreigners to the country as Simmel (1950) argues, the stranger is accepted for as long as there are common features between the stranger and the locals either nationally, socially or general human nature. Swazi migrants use their position as a stranger and other blending-in to control their precarious position in South African society.

Thandeka came to South Africa initially for school; she completed her matric and tertiary education in South Africa. For the last seven years, she has been working, mainly in the financial sector. She told me that when she initially came to South Africa she did not need an identity document. It was only when she started looking for employment that an identity document became a prerequisite.

> I cannot think of a job where you do not need an ID (identity document) now. My mother was South African, she married and settled in Swaziland and she helped me get her South African identity document, through the ancestral option. After my parents passed away I was left to manage the estate. They had

> properties in Swaziland that I now go to oversee and am responsible for. I drive to Swaziland once a month to check up on them and do any maintenance works and anything else that is required. To transfer the properties into my name I used my Swazi identification; I still have it (she tells me after asking me to switch of the recorder first). I was sad when I had to 'give up' my Swazi identity (even though she still has it but she cannot have two undeclared citizenships)….If I had it my way, I would have dual citizenship, as I would like the ease of return between both countries.

Expressions of sentiment about their national identities are common and much theory has been written about how this influences citizen participation, engagement and allegiance. It also influences feelings of legitimacy and belonging within that nation by its subjects. This can be explained as having nationalistic feeling towards their home countries. That good feeling that subjects/citizens have for their sovereign/ leader and the state (Anderson 1983, Ibn Khaldun 1377 and Weber 1978). Identity documents are bureaucratic tools, but they have further meaning. These meanings generate particular feelings. In this case the participants expressed varying feelings and sometimes contradictory feelings about having identity documents there were feelings of relief, because it meant more options in South Africa, it raised concerns about legitimacy and belonging, at times unease because of illegal documents, hope for the future and some saw it as a responsibility and engaged in political and social responsibility such as voting. The symbolic meanings attached to labels come from the definitions used to create the labels. They affect individuals, and have conceptual and operational value. That value comes from symbolic meaning that the label identifies you to be.

Thandeka is not the only one with 'dual' or double citizenship in my group of participants with South African identity documents. Out of the fifteen participants, five confirmed having more than one identity document, one said they would keep their Swazi identity documents if they had South African documents, six unconfirmed on whether they have South African or Swazi identification and one unconfirmed for Swazi identity documents but using a Swazi drivers licence even though holds South African identity documents. There is a measure of conscious assessing of which documents to use when. With the different documents having levels of advantage and disadvantage at different places and times. Obtaining the South African identity documents is not the automatic relinquishing of the Swazi identity. Instead

both national identities are kept and utilized as circumstances dictate. This is further emphasized in the various ways Swazi migrants manage their identity documentation to reduce risk.

Managing Risk through Documentation, Time and Repetition

I relate Gcebile's and Gugu's stories to show how supporting documents, time and repetition are used by Swazi migrants to reduce their risk factors due to their illegal documentation. Their documentation is illegal in two fold, firstly having obtained them through bribery and secondly they both still own their Swazi citizenship identity too. Their strategies include the reduction of getting caught and a strategy for when caught and possibly arrested. Gcebile and Gugu bribed state officials to get their identity documents. Other illegal routes of getting South African identity documents by Swazi migrants is by; using relatives who live in South Africa to testify on your behalf that you are South African. Another alternative is that those relatives can legally adopt you so you can claim citizenship through them. Sometimes people you know with the same surname as you but are not related to can play the role of the relative and use the above ways to help you get the identity documents/citizenship. Getting the identity document is followed by the process of managing the identity document.

> I hardly volunteer the fact that I am Swazi unless I am asked directly, because it may lead to questions about my identity documentation and South African citizen status. I do not want to be answering those kinds of questions; it is just very awkward. It feels like part of you is not your true identity. You tell yourself it is just a piece of paper, but it's like you are almost living a lie, always guarding yourself. When real life issues come up, such a marriage it becomes an issue because, do you get married under this nationality. It also restricts you at work as to which jobs you can take. I mean I could never work at an embassy for example, so it does not come with just the opportunities but also a lot of stress. What I have learnt is to keep the Swazi in Swaziland and South African in South Africa just keep them completely separate. During my extended time in Swaziland I used my Swazi nationality documents and when I moved back to South Africa used my South African one. In order to ground my identity document more and it not to 'feel up in the air' I organised birth certificates for me and my siblings as extra documentation (Gcebile).

Gugu has been in South Africa since 1997, having come to finish her high school and tertiary. She lived with her sister until after matric where she then moved out on her own. She attended university in South Africa and has only worked in South Africa. She is currently considering moving back to Swaziland however is yet to take concrete steps towards that direction. Gugu's identity documents were organized

for her in her first year in Johannesburg as the thinking at the time was that she would need them in her second year in South Africa for her matric exams. Her identity documents were done through a contact at the Home Affairs department who processed the documents for a fee.

> In those early years I used to be so scared of crossing the border. At the time there was a lot of focus on illegal Swazis with South African identity documents…..you heard stories of people being caught at the border because of the injection[32]….you were on high alert every time you had to cross. I used to prefer going to male officials rather than female ones. It's not that I flirted with the men or anything, but the females were always stern looking and you could see they were always suspicious and trying to prove their suspicions right. My theory was proved correct when one day a female officer asked me to come to the side and started about where I was born and grew up. Later on I inherited a border contact from my sister. I lived with my sister when I came for high school here in South Africa. Sometimes I would go home unaccompanied by my sister and she would give me drinks, foodstuffs and sometimes money to give to her border contact. After some time the border contact started to recognise me and we would wave hello to each other when I was at the border. Soon he became my border contact. I started to take him things too without my sister's insistence; I would look out for him making sure he was aware when I was around. It lasted for a few years three or a little less. Sometimes we would just wave at each other or we would make small chat and sometimes I would enquire about how things were going at the border, just to get a feel of the situation. I used to go home at once or once every two months back then. The gifts are no longer necessary and even when I am at the border, I do not seek him out. Now sometimes I may see him once a year, I think he is also not as frequent here at the border or is no longer in the front windows, I am not sure but seeing him is no longer such as big deal. I am not scared now about crossing the border. I have crossed that border so many times, and have renewed my passports at Home Affairs a number of times. If they were going to catch me it would have been with that first passport renewal. I know the identity number is on the system and I am secure (Gugu).

The questions about belonging and whether one is authentic and therefore recognized to receive the benefits and rights associated to citizens are integral to the management of identity documents. Despite the changes in citizenship[33], documentation is still one of the conventional ways of proving belonging and claiming the benefits of that belonging officially. There are other more social cues such as dress, language and gestures which I discuss in chapter four in respects to blending-in and distinctiveness. Here I direct my attention to the bureaucratic forms of belonging (identity documents). In South Africa, migrants are still largely determined by the documents they have, whether work permits, study permits or otherwise. Being undocumented puts them outside the law and thus outside any benefit. Citizenship is recognised and legitimized through state sovereignty. It is the state its authority and its legitimacy that give the label

[32] Vaccination injection that usually leaves scars is used to show country of origin. The South African vaccination is on the shoulder of right arm and the Swazi vaccination is on the forearm.

