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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

The Graduate School for the Humanities and Social Sciences

Forced Migration Studies Programme

THE IMPACT OF LEGAL STATUS ON NATIONAL IDENTITY FORMATION: A CASE STUDY OF FORMER MOZAMBICAN REFUGEES LIVING IN BUSHBUCKRIDGE, SOUTH AFRICA.

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A Research Report Submitted to the Graduate School for Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Masters of Arts in Forced Migration Studies.

Johannesburg, 2007.

Dedication

To my daughters Mwansa, Mwewa and Mutale, their beautiful mother Chituwa, my elder brother Makumba and my loving parents Geoffrey Mutale Ng'andu and Jane Norah Kapinga.

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This research report would not have been possible to complete without the support of a number of people.

I would like to sincerely thank my supervisor, Ms. Tara Polzer, for agreeing to supervise this research and for the direction and advice on how go about it. 'Thank you for your patience, advice and support'. Secondly, I wish to thank Dr. Loren Landau, the Director of the Department of Forced Migration Studies Programme, for his encouragement and support towards the attainment of my Masters of Art degree programme. I also wish to acknowledge the support from all staff members and friends from the Forced Migration Studies Programme Department.

Special credit goes to my interpreter and the community and their leaders in the village where I conducted this research. Without their co-operation this research report would not have been possible.

I would also want to thank my family especially my wife, my parents and my elder brother who have always been a source of emotional and material support.

Declaration

This research report is entirely my own work and has not been previously submitted as a research project or dissertation or thesis at any other University.

…….

31st March, 2006.

University of the Witwatersrand.

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Abstract

This research report examines the relationship between legal status and national identity formation. It is based on a qualitative research of former refugees from Mozambique who have lived and settled in the Northern Province of South Africa now called Limpopo province in the border areas with Mozambique for over twenty years. The report compares the narratives of former Mozambican refugees in South Africa who have acquired permanent residence and citizenship with those that are undocumented. The distinction between undocumented and documented former refugees allows me to look at the role of access to services in identity formation, since most government services in South Africa, as elsewhere, are not accessible without legal documentation. Since most services are, however, accessible for both permanent residents and citizens, the distinction between these two statuses allow me to explore whether there is a more symbolic meaning attached to citizenship. Drawing from citizenship theory, variations in the attachment to South Africa or Mozambique that emerged in the research data are analysed in terms of the refugees' experience of social inclusion or social exclusion norms. The benefits of social inclusion and how it shapes positive attitudes towards attaching to South Africa is discussed.

CHAPTER I

1.0. INTRODUCTION

1.1 . Introduction

In the last two decades, considerable attention has been given to the relationship between immigrants and refugees and their new homeland vis a' vis how they achieve social cohesion with the host population. Unlike in some cases where self-settled refugees find themselves in protracted situations without any legal status which should give them protection, some refugees have acquired permanent residence or citizenship status in host countries like the case of former Mozambican refugees in South Africa (Polzer 2005). Representations of immigrants by governments or in the media which often do not adequately distinguish between refugees and other categories of immigrants, regularly suggest that foreigners want South African identity documents only in order to access rights and services in South Africa. Such discourses often suggest that this is an illegitimate desire (see Harris 2002, in Hook & Eagle for example). This state of affairs raises a question about the meaning of citizenship to long-term resident immigrants and refugees in South Africa. Is acquisition of South African citizenship by long term immigrants and refugees about a formal relation with the host state in which the latter is expected to only provide services to the former or does it go beyond this to reflect a deeper symbolic identification with the host nation?

The 'new' South Africa is working to forge new identities that transcend it's deeply divided past from the colonial era into the post Apartheid era. Construction of identities is open ended, fluid and constantly shifting (Zegeye 2001). Under Apartheid on the other hand, essentialised racial and

ethnic identities were imposed on people, what scholars have termed 'identities from above' (Ibid), premised on some imaginary cultural boundedness and designed to keep people separate from one another.

Migration has been recognised as one of the spheres that produced the results of this divided society. Some of the most outstanding features of the immigration system in South Africa during the Apartheid (and colonial) era was a fragmentation and inequality of in-migration along racial and ethnic lines. Similarly, asylum and citizenship was denied by the Apartheid government to blacks from neighbouring countries (De La Hunt 1998). The demise of the Apartheid era led to the establishment of an asylum system that aimed at protection of refugees and asylum seekers in accordance with the standards of International Law. In 1996 South Africa signed the United Nations (UN) 1951 Convention and its 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, as well as the 1969 Organisation for African Unity (OAU) Convention Governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa. Although the constitution of South Africa makes no specific provisions for the right to asylum, the bill of rights in the South African Constitution guarantees entitlements to everyone within the state. South Africa endorsed the principles of international instruments by passing the *Refugee Act* (Act 130 of 1998) in 1998. This is the country's primary piece of legislation related to the position of asylum seekers and refugees in South Africa.

Managing diversity is not an issue for South Africa alone (see Barnes 2001; Momen 2005). As South Africa grapples with its cultural, ethnic and racial diversity, citizenship theory and politics of social inclusion and exclusion are emerging as useful frameworks for analysis.

1.2 . Background of the Case Study

The main influx of Mozambican refugees into South Africa occurred in the mid to late 1980's. The number of Mozambican nationals who fled to South Africa during the civil war is uncertain since they were not registered on arrival. It is estimated that among these about 320,000 settled in the country by the end of the civil war around the early 1990's (see Polzer 2005, p.6). According to De La Hunt (1998, p.125), '…self-settlement was facilitated by the Apartheid government's refusal to recognise them as refugees and accord them their due rights under International Law'. These persons settled mainly (though not entirely) in the former 'Homeland' areas of South Africa, in the rural border areas with Mozambique. They remained undocumented for some time because they were never granted formal refugee status.

Handmaker and Schneider (2002) explain that under the terms of a tripartite agreement between the governments of South Africa and Mozambique and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), in 1993 the government of South Africa retrospectively recognised these persons as refugees (on a group basis). This was solely for the purposes of a UNHCR co-ordinated voluntary repatriation programme. The 1993 voluntary repatriation which was unsuccessful (see Dolan 1997) was followed by three broad amnesties offered by the South African government through which Mozambicans could apply for permanent residence status. The first amnesty was offered in 1995 to all foreign mineworkers who had provided at least 10 years of service to South African mines. Under the 1996 SADC[1] amnesty, the post-Apartheid government declared a limited amnesty for SADC citizens who had lived in the country continuously since at least July 1991,

[1] Acronym for Southern Africa Development Community

had no criminal record, and were either economically active or married to South Africans or had dependent children born and lawfully resident in the country. 85,000 Mozambicans, of whom many were refugees, subsequently applied for and acquired South African permanent resident status. The last amnesty was extended to former Mozambican Refugees on 4th December 1996. It was announced by the then Republican President, Nelson Mandela that the South African Cabinet had granted an amnesty from prosecution and deportation as illegal immigrants to former Mozambican refugees who had remained in the country. This amnesty was purely intended to benefit persons from Mozambique who fled war from that country before the peace accord in 1992. This exemption was implemented in 1999/2000 and 82,000 received permanent residence through it. In addition to the amnesties given for the purpose of regularising their stay in South Africa, a number of former Mozambicans had acquired permanent residence status or citizenship by using other means such as marriage, adoption and by circumventing the law (Polzer 2005).

1.3 . Rationale

The drafters of the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees envisaged the assimilation of refugees and in this respect drew particular attention to the role of citizenship in the search for durable solutions[2]. While the principle of local integration may be firmly established in International Refugee Law, its practice has been very limited, especially in Africa. Local integration is not a solution that is available or feasible for a large proportion of Africa's refugees - either because their country of asylum

[2] Article 34 of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees states that: 'Contracting states shall as much as possible facilitate the assimilation and naturalization of refugees. They shall in particular make every effort to expedite naturalization proceedings and reduce as far as possible the charges and costs of such proceedings'.

does not want them to settle permanently, or because the refugees themselves would prefer to return to their homeland.

Indeed, it is true to say that most African countries would rather give temporary protection to refugees and asylum seekers even if the situation requires another durable solution other than voluntary repatriation or third country resettlement. Jacobsen (2003) argues that:

> …local integration has never been broadly implemented in developing countries. Many host governments, particularly in Africa have allowed self-settlement of refugees without official assistance in local host communities. But local integration has rarely been pursued systematically or formalized in a way that gives refugees a secure legal status.

Since residence status and citizenship in particular is also linked to attachment to a particular community just like national identity, it can play a very important role as the unifying force in a pluralistic and divided state like South Africa (Oliver & Heater 1994). An influx of integrated immigrants adds to this state of affairs (although migration is not the main reason why South Africa is plural and divided).

Focusing on citizenship and identity of immigrants or former refugees who have settled for a considerable period of time and have attained a certain level of integration with the host community in a country of re-settlement makes an interesting case study. This is because one can not be sure if refugees or former or refugees acquire or want to acquire citizenship because they get attached to their new homelands or it is for the purpose of gaining access to rights and services from host governments or it is for both reasons.

In the case of former Mozambican refugees in South Africa, the national identity of the former refugees is a particularly relevant study because it

involves a relatively large group of people (approximately 260,000[3]) who settled in South Africa after fleeing Mozambique who have been self-settled for approximately twenty years in Bushbuckridge. They did not receive any initial aid or official assistance from the host government or the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. However, the study population attained a level of integration with the host communities which the government of South Africa should have promoted as one of the durable solutions to the plight of the former Mozambican refugees, but did not for many years.

Secondly, despite the fact that a great deal of research has been conducted on local integration and on national identity (Castles & Davidson 2000), little attention has been given to the specific relationship between legal status and national identity in refugee situations. Some studies done by scholars such as Malkki (1992) indicate that there is no link between people and place, and nation and territory. Her theory disputes the notion where people are often thought of and think of themselves as being rooted in a place and deriving their identity from that rootedness. It is in this light that the study is potentially important in that it will add to the debate by adding another dimension that will attempt to show the relationship between citizenship and national identity of the former Mozambican refugees in this case study.

The third reason why this research is important is that it is nested in the Citizenship and Boundaries Initiative research project being undertaken by the Department of Forced Migration Studies Programme, University of the Witwatersrand and therefore will contribute to this wider research project. This research report explores issues of social and political integration for

[3] Note that of the approximately 320,000 former Mozambican refugees who settled in South Africa by the end of the civil war in the early 1990's, 62,000 of them returned home (see Dolan 1999, in Black and Khoser Eds).

self-settled refugees and identity development in relation to ethnicity and nationality- topics on which the Citizenship and Boundaries Initiative focuses.

Using the case of former Mozambican refugees in Bushbuckridge, South Africa, this research report examines the relationship between legal status and national identity formation. It compares the narratives of former Mozambican refugees in South Africa who have acquired permanent residence and citizenship and those that are undocumented in a village in Bushbuckridge, South Africa. The distinction between undocumented and documented former refugees allows me to look at the role of access to services in identity formation, since most government services in South Africa, as elsewhere, are not accessible without legal documentation of some kind. Since most services are, however, accessible for both permanent residents and citizens, the distinction between these two statuses allow me to explore whether there is also a symbolic meaning attached to citizenship. What does it mean to long-term resident immigrants and refugees to become South African citizens? This report analyses attachment of former Mozambican refugees in a village in Bushbuckridge, South Africa either to their country of origin or the host country.

1.4 . Problem Statement and Research Question

The main research question asked in the study is therefore as follows:

What is the relationship between legal status (undocumented, permanent residence, and citizenship) and the national identity of former Mozambican refugees living in Bushbuckridge, South Africa?

1.5. Hypothesis

One hypothesis was developed for this research and was as follows:

Former Mozambican refugees who acquired citizenship rather than only permanent residence, did so at least partly because they identify with South Africa, and not only to access rights and services.

The dependent variable in this research is national identity and the independent variable in this research is legal status (undocumented, permanent residence, and citizenship).

1.6. Overview of the Research Report

Chapter II gives a detailed literature review on the subject matter under study. It also shows the theoretical framework through which this study was under taken.

Chapter III is the methods section. It will deal with issues such as the population and its sample, variables, data collection methods which aimed at attaining reliable and valid results. It will also raise ethical issues encountered and how they were approached.

Chapter IV will present the results of the research, which will deal with three main things, that is, the results of the analysis, their interpretation and their discussion. In this section, much of the important information is in the form of translated interviews and a discussion of the meaning of the data interpreted. It details what the substantiation of the hypothesis means in terms of this research and why the hypothesis was supported or not. The discussion section will put forward relevant arguments with respect to the findings and will draw conclusions and implications from them.

Chapter V will form the conclusion. The conclusion re-states the key issues discussed in each of the main points in the sections of the text and provides a concluding statement that integrates the ideas presented therein.

Appendices which include references, a questionnaire and a list of acronyms and abbreviations will also be attached to the report.

CHAPTER II

2.0 . LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter gives a detailed literature review on local integration, legal status, and identity with particular reference to immigrants and refugees. By engaging with research findings on the settlement experience of immigrants and refugees in their new homelands, the literature review highlights major theoretical concepts relating to the subject understudy. It thereby also develops the theoretical framework through which this study was undertaken.

2.2. Group Identities

According to Robinson (2003, p.8) 'identity attempts to answer the question *who am I* and at the same time *who I am not.*' He argues that the perception of the *other* is crucial in identity development. He goes on to explain that:

> …at that basic level, the individual is able to see and thus define the *other* through face to face contact and interaction with the other individual. As similarities and arguably more importantly differences are observed between individuals and groups of individuals, meanings will be constructed and ascribed to those similarities and differences (Ibid).

In other words, group identities are able to categorise similarities and differences for individuals and provide a point of references for attribution of meaning. Similarly, national and ethnic identity is dependent on ascription (that is, self-definition) and description (that is, definition by others). People locally define and construct their identity according to their own experiences and perceptions, interaction with and in relation to members of neighbouring groups, and in relation to the official state definitions (Ibid).

Smith in Ozkirimli (2000) postulates two main patterns of identity formation. He traces the process of national formation by comparing two pre-modern ethnic communities, that is, lateral (aristocratic) ethnic community and vertical (demotic) ethnic community.

On the one hand, a lateral (aristocratic) ethnic community involves bureaucratic incorporation because the survival of the aristocratic ethnic communities depended on a large extent on the capacity to incorporate other strata of the population within their cultural orbit. This type of identity formation is associated with civic or territorial nations. This was done through the extension of citizenship rights, conscription, taxation, and the build up of infrastructure that linked distant parts of the territory. It can be said to be national identity formation from above usually led by the elite and professionals.

