

https://dspace.org/

The Importance of Social Networks for Sustaining Livelihoods: The Case of Former Mozambican Refugees in Bushbuckridge

Machava, Aderito

2006-10-27T07:23:00Z
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/1481

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

University of the Witwatersrand

The Graduate School for the Humanities and Social Sciences

Forced Migration Studies Programme

The Importance of Social Networks for Sustaining Livelihoods: The Case of Former Mozambican Refugees in Bushbuckridge

Research Report submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Masters of Arts at the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand

Adérito Júlio Machava

Johannesburg, 2005

Table of Contents

Declaration	i
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
List of Acronyms	iv
Chapter One	
Introduction	1
Contextual background	5
Migration into South Africa	5
The Impact of the End of War in Mozambique and the Pos-Apartheid Aftermath	8
Relationship between Mozambicans and South Africans in Bushbuckridge	10
Site Location and Brief Historical Overview of Employment Situation	12
Research outline	14
Chapter Two	
Literature Review	16
Theoretical framework	20
Chapter Three	
Research Design and Methodology	24
Field work	28
Data collection	33
Chapter Four	35
Characteristics of employment	35
Formal Employment	36
Public Sector	36
Game Reserves	36
Migrant Labour	37
Informal Employment	38
Farms	38
Domestic work	39
Self-Employment	40
Social networks among Mozambicans	42
Relationship between Mozambicans and South Africans	44
Data analysis	49
5. Conclusions	56
References	58

Annexe
Interview Schedule

Declaration

I, **Adérito Júlio Machava**, do hereby declare that this Research Report is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Masters of Arts at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other University.

Signed: Adérito Júlio Machava

Date February 10, 2006

Abstract

This case study constitutes an example of how local social networks among refugees/immigrants communities and, between them and their hosts are fundamental in accessing different ranges of paid employment. Their relevance is here explained in contexts whereby social, economic, legal and skills play a significant role in accessing jobs and shaping the social relations between people.

This case study argues that social networks are important because of lack of employment opportunities. However Mozambicans have difficulty accessing necessary social networks because of tensions with South Africans and suspicion among themselves. These factors are aggravated by lack of education and skills.

This research demonstrates that networks among former Mozambican refugees and between them and South African are shaped by contextual factors namely; the endemic hard socio-economic problems targeting the region thus affecting the employment market, the political and legal transformations introduced in the country following the fall of apartheid which have fuelled the tension between the citizens and foreigners and most important, the lack of legal status, skills and experience affecting the former Mozambican refugees. Although the South Africans face the same problems the impact is likely to be different.

Acknowledgments

First of all, I thank God the Almighty for helping me in this challenge.

I want to express my special thanks to Dr Joel Tembe and Dr Loren Landau for making possible this opportunity of pursuit my studies at Wits.

For my patient supervisor, Tara Polzer who consistently "struggled" for the outcomes of this research thanks you very much.

I am grateful to the contribution of my field assistance Victor Ndlovu in Fofuchinha village. I will never forget the experience we had under very extreme heat of December.

To my friends at Forced Migration Studies Programme, Nely Chimedza, Lesego, Jean-Pierre Misago and Takwana Makaya, thanks a lot.

Finally from the bottom of my heart I am dearly thankful to mother Anastácia, my sisters Mena, Geninha, Titiana and brothers Hombre and Ito for their support and advice! My grateful acknowledgements are extensive to my uncle Raúl and my auntie Rosa.

List of Acronyms

RENAMO - Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (National Mozambican Resistance)
UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
SADC- Southern Africa Development Community

Glossary

Inyanga - Traditional doctor
Ndhuna - Head of the village
Swibongo - Surname

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This case study constitutes an example of how local social networks among refugees/immigrants communities and, between them and their hosts are fundamental in accessing different ranges of paid employment. Their relevance is here explained in contexts whereby social, economic, legal and skills play a significant role in accessing jobs and shaping the social relations between people.

The main purpose of the study is to explain and analyze the importance of social networks for sustaining the livelihoods of self-settled former Mozambican refugees in Fofuchinha[1] village-Bushbuckridge District in the Limpopo Province. The study describes, on the one hand, how the former Mozambican refugees get paid employment through social networks and how these social networks impact on the kind of employment they pursue. It attempts, on the other hand, to show how a range of socio-economic and legal factors shape the networks and impact on the outcomes, and describe the challenges of accessing proper social networks in order to get a job.

According to Amuedo-Dorantes & Mundra, previous work in this area has generally found that social networks enhance immigrant's employment opportunities (2004:1). Also, intra-immigrant social networks "have been known to facilitate the economic and social assimilation of immigrants in their host country through the provision of a safety

net and contacts useful in finding employment, as well as social support" (Amuedo-Dorantes & Mundra 2004:25).

In the context of this study, social networks are important in accessing and getting employment as well as in dictating the kind of employment. A wide range of factors shape the role of social networks amongst former Mozambican refugees and between them and the local South Africans. Such factors include lack of local employment opportunities, legal status, lack of skills and, importantly, tensions in local relations among Mozambicans and in relations between Mozambicans and South Africans. The outcome of this complex interaction is that former Mozambican refugees have difficulties in accessing or building the social networks that would enhance their chances of getting good employment.

The central question that is examined in this thesis is: how do social networks among former Mozambican refugees compared to social networks between them and the local South Africans assist in contributing to sustaining the former Mozambican livelihoods?

This question is examined in Chapter four by describing the nature of social networks and factors that shape these relations in both cases, and in looking at the impact that such networks have on the kinds of employment that former Mozambican refugees pursue.

---

[9] Fictitious name

This research tests the following hypotheses:

Firstly, social networks between former Mozambican refugees and local South Africans, to some extent balance out the negative impact a lack of legal status.

Secondly, the networks of social capital available to the former Mozambican refugees through strong ties may differ from those available through weak ties and impact on accessing different kinds of employment namely, formal employment (public sector, mines), semi-formal employment (farms, domestic work) and self-employment (small businesses, such as being a traditional healer).

My central argument is that social networks are important because of a lack of local employment opportunities and objective requirements to qualify for certain jobs. Due to tensions between Mozambicans and local South Africans, and suspicions among Mozambicans, former Mozambican refugees have difficulties in accessing the necessary social networks.

A major cause of tension between local South African and Mozambicans is the belief that Mozambicans have strong powers to practice witchcraft. The witchcraft accusations have undermined both the relations among former Mozambican refugees and between them and local South Africans, limiting the social networks.

I use the concept social networks to explain a social structure shaped by relations of trust and solidarity which aims at promoting useful help among its members, in this particular

case, accessing paid employment. In terms of operationalisation of this concept, I capture the presence of networks with three variables:

1) The type of information about work opportunities: impersonal communications like advertisements or personal communications;
2) The source of information about outside work: family, neighbours, South African;
3) The source of help and information to get inside work in the village: family, neighbours, South Africans.

The concept of strong and weak ties used throughout this thesis, is borrowed from Granovetter (1995) cited in Amuedo-Dorantes and Mundra who observes that, "close friends and family provide strong ties, whereas acquaintances constitute weak ties. Consequently, strong and weak ties may exert different effort levels when helping migrants to find a job" (2004:2).

He also adds that "the social capital available through weak ties will differ from those made available through strong ties impacting differently on immigrants' employment" (Grannovetter in: Amuedo-Dorantes & Mundra 2004:5).

Although social networks also provide livelihood support through resource sharing, crisis protection, etc, I will only discuss the various strategies that people use to get a paid employment.

The study falls within the Dimensions of Integration of former Mozambican refugees in South Africa' Study which, in turn, is being carried out by the Forced Migration Studies Programme Rural Research Project. It is aimed at contributing broadly to a better understanding of the relevance of social networks among immigrants and between them and the hosts in facilitating immigrant's access to paid employment.

Contextual Background

This section outlines the historical presence of Mozambican refugees in South Africa. It pays a particular attention to the relationships between Mozambicans and South Africans in Bushbuckridge, which have their roots in the early nineteenth century. It also looks at the impact of post-war period in Mozambique on the former Mozambican refugees in South Africa. It describes as well the historical relations between Mozambicans and South Africans in Bushbuckridge District. Finally assesses the socio-economic conditions of Bushbuckridge.

Migration to South Africa

Mozambican migration into South Africa stretches back to the nineteenth century with the migrations to the plantations of Natal, diamonds in Kimberley, and gold in Witwatersrand (First, R. 1983; Covane, L. 1997)

According to Dava, in the second half of the nineteenth century, a "significant number of Mozambicans working in South Africa had been recorded". Further he points out that, in 1879 there were about 15,000 Mozambicans working in different places and taking on

different jobs in South Africa, and in 1897 the gold mines of Transvaal employed about 60,000 Mozambicans (2002:1). Ritchken (1995) observes that, following the defeat of Soshangane by Portuguese, a flow of refugees started to enter Transvaal around 1897.

