

**AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE  
CITIZENSHIP PROCESSES OF  
IMMIGRANTS TO SOUTH AFRICA:  
A CASE STUDY OF PAKISTANIS IN  
DURBAN**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The number of Pakistani immigrants who are becoming citizens of South Africa is on the increase. This research was conducted with Pakistani citizens in Durban, South Africa, to examine the individual, social and political decision-making processes that resulted in their citizenship. The motivation for embarking on this study was to highlight the complexity involved in the process of contemplating and acquiring citizenship. In addition to this, local migration literature concentrates on African immigrants, thus this study on the citizenship processes of former Asian immigrants was necessary. Fifteen in-depth interviews were conducted with Pakistani citizens to determine their motivations to acquire citizenship and their experiences with local people and authorities. Pakistani citizens gained citizenship primarily for personal reasons. However, a range of contextual factors were also taken into consideration when deciding whether citizenship would be worthwhile. Social and political factors as well as the circumstances in the country of origin and the destination country were considered during the decision-making process. Durban was favoured as a city to settle in as Pakistani citizens believed it had a multitude of opportunities in comparison with other locations in South Africa. Furthermore, locals have embraced them and this has allowed them to assimilate into local society relatively easily. Pakistani citizens participate politically and make efforts to redress social inequalities; furthermore they are skilled professionals who have honest intentions. Thus they would like locals to abandon the negative preconceptions they hold towards foreigners.

## **DECLARATION**

The research was conducted from January 2010 to November 2010 under the supervision of Professor Pranitha Maharaj.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged.

It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Population Studies in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

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Student signature

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Date

## **LIST OF CONTENTS**

### **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

1.1. Background to the Study	1
1.2. Objectives of the Study	4
1.3. Theoretical Framework	5
1.4. Outline of the Structure of the Dissertation	7

### **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

2.1. Introduction	8
2.2. The Impact of Personal and External Factors on Citizenship	8
2.3. The Complexities Prior to Citizenship	10
2.4. Factors that Influence Citizenship	12
2.4.1. Individual Factors	12
2.4.2. Social Factors	15
2.4.3. Political Factors	17
2.5. Challenges in the Destination Country and the Likelihood of Return Migration	20
2.5.1. The Practical and Emotional Difficulties	21
2.5.2. Xenophobia and Ostracism	22
2.6. Arriving at the Final Decision to Gain Citizenship	24
2.6.1. The Cost-Benefit Analysis	25
2.7. Conclusion	28

## **CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

3.1. Introduction	29
3.2. Study Setting	29
3.3. Research Design: Qualitative Methods	30
3.3.1. In-depth Interviews	31
3.4. The Process of Data Collection and Analysis	33
3.4.1. The Sampling Method	33
3.4.2. Data Analysis	35
3.5. Ethical Considerations	36
3.6. Challenges Related to the Study	37
3.7. Conclusion	38

## **CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSES**

4.1. Introduction	39
4.2. The Demographic Profile of Respondents	39
4.3. The Transition from Migration to Citizenship	40
4.4. Individual Reasons to Acquire Citizenship	41
4.4.1. Economic Prospects and the Individual	41
4.4.2. Marriage and the Individual	42
4.4.3. Religion and the Individual	43
4.4.4. The Location and the Individual	45
4.4.5. Language and the Individual	46
4.5. Political and Social Reasons to Acquire Citizenship	46
4.5.1. The Political Motivations	47
4.5.1.1. The Influence of Apartheid during Decision-Making	49
4.5.2. The Social Motivations	50
4.6. The Encounters with South African Authorities	52
4.7. The Disadvantages and Doubts about Living in South Africa	55
4.8. The Ties with Pakistan after Leaving	58

4.9. Pakistani Citizens' Perceptions of Life in South Africa	60
4.9.1. The Assimilation of Pakistani Citizens into Local Society	60
4.9.2. Pakistani Citizens and Local Politics	62
4.9.3. Suggestions Regarding the Ways that Pakistanis are Perceived	63
4.10. The Appeal of South Africa and Durban as a New Home	64
4.11. Conclusion	66

## **CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

5.1. Introduction	67
5.2. Discussion	67
5.3. Conclusion and Recommendations	71

<b>REFERENCES</b>	73
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## **FIGURES AND TABLES**

Figure 1: The Location of Durban, South Africa	29
Figure 2: The Location of the North Central Durban Region	30
Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents	39

## **ACRONYMS**

PASA: Pakistan Association of South Africa

SADC: South African Development Cooperation

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Background to the Study

South Africa is a country that is esteemed for the diversity of its wildlife, landscapes and most notably its people. The diverse social fabric of the nation also consists of an array of immigrants, some of whom are Pakistani immigrants. For some of these immigrants who then become legal citizens of South Africa, their existence will have a continual impact on the nation's affairs. This study explores the decision-making processes that Pakistani immigrants had undergone in order to become citizens of South Africa. The study uncovers these processes by investigating the individual, social and political factors in the destination country and in the country of origin that have influenced the citizenship of Pakistanis.

The motivation for embarking on this exploration is to provide greater insights into the situation of foreign citizens who are an important but often a neglected aspect of research. An example of an important immigrant constituency is Indian South Africans, who have lived in the country for the past 150 years, after they first arrived as indentured labourers (Desai and Vahed, 2010). Since this time Indian citizens have emancipated themselves from their restrictive conditions to become valuable shapers of South African culture, politics and society (Sheik, 2010). Similarly, it is necessary to examine Pakistani citizens to South Africa since they too will make an impact on the nation as they progress into the future. Furthermore, most immigrants to South Africa arrive from other SADC countries (Landau, 2005), and this results in local migration literature placing a focus on African immigrants. It is for this reason that an examination of Pakistanis' citizenship processes is required, since their motivations have not been researched previously.

The number of Pakistani immigrants who have decided to become citizens of South Africa is on the increase. According to Fayaaz Khan, the head of the Pakistan Association of South Africa (PASA), 80 000 Pakistanis now live in South Africa, many of whom are citizens (Boomgaard, 2009). This includes immigrants who now reside in South Africa and who have not gained citizenship thus it is important to explain what constitutes citizenship status in

South Africa to understand how they differ from immigrants. The broad requirements to become a citizen according to Act 88 of the South African Citizenship Act of 1995 is for a person to be above the age of a minor, who can speak one of the official South African languages, and who has spent five years of the past eight years in South Africa (Department of Home Affairs, 1995, section 5 (1) c). Although data on Pakistani immigrants in South Africa is weak, a 2003 report by Statistics South Africa claimed that 6.1% of documented immigrants to South Africa in the year 2003 were from Pakistan (Statistics South Africa, 2003). According to the data Pakistanis are a growing minority immigrant group in South Africa, and though their numbers may not be as large as other immigrant groups, the analysis of their citizenship processes is warranted nevertheless. It must be noted however that citizenship in South Africa is a contested process as it is difficult to differentiate between a so-called citizen and a legal citizen. This issue stems from the inequalities that still exist in post-democratic South Africa (McEwan, 2000), where immigrants are tempted to use illegal means to gain citizenship or misrepresent themselves as documented citizens.

An immigrant who spends a defined period of time in the destination country and with the proper legal documentation processing then becomes a citizen of the destination country and this entitles the new citizen to the legislative rights that exist in the destination country. According to Jensen (1997) the relationship between the state and the citizen is reciprocal as both parties benefit from each other's actions. It is the responsibility of the state to ensure that the citizen's rights are defended and citizens are required to abide by the state's regulations to facilitate an orderly society. Citizenship is a way for a nationally diverse state to create a harmonious society which embraces differences, and it can be viewed as the means to create unity and solidarity amongst civilians and thereby a progressive future for a nation Adejumobi (2001). The achievement of cohesive citizenship should therefore be a necessary focus on the part of governments, since it forms the bedrock of a successful society.

Furthermore, citizenship can be understood as the activities and duties that a citizen performs within the host society that enable the individual to be a contributor to the benefit of their community and political system (Castles, 1997 cited in Adnanes, 2004). Therefore, once an immigrant becomes legally approved as a citizen their value to that nation increases. As a citizen, the individual becomes an addition to society and a player in the socio-economic transactions within it, and thus they make valuable contributions to that society. Since foreign

citizens do not think and behave homogenously; an investigation into the process of becoming a South African citizen is necessitated. In a study on immigrants to the United States, Portes and Mozo (1985) found that Cubans accounted for 6.4% of documented immigrants. This is an almost identical figure to the percentage of documented Pakistani immigrants to South Africa. Portes and Mozo (1985) state that Cubans, "...have had a significant local impact due to their high level of concentration in a few geographic areas" (p. 36). Similarly, Pakistani immigrants, like Cuban immigrants, are clustered in particular areas of the destination country and thus may have made a significant contribution to the areas in which they reside. It is for this reason that the city of Durban, South Africa is a relevant research site since there are a large number of Pakistani citizens gathered here according to PASA (Boomgaard, 2009).

The growing diversity of the South African democracy has seen the nation become a melting-pot of races, cultures and religions. However, this diversity is not supported by all locals and the consequence has been anti-foreigner sentiments where immigrants are usually ostracised by locals (Nyamnjoh, 2006). This sense of xenophobia prevails because locals perceive foreigners as competitors for opportunities and their feeling of being threatened thus manifests in the form of hostile attacks. A study on African immigrants in Durban found that whilst the city is most welcoming towards foreigners, locals from other South African regions antagonised them (Maharaj and Moodley, 2000). The negative attitudes held by locals adds further burden to the precarious lives of immigrants where uncertainty and fear for their safety become commonplace. Whilst Durban may be a more economically free and opportunistic South African city to migrate to than others (Maharaj and Moodley, 2000), it remains a considerable challenge for African immigrants to remain in the city nonetheless. Similarly, Pakistani immigrants may have experienced challenges in the city of Durban, especially since they are unfamiliar with the African culture and this study aims to ascertain whether any challenges were experienced and if so, why it did not discourage Pakistanis from gaining citizenship.

The primary aim of this study is to examine the motivations for Pakistanis living in Durban to gain citizenship in South Africa. Whilst in some cases they may use Durban as a "stepping ground" destination before moving permanently to other countries (Jinnah, 2006, p. 42), collectively a growing number are deciding to remain in Durban to become citizens, therefore

their process of citizenship is an important development that requires exploration. Ulin, Robinson, Tolley and McNeill (2002) state that a study such as this is relevant because it is important for researchers to uncover the opinions and contributions of minorities as they are usually disregarded. The value of revealing Pakistani citizens' motivations for acquiring South African citizenship is that it can encourage locals to embrace foreigners and take consideration of their perspective. Furthermore, since Pakistani citizens have added to the diversity of the South African society it is necessary to unveil their motivations and experiences as an acknowledgement of their presence within the country.

## **1.2.Objectives of the Study**

The overall intention of this dissertation is to explore the extent to which a range of contextual factors have influenced the decision to obtain citizenship. Beyond the social factors at play for Pakistanis during the migratory stage (Jinnah, 2006) this dissertation aims to understand what factors have created their desire to seek legal citizenship in South Africa. The argument that underlines this study is that citizenship decision-making involves more than just social factors, but is also shaped by individual and political factors. These contextual factors are assumed to interact with one another thereby shaping an immigrant's actions towards citizenship. This will involve examining the conditions in the country of origin and destination country as experienced by the respondents.

The specific objectives of this dissertation are:

- Firstly, to investigate the personal motivations of Pakistanis who decide to gain citizenship.
- Secondly, to investigate the social and political contexts locally and in the country of origin and the influence it has on the processes of citizenship.
- Thirdly, to describe the practical and emotional challenges faced in acquiring citizen status.
- Fourthly, to describe the costs and benefits to Pakistani citizens as a result of citizenship.

- Fifthly, to determine whether Pakistani citizens believe they have integrated into South African society.

In order to gain a greater understanding of the level of integration of Pakistani citizens into the local society, in-depth interviews will explore whether they are satisfied with their living standards, whether they participate politically and whether they feel that their rights are recognized as citizens of Durban, South Africa. The study intends to explore the experiences of Pakistani citizens and what they find promising about the city of Durban. In addition, if these Pakistani citizens have experienced hardships and injustices whilst here, this would provide valuable information as to how the South African state and society can improve the welfare of Pakistanis as well as other immigrant and foreign citizen groups.

### **1.3.Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical explanation of migration the “Cumulative Causation Theory” created by Gunnar Myrdal focuses on macro-level socioeconomic processes (Myrdal, 1963, p 13), and according to Myrdal (1963) each act of migration results in a change of the social context in which subsequent migration decisions are taken, making new movements more likely. In this view migration is perpetual once it has been set in motion and will continue to operate this way throughout an immigrant’s life. According to Myrdal (1963), six main socio-economic factors in origin areas are affected leading to new migration flows: distribution of income and land, regional distribution of human capital, organization of agriculture, culture of migration, and the social meaning of work and particular jobs. The deficiency of this theory is that little attention is given to the individual or household level decision-making process. The theory of cumulative causation is premised on the notion that once a person migrates they will continue to migrate from one city to the next. In other words, an immigrant does not live in a city long enough to gain citizenship there. The migration process continues to repeat itself since the independence and social benefits which derive from the process give the immigrant the confidence to migrate again (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, Taylor, et al., 1993). However, this reasoning cannot be applied to all immigrants, since not all immigrants continue to lead a transient life. This will be discussed further.

In support of Myrdal's theory of migration being a transitory process, Alvarez's (1987) study of Hispanics in the United States found that most immigrants planned to return to their country of origin and only a few had citizenship in mind. A deficiency in these migratory theories is that the emphasis is placed on the transient nature of the migration process and thus the reasons why an immigrant decides to become a citizen of the destination country is not discussed. Thus the framework created by Yang (1994), called the "contextual perspective" (p. 454), is applicable to the study of the citizenship of immigrants. The theory views the citizenship process as more than just individual behaviours, as it also recognises the social factors in the home and destination country and the cost-benefit analysis which are considered by the individual which thereby influences citizenship decision-making (Yang, 1994). This explanation offers a more holistic interpretation of migration and includes the environmental influences that exert an impact on an immigrant's thoughts and behaviours.

The benefit of Yang's (1994) approach is that it allows for greater investigative precision by acknowledging both the influence made by the individual and the factors that are external to the individual. This recognition of the individual aspects of migration and citizenship processes provides a more wholesome outlook on decision-making that has been neglected previously. Examples of individual characteristics that influence citizenship are: cultural assimilation by the individual, age at immigration, sex, marital status, educational status and the factors involved if one is a parent (Yang, 1994). The range of variables that can now be included into the citizenship and immigration schema creates an inclusive framework that will allow for a more precise understanding as to why immigrants decide to become citizens.

According to Yang (1994), the individual's unique characteristics that impact on citizenship decision-making are influenced by the contexts and experiences that surround that person which are of a political, social, economic and geographic nature. Yang's theory provides a comprehensive model to help grasp the numerous internal and external influences that result in an immigrant's citizenship. Examples of the social contexts that influence individual decision-making and thereby citizenship are: the economic development and living standards in the country of origin and destination, the distance between the country of origin and destination country, cultural similarity in the destination country and legal acceptance of dual citizenship in the country of origin (Yang, 1994). An immigrant is therefore not a fleeting visitor to the destination country, but instead spends much time contemplating factors such as these in deciding whether to locate permanently in the destination country to gain citizenship.

Diehl and Blohm's (2003) study on the citizenship of Turkish immigrants to Germany used Yang's theory as a basis. The study found that despite the fact that Turkish immigrants were not embraced by locals and thus were insufficiently assimilated; this did not discourage this minority from acquiring citizenship in Germany. The Turkish study supported the elements of Yang's theory and illustrates how an individual's characteristics can be fundamental and almost completely responsible towards the citizenship process. Pakistani immigrants to South Africa, like Turkish immigrants to Germany, are a minority immigrant group, and just as interesting deductions were made from the Turkish study, similarly valuable insights can be gained from the current study of Pakistanis citizens.

Although Yang's (1994) theoretical framework focused on particular individual and societal variables, he notes that each case study's variables of interest will differ since ethnic groups have different characteristics and behaviours which influence citizenship. Therefore, this study on Pakistani citizens will examine particular themes during the interview process, since it is important that the investigations are relevant to this ethnic group. Whereas literature has previously focused on the migratory process from the country of origin to the destination country, this study will focus on a neglected process that is a successor of migration – citizenship. This pertains to the contextual factors, circumstances and decision-making involved in this subsequent stage whereby an immigrant becomes a citizen.