While on the other hand, as explained by the same author, a vertical (demotic) ethnic community involves vernacular mobilisation and politicisation of culture. This type of identity formation is usually associated with ethnic nations. In this case, the influence of the bureaucratic state is more indirect mainly because vertical ethnic communities were usually subject communities. Instead it is led by the intelligentsia who try to fight off the homogenisation of ethnic minorities which is often accompanied by social and cultural discrimination. Intellectuals and professionals mobilise their ethnic kinsmen of the other classes against incursions of the 'outsider', by a process of rediscovering and renewing pre–existing ethnic ties and cultures. Through the promotion of vernacular languages, folklore, and native customs, ethnic rituals and traditions, and the like they hope to secure a political base, but also a culture community which would withstand

outsiders that threatened the foundation of their culture. This type of identity formation is from below.

Ethnic and National Identity

On the one hand, an ethnic group is:

> …a named unit of population with a subjective perception of common origins, shared historical memories and culture, an association with a homeland and sentiments of social solidarity (Smith 1986, p.189).

Ethnic identities are formed when people who share one or more cultural traits become conscious of internal cohesion and difference from others. According to McAlister & Sharp (1993, p.19):

> …ethnic communities become politicised when some of their members pursue political goals- a defence of power and privilege, a struggle to acquire them- in the name of, and supposedly on behalf of, the communities in question.

They argue that elites are usually crucial in the process of ethnic politicisation but the part that elites play in the process of ethnic identity formation is less decisive. This is because communities imagined by elites are not simply transferred to a passive mass of people who fit the categories with which the elites conjure (Ibid). It has been argued that an ethnic group is a stage in the development of all nations (Smith 1986). In a similar vein, ethnicity has been understood as 'a form of stagnant nationalism which may eventually become manifest as nationalism' (Eriksen 1991, p.265).

On the other hand, the concept of the nation corresponds to the human need for belonging, group formation, and group identity. In most of the literature, national identity is attached to modern state making and culture (Kaunismaa 1995). For people to express nationalism it is first necessary for them to identify themselves as belonging to a nation, that is, a large group of people

who have something in common (Smith 1991). The realisation that they might possess a common history, religion, language, or race also aided people in forming a national identity. Culture is perhaps the most essential referent of national identity (Kaunismaa 1995). Cultural artefacts and other cultural phenomena such as language are utilised to provide easily recognisable markers which distinguish groups from one another, recognisable by both the insider and the outsider.

National identity just like ethnicity provides a sense of belonging and identity. While nationality entitles the individual to the protection of the state and provides a legal basis for the exercise of many civil and political rights, ethnicity confers native authority which comes with significant rights, particularly the right to customary land the right to self local governance by own Traditional leaders or chiefs. Legal political community and territory are perhaps the most distinguishing features between national identity and ethnic identity respectively.

There is now an extensive literature on national identity. Similarly to the two main patterns of identity formation as postulated by Smith in Ozkirimli (2000) and according to current international scholars, two main models of a nation have been identified based on a philosophical distinction between a more rational and a more organic version of nationalist ideology: (a) the territorial and civic model and (b) the ethnic-genealogical model respectively.

(a) The territorial and civic model which corresponds to a ‘community of citizens’: Historic territory or homeland, legal-political community, legal-political equality, and common civic culture and ideology are the main ingredients required for the formation of a nation in this model. Civic

nationalism lies within the traditions of rationalism and liberalism. Proponents of this model argue that the civic model nationalism applies to nations with a colonialist or imperialistic past.

Miller's (2000) theory of a nation belongs to the western civic model of national identity. He defines national identity in five parts. Firstly he contends that national communities are constituted by belief: 'a nation exists when its members believe that it exists' (Miller 2000, p.28). In other words, a nation is not just a group of people who share a common attribute such as language or race only. He explains that the existence of a nation depends on the belief that its members belong together and have a shared wish to continue their life in common. The second aspect of national identity is that a nation has to embody historic community. It has to extend into the past and stretch into the future. Miller further sees historic national community as a community of obligation:

> …because our forefathers have toiled and split their blood to build and defend the nation, we who are born into it inherit an obligation to continue their work, which we discharge partly towards our contemporaries and partly towards our descendants (Miller 2000, p.28).

The third aspect of a nation as propounded by Miller is that it has an active identity. In this case he argues that nations are communities who do things together, take decisions, achieve things together, and so forth. For instance wining an international soccer match is seen as achieving things together. The fourth aspect which Miller spoke of in his explanation of what constitutes a nation is that it connects a group of people to a particular geographical place. It is a must that a nation has a homeland. The final essential to national identity is that the people who share a nation are believed to share certain natural traits that mark them off from other people,

other than sharing common institutions. These may come in cultural form, such as shared values and tastes.

(b) The ethnic-genealogical model, which corresponds to a 'cultural group': According to the alternative ethnic model, which is supported by one of the most prominent modern theorists of nationalism, Anthony Smith, a nation is a community which is defined in terms of ethnicity (Smith 1991). This always includes some element of common descent from previous generations, which replaces historic homeland as a criterion for membership. This model also includes ideas of a vernacular culture shared between members of the group and their predecessors, and usually a shared language which are more prized than legal equality and citizenship. In this model of a nation, in the place of civic, mass culture, native history and ethnic culture is exalted. The nations with an ethnic or genealogical basis seek to expand so as to include the ethnically kin populations that are beyond the current borders of the ethnic nation, along with the territories where they live, or aim for the creation of a much larger ethic-national state, merging into other culturally and ethnically kin states (Smith 1991).

Smith's (1991, p.14) definition of national identity is:

> A collective phenomenon whose special features which includes among others a shared historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a legal-political community, and a common mass.

Smith further argues that national identities fulfil intimate and internal functions for individuals in communities by socialising the members. He also argues that, 'nations provide a social bond between individuals and communities by providing a variety of shared values, symbols and traditions' (Smith 1991, p.16). He goes on to explain that members are reminded of their common heritage and cultural kinship sense of common

identity and belonging through the use of symbols and feel strengthened and glorified or dignified through their sense of common identity and belonging. Such symbols include flags, currencies, national anthems, ceremonies, etc.

Despite the rival models of the nation, it is evident from Smith's and Miller's theories that there is a common belief as to what constitutes national identity. These include the following; territorial bounded units of population that must have their homelands; that their members share a mass culture and common historic myths and memories; members have reciprocal legal rights and duties under a common legal system. The important difference is that where as the western or civic or territorial concept laid down that an individual had to belong to some nation but could choose to which he or she belonged, the non western or ethnic concept allowed for no such freedom. In the ethnic model, one has to belong to that community or nation through ancestry.

Most African countries including South Africa and Mozambique conflict with the principles of the civic and the ethnic model of a nation when applied distinctively. South Africa does not entirely correspond to a nation-state or the strictest European ideal of 'a single people, with one language'. At the same time, South Africa cannot be said to belong a nation based 'ethnic umbilical cord' that connects its different ethnic groups. South Africa is a multi-racial and a multi-ethnic country and therefore it has many diverse cultures. In this regard, if we look at the hallmarks of national identity from the two models separately, we would be hard put to find something that is distinctively a South African or Mozambican national identity. In other words these concepts of national identity as they stand on their own are inappropriate to describe reality in South Africa or Mozambique. In the case

of my case study, at village or local level, there is a genealogical connection between the local host population and the former Mozambican refugees since they have common ancestry and therefore share the same ethnicity. On the basis of the Shangaan ethnic 'nation', they have been accepted by the host community as being part of that community. At national level, the former refugees can be said to have a 'choice' to choose which civic 'nation' they want to belong to or belong to, that is, either South Africa or Mozambique. In this regard it would only be appropriate to amalgamate elements of national identity from each of the two models to describe reality in South Africa. Among these include, territorial bound units with a common sense of shared history or homeland, equal legal rights and duties under common legal system, a sense of belonging or doing things together as a community and ethnicity which I will come back to in the theoretical framework.

2.3 . People, Place and Identity

Territory and Identity

There are two broad debates on national identity that focus on territory, that is, a territorially anchored identity and a deterritorialized identity. On the one hand, Malkki rejects the widely held 'assumption that links people to place, nation to territory'(Malkki 1992, p.27) '…where people are often thought of, and think of themselves, as being rooted in place and deriving their identity from that rootedness' (Ibid). Malkki's (1995) study of Rwandan Hutus in Tanzania observed that those who stayed outside the refugee camps were successfully able to adapt themselves into Tanzanian society and lose their identity in an urban setting.

On the other hand, Kibreab (1999, p.407), contends that the assumption that identities are deterritorialised and state territories are for the taking, regardless of place or national origin, has no objective existence outside the minds of its proponents. He goes on to explain that:

> …in a world were rights such as equal treatment, access to social services, rights of freedom of movement and residence are apportioned on the basis of territorially anchored identities, the identity that people gain from association to a particular place is instrumental to a socially and economically fulfilling life (Ibid).

Using Malkki's findings, Kibreab (1999) disagrees with the notion that the town refugees did not loose their Rwandan or Hutu identities in exile. For him, hiding their identity is not a measure of loss of identity. He argues that adopted 'strategy of invisibility' in response to 'inauspicious policy environment' was a *façade* and not a reflection of a loss of identity. Using the same data, he shows that town refugees maintained their Burundian national identity as indicated by their refusal to become Tanzanian citizens.

From the above reasoning it can be argued that Kibreab argues that despite the process of globalisation, repatriation, and not integration, represents one of the most important solutions to the problem of involuntary displacement. Nevertheless, Kibreab highlights existing international instruments relating to the status of refugees which state that solutions to refugee problems are conventionalised in terms of acquisition or reacquisition of nationality and that with the acquisition of nationality, refugee status comes to an end. According to these international instruments:

> …the possibility of solving a refugee problem in the context of exile was largely dependant on whether: (i) host government policies include opportunities to naturalise and an effective procedure for the later; (ii) host population accept or imagine refugees as their own members; (iii) refugees are willing to naturalise (Kibreab 1999, p.389).

In the absence of the above, the refugee problem cannot be solved in the context of exile.

The above case study speaks to the present study vis-à-vis the debate on people, place and identity in three ways. Firstly, although the Apartheid state did not initially recognise former Mozambican refugees, the post Apartheid host government's policies changed after 1995 to include opportunities for them to naturalise. Secondly, the host communities accepted them and the migrants ended up socially integrating, though illegally initially mainly because of shared ethnicity. And lastly, as Polzer (2005) indicates, after 1995, former Mozambican refugees who had not opted to return home during the organised repatriation were willing to naturalise in South Africa.

It is worth noting that unlike Gibreab's argument, which recognises voluntary repatriation as a possible durable solution in solving refugee problems, Malkki's argument is that naturalisation is central to solving problems of refugees in the context of exile. Therefore, since some former Mozambican refugees opted to remain and naturalise in South Africa, this can be seen as an option of solving refugee problems in the context of exile if the conditions allowed.

Citizenship

On the one hand, citizenship should be understood as a set of rights and corresponding obligations enjoyed equally by everyone who is a citizen of the political economy (also called the nation- state) in question (Miller 2000, p.82) and attachment to a particular community (Oliver & Heater 1994), on the other. This means:

> …having the rights to vote and stand for political office, enjoy equality before the law and being entitled to various government services and

> benefits. Being a citizen also means having obligations to obey the laws, to pay taxes and in extreme cases to defend one's country (Castles & Davidson 2000, p.1).

Citizenship is the basic reference point of political identity; it is the basic institution in the modern state and the strongest unifying force in a pluralistic and divided political society (Oliver & Heater 1994). The integration of all the inhabitants of a territory into a political or national state, and their political equality has its roots in the institution of citizenship, in which citizens are included and non citizens are excluded. In the case of immigrants and refugees, citizenship can confer civil status and civil rights that can not be upheld when a person is unable to live or return to their country of origin. Yet this universal principal is challenged by the practice in which citizenship has always been bound to the status of being a national, which is also associated with the notion of belonging to the territory of the state and having a common culture and ethnic background (Castles & Davidson 2000). As Barnes (2001) notes, most of the time resettled refugees and immigrants are thereby excluded as being nationals. Thus, it means the exclusion of such groups not considered as part of the national community.

On the other hand, it should be noted that citizenship allows for more flexible set of identities to refugees and immigrants than nationalism. Becoming a citizen for a refugee maybe of crucial importance to refugees and immigrants when a person is unable to live or return to their country. Equally important is the extent to which they achieve substantial citizenship, which is 'equal chances in various areas of society, such as politics, work, welfare systems and cultural relations' (Castles & Davidson 2000, p. 84).

> While attainment of formal citizenship through a process of 'naturalisation' confers to hold a 'passport' of the country of residence, substantial citizenship concerns the full spectrum of lived experience in the country of residence (Barnes 2001, p.2).

Since citizenship is also linked to attachment to a particular community just like national identity, in a pluralistic and divided state like South Africa, it can play a very important role as the unifying force of the 'South African nation'.

3.4. Social Inclusion and Exclusion Norms

Local Integration

According to the United Nations High Commissioner's Handbook on Repatriation (2004), local integration is one of the three durable solutions for refugees, particularly for those in protracted situations. The other two durable solutions are voluntary repatriation and resettlement of refugees to a third country of asylum. Crisp (2004) argues that the process of local integration becomes a durable solution only at the point when a refugee becomes a naturalized citizen of his or her asylum country, and consequently is no longer in need of international protection. Some scholars have defined local integration as a process by which refugees increasingly participate in all levels of society and become full citizens (Crisp 2004; Jacobsen 2003). Where appropriate and feasible, local integration of refugees in the country of asylum is one of the viable options in protracted refugee situations (UNHCR 2004). Jacobsen (2003) argues that:

> …full integration refers to refugees who are granted asylum, residency, and full and permanent membership status by the host government. Under these circumstances, refugees acquire the protection of the host state and enjoy the full range of economic, social, and civil rights accorded to permanent legal residents, including access to citizenship under the same terms as others.

Other scholars like Berry in Hear Van (1998) refer to refugee integration as participation in the larger society while maintaining self-identity. Refugee integration therefore does not necessarily mean changing one's identity, but

means building a new life with dignity, becoming an independent and productive member of society, and being able to fend for one self.

For the purpose of this study, I have identified three levels of local integration. This is as defined by Crisp (2004). Local integration will be normally characterised by the following components and full integration means attaining all the three components:

I. Economic Component: Refugees become progressively less reliant on state aid or humanitarian assistance attaining a growing degree of self-reliance and becoming able to pursue sustainable livelihood:

II. Social and Cultural Component: Interaction between refugees and local communities enables refugees to live amongst or alongside the host population without discrimination or exploitation and as contributors to their host communities.

III. Legal Component: Refugees are given a progressive wide range of rights and entitlements by the host state which are commensurate, generally, with those enjoyed by citizens. Overtime the process should lead to permanent residence right and perhaps ultimately the acquisition of citizenship in the country of asylum.