Dava adds that, after the independence of Mozambique "clandestine migration took different facets and forms which, he observes, it may be explained by the poverty rates, the difficult political and economic conditions and the wars of destabilisation engineered from outside that devastated the country" (2002:1).

The major influx of Mozambicans to South Africa occurred during the 1980's when the security situation in Mozambique deteriorated due to the escalating violence waged by the former rebel movement Renamo.

Those who fled to South Africa were not granted refugee status according to international conventions but were instead seen as illegal immigrants. The majority, however, were allowed to settle on a temporary basis by the former Shaangan “homeland” governments of Gazankulu, the Zulu in Kwazulu and the Swazi in kaNgwane, which provided them access to land (Johnston 2000:1). According to Rodgers (2002:15), the homeland authorities “actively encouraged the Mozambican settlement in their territories”.

According to Rodgers, this was on the one hand, because local chiefs capitalised on the opportunity of expanding their local support bases and in the other, it "represented a gesture of independence from the central government in which they were politically and

economically reliant"(2002:15). However, these refugees were arrested and deported if identified and apprehended by South African officials outside of the homeland borders (2002:15).

What particularity differentiates this case from many cases of mass refugee movements in Africa is that there were never refugee camps and no international aid presence. This according to Rodgers was because "the apartheid government denied to recognise them as international refugees and instead were seen as illegal immigrants" (2002:14). Therefore, the former Mozambican refugees were never institutionally separated from the local population and were not given much material assistance, except for the limited food aid from the churches.

Without legal status, they were not able to claim rights as refugees from the state. De Jongh (1994:39) observes that, under these circumstances, most of them faced deprivation of many kinds.

This meant that Mozambicans were in a disadvantageous situation in terms of seeking formal employment, the ability to move and also the ability of getting an education. Ultimately, according to Goloba-Mutebi & Tollman (2002:28), "Mozambican refugees had to depend on their own ingenuity". Rodgers' study points out that, most maintained their basic livelihoods in the homelands by "growing what they could in their surrounds. Some engaged in informal economic activities and others worked illegally on white owned farms, in building contractors in urban areas, and others who attempted to engage

in other kinds of employment outside the homelands were arrested and deported" (2002:16).

The Impact of the end of War in Mozambique and the Post- Apartheid Aftermath

When the Mozambican civil war ended in October1992, a tripartite agreement was signed between the governments of Mozambique, South Africa and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), with the purpose of granting formal refugee status to Mozambicans who had fled to South Africa during the civil war. The legal status, according to Johnston (2000:1), was necessary for the UNHCR to set up in motion a Voluntary Repatriation Programme. The cessation clause for Mozambican refugees was signed in the 31st of December 1996. The clause left thousands of Mozambicans who came to South Africa as "refugees" without any formal status in the country since they had not opted for voluntary repatriation (Rodgers 2002).

Johnston observes that, the cessation clause was preceded by a series of amnesties that "enabled Mozambicans in South Africa to apply for a permanent resident status". These included the Miners Amnesty in October 1995 that extended the opportunity to applying for permanent residence to those who have been working in mines since 1986 and had voted in the 1994 elections (2000:3). This included a large number of Mozambicans who had become refugees' *sur place* due to the war in Mozambique. The Miners Amnesty was followed by the SADC Amnesty in June 1996 that offered the opportunity to SADC citizens to apply for permanent residence, "if they had been residing in South Africa for five years or more with no criminal record and involved in an economic activity, or had a

South African spouse or dependent born or residing lawfully in South Africa" (2000:3).

In December 1996, the South African Parliament decided to grant Amnesty specifically to former Mozambican refugees who wished to settle in South Africa. As Johnston (2000:4) notes, "the public announcement was made in June 1997 and the decision only came into force three years later on the 10th of February 2000".

The amnesty offered the chance to Mozambicans to legalise their status in South Africa but, according to Johnston, this process was undermined by certain negative aspects such as barriers to access, the cost of applying, and particularly, the lack of documentation (1999:48). Rodgers, observes that, "local corruption and procedural confusions and delays discouraged many Mozambicans of taking advantage of this amnesty and some Mozambicans managed to purchase identity documents from corrupt officials while continued illegal working in highly exploitive illegal labour contracts "(2002:19-20).

During the *fieldwork* for this research, some Mozambicans were concerned about their lack of documentation. The *ndhuna*[2] of the Mozambican section stressed that there were many people who were still without any sort of documentation despite the campaigns being carried out by some organisations in order to address this issue. According to *ndhuna,* such efforts are being undermined by rumours that once a person gives his name or declares his identity status, he will face serious trouble afterwards, which culminates into his arrest and deportation back to Mozambique.

Relationship between Mozambicans and South Africans in Bushbuckridge

The fundamental reasons for understanding why the Shangaan homeland authorities accepted to settle Mozambicans within their territory, is that it is relevant in making a flash back in order to understand the origins of Shangaan identity in South Africa, even though I will not go in further details.

Rodgers observes that the name Shangaan is related to Soshangane the founder of the Gaza Empire 1820's to 1895. The empire extended from north of the Save River to Delagoa Bay in the South. His followers, during their settlement in southern Mozambique in the region of Bilene, were known as *machangana*[3] (2002:106). The Shangaan were involved in successive periods of war against different actors such as the Zulu Kingdom and the Portuguese. After the victory of the Portuguese over the Gaza Empire, Ngugunhana was arrested and deported to Portugal. With the deportation of Ngugunhana, internal conflict between different factions amongst the Shangaan was inevitable and this led to the migration of sub-groups and factions in different directions and some ended up in Bushbuckridge region (cf.Rodgers 2002; Ritchken 1995).

Rodgers points out that, "the wars and upheavals of the nineteenth century formed the basis for two dominant images of territory held by Mozambicans as well as by South Africans: the image of Gaza as the authentic territory of the Shangaan people and the historical image of Tsonga-speaking groups taking refuge from Mozambique to South Africa" (2002:112).

---

[2] Headman of the Village
[3] Followers of Soshangane

To reiterate Rodgers' point, Ritchken's study also notes that, “during the disputes over the redefinition of Bantustan boundaries around Gazankulu in 1984, some pamphlets were distributed calling for all Shangaans to leave the region of Mapulaneng and go back to Mozambique because there was no place for them. The pamphlet called for the sacking of any Shangaan in government employment, as well as shangaan *ndhunas* and counsellors. Shangaan businessmen were told to carry their businesses to Maputo” (Ritchken 1995:231-232).

Considering the recent Mozambican history of migration into South Africa due to war, Rodgers stresses that, “because the refugees were the more recent arrivals in South Africa, they appeared historically less displaced than their South African kin, who were descendants of migrants and refugees who arrived from Mozambique during the nineteenth century and the refugees fostered this perception by performing, what he calls, their Mozambica-ness through everyday practices” (2002:104).

Rodgers observes that, Mozambican refugees were accepted because “local chiefs capitalised on the opportunity of expanding their local support bases” (2002:15). At the same time, it is also true that, the fact that South African and Mozambican Shangaan sharing the common origins and history impacted on the decision of settling them. The last point is supported by the interviews during the fieldwork. My local South African respondents quite often said that they accepted the former Mozambican refugees because they were Shangaan and they all belong to the origin and some shared even the same surnames *(swibhongo)*.

However, the challenges imposed by the end of war in Mozambique and the post-apartheid aftermath seem to have shifted the previous warm relations into relations characterised by tensions that are discussed on Chapter Four.

Site Location and Brief Historical Overview of Employment Situation

Fofuchinha is situated in Bushbuckridge District, which is located along the northeastern border of South Africa. According to Statistics South Africa, this district "was made up of two former apartheid "homeland" sites, one for Shangaan speaking people and the other for Sotho people and it is one of the poorest and most marginal parts of South Africa" (Statistics SA 2002: 1)

Ritchken observes that, "over the twenty years from the creation of Gazankulu and Lebowa in 1972, the population increased significantly due to removals of populations from townships around Sabie, Graskop and Pilgrims Rest in the early seventies. This was aggravated by establishment of game farms, labour tenant removals in the seventies, the more capitalised farms and the settlement of thousands of Mozambicans fleeing war in the mid eighties" (1995:148).

According to Ritchken, "the planners did not provide the households with a viable agricultural base during the seventies and eighties. By the end of the eighties, the vast majority of residents were settled on a closer settlement basis, without agricultural land or cattle. The Bantustan states made some attempts to provide a local source of employment by allowing agri-businessmen to farm agriculturally viable areas and in doing so provide

a small number of residents with wage employment". Ritchken points out that migrancy became the principal mean of survival of vast majority of households even for those who had been settled for generations in the area (1995:149).

The Statistics South Africa 2002 reveals that “Bushbuckridge is one of the South Africa poorest and marginalised districts. Densely populated, there is no either subsistence agriculture or local employment opportunities. Unemployment rate stands at 69%, with seasonal employment and underemployment common. In spite of this poverty, the government social grants cover only 24.1% of the target population due access barriers such as lack of identification documents and expensive transport” (Statistics SA 2002).