#### **1.4.Outline of the Structure of the Dissertation**

The dissertation is divided into five chapters. This first chapter outlines the objectives of the study and the relevance of the study in the context of Durban, South Africa. The second chapter forms the literature review where local and international literature on migration and citizenship processes is critically discussed. The third chapter discusses the methodology used in conducting this qualitative study. This comprises of a discussion of the study area, sampling technique, research methods and design as well as the data analysis process and the challenges that were encountered. The fourth chapter discusses the findings and analyses derived from the information gained during the interview process. The final chapter provides the conclusions and recommendations of the study based on the findings of chapter four in relation to the study as a whole.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1. Introduction**

The process of becoming a citizen is dependent on numerous factors ranging from the individual's characteristics to the broader social and political variables existent in the destination country and the country of origin. This chapter will use local and international migration and citizenship literature to explore these factors that influence citizenship. The challenges that immigrants encounter during the process of citizenship will also be discussed in order to gain full insight into the mindset of immigrants in their decision to become citizens. In addition, the costs and benefits during and after the process of citizenship will be discussed. This chapter will present an extensive analysis of the process of citizenship acquisition in an attempt to highlight the complexity of situations that an immigrant may encounter.

#### **2.2. The Impact of Personal and External Factors on Citizenship**

In order to succeed in the destination country an immigrant has to act independently and must rely on innate characteristics in order to adapt to new surroundings. This adaptation may take many months or even years to achieve, but this is a compromise that most immigrants are willing to make as a great deal of thought often precedes their migration. In addition to this, external factors, for instance social networks, have the power to buffer the difficulties an immigrant faces in the destination country (Muanamoha, Maharaj, Preston-Whyte, 2010). Lee's (1966) theory states that there are four factors in the decision to migrate which include: the factors in the place of origin, the place of destination, the intervening obstacles and personal factors. These factors play an important role in the prospects for success within the destination, and what is important to note is that in some instances personal factors may be as influential as the external factors that influence the immigrant. Some individuals may welcome the change that comes with living in a new location, whilst others may behave indifferently towards these changes (Lee, 1966). In other words, the internal ability of the

immigrant to adapt to change in the environment may be as crucial to their success in the destination country as external factors.

Individual characteristics are not only influential in the migration process but also determine the probability that an immigrant will become a citizen of the destination country. A study by Diehl and Blohm (2003) of Turkish immigrants to Germany found that, if the foreigners had a local friend and spoke some German they were more likely to gain citizenship, as opposed to Turkish immigrants who only kept Turkish friends. The citizenship of Turkish immigrants was not as dependent on ethnic Turkish social networks, as it was on their individual integration with local Germans. This illustrates that the individual's personal characteristics is more influential in assimilation than social networks. The immigrant has the power to control the degree of compatibility that is felt with locals, and the greater the confidence the immigrant has in having a role to play in the local community the greater the likelihood of citizenship.

An individual has an important influence on the likelihood of citizenship; however, factors which are external to the individual can also motivate them to obtain citizenship. In their study, Marcelli and Cornelius (2001) found that Mexican immigrants were more likely to permanently settle in the United States if there was an economic crisis in Mexico. In this case, the socio-economic contexts had a more powerful influence on the likelihood of obtaining citizenship than individual factors. The contexts that are external to the immigrant may be so dominant that it dramatically changes the pattern of the immigrant's life from the way it was lived previously. Familiarity and integration within the destination country may result in the link with the country of origin being dissolved with time and thus migration changes from being temporary to permanent (Berninghaus and Seifert-Vogt, 1989). When the external contexts in the destination country appear favourable to the immigrant it may eventually overshadow the immigrant's attachment to the country of origin. When this occurs, citizenship in the destination country becomes more likely for the immigrant.

According to Bernard (1936), who conducted a study on European immigrants to the United States, individual factors did not motivate immigrants to decide to gain citizenship in the destination country; instead, contextual and cultural factors were the most influential. The findings support the arguments held by certain researchers that citizenship is a process which is shaped by external influences. Therefore, two distinct categories are believed to be

influential in the decisions to become a citizen: these are the immigrant's personal characteristics and the factors which are external to the immigrant. Some arguments support Yang's comprehensive understanding of citizenship processes whereas other arguments claim that external factors have a much greater influence on citizenship decision-making processes. The findings from other studies will be explored in this chapter to determine whether the unilateral or holistic argument holds the most merit.

### **2.3. The Complexities Prior to Citizenship**

Migration is typically considered to be a temporary process with the immigrant relocating to the country of origin or another foreign city for a few years. In support of this, Haberkorn's (1992) study of immigrants to Melanesia found that their mode of life was temporary in nature where they would frequently move from one city to the next. However, in contrast to this, there are immigrants who decide to remain in the destination country permanently. According to Berninghaus and Seifert-Vogt (1989) an immigrant usually plans to live in the destination for a maximum of six years but if further migration is delayed the immigrant will consequently become a permanent resident of the destination. These instances illustrate that the migration process is a dynamic interaction between the immigrant's needs and the location. For some individuals, migration represents a perpetual movement from one area to another as their needs change, whereas for others it merely precedes the permanent habitation of the destination.

Berninghaus and Seifert-Vogt (1989) provide an explanation for permanent residence. It is based on the idea that the more positive information an immigrant receives about the destination country's prospects and standard of life whilst there, the greater the likelihood of staying. Therefore an immigrant is expected to reside in the destination country temporarily but this may be subject to change and this depends on whether the immigrant's experiences in the destination country are favourable. In contrast to this an immigrant may act in support of migration theory and reside in the destination country for just a brief period. According to Piore (1979), an immigrant plans to live in the destination country for a predetermined time frame in order to earn money to take back to the country of origin. This explanation implies that some immigrants recognize the uncertainty of life in the destination country and therefore

enter the new nation with a distinct purpose before returning to their country of origin. If this view is held by an immigrant they are less likely to seek citizenship.

In Humphrey's (1944) study of Mexican immigrants to the United States, issues with legal documents resulted in the immigrants' citizenship process being stymied as documents were regularly mislaid. As was the case in this study, the contextual factors which are specific to the destination country influence the degree of complexity during the formalization of citizenship. However, issues such as these may not deter an immigrant from pursuing their goal to gain citizenship in the destination country. For example, in the city of Detroit, a larger number of Mexican citizens are to be found which is due to both the societal inclusion of the immigrants who have arrived there and the existence of better economic opportunities for them. According to Humphrey (1944) this is due to the fact that locals do not discriminate against them, they are well paid in this city and documentation is completed before being employed. The external factors in the destination country have a different effect on the immigrants' perceptions of the location. If the locals embrace immigrants and other external factors work in their favour, then an immigrant may be more likely to gain citizenship.

A study conducted by Garcia (1981) on Mexicans in the United States found that there is a difference between the factors that influence citizenship prior to its acquisition, and the factors that influence a new citizen to remain in the destination country once they have become a citizen. When an immigrant becomes a citizen the national pride associated with the status promotes permanency, however in the case of immigrants, their decision to reside permanently in the destination is based on individual characteristics and attitudes (Garcia, 1981). The difficulty in determining whether an immigrant will become a citizen is due to the fact that the likelihood rests a great deal on the individual's attributes and these individual traits require deeper investigation than social determinants. Once an immigrant progresses to the next stage and then becomes citizen, social and external factors will then exert a greater impact on the citizen to maintain loyalty to the destination country by remaining there.

## **2.4. Factors that Influence Citizenship**

Citizenship may be an urgent requirement for some immigrants as their survival and well-being may depend on it and for other immigrants citizenship may be an option that they are not forced to pursue immediately. Some immigrants may plan to gain citizenship long before they migrate to the host country, whilst other immigrants may become a citizen long after they have settled in the destination country. This is because there are numerous factors of an individual, social and political nature that may determine the attitudes and behaviours that immigrants have towards citizenship. The complexity of factors that influence the decision to gain citizenship will be discussed further.

Alvarez (1987) who studied Hispanic immigrants in the United States, defined citizenship as, “...a holistic outcome of the combination and feedback of a variety of variables rather than the outcome of isolated factors such as jobs or length of time in the United States. Some specific factors appear more important than others but it is the interplay and combination of factors that most often leads to decisions in favor of citizenship” (p. 328). This definition means that citizenship is gained through the interaction of many variables instead of only one particular variable. As the study found, in the instances where Hispanic immigrants did become citizens of the United States, it was the result of numerous factors influencing the immigrant in the destination country such as; marriage, standard of life, occupation and assimilation (Alvarez, 1987). This framework by Alvarez (1987) to understand citizenship is akin to Yang’s comprehensive framework of citizenship. For both, a range of factors (individual and external), results in the citizenship of an immigrant as opposed to a few, limited factors.

### **2.4.1. Individual Factors**

An immigrant’s personal attitudes, opinions and characteristics play a decisive role in shaping the constituency of foreign citizens in a nation. For those immigrants who become citizens there are common characteristics which are shared, namely a personal determination to succeed in the destination country. On the other hand, each immigrant has their own opinions, aspirations and outlook about the world which creates a very subjective stance on

the decision to gain citizenship in the destination country. According to Alvarez (1987), the individual's characteristics and perspectives are important determinants of citizenship, and since citizenship involves much personal contemplation by the immigrant, this requires discussion.

Garcia's study (1981) found that individual factors such as the perceived incentives or lack of incentives influenced whether an immigrant would become a citizen or not. The study showed that the decision to gain citizenship was reliant on an immigrant's attitude, opinions and feelings towards the country and the opportunities within it. On the other hand a study conducted by Van Hook, Brown and Bean (2006) on immigrants in the United States found that those immigrants who had negative attitudes about their prospects for personal success and satisfaction would be unlikely to gain citizenship. The more positive the immigrant's attitude and the more favourable his or her experiences have been in the destination country, the greater the likelihood of acquiring citizenship status.

The decision to become a citizen may be a very personal and private undertaking by an immigrant and may validate an immigrant's identity. Seitz and Foster's (1985) study of immigrants in Australia found that the decision to gain citizenship is interwoven with the values and beliefs that an individual holds as the statement from one respondent illustrates, '...one's citizenship should correspond with what one is at the core of one's being...' (p. 422). Therefore for certain immigrants their personal dreams and affiliations act alone as the decisive factors that impact on their decision to obtain citizenship. For these immigrants the outcome of citizenship is solely dependent on whether it corresponds with their personal aspirations for the future.

The majority of researchers have found certain variables to be more influential than others in the decision to acquire citizenship; these will be discussed further in the section. For instance, Bernard (1936), whilst recognising the role that other factors play, states that the length of time spent in the destination country is a crucial factor in the decision to gain citizenship. This is supported by Evans (1988), who found that the longer immigrants lived in the destination country Australia, the greater the likelihood of them applying for citizenship. Similarly, White, Biddlecom and Guo's (1993) examination of Asian immigrants to the United States found the time spent in the destination country to be one of two most

significant factors in influencing citizenship. What can be deduced from the above findings is that the longer the period of residence in the destination country, the greater the likelihood of obtaining citizenship. As familiarity with the destination country grows with time, so does their emotional attachment and thus it becomes highly likely that they will desire citizenship.

Education is also positively related to citizenship, and those who become citizens are those who generally have a higher level of education. A study by Bernard (1936) found that almost one quarter of those who remained immigrants had no primary school education. However, those who gained citizenship were more likely to have completed their primary education. Similarly, a study by Aguirre and Saenz (2002) of Mexican and Cuban immigrants in the United States found that immigrants with a higher level of education were more likely to gain citizenship. An immigrant's educational level is therefore an individual characteristic that is positively correlated with citizenship. Education works in favour of immigrants who desire to gain citizenship as they will be better equipped with the ability to gather information and knowledge about the destination country, which allows for greater rationality and objectivity whilst the mitigating factors are being tallied.

An immigrant's type of occupation and their level of skills also positively influence the decision to gain citizenship. Portes and Mozo (1985) who conducted a study on Cuban immigrants to the United States found that "professional status" in addition to education was a statistically significant factor in the process of citizenship. These two factors therefore, favour the economic position of the immigrant which will make them more likely to gain citizenship. The favourable economic position works in such a way that it allows an immigrant to be better resourced in terms of socio-economic amenities and this therefore enhances citizenship prospects (Aguirre and Saenz, 2002). This is supported by a study of Hispanic immigrants in the United States by Alvarez (1987), which found that the need for a higher wage and employment were the main reasons to migrate to the United States, and in addition, these immigrants were equipped with skills which were of use to the destination country. Therefore, if a foreigner desires to migrate and in addition to this is educated and, or skilled, the likelihood of being a valuable contributor to the destination country increases and so does the likelihood of citizenship.

Language is also considered to be an important factor that determines whether or not an immigrant will seek citizenship. In the case of Ethiopian immigrants to Durban, South Africa, despite being unable to fluently speak the local languages, they remained in the city due to the social satisfaction and economic prospects present in the destination (Gebre, Maharaj and Pillay, 2010). In contrast, Rogg (1974) who studied Cuban political refugees' cultural assimilation and aspirations to become citizens of the United States found that, an understanding of the local language enhanced the likelihood of citizenship. However, a study by Evans (1988) of immigrants in Australia notes that in some cases fluency in English may not have a substantial bearing on whether or not an immigrant will gain citizenship and this is dependent on the contextual circumstance. Another important finding in the study was that marital status was unrelated to the probability of becoming a citizen. It is perhaps the personal dedication to the goal of residing in the destination country for an indefinite period of time that explains why an immigrant will not abandon the goal to become a citizen even if separated from their spouse. Another important factor which influences the propensity to gain citizenship is the immigrant's perception of the geographical distance between the country of origin and destination country. A study of Mexican immigrants in the United States by Garcia (1981) found that the distance between the country of origin and the destination country is a factor that influences citizenship where the farther the distance between the two locations, the greater the likelihood an immigrant will gain citizenship. Thus a range of demographic factors which are specific to the individual influences the likelihood of gaining citizenship.

#### **2.4.2. Social Factors**

An individual's decision to obtain citizenship is influenced by the society that the immigrant is a part of and some researchers have discovered that immigrants will acquire citizenship status based on the strength of their social networks, and not just on their individual characteristics alone. Garcia's (1981) study found that Mexican immigrants rely strongly on communities and national assistance to help them become citizens of the United States. Social networks have the power to persuade immigrants to formalise their residence in the destination country and to gain citizenship. Patterson's (1999) study of Senegalese citizenship found that individuals depend on one another to achieve similar aims through the reciprocity of their actions. This can be understood as a spirit of altruism, where individuals help others

in order to ultimately benefit from shared action. The likelihood of citizenship, therefore, is dependent on how well an individual immigrant is supported by those in the community.

A range of literature has pointed to the strong influence that social networks have on citizenship and some instances a solid compatriot constituency in the destination country may constitute the primary motivation for migrating (White et al., 1993). Similarly, in Jinnah's (2006) thesis on Pakistani migration to Durban, South Africa it was found that, social networks were instrumental in the decision to migrate to South Africa, and it is possible that these expatriate social networks influenced Pakistani citizens during their citizenship decision-making processes. Alvarez's (1987) study of Hispanics in the United States found that the initial migratory social networks that were created at the immigrant stage were maintained and assisted in providing a basis of support which positively influenced their citizenship. Therefore social networks can assist an immigrant to become familiar with the destination country which thereby makes adaptability to the new mode of lifestyle uncomplicated, and citizenship more probable.

On the other hand, there are those immigrants who do not allow social contexts in the destination country to influence their approach to life in the new country. These immigrants adapt to the destination environment in such a way that the society, instead of them, becomes modified and influenced by the addition of their particular cultural background to the nation. Williams' (1998) study on Asian Indian and Pakistani religions in the United States found that immigrants from these countries were the most valuable shapers of America's religious identity. It can therefore be said that society shapes, and is shaped, by immigrants. In the case of citizenship a foreign citizen has as much to offer the new society as the society offers the foreign citizen.

The assimilation of an immigrant into the destination society positively influences citizenship. When an immigrant adapts to and feels an affiliation towards the destination society and has a high level of social participation, the immigrant will most likely decide to become a citizen (Evans, 1988). Similarly, White et al. (1993) concurred with this finding in their study of immigrants to the United States of America, which found that the immigrants who gained citizenship did so because they had sufficiently acculturated. For certain immigrants their likelihood of acquiring citizenship is solely dependent on the extent to which social networks flourish in the destination country. If the immigrant can integrate into

the destination society with ease this will create a positive and hopeful attitude towards gaining citizenship. The converse to this also applies, since when an immigrant is not received well in the destination, their future prospects are viewed less optimistically and thus citizenship is desired less (Van Hook, Brown and Bean, 2006). Therefore, the greater the depth of social interaction that an immigrant has in the destination country, the greater the likelihood the immigrant will become a citizen.