Despite the fact that some of the former refugees in the population of my study have not acquired any sort of legal status, research conducted by scholars like Dolan (1999), Rodgers (2002) and Polzer (2005) have confirmed that there is an established level of social-cultural and economic integration of former Mozambican refugees in Bushbuckridge. A more supportive legal environment that has been adopted since 1994 has also accelerated integration of some of the former refugees even though the level of economic integration is not yet that strong because some settlements

populated mainly by former refugees are disadvantaged because of poverty (Polzer 2005). Additionally some former Mozambican refugees have not yet attained full civil rights accorded to permanent legal residents and the majority can not be said to enjoy full 'legal integration'.

In a research conducted by Polzer (2005), she observes that the situation of Mozambican refugees in South Africa over the past twenty years has been shaped by a changing legal context. She charts how Mozambican refugees, especially those settled in the rural border areas, have benefited from the various legal status they acquired and how they feel about their acquired identity. She argues that locally in Bushbuckridge, the South African permanent residence identity document was known as a 'Mozambican' identity document because most of the permanent residents in the area came from Mozambique. Because the identity document stated 'Mozambican' as their nationality, it was regarded as worthless by some and only partially useful by others. One former refugee argued that they had been in South Africa for a long time and that is why she preferred to have a South African identity document and not the 'Mozambican' identity document (Polzer 2005). Indeed from the above, it is true to say that access to rights and services may not be the only reason why Mozambicans acquired citizenship. Research done by Polzer indicates that:

> …concern for status is not only associated with the formal rights associated with that status (since permanent resident status today enables theoretical access to almost all rights and services except voting), but rather with the subjective experience of insecurity and discrimination as an outsider, a non-citizen. The desire for complete inclusion and equality can be seen as an instrumental strategy for greater invisibility or a strongly internalised identification with South Africa and citizenship (Polzer 2005, p.24).

Polzer's work relates, though not directly to the relationship between legal status and national identity formation. Although her case study is different

from mine, I am aware that there are no major peculiarities about my case study village compared with many similar villages around Bushbuckridge district. Even though her research did not consider in depth the relative importance of access to rights and services versus identification for Mozambicans in Bushbuckridge, it seems to reveal and support important insights that directly support my hypothesis, that there is a desire by former Mozambican refugees for complete inclusion and equality as citizens as well as a strongly internalised identification with South Africa.

Momen (2005), in his paper explores the meaning of citizenship in a border town along the United States of America-Mexico boundary. His central theme was to analyse how boundaries between nations and identities remain permeable and contested and how such negotiations are reflected in state-citizen relations. The paper analysed how the real life meanings of citizenship are constantly changing because of different government policies and socio-political norms of engagement. Momen applied Lefebvre's notion of space to analyse 'citizenship' beyond its legalistic definition and understand how the systematic rules of inclusion and exclusion shape the rights and privileges of the residents of El Cenizo.

This study is speaks to my case study in the following ways; firstly, there has been a changing legal framework for the former Mozambican refugees in Bushbuckridge. Initially, the Apartheid government systematically refused to recognise Mozambicans as refugees and accord them their due rights under International Law. Secondly, the same government later systematically threatened the former refugees of deportation. And lastly, despite the change in government, and policy, to include options for naturalisation, the level of corruption and the administrative delays in

acquiring identity documents is are said to be rife among state officials. These can be viewed terms of inclusion and exclusion norm which may have affected the former refugees accordingly.

Similarly, Barnes (2001) conducted research with refugees from Vietnam who have lived in Australia for over twenty years. She draws her theoretical framework from developments in citizenship theory and analysed variations that emerged in research data in terms of refugees' experiences of social inclusion and social exclusion and how these norms influenced the expression of national identity which was acquired. Barnes' study found enormous variations in the attachment to either countries of origin or the country of settlement. Among these include; detachment from country of origin; attachment to country of origin; attachment to either countries of origin and settlement; detachment from both countries. She claims that without exception, the respondent's subjective identification with and attachment to each of the countries was directly related to their experience of social inclusion or exclusion.

She analysed these findings in two broad categories, that is, influence of experiences of social exclusion or inclusion in the original homeland and the influence of experiences of social exclusion or inclusion in the in the country of resettlement. The experiences of social exclusion or inclusion in the original homeland included; long term discrimination and internal displacement; full inclusion in country of origin until country is taken over; anticipation of social inclusion or exclusion in future after attainment of peace and family ties in the country of origin. While the experiences of social exclusion or inclusion in the county of asylum reasons included;

opportunities and obstacles in pursuit of personal goals; racism; and language barrier.

This case study relates to my case study in many ways. The majority of the former refugees in the village where I conducted interviews, seem to have experienced South Africa (the community with whom they are living in Bushbuckridge and state) as being socially inclusive of them to a large extent. This was especially so in the social and cultural sense. As will be explained in the findings, former Mozambican refugees were given a place to live in South Africa by the Gazankulu homeland and the Swazi speaking homelands of KaNwane government because they were Shangaan speaking people or because they have a common sense of common origin. State acceptance is indicated by the immigration amnesties by the post Apartheid government which some of the former refugees took advantage of and have since acquired permanent residence status and subsequently citizenship. On the other hand, there is a possibility that the former refugees experienced social exclusion in South Africa as a result of experience of exclusion norms such as labour deportation, 'bad' practices, corruption and so forth. The former refugees can be said to have experienced social exclusion in their country of origin by the fact that they experienced war and had to flee their 'home' for safety.

3.5. Theoretical Framework

I am aware that there are as many factors that impact on national identity formation among immigrants and refugees and that there are as many ways of measuring identity as there are students in the field. Among the factors that impact on national identity formation among refugees are; sharing the same culture, language and history with host; length of stay in the country of

asylum; options of return to home country; political group mobilisation and many more. The focus of this study is on the relationship between legal status and national identity, because the length of stay, shared ethnicity with host population, and language are constant for all former Mozambican refugees in Bushbuckridge. Additionally, there has been no political mobilisation for return among the Mozambican refugees in South Africa from the time the government promoted a voluntary repatriation. Even though shared ethnicity with the host population is constant, it will be used to understand how people feel about sharing the same ethnicity.

Therefore, what varies among the former Mozambican refugees in Bushbuckridge is legal status (citizenship, permanent residence, and undocumented). As earlier stated, the integration of all the inhabitants of a territory into a political or national state, and their political equality has its roots in the institution of citizenship, in which citizens are included and non citizens are excluded. In the case of immigrants and refugees, citizenship confers and civil status civil rights that can not be upheld when a person is unable to live or return to their country**.** At the same time, local integration is one of the three durable solutions for refugees, particularly for those in protracted situations (see UNHCR 2004). Crisp (2004) argues that the process of local integration becomes a durable solution only at the point when a refugee becomes a citizen of his or her asylum country. This universal principal is challenged by the practice in which citizenship has always been bound to the status of being a national, which is also associated with the notion of belonging to the territory of the state and having a common culture and ethnic background. As earlier indicated, most of the time resettled refugees and immigrants are thereby excluded as being

nationals and are often thought of as people who want identity documents because of the need to have access to goods and services.

I now come back to my discussion on elements of national identity, that is, equality before the law, a common sense of shared history and future, a sense of belonging or doing things together and ethnicity that is evident in South Africa, which I had promised to revisit in this section. These will be used as indicators to measure national identity. To describe reality in South Africa or Mozambique, I adopted some measurement indicators by almagating the civic and the ethnic nation approach. This is because while the definition of a nation is seen to be problematic in it's strictest and Eurocentric sense and non Eurocentric sense if applied on the definition's individual basis. A combination of the two approaches seems to be describing reality in the two countries especially South Africa.

On the one hand, I adopted most of the indicators from the civic model of a nation, Miller's (2000) in particular, because it is more relevant to my case study. The reason why I choose more indicators from the civic model is that, at national level, South African can be said to be building what I call a 'post Apartheid territorial or civic nation' which I equate to post independence territorial nationalism. According to Smith, territorial nationalism of a post independence nature is based on the civic model of a nation '…which tries to bring together often disparate ethnic populations and integrate them into a new political community replacing the old political state' (Smith in Ozkirimli 2000, p.182). In my case, I argue that at national level, South Africa is trying to build a territorial or civic model of a nation by trying to integrate the different ethnic and racial groups replacing the old Apartheid system of governance and state.

On the other hand, the ethnic approach was used to describe reality of the case study at the community or local level because of the strong ethnic and strong historic ties between the host population and the former refugees. This has will be clearly explored in the discussion of the findings when I talk about the arrival and settlement of the former refugees.

Therefore, for the purpose of the present study, an individual will be described as identifying with a either South Africa or Mozambique by means of the following indicators or measures:

I. Identity to a particular country will be described by measuring 'belief that nation exists', that is, if the former refugees do not have a problem identifying with a particular state- either South Africa or Mozambique. In other words national identity will be measured by analysing how the former refugees think of themselves or how they define themselves. I will assess whether they think of themselves as South Africans or Mozambicans or simply Shangaan. The identity of the former refugees will also be assessed by analysing how they are described and thought of by others, especially the host South African people with whom they are living with, and by the state and in relationship to the state laws and policies.

II. The second national identity indicator will be to check if the former refugees have an 'active identity', that is, if they do things together with host South Africans both at local and national level. This includes supporting South African national sports teams, taking part in national elections, being able to make sacrifices to defend the interests of their national group, that is either South Africa or Mozambique and are aware of and respect important national symbols and ceremonies.

III. The respondents will also be considered as identifying with a national group if they have a common sense of shared history and future and or a homeland.

IV. Legal political equality will also be used an indicator of national identity. This will be done be looking at the whether the former refugees have the same legal rights as South Africans.

V. Since South Africa is a multi cultural and multi ethnic country (multi 'nation'), it means that its people do not have common ancestors as a country and therefore can not be an 'ethnic nation'. However, since South African Shangaans and Mozambicans Shangaans share common ancestors it means that the former Mozambican refugees are part of the Shangaan 'nation'. The relation between Shangaan 'nation' and the South African and Mozambican state will also be analysed to describe reality.

CHAPTER III

3.0. METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

3.1 . Introduction

This chapter explores the methodological approaches that were used in his study and how they enhanced the validity and reliability of the research report. The chapter examines the identification of the study population, translating questionnaires, sampling and issues that arose during data collection.

As every researcher probably knows, it is not easy to study migrants, especially when they are illegally in a host country and have no identity documents. This can also be true in the case of former Mozambican refugees in the village where I conducted my research because even though a good number have identity documents, there are pockets of some former refugees who are without identity documents. When asked about their origins, generally many foreign Africans in South Africa do their best to fake their nationality and other details pertaining to their identity. They present themselves as citizens, even when it is evident that they are foreigners. And, in many cases, as researchers we often have no option, but to accept their right to choose their self-presentation. In this study the rights of self-presentation of the respondents were respected at all times. In my opinion, I did not find a situation during the course of my interviews that fits the above description as there was a clear indication that former Mozambican refugees in Bushbuckridge did not feel any need to hide especially from its community members. This was apart from the undocumented who seemed reluctant to be approached at first. Many methodological issues also came up

when the study was being carried out, which includes absence of a sampling frame, gaining access to refugees and translating of questionnaires.

The chapter also describes clearly the steps carried out to enhance the validity and reliability of the data collected. In fact, the true question for both quantitative and qualitative research is to make explicit the way the data is collected, to make explicit the way the data is interpreted, which means to make explicit the limits of the data and the limits of the analyses that are produced from this data.

3.2. Research Methods

This study used qualitative research methods. This is because it involved exploring social issues such as attitudes and emotions. In this case, I was measuring levels of attachment of former Mozambican refugees in South Africa either to their country of origin or the host country. This was a case study. A case study involves the observation of a single group at one point in time, usually subsequent to some event that allegedly produced the change (Nachmias & Nachmias 1976, p.42). In the case of my study there has been a changing legal framework for former Mozambican refugees from the time they arrived and settled in South Africa. Using the case of a village of former Mozambican refugees and their local host population in Bushbuckridge, South Africa, primary sources of data were utilized to gather information for the study about their identity and legal status. According to De Vaus (2001), the task of the case study researcher is fundamentally theoretical. Collecting and analysing information must be guided by theory (Ibid). In this instance, the theoretical premise that even in pluralist societies, formal citizenship is attached to particular kinds of group identities to which

immigrants and refugees can aspire and acquire, is the basis of the research report.

3.3. Selection of the Case Study

My case study was a village in Bushbuckridge, South Africa in the Limpopo Province. The population of this study comprised former Mozambican refugees and South Africans living in that village. In order to select the case study population, I had to go into the field in order to get a clear picture of the geographical area of the village where I conducted interviews. I noticed that the village where the majority of former Mozambican refugees where living was in-between two sections of local host South Africans. The homesteads of the former refugees were not well planned and the whole village did not have well defined roads. It was difficult to ascertain the study population because I did not use official census data, but even official census data does not capture documentation status of the people enumerated like the population counts by the Induna[4]. This was even complicated by the fact that since part of the study population was undocumented, it would difficult to capture them by any system of enumeration.

I decided to focus the study by concentrating on one case study mainly due to limitation in time and financial resources. Limiting the number of case studies reduced cost by reducing the number of days spent in the field by both the interpreter and me. However this meant that I would not be able to generalise my findings to all former Mozambican refugees in Bushbuckridge. According to Nkhata (1993, p.72):

[4] This is a local term for village headman. The Induna for former refugees was elected by the former Mozambican refugees themselves.

> …a study of a relative large number of units is most likely to produce generalisation than one dealing with a single unit. The single unit may be exceptional rather than representative of a category of the phenomenon.

Despite this fact, I believe that there are no major peculiarities about my case study village compared with many similar villages around Bushbuckridge district (see Polzer 2005). However, I can only confidently speak of the findings in the village where I conducted the interviews.

The major reason that influenced the choice of my case study is because of their historic background vis-à-vis the changing legal status of the former refugees from the time they settled in the village where I conducted research.

3.4. Sampling

Locating Refugee Interviewees

I collected interviews from late October to mid November 2005. Even though I could easily locate most of the individual households of the former refugees for the purpose of sampling, the following problems were encountered and therefore affected my sampling strategy.

Firstly, the location for former Mozambican refugees was not a well planned settlement making it difficult for me to carry out a proper random sampling. The part of the village where the former refugees live had no well defined roads and there were more than one house on one plot. I came to learn later on that these plots were not officially demarcated. Limitation with time and resources did not allow me to do my own mapping.

Secondly, because it was time for ploughing fields, most of the households for former Mozambican refugees were ‘deserted’ at the time when I was collecting data for this study. It therefore proved quite difficult to locate all

the respondents during the day though it was not impossible. One option was to make appointments to conduct interviews during the evening. Given the limited resources and the fact that the respondents do not have electricity in their homes, this optioned was also not going to help out the situation.

Thirdly, it was difficulty to locate those without any legal status because they were comparatively (to those with permanent residence status) fewer and therefore it was time consuming for an outsider like me to randomly locate them in a fairly large village like theirs. Similarly, since the number of those that have acquired citizenship was comparatively few in this village, it would have proved futile to identify these using random methods.