Currently, throughout the Fofuchinha village, it is relatively easier to identify the Mozambican section by its own characteristics: with some exceptions, the majority of the houses were built with precarious material, e.g. huts and slum shacks. The houses do not conform to any sort of urban territorial alignment contrasting with the opposite side of the section, inhabited by South Africans. This section is exclusively inhabited by Mozambicans. However, among themselves it is also a visible socio-economic differentiation through the kind of houses. There are Mozambicans as well living in another section of the village among South Africans that I call the mixed section.

The main sources of employment for both local South Africans and former Mozambican refugees are in surrounding farms, temporary jobs in construction and to a lesser extent in the game reserves and public sector. Migrancy to Mpumalanga and Gauteng is still

prevailing as an alternative means of securing livelihoods.

In general, it seems that some local South Africans are not aware of the legal changes introduced over the last ten years. The aftermath of the fall of apartheid, the political, economic and especially the legal changes introduced, enabled the former Mozambican refugees in the country to seek jobs, and education on the same grounds of equality as the citizens of the country.

In a generic sense, South Africans perceive the presence of former Mozambican refugees, if not at all foreigners, as a move aimed at taking away their job opportunities, even though the lack of job opportunities is an historic problem in that region.

Research Outline

This report is based on the review of the relevant literature on social networks and on the fieldwork data collected in Fofuchinha village from former Mozambican refugees (from both Mozambican section and mixed section of the village), the Mozambican section *ndhuna*, local South Africans and local South Africans key informants.

Chapter Two reviews the relevant literature concerning social networks and their role in diasporic and immigrant communities. The chapter highlights the findings of some case studies on immigrants' social networks in the United States of America and looks at some cases of refugees' networks in Africa, although these are shaped in transnational levels linking refugee camps and countries of origin.

Chapter Three focuses on the research design, justifying the option for the methods used in this study, the nature of the data gathered, the constraints encountered during the field work and the changes I was forced to introduce due to the flow of events in the field.

Chapter Four assesses the characteristics of employment, the social networks among the former Mozambican refugee community and between them and local South Africans. The chapter examines the relevance of such relations in accessing jobs.

Chapter Five reflects on the conclusions of the study followed by the bibliographical references.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

This section highlights the major discussions surrounding the importance and the impact of social networks in sustaining livelihoods. This literature review seeks to analyse some of the arguments in an attempt to develop a plausible explanation for the central argument of this study.

According to Koser & Pinkerton, “social networks have been studied for many years from a range of disciplines, but there still a lack of consensus about their definition” (2002:10). Many authors either do not define social networks or when they do, use vague definitions. The following examples demonstrate the lack of its consensus: Koser & Pinkerton using a geographical approach define social networks as "series of processes linking sending and receiving countries" (2002:10). Goza defines social networks as "social products that link individuals and communities located in sending and receiving societies" (2004:2).

The majority of the studies on immigrants' social networks have focused the attention either at their transnational importance [Vertovec (2003), Crisp (1999), Van Hear (2002) and Horst (2001), Goza (2004), Waldinger (1997), Sallaf and Greve (2002), Khalid and Pinkerton (2002)] or at their economic performance and their access to welfare [Portes and Sesenbrenner (1993), Portes (1995).

Devillanova points out, in general, these studies do not distinguish between types of networks and, in fact, the existence of social ties is never observed by the researcher and it is proxy by some measure of spatial concentration, as the share of ethnic group, language spoken at the home, etc. (2004:2)

Even in this case the variables that capture the presence and relevance of such networks vary from one author to another. Therefore, the definition of immigrants' social networks needs to be operationalised.

From this brief analysis, I conclude that what can be contributing to this apparent confusion is the fact that social networks' approach is defined according to the purposes of the study and the variables that capture the presence of these social networks vary according to the reality in study.

In this case study, I am concerned about the relevance of networks among refugees/immigrants in the host countries as well as between them and the hosts. There is inadequate literature to approach the topic of this case study. Despite the availability of some studies like Amuedo-Dorantes and Mundra (2004), Goza (2004), Devillanova (2004), focusing at the immigrants' social networks in accessing jobs, the geographical location and contextual factors such as identification status, social, economic and cultural different contexts affect and limit a comparative analysis, because they only focus on the social networks among the immigrants themselves.

Amuedo-Dorantes and Mundra's study (2004) concerns itself with how Mexicans get jobs in the United States. Although the focus is exclusively intra-centred, it becomes useful by focusing on certain aspects, which are relevant to social networks among Mexicans. They assert that, "social networks among Mexicans facilitate assimilation to their host country due to their lack of appropriate documentation which increases their difficult in finding employment and in lowering wages relatively to legal immigrants" (2004:2). Although this case study does not give a definition of social networks as such, it highlights some aspects that can be used to determine the presence of social networks. By offering a similarity with my case study in terms of lack of documentation and to some extent skills, it is a valuable source that helps to build on my definition of social networks and the theoretical framework.

The Amuedo-Dorantes and Mundra's study is significant to my research for further introducing new elements that occur within networks that impact on their outcomes. Citing Granovetter (1995), Amuedo-Dorantes and Mundra's study adds some new analytical elements by distinguishing between strong and weak ties. It goes further to assert that, "close friends and family provide strong ties, whereas acquaintances constituted weak ties. Consequently, strong and weak ties may exert different effort levels when helping migrants to find a job"(2004:4-5). They further argue that the network "social capital available through weak ties will differ from those made available through strong ties impacting differently on immigrants' employment" (2004:5).

Devillanova, citing Granovetter (1973 and 1983) infer that "weak ties by bridging distant

parts of the social networks, might have a special role in a person's opportunity for social mobility: they are more likely to connect individuals significantly different and, therefore, to be the source of information from distant parts of the social system. Strong ties have greater motivation to be of assistance and more easily available, therefore they are often linked to economic insecurity and lack of social services. For these reasons, strong ties are particularly important for poor people. At the same time, by connecting more similar people, strong ties might reinforce a vicious circle of poverty, in which individuals with few weak ties are deprived of relevant information, opportunities and resources" (Devillanova 2004:2)

This social networks approach allows the breaking down of two elements of social networks that can be measured: the availability of information and networks of influence.

Therefore, by social networks, I mean a socially constructed structure based on ties of trust, friendship, solidarity and common help among individuals. In the particular case of this study, I look at the availability of intra and inter (among former Mozambican refugees and between them with the local south Africans) channels of information and influence, which help former Mozambican refugees in getting jobs, and at the kind of employment.

Theoretical Framework

My fundamental objective is not to create an analytical model for this research report but to draw an analytical category that will assist in analysing the data and test the hypotheses. The sample accommodated the subjects of study according to employment type: self-employment, semi- formal employment and permanent/formal employment.

According to Golooba-Mutebi (2004) and Rodgers (2002), over the twenty years the former Mozambican refugees developed ties among themselves and the hosts though those ties happened in a "very constrained environment" as Rodgers (2002) observes.

Looking at the Mozambican case, there is an interaction of three contextual factors that determine the role of social networks and how Mozambicans get jobs: firstly, the socio-economic context of Bushbuckridge in general, which leads to lack of job opportunities and high unemployment rates, fuelling extreme competition between former Mozambican refugees and South Africans over the scarce jobs. Secondly, the concerns about the legitimate rights of former Mozambican refugees in competing for jobs access in the same grounds as South Africans which owes its foundations on the changes over the past ten years and in the construction of the South African nation. The third factor is related to the history of former Mozambican refugees in South Africa, which has a significant impact on their education and legal status, objective requirements for accessing any employment.

Thus, the competition for scarce jobs might make the availability of social networks in both, intra-Mozambican and between them and South Africans very significant, despite the different impact on their outcomes. Social networks between Mozambicans and South Africans might have much value of providing a good job match due to availability of high levels of networks social capital (the information available, influence and resources) compared to those available amongst Mozambicans which, are not likely to have this potential value due to weakened networks of social capital as result of interaction of factors which have their foundations on the historical process of former Mozambican refugees in South Africa.

In spite of employment scarcity, even in circumstances that there are some jobs available, the former Mozambican refugees are limited fundamentally by lack of objective requirements such as legal status, skills, education and experience which result from their historical background in South Africa.

Dauvergne (2004) agues that, the extension of rights to non-citizens has a significant importance in how the citizens react towards the outsiders. Polzer (2005), points out that one reason is that the conception of citizenship in South Africa has been framed largely in terms of socio-economic opportunity in the form of jobs and services and in terms of security from crime. Further, Polzer notes that "in South Africa today, citizenship and immigration are constructed as opposite sides of the same coin - one demands job creation and services and the other undermines them" (2005:7) .The extension of rights to non-citizens is likely to be perceived as a threat to the rights of citizens and to the

citizenship itself.

This contextual situation is related to the transformations at different spheres introduced in the country following the fall of apartheid regime. The apartheid aftermath raised the concerns about the conception of citizenship in the process of nation building in which immigration is seen as a factor fuelling conflict in the process.