According to Garcia (1981) cultural variables also influence the citizenship process. However in contrast, Aguirre and Saenz (2002), state that large ethnic socio-cultural networks can distract an immigrant from the desire to become a citizen. The extent of the influence of social and cultural factors on citizenship is therefore dependent on the size of the ethnic immigrant community and the dynamics within the particular destination country. An immigrant is just as likely to remain loyal to their country of origin as they are to the destination country and this depends on the social contexts and interactions locally and back home. Heisler (1992) states social networks and interactions are the foundation of citizenship and that a co-dependent relationship exists between civil movements and citizenship. Therefore a nation's social interactions develop more dimension and progressive potential when immigrants are added to that society. Citizenship is dependent on the strength of social ties with locals but beyond that, access to social services such as education, employment, public safety and health care work in favour of citizenship (White et al., 1993). These social networks and services can assist in creating a firm foundation for immigrants to feel supported by the destination country and this can favour citizenship. However, it is necessary for these social advantages to work in conjunction with the personal needs and principles of the immigrant in order for citizenship to occur. If not, the immigrant will be inclined to abandon the new society and to return to the country of origin.

### **2.4.3. Political Factors**

Beyond the individual immigrant's characteristics and the social networks and interactions that may promote citizenship, political contexts in the country of origin and the destination country are present in the minds of immigrants in their decision to become a citizen. Immigrants on the whole remain conscious of the destination country's political state of

affairs and they weigh numerous political factors before becoming a citizen. In certain destination countries the burden of legal efforts that are required to obtain citizenship can serve as a mitigating factor to return to the country of origin. Amit's (2001) study in the Cayman Islands recognised the complexity and difficulty of the legal procedures for immigrants to perform in order to obtain citizenship in a country. Citizenship is therefore not always a straightforward procedural change that an immigrant undertakes. In some nations it may prove to be so difficult that it may threaten the immigrant's desire to ever gain citizenship. Thus political factors are as crucial to an immigrant's likelihood of becoming a citizen as individual and social factors.

The degree of to which an immigrant relates to the political system of the destination country influences the likelihood of the immigrant's citizenship. When an immigrant has respect and trust towards the laws and culture of the destination country the immigrant will feel a greater need to become a citizen of that country. Humphrey (1944) describes this as, the dissolution of an immigrant's devotion to the country of origin which is then substituted with a political allegiance towards destination country. In contrast, when an immigrant has unfavourable feelings and opinions towards the destination country's political arrangements, their likelihood of citizenship becomes less probable (Garcia, 1981). Therefore, the more the destination country's value system echoes with the values of the immigrant the greater the likelihood of citizenship.

Garcia's (1981) study of Mexican immigrants in the United States examined the factors that influenced political affiliations which led to citizenship. It was found that social institutions, such as the media and schools, create political discourses that immigrants adhere to, which then result in a need to gain citizenship (Garcia, 1981). Political affiliations and opinions are therefore a natural by-product of social interactions with others and this can motivate for, or against citizenship. Alvarez (1987) who also examined immigrant groups in the United States, in particular Hispanic immigrants, found that political institutions assisted immigrants to such an extent that they gained citizenship, and this would not have occurred without their assistance. In fact, the more difficult it is to apply for citizenship status the less likely the immigrant will become a citizen (Aguirre and Saenz, 2002). If the socio-political structures in the destination country are supportive and inclusive then immigrants are more likely to try to obtain citizenship.

Political participation and involvement is a right as a citizen and for some immigrants a motivation that may propel them to gain citizenship will be whether this right can be exercised in the destination country. Evans (1988) conducted a study of immigrants in Australia in order to determine why immigrants would become citizens if they were given limited civil and social rights and found that the right to vote in the country's elections was a good reason for immigrants to become citizens. Similarly Garcia (1981) found that immigrants who wished to have the rights and benefits that the destination country offers, and who felt an affiliation towards the destination country's political system, were most likely to become citizens. In certain countries those employed in the military service were found to have a high propensity to acquire citizenship since the law is altered to accommodate foreign military servicemen (DeSipio, 1987). What is important then is for immigrants to feel that their rights are equal to those of the locals in the destination country. If an immigrant believes that the destination country's political systems favours an abundance of opportunities and the expression of individuality then the immigrant may become a citizen.

When the governmental structures of the destination country are well developed it can assist immigrants to assimilate and adapt to the new environment with ease. These state structures, by being efficient and hospitable, will increase the likelihood that immigrants will become citizens (Bloemraad, 2002). In the instances where the ties that an immigrant has to other individuals or communities in the destination country are severed, the immigrant will then become more reliant on state structures to provide support and assistance in the citizenship process (Patterson, 1999). The state has an important role to play as information-sharer and if the state improves its involvement with immigrants, their transition from immigrant to citizen status will be made easier. The state has the ability to make immigrants view the destination country favourably and if this occurs their citizenship will increase.

The state also has a considerable role to play by influencing citizenship through its attitude towards dual citizenship. Jones-Correa (2001) stated that data from 1965 to 1987 showed that most of the immigrants who became citizens in the United States originated from countries that recognised dual citizenship. It was discovered that the ability to carry dual citizenship had a strong influence on likelihood of citizenship, and when these immigrant groups were able to obtain dual citizenship their citizenship rates increased by 141 percent (Jones-Correa, 2001). On the other hand there are certain nations which do not support dual nationality but

this may not always drive an immigrant out of the destination country. This was the case of the Lebanese and Syrian immigrants of Ghana, which was one of the many African countries that had not instituted dual nationality laws. In this country the Lebanese immigrants decided to become citizens of Ghana in order to shield their businesses (Akyeampong, 2006). This is an example of citizenship being favoured in a country that rejects dual nationality. Although particular nations may not have instituted dual nationality laws, there are beneficial reasons to do so. Beyond being an advantage to the immigrant, dual nationality has the benefit of creating a stronger relationship between the country of origin and destination country (Hammar, 1985). A country that does not support dual citizenship may find that its immigrants still opt to become citizens, however, in a political sense it would do more good for a nation if pro-dual citizenship laws are passed.

Citizenship brings with it the rights and regulations of the destination country which can allow a foreigner to become a formal contributor to that nation. Hammar (1985) stress that it is the responsibility of the destination country's state and political structures to have measures in place that allow new citizens to participate in national practices as a confirmation of their existence. It is important that the destination country's state ensures the human rights of foreign citizens are protected in the same manner as locals. Hammar (1985) stresses that the national political system will be "endangered" if foreign citizens are excluded from political participation. Thus it becomes clear that the ill-recognition of the foreign citizen constituency is a contradiction of the values of democracy and inclusion that most nations are eager to achieve. In order to move closer to this unified state in society, it is imperative that foreign citizens and immigrants are respected and treated equally before the law.

## **2.5. Challenges in the Destination Country and the Likelihood of Return Migration**

Even once immigrants have been able to obtain citizen status in a country, "push" factors may continue to threaten to drive them out of the country. Galor and Stark's (1990) study which examined the reasons why immigrants returned to their country of origin found that there are numerous factors that compel them to return to their home country; these were for example, social isolation, psychological difficulties, the change in lifestyle and the separation from home. The adaptation of the immigrant to the destination community may prove to be difficult

and uncomfortable. The change in lifestyle, interactions and environment in the destination country may upset the state of equilibrium that the immigrant had before moving there and this may work against citizenship.

### **2.5.1. The Practical and Emotional Difficulties**

The tensions and conflicts that immigrants face in destination countries add to the complexity and stress to obtain citizenship. Crewe and Kothari's (1998) examination of Gujarati immigrants to Britain claimed that most of these immigrants moved there because they aspired to live in a modern destination full of opportunities. The immigrant community in this study had to endure minimal opportunities, racial conflict and tension which resulted in some Gujaratis having to move to the United States due to these harsh experiences (Crewe and Kothari, 1998). The inability of immigrants to integrate into the local society is an issue that immigrants face in many countries and this may drive them out of the destination country.

However, not all immigrants decide to leave the destination country if they have been antagonised by the local society; this was the case of Lebanese immigrants to Ghana. Akyeampong's (2006) study found that the lack of intermingling that took place between these immigrants and locals resulted in their isolation and detachment from locals and the result was that Lebanese only mingled with and married fellow Lebanese. The integration of immigrants into the destination country is not an easy process and the more reservations immigrants have towards locals the greater the likelihood that they will be ostracised by locals. This has the negative effect of segregating civilians according to nationality which thereby creates a breeding ground for violence and xenophobia. The failure to create an environment of solidarity between locals and immigrants decreases the likelihood of citizenship, where immigrants will then face the decision of whether to remain in tense surroundings or to migrate to a more peaceful destination country.

In certain nations citizenship for immigrants is the exception rather than the rule. Robert's (2002) study on labour immigrants to Shanghai, China found that immigrants were only wanted for their labour, and almost all were prohibited from obtaining permanent residency. Immigrants to China face ostracism and antagonism by the locals and as a result citizenship is hardly an option. Circumstances such as these would propel immigrants to return home and it

is for this reason that labour migration to China is hardly ever permanent (Roberts, 2002). The above circumstances validate the uncertainty and challenges that shroud an immigrant's existence in the destination country. Furthermore the urge to leave the destination country may continue to plague an immigrant many years after arrival. It is also necessary to point out that legal immigrants do not encounter better economic circumstances than their illegal compatriots. A study by Massey (1987) compared the wages earned by undocumented and legal immigrants to Mexico and found that, legal and illegal immigrants who came from the same country and who had similar employment activities were not much different in their wages earned. In the case of the Pakistani citizens in this study, it will be important to understand why they become citizens of Durban.

### **2.5.2. Xenophobia and Ostracism**

Citizens aspire to attain their full human rights but whilst democracy and the full enjoyment of human rights are conceivable, for many of them it remains remote and weighed down by barriers. The social democratic perspective held by Thomas Marshall (1949) urged for opportunities to be equaled out between citizens within different levels of the social hierarchy, as in his view society referred to all citizens having an equal level of opportunity and challenges as they moved towards attaining their full potential. However the full potential of a citizen is not only dependent on the efforts an individual makes since the government has a decisive role to play in the individual's resources and access to opportunity. Adejumobi's (2001) study on the conceptualisations of citizenship in Africa in relation to the state's role as a propaganda-maker found that, in countries such as South Africa and Zimbabwe where colonialism was experienced, the white population is considered as the colonial oppressors by the native population, and the natives consider only themselves to be the true citizens of the country. This excerpt of Adejumobi's (2001) study illustrates how the state's ideologies become entrenched in the minds of civilians. If the state, as in these cases, creates separatist ideologies regarding race and citizenship, then the consequence is a fragmented society that does not appreciate and respect differences between people.

According to Klotz (2000), xenophobia in South Africa is a post-Apartheid issue that immigrants face upon arrival in the country as it serves as a replacement for racism. The fear

of foreigners is a South African reality that is in part fuelled by the influx of immigrants from other nations who seek to enhance their livelihoods in the country (Whitaker 2005); furthermore, these post-Apartheid trends in migration and human settlement have perpetuated tension between locals and immigrants as they compete for resources and occupation. The fear of outsiders, or xenophobia, creates a struggle for immigrants to integrate themselves into the host society. Immigrants who enter into nations that are xenophobic are faced with a reality that may be so polarized or even traumatic, that a return to the country of origin is necessitated.

Sectarian discourses are promoted by certain public officials and politicians who have anti-foreigner sentiments, which thereby vindicates the antagonistic behaviours and attitudes that civil society hold towards foreigners. For instance, the preconception of immigrants as outsiders, who do not deserve to be welcomed into the destination country, has been entrenched in the minds of certain police officials in South Africa and this serves as a justification for them to disrespect foreigners. Klaaren and Ramji's (2001) study on migration policing in post-Apartheid South Africa found that legal immigrants face hostility, brutality and corruption on the part of police officials. The Department of Home Affairs also contributes to the difficulties that immigrants face in obtaining their legal documentation which is due to the Department's administrative inefficiencies, where for instance access to facilities may even be refused (Klaaren and Ramji, 2001). The legal documentation issues and the lack of support from local police officials cause immigrants to feel unprotected and unrecognised in the destination country and issues such as these work against the likelihood of citizenship.

Immigrants and citizens are sometimes taken advantage of by police officials as they are not well informed about their rights. As Klaaren and Ramji (2001) found, the police do not disclose to the immigrants the reasons for arrest and furthermore immigrants are not asked to produce their documentation, and this validates the actions of the police. Immigrants and new citizens are in a vulnerable and uninformed position in the destination country and this presents a challenge that police officials may utilize to disempower them. In some instances, these antagonising behaviours that police officials and locals demonstrate towards foreigners derive from a form of political propaganda. An illustration of this is Whitaker's (2005) study which investigated how particular African government officials shift public attitudes

regarding citizens and foreigners. The findings were such that certain African officials labelled political opposition leaders as ‘foreigners’ or ‘non-citizens’ as a political strategy to win favour with civilians, and this thereby sparked a xenophobic attitude amongst the civilians of these nations (Whitaker, 2005). When political ideologies that ostracize certain groups are promoted it creates a fragmented society as opposed to a cohesive one. In the case of immigrants their dignity and value is degraded by this ostracism and propaganda which thereby decreases the likelihood of citizenship.

The right to vote in a national election is a human right once an immigrant becomes a citizen, however, not every citizen may be eligible to vote and this depends on the circumstances in each particular destination. Amit (2001) conducted a study on the difference between the rights of citizens and immigrants in the Cayman Islands and found that the problem that Caymanian immigrants faced was that their rights were subordinate to the citizens and they were not allowed to vote in national elections. The denial of political participation that these immigrants faced was deliberate attempt to render them meaningless. The Caymanian immigrants’ experiences illustrate how the political system can pose as an obstacle that prevents foreigners from assimilating into the destination country. Foreigners are valuable to the destination country because they may contribute to the growth of the country’s economy amongst other things; however, if the political system does not acknowledge their presence and human rights they cannot become entirely worthwhile to the nation. The challenges of assimilating into the host society, and the limitations placed on political representation, may make immigrants feel compelled to return to their country of origin.

## **2.6. Arriving at the Final Decision to Gain Citizenship**

Citizenship is the result of a decision made by the immigrant after weighing the advantages and disadvantages of permanent residence in the destination country. Previously in the chapter, the factors that influenced an immigrant’s likelihood of citizenship were discussed. The variables that influenced whether an immigrant would become a citizen or not are individual, social or political in nature. The following section discusses what reasons cause an immigrant to decide either to become or not to become a citizen in lieu of the advantages

and disadvantages in the destination country. These reasons stem from conditions in the country of origin, the destination country, or both.

Alvarez's (1987) study of Hispanics in the United States found that the decision regarding whether to obtain citizenship is possibly the most important decision an immigrant will make in their life. Furthermore, this decision will have a bearing on the quality of life that of an immigrant. The complex decision-making process related to citizenship is a paradigmatic shift of an individual's identity and which involves a cautious consideration of all the perceived advantages and disadvantages of the possibility of citizenship (Alvarez, 1987). Thus, once the range of individual, social and political factors are determined they will be considered as a whole to establish whether it will be advantageous or disadvantageous to become a citizen, this is known as the cost-benefit analysis.

### **2.6.1. The Cost-Benefit Analysis**

There are factors particular to each immigrant and each destination country which will determine how the immigrant will respond to the idea of becoming a citizen. Neither the costs, nor the benefits of citizenship predominates the immigrant's decision-making processes. In any situation there exist both costs and benefits to citizenship, and a combination of contextual factors will determine the final decision.

A range of factors have an ultimate impact on citizenship which may be psychological, social or political in nature. The factor which predominates will have a bearing on whether an immigrant will become a citizen or not (Garcia, 1981). If, for instance, social ties in the destination country are not viewed positively by the immigrant, this lowers the likelihood of the immigrant seeking citizenship (Garcia, 1981). Therefore the situations in the country of origin are also as important as the destination country when weighing up the costs and benefits of citizenship. For instance, an immigrant's relationship with those in the country of origin may be subject to change due to the new affiliation towards the destination country. Alvarez's (1987) study of immigrants to the United States found that once Hispanic immigrants became citizens, their loyalty to their country of origin did not diminish. The Hispanics had a respectful outlook towards their destination country but still upheld their

“allegiance” to the country of origin, this is known as “dual allegiance” (Alvarez, 1987, p. 330). This dual allegiance can be beneficial as it allows new citizens to maintain their ties with the country of origin and it serves as a means for them to preserve their traditional culture.