And lastly, in the absence of a complete and accurate sampling frame, one of the prerequisites of probability random sampling, it was necessary to adopt alternative strategies for locating a sample of respondents. Therefore, the following strategy as identified by Lee and Sudman as cited in Bloch (1999), to gain access to 'hidden'[5] groups, in this case former Mozambican refugees with different types of legal status in South Africa; snowball or network sampling was used to locate respondents. In snowball sampling, respondents are identified through referrals among people who share the same characteristics. Bienarcki and Waldorf (1981) in Bloch (1999) say that this type of sampling is used to locate respondents when the target group is rare and the research is sensitive. In this case, my research was sensitive in that it involved talking to people about their identity and also the fact that some of the respondents were undocumented and therefore illegally in the country. I identified respondents through referrals among people who share the same documentation status, that is, undocumented, citizens or permanent

[5] The undocumented and citizens were 'hidden' in the sense that they were comparatively few in a fairly large village and therefore it was going to be time consuming to locate those using random methods. This was unlike the permanent residents.

residents. These were first identified with the help of interpreter and the Induna for the former refugees.

Snowball sampling has its own disadvantages.

> If the sample is small the possibility of interviewing persons with one friendship network of the population seems larger. As the sample size grows however, other networks will probably be interviewed, although the problem of isolated members remains (Welch 1975, p.23 in Bloch 1999).

In order to get a wider and more extensive coverage of the study population, many starting points for the chain were used. With the help of the interpreter (who lived in the same village) and the Induna for the former refugees, respondents were identified who in turn helped in identifying other respondents. Identifying the documented refugees with the help of an interpreter was easier as compared to identifying the undocumented. We only managed to talk to the undocumented after the intervention of the Induna. The few that we managed to locate were reluctant to talk before the Induna intervened. It seemed to me that this was because I had not gained their trust yet being an outsider. Because of the fact that undocumented respondents were mostly identified with the help of the Induna, I realised that most of them became eager to be interviewed. This may have been because an 'authority', Induna had asked them to talk to me and therefore they could trust me to a certain extent. Another possibility as to why they all of sudden became ready to talk to me was because they thought that I could help them with acquiring South African identity document. Of course this meant that some biases might have been introduced in the sample in that the respondent gave responses depending on their circumstances and therefore the information that I was given may not reflect the actual situation that is prevailing in the village. However, I trust the data was collected because the

interaction between the researcher, the interpreter and the respondents appeared genuine.

The Study Sample and Sampling Procedures

This study used a non-probability type of sampling- quota sampling. According to Nkhata (1993), non probability sampling has the advantage of convenience and economy. He also argues that this type of sampling is appropriate when the sampling frame is unavailable. The disadvantage of this method is that it is not possible to know if the sample is representative of the population. I had to find respondents who fit into certain pre specified categories that are deemed to represent the theoretical characteristics of the population of former Mozambican refugees in Bushbuckridge.

The quota devised for this research set out to ensure distribution of the study sample by relevant key demographic and theoretical variables. The quota variables were age, gender and legal status (documentation status). I collected primary data from twenty interviews with former Mozambican refugees, South Africans and key informants over a period of twelve working days using in depth face to face interviews. This was after I did a pilot of the questionnaire on my interpreter. The break down of the sample was as follows: five former Mozambican refugees who had acquired citizenship; five former Mozambican refugees who had acquired permanent residence status; five former Mozambican refugees who did not have any documents that gave them a legal status in South Africa; and five key informants who included the Induna for Mozambicans, a representative of the Community Development Forum[6] (South African), two South African

[6] An interview with the Community Development was very important because they are a very important community structure through which services are channeled to the community or village.

nationals from the same village (who were Sotho speaking)[7], and the interpreter. Every effort was made to have equal representation of men and women in the sample. In this regard, of the fifteen former Mozambican refugees interviewed, eight were male and seven were female. The break down by gender of the sample was as follows; citizens (two females & three males); and permanent residents (two females & three males), and undocumented (three females & two males). I excluded people who were children in 1985 from the sample because I wanted everyone to have an adult memory and experiences during the refugee and settlement period and those who have an active memory of applying for legal status. Therefore, all of the informants were between the ages of Age 36 and 71 years (elderly sample). My findings therefore do not apply to former Mozambican refugees who have grown up in the host country from childhood, but will refer to changing national identity in adulthood.

3.5. Methods of Data Gathering and Research Instrument(s)

Recruitment and Training of the Interpreter

I collected data myself using a qualitative approach, that is, in-depth face to face interviews. I also made observations and took down notes on the participants and their surroundings.This was done with the help of an interpreter. The role of the interpreter was wider and was more crucial than just making interpretations. In addition to interpreting, the interpreter also acted as a key informant about the target group and helped negotiate access to the community.

[7] It was necessary to interview the members of the community with who the former refugees are living with to hear the views of the host population. It was particularly relevant to interview Sotho speaking community members because initially they did not welcome the former refugees from Mozambique.

Since I did not understand the local language, I involved the services of an interpreter. One interpreter was recruited from the same village where interviews were conducted. This was done with the help of the Induna for former Mozambican refugees. Although I had requested him to identify about five people to enable me to interview and pick one for the purpose of interpreting, only one showed up. He however proved to be competent enough and was fluent and literate in both English and the community languages[8]. He was also knowledgeable on issues that were affecting former Mozambican refugees in the community. The interpreter was not related to the current Induna in any way, but his family was part of the first cohort that came to South Africa in the company of the Induna.

Before the fieldwork commenced we went through the questionnaire with the interpreter and some of his views especially concerning how to approach the respondents were taken into consideration. I also gathered data through the comments that the interpreter made on the interviews conducted such as how some former refugees managed to acquire citizenship using underhand methods. Infact the interpreter was very instrumental in making me become aware of the different identity documents that I came across for the first time. He showed me the difference between permanent residence documents and citizenship documents. The interpreter also accompanied me to get permission for conducting the interviews from the local traditional representative of the community and the Community Development Forum. He was also instrumental in painting a clear picture of the geographical location of the respondents.

[8] Interpreter was a former Mozambican refugee who had completed secondary school education. He was also able to speak Shangaan, Sotho, Xhosa, and Zulu

Even though I trust my data, I was aware of the possible biases that may have been introduced by the interpreter by way of misinterpreting data which I may have taken as gospel truth. Instead of getting information using the interpreter, I would have gotten more information from the respondents themselves if I was able to communicate directly with them. There was very little I could do in this case, however, I emphasised to the interpreter to tell me exactly what the respondents told him.

The Questionnaire, Translation and Data Collection

The questionnaire was semi structured[9]. I formulated the questions for interviews and I also adopted part of the Wits Citizenship and Boundaries Initiative research project questionnaire in advance. The interviews took the form of a conversation with the respondent and questions were asked in the same order for all respondents. In some cases, I also asked follow on questions of some issues which needed further explanations. Each interview took about one hour and fifteen minutes to complete. Semi-structured questionnaires enabled me to collect more descriptive data and diverse responses, more so, especially on the question of 'identity', at the same remaining focused on the topic at hand.

I conducted about two face to face interviews each morning and did the transcription in the afternoon. Respondents were interviewed either at their homes or the Induna's house but no other respondent was in a position to hear what we discussed with individual respondents. I however, acknowledge that since I carried out some interviews with the Induna's involvement systematic biases in the respondents answers may have been

[9] See Appendix. Semi structured questionnaires enables respondents to keep within the topic being investigated but at the same time allows participants to be conversational enough to introduce and discuss relevant issues (see Nkhata 1993).

introduced since the respondents could have been from one family and had similar experiences. Additionally, there is a possibility that respondent did not want to say certain things in front of the Induna even though he was not in a position to hear.

Data Collected

Data collected to measure the independent variable and the dependent variable included name, age, sex, current legal status, legal status history, what respondents think about the process of acquiring legal status, movements in and out of Mozambique (all trips since birth)- purpose and number of trips to Mozambique since moving to South Africa, and questions that relate to 'identity'.

Originally, it was envisaged that the interviews would be recorded and transcribed later. Although this would have been ideal, due to limited resources which included time, translation of the data was done during the interview. I found it advantageous to interpret and transcribe the data the same day because our memory of responses given by the respondents was still fresh then.

Possible biases my have been introduced since I considered as a true reflection what the interpreter translated to the respondents and to me considering the fact that many of my operative concepts such as 'identity' do not have easy equivalent in many languages. It would have been ideal for me to have translated the questionnaire into the local language and then back translate it into English to achieve linguistic equivalence (Jacobsen and Landau 2003). However, I would like to restate that interpreter was asked to translate exactly what he was told by the respondent where possible.

Additionally, since I adopted most of my questions from the Citizenship and Boundaries Initiative, I want to believe that this problem has already by taken care of.

3.6. Type of Data Analysis

Thematic content analysis is a method of analysis used in qualitative research in which text (notes) are systematically examined by identifying and grouping themes, classifying and developing categories (Nachmias & Nachmias 1976). In this case thematic content analysis technique was used to analyse the raw data from respondents. At the onset of the study, it was hypothesized that former Mozambican refugees who acquired citizenship rather than only permanent residence, did so at least partly because they identify with South Africa, and not only to access rights and services. The hypothesis was then tested by giving operational definitions to the words legal status and national identity, in terms of what respondents actually said and did in response to the questions. In other words, after operationally defining legal status and national identity in these terms, responses from the respondents were checked to see if there was any answers that showed evidence to suggest that former Mozambican refugees with citizenship not only acquired legal status because they wanted to have access rights and services but also because they identify with South Africa.

3.7 . Constraints

As a social scientist, one must accept the fact he or she cannot have access to all the dimensions of social life in a study. In my own case, I have to accept that the data I collected from fieldwork is limited by a number of factors. As young male academic, I will probably never understand some dimensions of

the lives of Mozambican migrants in Bushbuckridge. Generally, I can say that the respondents were willing to talk to us especially so for those with permanent residence and citizenship status.

One of the short comings was that the system of sampling envisaged in the research proposal did not work out as planned because of reasons that have already been highlighted. Finding respondents systematically and scientifically proved to be very difficult and therefore a non scientific way was adopted during field work. Language or communication barrier was another of the difficulties I had in the field, but not a major one. My ignorance of South African languages, that is, I don't speak Shangaan, Zulu, Sotho and any other South African languages, meant I couldn't understand ordinary conversations on the streets. On the other hand, most of the people interviewed could not speak or read English and this made me engage the service of an interpreter. I am aware that the interpreter may have introduced systematic biases such as misinterpretation of data. I am also aware that I may have introduced biases myself considering that I am foreign to South Africa and Mozambique and because of the fact the fact that I was asking about identity which is a relatively sensitive subject and which is often defined in relation to the person being spoken to. Biases could have been introduced in the way the questionnaires where designed and at the same time respondents might have been giving me responses they thought I was looking for. My other concern was the short period in which I collected data. A study like this one would have been more reliable if I collected data over a considerable period of time in order to gain more trust and observe things as they happen rather than asking. While aiming at getting at the bottom of things in order to present an accurate and complete picture, of the topic under study, I tried by all means to reduce tension between me and the

respondents. I do not remember at any particular point when the respondent seemed aggrieved or irritated by my questions.

Not withstanding the shortcomings, however, the study collected valuable data from the village where I collected interviews, upon which further comprehensive investigation of the subject could be based.

3.8. Ethical Considerations

According to Jacobsen & Landau (2003, p.189):

> Research into vulnerable groups like refugees, some whom might be engaged in illegal or semi-legal activities, raise many ethical challenges. The political and legal marginality of refugees and IDPs means that they have few rights and they are vulnerable to arbitrary actions on the part of the state authorities…

Given the fact that this research topic had a lot to do with informant's identity and the identity documents and how they acquired them makes it delicate. This is because of the fact that some of the respondents may have acquired identity documents informally, which is illegal, or they did not have any legal documents to live in South Africa at all. Because of the above, interviews were conducted only after the approval the University of the Witwatersrand Ethics Committee for Human Subjects and the Department Forced Migration Studies Programme (this research project was nested in one of the FMSP's wider research project). This research adhered to the principle of informed consent and confidentiality;

Respondents were informed that 'I want to talk to you about your South African identity documents and how you feel about them'. Informed consent was also achieved by setting at least two meetings with the traditional leaders and the Community Development Forum, even though this does not mean consent from the respondents. The first meeting was for the purpose of

getting permission and to explain exactly what the research was all about and the second meeting was actually to get permission to start the field work. Consent from the respondents was obtained from individuals before conducting any interview, that is, I asked for permission from the individual respondents to interview them. I ensured that participation by respondents was done on a voluntary basis and I also advised them of the duration of the interview. Respondents were also told that they could choose not respond to certain question and that they were free to stop the interview if they so wished. Codes and not names were indicated on the questionnaires to ensure anonymity so as to avoid putting my respondents at risk.

Bloch (1999) and Jacobsen & Landau (2003) have argued that when conducting a survey, interviewers or interpreters are not supposed to be known to the respondents because this may affect the objectivity of the research process and therefore the validity of the research data collected. However, the fact that the interpreter was know to the community in this research, was seen as an advantage because he acted as a link between the researcher and community. In fact, is was observed that when the respondent introduced himself, through his father's name, respondents were much more willing to be interviewed probably because they knew that he was part of the community. Additionally, the study population was not a highly sectarian group and therefore employing the interpreter from the same community was not seen as too much of a problem.

I did promise to give feed back to the community through the Community Development Forum and the Induna for the former refugees after completion of the research report. At the end of the report all the raw data will be given to the Department of Forced Migration Studies Programme.

3.9 Conclusion

The research design set out to ensure that the different refugee experiences were captured through the use of a quota sampling. There are a number of lessons leaned from this case study.

Snowballing was an option to gaining access to the respondents in this study and will be to many. The questionnaire design was that it was translated on site. Although the methodology adopted in this research set out to ensure representatives of all the theoretical relevant groups of the study population, there still limitations with the methodology**.** It is not possible to make generalization from the sample to the population because non probability sampling techniques were used. Snowball sampling meant that some members of the community not in a certain network were excluded because they were hidden (in the explained terms). However, the use of quota sampling did enable the use of a representative sample of all the theoretically relevant groups. The methods described in this study set to maximize methodological rigor in order to increase the reliability and validity of the data and in turn provide a greater understanding of the relationship between legal status and national identity.

CHAPTER IV

4.0 . RESULTS, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Introduction

Chapter four will present the results of the research which will deal with three main things, that is, the results of the analysis and their interpretation and their discussion. These three parts will be presented at the same time. Much of the important information is discussed in the form of translated interviews and at the same time discussing the meaning of the data interpreted. The discussion details what the substantiation of the hypothesis means in terms of this research and why the hypothesis was supported or not.

