Figure 7: Border Crossing at KwaMshudu, 2002

Photograph by Hannie du Plessis

CHAPTER SIX

BORDER CROSSINGS IN A TRANSFORMING WORLD: MOVEMENT ACROSS THE MOZAMBIQUE/ SOUTH AFRICA BORDER SINCE 1994

> There has always been tension between the fixed, durable and inflexible requirements of national boundaries and the unstable, transient and flexible requirements of people. If the principle fiction of the nation-state is ethnic, racial, linguistic and cultural homogeneity, then borders always give lie to this construct
>
> Horsman and Marshall (1995)

In this chapter I argue that the borderlandscape is epitomized by the interplay between forces creating homogeneity across the border and forces creating differentiation at the border. As social contact between the two sides of the borderland increases, in the aftermath of war in Mozambique and Apartheid in South Africa, a landscape is created that is neither homogenous, nor neatly divided by the international border. Instead, the borderlandscape becomes an amalgamation of identities, languages and cultural forms, a transitional zone between one country and the other. In this landscape people have multiple identities and loyalties, which they play off against one another.

The discussion below is divided into three parts. First, I discuss the changes in the international relations between Mozambique and South Africa since 1994 and how those changes affected the milieu of the borderland. I look specifically at the policing of the southern Mozambique/ South Africa border. In the remaining two sections of this chapter I discuss current patterns of border crossings from South Africa to Mozambique and vice versa.

Borderlands initiatives: a new South African foreign policy

In 1994 elections were held in Mozambique and South Africa that dramatically changed relations of power within and between these states. In Mozambique the peace-process led to a general election in which FRELIMO won forty-four per cent of the general vote and RENAMO's thirty-eight per cent. In a direct ballot for presidency, Chissano won fifty-three per cent and Dhlakama, the leader of RENAMO, thirty-four per cent (Newitt 2002:224). In South Africa the ANC had won sixty-three per cent of the votes, the National Party twenty per cent and the Inkatha Freedom Party eleven per cent. The distribution gave the ANC a solid working majority in parliament, but it was short of the two-thirds majority that would have enabled the ANC to write the final constitution as it wished. Mozambique and South Africa were no longer opponents facing each other in a global struggle between communism and capitalism, or white supremacy and African liberation. Instead, they now viewed each other as partners in the future development of southern Africa.

On 13 March 1994 the southern Mozambique/ South Africa border was re-opened with the creation of the Kosi Bay/ Farazela border post. This border post symbolised a new era in foreign relations between South Africa and Mozambique. At the same time the electrified fence along the eastern South Africa/ Mozambique border, between the Kruger National Park and Swaziland, was changed from lethal to detect mode (Kruys 2001:131), symbolising a relaxation in the relations between South Africa and Mozambique.

In the mid-1990s the government of South Africa designed a Spatial Development Initiative (SDI) programme for the southern African region to 'foster regional development, economic cooperation and a regional economy that spans

international borders' (Peberdy & Crush 2001:115). These programmes are also called 'borderlands initiatives', with the principle that 'borders should shift from their traditional role as barriers and points of control to become "bridges" which facilitate the movement of goods and people' (Peberdy & Crush 2001:116).

As part of this programme, a Trilateral Ministerial Committee set up the Lubombo Spatial Development Initiative (LSDI) in 1997 to develop various national and international projects. The three countries involved in the LSDI are South Africa, Swaziland and Mozambique. The LSDI's area of operation covers the entire coastal strip from Maputo to Lake St. Lucia and from the Lubombo Mountains to the Indian Ocean (see Map 3). The primary goal of the LSDI is to make this area an international tourism destination from which local people must benefit. The LSDI was officially launched in May 1998 and its first major project is the construction of a tar road along the coastal strip to link Durban with Maputo (Jourdan 1998:722-723)[1], and the creation of the Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Area (De Villiers 1998).[2]

Political and economic integration between the states of southern Africa has also been strengthened by the New Plan for Economic Development (NEPAD), and by the creation of the African Union. Changes in the relations between South Africa and its neighbours after the end of Apartheid have led to a relaxation in the control of international borders and a general transformation of the milieu of the borderland. Whereas the South Africa/ Mozambique borderland milieu in the period between

[1] This road was completed in late 2002.

[2] According to the South African Ministry of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, the establishment of Transfrontier Conservation Areas or Peace Parks is 'part of a regional collaboration aimed at the eradication of political fences in the interest of responsible environmental management and conservation with high potential for tourism growth and development' (Kruys 2001:132). The Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Area will link the Tembe Elephant Park and the Ndumo Game Reserve in South Africa with the Maputo Elephant Reserve in Mozambique and with Swaziland's Hlane National Park and Mlawula and Ndzinda Game Reserves. It is believed that the Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Area will contribute to regional socio-economic development by creating tourism-related jobs for local people in the South Africa/ Mozambique/ Swaziland borderland region (De Villiers 1998).