[33] As citizenship moves from being a state/nation based concept to a more international human rights regime as according to (Agnew 1999), it would be an interesting to see if this would have an impact on how migrants understand their belonging in their host countries and if it would impact their use of identity documentation in anyhow.

of South African citizenship recognition and credibility. It is this recognition and credibility that Swazi migrants are accessing when they decide to take up South African citizenship. Therefore citizenship as a legal bureaucratic practice becomes the measure as to whether one belongs to that nation state or not. It is this belonging that Swazi migrants are endeavoring to legitimize through the management of identity documents. This belonging is not always state approved because some identity documents are acquired illegally or not using due process.

It is at the border where Swazi migrants engage the state in a confrontation of authenticity. There they have to produce their passports which are linked to their citizenship and identity documents; and have them run through the computer system which verifies if they are authentic or not. This happens every time they go through the border. Every crossing in and out of South Africa is a testimony to their legitimacy and validity of their documentation.

Supporting documents play a role in authenticating citizenship (Mongia 1999). This is what Gcebile meant by "grounding" her identity documents. Identity documents come with supporting documents. In fact they come after the supporting documents. In South Africa an identity document is only processed at the age of 16 years old. Before then one would use their birth certificate a proof of citizenship for example. Gcebile used a paper trail to create a relationship between her and the South African state and used further documentation to strengthen the bonds of that relationship that they may appear visibly strong when being interrogated and that they may prove as evidence of her legitimacy. By doing so she was trying to remove weaknesses in her argument, thus building a case for her legitimacy which would reduce any suspicions to her illegitimacy and pause for possible arrest.

Gugu's story illustrates a more informal way of proving and maintaining legitimacy and validity, for instance gender profiling, based on her beliefs about female versus male officers and their approach to doing their jobs, as she feels female officers are more likely to question her than male officers. The fewer questions the better, being questioned can lead to arrest if one answers incorrectly. Gugu's border contact

not only prevented possible arrest but he also was a security measure if she ever got caught. One of the things her sister ever said to her about her contact when I first moved to South Africa was "if anything happened at the border I should ask for him "(Gugu).

Gcebile and Gugu both had a contact at the border, which they both state they no longer maintain. Gcebile states that when she first moved back to Swaziland she needed her South African passport stamped to show she had gone back into South Africa, that way she would then use her Swazi passport and would avoid overstaying in Swaziland on her South African passport and the resulting consequences for overstaying. She drove to the border and asked her contact to stamp it for her, and the same happened when she moved back to South Africa. This was to ensure that on the computer systems no irregularities were found to provide basis for further investigations.

Gugu's description of passport renewals as points of authentication show how repetition serves as a way of building a historical record which legitimizes and validated documentation. Each time she renews her passport she proves to herself that her identity documentation is considered authentic by the South African state, thus strengthening her measure of security and reducing her fear of risk and exposure.

Despite offering many advantages, such as increased employability, wider accesses to bank services and products, and claims to the state, there are also disadvantages based on insecurities and risk brought about by having identity documents. Between Thandeka and Gcebile the meanings of identity documents become conflictive with their lifestyles and the intention for getting the identity documents to begin with. As they find that the distance created by identity documents means constant management; especially when it comes to places of interaction between them and the state or official matters.

Precariousness

The need to legitimize and validate their identity documents is because the migrants feel insecure about their stay in South Africa. At first it appears that Swazi migrants are not susceptible to anti-immigrant sentiment and are accepted into South African society, due to the physical similarities they share with their South African counterparts, including the shared ethnicity as the Swazi also exist in South Africa, security of Swazi migrants in South Africa appears as relatively assured. In many cases it is true that Swazi migrants do not go through the same issues that other African migrants go through when in South Africa. That is not to say that they go through no social problems either. Instead the anti-immigrant sentiment shows itself in more subtle ways, which Swazi migrants are dealing with constantly. The ways in which the anti-immigrant sentiment is displayed brings confusion and uncertainty to their position in South Africa because it does not follow the obvious format. The precarious condition of their position in South African society is controlled by using their stranger position to strengthen work and social relations and blending-in.

Gcebile relates that at her first job

> I received a lot of support …because although I had the education, I did not have the experience of functioning at this level. I can say the hardest thing for me was gaining confidence in the position. I wish I had started at a lower level just to gain the experience, because I did not have the right experience for that job...but you got in and got on with the job…it was even the running office joke they would say, she is from Swaziland this one, really what does she know (Gcebile).

> No I have not experienced any xenophobia at work, look, I have had that joke thrown at me, *kwerekwere*[34], but it has always been in jest… I think Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland people are exempt, had I been from Zimbabwean, Somalian or from somewhere else I think it would have been different….. when I get to the office I get in, do my work and talk to whoever I want to….yes I have noticed some of my South African colleagues stay away from some groups and have cliques but I just speak to whoever. Coming from Swaziland race is not what it is here, I would say it does not exist, not like it does here. So I see races and differences in races different to South Africans. I do not see colour. (Luyengo).

"I do not think at this level xenophobia is an issue, it is an issue for those wage labourers where they are dealing with different sets of issues, here it is your skill that counts" (Manqoba).

[34] Derogatory word for foreigner/alien.

Being Swazi allows them opportunities that other foreigners and South Africans may not, further illustrates this creation of the other. This creation of the other takes on a more positive formation as found in Simmel in his discussion about the stranger (1950). Granting the stranger by virtue of being a stranger takes on a position of power which allows him/her to act in ways which others of the place cannot. Swazi migrants for instance are able to build inter racial office and social relationships when sometimes their South African friends and colleagues feel or are made to feel uncomfortable about it, due to their ability to be able to avoid existing racial attitudes that exist in South Africa, having not been directly influenced by *apartheid* and its oppression of black people in South Africa. Gcebile by being a stranger was allowed to make mistakes and learn, in her new position when she first came to work in South Africa.

All these questions about the migrant's multi-racial interactions within the work space, the jokes about being Swazi or the derogatory terms said in jest illustrate that the stranger or the other does not stop being a stranger even if there appears to be an acceptance of them. Instead reminders about their otherness are relayed in more subtle forms, forms which makes it hard for the migrants to respond to directly because they are said in jest. A direct or confrontational response to the jokes also would highlight the differences between Swazis and South Africans making the foreign status of Swazi migrants even more visible and subjects of discussions on foreigners. This is what makes the blending-in strategy by Swazis effective as there are already similarities culturally and physically between Swazi's from Swaziland and South African and South African Swazi's.

> South Africans think that Swaziland is a tenth province and because we also look very similar to South Africans we blend in. If I were darker it would have been different…I do have a friend who believes foreigners are taking jobs from South Africans but we have those discussions in a civilized manner (Fundzile).

Blending in, the physical markers of similarity make it hard to create the other out of Swazis, with many Swazis having familial ties in South Africa and not just linguistic and cultural ties. With the historical interactions and relationships between Swazis and South Africans the other is even harder to create. The borders have not lessened the links between the two. SiSwati is also one of the official languages in South Africa. Thus Swazi migrants occupy an ambiguous space of being both members and non-members of the

South African nation depending on if viewing it from an ethnic or a national basis. Being able to speak one of the national languages meant that they had one up over foreigners from other African countries.

Chapter 3

Mobility and Contradictions of Migration

"We do not know how South Africa will end up, Swaziland is plan B for whatever goes wrong, for example look at Zimbabwe or Rwanda" (Manqoba).