Ramirez (1979) study on Mexican immigrants to the United States found that 60 of the 194 immigrants had become citizens and that the immigrants who did not gain citizenship felt that there was no substantial benefit in becoming a citizen and also feared the destination country’s public institutions. An extreme example of Ramirez’s study was found in Cornelius’ (1981) research where almost all the Mexican immigrants to the United States had not gained citizenship and this was due to language barriers and perceived economic challenges. Thus in some instances the inflexibility of immigrants may prevent them from changing their lifestyle, habits and activities in order to take up life in the destination country permanently. For some immigrants however, a difference in the lifestyle between the destination country and the country of origin contributes to the appeal of the new country. The more different the country of origin and the country of destination, the more attractive the host nation will appear. Richmond (1967) who examined European immigrants to Canada found that, if the destination country was similar to the country of origin the immigrant would be less likely to gain citizenship there. Therefore although national contexts are important in the cost-benefit analysis of citizenship, the immigrant’s need to discover new territory may outweigh all the concerns about citizenship in the destination country.

The costs of citizenship are factors or challenges that alter the lifestyle of the immigrant in such a way that it would make an immigrant decide not to permanently reside in the destination country and possibly to return to the country of origin due to difficulties. In other instances it refers to the new realities of citizen adaptation, where previous habits or comforts have to be discarded by the immigrant in exchange for the new lifestyle. As stated by Hammar (1985) citizenship in a new country follows only after an immigrant can adequately assimilate and abandon former tendencies. These tendencies refer to the costs of citizenship which may for instance be a loss of citizenship in the country of origin, if the destination country does not recognise dual citizenship (Van Hook et al., 2006). For example, Alvarez’s study of Hispanic immigrants in the United States found that immigrants had many fears about the citizenship process that led them to remain temporary immigrants. These fears were

of being rejected in the country of origin, writing an examination with little knowledge of English, social exclusion by their compatriots and administrative or political rejection (Alvarez, 1987). Immigrants will apply for citizenship status if they have confidence that they can adapt to all the potential costs of citizenship, however if they do not believe that they can withstand the changes and sacrifices that come with citizenship they will not make an application.

Heisler (1992) recognises the unwillingness of certain immigrants to abandon the citizenship of their country of origin and suggests that host nations enhance immigrant political participation to increase the rate of citizenship. It is important for the immigrant community to feel recognised by the local community, since the citizenship of the immigrants serves to benefit the society at large. Patterson's (1999) study of immigrants to Senegal found that they are conscious of the treatment that they are receiving from the host community and if they are not embraced, they consider citizenship to be a cost to themselves. According to Patterson (1999), if they are not embraced this may present a cost to the destination country since foreign citizens would not be optimally contributing to civil participation. This was the case of Lebanese immigrants and citizens of Ghana who encountered "political antagonism" in the destination country and this made them hesitant to involve themselves in local politics and thus their political participation is minimal (Akyeampong, 2006, p. 318). When a foreign citizen constituency is not recognized as a contributor to the political system by the local people and officials, their potential is thus limited, and this antagonism represents a cost to the destination country.

Immigrants are likely to become citizens if the destination country offers valuable benefits and opportunities for the individual. The benefits range from economic benefits, political benefits, or familial and social benefits. According to Van Hook et al. (2006), these could be better employment opportunities, the creation of a social network for family to join and the right to vote. Furthermore, locals sometimes benefit from the addition of foreign citizens and their support can influence the new citizen to pledge an allegiance to the destination country and to contribute to economic growth (Van Hook et al., 2006). One of the most important requirements for a citizen is the ability to vote and thus immigrants seek citizenship to gain political rights in the destination country (Aleinikoff, 2001). However even with the strong need to politically liberate oneself in the destination country, an immigrant will continue to

debate whether the economic prospects are certain and advantageous, and if the immigrant decides that it is not, then citizenship will be sacrificed.

Patterson's (1999) study of immigrants to Senegal found that if a nation's political system allows citizens to interact with authorities and have their opinions recognised then a collaborative and democratic state will be cultivated, and should this not occur, immigrants may not feel any loyalty towards the destination. A case in point is the political ostracism that Lebanese citizens of Cote d'Ivoire endured. Despite the fact that their political participation is a human right, and that they form ten percent of the national population, Lebanese citizens were ostracised from Ghanaian politics (Akyeampong, 2006). This illustrates that the exclusion of foreign citizens from political participation may actually represent a greater cost to the destination country's society than to the foreign citizens themselves as the social and political structures would not be able to operate in a unified and inclusive manner.

## **2.7. Conclusion**

There is a complex relationship between individual, social and political dynamics that citizenship is dependent on. Although certain contextual factors carry more weight, no contextual factor acts alone in determining whether or not an immigrant will become a citizen, it is rather a combination of factors that will influence the decision to obtain citizenship. Each destination country creates unique motivations and circumstances that bring about citizenship for the immigrant; however there are common attitudes and experiences shared amongst all nations' immigrants. The common requirement that runs through the contextual fabric is that immigrants' value as human beings must be respected and embraced by locals in order for foreigners to acquire citizenship.

## CHAPTER 3

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

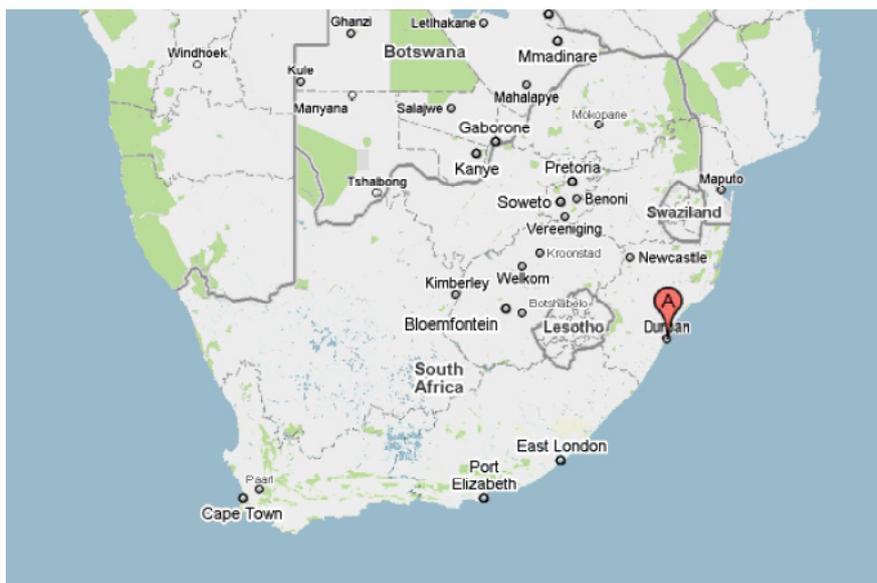
#### 3.1. Introduction

This chapter will discuss the research methodology that was used in the study. The chosen research method to conduct the study was a qualitative approach, in particular, in-depth interviews. In addition to discussing this, the appropriateness of these methods used will be explained as well as the process used to locate the respondents. The chapter will also explain the challenges that were encountered in the study and the ethical guidelines that were followed to gather unbiased data.

#### 3.2. Study Setting

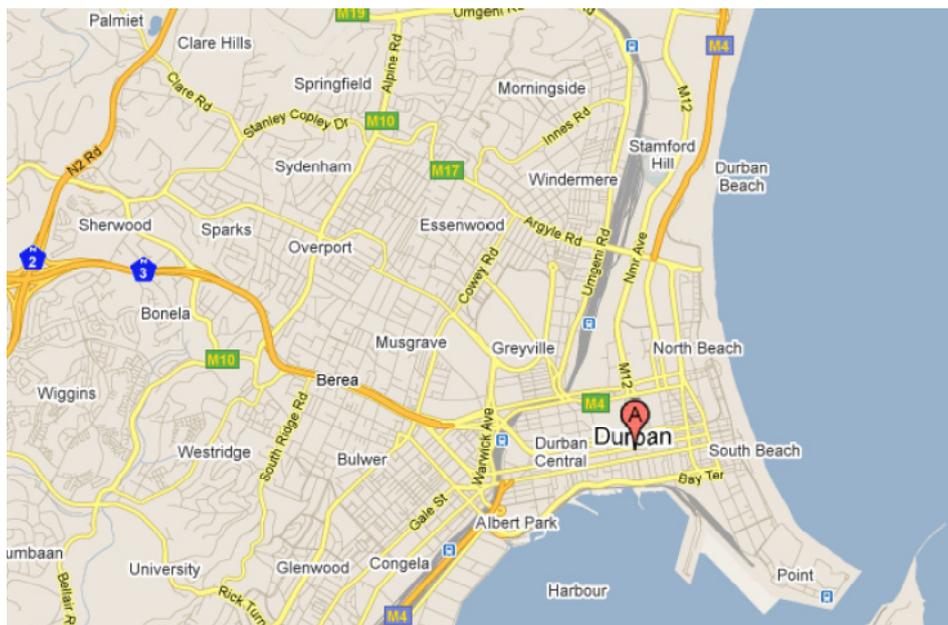
The city of Durban formed the setting for this study. Durban is located on the east coast of South Africa, in the province of KwaZulu-Natal (Statistics South Africa, 2007). Durban has a population of 3.5 million people (Statistics South Africa, 2007), and 68% of its population is economically active (eThekweni Municipality, 2010).

Figure 1: The Location of Durban, South Africa (Source: Google Map, 2010©)



Durban forms part of the major industrial regions in South Africa namely because it has the busiest port in the country (eThekweni Municipality, 2010). In addition to this, Durban’s “relative tolerance towards foreigners” (Maharaj and Moodley, 2000, p. 154) makes it a favoured destination for immigrants to locate themselves. The North Central Durban region was accessed for the interview process since a large number of Pakistanis are located in this region according to PASA.

Figure 2: The Location of the North Central Durban Region (Google Map, 2010©).



This region is considered to be the one of the higher income regions of Durban and is located further away from industrial areas, which is the result of apartheid government planning (Gumbi, 2001). For the purposes of this study suburban areas within North Central Durban, such as Beria, Essenwood, Morningside and Overport were accessed to conduct the interviews with respondents either at their place of residence or work.

### **3.3. The Research Design: Qualitative Methods**

Qualitative methods are appropriate to this study since detailed descriptions were necessary to formulate an understanding of Pakistani citizens’ encounters. The advantage of qualitative methods over quantitative methods in gathering data is that, it allows the researcher to gain information about respondents’ motivations and feelings, as opposed to quantitative methods

which focus on the validity of findings. The benefit of this method is that the data will allow the hypothesis to be induced from it (Thorne, 2000), and this is a more suitable way of uncovering this study's objectives, as Pakistanis' accounts are paramount to conclusions. However, therein could rest the problem, since in qualitative methods there is the likelihood that the researcher's subjectivity has affected the interpretation of data. Qualitative research has been criticized for not being rigorous and dynamic enough in the interpretive stages of data collection. For instance Thorne (2000) has criticized qualitative research for being reliant on unorganized interpretative methods during the investigation of a topic. In opposition to this view, qualitative methods follow a systematic and comprehensive procedure during the data analysis process and in order to ensure this, care has been taken in this study to minimize researcher bias and to produce findings that are accurately representative of the respondent's perspectives. These procedures will be discussed further in the chapter.

The study was of a qualitative nature and this approach emphasizes that it is important to consider an individual's motivations, feelings and opinions when trying to understand behaviours and events (Neuman, 2006). In particular in-depth interviews, which form part of qualitative methods, were conducted with Pakistanis who constitute as citizens of South Africa or who are currently applying for this status. In-depth interviews are the most applicable way for qualitative researchers to understand the motivations and attitudes of respondents is by conducting in-depth interviews (Patton, 2002). The use of in-depth interviews allowed Pakistani citizens to provide detailed and descriptive accounts and thus their deeper feelings and motivations were expressed. The qualitative method of research was necessitated since it allowed the researcher to delve deeply into the personal meanings and motivations for Pakistani citizens to gain citizenship in Durban, South Africa.

### **3.3.1. In-depth Interviews**

In-depth interviewing as a qualitative research approach is a means of ascertaining a deep perspective from a particular number of respondents about their experiences and opinions (Boyce and Neale, 2006). For this study's interview process fifteen respondents were asked both closed and open ended questions in a relaxed conversational tone. Interviews were

conducted in an interested manner to assist the Pakistani respondents to feel comfortable to share rich and honest information. Furthermore, it is important to develop a good rapport with each respondent to ensure that they will be willing to delve deeper into the thematic topics and thus less likely to provide generic answers to questions (Gaskell, 2000). This was achieved by establishing commonalities with the respondents whilst remaining ready for any disagreement the respondents expressed. Open-mindedness and impartial empathy were important traits that the researcher in this study exhibited during the interview process and this ensured that Pakistanis conveyed meaningful and representative feedback for the study and that the guidelines were followed during the interview process.

The appropriateness of in-depth interviews for the data collection process was advantageous for a number of reasons. Firstly, the principal advantage of in-depth interviews is that it provides more detailed accounts from respondents than other data collection techniques (Boyce and Neale, 2006). Secondly, in-depth interviews help researchers gather detailed information from respondents about their feelings, opinions and how it relates to their behaviours (Boyce and Neale, 2006). Thirdly, this form of data collection creates a comfortable environment for gathering data (Boyce and Neale, 2006), and because of this, conversations in this study were personal accounts that were able to flow more freely and sincerely than they would under other technical circumstances. On the other hand, a predominant disadvantage of in-depth interviews is that it is a time consuming activity that takes time to transcribe and analyze data (Boyce and Neale, 2006), however in consideration of the all advantages of this technique, it remained the most appropriate means to gather meaningful data for this study.

The interviews were conducted in English and an interview guide was created to give structure to the interview process. A pilot study was conducted in March 2010 with three respondents in order to revise the interview guide prior to the data collection process. The interview questions related to Pakistanis' citizenship experiences, documentation procedures and individual, social and political decision-making processes that led to their citizenship. The interview was divided into six sections. The first section comprised of demographic questions. The second section the migratory process to South Africa, the third the citizenship process. Decision-making processes related to citizenship formed the fourth section; and the fifth section examined the experiences in the country of origin and destination country. Finally

Pakistanis were asked for recommendations and commentary based on their immigrant and citizen experiences in South Africa. These section topics served to help the researcher gain an insight into the array of experiences and attitudes that Pakistani citizens have.

### **3.4. The Process of Data Collection and Analysis**

An important requirement during the process of data collection and analysis is to follow a structured method of accessing the respondents and interpreting the data in order to generate accurate findings for the study. Firstly data was collected by locating and accessing a select number of respondents who formed the sample population; this is known as the sampling method. Secondly, after the in-depth interviews were conducted the data was analysed according to the themes of the study.

#### **3.4.1. The Sampling Method**

The non-probability sampling technique was used to locate the sample of fifteen respondents for this study. The use of non-probability sampling techniques indicates that this method to seek respondents was not random. In order to locate only those Pakistanis who were legal citizens in South Africa or were in the process of doing so, the appropriate type of sampling to use initially was purposive sampling which falls under the umbrella of non-probability sampling. Purposive sampling is necessary to locate individuals who are representative of their constituency at large (Terreblanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2006). Since, for the purposes of this study, only Pakistani citizens were needed in the respondent category, purposive sampling helped locate these particular individuals. Furthermore purposive sampling techniques increase the understanding of the defined individuals who are selected (Devers and Frankel, 2000). This type of sampling is appropriate, since as the first main requirement, it allowed the Pakistani population to be narrowed down only to those particular foreign citizens who have legally gained citizenship or are applying for it. In the case of this study an official at PASA compiled a list of all Pakistanis who fitted the criteria of this study:

- Have gained South African citizenship legally;

- Reside or work in North Central Durban.

The North Central Durban area was accessed for the study since Pakistani citizens are primarily located in this area of Durban and its surrounding suburbs, according to the officials at PASA. The reason for their predominance in this area is due its close proximity to the Durban port especially for those Pakistani citizens who engage in import and export business activities. This area is preferred by the Pakistanis because of the better occupational prospects and social amenities which attract those in pursuit of a higher standard of living. Thus, the North Central Durban area was identified as an appropriate location to conduct the study.