1975 and 1994 can be described as *alienated*, with barriers to the movement of people and goods across the border and minimal contact along the borderline, in the period after 1994 it can be described as *co-existent* and, gradually, *integrated*, where barriers on the movement of people and goods across the borderline is lifted and contact along the borderline encouraged (Martinez 1994: 2-8).

Policing the border

In South Africa the leading institutions involved in border post control are the Department of Home Affairs, which control the entry and departure of people; A Customs and Excise division of the South African Revenue Services (SARS) which controls the import and export of goods; and the Border Police, responsible for policing South Africa's international borders. The South African Police Services (SAPS) also perform functions for Home Affairs with regards to immigration and for the SARS in the roles of Customs and Excise. The South African National Defence Force (SANDF) is responsible for border protection, which is defined as 'the protection of the international borders of the RSA against hostile attacks and actions' (Kruys 2001:125).

If barbed-wire fences, guard towers, tanks and heavily armed soldiers, as found along the Israel/ Palestinian border (Rabinowitz 1998), are symbols of the powers of states, then South Africa and Mozambique are either powerless states, or they do not see the need to display their power along the southern Mozambique/ South Africa border. The four-foot wire fence separating Mozambique and South Africa along the provincial border of KwaZulu-Natal is cut at regular intervals (see Figure 7) This fence looks very meagre in comparison with the NOREX electrical

fence that was constructed in 1984 along South Africa's eastern border with Mozambique and Swaziland, and South Africa's northern border with Zimbabwe (Hennop & Mclean 2001:71)

Figure 8: The southern Mozambique/ South Africa border fence, November 2002

Photograph by author

Despite the weak fence, the SANDF have prioritised the Mozambican and Zimbabwean borders as 'priority one' borders for controlling the influx of people and goods. South Africa's borders with Lesotho and Swaziland are classified as 'priority two', while the borders with Botswana and Namibia are 'priority three'. Borders classified as priority one and priority two are patrolled, whilst priority three borders are unprotected. By July 2002 less than 1, 000 soldiers patrolled South Africa's land borders (Kruys 2001: 122).

There is only one official border post along the southern border between Mozambique and South Africa, called Kosi Bay, Ponta do Ouro or Farazela. In South Africa, this crossing is classified as a 'B' border post because only two of the three

departments responsible for border post control are active there (Kruys 2001:130). On the South African side, the border post is staffed only by personnel of South African Police Service (SAPS) and Home Affairs. Customs and Excise is not present as this border post is not earmarked for the movement of commercial goods (Hennop & McLean 2001:71). Mozambican border police and immigration patrol the Mozambican side of the border. The SANDF describe the climate of the border post as 'moderate', on a scale 'ranging from normal to moderate to tense', because it is characterised by ongoing criminal activities and corruption.

On the South African side, there are only two police officers permanently stationed at the border post. They are sometimes temporarily supported by other detachments of police officers and by two police dog handlers: one trained to find explosives and the other to find drugs. Apart from being understaffed, the police at the border post are also ill-equipped. Due to this lack of personnel and a shortage of vehicles, the border police in northern KwaZulu-Natal tend to leave the actual patrolling of the borderline to the SANDF (Hennop & McLean 2001:79).

In contrast to the South African border post, which is a brick building, the Mozambican border post buildings are pre-fabricated temporary structures. Three immigration officers usually work on the Mozambican side. Their houses are within walking distance. Two of them are in charge of immigration, while the third officer is tasked with issuing third party insurance – compulsory to all vehicles entering Mozambique. Citizens of all countries visiting Mozambique have to obtain Visas prior to entering. Temporary Visas can be bought at the border post for between R160 and R180 (depending on the official on duty). With these 'gate-Visas' one can only travel as far as Salamanga (see Map 3), where another immigration control is

stationed. To travel to Maputo from the south one needs a Visa issued by the Mozambican Consulate in Pretoria or in Durban.

Much traffic passes through the official border post and traffickers who cross use at least sixty-seven alternative paths (Hennop & McLean 2001:79 and Kruys (2002:124). The SANDF identify Mbangweni, Muzi and KwaMshudu as the three major illegal crossing points in the area (see Map 4). Muzi, in particular, is seen as a major transit route for stolen vehicles, and for the smuggling of weapons and drugs.

SANDF soldiers are deployed in two sections along the border. One section of twenty men patrol the area between the border post and the sea, the other section patrols the larger area from the post to the Swazi border. However, Ezemvelo KwaZulu-Natal Wildlife is responsible for policing the borders of nature reserves that run along the country's borders (Hennop & McLean 2001:79). The only police officers on the Mozambican side of the fence are at the border post. The borderline is patrolled by the Mozambican military that have bases at Manhoca, Puza, Shobane and Catuane. The Mozambican soldiers tend to be stationary. Since my first visit to the area in 2000 I have never seen any Mozambican soldiers anywhere along the border fence except at the army bases.

Border crossings from South Africa to Mozambique

The dynamics of border crossings from South Africa to Mozambique can be best illuminated through an in-depth analysis of the Mbangweni and KwaMshudu border communities in South Africa (see Map 4). The forms of border crossings experienced in these places are largely due to their locality close to the international border. These

include weekly or monthly visits to friends and relatives and cross-border journeys to purchase food.