This chapter of the report will be presented in three broad themes, that is, the arrival and settlement of former Mozambican refugees in South Africa, the process of acquiring identity documents and identity formation and the national identity of former Mozambican refugees in the village where I conducted interviews.

Using the case of former Mozambican refugees in Bushbuckridge, South Africa, this research report examines the relationship between legal status and national identity formation. It compares the narratives of former Mozambican refugees in South Africa who have acquired permanent residence and citizenship and those that are undocumented. In an attempt to explore the relationship between legal status and the national identity of former Mozambican refugees in Bushbuckridge, South Africa, the study reveals important insights about the former refugees and their identity. The findings presented are checked against the following theoretical framework

highlighted and the hypothesis of the study that 'former Mozambican refugees who acquired citizenship rather than only permanent residence, did so at least partly because they identify with South Africa, and not only to access rights and services'.

Because of the methods used, the findings of this study will only apply to the village were the data was collected.

4.2. The Arrival and Settlement of Former Mozambican Refugees in Bushbuckridge, South Africa.

Long before the movement of modern refugees into South Africa began, a regional pattern of pre-colonial, later inter colonial and now international migration existed. Similarly, history of the Shangaan people can be traced to Chief Soshangane (a famous Nguni military leader) and his followers during the violent creation and maintenance of the Gaza kingdom in the 19th century which resulted in the widespread resettlement of Tsonga (collectively called so by Portuguese settlers) speaking people across the Southern Africa region. Chief Soshangane's followers later came to be known as Machangana, some of who settled in present day South Africa (see Rodgers 2002; Niehaus 2002). Pre-colonial territories of these people were later cut in the late 1800's and early 1900's by colonial boundaries established by the British and Portuguese after the fall of the Gaza Empire. But Africans continued to travel back and forth in their ethnic territories. A strong migratory drift developed during this century as Africans escaped from colonial wars and labour practices, and as labour migration patterns evolved. Thus, migratory drift, normal social patterns of back and forth mobility, and labour migration routes connected many Mozambicans with their 'relatives'

who lived in South African border areas, and whose villages later provided both destination and welcome to many refugees who began arriving in the late 1980's (Rodgers 2002).

According to the data collected, Mozambican refugees started arriving in South Africa in the mid to late 1980's. All the respondents in this study indicated that they came to South Africa because they were fleeing civil war between the FRELIMO[10] ruling party and RENAMO[11] rebels in Mozambique which started in the 1970's immediately after independence and ended in 1992. According to Rodgers (2002), approximately 1.7m people fled from Mozambique to neighbouring countries like Malawi, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and the Republic of South Africa because of the war. Most of the respondents in this research indicated that they walked in groups composed of different families through Kruger National Park to Northern Province of South Africa now called Limpopo Province. While the majority of them said they arrived in poor physical and health conditions in South Africa, a good number of them died on the way because either they were eaten by wild animals or died because of other causes[12]. Although the exact number of former Mozambican refugees can not be estimated because they were not registered upon arrival, it was estimated that among these, about 260,000[13] remained in the country by the early 1990's after the 1996 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) organised voluntary repatriation.

These persons who remained in South Africa settled mainly (though not exclusively) in the former 'Homeland' areas of South Africa, along the rural

[10] Abbreviation for Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
[11] Abbreviation for Mozambican National Resistance
[12] Interview with a representative of the Community Development Forum
[13] Note that of the approximately 320,000 former Mozambican refugees who settled in South Africa by the end of the civil war in the early 1990's, 62,000 of them returned to Mozambique (see Dolan 1999 in Black and Khoser)

north east border area with Mozambique. According to Harmond-Tooke as quoted in Rodgers (2002, p.114), Homeland areas:

> ...were a product of the Apartheid government that paved the way for limited self governance of black people through the partial bureaucratic empowerment of chiefs and their tribal authorities over the ever congesting black Homeland areas.

When I was conducting this research in 2005/2006, about 14 years after the voluntary repatriation had taken place, the areas where former Mozambican refugees where given pieces of land to build their houses on in the village where I conducted interviews has become an extension of that village.

Kinship Ties

According to the interview I conducted with key informants, I was informed that former Mozambican refugees (FMR) were given a place to live on in South Africa by the Gazankulu[14] Homeland government because they were Shangaan speaking people and therefore were from the same origin. The Swazi speaking Homelands of KaNwane also welcomed most Shangaan speaking Mozambican refugees because of the same reason. I was also informed that the former refugees were received well by the Homeland governments because of the kinship ties by key informants. On the other hand, the Lebowa Homeland government did not welcome former Mozambican refugees since they were not Sotho speaking people. In Gazankulu and KaNgane, the children of the 'refugees' were admitted into school by the two Homeland governments' department of education.

During their stay in these areas, former Mozambican refugees remained undocumented until after the change of governments in 1994, because they were never granted formal refugee status by the Apartheid government. This

[14] In 1973, the Amashangana Territorial Authority became the Gazankulu Bantustan and the Lebowa Legislative Assembly was established (Niehaus 2002, p.567).

meant that the former refugees never benefited from formalised international protection and humanitarian assistance from the international community. (As earlier noted, this policy of confining refugees to homelands only indicates some of the most outstanding features of the immigration system in South Africa during the Apartheid (and colonial) era, which was characterised by a fragmentation and inequality of in-migration along racial and ethnic ties). However, I was informed by the key informants that in addition to the overwhelming welcome by the Homeland governments, non governmental organisations ensured that the refugees, most of them who arrived tired sick and were attended to. Among these organisations include the South African Council of Churches, the Catholic Church, and the International Federation of the Red Cross. With time, former Mozambican refugees (FMR) in Bushbuckridge were given temporary identity documents[15] as proof that the Homeland government had allowed them to live in that part of the country.

In 1993, as the winds of political change were blowing in South Africa, the governments of South Africa and Mozambique and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees retrospectively recognised these persons as refugees on a prima-facie basis, for the purposes of a UNHCR co-coordinated repatriation programme (Handmaker & Schneider 2002). Since the end of the repatriation in 1996, former Mozambicans refugees are no longer recognised as refugees in South Africa. The Mozambican voluntary repatriation was followed by three broad amnesties offered by the South African government through which Mozambican could apply for permanent residence status. The Induna and the representative from the Community

[15] Interview with the Key informants indicated that most of the former refugees misplaced these documents and as a result it has been very difficult for some to acquire legal status during the amnesties since they fail to prove that they are Mozambican refugees.

Development Forum informed me that many of the former Mozambican refugees applied for permanent residence status and a considerable number were granted that status and were issued with identity documents. Other applicants failed to get South African identity documents either because they failed to prove that they were refugees, or they were reluctant do so for a variety of reasons[16]. Others have since applied for, and acquired South African citizenship. Under the current circumstances, it is possible for former Mozambican refugees to apply and acquire permanence residence and subsequently citizenship status. The process is not however legally easy for former Mozambican refugees to make new application as compared to the periods when amnesties where being granted.

This section described briefly and broadly the historical context of the Shangaan speaking people and how they found themselves in Bushbuckridge, South Africa. This historical context provides an important background to the sections that follow. It also gives a brief overview of the process that shaped the meaning of territories for South Africa and Mozambique, that is, creation of the Gaza Empire which led to the creation of the Shangaan people's ethnic identity associated with Mozambique. Also important is colonialism, which led to disintegration of the empire and the subsequent movement of people across the Mozambican border, some of whom ended up in South Africa. As noted by Rodgers (2002), the Mozambique- South African border landscape reveals Mozambique as a place of origin for 'Machangana' people (including both South Africans and Mozambicans) and as a place of home or 'Kaya' for them. He also notes that refugees appeared to use history to negotiate and justify their settlement

[16] One respondent informed me that they did not apply because she did not have money to bribe officials

in the village and even self government under Gazankulu. This is opposed to global discourse on international refugee rights.

4.3. Identity Formation and Identity Documents for Former Mozambican Refugees

To asses the respondent's legal status and their views on how they feel about their documentation status; respondents were asked what type of identity documents they had; how they acquired the documents; why they wanted or want South African identity documents; what they thought about South African identity documents; and how they felt when they first acquired their identity documents. These questions were important in the analysis of the national identity formation, in that, formal recognition by state actors is very significant element in the process of 'national' identity formation. In other words, apart from being dependant on own experiences and perceptions, interaction with and in relation to members of the host groups and the role which elites play, construction of identities (which is open ended fluid and constantly changing) is also dependant on the state laws and official policies.

The South African Identity Document

The responsibility of issuing identity documents falls under the Department of Home Affairs which is also the representative of the government on refugee policy. Under the three broad amnesties, this department issued identity documents which conferred permanent residence status to former Mozambican refugees who applied for the status[17]. The former refugees who where conferred with permanent residence status are free to apply for

[17] It is important to note that not all applications were granted and most of those that were rejected still remained in the Republic of South Africa.

citizenship after five years of being a permanent resident. The other legal way of acquiring citizenship is through marriage to a South African national.

Asked on the importance of acquiring South African identity documents almost all the respondents interviewed, apart from one, indicated that it was important for them to have South African identity documents, citizenship in particular. This was especially for the purpose of accessing rights and services, especially jobs, pension funds, open bank accounts, and so forth, in South Africa. Respondent 015 who is a South African citizen indicated that: '…It is important to have the South African identity document because we can it them to get jobs and open bank accounts'. Undocumented respondent 012 had this to say: '…it is important. It is the key to everything; voting, going to the clinic, school for children and social grants'. Respondent 13 who is a South African citizen had this to say: '…I can use it anywhere the ID is needed; like searching for job'. The respondent who did not 'see' the importance of having a South African identity document explained that this was the case because despite the fact that he had acquired citizenship, he was still regarded as Mozambican by local South African nationals. Respondent 007 who is a South African citizen indicated that: '…I don't see any importance because even though I have their 'pass' they still say I am from Maputo'. Some undocumented respondents additionally indicated that since they do not have any kind of identity documentation, they were vulnerable and suffer the most as they can not access jobs, vote in national elections, attend government clinics and schools and access other rights and services and that they are at risk of being deported when they are discovered by authorities even though they do not want to return to Mozambique.

From the above analysis, it is evident that indeed former Mozambican refugees do want or wanted to acquire South African citizenship for the purpose of having access to rights and services from the South African state. The response by respondent 007 who is a South African citizen, however, seem to indirectly suggest that access to rights and services are not the only reasons why the former refugees want or wanted to acquire South African citizenship. Although this statement say that the respondent views obtaining a South African identity document (citizenship) as not being important, he goes on to explain that this is because he wants to be respected as a South African and not to be called a 'Mozambican'. Additionally, the same respondent described himself as being permanently a South African when asked if it is important to get South African identity documents? He indicated that 'It is important because I am now permanently a South African'. This clearly shows an internalised desire to identify with South Africa thereby supporting the hypothesis that 'former Mozambican refugees in the case study who acquired citizenship rather than only permanent residence, did so at least partly because they identify with South Africa, and not only to access rights and services'.

Asked on what they think about the process of acquiring identity documents and how they acquired current legal status? On the one hand, some of the respondents especially those who acquired identity documents during the amnesties informed me that they perceived the process of acquiring identity documents in South Africa to be unproblematic at all. Respondent 001 who is a South African permanent resident indicated that:

> …the method was good. I got it in 1994 while I was working for the mines in Johannesburg. Because I had worked for 10 years, I was eligible to apply for permanent residence.

Respondent 003, a permanent resident had this to say: 'I applied to Home Affairs when it was advertised that we could apply for identity documents in 1998. I got it in 2003'.

Respondent 014, a citizen informed me that:

> It is ok. You take steps in acquiring identity documents…I got a letter from the Chief and a letter from the school and then I went to Home Affairs with the required documents.

It was interesting to note that some of the undocumented perceived the process of acquiring South African identity documents as unproblematic even though they had never applied for any of the identity documents before. Respondent 012, who is undocumented indicated that: 'The process is good. Other do apply and they the get the document. I did not apply… I had no money to bribe officials'. Equally interesting was the response by undocumented respondents who had applied and were denied identity documents. Undocumented respondent 010 had this to say: 'The process is good. When one applies they give passes. Unfortunately I did not get mine even though I applied…I lost the duplicate of the application'.

On the other hand a fair number of respondents indicated that the process of acquiring identity documents was slow and difficulty. Respondent 008 who is undocumented said: 'The process is not good. It is very slow'. Respondent 013 with citizenship status informed me that: 'It is hard because sometimes you can apply and when you don't get it. Sometimes they ask about other supporting documents that are hard to find'.

Most respondents had applied for South African identity documents through the Department of Home Affairs. Some, especially those who have acquired

citizenship, had used informal methods: '…with money, it is easy to get citizenship using underhand methods'[18]. [1] I was informed by one of the key informants that people at times used their South African neighbour's or friend's identity documents to acquire citizenship especially if they share the same last name.

Despite the fact that circumventing the regulations to acquire South African citizenship may be considered as illegal, I view this as an informal and legitimate way in the sense that the government does not 'allow' the former refugees to acquire citizenship legally.

Although data collected indicate that views on the process of acquiring identity documents seemed to be ambivalent, my interpretation of this information relates in two ways to the process of national identity formation for the former refugees. Firstly, although initially former Mozambican refugees were not recognised and where not given any legal status by the Apartheid government, to a large extent, the post Apartheid state has not been a barrier in the process of issuing identity documents. A number of amnesties where granted to them for the purpose of regularising their stay in South Africa. This maybe one of reason for positive identity formation on the part of some of the former refugees in this village as will be discussed shortly. Since some of the respondents perceive the process of acquiring identity seem to be unproblematic, then, it means they feel that the South African government describes them as part of South Africans. Extension of Citizenship rights which is associated with a civic or territorial nation (see Smith as cited in Ozkirimi 2000) is an important aspect in identity formation in that, even though nation identity is based on other issues such as

[18] Comment by a key informant when asked how come some respondents have citizenship status when the amnesties were meant to give them permanent residence status.

ascription and description, it is also based on the laws and policies of the host state. Additionally, according to Barnes (2001) the respondent's subjective identification or attachment with and to the state is directly related to their experience of social inclusion or exclusion norms. Though the findings are not correlated with the different legal statuses, extension of citizenship rights has aided positive identity formation especially for the documented as will be shown by quotes from respondents 001 and 015 in the paragraph below which talks about how the former refugees felt when they first acquired South African identity documents. Since most of the respondents in the village where I did this research have acquired identity documents, it implies that they have developed a sense of being socially inclusive of South Africa.