In addition to locating Pakistani citizens, it was also necessary to find a wide-ranging selection of respondents within the sample population. According to Bryman (2004) researchers must ensure that they access a wide range of individuals so that an array of different perspectives will be presented. Thus a second requirement was to find a means to obtain a select yet varied sample population. A varied sample population refers to locating a pool of respondents with wide-ranging demographic characteristics. The importance of gathering a varied pool of respondents is to enhance the possibility of obtaining a variety of responses during the interview process. During the data collection process, an intermediary can help provide information about respondents and thereby facilitate easier access to them (Devers and Frankel, 2000), and thus it was helpful to obtain a list of telephonic numbers of Pakistani citizens from PASA. It must be noted that the list of respondents compiled by PASA was larger than the number of respondents required for the study in order to enhance the variability in the selection of the sample population. At first, a select number of initial respondents, five to be exact, were chosen for the in-depth interview process from the PASA list. The reason for choosing only five respondents from the list was to ensure that the respondents for the study would not have similar demographic characteristics, thus the initial pool was small to keep the homogeneity of the sample to a minimum.

Thereafter the snowball sampling technique was used to access a varied sample of further respondents. This form of sampling ensures that the sample will contain a varied selection of individuals (Terreblanche et al., 2006). The snowball sampling involved obtaining information about other legal Pakistani citizens either through the first five respondents that

were interviewed, or through other legitimate local Pakistani networks and organizations. A further ten respondents were found using this technique and in total fifteen respondents were interviewed for the study. The final number of fifteen respondents was determined when the researcher reached a saturation level during the interview process, where the respondents' statements began to overlap and repeat themselves. In addition to this, since there are only a few female Pakistani citizens in the study area a greater number of respondents would have created a sample that was biased towards male respondents. Therefore, fifteen respondents was the appropriate number for the study.

### **3.4.2. Data Analysis**

Once the sample population was located and the data was gathered through the interview process it was necessary to analyse the data in order to draw conclusions based on the study's key research aims. The data consisted in-depth interviews each lasting an average of one hour, and were recorded via a dictaphone and then transcribed. In order to analyse the data the interview transcriptions were read several times to gain a firm understanding of the attitudes and experiences of the respondents. The transcriptions were then coded at particular points in the text where a significant or recurrent meaning behind the respondent's statements was found. Codes were then grouped by similarity and were allocated a theme title. These thematic categories will be interpreted in the next chapter where patterns and perspectives of the data will be discussed. During this stage in the process it was important to ensure that the results derived from the data were credible and valid and this was achieved in a variety of ways. Firstly, the data was verified in the following five ways: methodological coherence, an appropriate sample, collecting and analysing the data simultaneously, allowing ideas to emerge and by allowing the theory to develop (Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, Spiers, 2002). It is imperative that data is allowed to guide the conclusions and that the inverse does not occur. In this way the analysis has stemmed from the direct statements of the respondents and thus it is more credible.

Secondly, the ways in which the researcher analyses and engages with the data impacts on the representativeness of the material to the respondents' lives. According to Morse et al. (2002), whilst it is necessary for the researcher to exhibit creativity, it is even more crucial that

subjective perceptions are abandoned to ensure that the findings are true to the accounts made by the respondents. The researcher's role is to strike a balance between being an interested investigator of the respondents whilst still remaining impartial and grounded in the perspectives of the respondents. It is also important that the researcher takes serious account of the responsibility to objectively report on the findings without overplaying their role in the process (Patton, 1999). In this study the researcher has followed these guidelines by remaining objective and transparent during the data analysis process in order to promote the quality of the research.

Thirdly, the researcher can enhance the credibility and quality of the research by collaborating with respondents during their research process in order to, "attest to its credibility" (Creswell and Miller, 2000, p. 128). The researcher has taken care to ensure that findings are participant-centred by maintaining contact with the respondents after the interview process to verify responses. In addition, the researcher has also improved the credibility of the study by providing detailed descriptions during the data analysis and write-up stage so that the readers of the material can enhance their understanding and empathy towards the participants (Creswell and Miller, 2000). Upon following these data analysis steps the data will be analyzed in a way that ensures the credibility, quality and transparency of the findings.

### **3.5. Ethical Considerations**

Prior to the interview process the University of KwaZulu-Natal provided ethical clearance for the study. Thereafter it was important that the interview process and the writing up of the findings were conducted in a principled manner that would not impair the reputation or wellbeing of respondents. Thus the research process included mandatory steps to prove ethically sound. Initially, in order to access Pakistani citizens, PASA was informally briefed about the topic of the study and thereafter they submitted a list of Pakistani citizens who fit the demographic profile required for the study. Once the list had been received, a research proposal was forwarded to PASA outlining the background and motivation for the study as well as a clear description of the research process and the role of the researcher and the organization in the process.

The Pakistani respondents were then contacted telephonically to arrange a time to be interviewed. Prior to each one-on-one interview, the researcher read out the informed consent form which informed the respondents about their role as voluntary participants in the study. Upon the each respondent's agreement to the ethical guidelines of the study, the form was signed and kept by the researcher and an unsigned form was given to the respondent. It was important for the role of the research to be conveyed to respondents prior to the interview (Ulin, Robinson, Tolley, McNeill, 2002), and in addition to this the respondents were given a clear understanding of the context of the study. It was also imperative that the respondents' anonymity was maintained whilst conducting the study. In order to preserve the identity of the respondents, their names have been allocated a numerical value and the details regarding their place of residence and personal information have been omitted.

During the process of writing the findings gathered from the interview process an important duty is to maintain a balanced and accurate approach (Ulin et al., 2002). In order to attain this balance in the findings generated from the data, the conclusions that were drawn were grounded in the data, thus ensuring minimal researcher bias, balanced and transparent findings. Researcher bias in particular should be guarded against during the research process to minimize bias (Boyce and Neal, 2000). This was achieved by quoting the direct statements made by the respondents to verify the researcher's statement accuracy. The benefit of staying grounded in the respondents' statements helps empower them in the process and furthermore the research will have minimal bias thereby making the findings trustable. In addition to this, the fifteen respondents were of the Islamic and Christian faith, and the researcher has neither these religious commonalities with the respondents, nor is of Pakistani heritage. This has worked in favour of the study as it has provided the researcher with an unbiased, objective outlook.

### **3.6.Challenges Related to the Study**

There were certain challenges that were encountered during the data collection process, which the researcher has addressed with the utmost of diplomacy in those instances. During the stage where the researcher made telephonic arrangements to meet potential respondents, some Pakistani citizens were circumspect and thus held reservation about participating in the study because they did not want their personal information to be revealed, the result of this was the

refusal to participate in the study. Furthermore, some Pakistani citizens declined to participate in the study as they had busy work schedules and were unavailable to be interviewed. Thus the final respondents in this study were the Pakistani citizens who agreed to participate in the study or whom the researcher had to convince, initially via telephone.

Once the researcher accessed the respondents the challenges faced during the in-depth interviews were that some respondents had a personal fear of the emotional disclosure which is related to this style of interview. These respondents were hesitant to participate in the in-depth interview and they did not want to become emotionally uncomfortable since this was an unfamiliar experience for them as they had never discussed their migration and citizenship processes before. However, once an honest description of the aims and context of the study was provided by the researcher, the respondents appeared more trusting and thereby became eager to be interviewed.

### **3.7.Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed the study setting and the qualitative research approach that has been used to conduct this study. The data collection process firstly pertains to locating the respondents, thereafter conducting in-depth interviews and lastly the analysis of the data gathered. Whilst challenges were encountered during the compilation of research, the ethical guidelines of the study acted as a set of principles which through adherence to, have ensured that the respondents felt comfortable and respected during the interview process.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSES

#### 4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings generated from interviews with fifteen Pakistani citizens. Their basic demographic information will be discussed as well as the process of decision making that resulted in them gaining citizenship. In addition to this the relationship between Pakistani citizens and South African government authorities will be revealed. The chapter will also examine the costs and benefits associated with the process of obtaining citizenship. Finally the chapter will discuss the opinions held by Pakistani citizens regarding their life in Durban, South Africa.

#### 4.2. The Demographic Profile of Respondents

In-depth interviews were conducted with fifteen Pakistani citizens during August and September 2010. Of the total sample twelve were male and three were female. It appears that more men migrate to South Africa and this has resulted in a higher proportion of males than females. The ages ranged from 22 to 55, with the average being 38.5 years. Two respondents in this sample, who were the earliest to gain citizenship, did so in the year 1991. The demographic profile is as follows:

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

Respondent	Age	Education Level	Occupation	Marital Status
1	33	Matric	Salesman (mobile phones)	Married
2	43	University	Motor Business	Married
3	55	University	Medical Doctor	Married
4	39	University	Motor Business	Married
5	28	University	Motor Business	Married
6	30	Matric	Restaurant (owner)	Married

7	37	University	Self-employed	Married
8	40	University	Self-employed	Married
9	50	University	Medical Doctor	Married
10	36	University	Missionary	Married
11	36	Matric	Missionary	Married
12	47	Matric	Video Store Business	Married
13	43	Matric	Clothing Designer	Married
14	46	Matric	Hair Salon (owner)	Married
15	22	College	Beautician	Married

Pakistani citizens who are highly educated have attended university and their qualifications are such that, eight respondents have completed a university degree, one has attended college and six have matriculated. Of the eight respondents with university degrees, five have completed a postgraduate degree (33%). All the respondents were married with almost half (47%) marrying local South Africans; 13% marrying a compatriot after arrival in South Africa and 40% marrying in Pakistan prior to migration.

### **4.3. The Transition from Migration to Citizenship**

Before the respondents decided to become citizens in Durban they arrived as immigrants and had to undergo strict legal procedures in order to acquire citizenship status. Most Pakistani citizens first arrived in another city in South Africa and later moved to Durban. The respondents argue that the presence of a large number of Indians in Durban helps to give them a greater sense of familiarity. Thus, they prefer to locate themselves in regions with an abundance of Indians, as it helps them adapt to their new surroundings with greater ease. Durban was usually not a first option as a destination city for Pakistani citizens as they learnt about it through social networks only after arriving in South Africa. Some Pakistani citizens on the other hand settled in Durban immediately upon arrival and for these few it was a decision that had been made prior to their migration to South Africa.

The respondents in this study gained citizenship in support of Yang's (1994) contextual perspective framework, where an array of factors have influenced these respondents to become citizens in South Africa. Individual motivations to acquire citizenship have been a primary factor in most cases, but when understood comprehensively, each respondent was influenced by a combination of internal and external factors. This is in keeping with Yang's framework, since the contribution of individual characteristics has been acknowledged, without neglecting the impact that social and political factors have made on Pakistanis' citizenship decision making processes. These contextual factors that have resulted in the citizenship of the respondents will be discussed further.

#### **4.4. Individual Reasons to Acquire Citizenship**

The individual has a decisive role to play in the citizenship process and in the case of this study the personal opinions of Pakistani citizens have had an impact on their desire to gain citizenship. Some respondents have expressed unique personal motivations to embark on a new life in South Africa. Overall, each Pakistani citizen as an individual can be considered to be highly accountable for their decision to acquire citizenship as the following section will illustrate.

##### **4.4.1. Economic Prospects and the Individual**

Many of the Pakistani citizens came to South Africa for better economic prospects. They all believed that South Africa was a country with a higher standard of living than that of Pakistan as one respondent stated, "*Some of my friends in Japan told me I could start a business with used cars and that this was the best area, so then I came here. This is the hub of the business for used cars*" (IDI #4). This respondent, who owns a car import and export business, migrated to South Africa after social contacts had informed him about the economic prospects in South Africa. The decision to migrate to the country, and one that most Pakistani citizens share, is due to the favourable economic conditions in South Africa.

Individual reasons had a strong influence on the respondents' desire towards citizenship and the personal need for economic prosperity continued to be an important motivation for

respondents to become citizens long after the migration process. *“It was because of the business. I applied because I am an educated person, so I read the documents on the internet and from the news. I just went along with the procedure to get citizenship as soon as possible...it was my own decision” (IDI #4).* The personal motivation to settle in South Africa is a common characteristic amongst Pakistani citizens, as this respondent illustrates, and this quality is brought upon by their strong desire to live in South Africa’s favourable economic setting. Pakistani citizens recognize the promise that South Africa holds on an economic level and are not willing to abandon their residence here easily. One respondent explains:

*Actually, when I was here in Durban I was trying to establish my business, then I decided to stay here. I was married there before I came to this country and my wife in Pakistan passed away. We had one child. Because of business reasons, I came here and I am now married again. If I went back I would lose my job...so I decided to stay in this country (IDI #8).*

At first, favourable economic prospects attracted this respondent to South Africa, and after living in the country for some time his economic status improved. The new lifestyle that he created in Durban and the opportunity to further advance his business prospects presented a strong motivation for him to become a citizen. If the respondent had decided not to remain in South Africa and had returned to Pakistan, his economic situation would have deteriorated and he would not enjoy the same standard of living that he had in South Africa. All the Pakistani citizens shared this personal view since they did not wish to abandon the economic progress they made in South Africa; therefore they remained in the country in order to become citizens.

#### **4.4.2. Marriage and the Individual**

In this study all the Pakistani citizens were married; however marital status has motivated their citizenship in ways that differs between respondents. The majority of Pakistani citizens married locals after settling in South Africa, whereas others made a joint decision to migrate to South Africa with their Pakistani spouse. One respondent had married a local woman after he settled in South Africa and this motivated him to become a citizen. *“I came here and I*

*have been living here for a long time and I am married too, so that is a reason for me to get citizenship” (IDI #1).* The commitment that comes with marriage makes Pakistani citizens decide to remain in South Africa and to gain citizenship. Pakistani females are also willing to migrate and gain citizenship due to their marital commitments as stated by one respondent, *“I was happy with Pakistan, my family members live there and I am missing them. My husband works here, his life is here now, so that is why I am living here, because of my husband. Everything was fine in Pakistan, yes” (IDI #15).* This statement indicates that the only reason the respondent moved to South Africa was in order to accompany her husband and she felt obliged to support his decision. In the case of the other two females that participated in this study, they had made a joint decision with their spouses to relocate to South Africa and thus they accompanied them to the country. Therefore marriage proves to be a personal reason that motivates Pakistanis to gain citizenship.

With regard to the men in this study who have married local women, it cannot be said with absolute certainty that each union was entered into sincerely. There have been reported incidents where Pakistani immigrants have bribed officials at the Department of Home Affairs in order to certify their marriage to acquire citizenship. In other reported instances Pakistani immigrants have married local women in order to gain citizenship. This illustrates that for some Pakistani immigrants the desire for citizenship in South Africa is so strong that they engage in these forms of illegal behaviour. Whilst the transparency of the respondents may be questionable, this sample for the study was drawn from PASA which lists only those citizens who have (hopefully) followed the proper legal procedures. Furthermore, the respondents displayed a comfortable demeanour during the interview process. This served to give the researcher confidence that the information supplied by the respondents was credible and honest.

#### **4.4.3. Religion and the Individual**

The religious beliefs of Pakistani citizens have worked in favour of citizenship as their beliefs are supported within the South African setting. In this study, thirteen respondents were of the Islamic faith and two respondents followed the Christian faith. Christians are a minority in Pakistan as they form only 1.6% of the population (Bernstein, 2010). A Pakistani citizen, who follows the Christian faith, stated that:

*My reason for becoming a citizen is different from other Pakistanis. My reason is because, as a Christian my heart desires to visit Israel, which the Pakistani passport does not allow. For Indians, those who are Hindu, they would like to go to India and Muslims would like to go to Mecca to perform Haj. Israel, Jerusalem, Bethlehem was the place where Jesus was born, the River Jordan was where he was baptized and that has always been on my mind...that is my heart's desire. As soon as I get rid of the Pakistani passport, I am going to visit Israel. The Pakistani passport states 'except Israel' ...you can go anywhere in the world but not Israel...so I would rather have a Pakistani passport for Pakistan, and in order to go to Israel I need to have South African citizenship. That's my interest (IDI #10).*

The extract from this respondent illustrates that South Africa forms a bridge between the life he once had in Pakistan and a future prospect to visit Israel. This respondent wishes to visit Israel and his citizenship in South Africa holds a personal meaning and a benefit which is of a religious nature. Citizenship will provide an opportunity for this respondent to embark on his religious journey and he is interested in acquiring citizenship as it symbolizes a spiritual passage to the Christian Holy Land of Israel. Another respondent who also follows the Christian faith found that citizenship in South Africa is a spiritual and religious calling which offers the benefit of success for her family and for herself. *"We wanted to do our work here, our children have grown up here and they are big now, they need to have the good studies that are here. In Pakistan there is not much good education. So it is good for everyone to be here, our work is here, our calling is here, so we want to live here"* (IDI #11). Citizenship in this respondent's view has the ability to positively impact on the status of her whole family who are now citizens. Religious reasons have brought her family to South Africa, and it is the respondent's personal desire to improve her family's standard of living that has motivated her to gain citizenship. The Christian Pakistani citizens, as well as the remaining Islamic Pakistani citizens claimed that they felt spiritually and religiously content in South Africa and this influenced their decision to obtain citizenship. Islamic Pakistani citizens stated that South Africa, and Durban in particular, is a suitable place for them as there are a substantial number of mosques which allows them to practice their religion with the same devotion as they had in Pakistan.