1. Crossings from Mbangweni. Mbangweni is sandwiched between the Ndumo Game Reserve in the west and the Tembe Elephant Park in the east (see Figure 2 and Map 4). With the creation of the Ndumo Game Reserve in 1924 residents of Mbangweni lost access to their agricultural lands on the alluvial soils of the Pongola floodplain and to fishing rights in the Pongola River. With the fencing of the Reserve in the 1950s and 1960s, 1, 200 people were forcibly removed from the floodplain (KZN Wildlife 1999:1). Since the creation of the reserve took away the resource base, local people have procured land for cultivation in Mozambique.

The SANDF describes the climate at the border of Mbangweni with Mozambique as 'normal', although it is identified as an occasional point for the smuggling of illegal immigrants, weapons and drugs. According to locals, there used to be an informal border crossing point at Mbangweni. At the main crossing point, a place called Mathekenjeni (see Figure 9); soldiers would inspect people's citizenship papers and allow those with the right identification to cross the international border. On the Mozambican side of the border is Shobane. There was also a soldiers' base at Shobane that would control the movement of people into and out of Mozambique. The people of Mbangweni have recently asked for the re-institution of a border post at Mathekenjeni to enable them to cross. According to SANDF officials, the request is still being considered.

Figure 9: The international border at Mbangweni, 2002

Photograph by author

The problems created by the absence of an official border crossing point are exacerbated by the rotation of SANDF battalions patrolling the borderline. When I started research in Mbangweni the SANDF had set up a camp at Mathekenjeni. According to informants, local people were allowed to cross the border if they paid the soldiers some money or goods. The soldiers demanded anything from R10 to a few fish or a bottle of beer. This SANDF battalion was stationed at Mbangweni for three months. When they left, there were no soldiers in the area for a good two weeks. During that time people freely crossed the border.

Then a new battalion arrived. On the day of their arrival, they halted all crossings, placing soldiers all along the borderline. The soldiers said that people are welcome to cross the border into Mozambique, but if they came back to South Africa, they would be arrested. An angry mob called chief (*induna*) Zigodi to the border post and demanded to be let through. Once tempers calmed down, the soldiers explained that all crossings at this point were illegal and that people should cross at the border

post at Farazela. The trip from Mbangweni to the border post is more than fifty kilometres, if it was possible for a person to travel along the no-man's land, which it is not. Furthermore, even if one could enter Mozambique at the border post, there are no direct roads that link the border post with Shobane. One would have to take a very long detour to travel from the border post to the area in Mozambique neighbouring Mbangweni (see Map 3). Driving in my own vehicle, this journey took me six hours to complete. The logistics of the situation make it ridiculous.

After long discussions the soldiers said that for two weeks from that day local people could cross the border to fetch all their belongings in Mozambique. Thereafter local people would have to obtain permission from the SANDF headquarters at Jozini, to cross the border. A month later, when I visited Mbangweni, people were still crossing, paying 'toll-fees' in crops, fish and money.

According to a census survey I conducted in Mbangweni, personal visits are the predominant method of communication between people and their relatives in Mozambique. Of eighty families with relatives in Mozambique, seventy-six per cent said that they visit their relatives. Twenty-four per cent explained that their Mozambican relatives visit them. These visits occurred at least once a month (see Table 2).

Apart from initiating and sustaining social ties, there are a wide range of other reasons why people in Mbangweni cross the international border. Though only thirty-four families in Mbangweni have relatives in Mozambique, ninety-five respondents to the census survey said that they cross the international border at least once every month.

Table 2: Frequency of visits by families in Mbangweni to relatives in Mozambique, September 2002

Frequency of visits	Number of households
Daily	2
Weekly	5
Monthly	20
Bi-annually	1
Annually	6
Total	34

Since there is no river or pan in Mbangweni, people who live there cross the international border daily to collect water, to cultivate agricultural fields and to fish in the Rio Maputo. The census shows that twenty-eight (twenty-nine per cent) of the ninety-five families who cross the border have cultivated fields (*amasimo*) in Mozambique. To obtain permission to cultivate in Mozambique a person first has to consult Zigodi Tembe, the headman of Mbangweni. He then writes up the person's name in a book. When Zigodi meets with the headman of Shobane, the area bordering Mbangweni in Mozambique, he asks that that person be given a plot of land for agriculture. There is thus no need for people in Mbangweni to have kin in Shobane to be given land for cultivation. Plots of land are awarded to South Africans on the western side of the Rio Maputo. This means that they have to cross the river each time they want to work in their fields. Informants explained that local people are awarded the ground on the eastern side of the river, because 'it is their place'.

Similar rules are in place for fishing across the border. A person from Mbangweni does not need to be related to someone in Shobane to be allowed to fish there. However, since people of Shobane make a living from selling fish at the border market, they only allow people from Mbangweni to fish if they pay money to the chief at Shobane. Even then, informants said, the people at Shobane are opposed to

them fishing there. For this reason, most people in Mbangweni buy fish from fishermen in Shobane. They may also be employed by fishermen in Shobane to fish for them, or to transport the fish to South Africa.