Former Mozambican refugee's social relationships in South Africa generally are shaped by historical factors that caused their relative vulnerability, namely the lack of education and legal status.

Though the same factors may affect the rural South Africans, Mozambicans are in disadvantageous situation because of their outsider position. Due to interaction of these factors, social networks play a vital role in accessing jobs.

Taking a comparative example of undocumented Mexican migrants in the United States Amuedo-Dorantes & Mundra, argue that their intra social networks are fundamental in getting jobs and good wages (2004: 4-6)). The Mozambican situation has similarities with the Mexican case especially when considering that the former Mozambican refugees are still facing problems with their legal status. However, the impact of these social networks differs due to social, economic and cultural differentiated contexts.

Focusing the attention in the importance of such ties in getting jobs, the experience of the Mexicans in the United States of America differ from the Mozambicans in

Bushbuckridge, taking into account the influence of social capital. By its definition according to John & MacArthur (2000), "social capital refers to those features of social relationships such as interpersonal trust, norms of reciprocity which acts as resources for individuals and facilitates collective action for mutual benefit".

Social networks appear therefore, as a make up to the lack of legal status, lack of adequate skills and experience, although in certain kinds of employment the requirements of these objective premises for accessing jobs, limit the effectively and the key role of social networks.

I have explained why social networks are important in the context of this study. However, due to combination and interaction of these factors, former Mozambican refugees face difficultly accessing necessary networks for jobs and consequently, they rely either in unemployment or developing *ad hoc* strategies of survival.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Design, Methodology and Fieldwork

Research design and methodology

Due to time and financial constraints, I decided to take a case study approach in exploring this topic. Therefore, this case study involves a detailed examination of a relatively small number of people in this case, one former Mozambican refugee community in Bushbuckridge.

There are criticisms about the limitations of case study approach. Hancock states that, "one of the criticisms aimed to case study research is that the case under study is not necessarily representative of similar cases and therefore the results are not generalisable". This, according to Hancock, is a "misunderstanding of the purpose of case study research which is to describe a particular case in detail. It is particularistic and contextual". Therefore he notes, "generalisation is not normally an issue for the researcher who is involved in studying a specific situation, it is an issue for the readers who want to know whether the findings can be applied elsewhere. It is the reader who must decide whether or not the case being described is sufficiently representative to their own local situation" (2002:2).

This research employed qualitative methods to collect data from former Mozambican refugees. The information needed was related to the nature and role of social networks

among former Mozambicans and between them and the South Africans impact in accessing different kind of paid employment.

The Fieldwork Process

Ethical procedures and considerations

Regarding to ethical procedures, before I started the fieldwork I asked for permission from the community representatives earlier in September 2004, and later in December of the same year when I was about to start my work, the *ndhuna* of the Mozambican section reassured his permission of allowing me to carry out my research on both Mozambican and mixed sections.

The fieldwork benefited from the assistance of a former Mozambican refugee young man living in the village, though not exactly within the perimeter where the study was conducted. I was aware that the fact that my assistant and I being both Mozambicans, our background could impact on the information that we would gather, introducing some biases. It would be Mozambican biased because people would choose what to say in front of us. It reflected in some reluctance from local South Africans in speaking openly about their feelings in relation to Mozambicans.

I explained that the study that I was conducting was not aimed at judging any attitude whatsoever toward each in Fofuchinha. Instead, it was aimed at finding out how people were helping each other in getting jobs. So they could feel free to say whatever they felt.

Also, my ability in understanding the language and in following the flow of interviews avoided the danger of getting biased information through my assistant. I always tried to make sure that the information I was getting was reflecting purely the view of the respondents.

During the mapping process in the Mozambican section, people sometimes were suspicious about the main objective of it. Because my assistant was from the village, I knew at first, that it would put him in danger. Also in circumstances whereby people did not want to be identified as Mozambicans (e.g. mixed area), the presence of my assistance would reveal that he was the one who was identifying them. This would be a potential source of danger that we tried to avoid by stating that we were talking to anyone, just to get little information about how people interact throughout the village, and not stating that we were looking particularly for Mozambicans.

Being a topic dealing with the people's social life, respondents were approached individually prior to interviewing them. The reason for getting in touch with them before the interview was in order to get their informed consent and give them chance to refuse to participate on the study.

About the fears of people of being exposed, quite often the respondents asked who have sent or recommended us to them. We explained to them what we were doing and that they were free not to participate. This was particularly felt in the Mozambican section whereby connections were possible to draw.

However, the ethical principles were often broken, because when the interviews were finished, we used to ask the respondents to recommend someone close so that we could administer the same questions. In most cases, they recommended us to the previous respondent or someone that we had already interviewed, one of the limitations of snowball that I refer to later on this section.

Efforts were made to protect the confidentiality of the respondents, by coding their names, thereby making them anonymous. However, as researcher I was aware that by using a snowball sampling method, the anonymity and confidentiality of the respondents would be undermined, because from its nature, it breaks up with these principles.

Regarding to ethical problems of using snowball sampling method, it constituted a problem when people are afraid of being identified. It enabled me, though not often, of getting potential respondents within the same network. This is a practical example of what happened in the mixed area where people did not identify themselves as Mozambicans.

However, it is a good strategy for reaching people in the context of fear, because once one informant consents to adhere, this can provide the researcher with a potential range of informants. However, it is relevant to emphasise that in both cases, the informants can be in danger especially in environments that confidentiality and anonymity are easily broken.

Drawing from my experience, of doing snowball sampling, people who are most vulnerable (lack of ID's) in the Mozambique section of the village seemed to be afraid of talking to me. However after explaining the aims and ensuring the anonymity and confidentiality character of the study, they accepted to participate. In the mixed section, whereby Mozambicans living with South Africans did not want to be identified as such, snowball was limitative and undermined the ability of drawing connections between the households.

Fieldwork

The fieldwork was conducted in Fofuchinha. It is a village with a significant number of former Mozambican refugees that were settled in the 1980's, some in the separate section of the village and some among the main section of village among South Africans. I decided to stay in the village as a way of becoming familiar to people so they could speak openly to me, even though that did not happen often. However, it did not happen often because of the short period that I was inserted in the community did not allow me of becoming familiar enough to the villagers.

The first step of the fieldwork consisted in mapping the village, both the Mozambican and the mixed sections. The mapping of the village was an important exercise because it assisted in identifying the households according to the type of employment and in drawing the connections between them in order to find out who was connected and to whom, and therefore it enabled me to draw the networks.

During the mapping process, some people started wondering why I was mapping the village without their permission because, from their point of view, that was dangerous. Others would say that the aim of mapping was to locate and identify the households with potential criminals. In some circumstances, I had people saying that whatever would happen to them I would be held responsible because nobody had informed them about such kind of activity because in such circumstances they were often informed.

Due to these events, and for security reasons, my informant and I decided to leave the area we were mapping and we turned into another, despite my efforts in explaining to them about the aim of the study. They seemed to be convinced that the information could be used later in order to get rid of them from the country or to eliminate them. Later on, I confronted the *ndhuna* to enquire whether the people around were informed about my research activities. The *ndhuna* explained that they were not informed and it was not necessary to do it for such purpose. All he did was to give me his mobile phone number so that I could call him in case of problems. The *ndhuna* said that the apparent threats that my assistant and I faced, were linked to the fact that many people in the Mozambican section do not hold any sort of identification document, so they are suspicious about people who ask them about their identification status, although this was not the case.

In terms of sampling method, from the beginning I wanted to sample randomly the households with the stratification according to employment type. However, two reasons justified the shift I did: firstly, I could not complete good mapping because of threats in the Mozambican section; secondly, problems in identifying and contacting Mozambicans

in the mixed section.

In these circumstances, snowball sample method seemed to be the more appropriate way to get social networks. Also, I could be more likely to get the nature and the kind of connections in a given network. Also, one of the advantages of this method is "once identify one respondent this can provide the researcher with an ever expanding set of potential contacts within the same target population" (Hancock 2002). Furthermore, the snowball sampling method itself leads to a social network by identifying respondents who are known to each other

However, one of the disadvantages of this method is that "while it can dramatically lower costs, it comes at the expense of introducing bias because the technique itself reduces the likelihood that the sample will represent a good cross section from the population" (Hancock 2002).

I did seventeen interviews in the Mozambican section, seven men and ten women and in the mixed section nine, six women and three men. In terms of key informants, I interviewed three local teachers, a woman owning the local hotel, a traffic police officer, and a group of youth, who I used to chat with during the evenings. In terms of stratification, the sample accommodated the subjects of study according to employment type: self-employment, semi- formal employment and permanent/formal employment.

Regarding my sample composition, it was dominated by women. I interviewed more women because it was quite easier to find them at their homes though sometimes I had to wait until they finish their domestic work. Also I found quite easier to interview women because they seemed to be more relaxed than their men counterparts in answering the questions without the constant cut offs, which characterized many interviews with men. It was either in order to get more explanation about the aim of the project or in making their recommendations for the “person” who had sent me to the village to ask such questions.