Earlier I alluded to power and migrant agency when I was discussing migrant resistance as tactics. I then discussed the precariousness of the Swazi migrant's position in South Africa and how this has to be controlled through a process of legitimation, repetition and time which contradicts the idea of agency and power. I suggest that these contradictions are integral to the migrant experience and not a coincidence. The contradictions allow Swazi migrants to use mobility (physical and figurative mobility) to shift between blending-in and distinctiveness depending on the occasion, time and place. In the first section of this chapter "Visiting Home," I show mobility amongst Swazi migrants. I do so by contrasting current Swazi migrant mobility between Swaziland and South Africa and black migrant mobility during *apartheid* to highlight the impact of policy on migrant movement, and also to show how Swazi migrants employ mobility as a means of agency, to create social and economic networks that support the migrant's physical and emotional needs. I then show how mobility is figurative and physical by discussing it in reference to transnationalism. In the section "Contradiction" I discuss the changing personas of the migrant as a way of showing the complex nature of being a migrant. Das (2004), Mountz (2003), and Turner (2004) argue that, the state is illegible and even chaotic and uses this chaos as a means to make itself relevant, the migrants are creations of and subjects of multiple state positions, state partners and other various bodies/ organizations. As state labels and definitions try to confine migrants and other foreign bodies to a definite entity, the migrant is actually not only multi-faceted but also contradictory in their goals, ambitions beliefs and values as products and producers of the systems and structures they live within. I do this as a way of moving away from the concept of oscillatory migration or permanent

migration because of their linear and singular focus respectively, where in permanent migration the focus is from one place to another and in oscillatory migration the purpose is to be able to move back home.

Migration in Africa has always been typified by mobility in South Africa immigration has historically been centred around influx control and restrictions on permanent settlement of black migrants. Hence black migrants were constantly moving between South Africa and their home state. In his book Murray (1981) described the migrant experience of the Basotho as characterized by constant mobility due to existing laws governing migrants and the different races in the country. This control has of mobility has largely been explained as a characteristic of *apartheid* oppression and migrant vulnerability. This is not the case now as there is no policy that is aimed at preventing immigration of any races or nationalities. There are complaints about the immigration process in South Africa and how the system makes it hard to get legally documented efficiently and timeously. Having an identity document allows the migrants to permanently settle in South Africa and also the ability to control their movement in and out of the country because it means they qualify for a South African passport

Geschier & Gugler (1998) state that continued links to 'home' contribute to the migrant's ability to migrate and earn a wage because of the exchanges in food, services and wages that occur between migrants at work and their 'homes' which support each other. I contend that in the absence of regulations that demand continuous mobility of migrants has reconstituted mobility from being a form of control to a tool for migrant agency and also makes migrancy a dynamic instead of static state. Before it was a case of having to move, now migrants move because they want to. The participant describe various reasons for moving, ranging from social to family, economic and emotional reasons. These trips generally serve a dual purpose either to enhance social relations or maintain existing ones, to oversee the family homestead, family or property and sometimes the trips serve as a place to relax and holiday. Or they serve as a way of reinforcing the migrant's stay in South Africa and their purpose for migrating.

> For me the border or rather the drive to Swaziland represents a lot of things. When my mom died I used to travel maybe twice or three times a month just to sort out some of the issues there. Every time I would travel the journey to Swaziland would represent my journey in life, so when my mom died I grew up so

> fast, extremely fast. There were things I had to be responsible for, so when I go there it is ok there are these responsibilities that I am now looking after I am doing them for my mom….and when I come this side (South Africa) it is like a growth spurt because I know I have achieved something in Swaziland and I come to this land of opportunity to achieve what I want to achieve. (Thandeka)

Visiting Home

Swaziland is about three and half to four and half hours away from Johannesburg. Travelling between Johannesburg and Swaziland is relatively easy with various forms of public transport running multiple times every day from the city centre and other places around Johannesburg. Unlike other foreigners who may have to wait for long periods of time between visits home, Swazis can with very little prior planning make the trip home and back easily. Visits home are filled with much anticipation by both migrants and their friends and families.

There is a lot of talk around the visits, beliefs and scrutiny about people who move to Johannesburg, in particular scrutiny about who has been 'swallowed up' by the city. These discussions normally focus around changes in values to those who have moved to Johannesburg. Indicators of what constitute as change and degrees of influence are discussed in general or directed to particular individuals. For example school children await the return of their ex classmates to watch for any changes in their attitudes after they have gone to South Africa for studies. Looking for both signs of how the city has improved them usually dress and hair being the more obvious markers of influences and how they have not changed. Parents will share with friends and families how their child has or has not changed values since their move to Johannesburg asserting to the extent of the city's influence. The migrants themselves hold the beliefs about visits home and how often they should occur, although this is a very individual number. At the same time none of the migrants seemed to keep up with their own expectations about visiting Swaziland, giving various reasons why they did not.

Of all my participants only Thandeka was satisfied with her visits to Swaziland, the rest believed they could do better with their home visits. Luyengo said

> I don't go as often enough….I have class on Saturdays now and that just kills the whole drive down….I have done it twice drive up after class come back on Sunday tired….but even prior to that I don't think enough times, it is even easier to have my mom come this side and to come hang out. My situation is kind of different since she is the only thing that is there for me…it is a very strong link but as to whether it is the only one, probably not.

Manqoba said they went home mainly for family and social occasions such as weddings and funerals. Manqoba has been working and living in South Africa for almost twenty years. He has since married a South African woman (Sakhile) and they are expecting a child. Their visits to Swaziland are usually based around family occasions, or social gatherings and therefor have a stronger social impact because those are the times he can show how he has not lost his way in Johannesburg. Practically they allow Manqoba and his wife to make new links and re connect with older links faster and easier. Manqoba sees his life in South Africa firmly established yet Swaziland continues to be considered home, which he has a growing obligation too as the years go on.

A big difference between Swazi migrants and other migrants -for example Zimbabwean migrants with whom I have some extensive interaction with- is that going home/Swaziland is a low key affair. There are usually no notifications to fellow Swazis about the trip, so they can collect items to take home and vice versa. Not unless they knew of someone's need it in advance and they offer, but they will not go out canvasing to fill space. A person needing to relay a package home or to South Africa from Swaziland would have to call around to find out who was going to Swaziland at that time. Whereas Zimbabwean migrants for example, would notify a few of their close friends and family in advance to make maximum use of the trip. This may be due to the closeness between the countries and the fact that the migrants I was dealing with were of a specific economic sector and traveling to Swaziland did not carry the same economic considerations that other lower income/economic sector migrants would.

The visits can be either planned or impromptu. The potential spontaneity of the visit shows how the traveling between Swaziland and South Africa is not considered as major occurrence. In fact it could be a visit from Johannesburg to Pretoria, displaying how accessible South Africa is to Swazi migrants. So although the visits to Swaziland are considered a requirement for Swazi migrants because of the beliefs

held about the influences of the city (Johannesburg) and the social networks it allows them to make and maintain when in Swaziland, mobility is no longer the oppressive tool that forced migrants to travel to stop their permanent settling in South Africa. Instead it has become the physical and figurative means by which transnational networks are created and maintained.