Unlike the procedures that have to be followed to cultivating or fishing in Mozambique, people from Mbangewni are allowed to collect as much water as they want from the Rio Maputo, having to worry only about crossing the international border.

Although there are no rivers or pans in Mbangweni and it is exceedingly difficult to make a living there, local people experience a sense of belonging to the place where their ancestors lived. People prefer to stay in the area and to cultivate crops across the international border, rather than to move to more well watered areas in the south.

Apart from the problems people experience with South African soldiers when they want to cross the border, people from Mbangweni are also harassed by Mozambican police when they fish or cultivate their fields. According to informants, the Mozambican police visit Shobane once every two months. If they find people from Mbangweni working in the fields or fishing they solicit bribes or threaten to chase them away and to take all their crops. People of Mbangweni face these uncertainties every day. Therefore, when soldiers announce that the border will be closed and all crossings stopped, as happened while I was conducting work in the area, it threatens the very livelihoods of the people of Mbangweni. If they are not allowed to cross the border they cannot collect water or the crops they have been cultivating.

People from Mbangweni also routinely cross the border to buy food (mostly maize) attend church, or even to attend adult education classes. The ‘president’ of the

Twelve Apostolic Church lives in Maputo and sometimes holds congregations in Catuane. The church draws attendants not only from Mbangweni, but also from areas further south in South Africa.

2. Crossings from KwaMshudu. Though KwaMshudu is also a borderland area, it differs from Mbangweni in many regards (see Figure 10). It is situated close to Manguzi, and there is regular transport from the Mozambican border to Manguzi, which makes it an attractive gateway for Mozambicans into South Africa (see Map 4). However, South African security forces also consider this location as one of the major points along the border for the transport of illegal immigrants, stolen vehicles and contraband.

Figure 10: The border at KwaMshudu, 2002

Photograph by author, 2002

Markets are held along the borderline at KwaMshudu on Wednesdays and Saturdays under close watch of the SAPS and SANDF. Soldiers and police officers

also regulate border crossings on these days, allowing only local people known to them to cross. On the other days of the week traffic of people and goods also pass at the same point where the market is held, since the only road linking the border with the main tar road to Manguzi leads to the market. Such border crossings usually occur at night.

The area in Mozambique bordering KwaMshudu is called Puza. In many regards Puza and KwaMshudu are the same place, although Puza falls under the authority of its own headman, Ngaleyane Tembe. The area is called Puza ('to drink', specifically alcohol) because of the many *ilala* palms (*Hyphaene coriceae*) in the area. The palm trees are tapped to produce a palm wine called *sura* in Portuguese, *ubusulu* in Tsonga and *injemane* in Zulu.[3] Because Puza is situated in a palm veld it is not ideally suited for agriculture. Therefore, the area is sparsely populated, with people constructing temporary houses to tap palm wine or to hunt wild animals, which are still relatively abundant in the area.

The majority of people at Puza speak both Zulu and Thonga at home. Portuguese and Shangaan are also widely spoken. Sixty-nine of the 100 people I interviewed at Puza viewed the area as their permanent home. It would seem that the area was completely depopulated during the Mozambican war. None of the people I interviewed had lived in Puza before 1996 and thirty-four had only lived there for the past five years. Both permanent and temporary residents of Puza made a living from tapping and selling palm wine and hunting game.

[3] It is also sometimes called *skokiaan* when extra sugar is added during the fermentation process to increase the alcohol content (Van Wyk and Gericke 2000:106).

Unlike in Mbangweni, many residents in KwaMshudu had relatives in Mozambique.[4] This is not surprising since a large majority of people in KwaMshudu originally came from Mozambique and settled there during the war. Most of the Mozambican relatives of the interviewees in KwaMshudu live close to the borderland, although some live further north, which makes contact more difficult (Appendix J).

In KwaMshudu informants used several methods to communicate with their relatives across the border. As in Mbangweni, personal visits frequently occurred (see Table 3). A large percentage of people meet with their kin at the border-market, which plays an important role in the social lives of villagers (see Chapter Six).

Table 3: Methods used by people in KwaMshudu to communicate with kin in Mozambique as related by informants, September 2002

Method of communication	Number of people
We visit each other at the border market	24
We do not communicate	5
I visit them in Mozambique	44
They visit me in South Africa	49
We write letters to each other	13
We phone one another	3
We visit each other at the border gate	1
We meet at Manguzi	1
Total	140

The close contact between the inhabitants of KwaMshudu and of Mozambique, together with the fact that many people in KwaMshudu are from Mozambique, have led to the formation of strong social ties that are not necessarily

[4] The census conducted in Mbangweni shows that thirty-one per cent of the families in the area, have relatives in Mozambique. In KwaMshudu, sixty-five per cent of families interviewed have relatives in Mozambique.

kin-related.[5] Most of these friends (thirty-three per cent) live right across the border in Puza. These are mainly trading partners, hunting companions and people with whom they tap palm wine. Villagers used similar methods of communication with their friends in Mozambique.