Differently from women, it was not easy to get men for interviewing them. The majority of the men were not at home during the day and in the evenings they were quite often drinking alcohol. Because of this reason, I did not have any other alternative than interviewing them in their habitual drinking spot.

Men usually asked the reason why I was interested in finding out about the mechanisms of getting jobs, and they demonstrated an interest in understanding the aims of the project as well. Whenever possible, I tried to explain them the aims of the project and for what the outcomes would be used for. Often, I saw some sort of hope in their eyes and words because they expected that the outcomes of the research would change something in their lives despite my efforts in explaining that this was for academic purposes. Recommendations like, *"go and tell the ones who sent you here that we are suffering and we desperately need jobs, because we are suffering"* were very common from my respondents and unemployed people that I talked to.

In spite of concerns of some people in connection with the purposes of mapping the Mozambican section, people were more receptive to participate on the study compared to the mixed area where Mozambican people did not to identify themselves as such.

However, because of the snowball sampling strategy, I was getting the same kind of information and employment status on the first network. So, I had to stop the first range of connections and I started with another node. Even though, there was not a significant variation in terms of information I gathered. As regards the variation of information related to employment concerns, either in the Mozambican section or mixed area, there was no significant variation wherever the information was coming from (youth, women and men).

It was also difficult to create connections and draw networks in the mixed area of the village because the Mozambicans living there did not want to be identified as such. When I asked one of my key informants why they hide their provenience, he said that they were avoiding discrimination attitudes from the local population. This is discussed in detail in the chapters below.

One of the significant constraints during the fieldwork was concerning the family trees that I have planned to draw. This task did not work out at all because the members of the households interviewed did not show their willingness in assisting in this process and I decided to keep it out from my interview schedule.

Data collection

The primary data collection instrument was a semi-structured interview schedule. I used this approach, because, according to Mathers *et al* "it provides opportunities for both interviewer and interviewee to discuss some topics in detail and the interviewer has also the freedom to probe the interviewee to elaborate on the original response or to follow a line of inquiry introduced by the interviewee"(1998:2).

The interviews were conducted face-to-face in the language of respondent's choice normally in Shangaan, with the valuable help of my field assistant. Although I am familiar with the language they speak, the assistant's presence was absolutely relevant to allay fears of missing some particular discourse.

During this process some questions that I had planned on the interview schedule were kept apart due to the new realities (such as refusal to answer some of the questions) raised in the field and I had to explore a new topic as witchcraft that was not priory contemplated.

Questions related to whether people help each other in getting jobs and whether the respondents have gained work or income through a neighbor were progressively kept apart, because my respondents usually stressed that each one now catered for himself due to tension in their intra and inter relations.

Due to this new reality, I began exploring the issue of witchcraft in order to figure out

how it undermines the social relations of people in the village and also the peoples' explanation for witchcraft. This constituted a new task that was not previously planned for the fieldwork.

CHAPTER FOUR

This chapter presents and discusses the major findings of the research. It starts by providing a broader overview of the employment situation in Bushbuckridge. Then, it presents the main kind of employment pursued in the region, followed by an outline of the characteristics of social networks among Mozambicans and between them and South Africans. The chapter ends with the discussion of the data gathered.

Characteristics of Employment

As I discussed earlier on the introductory section, the socio-economic situation in Bushbuckridge District dictates the lack of employment opportunities. The foundations of this situation stretch back to the foundation of former Bantustan states, in this particular case, Gazankulu (Ritchken 1995). Ritchken points out that, the vast majority of residents were settled on a closer settlement basis, without agricultural land or cattle. He notes that, "the Bantustan states made some attempt to provide a local source of employment by allowing agri-business to farm agriculturally viable areas and, in doing so provided a small number of residents with wage employment" (1995:149). As a result, he notes, "migrancy became the principal means of survival for the vast majority of households even for those who had been settled for generations in the area" (1995:149)

This brief background reveals that employment opportunities are scarce in the region. Thus, it is relevant to probe the relevance of social networks in accessing the different kinds of employment available. I show this relevance through different options of employment namely, full-time employment, self-employment and part-time employment.

Formal employment

I use the term full-time employment to refer to the jobs in public sector, game reserves and migrant labour particularly to the mining sector.

Public sector

Looking at the public sector, usually when there are job vacancies the majority of former Mozambican refugees do not qualify for that fundamentally because of the qualifications and experience required, though some, especially women preferred the jobs in the public sector. A former Mozambican refugee respondent said:

> "My dream is to pursue a career as social worker. This is a good one but I do not qualify because I lack skills".

This statement was stressed by a local teacher who said that:

> "The lack of proper qualification affects drastically the former Mozambican refugees because the majority did not go any further with their studies and this constitutes the major constraint for them to get such kind of job ".

Game reserves

Either Mozambicans or South Africans stated that game reserves offer good jobs. Respondents from both sides pointed to the importance of having strong connections for accessing these kinds of jobs. My respondents said that the employers normally ask from

their close employees to recommend people to fill some job vacancies. This is a strong indication of how important the connections are, in order to secure a job. The respondents said that the game reserve jobs pay relatively higher wages compared to other jobs in the area.

Migrant labour

In terms of migrant labour, particularly mines and other sectors around Mpumalanga and Gauteng, my respondents said that they do not rely on any sort of networks in getting these jobs. As one informant said:

> "I was suffering here at home. Looking around but I could not see anything especial that could help make the ends meet. I was tired of working in the farms because it is very hard, very hard. So then I decided to leave this village and look for better life elsewhere. Then I went to Rustenburg and I tried to get myself a job I did get the job. I am in this job for three years. I got this job without any using any connections".

Here, the importance of the objective requirements such as legal status, education, skills and experience play an important role compared to the availability of network social capital. Many former Mozambican refugees do not have these objective requirements. And as a result, they are placed in less disadvantageous situation compared to the local South Africans.

Due the lack of the objective requirements they cannot access formal jobs compared to their South Africans counterparts in this particular village despite the fact that many local South Africans do not have these requirements. However, the fact that the local South Africans possess identity documents as opposed to many Mozambicans in this particular

area, place them in better positions with regard to accessing the formal job market than the document-less Mozambicans.

There is a history of Mozambicans working or who worked in the mines, living particularly in the mixed section, meaning that they are potential sources of networks of influence and experience.

Informal Employment

Farms

My respondents said that they do not like working in the farms because of excessive work and meagre wages earned. On the other hand, they fear abuses from employers, which is particularly aimed at people without identification documents. As one respondent said:

> "It is terrible to work in the farms, but you work because you have no other alternative. At least you get something that can help you, but my friend, it is hard and here is no money". Another added: "they employ you although they know that you do not have the papers. They put you working hard and when it is payday, they just chase you away. If you complain, they threaten you saying that they will call the police to arrest you and take you back to your (Mozambique)"

This is the kind of employment that does not necessarily require the objective requirements, although to hold an identification document helps because it reduces the likelihood of labour abuses from the employers. For former Mozambican refugees, to work in farms is a survival alternative, although they say that they are aware that are being exploited. On the other side, this represents a short-term solution while seeking for better job opportunities somewhere. Even the local South Africans said that they do not

appreciate much this job. As an unemployed South African said:

> "Choosing between staying without a job and work in the farms, I would rather to stay at home than facing a sort of slavery, working much for nothing. Would you do that?"

However, it does not mean that local South African do not pursue this kind of job. They do but, as their Mozambican counterparts, do not have any other alternative than to get employed.

Domestic work

This kind of employment is mostly pursued by women. It reflects the ambivalence and inconsistence that characterise the argument from both Mozambican and South African concerning the issue of witchcraft and the alleged discrimination since it is a job that requires trust.

This kind of employment illustrates the ambiguity of the accusations of witchcraft throughout the village. It is said that local South Africans allege that Mozambicans are dangerous because they practise witchcraft. But the very same local South Africans turn to employ the so-called witches in their households. Why the same people who accuse former Mozambican refugees of being witches employ them, remains an unanswered question[4].

These accusations reflect the social hierarchy in the village, since former Mozambican women work for South African households who are also relatively poor, emphasizing the extreme poverty of Mozambicans, especially those without identification documents.

Self-employment

According to Barbieri, "self employment is an area in which relational resources, social skills and reputation are essential factors in business and in professionals" (2003:685). In the context of my study, this category comprises the traditional healing job, which according to my sources, is mostly practiced amongst former Mozambican refugees especially in the Mozambican section of the village. An informant said:

> "The traditional doctors in the Mozambican section are growing like herbs. Almost every household has a traditional doctor and if you walk in the evening you will hear drums; senior traditional doctors are training the new people for this job".

This activity is prevalent amongst local South Africans too. However, the Mozambicans healers in this particular village have a strange reputation: on the one hand, they are recognized as good doctors with a good knowledge of curative medicines, and on the other, they are seen as witches. The study discusses this contradiction in the data analysis section.