Manqoba said there is something "beyond the physical and tangible" in the responsibilities he has in Swaziland. The (visits) go beyond financial remittances or even his continued physical presence such as "family intellectual property[35]"(Manqoba). As his sister (Lindiwe) once reminded him; "in Swaziland you must remember that history belongs to/ or is kept by the women in the family. As we your sisters are getting married we are no longer the custodians of our paternal history but are custodians of our respective in-law's history". Therefore it now lies with his (Manqoba's) wife, as the wife of the only son to ensure that Manqoba's family history is not lost (Manqoba).

By placing their family history with Manqoba's wife Sakhile, not only is the history also mobilised to different regions and spaces, it also creates ties and networks to those regions and spaces. It is this aspect of mobility that works at bridging the differences and separation that bureaucracy and documentation/citizenship creates. Whilst the documentation seeks to keep separate the Swazi and the South African, through symbolic means such as history as in the case of Manqoba and his family, links are created. Meaning the form of migrancy that Swazi migrants in my study are engaged in can be better understood as transnational form of migrancy rather than oscillatory or permanent migration.

Transnationalism allows migrants to create tangible connections to a multitude of places through networks without actually being there. Permitting the migrant ability to move between these networks and make a claim for belonging to a place besides documentation. This is done by the challenging the notion of belonging based on territory, instead of the trans localities, or the various places one locates themselves

[35] Family history.

transnationally. The move from territory to trans localities is done through a model of rescaling[36] where the space in which one places themselves is not limited to their current physical space, instead the location is based on spaces they occupy physically, through social networks, and technology, as people are able through various means to inhabit multiple social, geographical political and economic spaces despite physical locations.

Contradictions

When I was thinking about this paper and some of the actions taken by migrants, I was struck by how some of the actions seemed to intentionally or unintentionally go against each other. I could not figure out why this kept on coming up over and over or what was the role of the contradictions. It was when I thought about what it meant to have blurred boundaries and definitions that it started to make sense. The contradictions worked as a means for blurring boundaries and definitions placed on migrants, thus allowing Swazi migrants to move between blending-in and distinctiveness because they are not set to either method nor are they fixed to either country.

Migration is of multiple and contradictory factors, intentions and outcomes. Just as Das (2004), Mountz (2003), and Turner (2004) argue that the state as illegible and even chaotic using the chaos as a means of making itself relevant, migrants become creations and creators of this multiplicity. In this multiplicity are contradictions. As Kleinman and Kleinman (1994:712) state, we need to look not only at the points of connection but the experiences in between the points of connections when it comes to networks as there is where the context and meaning is found. By contextualising and looking for meaning the definite set of boundaries fall away because context allows for multiple interpretations, and actions for any given situation. The contradictions amongst Swazi migrants are found in personality, identity and bureaucracy.

[36] According to Brenner (2004), Pries (2001) and Turner (2004) re scaling is the increase beyond national borders of the configurations that have served as the underlying geographical scaffolding economically, socially, political and otherwise of a nation due to globalization.

Much has been said about the effects of migration on the migrant and his/her ideas and beliefs. For example Geschier & Gugler (1998) state that the continued flow between rural and urban is not just a physical change in geography but also has an impact in reconstituting ideas and beliefs that an individual has. The permanence of those changes has ignored the many representations that migrants purposefully portray. Focusing on the permanent changes in the migrant due to migration and the resulting effect in social and cultural structures, has concealed the many versions and variations that a migrant takes on, consciously and or unconsciously.

During my research there were a lot of discussions on what makes Swazi's unique and respect or inhlonipho in siSwati was a reoccurring attribute. Most of my participants mentioned how respect was particularly a Swazi trait and that it made Swazis different from other South African ethnicities, including South African Swazis. To be respectful is a trait that Swazis describe themselves by and a trait that they value highly. From when you are young you are taught early to show respect to your elders and everyone else. For example when people come to the house to visit the children would go greet and shake each guests hand, A child does not say an elder is lying for example even if the child knows the elder is in fact not telling the truth instead the child would say you are mistaken.

A popular myth about the arrival of whites in Swazialnd illustrates the entry of religion into the country but also how much respect is held in high regard even for a person who has passed away. Bonner (1983) relates the myth of how, shortly before his death King Sobhuza I, who ruled from early 1800s till 1836 dreamt about white people coming to Swaziland. In the dream the King is said to have seen white skinned people who were carrying two objects, in the one hand they had *umculu* (scroll) on the other hand they had *indlilingu* (round piece of metal/money). King Sobhuza I, advised the people to accept the scroll, reject the money and not harm the whites. To do otherwise he said would cause the nation to be destroyed. It is said that in 1844 five years after King Sobhuza I died the Swazi welcomed the Wesleyan missionaries upon their arrival because of that dream (Bonner, 1983:44-45). Much later King Sobhuza II who led Swaziland into independence in 1968 from the British, established and entrenched a

reconstructed form of traditionalism politically, economically and ritually as a means of creating a hegemonic state and to consolidate power to the Dlamini aristocracy (Debly 2011, Kuper 1944, Levin 1997, Mzizi 2004 and Sihlongonyane 2003). The reconstruction of traditions, implementation of royal ritual and the myth that all Swazi's originate from common ancestry, binds commoners to royalty, resulting in a common culture whose custodians are royalty. This has then created a conventional view that the Swazi nation is one family; with the king as the family head and that there is a 'Swazi way' of being and doing things (Sihlongonyane 2003, Mzizi 2004). Integral to doing things the Swazi way is respect, since all actions and speech should be done with respect, respect for one's immediate family, the national family and society at large. During a discussion with Sakhile I asked her if she ever noticed this respect from Manqoba.

> "I do, I do see it. What's very interesting though is I see it a lot in my husband. But particularly when we go home, I find Swazis are very respectful in their environment. I am not trying to say that when they are here they are not, but there is a difference. Maybe it is an understanding of how things operate in Swaziland. So they know they have to conform because of that whole being respectful, knowing who you are and knowing who the next person is, it is very important in that country. Then he comes to South Africa it's a sort of different attitude. Maybe it's an understanding here, that a black person needs to fight or be more aggressive to be heard or to be considered. I see that but particularly in their environment….What is so funny is that they do not notice it, like my husband does not notice it. There was actually one time I said to him; when he was working at a previous institution to where he is now, he was always upset about and angry about the white people at work. Weather it was racially motivated I do not know. He is the type of person that can be aggressive but he is different from South African men, because he is confident and does not shy away from approaching or confronting a white person. I said to him, you know what; maybe you can take that personality you have in Swaziland and apply it here because people sometimes do not want people always aggravating them and fighting with them. They would rather have someone they can talk to it can make people not want to deal with you. It was when I mentioned bringing the Swazi attitude that he looked at me and said "really!" There is a difference in how I behave? I said yes, there is.

This example questions the levels of influence that migration has on migrants and more importantly the permanence of those influences. Yes, there may be permanent changes in beliefs, attitudes and perceptions in migrants due to their migration. However the changes may not always be permanent but be based on specific factors such as geography making them more adapted than adopted. Manqoba for example is able to unconsciously adapt his persona depending on where he is.