Eighty-seven of the hundred people interviewed at KwaMshudu said that they have been to Mozambique. Thirty said that they had visited the country in the past month, seven in the past week and twenty-three in the past year. Only eight of the interviewees said that it had been longer than five years since they had last been to Mozambique. The destination for the majority of people from KwaMshudu who cross the international border is Puza, although they also frequent other areas in Mozambique (see Appendix K). Unlike border crossings at Mbangweni, people at KwaMshudu visit Mozambique to hunt wild animals and to tap palm wine. Although one informant said that he cultivates across the border in Mozambique, the large majority of people have their cultivated fields in South Africa. Since there is no river or pan directly north of KwaMshudu in Mozambique, people also do not cross the border to fish. Fish is, however, transported from lakes and rivers further north and sold at the border market on Wednesdays and Saturdays (see chapter six).

According to informants, there used to be many *ilala* palms in KwaMshudu. When the war in Mozambique started more and more people came to live in KwaMshudu. These people cleared the area to build their houses and opened up land for cultivation. Today there are very few *ilala* palms left in KwaMshudu, but there are literally thousands of *ilala* palms just across the border fence at Puza. The availability of palm wine explains why the majority of people from KwaMshudu who go to Mozambique, go to Puza. Informants I met at Puza explained that, due to the

[5] Of the 100 interviewees, twenty-eight have friends in Mozambique.

'poor economic situation of KwaMshudu' they have started to tap palm wine in Puza for sale on the border market and further south.

Both men and women are involved. Some stay in their houses in KwaMshudu and cross the border daily to tap their palms in Puza. Others set up temporary palm leaf shelters, where they live, sometimes with their families. Although the majority of people at Puza are from KwaMshudu, there are also people from other areas in South Africa and Mozambique. Seventy-two of the hundred people I interviewed in Puza previously resided in South Africa. Thirty-one still viewed South Africa as their permanent home. Only twenty-eight were from Mozambique, although forty-one of the interviewees had originally lived in Mozambique before the war. In total, forty-five interviewees said that they had come to the area to tap palm wine.

During the Mozambican war RENAMO leaders invited people from South Africa to Puza to tap palm wine for them and to develop cross-border trade (McGregor 1997:16). In order to get permission to tap palm wine at present, one needs to talk to the police (*mapoyisa*) of headman Ngayelane Tembe. They will then show a person a specific area where he/ she can tap wine. A monthly payment or *khonza* fee of twenty-five litres of palm wine, or its monetary equivalent of R35, must be made to the *mapoyisa*.

Similar rules apply to people who cross the border to hunt wild animals. Out of the hundred people I interviewed at Puza, twenty-two came there from South Africa to hunt. A small fee, usually a piece of meat, is given to the headman in exchange for hunting rights in Puza and the surrounding forests. Hunters usually make use of dogs and snares, although some have weapons left over from the war and hand-made weapons. The hunters catch mostly small antelope, like duiker, suni, bushbuck, impala, bushpig and cane rat. While most of the meat is sold at the border

market on Wednesdays and Saturdays, some meat is also sold to transport drivers for re-sale in Maputo, where the prices for bush meat are much higher (see TRAFFIC 2000 and Pillinger 2004).

Both those who tap palm wine and the hunters serve as cross-border messengers. When asked how they communicate with relatives across the international border, informants said that they sent messages with the wine tappers or hunters for their relatives to meet them at a certain date along the border. Since these people cross the border daily they are ideally suited for delivering these messages.

The crossings by people from KwaMshudu into Mozambique have led to tensions between the communities of KwaMshudu and Puza. In September 2002 the *mapoyisa* of Puza stopped all hunting of wild animals by outsiders, arguing that there are almost no animals left for the local people to hunt. In response, KwaMshudu residents replied that Mozambicans would no longer be allowed to go to the clinic at KwaMshudu or pass through KwaMshudu to go to the shops at Manguzi. Having reached a deadlock the *mapoyisa* had to step down and allow the hunters from KwaMshudu access.

Residents of KwaMshudu also cross the border to visit ancestral graves, to look for work, to go to church, to visit healers and, in the case of one informant, to receive a grant from the Mozambican government for the poor.

From the discussion presented here it is evident that most temporary crossings from South Africa to Mozambique, from Mbangweni and KwaMshudu are driven by social and economic reasons. People mainly cross the border to interact with friends and relatives or to utilise natural resources not found in their areas.

Border crossings from Mozambique to South Africa

In our analysis of border crossings by Mozambicans it is necessary to distinguish between illegal[6] immigrants and Mozambican inhabitants of the borderland. Illegal immigrants come from areas further north in Mozambique and from other African countries and are only temporary visitors in the borderland. Their primary destinations are the cities and farms of South Africa. They stay only as long as necessary to make enough money to continue their travels. Their reasons for crossing the border differ from those of borderlanders, who regularly travel to and from Mozambique to visit clinics and shops, to go to school, to collect pensions and to visit friends and relatives. Whereas the police allow borderlanders relatively free access across the international border, illegal immigrants are the main focus of the SAPS and SANDF. They are constantly searched for, arrested and deported.