This kind of job requires skills, reputation and network of customers. The statements related to the spreading of this activity might represent a shift on the original process of call for training and the practice of the *metier,* in which the traditional healer (*inyangas)* is inspired by the ancestors who are responsible for giving those powers and knowledge. There is much that can be questioned about this [traditional] healing practice, since it seems that the secular basis of exercising the *metie*r of *inyanga* is being transformed due to socio-economic pressures, becoming a survival strategy associated with money making rather than providing cures.

---

[4] This is discussed in the data analysis section

The survival of this activity requires the existence of customers' networks. In Fofuchinha, the customers are both Mozambicans and South Africans. The reasons why these people employ their services are diverse. The flow of clients depends on the reputation of the *inyanga* in dealing with a given situation.

The main clients of Mozambican healers, according to my informants; both local South Africans and Mozambicans, are local South Africans. However, I am unable, with the available data collected to establish a plausible explanation for the relationship between the apparent demand of healing services and the growing number of people involved in this activity.

The other activities related to self-employment in the village consist of selling of alcoholic beverages and different kind of goods and groceries. Women mainly run these businesses. Some of the respondents told me that they had been advised by their household members to engage in some economic activities because they have seen how others have set up their businesses. One of the respondents said to me:

> "We used to have problems here at home because my husband used to work in the farms but now is retired. My son asked me why I don't start something that could help me with some money and he said that selling beer would be fine because people would always buy it. The money I used to start it I borrowed from him".

Another woman said:

> "I started to sell these few things because I saw other people doing it, and I asked myself why I cannot do like them? No one told me or advised me to do it; I just decided to do it by myself as I said because I saw other people doing it" .

In the first case, it suggests that intra social networks played an important role in

determining the kind of employment and in providing the resources that were necessary for starting business. This differs significantly from the second case where the respondent started her own business by copying the experiences of other people. In the first example, intra social networks among Mozambican families were crucial in providing information and resources that permitted the establishment of the economic activity, and in the second example, the setting up of the small business was as a result of copying other people's experiences.

Social networks among Mozambicans

The data collected suggests that, apparently, the socio-economic context is remarkably shaping the social relations among Mozambicans in Fofuchinha village. The lack of legal status, education and proper connections in a very constrained socio-economic environment, makes it difficult for them in accessing satisfactory jobs.

There are studies arguing that former Mozambican refugees develop intensive social relations (cf.Golooba-Mutebi 2004; Rodgers 2002). In Fofuchinha the evidence collected and my short-term experience in the village suggest that apparently this is not the case.

In the Mozambican section, according to some local South Africans, the reason behind the apparent lack of social interactions between the households is due to the ever-increasing number of traditional doctors. This aspect, according to my informants, impacts on the relationship between the households because, for instance, a traditional doctor in the process of building up his/her own reputation and creating networks of

customers affects negatively the reputation and the networks of customers of other competitors. In my respondent's words:

> "Because sometimes someone is sick and goes to see a traditional doctor in that side (pointing to the Mozambican section), and does not heal from his illness, you will hear people saying why did you go to that one? That one does not know how to deal with it, the best one is X and so on. It starts creating a sort of disputes in accessing the clients undermining the social relations because one will say that the others are stealing his clients".

There is a perception amongst some local South Africans whom I interviewed, that the growing number of customers creates tension between the Mozambican households, considering the allegations that are common in Fofuchinha that every Mozambican household has a traditional doctor. I could not prove this allegation since my short-term methodology and the time of my placing in the community were not long enough to get gather conclusive evidence about it.

The Mozambicans' perception is that the lack of strong connectivity between the households must be understood according to the provenience of their members in Mozambique. A woman said:

> "Here people interact according to their origin in Mozambique. For example, I am from Massingir and my neighbours are from Mapulangweni. Do you know that even if I want to borrow few things I have to walk until up there to get it from someone from the same place back home. People are complicated."

When I asked an old man about the relationships with his neighbours, he replied:

> "Do not ask me about my neighbours! Why should I care about them when I have problems in my household that I cannot sort out? I do not care about anyone. I care only about my people, neighbours? (...)"

Looking at relations between Mozambicans from the Mozambican section and those from

the mixed area, an interesting observation is that the people from the mixed do not like to identify themselves as Mozambicans though local South Africans and Mozambicans from the Mozambican section of the village identify themselves as Mozambicans.

Former Mozambican refugees from the Mozambican section and some local South Africans informants' indicated that they do so because they do not want to be associated with the poverty and to derogatory names that are used to call those who came into the village fleeing war in Mozambique.

The majority of Mozambicans living in the mixed section are relatives or descendants of former mineworkers, who, due to the war in Mozambique, they decided to settle themselves and brought their families into the region when they retired. That is why, according to my informants, they have a "decent life" and do not identify themselves with those who are suffering, preferring to keep a distance from the latter.

These Mozambicans also have a discriminatory behaviour towards the former Mozambican refugees living in the Mozambican section. During the interviews they[5] used to call names just like the local South Africans when they were talking about Mozambicans.

Relationship between Mozambican and South Africans

As I intimated earlier, the short-term methodology and time of insertion did not give me sufficient evidence to give a more plausible explanation. However the data collected

suggests that relationships between former Mozambican refugees and South Africans in Fofuchinha are characterised by ambiguity. Sometimes both local South Africans and former Mozambican refugees seem to appreciate each other, but in the following instance, it changes into feelings of hate, etc. As a former Mozambican refugee said:

> "We have a good relationship, since they (local South Africans) allowed us to stay here when we were fleeing war in Mozambique".

However, the same person said:

> "…those people (South Africans) look at us as uncivilised people, that they are the ones who taught us the urban habit; they see us as people and treat us like adult children"

A local South African added:

> "We (local South Africans and Mozambicans) are like brothers because we are Shangaan people. Our origin is Mozambique and they are our people. That is why we settled them here. We do not have any problem with them".

Afterwards he said:

> "These people are disgusting. If you look at criminality, you will find that the masterminds are these Mozambicans, and these people are dangerous witches, they can threat someone and come invisibly to your house and steal your money. Do not trust those people".

Mozambicans allege that South Africans treat them like children, as if they are inferior to them. South Africans accuse Mozambicans of promoting crime and spreading bad habits throughout the village. A former Mozambican refugee woman said:

> "These people hate us. Whenever bad things happen here, they will say that Mozambicans are behind it. We are accused of everything".

One important manifestation of ambivalence and contradiction in this relationship is related to accusations of witchcraft that is commonly referred in the village. *Inyangas* are

[5] Mozambicans living in the mixed area

said to give Mozambicans *muti* to make them the preferential target by the potential employers. A local South African said:

> "If you look for a job with a Mozambican aside, you will not be selected. Even if a Mozambican is standing behind the queue is taken. These people go to seek services of traditional doctors and are given that traditional beverage that makes them preferable for job".

A Mozambican said:

> "South Africans look at Mozambicans like we are wild animals. When a Mozambican buys anything, South Africans say that he bought those things through witchcraft. Mozambicans are believed in the village of possessing strong medicines and underlying spiritual powers that enable them to get whatever they want".

According to my Mozambican informants, the belief on witchcraft amongst local South Africans is so strong to such an extent that if any person dies in the village, his death is attributed to the witchcraft practiced by the Mozambicans. This vision is supported by a local South African old woman who said:

> "Those people (Mozambicans) have a 'Boer' behaviour: when they came fleeing war in from their country, we accepted them and we gave them shelter. Once we did it they started taking the whole land and prohibiting us from crossing throughout the piece of land, which we gave them. Those ones are not people and are the ones who started to teach bad things to our children, because those are wild animals that do not have an urban culture; they are disgusting. If you go there (pointing the Mozambican section) you will see that generally, in the whole households there are witches and they are bewitching us!! So do you think those ones are people?"

The accusations and witchcraft beliefs around the region of Bushbuckridge do not constitute a new phenomenon. Ritchken alludes to the existence of social tensions around Mapulaneng because of the use of magic portion in competition between businessmen and political rivals. As a result, an anti-witchcraft movement was launched around the seventies and eighties for dealing with the accused witches, which resulted in violence

and killings of some people (1995:337-338).

However, when looking at the factors that trigger the current accusations based on the field data sources, it appears that the major cause is the difficulty of accessing or securing a mean of sustaining livelihoods.

With regard to criminal activities, some local South African informants argued that, Fofuchinha was a dangerous place some years ago because there were many thieves committing various types of crimes. These groups of criminals were said to be headed by Mozambicans. The criminals targeted mainly the motor vehicles. However, according to them, the situation is now stable because the masterminds are either dead or are in jail. Many people including a local traffic police official confirmed this.

Some local South Africans are of the view that the presence of Mozambicans in Fofuchinha retards the development of this area. They claim among other things that as a local South African informant said:

> "Mozambicans do not have an urban culture, do not have a family planning, and as a result, they have got many children and they are unable to feed and send them to school. This has contributed in the rising of the levels of poverty among them and in the increasing of criminal rates in the region because they get involved in it for survival purposes. We know that our government does not want to develop this area because of these people and, as soon as they leave this place you will see what will happen".