#### 4.4.4. The Location and the Individual

Some respondents did not have much information about South Africa before migrating here and they were not sure why they decided to eventually become citizens of the country. These few migrated with the intention of discovering an unknown country without being influenced by other individuals and their reason to remain in the country is an extension of that desire. One respondent who arrived in South Africa after the abolishment of apartheid in the 1990's held this view about his citizenship process, "*I do not know, what really made me want to stay here. I liked it, so I stayed here after I came here...and yes, it was a personal decision*" (IDI #14). This statement illustrates that the respondent was not aware of the opportunities in South Africa and he had no intention to live here. The decision to become a citizen occurred after a number of years when he became more comfortable and settled within the destination country. However, this respondent's perspective has not been experienced by the majority of Pakistani citizens in South Africa, as most were fully knowledgeable about South Africa and had desired to gain citizenship after migrating to the country.

On the other hand, the situation in their home country, Pakistan, influenced their decision to gain citizenship in South Africa. There were many who felt that Pakistan did not offer them the opportunities that they required to lead a decent life. One respondent expressed views about his home country and indicated that he did not have any motivation to reside in his home country and he therefore became a citizen in Durban, South Africa. "*Pakistan is my home, my whole family is there, I was born there, I like my home country. I am not saying that I do not like it. Pakistan is my first country and remains in my heart, but I am now used to South Africa, I do not think I could live in Pakistan*" (IDI #1). The statement reveals that for this respondent obtaining citizenship was of a personal nature which resulted from the comfort and familiarity that he had found within the destination country. However, the important aspect of his statement was that he did not hold negative feelings towards Pakistan. Although the country of origin may not have been the best environment for personal success, the respondent still respects the country of origin, Pakistan. This was a common statement made by Pakistani citizens during the interview process, as all the respondents were keen to ensure that their preference for South Africa should not be misinterpreted as a dislike for Pakistan. Despite being South African citizens, the respondents have maintained an emotional attachment to Pakistan.

#### **4.4.5. Language and the Individual**

The acculturation of Pakistani citizens into South African society was a relatively uncomplicated process as most respondents were fluent in English. In Pakistan, English is the medium of instruction in their school system. The majority of respondents claim they did not experience any language barrier in their interactions with locals. However, one respondent did not speak English before arriving in South Africa, and although the language was completely unfamiliar to him at first, he made every effort to learn it in order to communicate with locals and later became a citizen of South Africa. *“My wife taught me, that was how I learnt English. You know a small baby can learn English just after four years” (IDI #6).* Whilst this respondent’s grasp of English is still at a basic level, it has not hindered his social interactions with locals and his commitment to learn the language forms part of his need to feel comfortable as an individual in society. Similarly another respondent did not speak any English when he arrived in South Africa, *“When I came down I had problems because English was not my mother tongue. Sometimes I felt uncomfortable but I did not feel ashamed because English was not my mother-tongue. If someone did not understand I told them truthfully that I was from overseas that I did not speak the language very well” (IDI #12).* This respondent was willing to grant himself the time to steadily learn the English language and the patience that he has shown is a common feature amongst all Pakistani citizens as it is their aspiration to communicate effectively with the locals. Their grasp of the English language forms one of the many individual tasks that Pakistani citizens have accomplished in an attempt to assimilate into South African society. Although English is not the main language in South Africa, it is considered to be the lingua franca in social contexts and Pakistani citizens are aware of this. The respondents reported that they recognized the importance of speaking the English language fluently as it would give them the confidence to interact with locals and would help raise their individual status.

#### **4.5. Political and Social Reasons to Acquire Citizenship**

The previous section discussed the individual motivations that have influenced Pakistani citizens’ decision making. In addition to these personal motivations, social and political factors have also influenced their decisions to gain citizenship. These factors relate to the conditions in both the country of origin and the destination country; the former being the

factors that drove them away from Pakistan, and the latter the factors in South Africa that made them view the new country favourably. These external factors have impacted on Pakistani citizens which has led to their obtaining citizenship.

#### **4.5.1. The Political Motivations**

Some Pakistani citizens have been exposed to political unrest in the country of origin and this political conflict has motivated them to become citizens of South Africa, as they claim that the local setting is more peaceful than their home nation. One respondent's statement depicts the tension that exists in Pakistan, *"Now it is very bad, there are bomb blasts and too much crime, there is no life there. I had fights with my cousins; and my father did not like the two of us fighting...there were too many problems at home. Where I come from in Lahore there are also very big problems"* (IDI #6). The familial tensions in this respondent's household compounded the political problems that he was subjected to and this propelled him to move elsewhere. Due to the political conflict in the country, and the lack of a peaceful home environment, the respondent decided to move to South Africa. The belief that South Africa was more politically stable than Pakistan; was a major factor influencing his decision to move to the country. The political conflict in Pakistan was also a reason for another respondent to leave the country and become a citizen of South Africa, *"One reason was the problems back home in Pakistan, and the political circumstances of the country. That is why I came here, for better prospects"* (IDI #13). Pakistanis face adverse conditions in their home country due to political conflict, and this is a common reason that propelled respondents to leave Pakistan and settle in South Africa. Some Pakistani citizens aspire to live in a peaceful nation that is free of political conflict as they are well aware that their country of origin cannot provide this adequately, as this respondent explains, *"The problem everywhere is the politicians, in South Africa and in all countries...but India and Pakistan especially, it is bad"* (IDI #6). This statement illustrates that the respondent felt particularly uncomfortable with the political situation in Pakistan and he decided to live in South Africa because the country aligned with his need for peace better than Pakistan. Similarly for another respondent the political conflict in the country of origin prompted his desire to leave Pakistan and to become a citizen of South Africa:

*At that time there was an army government and too many rules and regulations, you had to follow them. Before we had a democracy, and with a democracy everybody had their rights. When this army had power, and I am sure you also know, I mean for South Africa as I was reading the history at the time, was under an army and United Nations. It was too complicated and when the army came to authority in Pakistan, Mr Musharraf became our President of Pakistan, we could not do much about that and that is why I had to move (IDI #7).*

Many Pakistani citizens, like this respondent, felt thrust into a powerless situation after a new government took control of the country. The respondent decided to move to South Africa as he believed that he could live a life of freedom, and like most respondents, he wanted to live in a peaceful country that valued human rights. Thus South Africa was favoured by Pakistani citizens as a place to migrate and gain citizenship due to its superior political environment.

In addition, the authorities and officials in South Africa have assisted by creating awareness about citizenship. The initial awareness about citizenship procedures has been made in some instances by government officials. One respondent stated that political reasons in the destination country persuaded her to become a citizen of South Africa as the Department of Home Affairs continually urged her to apply. *“This is a peaceful place, we have no problems here. I do not think we came here with the intention of getting citizenship and then they kind of forced us. They said, ‘well since you are coming here every six months you should apply for citizenship’” (IDI #9).* The statement by this respondent indicates that she did not plan on gaining citizenship status and was only made aware of this possibility through the Department of Home Affairs. Similarly another respondent was also persuaded to apply for citizenship by the Department of Home Affairs. The department claimed that his medical skills would be an asset to the country if he was to become a citizen and they continually encouraged him to put in his application. *“I was working at King Edward and I had to renew my work permit every year. So after one year when I went to Home Affairs they wanted to give me citizenship. They said I should apply for citizenship...yes, they were actually offering me applications and I was the one who was stalling the application” (IDI #9).* These experiences illustrate that some Pakistani citizens did not foresee the need to become citizens and neither were they aware about the process to acquire citizenship whilst they lived in South Africa as immigrants. Citizenship only became an option for some Pakistani citizens after being made aware of the possibility by the Department of Home Affairs. In some

instances political and governmental persuasion laid the groundwork that resulted in the citizenship of certain Pakistanis in South Africa, and this may not have happened without their informative and helpful intervention.

#### **4.5.1.1. The Influence of Apartheid during Decision-Making**

The respondents talked about South African history in phases and it was not uncommon for them to refer to the apartheid and post-apartheid era. The respondents recognised how privileged they were to obtain citizenship in consideration of the legal limitations that were previously forced upon non-White South Africans. The country was divided along racial lines during the apartheid era and for one respondent his occupation as a medical doctor in South Africa during the 1980's allowed him to witness the injustices on a daily basis. *"I have seen the worst. Being born when Pakistan gained freedom from the British, and then for South Africa freedom after 1992, I have seen the difference. I was not allowed to go to the Beachfront except for Blue Lagoon"* (IDI #3). On the other hand some respondents were fully aware of the injustices of apartheid and the inequality that non-White citizens of South Africa were subjected to, thus these Pakistani citizens migrated to South Africa only when they were certain that apartheid had been abolished. *"There was a burgeoning economy that time in 1998-1999, apartheid was newly finished, and we had the opportunity to open new businesses in Durban, that is the only reason why I am living here"* (IDI #2). The economic opportunities that presented itself made Durban seem favourable to this respondent; however, his decision to migrate at that particular period in time was because he was convinced that apartheid had been dismantled. It was more common for respondents to migrate to South Africa after the abolishment of apartheid as they believed that since the country was now democratic it would be more inviting towards immigrants.

On the other hand, one respondent who in lived South Africa during apartheid was not discouraged by the political unfairness that existed in the country at the time. *"Well you know we qualify to become a doctor for everybody's benefit, whether a patient is Black, Indian, White, we do not discriminate anybody...even whether religious-wise...a patient is a patient. When I saw that in some private practices, that Blacks and Indians had to enter through the back door and the White patients could enter from the front doors I just could not accept that"* (IDI #3). As is clear from this respondent's statement, the political state of the nation

prompted him to gain citizenship as he wanted to try and redress some of the injustices that ordinary people were forced to experience. Citizenship for this respondent meant that he could help improve the situation in the society through his medical expertise. The respondent went into further detail regarding why he felt so compelled to become a citizen of South Africa:

*When I saw that the majority of people were suffering, the Indian and the Black patients could not arrive through the main entrance of Addington Hospital that really pained me. When I was working at Hammerskraal I was not allowed to see non-Black patients and the Black patients had to wait all day to see a doctor since there was no doctor available. I had to travel twenty kilometers to a clinic to see these patients. The patients were waiting for doctors sometimes for two, even three days. Those issues really changed my whole mindset. I think the people here, Black people and disadvantaged people need more help than those in my own country. For instance when I went to R.K. Khan Hospital, the Indian community from Chatsworth and Marianhill only had access to R.K. Khan and it was congested because they could not go anywhere else, this was in 1992 (IDI #3).*

The respondent therefore obtained citizenship as a means to make a positive contribution to the fragmented state of South African society. His aim was to make a difference to those disadvantaged by apartheid and he chose to remain in South Africa to be of service to the country. Nowadays, Pakistani citizens have a respect for South Africa and the manner in which the country has made the peaceful transition to democracy. They have a loyalty to South Africa because it has overcome the political and social problems of apartheid and it is for this reason Pakistani citizens wish to contribute to the South African society as the democracy develops itself.

#### **4.5.2. The Social Motivations**

Social factors in Durban have presented strong motivations for Pakistani citizens to gain citizenship in South Africa. The assimilation of Pakistani citizens into local society came about after spending time in the city and becoming accustomed to it. At first they were not

familiar with the local environment, but as time passed they assimilated into the local community. This was the case with the following respondent:

*There are citizens here because business-wise this country is so good that you can do things you cannot do in Pakistan. Also when you move to another country and you are staying there and if you spend your four, five, six years in one place and if you are happy with that place, I think that is why most of the people who are now citizens they decided to stay here because of that. I have been here for the last ten or eleven years. Sometimes when I go to Pakistan even the food in Pakistan does not agree with me, the climate and other things. What you see in South Africa we do not have in Pakistan. There are so many reasons to stay in this country (IDI #8).*

The extract from this respondent depicts the range of social factors that have compelled most of the Pakistani citizens to gain citizenship, these being the local culture, cuisine and lifestyle. The respondents believe that South Africa is an attractive destination and the variety that exists in the country was satisfying to them. During the time period that they lived in South Africa as immigrants, Pakistani citizens formed a bond with the destination country. The diversity within South Africa, the freedom of expression and the social climate are factors that influenced their decision to become citizens. One respondent stated he became a citizen of South Africa to assist more members of his family to gain entry into the country, *“I have family in Pakistan and I have family here in South Africa as well. So citizenship means that they can migrate here but it depends on what the situation is like in South Africa” (IDI #12).* Most Pakistani citizens share a similar intention to this respondent and hope to expand the Pakistani social network in South Africa by obtaining citizenship. Citizenship represents a way for Pakistani citizens to help their social contacts in Pakistan, such as family and friends, to gain entry into South Africa. Respondents view their citizenship as being of benefit to their Pakistani compatriots and they yearn to give their loved ones the opportunity to live a better life in South Africa through their permanent status in the country.

#### 4.6. The Encounters with South African Authorities

The Department of Home Affairs has hindered the process of applying for citizenship for some Pakistani citizens. Whilst this has not been encountered by each respondent, most have reported that the application process could have been easier if the officials had better methods of communication with immigrants. Most Pakistani citizens claim that they were under-informed by officials about the procedures to be followed in applying for citizenship and this is perhaps their greatest challenge with regard to documentation.

There have been instances where governmental institutions or officials have complicated the documentation processes for Pakistani citizens as they did not clearly express the procedural steps that needed to be made during the process. As one respondent who experienced this stated, *“In the beginning, with regard to the papers...everytime I went there, something was wrong and I had to rectify it and then return. I did that about three or four times...all they actually gave me were copies of the certificates. When I did bring it back they had some suggestions. I rectified it and then I brought it back”* (IDI #7). Difficulty during the application process was encountered by most respondents who had to pay many visits to the Department of Home Affairs in order to correct procedural errors. The frequency of their visits would have been decreased had the Department guided them through the requisite steps in the application process. They claimed that there was a lack of clear guidelines to help them navigate their way through the documentation system as one respondent describes, *“Yes, there was a lot of difficulty. The problem was that, I do not know if it is still the case, but even at that time, the process was not transparent, for instance, if I had to have the investment Visa, what procedure would I have to go through to get it”* (IDI #2). The statement depicts the vagueness that underlies the process of applying for citizenship and other documents. This is an issue that most respondents encounter during the application process and they believe that the Department should improve their mode of communication with immigrants who are applying.

On the other hand some respondents described the interaction with government officials as easy and they found the application process was simple. In some instances officials provide sufficient guidance in order to ensure that immigrants are guided along the application process, as one respondent described:

*There was a very kind person in Home Affairs. They really helped me to get other documents and everything necessary...it was a smooth process. Actually at that time no such Pakistanis were immigrants, they came from different countries. So at that time it was very easy to get citizenship, to get the papers and documentation. At the moment it is very hard to do so, but at that time it was easy and the periods were very short. Now you have years and then another three or four years, at that time you only had three or four years (IDI #4).*

Since becoming a citizen in 2006, this respondent claimed that the process of applying for citizenship has become more difficult now than it was in the past. A growing number of Pakistanis are applying for South African citizenship each year and consequently the local government has applied tighter regulations to control the increase in applications. However the strict legal procedures did not prevent Pakistani citizens from applying for citizenship as they were determined to endure the challenges of the application process in order to obtain citizenship in the proper legal manner.