1. Illegal immigrants. In 1997 the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) estimated that there were between three and five million illegal immigrants in South Africa. Between 1993 and 2002 the SANDF and SAPS arrested 89, 121 illegal immigrants coming into South Africa through the borders of KwaZulu-Natal with Mozambique and Swaziland (see Appendix L). In 1998 alone the SANDF arrested 35, 383 illegal immigrants in South Africa (Kruys 2001:124-125)

Figures from the cell register at the SAPS station at Manguzi give a better indication of the amount of illegal migrants entering South Africa, specifically along

[6] The problem is of course how illegality is constituted, one persons' legality is another persons' illegality. I use illegal immigrant here in the same way as described to me by Border Patrol Officers, that is, persons who do not have permission from the South African state to be in South Africa. The Border Patrol Officers distinguish between illegal immigrants and borderlanders. Borderlanders also do not have legal permission to be in South Africa, but are not treated as illegal immigrants. Instead, they are allowed relatively free access across the international border if they are known to the police.

the border between KwaZulu-Natal and Mozambique. Unfortunately, old cell registers have been destroyed and only figures from 1995 to 2003 are available. For some reason, the cell register of 1990 survived. In 1990 a total of 1, 122 illegal immigrants were arrested by the SAPS. Of those, 604 were male and 518 were female. All these people were repatriated by the SAPS in 1990. All the illegal immigrants arrested by the SAPS in 1990 in Manguzi came from Mozambique.

Table 4: Illegal immigrants arrested in the Manguzi area by the SAPS per annum, 1995-2002

Country of origin	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Angola			4	2	4	3	10	4
Bangladesh								11
Brazil		4						
Burundi	4	19	38	79	63	44	57	43
Comores		1						
Congo			7			4	1	40
DRC			31	12	19	56	69	47
Ethiopia		1		6	2			
Ghana		1		1	3			
Guinea			1					
Kenya	10	6	8	3	20	2	6	6
Liberia						3		
Malawi	1	5	10	1		5	4	3
Morocco		2						
Mozambique	2, 480	2, 845	3, 905	2, 488	1, 475	1, 050	566	282
Namibia								1
Nigeria		1						
Pakistan		5						14
Rwanda	9	6	42	16	24	22	6	4
Saudi-Arabia		4						
Senegal						1	1	
Sierra-Leone					2			
Somalia	1	3	5	9	4	7	4	
Sudan		5		1	6	1	1	4
Swaziland	16	15	11	6	1	23	4	1
Tanzania	189	226	166	78	33	41	39	32
Uganda					4	2	4	
Zambia			2	2	1		2	
Zimbabwe	4		1	3	1			
Total	2, 713	3, 470	4, 222	2, 814	1, 824	1, 326	774	492

Source: Cell Register, SAP, Manguzi

People arrested from 1995 to 2002 hailed from a range of countries in Africa and Asia, although the majority of people are from Mozambique. Table 4, above, shows the numbers of illegal immigrants arrested by the SAPS in the Manguzi area and the countries where they came from. This table clearly illustrates two points, namely, that there has been a steady decrease in the number of Mozambicans entering KwaZulu-Natal as illegal immigrants and that there has been an increase in illegal immigrants from other countries entering KwaZulu-Natal (also see Appendix N).

The decrease in Mozambicans entering KwaZulu-Natal is directly related to the end of the war in Mozambique. During the war there was a continual flood of refugees across the border. This ended at the end of the war. Moreover, a careful examination of the surnames (clan names) of Mozambicans who currently cross the border as illegal immigrants reveal that most are from further north in Mozambique. Most of the names are completely foreign to this southernmost part of Mozambique (See Bryant 1965, Felgate 1982 and Hedges 1978). This is the result of many factors. In the first place, since 1994 avenues have been opened for Mozambicans living in the borderland to cross easily into South Africa. Hence there is no need for permanent immigration. Second, the fact that the surnames of those being caught for illegally crossing the border in Manguzi differ so drastically from their southern counterparts, can partly be attributed to the displacement caused by the war in Mozambique.

Refugees from other countries have also been able to use the southern Mozambique/ South Africa border for entering South Africa as a result of the peace, which makes travelling through Mozambique much easier. Furthermore, most landmines have been removed which has made travelling overland easier.

These figures also illustrate the ethnic and cultural diversity that has characterised the post-war borderlandscape. These new immigrants to the borderland,

although most of them only stay temporarily, bring with them languages and customs from such far-off places as the Congo, Rwanda and Burundi. In this way they contribute to the creation of cultural diversity in the borderland.

Since 1994 a new type of border crosser has thus made an appearance along the southern Mozambique/ South Africa border. In contrast to refugees who fled Mozambique in the 1980s, and, other borderlanders, the new border crossers are usually young men who travel on their own and who stay in the borderland only for long enough to accumulate sufficient money to travel to the South African towns. Table 5 shows the average ages of people being caught by the police in the Manguzi area between 1994 and 2002. As the figure shows the average age of the border crossers have continuously decreased.