Furthermore, this respondent said that, his statement should not be viewed as inciting xenophobia towards Mozambicans, suggesting that I should influence the Department of Psychology at my University to conduct a study on Mozambican's behaviour in that

region in order to find out what kind of people they are and to establish whether they are *"normal people"* like them (referring to local South Africans).

Because of such sort of animosity, people from the Mozambican section created a group called *Baghdad* composed of youngsters in order to deal with local South Africans who use derogatory names against them. My respondents said that the group is dangerous because its members, besides beating up and torturing, they go extra-mile of killing. The groups are also linked to other criminal activities such as robberies.

An analysis of the apparent tension in the relationship between Mozambicans and South Africans can be situated in the context of political, social, economic and legal changes over the past ten years that enabled both some former Mozambican refugees and South Africans to access jobs on the same grounds of equality in accessing the resources.

The incapacity of the state in delivering and improving the basic services and in providing jobs is understood by some local South Africans as being caused by Mozambicans. This seems to be a new sub-category of xenophobia, differing from what is happening in the cities, by including a new element behind the problems of South African accusations of witchcraft.

Since witchcraft beliefs and accusations do not constitute a new factor in interpersonal relations in Bushbuckridge, what might have changed is the context where the accusations owe their foundations. These relational manifestations of secular beliefs and

practical situations without "apparent logic explanation" constitute a scapegoat of socio-economic problems in which responsibility is seen as resulting from the presence of foreigners. Is this a new significant variable in these relations?

When asking the former Mozambican refugees why they do not got back to Mozambique if they where suffering in this country, They explained that the main problem was the landmines in Mozambique, and that the country does not offer same lifestyles they get in South Africa. In sum, they portray Mozambique as a very rural and poor country.

There are two possible ways of explaining this; on the one hand, Mozambican people are in South Africa for about twenty years, and the most of them have not visited home since. Also, they are from very rural areas and they do not know any city over there.

The second explanation is that they are used to giving such reasons in order to justify their permanence in the country. Consequently, this affects the perceptions of South African towards Mozambique and its people.

Data analysis

Before I begin probing the study's hypothesis, I will discuss the evidences of existence of strong and weak ties. As I have been arguing throughout the research report, the short-term methodology does not allow me to have in-depth explanation.

However, considering the information that I gathered and the experience that I had in the

village, one might argue that although former Mozambican refugees, appear not to have strong networks of social capital, some might have strong ties in their intra social networks[6].

As Granovetter cited in Devillanova, contends, *"*strong ties have greater motivation to be of assistance and more easily available, therefore they are often linked to economic insecurity and lack of social services. For these reasons, strong ties are particularly important for poor people. At the same time, by connecting more similar people, strong ties might reinforce a vicious circle of poverty, in which individuals with few weak ties are deprived of relevant information, opportunities and resources" (Devillanova 2004:2).

These ties might exist in the social networks amongst former Mozambican refugees. This fact can be explained either if looking at the kind of job they pursue or when looking at their jobless status. On the other hand, making a rapid assessment of the problem, it explains why former Mozambican refugees are still living in extreme poverty.

My experience and the content of interviews do not suggest the prevalence of weak ties when considering Granovetter"s explanation cited in Devillanova that, "weak ties might have a special role in a person's opportunity for social mobility: they are more likely to connect individuals significantly different and, therefore, to be the source of information from distant parts of the social system" (Devillanova 2004:2).

[6] Social networks among Mozambicans

Taking into account the apparent distance between people[7] who are well off, compared to the former Mozambicans refugees living in extreme poverty, it is not likely that such kind of ties have a significant impact

In an attempt to answer the research question, this case study tests the following hypotheses: firstly that social networks to some extent balance out negative impact of legal status, lack of skills and experience. Secondly, the network of social capital available within the Mozambicans networks differs from those available within networks between Mozambicans and South Africans and impact on accessing different kinds of employment. Thirdly, social networks constitute the only way of getting paid employment.

The first hypothesis is, to some extent correct, though it might vary according to the kind of employment. Concerning formal employment, this hypothesis might be proved wrong because legal status is an objective requirement that cannot be transcended by using personal influence.

As I discussed earlier in this chapter when explaining the kinds of employment in Fofuchinha, objective requirements such as legal status, education, skills and experience play an important role as regards accessing formal employment. Many former Mozambican refugees do not have these objective requirements because of the history of legal insecurity, which leads them to a disadvantaged situation compared to South Africans. Because of lack of requirements, they cannot access formal jobs as South

[7] Mozambicans from the mixed area and local South Africans

Africans, although many South Africans share the same problem.

This hypothesis might be correct if applied to the semi-formal employment where the above-mentioned objective requirements do not necessarily have a significant importance, although a positive legal status helps. So, correcting the hypothesis, I conclude that social networks, to some extent, balance out the negative impacts of legal status, lack of skills and experience in certain kinds of jobs/employment, especially semi-formal employment.

The second hypothesis is not correct. As I pointed out earlier on in this section, apparently there are not weak ties in inter social networks. One of the basic premises of social capital is trust. Taking into account the information I had from both sides, then this premise is not applicable in this case though with some reservations due to constant contradictions.

Considering the statements alleging that competition for jobs has created a sort of tension among Mozambicans and between them and local South Africans, the availability of social capital might be undermined.

These accusations might be linked with the competition over the scarce "good jobs", for which, the outsiders (former Mozambican refugees) should be excluded. This must be contextualized in a broader South African context where, as Polzer (2005) points out, “citizenship and immigration are constructed as opposite sides of the same coin – one

demands job creation and services and the other undermines them, where the non-citizens are perceived to be in competition with the citizens over the resources".

The intra Mozambican networks of social capital are shaped by the historical foundations of legal and educational vulnerability, and the pressure exercised by socio-economic factors in South Africa. Therefore, these factors lead Mozambicans to engage in self-employment strategies of survival, and the competition over the market affects their relationships.

The third hypothesis was proved wrong in Fofuchinha. Despite their key role in accessing paid employment, social networks do not constitute the only way of getting jobs. In fact, social networks play this role in certain kind of jobs whereby the objective requirements are not necessarily relevant.

This analysis reveals that former Mozambican refugees are apparently connected through strong ties when considering the vicious cycle of poverty that they are in. Though I acknowledge that this assumption requires more analysis, the field evidence and my own experience in the field allows me to assume it.

Also, the analysis suggests that the source of income and work is an extremely important illustration of how social networks among Mozambicans and between Mozambicans and local South Africans work. It illustrates strongly that intra Mozambican and local South African-Mozambican social networks are limited by factors such as Mozambican's lack

of proper documentation, qualifications and experience. This is associated with apparent fear/tension, which is explained from Mozambican side as a result of the alleged lack of consideration and discrimination in part of the South Africans.

From local South African perspective, what is undermining the social relations is the use of witchcraft for different purposes and criminality that is believed to be masterminded by Mozambicans. As I noted, the apparent tension might be situated in the context of the transformations in various spheres in the country over the past ten years which impacted on the extreme competition over the resources, and importantly, in the ambivalent explanations from both sides.

The answers for the following questions sustain the argument that the accusations are ambivalent and inconsistent, and demonstrate that accusations from both sides are not more than scapegoats of the socio-economic hardships: If Mozambicans were, *de facto,* witches, then what explains the fact of South Africans employing former Mozambican refugees as their domestic workers? And, if the *inyangas* bewitch the South Africans and provide the spiritual powers to Mozambicans to take advantage in getting jobs, why do South Africans look for the services of these *inyangas* who, from the South African perspective are traditional doctors and witches at same time? And if Mozambicans argue that South African treat them discriminately, like wild animals and look at them as old children, why are South Africans looking for their services as traditional doctors, or domestic workers and builders? Is this not an acknowledgement of the former Mozambican refugees' skills and potential in dealing with particular jobs?

These questions help to illustrate that the apparent animosity and social relations are being shaped by socio-economic constraints and seems to be a scapegoat for them. It could also demonstrate that lack of formal employment opportunities, pushes people into finding self-employment opportunities as *ad hoc* means of survival. The issue of *inyangas*, which is being associated with moneymaking activity, is a clear illustration of this argument.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusions

This case study argues that social networks are important because of lack of employment opportunities. However Mozambicans have difficulty accessing necessary social networks because of tensions with South Africans and suspicion among themselves. These factors are aggravated by lack of education and skills.

It has demonstrated that networks among former Mozambican refugees and between them and South African are shaped by contextual factors namely; the endemic hard socio-economic problems targeting the region thus affecting the employment market, the political and legal transformations introduced in the country following the fall of apartheid which have fuelled the tension between the citizens and foreigners and most important, the lack of legal status, skills and experience affecting the former Mozambican refugees. Although the South Africans face the same problems the impact is likely to be different.