The second aspect of my interpretation is that responses that indicate that the process is problematic seem to be saying something which should not be overlooked. In the same line of Barnes' (2001) reasoning as above, since some of these respondents are undocumented and their applications were rejected may have made some former refugees feel that the South African government has socially excluded them and therefore may have experienced a negative identity formation. Selected parts of transcripts of undocumented respondent 009 indicate the following:

> What do you think about the process of acquiring identity documents in South Africa? I don't see anything good about the process…I applied but my Identity document did not come out because of reasons that I do not know. What did they tell you? They just told me that it is not ready. When you speak of your 'home' (kaya), which place are you talking about? What makes that place your home? I am talking about Mozambique because that is I was born. Can you describe the Mozambican flag to me? What does it mean to you? I can describe it because it is a flag from home. It reminds me of home. Would you put yourself at risk to defend the following? Please explain why; South Africa as a country? No because I may end up in danger for nothing.

Additionally, corruption tends to have a negative effect on the refugee-state relation and therefore may have affected national identity formation in South Africa negatively for some undocumented former refugees.

When asked how they felt when they first acquired South African identity documents, almost all the respondents with South African identity documents said that they felt good or rather they were happy with that. Respondent 015 who is a citizen informed me that: 'I was very happy because I am now a citizen of this country. I am part of the people living in this country'. Respondent 001 who is a permanent resident informed me that: 'I felt good because I was no longer going to be arrested and be sent back to Mozambique'. This meant that they could now enjoy freedom and stopped hiding from authorities and they could also apply for jobs in South Africa. I noticed that one of the respondents with permanent residence status claimed not to have initially felt anything when she got her identity document. This was because she was not sure if she was going to be deported or not despite the fact that she had acquired permanent residence status. She did not trust the government then, and she believed that she would be deported back to Mozambique. However, at the time of the interview she confirmed that she was proud that she is a permanent resident of South Africa.

The above analysis clearly shows that fear of authorities is an important issue in national identity formation. However it seems to be ambivalent since at one point most of the respondents also say that they are treated well by government authorities. Additionally, the response from respondent 015, a citizen indicated that apart from wanting to have access to rights and

services, there is also an internalised attachment to being South African thereby supporting my hypothesis.

The reasons given by some of the respondents as to why they wanted to become South African citizens or permanent residents were that; they feel as part of the people living in South Africa; there is a better quality of life in South Africa compared with Mozambique; they have been living in South Africa for a long time; and that they wanted to have access to rights and services in South Africa. When asked why they acquired or wanted to acquire South African identity documents, some documented respondents indicated to me that it was because they have been living in south Africa for a long time, have no where else to go, and that there is better quality of life in South Africa in terms of goods and services provision. Respondent 001, a permanent resident indicated that: 'Because the conditions of living in South Africa are better than in Mozambique'. Similarly, even the undocumented respondents informed me that the reason why they want to acquire South African identity documents was because that they have been living in South Africa for long time, they do not have anywhere to go and that the quality of life in South Africa is better. Undocumented respondent 009 informed me that: 'Because I have been living in South Africa for long time and I don't have anywhere to go'.

This is another clear indication of wanting to have access to rights and services in South Africa. However, services seem not to be the only reason they want citizenship. They also feel South African. This is evidenced by the following quotes from the interviews I made. Asked on why they wanted to acquire identity documents; Respondent 006, a permanent resident indicated that: 'I feel I am part of the people living in South Africa and I don't see any

reason I should go back to Mozambique'. Respondent 005, a citizen indicated that: 'Because I am living here. My family and some of my children were born and have died and are buried here'. Respondent 007 who is a citizen had replied that: 'Because I don't have anywhere to go. Home is here'.

Since some respondents claim that they have no where to go and that they have been living in South Africa for a long time, it means their social space is South Africa. They identify with the country at the same time they feel like they belong to South Africa. And thus, this findings shows that former Mozambican refugees in my case study not only want identity documents to access services in South Africa, they also want to identify with South Africa. However, since some of the respondents, irrespective of their documentation status talk about identifying with South Africa, identity documentation status therefore does not seem to make a difference on how one feels.

When asked about the use of a South African citizenship document, some of the respondents informed me that they feel that acquiring a South African citizenship document is important because it is a very useful document for accessing either services or rights or both. Respondents who had acquired citizenship informed me that they felt that the South African identity document is useful in that it can be used to guarantee freedoms like; getting jobs, opening bank accounts, buying goods through hire purchase, and registering companies. Additionally, some respondents also informed me that citizenship is used to distinguish South Africans from non South Africans. Respondent 013 who is a citizen informed me that in his opinion

the use of a South African identity document or citizenship '…is to known who is a South African and who is a foreigner'.

On the contrary, most of the respondents with permanent residence status informed me that they felt that South African citizenship is not of any use. This is so because there is no difference in the way that the ones with citizenship and the ones with 'Mozambican' identity or permanent residence status are treated in the community by some members. It is interesting to note that people that have citizenship did not feel the same as those with permanent residence status. When asked the use of South African citizenship, respondent 006, who is a permanent resident, indicated that: 'I do not see any use. Even if I had a South African identity document (citizenship), people will call me a Mozambican'. The responses of the undocumented respondents concurred with those with citizenship status; they informed me that they felt that the South African identity document is very useful in that it can be used to access jobs, hospitals and it would protect them from the risk of being arrested and deported.

My interpretation is that there are two different levels of concerns here; firstly people are concerned with access to basic rights and services but once they have them through the acquisition of permanent residence, they are also demanding to be respected as full South Africans citizens. This is evident in the response of respondent 006 who is not satisfied with being described or called a Mozambican when he is a South African citizen, and the explicit response that 'citizenship is used to distinguish who is a South African from who is a foreigner' given by respondent 013 who is a citizen of South Africa. The latter statement seems to imply that respondents who have South

African identity documents feel that they are part of the country. In other words, citizenship in this case is also used to describe who is an 'insider' and who is and 'outsider' who is a national and who is not, more importantly so by the state. However, it is important to note that change in legal status does is not reflecting a change of national identity in this case because there is not correlation between legal status and identity.

This section showed that acquiring citizenship is important in identity formation of the refugees in the village where I conducted interviews in that, apart from being dependent on how they define themselves, national identity is also dependent on how they are defined by others, in this case by the state. They therefore, see how they are defined by state actors as very in important. As will be argued in the following section, the South African people lack the traditional marks of nations, that is, there is no common language, no common culture, no common religion, and no common 'race'. Neither is there a genealogical connection among the South African peoples. Yet, in the absence of any substantive commonality between South Africans, citizenship can be used to be the basis of the unity of South Africans.

The section has also shown that the South African state has not been a burrier to identity formation to large extent. Infact the state has attempted to build a civic model of a nation by extending permanent residence and subsequently citizenship to the former refugees. With the acquisition of a secure legal status, the former refugees are more likely to attach with the South African nation-state. However, it should be noted that change in legal status does not simply mean a change or adoption of a new national identity.

Overall, the section has therefore attempted to answer my hypothesis by showing that former Mozambican refugees not only acquire identity documents for the purpose of accessing rights and services, but thereafter, also want to be recognised as South Africans irrespective of their documentation status. However, there are pockets of some Mozambican refugees especially the undocumented who seem to have been negatively affected by state processes.

4.4. The Meaning of Belonging and the Relationship between 'Space' and 'Identity

This brings me to the last point I would like to address, that is, the meaning of 'belonging' for the former Mozambican migrants and the relationship between 'space' and 'identity'. The first task is to establish to which countries respondent's attachment is, that is, either country of origin or the country of settlement. The second task is to show how the experience of social inclusion and exclusion of former Mozambican refugees in any of the two countries affects their identity. Barnes (2001) research explains that her respondent's subjective identification with and attachment to countries of asylum or settlement was directly related to their experience of social inclusion or exclusion.

At the onset of the report, a combination of four indicators of the traditional marks of a 'nation' (both civic and ethnic) was set out in the literature review to measure the national identity of my case study. Among these indicators include; belief that a nation exists; active identity; shared history; and the role that ethnicity plays.[19] In this regard, to assess the respondent's

[19] Note that some of the indicators have been partly covered.

attachment to either South Africa or Mozambique, respondents were asked which place they consider to be 'kaya' or home. They were also asked if they did things together with South Africans as a community/ nation; this includes supporting South African teams, taking part in national elections, being able to make sacrifices to defend the interests of his or her national group, that is either South Africa or Mozambique, and are aware of and respect important national symbols and ceremonies. Questions on sense of shared common history were also important in explaining the identity of the former refugees in the village where this study was conducted. The study checked loyalty to South Africa against loyalty to Mozambique to assess their relative importance.

When asked about where home or 'Kaya' was and why they considered it so, the majority of the respondents seemed to ponder what it was for them. However, most especially the documented indicated that it was South Africa, because that was where they are living with their families. Even though they chose to identify with South Africa, they seemed to be taken aback when answering this question. Respondent 015, a citizen had this to say: '…eh'. Laughs and says '…it is South Africa…this where I am living'. On the contrary, some documented respondents pointed out that' home' or 'Kaya' for them was Mozambique because that is where they came from. Respondent 006 a permanent resident indicated that: 'Maputo…this is because it is where I come from. It is even indicated in my identity book'. All the respondents informed me that they would not hesitate to inform anyone that they were born in Mozambique. In comparison across the different statuses, it was interesting to note that the majority of the undocumented former Mozambican refugees indicated Mozambique as home or 'Kaya' because that is where they were born or that is where they

came from. At the same time a few of the undocumented respondents indicated that home or 'Kaya' was South Africa because that is where they are living at present.

Indeed, from the above, one can see that there is no clear correlation between people with different kinds of legal status and their feeling about being South African or Mozambican being there place of home or 'Kaya'.

One of the common markers of national identity which was set out in the literature review was to find out if the former refugees in the village where I conducted these interviews had an 'active identity', that is, if they do things together as a community or a country? In this regards respondents were asked to asses the meaning attached to national symbols both in South Africa and Mozambique.

In terms of the meanings attached to national symbols and ceremonies, data collected indicated that they meant a lot as they symbolised political freedom and democracy either in their country of resettlement or their country of origin or both to the former refugees in the village where this study was conducted. National symbols also remind them of the struggle for independence in either of the countries. Asked to describe South African and Mozambican national symbols and ceremonies, some documented respondents were aware of national symbols in both countries and attached positive meaning to South African national symbols. Other documented respondents were not aware of national symbols in South Africa, but were aware of some symbols in Mozambique and vice versa. Some documented respondents with citizenship status could not describe both South African and Mozambican national symbols and could not attach any meaning to them. The documented respondents who were aware of national symbols in

South Africa indicated that they represented or reminded them of freedom they are enjoying. Respondent 015, a citizen informed me that the 1994 elections reminded him of the time when they got freedom: 'Nelson Mandela took over. Black people were now able to rule'. Respondent 014 who is a citizen had this to say when asked if he can describe the South African flag and sing the South African national anthem and what they meant to him: 'Yes I can describe it'; 'It means it is a country of democracy'; 'A country of many colours'… 'Yes I can sing it'; 'It means the wish of the South African people has come true'. On the contrary those who remembered Mozambican symbols indicated that they reminded them of the civil war that devastated Mozambique. Respondent 014 a citizen indicated that: 'Yes I can sing the national anthem'; 'It reminds of the struggle for independence'. Mozambican national symbols are associated with war while those of the South Africa are associated with freedom by the former refugees in the village under study.

On the other hand, some of the respondents without any form of legal status in South Africa could not describe Mozambican nor South African national symbols. Others were aware of both national symbols of Mozambique and of South African and others were only aware of either the South African or Mozambican symbols. The majority of the undocumented respondents were aware of Mozambican national symbols. The one respondent who was aware of South African national symbols indicated that these symbols reminded her of the first black South Africa president Nelson Mandela and the freedom that is associated with him. When asked if he could sing the South African national anthem and what it meant to him, undocumented respondent 008 informed me that: 'I can only sing part of it. It is important. When there is a soccer match and we are singing, I feel part of the people'. On the other

hand, those who were aware of national symbols in Mozambique indicated that these symbols reminded them of 'home', that is Mozambique and the late president Samora Machel and the struggle for independence.

Though not correlated with legal status, the above analysis shows that symbols, where they are known, connect people into a shared history. This can be in terms of war or democracy as is the case with former Mozambican refugees where I conducted my research.

Attachment was also measured by asking respondents whether they would put their lives at risk for either South Africa or Mozambique. Respondents were seen to attach to either of the countries if they claimed that they would defend that country. Those that had split allegiances indicated that they would not defend either of the two countries or they would defend both countries. On the one hand, some documented respondents indicated to me that they would risk their lives for the sake of South Africa because they are now living in the country. Respondent 014 who is a citizen had this to say when asked if he can defend South Africa and Mozambique respectively in case of war: 'Yes I am a citizen and I have to defend my country'. … 'I wouldn't put my life at risk defending Mozambique, but I would support it. I won't be against the country'. Others informed me that they would risk their lives for the sake of Mozambique because it is where they came from. Respondent 015 who is a citizen of South Africa had this to say: 'I would fight for Mozambique. I was born there'. Interestingly, one of the documented respondents indicated that she could never risk her life for the sake of Mozambique because she was chased from that country. This is best interpreted using Barnes' (2001, p.400) whose theory claims that 'people

seem to be 'primed' for relinquishing their ties to their countries of origin if they have experienced pervasive exclusion as citizens'.

When asked if they would put their lives at risk for a Shangaan, a South African, and a Mozambican in their village, the majority of the respondents including the undocumented informed me that they would risk their lives for a Shangaan, a South African and a Mozambican in their village because they are part of that village or community. Respondent 014 who was a citizen had the following to say respectively: '…Yes, too much, I am a Shangaan' (when asked about defending a Shangaan), '…Yes they are Shangaan. If they are not against a Shangaan' (when asked about defending a South African), and …'Yes, if they are Shangaan' (when asked about defending a Mozambican). However, a few documented respondents indicated that they could never risk their lives for a South African in their village because some South Africans consider them as 'outsiders'. On the contrary, the majority of the undocumented would rather risk their lives for the sake of Mozambique and not South Africa because they came from the same country-Mozambique. All the undocumented also indicated that they would risk their lives for a Shangaan.

Indeed these findings point to two different types of identification, national identity and ethnic identity. There are those respondents who have indicated that they would risk their lives for the sake of South Africa or Mozambique or not any of the two 'nations' and these are not correlating to any type of legal status. As such, they are attached either to South Africa or Mozambique or are ambivalent. The other identity that is coming out here is that of ethnic identity rather than just national identity which almost all the respondents indicated that they were willing to defend. Although there is

very little variation in the level of general positive feeling which respondents had about South Africa, the majority of the respondents indicated that the felt attached to the Shangaan speaking community or village and therefore belong to this Shangaan 'nation' of their own, whose attachment is based on ethnicity rather than citizenship. On this basis, they have forged a relationship with the South African state on whose territory they are now living and are using shared ethnicity to negotiate to be included as citizens or members in South Africa.