Despite the negative encounters experienced by some respondents and the lack of information-sharing on the part of government officials during the citizenship process, all the respondents were satisfied with the government's overall treatment towards them once they eventually became citizens. They claimed that they developed a cordial relationship with officials over time, as one respondent explains, "*Yes they do like us...they may not know much about us at first or they may have a preconceived idea that we are not good, but once they do get to know us they love us!*" (IDI #2). Similarly, another respondent praised government officials for their pleasant treatment towards Pakistani citizens and immigrants:

*It is very nice, they treat us very well. They do not give us a hard time. The foreigners in any country they think themselves, maybe that the government is disgracing them, but it is not like that. Obviously we are here from so far, from our country, that sometimes for the money's sake we have to do some degrading job but on the part of government they do not embarrass us. I think they are happy with that, because many foreigners and a lot of Pakistanis are a part of South Africa now and they are bringing money into this country. If I am now a citizen of South Africa and I am paying my taxes, it is a benefit to government. I am not referring to the President when I say this, but from what I can see, the banks and other departments make me*

*very happy. I cannot say the same thing about my country. They help us a lot here. Sometimes in the bank they assist us with photocopies but in our country we do not have those facilities (IDI #8).*

As this extract illustrates, this respondent believes that government officials have provided adequate assistance to Pakistani citizens and have supported their activities in South Africa. It also appears that a greater quality of care is exercised by South African government officials than those in Pakistan. On the other hand, some respondents believe that flexible legislation should be created by the South African government in order to shorten the period it takes to gain citizenship status. The following statement by one respondent offers suggestions for government to consider implementing:

*Actually, the government must come up with some solutions to the immigration law here. Most of the foreigners, not only Pakistanis but Indians, Bangladeshis, have a long wait for the papers. For instance asylum seekers just want a temporary permit to live here. In Europe they grant immigrant status every four years or so, in this country since Nelson Mandela took over this country in 1994, immigrant status has been difficult to achieve. They should consider that the people who live here and try to participate economically have small businesses here and they provide jobs and employment to the local people, and they are paying taxes and doing what they can. The government must consider immigration laws and grant the status in a shorter space of time...most immigrants who now have citizenship here are providing job opportunities to the local people and trying to help the local South Africans to have a better life (IDI #13).*

As this extract reveals, this respondent believes that the contributions that immigrants make to South Africa should be recognized by the government and that they should support Pakistani immigrants by allowing them to apply for immigrant status upon arrival in the country instead of having them wait for long periods as they currently do. Similarly, another respondent believes that opportunities for Pakistanis can be enhanced by government intervention which can assist Pakistanis with the appropriate skills to gain citizenship in South Africa:

*It depends on Home Affairs. If they feel that help is needed in the country, because I believe that last year the Minister said that the generation needs help...that the rates*

*in South Africa are decreasing due to AIDS and sickness in South Africa. They must import more people from overseas. If they want to do that they must help Pakistanis to get citizenship. Bring the Pakistanis over...then they must give them citizenship (IDI #7).*

According to this respondent the responsibility rests with the South African government to assist Pakistanis to gain citizenship in the country. Furthermore, a commonly held belief by respondents is that the South African government could enhance national prospects by helping Pakistanis with suitable qualifications to migrate to the country as this would be of benefit to the country. The respondents believe that South Africa's current skills shortages could be lessened by increasing the number of Pakistani citizens in South Africa who would be willing to contribute to social development through their efforts.

#### **4.7. The Disadvantages and Doubts about Living in South Africa**

Often respondents conducted a cost-benefit analysis prior to obtaining citizenship and this involved weighing up the advantages and disadvantages to determine whether it was worthwhile to gain citizenship. Most felt that they were supported by their family and friends in Pakistan and this gave them the courage and confidence to become citizens of another country. Furthermore, they perceived locals as extremely welcoming and supportive and this influenced their decision to obtain citizenship. However, prior to obtaining citizenship some Pakistani citizens took into consideration whether or not South African citizenship would be advantageous on an international scale. Some of their family members back home in Pakistan did not offer their blessings to them as one respondent explains, *“Not all family in Pakistan were in favour of me getting South African citizenship. They were not in favour because it was the apartheid country and you could not get citizenship here. In fact, they wanted me to leave South Africa”*. Similarly, the family of another respondent also disagreed with her intention to live in South Africa and they firmly expressed their doubts about South Africa's restrictive laws. *“At that time my husband had three or four job opportunities. I had registered with the general medical council in the country. I applied and then we were offered a job in Saudi Arabia...my family, my in-laws, everyone was against us coming to South Africa. They said, ‘no, you do not know about that country, it has no diplomatic relations with other countries, you must not go there’*. So then I just prayed that everything

would work out here". As these statements illustrate, not all respondents enjoyed the support of family in their desire to gain citizenship and this was due to their strong fears about the political system of the country. However the lack of familial support did not affect the decision-making process and despite the political costs of citizenship that their family members had pointed out, these respondents actively sought to obtain citizenship as they were keen to draw conclusions about the country for themselves.

Once the Pakistani respondents had become citizens, they found the high crime rate to be a major hindrance as one respondent explained, "*You see in 2003, I had a gunshot robbery that took place in my shop and I was disadvantaged very badly because of it*" (IDI #7). However incidents such as these are not enough to deter Pakistani citizens from remaining in the city. As one respondent explained, "*South Africa is a good country, a free country, nobody has any problem. It is only the crime, especially Durban*" (IDI #1). Another Pakistani citizen also found that crime is a dominant feature of Durban, "*The problems with crime are getting better now. When I came here it was very bad especially in town. Now wherever you go it is better...there are no other problems*" (IDI #6). Crime was identified by nearly every respondent as a major disadvantage associated with the city of Durban; however, Pakistani citizens accept that the level of crime is an element of the South African lifestyle. According to one respondent the level of crime should not be generalized and he chooses to adopt a hopeful attitude about the country and the state of crime:

*As long as the crime rate is alright things will be fine. For instance, for the FIFA World Cup 2010, they put a lot of effort into ammunition and the army. If the situation could remain like that, then it would be good, but if the crime rate continues to rise that is a problem. Socially though, I have not seen any problems. Here and there you may see something but you cannot compare that to the whole of South Africa. In Durban people are very cooperative; I can see that people are helpful (IDI #7).*

Most of the respondents share a similar opinion to this respondent and believe that the level of crime is not high enough to act as a deterrent to settle in Durban. However they argue that it is crucial for crime to be consistently monitored in order to decrease current levels and they would like authorities provide more assistance to ensure this. Whilst they are able to cope with the level of crime on a personal level, they believe that government has the ability to

minimize crime and therefore should help South African citizens by exercising greater authority.

On the other hand, some Pakistani citizens were confident that they wanted to reside permanently in South Africa and they had no doubts about gaining citizenship. They felt everything would work in their favour so long as the proper legal steps were taken during the documentation process, as one respondent explains:

*I did not have any doubts. You see now that I am living in this country and I can have all the benefits. I can register with a company, I can do banking, and all this is a reason that made me want to have citizenship. If you are a citizen here, according to my opinion, you have to be a responsible citizen. You have to have your papers with you. There is no reason to stay here illegally (IDI #8).*

According to this respondent a foreign citizen can obtain citizenship without any hassles by abiding by the laws that govern the country. This respondent was willing to follow all the necessary steps in order to gain citizenship as he recognized the advantages of living in South Africa. Each respondent in this study found that the benefits of living in South Africa outweighed all the disadvantages and this gave them the confidence to obtain citizenship in South Africa. However one respondent stated that he did not have any doubts about gaining citizenship in South Africa:

*I had no doubts, I was quite happy to become a citizen...you see once I started my business here I wanted to have all the legal documents in place. I did not want to have half of the documents because with the business I am in I had to have the correct identity documentation at all times. I could not afford not to because investment is too heavy (IDI #2).*

As the statement from this respondent illustrates, Pakistani citizens are content with their life in South Africa and they value the opportunity they have to become citizens in the country. Although the documentation process can prove to be complex, as previously stated, they were determined to overcome these difficulties in order to capitalize on the advantages in the destination country. Any doubts and misgivings that Pakistani citizens had about South Africa were outweighed by the prospects of a better standard of life in the country.

#### 4.8. The Ties with Pakistan after Leaving

Many of the respondents reported feeling nostalgic about their home country and loved ones now that they live apart from them in a foreign country. Despite this, their ties with family and friends have not been severed and they have maintained contact, as one respondent stated, *“My parents, my other family and relatives are in Pakistan. I go back at least three or four times every year to Pakistan to visit my family”* (IDI #4). Similarly, another respondent has maintained contact and regularly visits the country of origin, *“Yes, I am always going there you know, communicating and visiting family”* (IDI #3). The respondents claimed that their hearts will always remain with their country of origin and whilst they are satisfied with their life in South Africa, they feel somewhat incomplete since they have moved here. One respondent described his life in Pakistan and the nostalgia he feels now that he lives in South Africa, *“The friends, there were nice friends back home. You see when you are young, in school or varsity, you make those friends who become good friends, and you cannot afford to lose them for the rest of your life, but that is what happens”* (IDI #2). Therefore by having to adapt to a new life in South Africa, Pakistani citizens have to endure a change in their relationship with their loved ones in Pakistan. As was the case with this respondent, his migration to South Africa meant that friendships in Pakistan could not be sustained.

Whilst some respondents have dissolved their friendships in their home country, their family members remain an important part of their lives, even with the distance that lies between them. As one respondent explains, he makes an effort to cherish the relationship that he has with his loved ones, *“Yeah of course. Seeing my mother and father, they came here to visit. My mom is still here, she came down here last month”* (IDI #4). On the other hand one respondent felt a sense of separation from his family in Pakistan, *“You see Pakistan is my mother land. I was born in Pakistan. Sometimes I miss my home country very much, but that is now a part of my life”* (IDI #8). This statement illustrates that although the respondent misses the life he once had in Pakistan, he now embraces the life he has created in South Africa and furthermore he understands that his bittersweet feelings are a product of his immigration. In general, Pakistani citizens have maintained contact with their home country and some are fortunate enough to fund their family members' visits to South Africa. This is perhaps the main way that Pakistani citizens provide financial assistance to their family members. Otherwise, during the interview process Pakistani citizens did not mention remittances to their family members in Pakistan.

On the other hand some Pakistani citizens have fully embraced their new life as citizens of South Africa and thus feel less associated with their former life in Pakistan. One respondent explained this point of view, *“When I married and I had a child here and I am now busy with my business. I do go home, and sometimes I telephone them in Pakistan, but they are on that side so as time goes by I consider my family to be here, in this country”* (IDI #7). Immigration for some Pakistani citizens represents an acceptance of a new way of life where priorities have shifted from what they once were. However, whilst a new life in South Africa is embraced, there are Pakistani citizens who wish that their offspring had greater links with their ancestral country. One respondent explained her situation, *“I go to Pakistan at least once a year, sometimes twice a year even thrice a year, to see my family. You see the children were born here and it is not that they do not like Pakistan, but the political problems and the things that are happening there just leaves you disinterested. My children were born here and they were brought up here and they consider themselves partly Pakistani but their bond with Pakistan is not as strong as we would have liked”* (IDI #9). As this respondent explains, some Pakistani citizens wished that their cultural traditions had been preserved despite moving to South Africa. A new life in South Africa has resulted in the breakdown of the customs that most Pakistani citizens practiced before they migrated. Some respondents fear that as the number of Pakistanis increase in South Africa, so does their detachment with Pakistan. On the whole, whilst the togetherness that they shared with their families has altered somewhat, they do not regret their decision to move to South Africa. Many believe that their citizenship helps expand opportunities for their family members who live in Pakistan and they attempt to expose them to these opportunities in South Africa. Whilst remittances to their family members did not feature during the interview process, what was common amongst Pakistani citizens is that they have maintained contact with their family members and have provided financial assistance for their visits to South Africa. Most of the respondents credited the internet for helping them to communicate with their family members in Pakistan on a weekly, and in some cases, daily basis.

#### **4.9. Pakistani Citizens' Perceptions of Life in South Africa**

It is necessary to uncover the ways that Pakistani citizens have perceived their process of citizenship and assimilation into the destination country. The benefit of considering their perceptions about their encounters in South Africa is that it can serve as a means for others to gain deeper insight into their reasoning, behaviours and emotions. Pakistani citizens discussed their process of integration into local communities and how it has impacted on their religion and culture. Overall Pakistani citizens report that they have acculturated with locals and they believe that a mutually respectful relationship exists between them. However there were instances where certain respondents were viewed with suspicion by locals and furthermore some respondents claimed that it was difficult at first to integrate into their local community's customs and lifestyle. Nevertheless, after these respondents gave themselves the time to adapt to their new surroundings they felt that they had sufficiently assimilated. Their opinions have been broadly positive which has impacted on their desire to acquire citizenship status and these viewpoints and experiences of Pakistani citizens will be discussed further.

##### **4.9.1. The Assimilation of Pakistani Citizens into Local Society**

Overall the respondents did not encounter major religious difficulties within local communities. They felt that their culture and religion has been respected by local South Africans and they are grateful to be able to practice their religious customs freely. For the most part, the biggest cultural and religious hurdle to climb was to become familiar with the destination country and the places of worship as one respondent explains, *"No there was no such difficulty. In the beginning there was a difficulty...I mean it was difficult for us to figure out where the mosque was and where the prayer area was. After that we found out where the particular places were"* (IDI #4). However for one respondent being a religious missionary of the Christian faith meant that locals were suspicious about her religious intentions since Christianity is not widely practiced by Pakistanis. *"You know when we came here we had difficulties, people were causing problems, but God is so good. Everything is fine now...but back then there were problems and people did not want us to stay here and people thought that we were changing their people's religion. It was not like that, we just were just helping them"* (IDI #11). After time had passed and when the respondent was able to integrate herself into the community, the locals learned to trust her. Although in some cases locals have been

skeptical about the intentions of immigrants at first, after interacting with them they have come to the realization that their intentions are sound, as the respondent explained.

The diversity in South Africa and the warmth of the local communities enables Pakistani citizens to feel welcomed and respected. This solidarity makes it easier for Pakistani citizens to assimilate into the local society without having to abandon their religious practices. One respondent claimed that the Islamic culture that he follows has allowed him to adequately assimilate into the local society over time, as he stated, *“No, it is not hard. You know if you go to someone’s guest house at first you may feel shy, but after five or six times of visiting them, you get used to them, you mingle and you relax”* (IDI #6). Similarly for another respondent cultural assimilation was a natural progression as the diversity in South Africa helps Pakistani citizens’ uniqueness to be appreciated. *“No problems with religion at all because in the community we have Hindus, we have those of the Christian religion, we are like family”* (IDI #9). In another Pakistani citizen’s case, following the Christian faith has posed no obstacle to experiencing solidarity with locals, *“To me it is fine and it does not bother me. You see if a local Pastor had to go to someone to pray with, they would have a lot questions, but not in my case. You see with the group I work with most are Hindustani, but I also work with Tamils, Telegu, Gujarati, Muslims. I also work with the Black community, as they are the majority in the community. I tell people if you want my help, if you need my help, I am open to that”* (IDI #10). As this statement illustrates, South Africa is considered to be a country blessed with people of different religions and races and for this reason the respondent has made use of his religion to unite people and create cohesion. Similarly, another respondent felt that he had developed a cordial relationship with local Muslims, *“It was easy for me and I had no major issues over here. There are many Muslim South Africans who are well settled and they treat us nicely and I respect all religions”* (IDI #12). The above statements have depicted that the Pakistani’s experiences with local communities have been pleasant and this has made their transition from immigrant to citizen status that much easier. All the respondents have claimed that the warmth that locals showed towards them gave them more reason to desire citizenship.

#### 4.9.2. Pakistani Citizens and Local Politics

Pakistani citizens are in support of political participation within the destination country and one third of the respondents voted in the 2009 South African national election. All the respondents recognised the meaning that their vote adds to the political reality of the country and most respondents have advocated, in some way, the importance of staying abreast of current affairs. As one respondent explained, *“Actually I registered to vote, but on the particular voting day, I had an incident, someone was sick...but I would have liked to vote. If you are a citizen in a country you have to vote and that is your right. We have good politicians here and with what is going on in this country, it is important to read the news and to be aware of the politics of the country that you live in”* (IDI #8). As this statement illustrates, not every respondent managed to vote, however, they acknowledge the contribution that they can make by participating politically. In general they were in favour of the South African government and the ruling party and their inability to vote was not due to an aversion towards them but rather because they were out of South Africa at that time for business or personal reasons.

The Pakistani citizen group enjoys extending social assistance to their compatriots as well as the rest of the South African community. This has been achieved through initiatives driven by the Pakistan Association of South Africa, as one respondent explained, *“Socially we started the Pakistan Association and we started it two years ago. It was started before that but we started properly two years ago. I am the Senior Vice President and we are trying to help our Pakistanis achieve social welfare and we are trying to help. Even to help local South Africans, we have been to hospitals, given donations and many other things”* (IDI #4). Pakistani citizens value the platform they have as citizens and they have made efforts to contribute to South African society in the form of community outreach programmes which help locals improve their standard of living. Most respondents were well informed about the political principles that underlie South African legislation and since their citizenship they have used their formalized status to positively assist in the implementation of national goals through community interventions.

### 4.9.3. Suggestions Regarding the Ways that Pakistanis are Perceived

An issue that has arisen for some respondents is that locals tend to make generalizations about them based on the corrupt and criminal behaviour of a select group of Pakistani immigrants and citizens. The respondents believe that overall their Pakistani constituency contributes to the growth of the South African economy and despite this they have been stereotyped as mere informal traders and criminals. According to one respondent, Pakistani citizens are skilled individuals who have good intentions, *“There are a few areas where we can improve ourselves. Generally Pakistanis are very decent and educated and they have come here to start their business and to support their families”* (IDI #4). Similarly another respondent believes that Pakistanis are good-natured people who promote peace instead of conflict, *“Who dies and suffers due to the bombing in Pakistan? It is the Pakistanis who are actually dying. There is terrorism and we here do not like terrorism, we also want this nonsense to finish this but what can we do about that? The problem is that a lot of people say that Pakistan is really bad, but that is not true because Pakistan is a very beautiful country and the people there are very nice. Every country has good and bad parts and people must change their opinion about Pakistanis”* (IDI #15). According to this respondent it is unfair to make quick judgments without investigating the truth and furthermore she believes that her compatriots have noble intentions. All the respondents have strived to challenge the stereotypes that society has towards those with a foreign status by living in a law-abiding manner in South Africa.

In addition to this, the respondents believe that a responsibility also rests with Pakistani citizens to fully integrate themselves into the South African society and that this can be achieved by more action and initiative on their part. A goal that is featured constantly on the South African national agenda is the integration of all communities within the country, and this was an aim one respondent alluded to, *“South Africa is a rainbow nation, the different nations are involved in the South African community, so we are trying to improve ourselves to show that we are worth something. We Pakistanis are here in South Africa and our similarities are supposed to stand for something. We are good people...so it is important that Pakistanis can also improve themselves in the better sense”* (IDI #4). As this respondent explains a greater input must be made by the Pakistani citizen community so that they can fully realise their potential within the South African society. The success of Pakistani citizens in Durban is a two-way process that is dependent on support from both locals and the foreign

citizens themselves. All the respondents believe that if foreign citizens can be fully integrated into society, the locals will benefit from their inclusion.

#### **4.10. The Appeal of South Africa and Durban as a New Home**

All the respondents in the study believed that Durban was a pleasant and diverse destination and this view has played an important part in their decision to gain citizenship in the city. However, whilst this opinion may have been held by all, each respondent held their own particular opinions regarding exactly what it was about Durban that made it such a favourable city. According to one respondent Durban was a city where one could feel socially at ease, as he stated, *“Actually, I first arrived in Durban and when I came here I did not know everything about the city, but after a while I got used to it. Then I could not go anywhere else because I was so used to Durban. It is due to the Indian people, the culture and the weather, everything”* (IDI #1). This respondent appreciated the diversity of Durban and the array of options which made him confident that he had settled in the right location. Another respondent claimed that he was convinced by the standard of living in South Africa and because he felt that the country worked in conjunction with his personal ambition to lead a liberal life. *“In South Africa you can practice medicine in the way that you want and nobody interferes, and that is a very good thing I feel”* (IDI #3). This statement illustrates both a political opinion about South Africa as well as a personal preference about the appeal of South Africa. This respondent chose to become a citizen of South Africa as this country provided him with the ability to align his occupational duties with his personal and political preferences.

Durban was also revered by Pakistani businessmen who value the city’s active harbour as it complements their import and export activities. *“The advantage especially in Durban is that it is a hub of business and also because of the port, our businesses particularly depend on the port. So that is the main reason”* (IDI #4). Furthermore, South Africa is considered to be the most suitable country to live in by Pakistani businessmen as they believe that its travelling regulations promote flexible business activities and networking, *“Advantages are business, if you are running a huge business, and you need to have documentation. When I have to go to other Southern countries there is no need to get a Visa, and I can just go as I please. You can easily to go Zambia or Mozambique at anytime you choose”* (IDI #5). It is useful for this

respondent to reside in South Africa as it supports his business ventures and a South African passport has allowed him to travel to different countries easily. Residing in South Africa, and particularly in Durban, has allowed all Pakistani citizens to lead a flexible and diverse lifestyle where they are able to interact with people of different races, nationalities and cultures and they consider themselves fortunate because of this.

Respondents have reported that the standard of living in Durban is greater than that found in Pakistan and it is for this reason that Pakistani citizens are satisfied with their livelihood and are content to live in the city permanently. One respondent displayed the optimism and perseverance that is characteristic of his compatriots in the following statement, *“I did not find anything very hard in this country. It is a very beautiful country. There are sights and sceneries, the weather is good, and if you obey the rules of South Africa, you will not have any problems. It is also safer and comfortable”* (IDI #13). Similarly another respondent adopted a positive approach to life in Durban and was optimistic about the future. *“In South Africa, you can make enough money to make your life easy, but sometimes business is bad, and the money goes up and down. Personally, I am very happy though”* (IDI #8). For most, South Africa is a prosperous country and although Pakistani citizens have spent many years trying to obtain citizenship, they treasure the country and envisage a bright future here.

The locals of Durban in general have embraced Pakistani citizens and have shown an appreciation of their uniqueness. This respect is mutual since Pakistani citizens have also praised locals as one respondent stated, *“Things are good and I like it here. My heart likes it and it feels good. It is safe and the people are good and I also have a lot of friends”* (IDI #14). Pakistani citizens have experienced solidarity with South Africans and in most cases locals are cited as their best friends. The reason they choose to live permanently in Durban is because they consider the city to be less complicated and livelier than other cities in the country. In the words of one respondent, *“The advantage is that it seems that everything is smooth and fine. There are no hazards here. I did not come across any kind of problems here, and in Durban there is more social life here than you would find in Joburg”* (IDI #13). On the whole Pakistani citizens value the country, its people, and most importantly the benefits that come with their citizenship as this statement illustrates, *“I have done more than I can do, because the area I am servicing has a population of 1.6 million people and I was the first one to start the ARV rollout programme there. It was very hard work I had a lot of support from the community and from the department there were no problems”* (IDI #3). This statement

characterizes the attitude held by all the respondents in this study which was that they wanted to add value to the South African society. They have contributed to local communities in both small and significant ways by means of community interventions and by expanding employment through their businesses. Pakistani citizens consider these contributions to be a show of gratitude for the life they are able to lead in South Africa. Pakistani citizens value their citizenship and embrace their responsibilities to their communities in the destination country and they desire to live in Durban because of the numerous possibilities and opportunities which have enabled them to improve their lives.

#### **4.11. Conclusion**

Based on the findings from this chapter it can be concluded that Pakistani citizens were influenced by individual, social and political factors within the country of origin and the destination country in their decision to gain citizenship. The final decision to become a citizen was an individual decision made by the respondent; however this did not occur immediately upon arrival in South Africa. A cost-benefit analysis was made by each respondent where the advantages and disadvantages of life in the destination country were weighed up over time. After considering all these personal and external factors, the respondents made the personal decision to gain citizenship when the factors seemed more advantageous as a whole.

Respondents hold positive opinions about local South Africans and feel that they have been embraced by them. The respondents have also maintained their allegiance to their country of origin, Pakistan and their family members there. In addition to this, the respondents have been treated respectfully by government officials and any initial doubts about the destination country have been replaced by satisfaction with their lifestyle in the country. The respondents feel that the situation in South Africa is not always optimal for civilian development. Despite the improvements that respondents believe need to be made, Durban remains an important hub of opportunity, and for them it is an exciting location.

## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

#### 5.1. Introduction

The process for an immigrant to become a citizen of the destination country is not as straightforward a passage as previously believed. The acquisition of citizenship is not a likely product of the migration process since migration is defined as the continual process of movement made by an individual from one destination to another (Myrdal, 1963), thus, the permanency of citizenship works against the natural functioning of the migration process. It is for this reason that the current study of the citizenship processes of Pakistani citizens of South Africa is an important topic of investigation as it exposes the dynamics of this complex process.

#### 5.2. Discussion

The findings suggest Pakistani citizens gained citizenship in South Africa primarily for personal reasons. The respondents reported that they wanted to improve their individual prospects by moving to South Africa and the final decision to become a citizen was strictly personal and not influenced by the opinions or suggestions from others. This is in keeping with Yang's (1994) theory which stated that whilst both personal and external factors create a desire for citizenship, the ultimate decision to acquire the status rests with the individual.

The respondents in this study shared common characteristics which appear to have worked in favour of citizenship. Firstly, they were highly educated with a third of the respondents having completed a post-graduate degree. It appears that their high educational status has worked in favour of citizenship as they claimed that they wanted to make a positive contribution to the development of the country. Secondly, all the respondents were married and since almost half of these respondents marry local South Africans, marriage brings with it commitments which make citizenship more desirable. Thirdly, all but two of the respondents spoke fluent English before migrating to South Africa. English is the medium of instruction within the educational system in Pakistan and the respondents have reported that

since the language is socially considered as the lingua franca in South Africa (Webb, 2002), it has helped them interact with the locals. Fourthly, the respondents have gained citizenship in South Africa to satisfy a personal need to enhance their economic prospects. South Africa proved to be the most suitable destination for them to fulfill their personal ambitions to earn a steady income and achieve a higher standard of living.

Some respondents decided to embark on a journey of discovery and migrated to South Africa without any particular motivation as they wanted to explore a foreign country. This corresponds with the study conducted by Berninghaus and Seifert-Vogt (1989), since some respondents only learnt about what South Africa had to offer after they migrated and when an appraisal was made of the new environment they decided to gain citizenship. Furthermore, most respondents did not settle directly in Durban when they migrated to South Africa as they lived in other provinces for a few months before moving to the city. They moved to Durban as they believed the conditions in the city would complement their personal ambitions.

A study conducted by Alvarez (1987) found that compatriot social networks which assist an immigrant during the migratory stage continue to provide support, thus leading to the immigrant's citizenship. However the results generated from this study do not support these findings since the respondents were not influenced by Pakistani social networks in their decision to gain citizenship. In fact some respondents did not have any Pakistani friends in South Africa as their social network consisted of locals. The only way in which Pakistani social networks served to influence the respondents was during the migratory stage where compatriots enlightened them about the option of relocating to Durban. Thereafter, when the respondents were contemplating citizenship they did so without the influence of their compatriots. For the respondents in this study the motivation to gain citizenship in South Africa was based on their positive appraisal of the local society's culture, cuisine and lifestyle. Furthermore Pakistani citizens reported that the lifestyle in South Africa was better than Pakistan. Social reasons such as these served as mitigating factors in their decision to become citizens.

The respondents' citizenship was influenced by political circumstances in their country of origin and the destination country. The respondents claimed that Pakistan was not peaceful due to the political conflict that exists there. According to them, on the political front

Pakistan does not fully promote human rights for its civilians. It was due to these tense political circumstances in Pakistan that South Africa held appeal for the respondents as a desirable nation to obtain citizenship. However, only two respondents moved to South Africa during the apartheid period, as they felt they could redress the injustice the locals had to endure. The remaining thirteen respondents migrated to South Africa after 1994, as they believed they would be treated fairly as apartheid was abolished in this year. Pakistani citizens feel that their needs align with South Africa's democratic system and these results correspond with the findings of Garcia's (1981) study which found that when immigrants feel a connection with the destination country's political system they will be more likely to gain citizenship. Furthermore many respondents were impressed with the smooth transition to democracy and this made them believe that South Africa's form of governance would welcome foreigners into society.

The experiences that most respondents have had with the Department of Home Affairs is better than other immigrant groups as the officials have assisted them adequately during the documentation process. In fact, some respondents would not have become citizens if they were not made aware of this option by the Department of Home Affairs. The respondents claimed that their relationship with government officials improved over time as officials have become familiar with Pakistani immigrants as more are migrating into the country each year. In terms of political participation, one third of the respondents voted in the most recent elections and they have firmly advocated the responsibility of citizens to participate politically. Pakistani citizens seek to embrace all the benefits that come with their citizenship and it is for this reason that they keep informed about the current affairs of South Africa in order to maximise their political participation.

Overall the respondents did not encounter major practical challenges in the process of acquiring their citizenship. Furthermore, they were quite certain that they wanted to gain South African citizenship therefore they had no doubts about living in the country. However some Pakistani citizens have had emotional challenges as a result of the procedures involved with their citizenship applications. Amit's (2001) study acknowledged that the complex and lengthy documentation process to become a citizen can have emotional effects on immigrants, and as was the case for some respondents, the lack of clear guidelines during the process left them confused and frustrated. These respondents reported that officials did not adequately explain the procedure to be followed during the application process and because

of this they had to figure out the procedure for themselves. They suggest that officials thoroughly communicate the mandatory steps that must be taken during the application process to foreigners in order to improve the ease and speed of the process.

Pakistani citizens have maintained their ties with their country of origin and most respondents visit the country numerous times each year. Some respondents have also assisted their family members who live in Pakistan to visit them in South Africa. Despite the praise that the respondents have for South Africa their love of their home country has not lessened. This corresponds with Alvarez's (1987) study which found that immigrants' loyalty to their country of origin does not diminish once citizenship occurs. Some respondents deeply miss their family, friends and the life they once led in Pakistan and this represents a cost of their citizenship in South Africa. However, the respondents console themselves by considering their citizenship as a means to expand the Pakistani social network in the country and to improve interaction with their compatriots. Overall, Pakistani citizens remain optimistic about their new life in Durban and are grateful for the progress that they have made in the city since arrival.

There have also been further costs to their citizenship in South Africa. For instance, certain respondents have experienced incidents of crime, most commonly at their place of work and this caused them to be financially disadvantaged and emotionally distraught. However these respondents claim that the problems they experienced as a result of crime were resolved over time. Although all the respondents expressed that crime is a constant disadvantage of South African life, they accept it as a reality of their citizenship within the country. On the social front, some respondents claimed that they have been disadvantaged by the prejudices and preconceptions that certain locals held towards them. Some Pakistanis report that they have been stereotyped as informal traders and Muslim extremists, and they feel that these opinions are harsh and incorrect since they have a wider range of skills. Furthermore Pakistani citizens stress that they have honest intentions and wish to succeed in life just as the locals.

Pakistani citizens have adequately assimilated into South African society and they report that locals have embraced them and they appreciate the efforts they make to promote their social welfare. The respondents have stated that their curiosity about the diversity within South Africa has helped them acculturate to the customs and cultures that are specific to locals. This effective assimilation of Pakistani citizens into local society has also motivated them to

become citizens because, as stated by White et al. (1993), the adequate assimilation of an immigrant will lead to their citizenship. The respondents have found it relatively simple to integrate into South African society and they believe that this is a result of a two-way-process of interaction between themselves and local people and organizations. They are thankful that local people have embraced them and they are grateful that a cordial and supportive friendship has been forged with them. All the respondents in this study were satisfied with the decision they made to become citizens of South Africa and Durban in particular was favoured because it holds a multitude of opportunities for them.

### **5.3. Conclusion and Recommendations**

This study has investigated the motivations of Pakistanis to gain citizenship in South Africa. The study is a valuable addition to existing research as citizenship is a neglected topic of research. Furthermore, since South African research has focused on immigrants and citizens from SADC countries, the study presents a different and enlightening perspective to existing literature. The benefit of this research to the Department of Home Affairs is that their administrative areas for improvement have been revealed. Despite the department's overall assistance, the level of information-sharing with Pakistanis during the application stage is not optimal, whereby some respondents were left to their own devices. If these communication issues can be attended to and improved Pakistani citizens and other foreigners will have a less stressful and pleasant citizenship application process. The application process could be made simpler by officials who could provide thorough explanations to immigrants regarding the steps that must be taken to become a citizen and this could be improved if officials communicate the course of action for immigrants both orally and in writing.

In addition to these issues the level of crime has been mentioned by all the respondents and thus a reduction in the level is necessitated by the South African Police Service to safeguard the business activities and the lives of Pakistani citizens and the South African society at large. In order prevent the perpetuation of negative and stereotypical perceptions of Pakistanis and other foreigners, community awareness campaigns can be created to educate the population about the positive influence of immigrants. Community interventions such as these can help curb xenophobia and thereby promote solidarity amongst locals and foreigners.

Pakistanis are satisfied with their personal decision to gain citizenship. They consider themselves privileged as they are able to live their lives as fully fledged South Africans without having to abandon their contact with Pakistan. The locals have treated them respectfully and have embraced their differences which have helped their assimilation to progress naturally with time. Furthermore, they stay abreast of current affairs and advocate the importance of political participation and all the social and political benefits in South Africa served as further motivations for them to gain citizenship. Pakistani citizens are educated and professional additions to South Africa and their greatest ambition is to make an impact in the country which they call their new home.

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