South African identity documentation seeks to blend-in Swazi migrants into South African systems and organisations; politically and economically by removing bureaucratic markers of difference. Yet Swazis

keep and highly regard points of distinctiveness as we see with the respect. Fundzile in her considerations about getting permanent residence, says she is not worried about becoming a South African and how that will affect any future considerations about moving back to Swaziland.

> "After all Swaziland is home, as long as we have a homestead there and my dad is Swazi, I can always go back". Asking her if she would consider *ku'khonta*[37] or buying property in Swaziland at some point and why? "Definitely. Have that home there, definitely. At the end of the day it is home. I will have to go home; it is not even just in a place, I will *khonta* in a place I would like that is closer to town. However I have *kaGogo*[38], it is important to have a base, there are funerals, weddings there are things that happen there, I will need to have that base….I can't cut ties with Swaziland, my family is there. I am the only one here….All along I have always seen Swaziland as home and I work here in *Jo'burg*. However I bought a home, this is my home now. I find myself even when I am visiting my parents, it's like oh I want to go back home now, and my mom one day said but you are home. I said no I have got my own home now. She's like so you consider Johannesburg home now? I said yes, but this is home too. I need to establish my own home. In terms of having multiple homes or multiple stations I think it is something that I am used to, because my mom is from Botswana and we have a home there. So I call home Botswana, I call home Swaziland…I would not like the borders between Swaziland and South Africa brought down and have Swaziland amalgamated into South Africa. I feel that the South African society has a lot of sad things happening. I maybe a bit traditional, but I do like some of our traditions. I feel the kids in Swaziland, we have got more respect. I feel actually I would want to take my children to go and study there, definitely not here. That would try to blend us into a South African community and we are our own people. There is no need for us to be blended in, definitely not. I do think there is a difference between a Swazi from Swaziland and a Swazi from South Africa. I do not know what it is but I do think so" (Fundzile)

In her account Fundzile invokes two different notions of home. There is the home where one lives their everyday life such as her home in Johannesburg. For example Fundzile has bought a home in Johannesburg and she also considers getting a secondary home in Swaziland outside of her parental home through *Kukhonta* or title deed property. Then she invokes the home *kaGogo*, which is the same notion of home that Sakhile invoked when she described going to Swaziland as going home earlier in the chapter. This home is usually the father's parental home. It is at this homestead that the family's ancestors are said to reside and where all important issues pertaining to the family should be discussed and dealt with. *kaGogo* is thought to be the place where ones roots are no matter where the tree branches branch to. To

[37] A Swazi custom where one can seek land from the chief to construct a homestead – in return they swear allegiance to the king through the chief's land. This land is considered Swazi National Land and is held in trust. You do not get a title deed when you are given this land, it works similar to lease with no set expiry date.
[38] Grandmother's homestead.

go *kaGogo* or *ekhaya*[39] is seen considered as connecting and paying homage to present and past generations of the family.

Fundzile illustrates how migrant needs can be different from their familial needs. As she grows and gains responsibilities, there comes aspirations linked to life course. Such as buying a home in this case, which migrants get attached to. These attachments create differences between the migrant, their families and their perceived purpose for migration. Swazi 'migrants' feelings about Swaziland are often conflicted. Statements calling Swaziland 'home' and South Africa referred to by name occur often. I want to go home this weekend for instance is how a planned visit to Swaziland would be related, the journey back would be related as going back to Johannesburg and not home. There appears to be a clear sense of what the two countries represent. Yet migrants spend a majority of their time in South Africa, they have responsibilities and ongoing associations and lifestyles in South Africa which they do not want to give as much conversational/ audible authority too. In doing so Swazi migrants can continue to invest economically, socially and politically in Swaziland and South Africa without being questioned on their allegiances. By keeping their South African lives less important or emotionally affiliated to Swazi migrants can move between the countries without too many queries.

Swazi migrants must find other means of integrating and becoming insiders other than through documentation as blending-in because the bureaucratic method does not remove all barriers and markers of foreignness and it also produces risk, in order to create and maintain the options and opportunities they were endeavouring for when they moved to South Africa, Swazi migrants have turned to expressions of distinctiveness as a means of becoming insiders to South Africa at the same time trying to maintain their Swazi insider status.

[39] Home

Chapter 4

Visibility, Respect and Distinctiveness.

'It is my socialization that makes me Swazi…the values I learnt there are different from those here in South Africa." (Majaha).

Using a combination of blending in and keeping separate Swazi migrants manage their social identities/public personas. By using perceptions and beliefs they hold about Swaziness and what being Swazi means they act out their Swazi identities as a way of separating themselves from other ethnic groups in South African. Ethnic distinctiveness is the one area where Swazi migrants are able to distinguish themselves as different and stand out. In this chapter I state that it is due to the commodification of culture and the fractured foundations of post-colonial states that make this distinctiveness acceptable. I start by relating a dinner I was invited to, as a way of showing interactions between Swazi migrants in South Africa and their understanding of what it means to be Swazi. I then discuss visibility and security in migration and how Swazi migrants do not associate visibility with security, unlike in Simone (2004) where various nationalities have high visibility in Johannesburg and do so as a way of increasing their security. . One would be hard-pressed to see any visible signs of Swaziness. As Simone walked through Hillbrow, Johannesburg's inner city, various streets would be marked by the physical presence of changing nationalities. Ghanaian, Nigerian, Congolese, Malawian (2004). Each has a space that they occupy and marked as theirs in the theory that,

> "Particular spaces are linked to specific identities, functions, lifestyles, and properties so that the spaces of the city become legible for specific people at given places and times. These diagrams—what Henri

> Lefebvre (2000) (as cited in calls Simone 2004:409) "representations of space"—act to "pin down" inseparable connections between places, people, actions, and things. At the same time, these diagrams make possible a "relation of non-relation" that opens each constituent element onto a multiplicity of relations between forces." (Simone 2004:408)

Meaning that because spaces take on different meanings and uses, through usage and or ownership, when different groups in this case nationalities occupy specific sites those spaces become specific to them. The spaces then represent those nationalities, the occupants, their stories but also the representations of those looking in who may or may not be part of those nationalities and their perceptions of what they see by the occupation, occupants and non-occupants of that space.

Jinnah (2010) describes the presence of Somalis in Mayfair a suburb of Johannesburg as them having dominated the area making them highly visible with a question on how integrated they are despite their visibility. Both Jinnah (2010) and Simone (2004) ascribe this visibility as a security measure as well as a coping mechanism for migrants in Johannesburg. The 2008 xenophobic attacks proved as evidence for the need for security by foreigners in South Africa. As attacks occurred against racially profiled Africans especially those from nations north of South Africa (Coplan 2009, Comaroff & Comaroff 2001, Jinnah 2010, and Simone 2004). Instead I link visibility to distinctiveness, based on Comaroff & Comaroff (2003)'s view that post-colonial states are generally heterogeneous and therefore produce fractured political subjects, which in the South African case can be identified as constitutional citizens and collective/ethnic citizens. They argue that in South Africa this tension between the constitutional or collective citizens exists in an uneasy relationship. Comaroff & Comaroff (2009) also state that the commodification of culture is based on and pursues the need to authenticate one's ethnicity. Therefore within South African nationalism there are differences between the ethnicities. Swazi migrants use this existing differentiation between ethnicities to make themselves ethnically distinctive and in order to do so they act in ways that further authenticate the existence of this Swazi culture and its distinctiveness. By making themselves visible through distinctiveness, Swazi migrants are able to assert themselves publicly as Swazi in spite of fears of foreigners. As through their ethnicity Swazi migrants are able to make their presence in South Africa a valuable commodity that for South Africa.