Respondents were also asked questions on their voting behaviour and political participation. The majority the documented respondents in this study indicated that voting is an import right that they would want to exercise in South Africa. Only one respondent, with citizenship indicated that he would like to vote in Mozambique and not South Africa because he does not or has never seen the benefits of voting in South Africa. Respondent 007 who is a citizen informed me that:

> It is important to vote but the government does not consider us because we are living in rural areas. We don't have water and electricity. …yes, I would vote in Mozambique.

All of the undocumented respondents interviewed expressed their wish to vote in South African elections because they are now living in South Africa. Respondent 004 who is a permanent resident indicated to me that: 'It is important to vote, but I can't vote in South Africa. I would like to vote in South Africa because I am living here'.

Most of the respondents knew that Mozambicans living abroad can vote in Mozambique's national elections but they did not take part in the voting in these elections. According to the data collected, all the citizens indicated that they participate in voting in South African elections.

Asked how active they are in terms of political participation, almost all of the documented respondents did not show interest in active politics in either South Africa or in Mozambique. A few documented respondents indicated that they did follow politics in the two countries either because that is where they came from or because that is where they were living. One of the respondents indicated that he followed politics in both South Africa and Mozambique because he wanted to see which political party is more democratic and he also wanted to monitor the peace respectively. Most documented respondents do not follow politics in both countries because they are not interested in politics. Similarly, almost all the undocumented respondents indicated that they do not followed politics in Mozambique because they are no longer living in that country. At the same time, a few undocumented respondents follow politics in South Africa because that is where they are living now. Just like the documented migrants, some of them do not follow politics either in South Africa or in Mozambique because they are not interested in politics in either of the countries.

Despite the lack of active political interest among the people with whom I conducted interviews, political community, which is doing things together, is there. As Polzer (2005, p.16) clearly puts it:

> …it is equally clear that voting in South Africa was imbued with strong political meaning and social commitment to the country for others. It was a means of matching an existing political and social commitment to the country with a formal act of that commitment (voting) and a formal documentation of that commitment (ID).

Since former Mozambican refugees (irrespective of their documentation status) in the village where the study was conducted would like to vote in South Africa and not Mozambique- the act or desire to vote coupled with

formal documentation- does illustrate the attachment to the Republic of South Africa.

In summarising on the analysis of active identity, I would like to state that the findings of the study on whether former Mozambican refugees in the village where this study was conducted did not show a clear correlation between people with different kinds of legal status and their feelings about South Africa or Mozambique. This is coupled with the fact that there was general little positive feeling about the two countries. Rather than documentation status (citizenship), at community level, ethnicity seemed to be the unifying factor.

Integration, Xenophobia, Inclusion and Exclusion Norms

Some scholars have defined local integration as a process by which refugees increasingly participate in all levels of society and become full citizens (Crisp 2004; Jacobsen 2003). In an effort to establish the levels of integration of the former refugees and their involvement in community activities, the first step was to ask if they felt like they were part of the South African community. All the respondents indicated that they felt part of the community in the village where part the current study was conducted and a good number belong to community organisations in the village. Respondent 011 who is undocumented indicated to me that: 'Yes I feel part of the community and I belong to the ANC'. When asked what they thought about the community structures in their village, some respondents portrayed the Community Development Forum (CDF) and the water committee as being discriminatory especially with the provision of water and electricity. They however praised other community organisations like the School Governing Body as doing fine in the delivery of its services. Respondent 001 a

permanent resident informed me that: 'The structures are not representative because there are no Mozambicans on the committees. We Mozambicans are isolated and are not given piped water and electricity'. While respondent 005 a citizen informed me that:

> The school governing body and the CDF are going well. The water committee is not. But we are not being discriminated because we are in the middle of people that have been around for a long time.

Despite the fact that some segments of the former refugees felt discriminated by some community structures, both the documented and the undocumented were satisfied with the way the central South African government treats them**.** However, some respondents informed me that they were not happy with how some individuals in public offices in South Africans treat them. One person felt that the South African government treats them differently from the way they treat other tribes in that the Shangaan are not consulted when making decisions that affect them. Some respondents also informed me that there was lot of nepotism in black South African owned companies.

Further, most respondents with citizenship status informed me that they do not feel like hiding their identity from any one at any point. However, one respondent indicated that she does hide the fact that she came from Mozambique when she travels to Johannesburg. This is because even with right documents as longs one is a Mozambican, one is harassed by the police, who are view by society as generally corrupt. Indeed, foreigners are far more likely to be victims of crime or police harassment than South Africans (Landau 2004). Some undocumented respondents claim they feel discriminated in that they do not have South African identity documents and therefore are always hiding from authorities. Some respondents described South Africans as people they can trust and interact very well with them. I

found it interesting to hear from some undocumented respondent that they have never felt like hiding their identity at any point and the fact that they came from Mozambique given the fact they are undocumented and are considered illegal in South Africa. However, most of these explained that in their community or village, they never hide that they came from Mozambique, but they only hide this when they travel to big 'towns'. This confirms Polzer (2005, p.24) who notes that 'the desire for complete inclusion and equality can be seen as an instrumental strategy for greater invisibility….' In fact, they avoid going out of their community, especially to Johannesburg because they are harassed even if they have valid identity documents.

The above clearly indicates high levels of integration. Firstly, social-cultural integration of the former Mozambican refugees among its host population, despite the perceived discrimination by village structures, is evident in the above results. That is, there is clear interaction between refugees and local communities which has enabled the former refugees to live amongst the host population without major discrimination or exploitation and as contributors to their host communities. Even though discrimination of migrants is said to be high in all spheres of South African society, this seemed not to be the case in the findings of my study. Secondly, since 1994, a more supportive legal environment in which some refugees have acquired permanent residence or citizenship status has greatly accelerated and broadened the already well established economic integration process in Bushbuckridge. Thirdly, because of the favourable legal environment, the former refugees are less reliant on the humanitarian assistance and are self reliant to a large extent. However, there are still pockets of disadvantage in those settlements populated mainly by former refugees.

In the case of this study, discrimination, corruption and nepotism are seen as unusual in government and private offices by the respondents. However, here it seems to reflect badly on the individual rather than the institutions in general.

Culture and Identity

The Shangaan are first and foremost a cultural identity, speakers of a common language called Shangaan. They are found in South Africa and outside its borders, particularly in Mozambique. The Induna for Mozambicans in the section where I conducted the interviews had this to say when asked about how he views South Africans in his village and what it is to be Shangaan:

> South Africans are good people with whom we have lived well with. I would not like to categorise them as a separate group. They are one people with Mozambicans…to be Shangaan is to be born or to be related with Chief Soshangane who was a Zulu… I am a cousin of the Zulu people.

This relationship is also confirmed by Niehaus (2002) who did a research in the South African lowveld among the Shangaan speaking people that:

> …it was on the mines that Mozambican Migrants were first called Shangaans a term previously only to the subjects of Chief Soshangane, who fled from Southern Mozambique to Natal with the growth of the Zulu state in 1820's.

The majority of the respondents were aware of the cultural similarities because of the fact that the village where I conducted the study is a 'Shangaan' village where local Shangaan and Mozambican Shangaan practice are the same culture[20]. Only a small number of respondent claimed

[20] Note that there are also some Sotho speaking people in the village where this study was conducted.

that they were not aware of Mozambican culture which had been imported into South Africa. Scholars such as Niehaus (2002) notes that from the time the first Shangaan speaking people arrived in Bushbuckridge, most cultural practices in that area have become so blurred as they have become no longer marks of Basotho and Shangaan distinctiveness. A representative of the Community Development Forum who was there when former Mozambican refugees began arriving had this to say when asked about culture:

> When they came over, you could recognise them by communicating with them for a few minutes and there by condition but not now. Now the differences between us are not so obvious.

Never the less, I was able to pick up from the interviews a few cultural markers which were widely previously associated with Mozambique and also equally practiced by South African Shangaans such as Muchongolo traditional dance, divination and a slight difference in the Shangaan spoken in the village were I conducted my study.

Muchongolo: The majority of the respondents indicated that they were aware of Mozambican culture in South Africa. The most prominent culture practice that was coming out of the interviews is the practice of mukwaya or muchongolo traditional dance.

> Dances called dinaka, in which men and women dance separately in a circle around a drum, and the serokgo dances of women initiates are common identity of northern Sotho identity. In Bushbuckridge, the former dances are virtually unknown…Sotho dances have been eclipsed by muchongolo dance of the Shangaans (Niehaus 2002, p. 570).

In fact mukwaya or muchongolo traditional dance one of the cultural practices that most respondent indicated that they would want to maintain as part of their culture. Even though the majority of the respondents said they do not take part in the organisation of this traditional dance, many of them were serious fans.

Strong Mutti*[21]*: 'The settlement of Shangaans in the lowveld saw the advent of a new type of healer who was possessed by alien spirit' (Niehaus 2002, p.571). The above was also supported by the data that I collected from an interview with a Sotho South African respondent. When asked how she viewed former Mozambican refugees in her area, she indicated that: 'They are ok. The only problem is that they have strong mutti'. The Shangaan are perceived to posses both strong healing powers and evil powers (witchcraft) by South Africans and amongst themselves. In this respect, consulting traditional healers is the other cultural practices which marked Shangaan speaking people (Mozambique being the origin of the mutti) that some respondents would want to maintain while in South Africa. Respondent 006 had this to say: 'The part of the culture that is so important in my family that I would not like to change is consulting traditional healers'.

Knowing very well that the Shangaan culture was similar among the Mozambican Shangaan and South African Shangaan in the village where this research was done, when asked if it was important to maintain one's culture in foreign land, almost all the respondents maintained that they believe that it is important. A fair number of the respondents, especially the undocumented indicated that they have changed the way the speak Shangaan especially when they go Acornhoek for fear of being arrested authorities. At the same time, a good number insisted that they have not changed the way they speak Shangaan because Mozambican Shangaan and South African Shangaan is similar to a large extent. Respondent 006, a citizen had this to say when asked whether he changes the way he speak Shangaan: 'I do not change the way I speak although it is a little bit different from the way they speak in this village'.

[21] Strong 'powers' to heal with alien spirit

Almost all the respondents informed me that they would like their children to remember their parent's place of origin and history. However, most parents would want their children to be considered as South Africans. One respondent would actually want her child to be considered as both South African and Mozambican because the child was born in South Africa and the parent came from Mozambique. Another one would want her child to be considered as a Mozambican because her children were not born in South Africa.

There was a very interesting observation I made when I was conducting interviews with former Mozambican refugees; I noticed that there was a considerable number of people in the village who had buried their deceased relatives on their homesteads. This really puzzled me and made me wonder what it meant to them. I could not ask anything because I come from a background where talking about the dead is almost a taboo. However, it was interesting to note from Rodgers' (2002) research report conducted among a similar population, that there was a difference between Mozambicans and South Africans in terms of locations of graves. He explained that burying their deceased relatives on the homesteads gave graves a powerful potential to constitute effective permanent symbols of family belonging and clan ownership over a particular area.

In summarising the question of culture, I would like to state that my findings on culture and identity indeed concur with Rodgers' (2002) findings who did research in the same area several years ago. That is to say, even though the refugees were attached to South Africa in their identities, some practices had the effect of 'rooting' them in Mozambique in a cultural sense though not to

a very strong extent. The response to the questions on culture did not vary much according to legal status.

Transnational Links

I noticed an absence of movement between the former refugees in the village where this study was conducted and their place of origin (Mozambique) among the people that this study was conducted. Almost all the documented respondents informed me that they never visited Mozambique from the time that they fled that country, because they claim that either they do not have relatives who are still alive or they did not have valid documents to enable them travel. The majority actually would like to get passports, either South African or Mozambican just to enable them visit Mozambique for different reasons. Only two of the documented respondents indicated that they had once visited or otherwise been in contact with someone in Mozambique. Some of the respondents with citizenship status entertain the thought of going back to Mozambique for good but are limited by the fact that one is too old and the other lacks funds to sustain her life in Mozambique.

All the respondents with citizenship status and the undocumented would want to live in South Africa when they are old. Most respondents irrespective of there legal status have come to define South Africa and the village where I conducted this study as 'their space' because they have been in South Africa for a long time. Respondent 003 a permanent resident had this to say: 'I wouldn't want to go back to Mozambique because I am now a South African'; 'I will live here until am old'; 'I will die and be buried here'. Some of the former Mozambican refugees who have acquired citizenship entertain the thought of going back to Mozambique permanently. One complained that they are not allowed to collect fire wood and that they do

not have enough farming space in South Africa which, is not the case in Mozambique. Apart from the two who entertain going back home, all the respondents want to live in South Africa when they are old and that they want to be buried in South Africa when they die.

My findings on the absence of transnational links between the people where this research was conducted is in great contrast with Rodgers' (2002) finding which found transnational links of his case study in South Africa with relatives in Mozambique.

The South African and the Community Development Forum View

As earlier stated, when individuals acquire a new identity, whether 'local' or 'national', they do not simply decide to do likewise on their own. Acquiring a new identity also largely depends on whether members of the local host accept them and are able to live amongst or alongside them without discrimination or exploitation. In this regard, it was necessary to get the views of the local host South Africans, including leaders of community structures, on the subject matter.

On one hand, I interviewed a South African sample who comprised individuals that were living in the same village where I conducted interviews. I interviewed two female South African nationals who where born and raised in the same village. They were both Sotho speaking and were in their late 20's. While one respondent did not have problems with former Mozambican refuges in that village, the other one did not trust some of the former refugees. The respondents informed me that since they have been living in the same village with the former Mozambican refugees for along time, they consider them as 'family'. Both respondents claimed that

the majority of the former refugees were good people and that they have never mistreated any of them before. Respondents, however, did not hesitate to inform me that sometimes, former Mozambican refugees in that village are treated badly and are called names like 'mpoti' (derogative for Portuguese) by South African nationals especially at the time when they arrived. These respondents also informed me that they believed that the government and the community structures do not treat former Mozambican refugees in their village well. This was because unlike them, former Mozambican refugees did not have taped water and electricity in their houses. The respondents informed me that their relationship with the 'settlers' was good. They interact with many of them and some of them are friends and church mates. The only problem that the respondents found with the former refugees in the village was that they had strong 'muti' (witchcraft). Overall, they have accepted them and would want them to stay on. Some have intermarried. One of the respondents I interviewed was actually dating a former Mozambican refugee with a view to getting married.

On the other hand, I also conducted an interview with a representative of the Community Development Forum. The presentation of this interview is brief because most of the discussion has already been brought up during the course of data presentation and analysis. Firstly, the interview with the Community Development Forum was important in that it shed more light on the community where this study was conducted. Secondly, it helps with responding to some of the pertinent issues raised by former Mozambican refugee. Lastly, this interview also gave me a very good background of the case study.