Table 5: Average age of illegal immigrants caught by the SAP in the Manguzi area, 1994 – 2002

Year	Average Age
1994	27
1995	25
1996	23
1997	23
1998	25
1999	22
2000	22
2001	22
2002	21

Source: Cell Register, SAP, Manguzi.

The main goal of the new border crossers is to get to the South African cities. According to a refugee from Tanzania, the further away from the border one moves the safer it gets, since police in the cities are not on the look-out for illegal

immigrants. Unfortunately, many of the border crossers do not even have enough money on first arriving in South Africa to afford transport fees to the cities. They take on small jobs among the people in the borderland, looking after their cattle or ploughing in their fields, just as the refugees from the Mozambican war did in the 1980s. Only once they have saved sufficient money do they try to move out of the area. It is a very dangerous trip for someone without the necessary paperwork and identity documents, since the SANDF and SAP have regular roadblocks along all the major routes connecting the border with the N2 highway to Johannesburg and Durban. Fortunately for the refugees, officials of the Home Affairs Department in Ingwavuma, the district capital, frequently sell illegal identity documents to people in the borderland who seek to move on to South Africa's main cities. In February 2001 more than eighteen officials of the Department were questioned on suspicion of corruption in the Limpopo Province (Kruys 2002:34).

2. Mozambican borderlanders. An examination of crossings from Mozambique to South Africa highlights the economic interdependence of the borderland. Since so many of the people living in the Matutuine District have lived in northern KwaZulu-Natal during the Mozambican war, a range of kinship and social ties bind them with the people across the border. Furthermore, due to the lack of infrastructure, shops, clinics and schools in Matutuine, the area is completely integrated in the economy of northern KwaZulu-Natal. The international border does not indicate the boundary of one socio-economic system and the beginning of a new one. A singular economic and social system straddles the frontier. Contacts fostered by economic interdependence promote cultural and social integration in the borderland.

However, integration of the borderland does not imply social and economic equality. The Mozambican border is rather like the US/ Mexico border than the internal borders of the European Union 'with capital, products, and labour flowing from one side to the other without serious restrictions' (Martinez 1994:5). Despite obvious signs of poverty, northern KwaZulu-Natal is much more developed than Matutuine. This is perfectly symbolised by the tar road that links Manguzi with the border post at Farazela. Although only recently completed, the road ends abruptly at the border post. From there, to as far as Bela Vista, the only roads are sand tracks that are only traversable with four-wheel drive vehicles. (The only exception is a badly maintained tar road linking Ponta Mamoli and Zitundo).

Most residents of Matutuine frequently cross the South African border. Ninety-five out of hundred people interviewed in Puza said that they had visited South Africa at some point in their lives. Out of this group, sixty had visited South Africa in the past month, and ninety within the past year. Most interviewees said that when they went to South Africa their destination was somewhere in the borderland, where many of them still have relatives.

Due to historical ties with South Africa, most inhabitants of the Mozambican borderland have relatives in South Africa. In Puza alone, eighty-one interviewees claimed that they had family in South Africa. Most people travel to South Africa to communicate with their family. Some also phone, send letters, receive visits from South Africa or meet relatives at the border-markets.

Mozambicans travel to South Africa to visit relatives, look for work, get petrol, shop, visit hospitals and clinics, get identity documents, sell folk medicines, sell clothes and other articles, attend funerals and rituals, and go to church and school.

Shopping is another prominent reason for crossing the border. With the exception of two Portuguese owned shops at Ponta do Ouro the only shops on the Mozambican side of the border are small 'tuck-shops' (*baracas*) selling tinned food, sugar, maize meal and other bare essentials. These tuck-shops are stocked exclusively with goods bought in Manguzi. Given that there are very few commercial products available on the Mozambican side of the border, Mozambicans frequently cross the border to shop.

People in the Mozambican side of the borderland also rely on the South African government's social support, making use of schools, hospitals and clinics in South Africa and collecting state pensions and welfare money. This is the case along many of South Africa's land borders.[7]

In the entire Matutuine District there are no secondary schools and only one upper primary school at Bela Vista. Two upper primary schools were destroyed during the Mozambican war. There are eighteen lower primary schools with a total of thirty-seven classrooms. These schools have no buildings and function in the open air. Elsewhere in the borderland there are primary schools at Catuane, Xuxa, Ponta Malongane, Ponta do Ouro and Zitundo (UNDP/ UNHCR 1997:13-14). A child from the district who wants to attend secondary school in Mozambique will have to move to Maputo. Comparing the costs of living and schooling in Maputo with living and schooling on the South African side of the borderland, it is understandable why children from Matutuine attend school in South Africa.

[7] Along the South Africa/ Botswana border along the North-West province of South Africa in the area of Makgobistad, which divides the Baroleng, people move across freely, with children from Botswana attending school in South Africa every day (Kruys 2002:124). People in neighbouring countries rely on the infrastructure of South Africa and make use of many of the social and economic services offered by the South African government due to the lack of these services in neighbouring countries. This is the case in areas throughout the world where states with well-developed infrastructure and economies border states with poorly developed infrastructure and economy as for example along the German/Polish border (Kruys 2001: 122) and along the U.S.-Mexican border (Herzog 1997:176-187).