Questions about being Swazi and what that means were discussed over a dinner organised by Mcedisi. Mcedisi was introduced and recommended as a potential participant for my study. After our initial meeting, Mcedisi offered to organise a dinner in order for me to meet more potential participants. Invited were three of Mcedisi's male friends Vumile, Thokozani, Manqoba, and Manqoba's wife Sakhile. All the men there grew up in Swaziland, all of them Swazi except for Vumile who is Zulu but raised in Swaziland and had returned to South Africa some years back. The rest of Vumile's family had relocated back to KwaZulu Natal and Vumile considers himself South African, although he told me that he claims no ethnic identity because of how he grew up, and wants to avoid ethnic conflict. Thokozani is new in South Africa only arriving in the last two years. His wife and children are still living in Swaziland and that appears to be the status quo for now. Mcedisi himself has been living in South Africa for over ten years, coming here to become an entrepreneur. Mcedisi is married to a South African and has a growing family. It was at this dinner that most of the concepts about Swaziness, raised by my other participants were discussed in much fuller detail.

We move from the lounge area where we had been waiting for the rest of the dinner party to arrive. Our table is set at the centre of the restaurant. A well established, fine dining experience restaurant in Sandton one of Johannesburg affluent suburbs. The maître d' seats us, and a waiter arrives with our drinks from the lounge.

> Mcedisi says to the group before we go on, "I would like to introduce you to the lady, especially you *Make*[40] [Sakhile] as I would not like you to think that *senginesi ncanakazane* (mistress). This is Gabby Dlamini and she is Swazi, born and raised and is doing a study on Swazi professionals/middle class working and living in Johannesburg. She has sworn that she is not part of any nefarious organizations such as the CIA, FBI or any other alphabet organization out there, [Roaring laughter]." He then proceeds to give them an overview of what my study is about and then gives me the floor. I reiterate what the study is about and states some of the general areas of interest such as missing communal Swazi spaces (for example restaurants) and formal networks and organizations, how they went about settling in Johannesburg and what they think about Swazi skilled migrancy. At the end I ask if anyone has questions and immediately Mcedisi asks what I intend the study for, which Manqoba backs with head nodding.
>
> To answer your first question I would say that there is no need for restaurants is because people from BOLESWA (Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland) countries can easily assimilate in South Africa. SADC(Southern African Development Community, referring specifically to BOLESWA countries in the SADC). Manqoba says they are not seen as largely different from South Africans like Zimbabweans

[40] Meaning Mrs or mother used as a way of showing respect.

(Manqoba). "It is true and also wena LaNkosi and when Swazis come to South Africa it works more on a mentoring basis. Like I lived with relatives such as my uncle who taught me what to do and how to get by here. So between long time South African residents [meaning Swazis who have been living in South Africa for long] and newcomers there is a large mentoring aspect (Manqoba). Some Swazis may not have this but we did [speaking for those present] (Mcedisi). To emphasize how true this is stories are shared about who stayed with whom and Manqoba advises he also stayed with Mcedisi's uncle as he had met him through his friendship with Mcedisi.

As the waiter comes to take our meal order I take the opportunity to enquire why each of them came to South Africa. "There are more opportunities in South Africa and a variety of professions. In Swaziland you do not run a business you run a charity. It is a good place for big business but small business in Swaziland is too vulnerable. There are too many variables to consider. I also cannot run a business from South Africa you need to be there every day to make sure things are going smoothly and re settling back there would be too much administration" (Mcedisi). "Yes and South Africa is a lot more professional and allows for world class skills development. The industry here is a lot more advanced compared to Swaziland, what you learn here does not compare" (Manqoba). Vumile adds with how he has been able to advance his education by being in South Africa and also reiterates the professionalism in the work environments found in South Africa. Although I note how no one mentions remuneration, which I assumed it implied by the lavish restaurant we were having dinner at. In a post interview with Manqoba's wife days later she responded by saying "people need to eat therefore how can I hold the fact that they get identity documents so they can afford to put food on the table" (Sakhile), when I asked her how she feels about Swazis getting South African documentation when they migrate to South Africa. "Yes laNkosi in South Africa there is professionalism you learn so much and do so much. There is no way you can progress as much in Swaziland. There is growth here and professionalism has changed everything. Everyone is in competition with everyone now. We need to work harder now" (Manqoba). "The thing is work ethic, Swazis work hard and that relates to respect, which South Africans do not have. I mean there is a the tea/cleaning lady at work, she is a little bit older, but the young staff members will call her by her name, Phindile! Phindile! What is that? No respect what so ever" (Thokozani). "That is true, South Africans do not have respect", Mcedisi, Sakhile, Manqoba and Vumile all nod and gesture accordingly.

The waiter arrives with our food and we take a momentary reprieve. As soon as we have had the first few bites off our plates, focus returns back to the discussion. Thokozani opens the talk; "I will never raise my children here. They will stay in Swaziland with their mother, not for R1, R100, R1000, 10 000 or R1million. I look around the table to see the others reaction". Both Mcedisi and Manqoba have children on the way (which Manqoba had just announced to the group) and I specifically focus at their reactions. They do not say much initially. Both mention something about South Africa being a valueless society. "That is where the value of grandparents comes in" Mcedisi says. "Growing up in Swaziland makes you more rounded as a person. It opens up your eyes to things I mean Swazi children get to experience things like slaughtering of a cow and still be urban. These things makes them fuller individuals" (Manqoba).

If there is such reverence to being Swazi I ask why then are the Swazis in South Africa, especially the more prominent ones not more visible?

"Well to tell you the truth, Swazis are a jealous nation. So we tend to keep a lot of what we do quiet and not advertise it" (Manqoba). "They also do not want to make it obvious about how many there are here in South Africa" (Vumile). "How many Swazis do you think are in South Africa?" Vumile asks me. I say "well there is an estimated 1.2 million Swazis in Swaziland I could say 500 000 to 1 million in South Africa." We both laugh at the large number I have just mentioned. But he does not question it, instead he says; "maybe, it's possible you never know, but there is a lot of us here. There is a big problem with brain drain in Swaziland. So many of us well educated and skilled Swazis make our way to South Africa. We have too, what will you do in Swaziland? It goes back to that professionalism and opportunity" (Vumile). Quietly, Sakhile notes, "well you need to realise also that most of them also have South African identity documents now and they do not want to bring attention to that".

By this time our plates have been cleared and we have made our dessert selections. The dinner is dying down and talk moves to talk on to Swaziness and Swaziland. Vumile is adamant that he would not live in Swaziland again. "Not after the way I grew up" (Vumile). "People say there is no racism in Swaziland but

> that is not true. They will always remind you that you are not from there. Like me I am Zulu and they never let me forget that. They are racist, every time they would refer to me as *Shagaan*[41]. Dlaminis and Zulus are both *shangaan*,those Swazis are also from Mozambique if they follow their history. I do not consider myself South African; instead I would rather affiliate with my ethnic identity as Zulu. That makes more sense for me, because I was raised in Swaziland but of Zulu descent" (Vumile).
>
> This question of clans, Swazis are really seen as different from all the rest of South African clans. "We are looked at with admiration and respect whenever we are clothed in our traditional attire. It does not matter where we are when we put that on people just look and are amazed" (Mcedisi). "Yes when they see *lamaHiya*[42] on that is it" (Vumile). "They can just see, I mean do you remember that trip we took to Botswana. We went there to support a friend of ours he was getting married, we did not know any of the people there. When we arrived they said ah the Swazis are here because we were dressed in our traditional attire. Immediately after they saw the attire they were just amazed. We were invited to sit at the head table with chiefs and other dignitaries, important people. I do not know what happens but it separates us from the rest. You can put other traditional attires side by side and ours will stand out" (Mcedisi). I myself think about occasions in South Africa when I was wearing my traditional attire wondering if I have had similar experiences. With attire comes responsibility. Manqoba conveys some of the familial and social responsibilities he has in Swaziland some of which I discussed in chapter 3.
>
> The evening is winds down and conversation turns to what is happening in their lives now, friends they have in common, work and business projects in the pipeline, when Manqoba adds to the discussion we were having on Swazi culture. He says "you must remember that it was *Make* Mantfombi[43] who raised the Zulu monarchy back to where it is now by bringing back the *Umhlanga*[44] reed dance. The Zulu monarchy would not be where it is without that. It would have been long gone. If it was not for King Mswati and the Swazi monarchy they would not be where they are. Mswati is powerful, there are powers [referring to Swazi royal ancestors and the use of magic by Swazi royalty] behind that [Swazi] monarchy that keep it strong and the Zulu's get that from us. If it was not for the Swazi ancestry and the powers of the Swazi monarchy the Zulu monarchy would be very different now.

I discuss the themes and concepts raised at this dinner in the next two sections of this chapter using theories on visibility, security and distinctiveness to explain the main points of the discussion. It is here however where I would like to discuss the last part of that evening, since this part clearly illustrates the pursuit of ethnic authenticity and how this then adds value to Swazi ethnicity to the point of making it a commodity. I will do so in two sections firstly by discussing the re-introduction of the *Umhlanga* ceremony and secondly by discussing magic and kingship. Ritual and power have long since been researched and found to have a relationship where ritual serves to reinforce power (cf. Beidelman 1966, Bryan 2000, feeley-Harnik 1985). When Manqoba links the *Umhlanga* ceremony in kwaZulu to the rise of the Zulu monarchy's status it shows how the value of the monarchy is imbedded in tradition and culture. In stating that the *Umhlanga* ceremony was brought back, brought back by the Swazi, it claims

[41] A term used for Mozambican foreigners but also used to highlight foreignness.
[42] A traditional cloth worn by both males and females in Swaziland.
[43] King Zwelithini of Zululand's wife, and sister to King Mswati III of Swaziland.
[44] Maiden traditional ceremony.

ownership of the ritual by the Swazi. This ownership becomes a means of proving the authenticity that Comaroff & Comaroff (2009) discuss. This authenticity is further established through ancestry when the ritual is connected to Swazi royal ancestry. It is in this way that Swazi culture also becomes authenticated through the Swazi monarchy hence Swazis in South Africa become the symbol of authenticity to Swazi South African culture and ethnicity.

Visibility and Security

Jinnah (2010) and Simone (2004) ascribe visibility to security. Swazi migrants follow this concept and they do not link themselves to particular spaces functions and lifestyles when in Johannesburg. To find a Swazi restaurant, a hang out place, formal and informal regular meeting places is scarce. I found instead a loose formal network of social events organised as one off, with the exception of the Swazi party held once a year at various locations in Johannesburg. At universities there are Swazi students associations which appear to be a lot more active than outside of the university spaces. In the social network sites such as facebook, Swazi groups were hard to find. Instead groups would be based around certain events, people or organisations. For example one can find a social network site on South Africans teaching English in South Korea, yet to try and find a similar site about Swazis working in Johannesburg proved difficult. Sites not directly emphasising the Swazi migrant in South Africa, but providing support do exist even though not directly catered for them. For example there is a site for Swazis in South Africa and Swaziland to help in domestic worker issues, where a person living in South Africa can go in ask for potential employee's referrals or put in a job spec and respondents would respond on any query in regards to domestic workers. There is a group on a High School in Swaziland and even on specific clan names, all informally set up. None of these sites are specifically for Swazis living in South Africa or formally organised. Nor can they be called upon for the mass mobilisation of Swazi migrants in South Africa politically, economically or socially as they would only reach a small number of people at a time.

This makes existing networks more personal and keeps social interaction grounded on Swazi values and rules of interaction. When I was asking about the 'Swazi parties' which used to be organised as yearly social events in Johannesburg for the more grown up past university Swazi's, word of mouth was the main form of advertisement, later on it did move to cell phone messaging (sms) however this did not really catch on and was still used in conjunction with word of mouth.

Manqoba's explanation on the lack of formal networks, restaurants and organizations supports the idea of intimate/personal network, or Mcedisi's view that mentoring by family members or close relatives and friends is usually the way most Swazis are assisted when they first arrive. Connections and networks built over time, through introductions when one meets someone for the first time for example. What is your surname? Where are you from? This forms a standard part of an introduction in Swaziland after the hello and how are you questions (Mlungisi 2012). You are asked these questions by most people you meet, directed not to foreigners or those that appear foreign to Swaziland; instead it is directed to everyone, even between Swazis. There are many variations and combinations to the responses, depending on socio-economic, political, historical and biological factors. So a person may give their matrilineal surname yet say they are from patrilineal homestead, vice versa and or any other variation available including ones that include or exclude biological familial affiliations. In doing so they are able to place you within a wider social network which is continuously being added onto and restructured as well as place themselves in relation to every person they meet. These personal networks are the basis by which Swazis locate themselves in South Africa and not necessarily formalised networks and institutions. Out of this dinner it turned out that Mcedisi was acquainted with my sister and Vumile knew my brother.

Reitze and Bam (2000) consider how national and ethnic identity is played out in the South African society and states that it creates insider outsider identities between migrants and the South African community. When national identities differ it is sometimes the ethnic identities that determine whether a migrant is labelled as an insider or outsider. For the Swazi migrant Swazi ethnicity allows them to "blend in" and become insiders. Being able to speak one of the official languages, being one of the official ethnic

groups and looking similar to most South Africans, physically and culturally Swazis blend in. It is this lack of obvious difference that allows for the blending to occur seemingly seamlessly. Swazi migrants share cultural and ethnic beliefs, traditions, attire and language (although there are slight differences in pronunciation of some words) with South African Swazis. Therefore visually it would be different to distinguish South African Swazis and Swazi Swazis from traditional clothing only. One would have to be alert to the nuances between the two..

Social blending-in becomes an extension of the coping mechanism used in the bureaucratic identities. Certain types of visibility put Swazi migrants at risk as discussed earlier in my discussion on bureaucratic identities and risk. Hence Swazi migrants do not want visibility in particular areas of their life, for example with the lack of public knowledge and acknowledgements of prominent Swazi migrants in South Africa. Since visibility would possible raise inquiry to their citizenship status and debates on foreigners holding high level positions in South Africa.

Visibility and Distinctiveness

Mcedisi told a story of a trip he took with Manqoba and a few others to a wedding in Botswana. As stated above Swazi cultural attire facilitates blending-in better than distinctiveness. Visually though it does serve to make Swazi culture in general more visible in South Africa. Swazis as an ethnic group are a minority in South Africa and are not very visible. For instance there are not that many television and radio outside policy allocation of Swazi programmes in South Africa. Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho and Tswana are more visible in public and social platforms. This reduced visibility of the Swazi adds value to the commodification of ethnicity as it makes it seem unique and exclusive thus reifies this notion of Swaziness. " We stand apart, that traditional attire when people see it, I do not know what happens but it separates us from the rest…you can put other national attires side by side and ours will stand out every single time the reaction is always the same, wow" (Mcedisi).

Language which is used a lot more frequently than traditional attire in everyday life was one of the more prominent ways in which cultural distinctiveness was deployed. One of the ways in which this distinction is made "is in how I speak siSwati... is different from the way South African Swazis speak siSwati" (Luyengo). So not only was language used to separate Swazi migrants from other ethnic and national migrants but also used to separate them from South African Swazis. Mcedisi stated that he uses language to differentiate himself from South African Swazis and if need be he will make sure that clarification is made to ensure the difference is noted when ethnicities are being discussed "I outright clarify Swazi from Swaziland, do not confuse me with these 'fong kongs' (Mcedisi). Hence Swazi migrants place lesser value and authenticity on South African Swazis than Swazis from Swaziland. There is a belief that somehow they have been watered down or influenced by South African values, emphasising a belief in the idea of an authentic South Africanness or Swaziness existing outside of personal differences. This is different to the Basotho who view Basotho in Lesotho as "backward" and those in South Africa especially the major cities as more contemporary (Coplan 2001). Therefore greater value is placed by Swazi migrants on keeping Swazi traits and values than adopting South African beliefs and traits. This places Swazi authenticity in Swaziland and not South Africa. By doing so Swazi migrants then become one of the means by which South African Swazis can authenticate their Swaziness through their presence; the real deal.

The most popular value trait mentioned by a majority of my participants was respect. Held highest to all is respect is seen as what distinguishes Swazis from Swaziland from South African Swazis and other ethnic groups in South Africa and abroad, to the point where Thokozani would rather be separated from his wife and children in order to have them raised in Swaziland whilst he works in Johannesburg, so they would be raised according to Swazi values. Swazi migrants go to the extent of hiring domestic helpers from Swaziland and living with them in South Africa to ensure the continued education of their children according to Swazi beliefs and values. Visits to the grandparents in Swaziland over school holidays are also encouraged for partly the same purposes. Hence Swaziness has a lot to do with socialization and the

perceived influences of that society. These visits also serve to reinforce a sense of continuity. Continuity with family and those long established values that are said to make a person Swazi. As well as reduces concerns about the possible loss of this Swaziness, such as seen in views held about South African Swazi's.

Education has been in the economic considerations of Swazi migration into South Africa, the most effective in getting Swazi migrants in South Africa and employed. Education levels have historically been better in Swaziland for black people until South Africa's democratic elections and the opening up of South African universities to all races. Swazis have always been better educated than black South Africans and this perception still exist. Therefore they are able to despite their foreignness be seen as adding value to the South Africa economically for example, making them seen less negatively than other foreigners usually assumed to be negative influences in South African society.

Social blending in is not to be grouped together with cultural amalgamation. Culturally there is a mindful attitude to keeping distinctive Swaziness. It is in cultural events and attire, language, and values, and education that Swazi migrants are able keep their distinctiveness and be visible as Swazi and foreign.

Conclusion

This thesis has illustrated how blending in and cultural distinctiveness are used to facilitate Swazi migrants shift from outsider to foreigner. The study had several aims; to get better understanding of Swazi skilled migrant coping mechanisms, to add to literature on Swazi migrants, to examine the geo-social spaces Swazi migrants occupy in South African (Johannesburg), and the role they play in South Africa as part of South African society in general.

I started the paper with Nkululeko's story simply because it emphasizes the importance of any strategies that migrants employ not only during their migration but after as well. These strategies do not only have influence on the migrant in the host country but in the sending country as well and to a larger group of people.

In the introduction I give an outline of the theoretical perspectives which I base my paper on namely citizenship and belonging and visibility. These are the three main concepts the thesis deals with.

In the first chapter I explore citizenship in its bureaucratic form. How bureaucracy impacts on the experiences, opportunities and access for citizens and non-citizens, in a discussion on employment and employability. I then consider how citizenship affects areas outside of formal structures and influences more social spaces. This leads to my first argument, that identity documents are used to reduce markers of foreignness which allow the Swazi migrants to blend-in to South African society more easily.

In the second chapter I consider risk and precariousness. How these two concepts influence the use of blending in as a coping mechanism and how migrants manage their exposure to risk and the precarious nature of their existence. I consider the types of risk and precariousness that Swazi migrants have as opposed to other migrants (especially those from North Africa) due to perceptions that some Southern African migrants do not experience the types of negativity that the other migrants do. I find that the types

of risk and levels of precariousness may not be to the same high degrees but still exist and are constantly being managed by migrants by blending in and using their role as stranger to their advantage.

Linked to risk and precariousness are the complex and multitude factors on migrants and their responses. I argue in the third chapter that these contradictions instead of causing conflict to the migrants actually serve as support structure and allow the migrants space to maneuver physically and symbolically through, and between: risk, precariousness, citizen, non-citizen.

Lastly I argue that with blending in Swazi migrants also use distinctiveness in order to make them better accepted in South African society. I do note that distinctiveness is only appropriate in very specific incidences, specifically around ethnicity, language and education. I argue that migrant/foreigner visibility is not always the security tool that recent migration studies have shown it to be.

In some ways I have tried to imagine Nkululeko's story within the themes I have discussed and wonder if considering the experiences of migrants and what they get in return as well as what Nkululeko's family went through with his insurance would he and as a family, would they do it again? I realize that asking that question is pointless because the lives of people do not occur in hindsight. People make decisions with what they know or think they know in a moment in time. The experiences of people would also differ in terms of their perception of a situation and how they handle a situation. In the end migrancy is a story of possibility and opportunity. Of what is possible and how to create opportunities that will ensure those possibilities come true. When things go wrong such as in the case of Nkululeko thinking what could have been done differently by the family after his death neglects the issues that should be addressed.

The role of migrants in South Africa is overshadowed by the negative perceptions of migrants by the South African government and the South African public. These perceptions influence and are influenced by policy and the effective and timeous processing of migrants by government. Thus creating a situation where migrants use other means of ensuring their aspirations, adopting strategies within and outside of the

legal framework. Some of which can backfire on the migrants should they be found out as they would serve to reinforce the existing negative perceptions of migrants by proving those perceptions correct.

Swazi migrants adopt strategies that deal with these perceptions at an institutional and bureaucratic level as well as a social level. The multiplicity of strategy adopted by migrants is because the migrant experience occurs at multiple levels. This multiplicity shows itself in seemingly contradictory strategies and emotions. Of which illustrate the contradictory nature of migration. It is a state that cannot be explained as moving from one place to another with no continuity. Instead it is more a movement through space where the space between two points keeps a connection between the two points hence connections to Swaziland and South Africa are kept and constantly reinforced making the two places linked with an effect on each other.

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