It has been found that the social networks between Mozambicans and South Africans are limited because of an apparent fear, which impacts on getting jobs. This fear is attributed to alleged witchcraft practices in part of Mozambicans. I have noted that these witchcraft accusations are scapegoats for the hard socio-economic conditions affecting the area and the witchcraft accusations do not constitute a new phenomenon in the area. In this context, they reflect the stress of extreme competition over the scarce jobs, and when a

"foreigner" gets it, the reason is attributed to witchcraft.

However, the study demonstrated that the accusations of witchcraft are ambiguous and inconsistent if considering that South Africans in the village employ Mozambicans as their domestic workers. If they feared their witchcraft, should they employ them? Also the Mozambicans' accusations about the contempt and discrimination that they are victims from South Africans sound ambivalent. In fact, if South Africans were despising them and not considering them as people, should they look for the Mozambican *inyangas*? Does this imply that South Africans acknowledge and respect their skills?

The research has highlighted that the lack of formal employment has been pushing people into finding self-employment opportunities. The activity of *inyangas,* which seems to be shifting its original practices, creates discomfort on people's perceptions, because the alleged spread of this activity is associated with money and profit making.

I have shown that the former Mozambicans refugees' lack of objective requirements for certain kind of jobs limits the effectiveness of social networks, because a person might be very well connected but the lack of requirements limits that person from getting the desired job. However, this is not always the case because, as the research argues, former Mozambican refugees face the difficulties in accessing the necessary networks due to interaction of the whole range of factors that were discussed throughout this study.

REFERENCES

Books

FIRST, R. 1983. *Black Gold: The Mozambican Miner, Proletarian and Peasants*. NewYork. Harvest Press.

HANCOCK, B.1998. *Trent Focus for Research and Development in Primary Health Care: an Introduction to Qualitative Research*. University of Nottingham. (updated 2002).

LACEY, A. & LUFF, D. 2001.*Trent Focus for Research and Development in Primary Health Care: Qualitative Data Analysis.* University of Sheffield.

MATHERS, N., FOX, N and HUNN, A. *Trent Focus Research and development in Primary Health Care: Using Interviews in a Research Project*. University of Sheffield, 1998 (updated 2002).

Statistics SA. 2002. *Measuring the Rural Poverty.*

Articles

AGNEW, J. 1999. "Mapping Political Power Beyond State Boundaries: Territory, Identity and Movement in World Politics", in Millenium 28: 499-552

AGUILERA, M.B. 2002. "The Impact of Social capital on Labour Force Participation: Evidence from the 2000 Social Benchmar Survey", in *Social Science Quarterly* Vol. 83, No. 3. 853-874

BARBIERI, P. 2003. "Social Capital and Self-Employment: A Network Analysis Experiment and Several Considerations", in *International Sociology*. 2003, Vol 18 (4):681-701

CRISP, J.1999. "Policy challenges of the New Diasporas: Migrant Networks and their Impact on Asylum Flows and Regimes", in *New Issues in Refugee Research*. Working Paper No. 7

DAUVERGNE, C. 2004. "Sovereignty, Migration and the Rule of Law in Global Times", in *Modern Law Review*, July 2004, Vol.67, No. 4. P.588-615. Blackwell Publishing

De JONGH, M. 1994. "Mozambican Refugee Resettlement: Survival Strategies of Involuntary Migrants in South Africa", in *Journal of Refugee Studies*. No. 2/3.Vol.7.

De VLETTER, F. 1998 “Sons of Mozambique: Mozambican Miners and the Post-Apartheid South Africa”, in: *SAMP* No. 8

GOLOBA-MUTEBI, F. & TOLLMAN, S.M 2004. “Survival Livelihood Strategies for Mozambican Refugees in South Africa”, in Forced *Migration Review*, 20. pp.28-29.

_____. 2004. “Witchcraft, Trust, and Reciprocity Among Mozambican Refugees and their South African Hosts in Lowveld Village”, in LANDAU, L. (ed.) *Forced Migration working Papers # 5*. Forced Migration Studies Programme. University of the Witwatersrand.

HORST, C. 2001."Vital Links in Social Security: Somali Refugees in Dadaab Camps, Kenya", in *New Issues in Refugee Research*. Working Paper No. 38. April.

JOHNSTON, N & SIMBINE, C.1998. “The Usual Victims: The Aliens Control Act and the Voices of Mozambicans” in CRUSH, J.(ed).1998. *Beyond Control: Immigration and Human Rights in a Democratic South Africa*.

_____1999. “Accessing the SADC Amnesty: The Rural Experience”, in: CRUSH, J & WILLIAMS, V.(eds.) *The New South Africans? Immigrations Amnesties and their Aftermath*. *SAMP* 1999.

_____2000. “The Regularization of Former Mozambican Refugees in South Africa: Experiences and Lessons”. NCR. Johannesburg

KIBREAD, G. “The Myth of Dependency among Camp Refugees” *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 6, No.4. p. 321-349

MOUW, T. 2003 “Social Capital and Finding a Job: Do Contacts Matter?” in: *American Sociological Review*. Vol. 68. P.868-898

POLZER, T. 2004. “We are all South Africans now”: The Integration of Mozambican Refugees in South Africa”, in: LANDAU, L (ed.) *Forced Migration Working Papers Series*. No.8 .2004.

_____.2005. “Discourses on Immigration in South Africa: Managing Diversity in a New Nation” Forthcoming (2005) in PLAW, A (ed.) *The Challenge of Pluralism.* Amsterdam.

PORTES, A.: "Social Capital: its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology" in *Annual Reviews of Sociology 24*:1-24, 1998.

SALLAF, J. *et al.* 2003. "Ethnic Entrepreneurship, Social Networks, and the Enclave", in YEOH, B. *et al* (eds) 2003. *Approaching Transnationalism: Transnational Societies, Multicultural contacts and Imaginings of Home.*

Theses

COVANE, L.A.1996. *Migrant Labour and Agriculture in Southern Mozambique with Special Reference to Lower Limpopo Valley,1920-1992* PhD Thesis. SOAS. London.

MACHAVA, A.J. 2003. *Migrações Transfronteiriças e Transformações Sociais: Estudo de Caso do Distrito de Matutuíne*. BA Honours Thesis. Eduardo Mondlane University.

RITCHKEN, E. 1995. *Leadership and Conflict in Bushbuckridge: Struggles to Define Moral Economies Within the Context of Rapidly Transforming Political Economies (1978-1990)*. PhD Thesis. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg - South Africa.

RODGERS, G.E. *2002. When Refugees do not go Home: post-war Mozambican Settlement Accross the Border with South Africa*. PhD Thesis. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg - South Africa.

Papers

HANDMAKER, J & SCHNEIDER. 2002. "The status "regularisation" programme for former Mozambican refugees in South Africa". Working paper for the Research Unit on Law and Administration (RUL) in the School of Law, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa. August 2002.

VALDINGER. R. 1997. "Social capital or Social Enclosure? Immigrant Networks in the Labor Market", in *Working Paper #26. The Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies*.

VAN HEAR, N. 2002. "From Durable Solutions to Transnational Relations: Home and Exile among Refugee Diasporas". CDR Working Paper 02.9. Copenhagen, Centre for Development Research.

Papers Presented at Conferences and Seminars

DAVA, F. A. 2002. "Contribution for the understanding of the legislation on repatriation on Southern Africa: the case of the relations between Mozambique and its neighbours (South Africa, Zimbabwe and Swaziland)". Paper presented at *Seminar on Regional Integration, Migration and Poverty* on 25th of April 2002. Pretoria, South Africa.

THEODORE, N. & METHA, C. 2001. "Day Labor, Low-Wage Work, and Immigrant Employment Opportunities in Chicago" Paper prepared for presentation to the *Illinois Immigration Policy Project*. October 11. Palmer House Chicago.

VERTOVEC, S. 2002. "Transnational Networks and Skilled Labour Migration" WPTC-02-02. Paper presented at Conference: *Ladenberger Diskurs "Migration"*. Ladenburg, 15-16 February 2002.

Internet Sources

AMUEDO-DORANTE, C. & MUNDRA, K.2004. "Social Networks and their Impact On the Employment and Earnings of the Mexican Immigrants". In: http://www.econwpa.wustl.edu:8089/cps/lab/papers/0502/0502001.pdf

DEVILLANOVA, C. 2004. "Undocumented Immigrants' Social Networks in Milan: an Empirical Assessment" In:
gsbwww.uchicago.edu/labor/ B.07.5.%20Devillanova%20&%20Stark%20&%20Casarico.pdf

GOZA, F (2004). "Immigrant Social Networks: the Brazilian Case". In: http://www.bgsu.edu/organizations/cfdr/research/pdf2004/2004-02.pdf

KOSER, K & PINKERTON, C. 2000. "The Social Networks of Asylum Seekers and the Dissemination of Information about Countries of Asylum". In: http://www.homeoffice.gov.k/rds/pdfs2/r165.pdf

JOHN, D & MacARTHUR, C.T. "Research Networks on Socio-Economic Status of Health" In: http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/econ/durlauf/networkweb1.pdf