Some Mozambicans also rely on old-age pensions paid by the South African government. Once a month the pension money arrives in armoured vehicles at specific pension points all over the Umhlabuyalingana Municipal District in northern KwaZulu-Natal. Pension day is a festive occasion. Informal markets selling everything from meat to clothes to palm wine are set up. During the time that I conducted research, people older than sixty-five years of age received R600 per month as an old-age pension. To obtain pension a person must be in possession of a pension-card, with his or her photograph and identity number. Many people who lived in South Africa during the Mozambican war were allocated these cards. Informants explained that in those days there was no way of knowing who came from where as local people also did not have identity documents. Mozambicans living in South Africa for a certain period of time were also offered citizenship and the benefits that come with it. Although people went back to Mozambique after the war ended, many of them still cross the border monthly to collect South African pension money.

The South African government also pays a maintenance grant for children younger than six years. Any unemployed person with children is entitled to this grant. The child's mother determines his or her citizenship. According to informants at the Manguzi hospital, Mozambican women often bear children in South African hospitals and thereafter collect money to raise them in Mozambique.

Mozambicans living in the borderland are extremely reliant on health care services across the border. In the entire district of Matutuine there are no proper hospitals. The health care network is composed only of primary facilities: including one health care centre in Bela Vista and six health posts at places such as Catuane, Ponta do Ouro and Zitundo. The health care centre has thirty-eight beds and a fixed vaccination post. The health post at Catuane has ten beds, the post at Ponta do Ouro

three beds and the one at Zitundo four beds (UNDP/ UNHCR 1997). Health care services on the Mozambican side of the borderland are thus extremely rudimentary and people are reliant on health care services in South Africa.

Before 1999 official policy stated that Mozambicans were not allowed treatment in South African hospitals or clinics. Yet personnel of the Manguzi hospital often 'turned a blind eye' to these regulations. The Lubombo Spatial Development Initiative led in a new era. After a serious outbreak of malaria in 1999, the Consul of Mozambique and the South African Department of Home Affairs signed an agreement granting Mozambicans living within ten kilometres from the border the same health benefits as South Africans. Mozambicans wanting to make use of South African healthcare facilities can register at the border post where they are given identity cards. On arrival at the hospital they show the card and are then treated in the same manner as South African patients would be treated.

According to Dr. E. Immelman, the doctor in charge of the clinics and community services of Manguzi hospital, three hundred (five per cent) of the approximately six thousand patients admitted annually come from Mozambique. During the outbreak of malaria the percentage of Mozambicans increased to ten per cent of the total in-house patients. Apart from the hospital, there are three stationary and three mobile clinics in the borderland where Mozambicans receive assistance. The three stationary clinics at Mahlungulu, KwaMshudu and Bhekabantu (see Map 3 and 4) admit between one hundred and 120 patients from Mozambique per month. At the mobile clinics of Mbushana, Mbangweni and Muzi, which operate once a week, patients from Mozambique make up ten per cent of the total. According to Doctor Immelman the numbers of patients depends upon the presence of the SANDF along the borderline. People are usually scared to cross when the military is in sight.

Conclusion

In this chapter I analysed the impact of a changing relationship between Maputo and Pretoria on people living in the borderland since 1994. I showed that the international border became more open since the end of the Mozambican war. These changes have impacted dramatically on the lives of people living in the immediate vicinity of state borders. Access across the borders has been facilitated, enabling people to move more freely from one country to the other. Things unavailable in one country but plentiful in the other can be retrieved by simply moving across the border. Old cross-border social relations can be revived and new ones created. The weakening of state control over international borders has also seen an increase in the influx of people into areas with better economic opportunities and better social services. This has in turn challenged the authority of states in deciding what services to provide to whom.

For the people living in the southern Mozambique/ South Africa borderland, globalisation and the opening of the border between South Africa and Mozambique have brought both security and danger. Security in the sense that they are allowed access to resources (natural resources for people in South Africa and social and economic services for people in Mozambique) which they were previously denied. On the other hand, the opening of the borders have increased the dangers of the borderland as it has been opened to infiltration by criminals intent on using the opening of the borders for their own benefit.

The opening of the border has also facilitated social integration and awareness of cultural and ethnic differences that exist on opposite sides of the border. On the one hand, social contact leads to greater social and cultural integration; on the other hand it also makes people more aware of the differences that exist between them.

Contact within the borderland has thus led to both cultural homogeneity and cultural diversity. This is the nature of life in the borderland. People on one side of the border are continuously redefining themselves *vis a vis* people on the other side of the border. In the next chapter I investigate increased economic interaction in the post-war borderland, exploring the idea that economic integration fosters cultural integration that make people more aware of the differences and the similarities that exist between them. In chapter nine I investigate the impact of social contact on identity and ethnicity in the borderlandscape.