The representative of the Community Development Forum informed me that they treat Mozambicans just like any other member of the community in the village. He pointed out that the only problem that they were encountering at the time of doing this interview is provision of some services and goods to the former Mozambican refugees because of problems beyond their control. The representative informed me that the homesteads for former Mozambican refugees are not officially demarcated and therefore the forum has not been able to deliver some of the services like water and electricity to their 'doorsteps'. Demarcation of their homestead has further been made difficult because the former refugees settled in an unplanned way. This key informant also informed me that the former refugees who had acquired citizenship had a choice to leave their homestead and take up a demarcated plot which has electricity and water provisions from the local government, but most are reluctant to do so. He also informed me that the children of undocumented former refugees were attending school and this was not a problem as suggested by some respondents. He explained that the only requirement for getting into schools was that the particulars of the child and the sponsor are known. The forum stressed the need for civic awareness to empower the community with knowledge. He stated that some former refugees who are undocumented do not want to make an effort to apply for South African identity documents by starting the process with the help the Induna who can certify that they are former refugees and that they have been living in that village.

The responses from the host population are a significant finding that the local people in the village view the former refugees as part of the community. This validates the form of national identity that requires that they are seen as part of the community.

4.5. Conclusion

This chapter brings out a number of revelations. Most of indicators of 'national' identity used in the study in the village where the current study was conducted support my hypothesis but this is not strongly related to their documentation status. It also revealed that although there is very little variation in the level of general positive feeling which respondents had about South Africa, the majority of the respondents indicated that the felt attached to the Shangaan speaking community or village and therefore belong to this Shangaan 'nation' of their own whose attachment is based on ethnicity.

This chapter described briefly and broadly the historical context of the creation of the Shangaan people's ethnic identity associated with Mozambique as a place of origin for the Shangaan speaking people.

Another important insight is that this chapter exposes is the fact that, overall, the current Africa National Congress Government has not been seen as a barrier in identity formation by the former refugees. However, some local officials and community structures have been perceived as barriers to national identity formation because they are viewed as discriminatory and corrupt.

Despite a high level of integration, this chapter also highlights traces of discrimination in the provision of services.

This chapter also shows that symbols, where they are known, connect former Mozambican refugees in the village where I conducted my research to a shared history in terms of war or democracy.

On culture, as Rodgers (2002) notes, the study reveals that even though the former refugees were physically in South Africa, some of the culture practices had the effect of 'rooting' them in Mozambique.

CHAPTER V

5.0. CONCLUSION

This chapter re-states the key issues discussed in each of the main points in the findings and provide a concluding statement that integrates the ideas presented. Overall, this research report explores the meaning of citizenship to long-term resident immigrants and refugees by examining a case study to explain the relationship between legal status and national identity formation. It compares the narratives of former Mozambican refugees in a village in Bushbuckridge, Limpopo Province, South Africa who are documented (permanent residence and citizenship) with those that are undocumented. The distinction between documented and undocumented former refugees allowed me to look at the relationship between legal status and national identity formation. Drawing from citizenship theory, variations in attachment to South Africa or Mozambique that emerged in the research data are analysed in terms of the refugees' experience of social inclusion and exclusion norms. Since the research used non-scientific methods, the findings of this study only apply to the village where this research report was conducted. However, there are few peculiarities with the surrounding villages.

At the beginning of the report in the theoretical framework, common makers of national identity such as belief that a nation exists; if there was an active identity of the respondents; if there was a common sense of shared history and future and or a 'Homeland'; if there was legal political equality; and how ethnicity helps in describing reality at community level were set out to measure the national identity of former Mozambican refugees. These common indicators have been found to confirm the hypothesis that, 'former

Mozambican refugees who acquired citizenship rather than only permanent residence did so, at least partly because they identify with South Africa, and not only to access rights and services'. It was proved that the former Mozambican refugees not only acquire South African citizenship for the purpose of accessing rights and services, but thereafter, they also demand to be recognised and respected as South Africans. The report goes beyond to show that desire to access services and rights and the need recognition and for being respected as South African cuts across legal status to incorporate the documented and the undocumented former refugees.

The other significant finding was that, overall, the state has not been seen as a barrier to national identity formation. The South African State has attempted to build a 'civic' model of a nation by extending permanent residence and subsequently citizenship to the former Mozambican refugees. With the acquisition of a secure legal status, the former refugees are more likely to attach with the South African nation-state. In this regard, this research report established that service provision is a very important element in identity formation. It should be noted that change in legal status does not simply mean a change or adoption of a new national identity.

Other key issues that were discussed in the findings of this research report include:

The report gives a brief overview of the process that shaped the meaning of territories for South Africa and Mozambique, that is, historic creation and disintegration of the Gaza Empire led to the creation of the Shangaan people's ethnic identity associated with Mozambique. As noted by Rodgers (2002), the Mozambique and South African border landscape reveals Mozambique as a place of origin for 'Machangana' people (including both

South Africans and Mozambicans), and as a place of home or 'Kaya' for them. He also notes that refugees appeared to use history to negotiate and justify their settlement in the village and even self government under Gazankulu.

Even though there is no clear correlation between people with different kinds of legal status and their feeling about South Africa or Mozambican being there place of home or 'Kaya', some of the former Mozambique refugees interviewed described and thought of themselves as South Africans. They are also thought of as part of the community by their host community, including the state, and therefore they can be said to identify with South Africa as a nation and Shangaan as an ethnic group.

The report also showed that at ethnic or local level, former Mozambican refugees in the village where I conducted interviews had an 'active identity' or a sense of common belonging. They supported the same sporting teams; those who are eligible to or do take part in national and local elections; they were willing to make sacrifices to defend the interests of the community. At national level, there was a generally low positive feeling about the two countries.

Despite the lack of active political interests among the former refugees, political community was evident. The act of the desire to vote in South Africa coupled with the desire for formal documentation illustrated the desire to attach to South Africa.

Even though I did not collect any specific data on legal political equality, I have come to a conclusion from the data collected that theoretically, there is legal political equality in the study where the this study was done, that is,

there is equality before the law in South Africa since the bill of rights in the South African Constitution guarantees entitlements to everyone within the state. However, the former refugees especially the permanent residents and the undocumented do not have equal chances of participation in their lived lives in South Africa as seen in the traces of discrimination.

Even though traces of discrimination were identified in the provision of services by local authorities and some members of the community, most respondents have however attained a level of social, economic and legal integration in the community where the research was conducted. Analysing this in the context of social inclusion and social exclusion norms, inclusion norms meant that some former refugees have been able to attach to South Africa as compared to Mozambique.

This research report also revealed that fear of authorities is an important element in identity formation among former Mozambican refugees where the study was done.

The findings of this research report on culture and identity indeed concur with Rodgers' (2002) findings who did research in the same area over 5 years ago. That is to say, even though the refugees were attached to South Africa in their identities, some practices had the effect of 'rooting' them in Mozambique in a cultural sense.

Absence of transnational links and movements across borders by the former Mozambican refugees in the village where I conducted interviews was also revealed by this study. Most respondents indicated that they would like to live in South Africa until they are old and be buried in South Africa when

they die. Although many would like to visit Mozambique, they have not considered returning back home permanently.

Lastly, I would want to end by saying that most government services in South Africa, as elsewhere, are not accessible without legal documentation of some kind. Most services such as social grants, voting (citizens only), employment opportunities, opening bank accounts, and so forth, are, however, accessible for both permanent residents and citizens. Indeed, those former Mozambican refugees in the case study that access these services are more likely to identify positively with South Africa. Therefore national identity formation and getting access to government services are closely connected in the sense that getting access to government services such as social grants may In act lead to loyalty and identification with the state. In other words access to services and identity formation are not really separate processes. There are, however, pockets of some Mozambican refugees especially the undocumented who seem to have been negatively affected by state processes.

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Questionnaire[22]

Respondent code:_____

Village:_____

Household sample number:_____

Duration of interview:_____

LEGAL STATUS AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

Brian Ng'andu: Primary Researcher

Greet respondent

My name is Brian Ng'andu. Thank you for agreeing to speak with us. I am a student pursuing a masters degree programme in Forced Migration Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits). In this research, I will be asking people in this village about their documentation status and how they feel about it.

I do not work for the government or any form of development agency. The purpose of this research is not to see who has an ID and who does not, and has nothing to do with the government. It is only intended to find out what it means to different people to have an ID or not. This is not a test or an examination and my questions do not have 'correct' or 'incorrect' answers. So please feel free to tell us what you really think and feel. Your responses will be kept confidential, so your name and the name of your village will never be associated with what you tell me. Records of this interview will not have your name. Also I will try to ensure that no-one else in this village hears what you tell me. This information will not be given to the government or the police. And please also remember, you should feel free not to answer questions or to stop the interview at any time.

I cannot offer you any compensation for speaking to me, the only thing I can offer you for your time is my thanks and appreciation and a copy of the final report next year.

The questions I would like to ask should take about one hour thirty minutes to complete. Are you willing to continue to be interviewed?

Yes □ No □

Before I proceed, I would like to find out if it is fine with you to have this interview recorded?

[22] A number of questions are borrowed from the wider Wits FMSP Citizenship and Boundaries Initiative

Yes □ No □

SECTION A. Background Information

1. Record respondent's sex. _____

2. What was your age on your last birthday?_____

3. When did you and the other members of the family first come to South Africa?

_____

Record year and any other information offered.

SECTION B. Undocumented/ Citizenship/ Permanent Residence Status

4. What type of identity document do you have?

_____

Record the current legal Status.

5. Do you think it is important to have a South African identity document? Please explain why is important to or not to have a South Africa identity document?

_____
_____

6. What do you think about the process of acquiring identity documents in South Africa?

_____
_____

7. How did you get your South African documents beginning with the first ID you obtained.

_____
_____

8. How did you first feel when you obtained your citizenship/ permanent resident of South Africa?

_____
_____

9. (If already citizen/ permanent resident ask) Why did you want to become a citizen/permanent resident of South Africa?

_____
_____

10. (If not citizen/permanent resident of South Africa ask) Do you want to become a citizen/ permanent resident of South Africa and why?

_____
_____

11. In your own opinion, what is the use of a South African identity document?

_____
_____

12. What is the difference between a citizen and a permanent resident?

_____
_____

13. Is it important to you to vote in government elections? If you could vote anywhere you wanted to, in which countries would you want to vote?

_____
_____

14. Is it important for you to vote in South Africa?

_____
_____

15. Do you know that Mozambicans living in other countries can now vote in Mozambique?

_____
_____

16. Would you want to have a Mozambican passport? Please explain why?

_____
_____

SECTION C. - Group/National Identity

17. When you speak of your 'home' (kaya), which place are you talking about? What makes that place your home?

_____
_____

18. If a stranger asks you where you were born or where you are from, what would you tell them?

_____
_____

19. What makes Mozambique different from other countries?

_____
_____

20. What makes South Africa different from other countries?

_____
_____

21. Can you describe the Mozambican flag to me? What does it mean to you?

_____
_____

22. Can you sing the Mozambican national anthem? What does it mean to you?

_____
_____

23. When does Mozambique celebrate its Independence Day? Do you organize any activities here in South Africa to celebrate it?

_____
_____

24. Can you describe the South African flag to me? What does it mean to you?

_____
_____

25. Can you sing the South African national anthem? What does it mean to you?

_____
_____

26. When does South Africa celebrate its Independence Day? Do you organize any activities here in South Africa to celebrate it?

_____
_____

27. What do you remember about the 1994 South African elections?

_____
_____

28. Would you put yourself at risk to defend the following? Please explain why.

I. South Africa as a country

_____
_____

II. Mozambique as a country

_____
_____

III. The Shangaan People

_____
_____

A South African in Welverdiend

_____
_____

IV. A Mozambican in Welverdiend

_____
_____

29. How often do you follow the political affairs in the countries listed below? Please explain why?

I. In Mozambique

_____
_____

II. In South Africa.

_____
_____

30. Do you feel that you are part of the Welverdiend community? If yes/no are you part of any association here?

_____
_____

31. How would you describe community structures or associations like the school governing body, CDF, water committee, etc that are in Welverdiend? Are they discriminatory or not? Please explain

_____
_____

32. Are there any cultural organizations from Mozambique here in South Africa? If yes, do you take part in their activities? If Yes or No, please explain why?

_____
_____

33. Have you ever been discriminated against before? Please explain.

_____
_____

34. In general, how would you describe South Africans?

_____
_____

I. Do you think you can trust them?

_____
_____

35. In general, how would you describe Mozambicans?

_____
_____

I. Do you think you can trust them?

_____
_____

36. I am told that the Shangaan spoken in Mozambique is slightly different from the one spoken in South Africa. Do you change how you speak when you are interacting with South Africans in this community?

_____
_____

37. Are there situations where you feel you need to hide that you come from Mozambique? Why hide your country of origin in those situations?

_____
_____

38. In your opinion, is it important for people to maintain their culture and customs even if they live in a place with a different culture?

_____
_____

39. In South Africa, have you ever changed some cultural practices in order to fit in the community?

_____
_____

40. What part of culture is so important in your family that you would want to keep and not want to give up?

_____
_____

41. What does it mean to be Shangaan?

_____
_____

42. Do you feel inferior to other ethnic groups/tribes or nationalities in the way government treat you?

_____
_____

43. Would like your children to remember their ethnic identity and heritage? Please explain why.

_____
_____

44. Do you want your children to think of themselves as South African or Mozambicans?

_____
_____

45. Are you in contact with anyone in Mozambique? If yes, how often are you in contact?

_____
_____

46. Have you or any of your current household members visited Mozambique since you arrived in South Africa? Please explain for what reason?

_____
_____

47. If yes to above, please tell me about purpose and number of trips you have made to Mozambique since moving to South Africa.

_____
_____

48. Would you want to return to Mozambique? Pleases explain why or why not? And under what conditions?

_____
_____

Tell respondent that; 'Remember that we are not the government or an organisation that will make anyone go back to Mozambique and we cannot help anyone, even if they want to go back'.

49. Do you want to live in South Africa when you are old?

_____
_____

50. Do you want to be buried in South Africa? (If no, why not?)

_____
_____

This is the end of my questions. Thank you for your time and cooperation. If you have any questions about this interview or its results, please feel free to ask me now.

Questions:

_____
_____

Questionnaire written and designed by Brian Mutale Ng'andu, with thanks to some questions written by Tara Polzer, University of the Witwatersrand, Forced Migration Studies Programme.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

CBI-	Citizenship and Boundaries Initiative
CDF-	Community Development Forum
FMR-	Former Mozambican Refugees
FRELIMO-	Front of National Liberation Movement
DHA-	Department of Home Affairs
ID-	Identity Document
KAYA-	'Home' or place of origin
MAPOTUGIZI-	Portuguese
MUTI-	Strong Healing or Witchcraft Power
NGOs-	Non Governmental Organizations
INDUNA-	Village Headman
RENAMO-	Movement of National Resistance
SADC-	Southern Africa Development Community
UNHCR-	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees