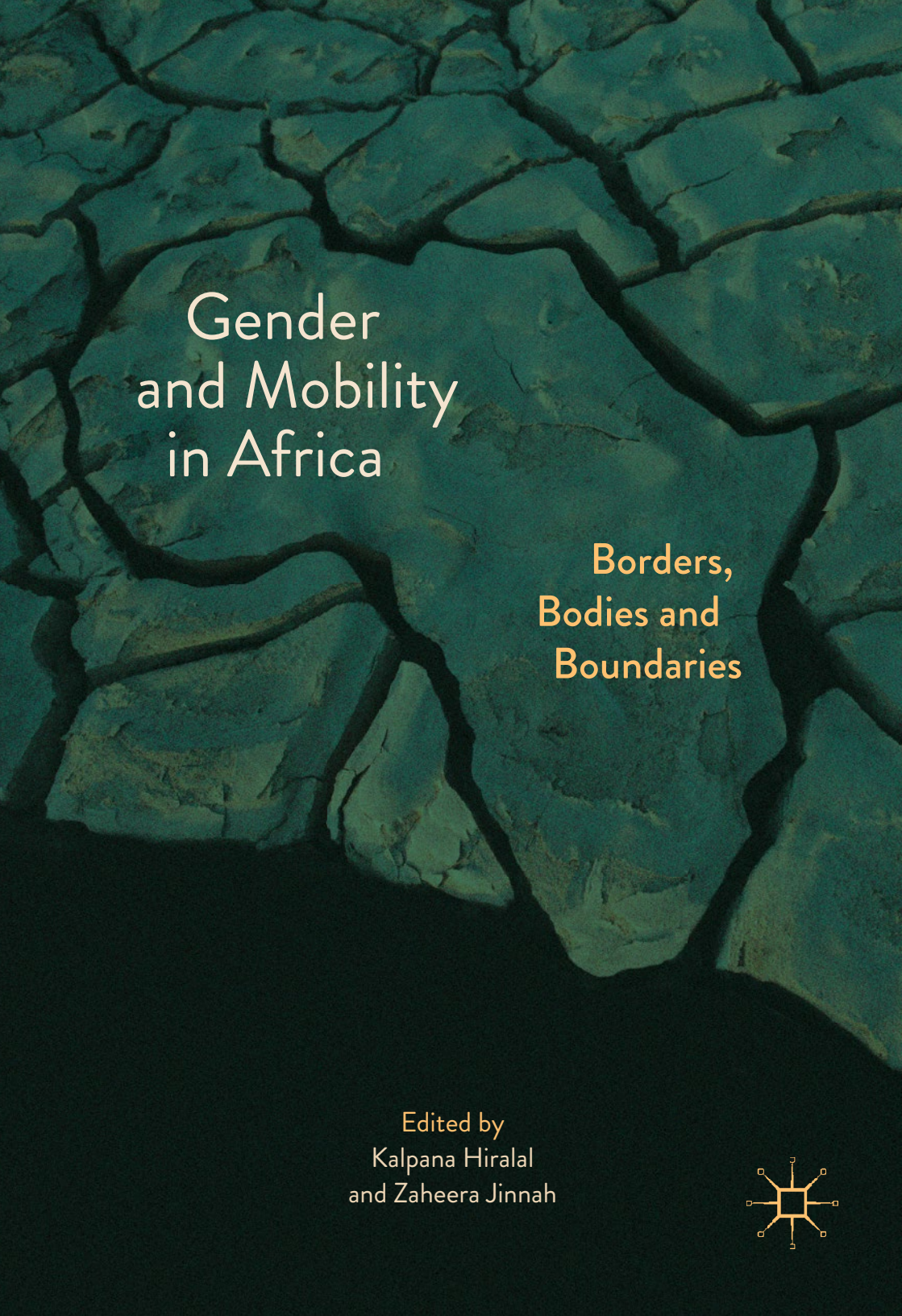
Gender
and Mobility
in Africa
Borders,
Bodies and
Boundaries
Edited by
Kalpana Hiralal
and Zaheera Jinnah

Gender and Mobility in Africa

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Editors

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Gender and Mobility in Africa: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives

Kalpana Hiralal

Historically, migration has been taking place since time immemorial. It has accelerated through colonialism, expanding global economies, the rise of capitalism and the strong desire for cheap labour particularly in the nineteenth century. European migration to the Americas since 1492 has often dominated the migration narratives, 'noted as an important part of world history' (McKeown 2004: 155). Migration narratives in other parts of the world, for example, Asia and Africa, are largely documented in the context of what became known as the Atlantic Slave Trade to the Americas and indentured migration to various British colonies in the Pacific, Africa and the Caribbean (McKeown 2004: 155–160).

However, recently there has been excavatory research engaged with historical migrations in the Indian Ocean region (McKeown 2004: 155–160; Machado 2014). This is not only long overdue in punctuating the dominant narratives of European migration to the Americas but significant as women were an integral part of mobility in the Indian Ocean region. Africa has witnessed both internal and transoceanic migrations over centuries. Colonisation and the trans-Atlantic slave trade led to migrations of Europeans (French, English, Italians and Germans), Asians (Chinese and Indians) and Arabs to the continent. Internal migration in

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Africa was largely due to internecine warfare, search for new land and livelihoods, and natural disasters. Historical migrations in the Indian Ocean region, with particular reference to Asian free and indentured labour, have largely been narrated from the vantage of male migrants. This male-centred perspective has mostly ignored women's voices and migration experiences. Of late there has been a concerted effort to capture these (Nagar 1998; Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2014; Hiralal 2014, 2016). This collection, particularly the chapters by Hiralal and Bouchoucha, engages with some of these challenges that surround this particular field of scholarship. Some of these include reappraising historiography and theoretical frameworks, the critique of colonial archives, a new criticism of the impact and rationale of colonialism, and deepening the criticism of women's experiences in the context of decision-making, household strategies, agency and identity, to name a few. Recently there have been publications by descendants of indentured and free South Asian migration that are seeking to explore their 'roots' and lineage (Park 2008; Hiralal and Rawjee 2011; Bahadur 2014). For many it is a personal journey of identity challenges and lost family histories. In *Coolie Woman* (2014), Bahadur demonstrates that the story of indentured women is a lost history within a lost history. It has now become the responsibility of progeny and post-colonial scholars to decolonise colonial narratives of indenture. David Dabydeen, quoted in Bahadur, succinctly captures this trend:

> *The ancestors curl and dry to scrolls of parchment*
> *They lie like texts*
> *Waiting to be written by the children*
> *For whom they hacked and ploughed and saved*
> *To send to faraway schools (Coolie Odyssey*, in Bahadur 2014: 17)

This new research adds to the existing scholarship on historical migrations of Italian, Finnish, Irish, Chinese and Dutch women immigrants to the Americas. It locates their narratives within the mainstream discourses on gender and global migrations. It also allows the problematisation of women's migrations in the context of race, gender, class, ethnicity and language, thereby highlighting the complexity and nuances of their migration experiences in different times, spaces and geographical settings. Whilst there is a significant body of research on historical migrations of European women to the Americas, there is still a huge gap of knowledge on South Asian women

immigrants to Africa. Thus research on historical migrations to Africa (within the Indian Ocean region) and within Africa is not only essential but also compelling.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw a gradual increase of global female migration. Female migration increased steadily in Africa up from 43% in 1960 to 48% in 2000 (International Migration Report 2015). This phenomenon, also known as 'the feminisation of migration', has generated debates by scholars and policy makers to make gender an important inclusive category of analysis. In recent years feminist scholars have sought to provide new approaches and theoretical frameworks to contemporary migrations which have challenged traditional theories that have sought to portray migrants through conventional economistic models responding to macro-level socio-economic changes (Palmary et al. 2010; Kihato 2004; Geiger 1990). Feminist studies over the past decade have shown ways in which gender intersects with race, class and identity to illuminate a wide range of women's experiences in the migration process. In Africa, African women are engaged in both national (urban-rural-circular migration) and international migration. Internal migration is most noticeable in student and independent female migration. In 2010, female migrants in South Africa constituted 42.7% of the total migrant stock, up from 37.3% in 1990 (International Migration Report 2015). Political instability in countries such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, Somalia, Nigeria and Burundi, and high levels of unemployment and poverty across the continent, has led to many African women seeking sustainable livelihoods and political stability, particularly in South Africa. Recently there has also been a trend of young females migrating independently to fulfil educational needs and not necessarily to join a family member or a husband (Isike and Isike 2012). Student mobility thus provides scholars with new perspectives on gendered migrations in the context of agency and identity. For example, in 1994 there were 12,557 international students registered at South Africa's 23 public universities; by 2006 it had increased to nearly 54,000 (*MacGregor, University World News*, 9 December 2007). Recent studies by Tsega (2010) and Jamie (2013) have documented the rise of Ethiopian women immigrants to Sudan. The above studies are significant because they highlight the need to interrogate the challenges and constraints African women immigrants face within the continent.

In the migration process issues of agency must be understood and explicated. Butler and Spivak (2007) have argued that the very conditions

of migrants result in empowerment rather than acquiescence. 'We understand the jettisoned life, the life both expelled and contained, as saturated with power precisely at the moment in which it is deprived of citizenship' (Butler and Spivak 2007: 40). John Arthur, in his study *African Women Immigrants in the United States: Crossing Transnational Borders* (2009), berates the stereotype that African women are dependent and passive migrants, and depicts them as independent social actors.

Hiralal focuses on the historical aspects of migration engaging in a comparative study of South Asian immigrants (Indian and Chinese) to Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Male-centred migration is interrogated to highlight more complex factors that restricted women's decision to migrate. Ibtihel Bouchoucha and Fatima Ait Ben Lmadani provide perspectives from North Africa. Bouchoucha provides an interesting account of women's migration in Tunisia. This chapter highlights the multiple challenges women endure and how they negotiate between tradition and modernity. Lmadani locates her discussion in the complexity of intra-African migration, with particular reference to Senegalese women migrating to Morocco, a marginalised group in migration discourse. Tinashe Chimbidzikai, Pragna Rugunanan, Ria Smit, Marnie Shaffer and Sarah Matshaka highlight the challenges and constraints of Zimbabwean, Congolese, Burundian and Somali women immigrants in South Africa. They locate their discussion within a feminist perspective, in the context of transnationalism, identity, agency and citizenship. These discussions are significant as they make a valuable contribution to understanding the gender dynamics of women's migration to South Africa. Sasha Rai and Elsa Oliveira and Jo Vearey in their studies examine methodological concerns in qualitative analysis in the context of participatory visual methodology, the dialogical approach to narrative research and oral histories. They problematise these approaches as an analytical tool for constructing historical and contemporary narratives and how these concerns have shaped their roles and experiences as interviewers. Monica Kiwanuka examines how immigrant women and service providers utilise culture as both a discursive strategy and site of meaningful production in constructing experiences and actions towards domestic violence responses in South Africa, whilst Lanre Ikuteyijo examines the role of government and non-governmental organisations involved in the rehabilitation of returnee trafficked victims in Nigeria. Both Kiwanuka's and Ikuteyijo's chapters provide new insights into the participatory role the state and civic organisations can play in enhancing the lives of immigrants.

Thus we call upon academics, scholars and researchers to locate gendered migrations in more global contexts and engage in comparative analysis. This approach is compelling for two reasons. First, it highlights the urgent need to make women's experiences more inclusive of the global migration narratives, and second diverse geographical and regional migrations provide differentiated and nuanced migration experiences. This collection of edited essays makes Africa its primary focus and highlights the heterogeneity and complexity of gendered migrations on the continent.

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CHAPTER 2

Why Were the Women Left Behind? Chinese and Indian Migration in the Indian Ocean Region: A Historical Perspective

Kalpana Hiralal

Introduction

In the mid-nineteenth century the arrival of immigrants from India and China to South Africa created two waves of immigrants: indentured and free Indians. The arrival of immigrants to Africa was in line with international migration trends. The rise of capitalism and the need for cheap labour in the British Empire led to the global migration of indentured labour to places such as Mauritius, Fiji, Caribbean and South Africa. By 1905 indentured labour was found in 18 British Colonies (Harris 1998: 110). In South Africa the need for cheap, secure labour on the sugar plantations and other spheres of the economy in colonial Natal led to the first arrival of indentured labour to the coastal belts in 1860. The indentured labourers were followed by the arrival of free or "passenger" Indians who paid their own passage fare to Natal. In the early twentieth century the shortage of labour in the gold mines in the Transvaal led to the importation of Chinese indentured labour. This later paved the way for the arrival of free Chinese immigrants who like the "passenger" Indians

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were not bound by contractual labour obligations (Harris 1998: 110; Bhana and Brain 1990). Free Indian and Chinese immigrants as well as indentured Chinese immigrants were not accompanied by their wives, who were left behind in China and India. Yet we know very little of their lives, or why they were "left behind", whilst their husbands forged new livelihoods across the seas. It is the lives of these women and the reasons for their being "left behind" that I seek to explore.

Studies on historical migrations with particular reference to women have provided new perspectives on gendered experiences in the context of identity, assimilation, agency and transnational families. The lives of immigrant women, for example, the Irish, Italian, Dutch and Finnish, have become the subject of numerous studies, particularly in the United States (Sinke 2006; Gabaccia 1991; Diner 1983). Recent studies have highlighted the non-passivity of female migration and how even the women "left behind" were agents of change (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2014; Mazumdar 2003). Studies on South Asian women immigrants to the Americas have not only provided new perspectives on the complexity of race and gender but have also sought to locate their experiences within the mainstream of immigration narratives (Yung 1995; Zhao 2002; Mazumdar 2003). Mazumdar (2003) has correctly noted that "There is little comparative and connective work that investigates Asian migrations in continent-wide terms" (2003: 58). This is largely attributed to the fact that studies of Chinese and Indian diaspora are seen "as tertiary adjuncts to the 'main' narratives of nation-state" (Mazumdar 2003: 58). Studies have also problematised the male-centred dynamics of migration and raised the questions "Why did the women not come?" and "What happened to the women?" (Mazumdar 2003: 53; Takaki 1989). Mazumdar (2003) has argued that the lack of Indian and Chinese women in the United States prior to the 1930s was "because the economic system was built around male migration and female domestic labor… Their labor was too vital for the household unit to let them migrate, especially if the man was going to return within a few years" (Mazumdar 2003: 60 and 71). Takaki has argued that "Chinese tradition and culture limited the possibilities of migration for women" and that "it would have been too costly to accompany their husbands and the men thought they would be gone only temporarily" (Takaki 1989: n.p.n). In South African historiography the South Asian migration experience of women has largely been seen from the vantage point of indentured labourers (Badassy 2005; Essop 2005; Beall 1990; Hiralal 2014a,b). However, recent studies have sought to illuminate the migration experiences of

"passenger" Indians (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2012, 2014; Hiralal 2014b). Harris (1998) and Park (2008) have provided some insights into Chinese migration experiences to South Africa. Whilst the above studies are relevant and significant, there has been no deep analysis of male-centred migration and of the question "Why did the women not come?". Moreover, there have been no comparative studies on the migration experiences of Chinese and Indian women immigrants.

A closer examination of their histories reveals that they share many similarities: both Chinese and Indian migrations were an integral part of the Indian Ocean region, it was male centred, early male immigrants were "sojourners", women were "left behind" and arrived years later to join their spouses, patriarchal and cultural factors defined women's status, and discriminatory immigration laws were designed to curb their entry to South Africa. This study focuses on South Asian migration to South Africa with particular reference to Chinese and Indian women immigrants at the turn of the century. It explores the reasons for male-centred migration and why "women were left behind". Traditional arguments of patriarchy and cultural norms were not the only impediment for women's migration. It was far more complex. Other factors need to be considered such as the "sojourner mentality" of early migrants, the high cost of living, institutional barriers, personal circumstances and the socio-economic value of overseas migration (remittances). Collectively they inhibited and facilitated the mobility of women immigrants to Africa. This chapter moves the migration narratives to the other side of the Indian Ocean region, thereby making the lives of left behind women a significant area of analysis.

The Sojourner Immigrant

Scholars have argued that male-centred migration and the "sojourner mentality" were not unique to South Asian immigrants. According to Mazumdar (2003), male migration "was the norm for *all* immigrant groups, with a few exceptions.... Except for the Irish, three-fourths of *all* migrants to the United States were male" (2003: 61). Mazumdar (2003) further adds that Chinese and Indian male migration patterns "fit the norm rather than the exception" (2003: 61) and that "Returning home after a season, a year or a few years" was commonplace for Europeans immigrants too (2003: 61). The "sojourner mentality" was characteristic of South Asian migration to South Africa. Chinese and "passenger" Indian immigrants did not come to labour; rather they

came as independent immigrants free of any contractual obligations. They did not come with the intention of permanent settlement, but rather to scout new economic opportunities. Their intention was always to return at some later stage. Both sets of immigrants were in the main young males between the ages of 18 and 50. They arrived as either single or married men. Chinese immigrants originated from northern and southern parts of China whilst "passenger" Indians came from western India from areas such as Bombay and Surat (Harris 1998: 152–153; Hiralal 2013).

Their reasons for arriving varied from seeking a better livelihood, to adventure and employment opportunities. For both "passenger" and Chinese immigrants, certain "push" and "pull" factors facilitated their migration. Both India and China in the late nineteenth century were affected by famines, floods, plague outbreaks (cholera and influenza epidemics) and fires, which caused widespread poverty and unemployment. Many young men, who were breadwinners of their family, were forced to migrate from their hometowns to urban areas and across the seas to seek employment. In western India famines and diseases affected cities like Bombay and Surat and small rural villages (Haynes 2012: 39). Kanjee Davah, a "passenger" Indian despite having 40 acres of land in India, emigrated to Natal in 1896, "because I could not make any money from the land and my uncle called me here" (IRD, KCM 99/53/7). Chinese indentured labourers who settled in the Transvaal originated from the northern and southern parts of China, namely, Chihli and Shantuang. These areas were mainly agricultural and the "majority of emigrants came from the lowest stratum of this economy… Poverty was endemic in these regions as inhabitants were subjected to floods, droughts and severe famines…" (Harris 1998: 152–153). Letters exchanged between Chinese labourers working on the Transvaal mines and their families succinctly describe the anxieties of financial woes which plagued many families back in China and the reasons for male migration:

> Dear Madam Wu, my wife
> I am well and sound since departure last year. Don't worry about me. Only after reading the return letter received from you on February 14, have I known that you haven't got money (amount 20 yuans) which I sent back to Hong Kong Tai Gu Bank last August. I immediately remitted 122 gold coin back through Tai Gu Bank on February 15 and March 15 separately. The

receiver address is Yuan Qian St, Xie Jiahe. Please
notify me if you still haven't received these two
remittances so I can get the refund from Tai Gu Bank.
Now they tell me you haven't signed for the reception.
I will be back to home after three years pass. Take
care and don't worry about me.
Your husband Hu Yuli
October 20, GuangXu 31 (Harris 1998: 155)

Dear Brother Liu Tsai Chi
Not hear from you after you leave from Africa. We
don't know if you want to bring the family settle
money back yourself or ask somebody else to send it
back. Now without seeing the money your mother is
making a tearful scene with me at home. Hope you write
a letter back together with money so as to rescue me
from bad situation at present.
No more to write and with best regards.
Your brother Zhu Anran
(Use the envelope enclosed in this letter) (Harris 1998: 155)

Given this socio-economic scenario it is not surprising that young males sought employment opportunities elsewhere. A Chinese indentured labourer who had a wife and widowed mother back home in China was largely motivated by concerns for financial security for his family: "his object in enlisting for labour here was to better himself pecuniarily" (Harris 1998: 159). This "pull" factor characterised many of the Chinese indentured labourers working on the mines: "The object of the presence of the Chinese on this mine is two-fold the first being the desire to earn money, and the second, to maintain their respective families with the money earned here" (Harris 1998: 159). In addition, the lifestyle the early "passenger" Indians and Chinese immigrants led was indicative of their sojourner status. They arrived in Natal via familial and village contacts who offered in most instances employment and accommodation. This chain migration characterised both Indian and Chinese immigrations. Familial contacts were maintained through periodic visits and letter writing. Visits to China and India were made at three- or five-year intervals. Hence there was a to and fro movement between South Africa, India and China. For the vast majority of the early immigrants this lifestyle of sojourning meant that their wives and children had to reside in the motherland. This fact is easily

discernible from official documents and statistics. “Passenger” Indians only began arriving in Natal in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During this period the number of women arriving was minimal. The arrivals of “passenger” Indian women and children between 1903 and 1907 were as follows: 1903, 260; 1904, 176; 1905, 243; 1906, 306; and 1907, 210 (*Indian Opinion* 22 February 1908; *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, vol. 8: 498–499). In the Transvaal in April 1904, “Asiatic” males totalled 9799 and females 1522. According to a Government Report in 1921, “the custom among resident Indians of keeping their wives in India, where they are visited by their husbands at intervals. Thus a commercial or business domicile is maintained in the Union, but a domicile of home and family, that is, true domicile in such cases is retained in India”(Asiatics GG 913 15/1222). In the Transvaal Chinese indentured labourers did have the option of their wives accompanying them. However, very few did; only “… about half a dozen Chinese wives, and a few dozen children, arrived on the Rand” (Harris 1998: 182). According to Harris, this trend was also common for Chinese immigrants in Australia and New Zealand. For example, between 1860 and 1880, “53,242 Chinese men and only 30 Chinese women arrived in Australia, and 5017 men and only 16 women were in New Zealand” (Harris 1998: 182).

Financial Costs

The financial costs of residing and maintaining a family in a foreign country was another important factor in leaving the womenfolk behind. The life that most “passenger” Indian and Chinese immigrants led was more conducive to bachelorhood. Their earning capacity, living quarters and settlement patterns were challenging, and could hardly sustain their families in a new and foreign environment. Most of the early “passenger” Indians and Chinese immigrants were agriculturists, labourers, craftsmen, peasants and semi-skilled workers. On arrival many worked as shop assistants, labourers, supervisors, managers and hawkers. Once established they would use their saved capital to start a small retail store. Some settled in the urban areas whilst others moved inland to more rural areas. In Natal, Durban had a large concentration of “passenger” Indian traders; however, many also settled in Pietermaritzburg and the midland districts of Ladysmith, Dundee and Estcourt. In the Transvaal, whilst the indentured Chinese labourers worked on the mines, the free Chinese immigrants settled in more urban areas such as the Witwatersrand and

Pretoria (Harris 1998: 134–135). Chinese indentured labourers were bound by the Labour Importation Ordinance of 1904 to work for three years with the right of renewal for a similar period; thereafter they would return to China (Harris 1998: 113). They were employed in positions, such as hand drilling in the stopes; their residence was on the mine premises; and they could not own property or engage in trade and required a permit to leave mine quarters. Moreover, they also earned a meagre wage; the average was 37s.7d a month in 1905 (Harris 1998: 134–135, 145). "Passenger" Indians share similar narratives of financial hardships. On arrival many lived with kin and family. Others rented a single room and did their own chores. For example, Daya Ratanjee arrived in Natal in 1896 and worked as a hawker: "…. I cooked my own food and merely rented a room" (Daya Ratanjee Special case Immigrants appeal Board, Natal Supreme Court 13 October 1913 Appellate Court 18 November 1913, File 2 KCM 99/53/2). The wages paid by some Indian traders to their employees often ranged from 30 shillings to £15 a month (Gandhi, Collected Works, vol. III, pp. 23–25).

The migration challenges of early immigrants are succinctly captured in a short story titled *Dakshin Afrika Darshan yane Be Mitre-no Samvaad* (Introducing South Africa or Dialogue of Two Friends). It was written anonymously by Ek Hindi (An Indian). It appeared in a local Indian newspaper, *Indian Opinion*, between 29 July and 23 December 1911, and is based on two Gujarati childhood friends living in Durban, Udayshankar and Manharram. Their conversation provides a rare insight into migrant families, in particular the plight of their wives. In this dialogue, Udayshankar shares concerns with his friend's wife Manorba about the challenges of bringing his wife across to Durban:

> Firstly, there is the cost of her coming. I cannot afford second or first class fare … Secondly, there will be increased expenses. We barely earn £5 to £10 a month … Those living in India have great expectations of money from us. What hope is there to save even a penny if we have the expense of maintaining a household here? It would be difficult to afford the fare if we do have to return to India … Thirdly there are no facilities for women to move about as freely as they can in India. They feel confined because they cannot meet friends and relatives, and feel frustrated … Fourthly, this country does not have adequate maternity facilities for the delivery of babies … Fifthly, should anyone unfortunately suffer sudden, serious illness, there would be no one to care for the person. In such cases of emergency, should one manage business or nurse the patient? (Bhana and Bhoola 2004: 19)

The dialogue is interesting because it highlights the financial woes of settlement and assimilation of early "passenger" Indian immigrants. In this scenario Udayshankar had to consider a whole range of factors before asking his wife to join him. Among them were travel expenses, maintaining remittances in India, his meagre salary, the lack of recreational and medical amenities, and familial support. Collectively, these factors had to be carefully weighed by early immigrants before they could even consider asking their wives to join them in South Africa (Hiralal 2014b).

Patriarchy and Cultural Factors

Patriarchy, culture and the economic structure of the household are imperative in understanding why men migrated and women were "left behind". Both Chinese and Indian women originated from societies that were highly patriarchal and where households were highly gendered. These societies was characterised by unequal power relations and hierarchical gender relations. Men were the breadwinners of the family, held a superior status and were decision-makers. Women occupied a secondary status, and their main duties were that of wife and mother and tending to all the domestic chores. From a young age women were trained to be a good wife and mother. Literary texts and ancient philosophies reinforced women's subordinate role. In India the status of women—as depicted by Manu in the Manusmriti—was one of subordination. An ideal Hindu woman is one who is chaste, serves her husband and manages the home (Hole 2005: 224–226). Social taboos and myths further inhibited women's mobility. Both Hindu and Muslim women practised *purdah* (seclusion), which forbade their travel abroad. However, some women sought to challenge these social norms. For example, Tapi Naran was four months pregnant when she wanted to accompany her husband to Natal in 1916. According to family folklore, the local *panchayat* (a village council) forbade Tapi from journeying to South Africa. They believed that it was inauspicious for pregnant women to travel. Tapi defied the ruling of the *panchayat* and together with her husband Naran boarded a ship at Calcutta and embarked from there on 10 June 1916 for Natal (Hiralal 2014b: 67). In China, Confucian ideology permeated society enforcing hierarchical gender relations. Women were at the bottom of the social strata, and were expected to be subservient and obedient. Young girls were expected to obey their fathers, wives their husbands and widows their sons. According to the traditional Confucian view, women could not function as autonomous human beings. In addition, practices such as foot-binding impeded women's mobility.

Practised in China for many centuries by the upper class and imitated by the lower class, it hindered women's efforts to work and walk. According to Harris, "This severe physical impediment must have played a significant role in the reluctance of women to go abroad" (Harris 1998: 183).

Immigration Laws

Stringent immigration laws did to some extent play an important role in limiting both Chinese and Indian women's entry to South Africa at the turn of the century. Harris (1998) in her study on the Chinese community in South Africa has argued that whilst the immigration laws were harsh and discriminatory, there is no "direct evidence" to suggest that the Chinese who remained in China did so because of discriminatory legislation at the Cape: "In some instances it was definitely a deterrent but the fact that many Chinese continued to return suggests that although unfair and inconvenient, the legislation was not an effective hindrance for many of those who had been granted admission rights. Some of the Chinese men who visited China, went to get married or to fetch their wives and families" (Harris 1998: 254).

In South Africa discriminatory immigration laws were legislated during the colonial and post-colonial periods mainly to satisfy European fears of economic displacement by the South Asian immigrants. In Natal, the "passenger" and free Indian traders were seen as a "menace" by the colonialists. An outburst in 1893 warned that "Indians are becoming a very serious element among us. They are about as prolific as rabbits, and almost as destructive to the welfare of Europeans" (Report of the Superintendent of Police, Durban Corporation for 24 July 1889, vol. 3309, p. A16; Durban Mayor's Minutes, 1893–1903; Swanson 1983: 411–413). Reports by Resident Magistrates on the monopolisation of trade by Indian traders in the coastal and country districts incited the colonialists. The Resident Magistrate for Newcastle, J.O. Jackson, stated in 1896:

> Indian and Asiatics compete very keenly with Europeans, I fear, greatly to the detriment of the latter. (Report of the Resident Magistrate for Newcastle, 1896, in Blue Book for the Colony of Natal, P B25)

Similar sentiments were voiced in the Cape and the Transvaal. In the Transvaal Chinese traders were also seen as a threat. They feared the economic competition of the "easterner" and that "their excessively low standard of living, render them competitors in the labour market

specially unwelcome to European peoples who endeavour to maintain the level of comfort…essential to happiness under conditions of civilization" (Harris 1998: 123).

These anti-South Asian sentiments led to the passage of discriminatory immigration laws. In Natal to limit the Indian "menace" the Immigration Restriction Act of 1897 was passed. All new immigrants were required to pass a literacy test and complete a form in a European language; the age of majority was 21 years for children seeking to join their parents and domicile status acquired after 2 years of residence in Natal. These measures were amended in 1903 seeking to eliminate loopholes in the law and tighten immigration controls. A revised literacy test required immigrants to complete an application form *dictated* by the immigration officer, the age of majority for minor children was reduced to 16, and domicile residence was raised from two to three years (Report of the Immigration Officer, Port Natal for the year ending 1900, 66–67; KCM 99/53/5).

Similar restrictions were introduced in the Cape and the Transvaal. In the Cape the Immigration Act 47 of 1902 and its amended version the Immigration Act 30 of 1906 also introduced literacy tests for new immigrants (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2014: 642). For both Indian and Chinese immigrants, their spouses were only allowed to join them if they could prove their domicile and marriage status. The Cape also passed the "Chinese Exclusion Act" aimed at curtailing Chinese free immigration. However, there was a more favourable attitude towards the entry of wives. According to Harris, during the parliamentary debates, it was considered preferable to allow the "Chinaman" to bring his wife into the Colony because they "did not think it would be wise to allow him to find his consort among other residents of the country. [Laughter] They should be careful to keep out any cross-breeds" (Harris 1998: 256). The "Chinese Exclusion Act" remained on the statute books until 1933. The "restrictive efficiency of the law" can be discerned by its statistics: of the 1393 Chinese registrations in 1904, 915 remained in 1908 and in 1917 they steadily decreased to 711 (Harris 1998: 252). According to Harris, "Together with other discriminatory legislation introduced after Union, it had a far longer and more detrimental effect on the South African Chinese community, putting an end to their immigration for close on three-quarters of a century" (Harris 1998: 252). In the Transvaal, the Immigration Restriction Bill of 1907 made provisions for education tests to be imposed on all immigrants excluding wives and minor children (*Indian Opinion* 4 May 1912). However, the Immigration Restriction Bill

of 1907 was directed mainly at Indian and Chinese immigrants. Wives and minor children accompanying their spouses during the colonial period had their status endorsed on the domicile certificates of their spouses (KCM File 4, 99/53/4). The above measures certainly had an impact on women's decision to migrate, as a woman's entry into South Africa was determined by and dependent on her spouse. A married woman seeking to enter South Africa at the turn of the century was dependent on her spouse fulfilling all the necessary immigration requirements.

In the post-colonial period, the entry of women became even more problematic. The formation of the Union in 1910 led to the passing of the Immigrants Restriction Act of 1913 which consolidated existing immigration laws of the pre-Union colonies (Natal, Cape, Orange Free State and the Transvaal). In the post-1913 period immigration officials became gatekeepers of immigration laws, determining who was really a "wife" and who could enter the country. This was evident in the manner in which immigration officials defined the notion of "wife" and also in the verification procedures for wives seeking to enter South Africa for the first time. Indian and Chinese customary marriages performed outside the confines of the state came under intense scrutiny. Resident Indian and Chinese immigrants were under pressure to collect and collate various types of documentary proof (certificate of identity, photographs and marriage certificates) of their domicile status and marital status. Many domiciled Indians and their wives who appeared before the Immigration Restriction Boards were declared a "prohibited immigrant" for failing to provide sufficient proof of their identity. The Chairman of the British Indian Association, AM Cachalia, clearly frustrated at the many hurdles of family migration, stated at a mass meeting in 1913, "…all manner of impossible proofs affecting our wives and our children are demanded of us, and now, as if to make our task absolutely impossible, such of us as propose to bring our wives to South Africa are told that we must prove them to be married to us in a manner that marriages never take place among us, and that, unless we do this, our wives will not be recognised as such, and, consequently, may not join us in South Africa" (*Indian Opinion* 5 April 1913). In 1916 Choo Chun, the son of a domiciled Chinese living in the Transvaal, Yia Saa, was declared a prohibited immigrant by the immigration officer because the immigration officer declared that his parents' marriage was "essentially polygamous". His mother lived in China in the Province of Canton. The Indian Immigrants Act of 1913 only validated Christian monogamous marriages, but this was amended by the Indians' Relief Act

of 1914, which allowed only one wife of a polygamous marriage to enter South Africa. Chinese and Indian immigrants wishing to bring across their wives had to constantly provide "proof" of their marriages. Choo Chun was denied entry because the immigration officer refused to recognise his parents' customary marriage: "That no religious or legal ceremony taken place, but that a social ceremony is insisted upon in respect of the first wife". The customary marriage was not adequate evidence for the immigration officer. Yia Saa was denied entry because "The Court decided that this is a polygamous marriage" (KCM File 4, 99/53/4).

Given the intense scrutiny by the immigration officers in South Africa with regard to the verification of documents and the non-recognition of customary marriages, the entry of wives of Indian and Chinese immigrants was a problematic issue. It hindered family migration and engaged immigrants in mounting legal bills. Hence it can be argued that the immigration laws affecting both Indian and Chinese immigrants did, to some extent, play an influential role in inhibiting women's arrival to South Africa at the turn of the century.

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the complexity of South Asian female migration to South Africa at the turn of the century. There were reasons for male-centred migration and leaving the "women behind". Socio-economic, political, cultural and personal factors collectively intertwined to hinder and facilitate their mobility. The above analysis shows that women's decision to migrate was far more complex. Moreover, this research also highlights the necessity of engaging more critically with traditional narratives of gendered migrations. This is imperative because it will punctuate the docile and passive images of South Asian women immigrants in historical migrations and assign them the agency they so deserve.

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CHAPTER 3

The Migration of Women in Tunisia: Between Tradition and Modernity

Ibtihel Bouchoucha

Introduction

After independence, Tunisia began a new phase of its history, marked by new rights for Tunisian women, thanks to the promulgation of the Code of Personal Status in 1956 (Beaujot 1986; Bouraoui 2001; UNESCO 2009; Ben Salem and Locoh 2001; Chekir 2001). This political orientation adopted by the first President of the Republic of Tunisia, Habib Bourguiba, and pursued by then President Ben Ali, had considerable effects on women's status in the country. The promotion of education for women and the greater presence of the latter in the political and economic arenas, were part of these advances in the last decades. Other indicators show the increase of womens participation in internal and international migration flows. However, the situation of women remains fragile, and there are still disparities between the sexes, in particular in the job market. This chapter assesses the migration behaviours of women in Tunisia and its associated effects. I argue that it is necessary to provide a detailed analysis of the social and cultural context in the country as one of the main factors which explains female migration in the country.

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I provide two types of analysis:

A comparative descriptive analysis between both sexes, to study the evolution of gender relationships in Tunisia and discuss the position of women in the country today. For this part, I use the available individual data from the Pan Arab Project for Family Health—PAPFAM survey 2001—and the official statistics of the censuses and demographic surveys published by the National Institute of Statistics (Tunisia).

A multivariete analysis based on multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) in the aim to determine the effect of the gender relationship in the determination of female migration. For this analysis I use the individual data of the PAPFAM survey 2001.

This work consists of three sections. In the first I study the evolution of the situation of women, in particular in the job market, because employment is considered one of the main causes of migration. In the second section, I study the degree of attachment of Tunisian women to social traditional standards. Finally, in the third section, I study the perception of Tunisian women with regard to the migration of women by stressing the effect of the gender relationship.

Evolution of the Situation of Women in Tunisia

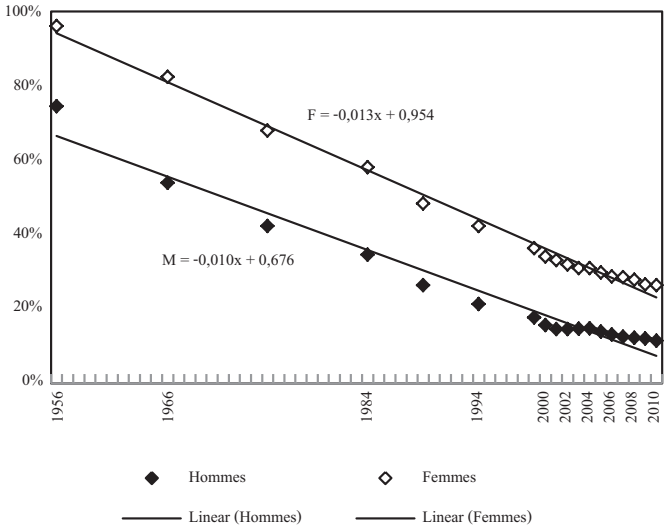
The legislation affecting the personal status adopted from the day after the independence of the country contributed to modify social relationships between the sexes and the generations (Ben Salem and Locoh 2001). In fact, before independence, the extended family was the dominating model (*strict standard*). The marriage of a son does not imply its residential autonomy; *a conjugal unit* is built and a space is reserved for him to settle down next to the other members of the family. In this traditional family form, the authority returns to the men. The women are not only dependent on their spouses but also on other male members of the family. Today this traditional organization of the household is beginning to disappear. Young women and men have more tendencies to choose their own spouse and to settle down outside the family household (Ben Salem and Locoh 2001). The traditional family, dominated by the authority of the father, widened and consisted of all members made way for a conjugal independent family formed by both spouses and by their children (Chekir 2001). However, according to Ben Salem and Locoh (2001),

despite these changes, women *are not considered as equals*. Women in Tunisia live in a paradoxical situation. On one hand, they benefit from legal progress and from the granting of political rights in their favour. Furthermore, an important social development took place, the widespread schooling of girls at every level and the changes in demographic behaviours: later age of the first marriage and a decrease in birth rates. On the other hand, we observe that the economic participation of women remains low, as the situation is very discriminating in the job market—although the laws demand equality between the sexes.

Evolution of School Education

The improvement of education, in particular for girls, was fast and remarkable, at different school levels (primary, secondary or university). The schooling of both sexes was almost equal; the percentage of students in full-time education from 6 to 16 years was 99%. Today, the proportion of girls in secondary and university education is clearly higher than that of boys: during the school year 2009–2010, it was 54% in secondary and 60.4% in higher education against, respectively, 27.6% and 18.8% during the school year 1965–1966. Progress was also observed through the evolution of the rate of illiteracy, which considerably decreased after independence, although the difference between the sexes remains significant. In fact, between 1956 and 2010, the rate of illiteracy went from 74.5% to 7.6% for men and from 96% to 18.8% for women. It nevertheless remains high for women in rural areas particularly among older women (Graph 3.1).

However, in spite of these advances, equality between the sexes is far from being totally achieved. In fact, the presence of girls in the scientific fields is weaker. They are more orientated towards the traditional feminine modules, marked by a relatively low male presence. In fact, women represented 70%[1] of the students in the health faculties, arts and human sciences, 81% in the faculty of languages and applied humanities and 68% in the social sciences and psychology faculties. On the other hand, their orientation towards the scientific and technical sectors, although increasing, remains relatively low compared to boys. Women represent only 32% of the students in the engineering and technical faculties, 40% in the architecture and building faculties and 44% in the mathematical and statistical faculties.



Graph 3.1 Evolution of illiteracy by sex. Source (Spring): INS (Census and National Population and Employment Surveys from 1956 to 2010)

In spite of a horizontal segregation in the sectors, the remarkable advances in the schooling and literacy of girls and boys have an effect on the individual behaviours at every level: demographic, economic and so on, as we see below.

Delay of Age at Marriage

We observe a fast evolution of marrying later (Table 3.1). The percentage of single women between 15 and 19 years of age and between 20 and 24 years of age increased, respectively, from 58% and 20% in 1956 to 98% and 84% in 2004, which explains the drop of the average of the first marriage age, in particular among women. In 2004, the average age at marriage of single women is 26.9 years compared with 19.3 years in 1956. According to the works of Ouadah-Bedidi and Vallin, the average age at the first marriage of women in Tunisia is currently 30 years.

Research revealed that this new marital behaviour is due to the improvement in the academic level of women (Ouadah-Bedidi et al. 2012). In fact, schooling led to more access to professional life. Women were

Table 3.1 Changes in mean age of marriage for women

	1956	*1966*	*1975*	*1984*	*1994*	*2004*
15–19	58.1	81.0	93.7	93.1	97.0	97.9
20–24	20.4	27.0	51.5	58.8	72.3	83.6
25–29	6.5	8.7	17.3	24.6	37.7	52.9
30–34	3.6	3.9	5.8	9.7	18.1	28.0
35–39	2.1	2.4	2.6	3.8	8.9	15.5
40–44	1.4	1.8	1.7	2.2	4.7	9.4
45–49	1.1	1.5	1.6	1.6	2.3	5.6
Mean age at marriage for single women	19.3	20.9	22.6	24.3	26.6	26.9

Source (Spring): INS (Census 1956, 1966, 1975, 1984, 1994, 2004)

encouraged to study longer and to get married later. Marriage is no longer a priority for Tunisian women. The outcomes of the PAPFAM survey done in 2001 illustrate well this relationship between education and the age at marriage of Tunisian women. According to this survey, the average age at marriage differs substantially according to academic level. The marriage age is 21.2 years for illiterate women, 21.9 years for women with primary education and 24.3 years for women with secondary academic level education.

Decrease in Birth Rate

The total fertility rate has declined considerably in the various regions between 1956 and 2009. Within 50 years, the number of children by family in Tunisia declined from 7.2 to 2 children for each woman. The relation between the increase of the academic level and the decline of the birth rate is striking. The average number of children born to women having a higher level of education is clearly lower than that of the other educated women (primary or secondary) or illiterate women. This shows *the real role of the development of education in the decrease of the birth rate* (Ouadah-Bedidi et al. 2012). However, the remarkable decrease in total fertility rate of the illiterate women highlights the effect of the legal and social framework which favoured the evolution of these mentalities and behaviours. All the demographic surveys illustrated that *a family of two children stands out as a universal model adopted by all the layers of the population* (Ouadah-Bedidi et al. 2012) and that *the use of contraception has increased in countries with the improvement of the various status of the woman: instruction,*

participation in the economic activity, the moral and financial independence, the autonomy of decision (Vallin and Locoh 2001). We should also not forget the remarkable effect of the increase of the marriage age especially in Tunisia, which, like other countries of the Maghreb, *tried by all means to hold the women away from any sexual relation before the marriage and still denies them more strongly the possibility of giving birth outside the conjugal relationship* (Ouadah-Bedidi et al. 2012).

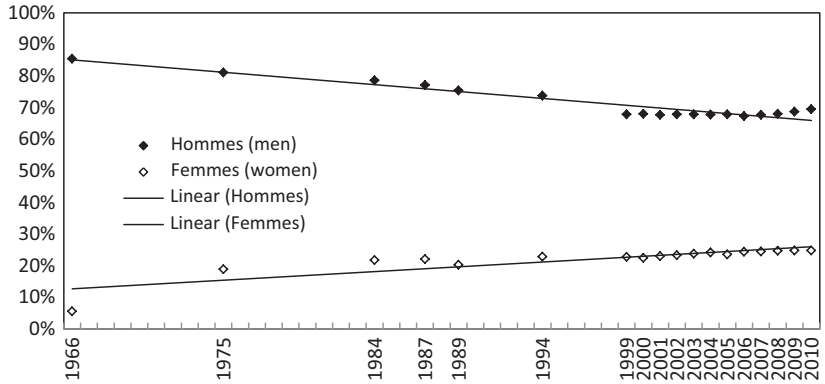
Improvement of Sanitary Conditions

The evolution of life expectancy shows the improvement of sanitary conditions of the sexes and a drop in mortality at all ages. Life expectancy increased rapidly in the 1970s and 1980s. Since this period, it has decreased, while the gap between women and men has increased. This trend confirms the improvement of women's conditions and the improvement of their access to healthcare. Other factors explain this progress: the decrease of the number of risky pregnancies (premature or late pregnancies) and the increase of assisted childbirths, which translates to the significant decrease of maternal mortality. In addition, we should not deny the role played by education. In fact, the elimination of illiteracy and access to schooling are also key factors that explain the decrease in mortality and the increase of life expectancy.

Participation of Women in Active Life

Although the political will favoured the equality of opportunity between men and women in the job market, gender inequality leading to access to and quality of employment still persists. In fact, the participation of women in economic activity remains low. The most remarkable increase of the employment activity rate of women was observed in 1975. This rate increased by 13% between 1966 and 1975 (19% in 1975 compared with 6% in 1966). But, from this date, the evolution of the activity rate of women remained very low. In 38 years, this rate only moved up to 6%. At present, women represent only 26.8% of the working population; their activity rate reached 24.8% in 2010 (Graph 3.2).

This relatively low evolution of the participation of women in economic activity also reflects the precariousness of the situation in the job market and the difficulties which they meet in reconciling active life and private life. In fact, between 2005 and 2010 we registered on average an



Graph 3.2 Evolution of the employment activity rate of women and men in Tunisia. Source (Spring): INS (Census and National Population and Employment Surveys from 1966 to 2010)

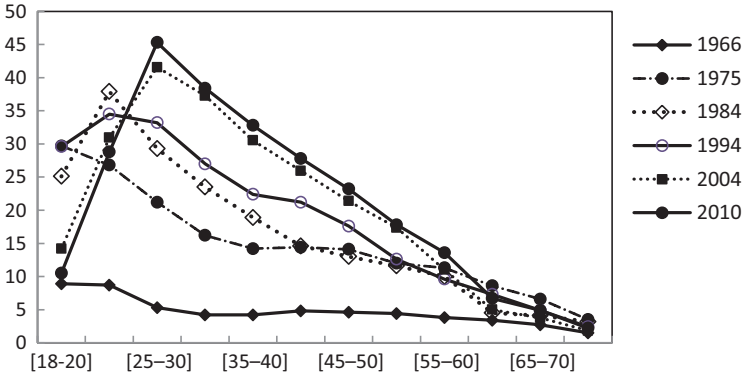
increase of 11,600 unemployed persons a year compared with 300 unemployed persons a year for men. The capacity of the job market remains very limited and the number of jobs created just managed to cover the new demands. Women are not offered the first chance at employment. Fifty-eight per cent of the unemployed women in 2010 were first jobseekers, compared with 38.1% for men. Unemployment affects university graduates more, who are increasing, and among whom 60% are women. In fact, the lack of perspectives hiring university graduates—the number of new created jobs is very limited and asks mainly for a little qualified labour—was translated by an increase in the unemployment rate among the people having a university level qualification. This rate increased from 3.9% in 1994 to 10.2% in 2004 to reach 23.3% in 2010. This spectacular increase particularly affects women. In 2010, the unemployment rate of women who have a higher diploma was 32.9%, that is, more than double the level that was observed in men (15.8%). Hence between 2005 and 2010, the unemployment rate increased by 11% for women compared with 5% for men. Such a situation shows that the sexes do not have equal chances to access employment.

Women only have access to a very limited number of sectors and occupations. They occupy mainly precarious and poorly paid jobs which do not require a very high educational level. In 2010, 20% of women

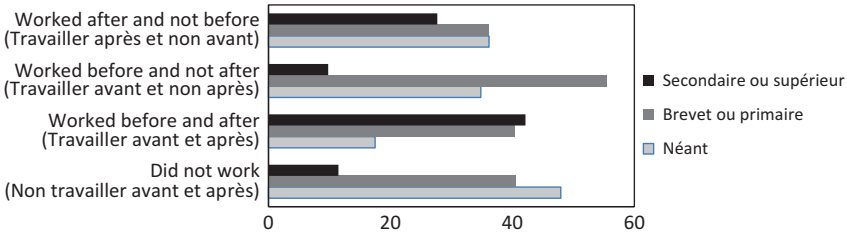
worked in the agriculture sector, among whom 53% (i.e. 10% of the total of employed women) worked as *family helpers*, doing unpaid work. Simultaneously, 17% of the men worked in agriculture, but among them only 15% worked as family helpers (i.e. 3% of the total of employed men). According to Soukaina Bouraoui (2001), these women working mainly in the agriculture sector are generally simple workers or family helpers. In fact, the management of farms is generally entrusted to men (brothers, spouses). It should also be noted that the inequality between the sexes concerning inheritance is expressed by the fact that women do not have the same access to land as men. Therefore, about 20.5% of the employed women are workers handling machines and 12.7% of them work in agriculture. On the whole, 33% of women occupy jobs of lesser value and are badly paid, while for men this professional category represents only 17% of the total of employed men.

In addition, women leave the job market a little earlier. In the 1980s and 1990s the situation improved—in 2010 women began to leave the job market at the age of 30, while during the 1980s and 1990s women left the job market at the age of 25. But this does not imply that the economic participation of women is increasing because it coincides with a later entry into the labour market and an increase in the marriage age. On the contrary, it seems obvious that family responsibility does not allow women to immerse themselves completely in their professional careers. Beyond the obstacle that lies in front of their professional evolution, women leave the job market very early to ensure their role of mother or wife, as shown in the graph below. Women, even if they work and are educated, still ensure their *traditional role in the home*, while men, as head of the family, cannot be deprived of their economic role. The traditional social standards still carry weight (Sboui 2001) (Graph 3.3).

According to the data of the PAPFAM survey (2001), there are only a few women who worked before and after marriage or who did not work before marriage and worked after. On the other hand, the proportion of women who left the job market after marriage is significant. In fact, 23% of married women declared to have been engaged in economic activity and to be at present inactive, while only 5% of them declared to have been inactive and working at present. It seems that *the women work preserves, in spite of the evolution, a status "of option of supplement", while the traditional role of "mother" keeps the superiority in terms of social representation* (Gouider 2009).



Graph 3.3 Economic activity rate for women according to their age group, from 1966 to 2010. Source (Spring): INS (Census—1956, 1966, 1975, 1994, 2004—, and the National Population and Employment Survey of 2010)



Graph 3.4 Distribution of married women according to their economic activity before and after marriage, by level of education. Source (Spring): Calculation of the author—PAPFAM survey 2001

Nevertheless, the participation of married women in economic activity depends considerably on their academic level. The proportion of women having worked before and/or after marriage differs considerably according to academic level. The proportion of women not having worked before and after marriage and having worked before marriage but not after is very low for the women having a secondary or academic level compared to other women. On the contrary, the proportion of women having worked before and after marriage increased with the academic level (Graph 3.4).

Participation of Women in Political Activities

The Tunisian state tried to strengthen the participation of women in political activities. The proportion of women in parliament grew from 5.6% in 1986 to 22.7% in 2004. Simultaneously, the proportion of women in City Councils doubled (13.1% in 1986 compared with 27.4% in 2004). After the revolution, the Tunisian state put forward the importance of the protection of women's rights and the strengthening of their role in the political arena. The government imposed the equality of the sexes in alternation on all the electoral rolls; as a result today women occupy 28% of the seats in the Constituent Assembly. However, this participation in political activity, although it is considerable and comparable to other developed countries, does not lead to perfect equality (Table 3.2).

The Liberation of Women in Tunisia: A Paradoxical Situation

To better understand this paradoxical situation of the evolution of women in Tunisia, we analysed certain gender questions from the PAPFAM survey 2001. Certain questions concerned young people and others married women. The results, presented in the tables below, show that not only do the young men and women know the status differences for each sex within society but they seem "to accept" these differences. In fact, in some questions on the social standards, we do not observe significant differences between the sexes. Men and women completely agree that women should get married at a younger age than men. If young women answered on average that the ideal age for marriage is 23.6 years for women and 29.2 years for men, the answer from young men was not very different. They think that the ideal age for marriage is 22.3 years for women and 28.3 years for men. It should be noted that married women think that the ideal age for their daughters to get married is 22 years.

Table 3.2 Evolution of the economic participation of women in political life

	1986 (%)	*1989 (%)*	*1994 (%)*	*1999 (%)*	*2004 (%)*
Share of women in parliament	5.6	4.3	8.0	11.5	22.7
Women's proportion on City Councils	13.1	13.3	16.7	21.6	27.4

Source (Spring): INS

Moreover, concerning the opinion of young people regarding the education of girls and boys and the highest level which they have to achieve, the results were similar in both groups, although boys are favoured. Globally, the answers of young people to this question are very positive because more than two thirds of them think that boys and girls have to go to university. However, 19% of the questioned young women think that girls should not reach university level (against 27% of the boys), while only 11% of the same women think that boys should not reach university level (compared with 11% of the boys). This raises a question on the opinion which the Tunisians boys and girls have, not only on their status but also on that of the other sex. We can understand that boys think that girls should be less schooled than boys, but it seems a little surprising that young women also think the same. These results seem to confirm that the traditional social model prevails in both sexes, in particular in women. The latter actually "accepted" and also adopted the traditional social and cultural standards even though they are against their liberation.

Sixty-three per cent of girls declared that they would need authorization to work compared with 22% for young men. Furthermore, over 90% of young men and women consider that within a couple the men should be older than the women. These results show that the traditional social model prevails not only in the older generations, but also in the younger generations. They also show the reluctance of women to adopt modern social standards and that they are willing to accept a job lower than that of men. This translates ultimately to the family and social perception towards women's situation and the relationship between the sexes (Table 3.3).

In addition, other results which concern married women show a considerable improvement in the situation of women in Tunisia. In fact, 43% of women think that they enjoy better status than their mothers with regard to decision-making power or the relationship with their husbands. Similarly, respectively, 26.1%, 59% and 35.6% of married women declared that they discuss with their spouses the education of their children, the need to have another child and the health of their children. Furthermore, 69.7% of women declared that they always discuss money issues with their spouse.

Nevertheless, this result also shows the reluctance of Tunisian society and the degree of attachment of women to traditional social models. In fact, only 35.9% of women control their right to work. Nearly two thirds of them confirm the opposite. In total, 33.9% of women would not accept a wife

Table 3.3 Indicators of gender in Tunisia,[a] according to the perception of young people

	Men	*Women*
Ideal age of marriage for girls	22.3	23.6
Ideal age of marriage for boys	28.3	29.2
% Young people who think that girls do not have to reach university	27	19
% Young people who think that girls have to reach university	71%	79
% Young people who think that boys do not have to reach university	11%	11
% Young people who think that boys have to reach university	88	87
% Young people who have to have an agreement to work	22	63
% Young people who think that within a couple the man should be older	90	94

Source (Spring): Calculation of the author—PAPFAM survey 2001

[a]In this table we summarize the answers of the young single women on certain questions linked to gender within Tunisian society

being more educated than her husband. Also, 30% of these women think that it is totally unacceptable for a husband to earn less than his wife. These results show that a considerable proportion of women in Tunisia do not accept that the distribution of power is in their favour. They refuse to be in a strong position in front of their spouses, and they agree to be dominated by their husbands, because only 6.2% of them confirmed that it is preferable that both spouses have the same level of earnings. But we cannot ignore the improvement of the status of women within the relationship (Table 3.4).

Female Migration: Do Women Manage to Accept It?

The various results presented above show that Tunisian women are still linked to their traditional social and cultural heritage. They are still reluctant with regard to certain closed phenomena or social behaviours which we observe in Tunisian society today. These results indicate that the social standards are still strongly present with women. These standards are also going to influence their views on their migration behaviours. In fact, if the choice to work does not return to them completely, for stronger reasons, migration cannot be an individual decision. Due to living in a society that normalizes the inequalities between both sexes, it is very likely that the women eventually adopt these social and cultural standards even if they are in opposition to their liberation. Louhichi (1996) showed this well in her study on the women of the emigrants who stayed in the country of

Table 3.4 Indicators of gender in Tunisia,[a] according to the perception of married women

% Women having declared that they control only their working right	35.9%
% Women who do not accept that the educational level of the wife should be higher than the husband	33.9%
% Women who do not accept that the earnings of a woman should be higher than those of her husband	30%
% Women who declared that they would prefer that their daughter continues her education versus getting married	74.7%
% Women who think that marriage is the decision of the girl	12.7%
% Women who think that their status is better than their mothers with regard to:	
Their decision-making power and needs	43.7%
Their relation with their husband	47%
% Women having declared that they decide with their husbands:	
The education of their children	26.1%
To have another child	59%
The health of their children	35.6%
% Women having declared that they always discuss financial issues with their husbands	69.7%

Source (Spring): Calculation of the author—PAPFAM survey 2001

[a]In this table we summarize the answers of married women to certain questions linked to gender issues within Tunisian society

origin. The results of his study showed that women from southern Tunisia refused the migration of their daughters if the migration is made outside the family.

Moreover, the migration of women remains a phenomenon reluctantly accepted by Tunisian society, including by women. By examining the desire for migration of young Tunisian women and men and the level of women's migration, we wonder why there is a wide gap between their desire for migration and their effective migration and whether there are economic reasons. The migration of women remains a lot less studied than male migration (Bouchoucha 2010; Bouchoucha and Ouadah-Bedidi 2009).

Within the framework of the PAPFAM survey, married women are also questioned about the way they perceive the emigration of their daughters and the fact that a single woman lives alone, which could be the consequence of an internal or international migration. The two questions asked are as follows: "Do you accept the idea that a single woman can live alone?" and "Would you accept your daughter emigrating abroad alone?". The answer had to be among the following ones: "Yes without any condition"; "Yes with conditions"; "No"; "Not sure"; or "Don't know".

The answers of the questioned women show that migration of women is still not tolerated in Tunisian society. The questions on migration, in the PAPFAM survey, although they concern only married women and the answers are only opinions, allow us to understand better the reality of migration. In the question where they were asked if women accept that their daughters live alone abroad or that a single woman can live alone, few of them answered that they accepted it unconditionally. A total of 16.8% of the questioned women accept unconditionally that their daughters live abroad, and only 10% accept unconditionally that a single woman can live alone. On the other hand, nearly half refuse to consider that their daughters could emigrate alone or that a single woman could live alone (Table 3.5).

These results convey the refusal of Tunisian society of the migration of single women, which, according to these women, is only acceptable under certain conditions. We thought that this reluctance concerned only the older generation, but by analysing women's age, we observed that it is also strong in the younger generation. Respectively, 16% and 22% of the women from 15 to 19 years of age and 20–24 years of age unconditionally accept that their daughters emigrate compared with 15% for those aged more than 40 years. On the other hand, for all the age groups, more than 43% of the women refuse to allow their daughters to emigrate alone. For the question related to a single woman living alone, the difference between the various age groups is not significant. Whatever the age group, the proportion of the women who accept unconditionally that a single woman can live alone does not exceed 13%, while nearly half refuse it.

We assumed that the most educated women would have been more open and more tolerant than the others. Although the results confirm this assumption—we observed some differences that are more or less important according to the education level—they remain very far from our estimates. In fact, 27% of the women having a higher or secondary education accept unconditionally that their daughters could emigrate alone, 21% accept

Table 3.5 Opinions of women on the migration of their daughters

% Women who accept without conditions that a single woman lives alone	16.8%
% Women who refuse that a single woman lives alone	45.7%
% Women who accept without condition that their daughters live alone abroad	10%
% Women who refuse to allow their daughters to live alone abroad	49.7%

Source (Spring): Calculation of the author—PAPFAM survey 2001

unconditionally that a single woman can live alone, but 35% of these women refuse to accept that their daughters could emigrate alone and 27% would not accept a single woman living alone. For the illiterate women, the proportion of those who accept unconditionally that their daughters could emigrate alone and that a single woman can live alone is, respectively, 13% and 6%, whereas the proportion of those who refuse it is, respectively, 50% and 58% (Tables 3.6 and 3.7).

These various results show that the migration of women in an independent way is still not well tolerated by society and by women themselves. It proves the existence of social pressure on the internal and international migratory behaviour of women. These data also support the

Table 3.6 Opinions of women concerning the emigration of their daughters

	Yes without conditions	*Yes with conditions*	*No*	*Total*
According to their age group				
15–20	16%	36%	48%	25
20–25	22%	33%	45%	215
24–30	17%	37%	46%	544
30–35	19%	38%	43%	755
35–40	16%	36%	47%	910
40–45	15%	39%	47%	761
45–50	15%	39%	46%	689
Total	17%	37%	46%	3899
	653	1461	1785	
According to their level of education				
Illiterate	13%	37%	50%	1666
Primary sector (primary school, primary) or less	16%	39%	45%	1258
Patent/Means/D.Tec	19%	34%	46%	386
The second + /tub (ferry, high school diploma) +	27%	38%	35%	593
Total	17%	37%	46%	3903
	1462	655	1786	

Source (Spring): Calculation of the author—PAPFAM survey 2001

Table 3.7 Opinions of women concerning a single woman living alone

	Yes without conditions	*Yes with conditions*	*Refuse*	*Other*	*Total*
According to their age group					
15–20	4%	28%	68%	0%	25
20–25	13%	32%	53%	1%	216
24–30	10%	42%	47%	1%	546
30–35	12%	43%	45%	1%	754
35–40	11%	38%	50%	1%	909
40–45	6%	41%	52%	1%	765
45–50	10%	36%	53%	2%	690
Total	10%	39%	50%	1%	3905
	390	1531	1937	47	
According to their level of education					
Illiterate	6%	34%	59%	1%	1668
Primary education or less	10%	39%	50%	1%	1255
Secondary/D.Tec	10%	44%	46%	1%	385
Secondary+/Matric+	21%	51%	27%	1%	592
Total	10%	39%	50%	1%	3900
	390	1528	1936	46	

Source (Spring): Calculation of the author—PAPFAM survey 2001

assumption of the importance of the role played by the gender relationship in the determination of women's migration. We observe that women are still subjected to standards and to traditional social values, which justifies a deeper look into our analyses. To this end, we led multiple correspondence analyses. The object of this analysis is to study the impact of the gender relationship on the way women perceive female migration, to better understand their migratory behaviours. In fact, we think that the view that women have on independent migration of single women of their daughters does not only determine the migratory behaviours of the women but also those of their surroundings, for example, their daughters. These analyses can reveal certain elements that can help in understanding women's migratory behaviours, and in explaining their low participation in migration in general and more particularly in economic migration.

We have grouped the available gender variables into three subgroups which reflect three levels of the gender relationship within society, and we developed for each group a multiple correspondence analysis which aims to explain the effect of these variables on the way these women perceive women's migration.

The three variable subgroups are as follows (for more details, see the Appendix):[2]

The gender indicators which determine the relationship within the couple;
The gender indicators which express the view of women on certain new social behaviours and which also determine the degree of attachment of women to traditional social values and standards;
The gender indicators linked to employment.

We asked several questions. We will first address the question about the relationship between the status of the woman within the couple and the view she has on female migration. Also, we will discuss their willingness and their degree of attachment to traditional social standards that influence their opinions about migration. We consider the existence of a regional factor. Do the women who are dominated by their husbands come from the same regions and from the same social background as those who adopt the standards and the traditional social values? Finally, we will question the impact of the activity of women on the way it effects women's migration. Is there also a regional factor at this level?

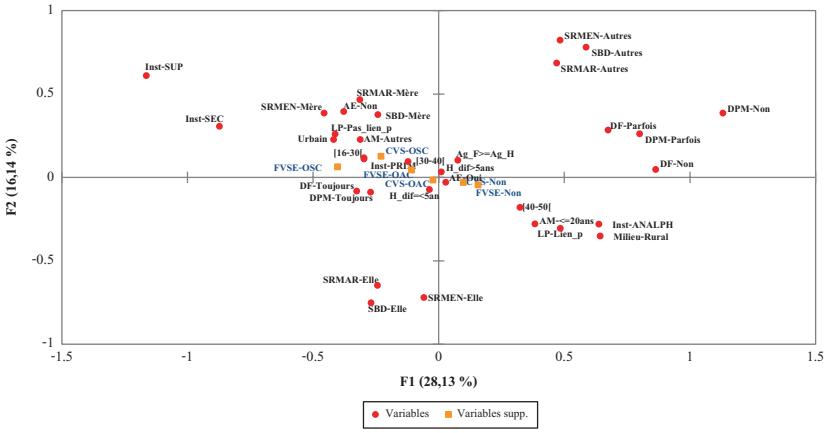
In the first analysis, which concerns the effects of the gender relationship within the couple on the way women perceive women's migration, the results show that the first two axes explain 44% of the differences. On the first axis, we find the various indicators of the relationship within the couple and the basic variables of the characteristics of the women presented above. This axis brings into conflict, on one side, the modalities corresponding to the educated women, living in urban zones, who always discuss with their spouses financial and domestic issues, who have no family ties with their spouses, no children, who married after the age of 20 years and do not have a large difference in age with their husband; and, on the other side, the modalities corresponding to the illiterate women who live in rural areas, married very young, with a spouse generally much old than them. They do not discuss with their husband any financial or domestic issues. These women have children and are over 40 years old. The first group are favourable to women's independent migration,

while the others are against it. The second axis brings into conflict the women who think that their status within the couple is better than their mother's, and the ones who consider that the status of their mother is better than theirs. This axis therefore brings into conflict the women who support women's independent migration and those who are against it (Graph 3.5).

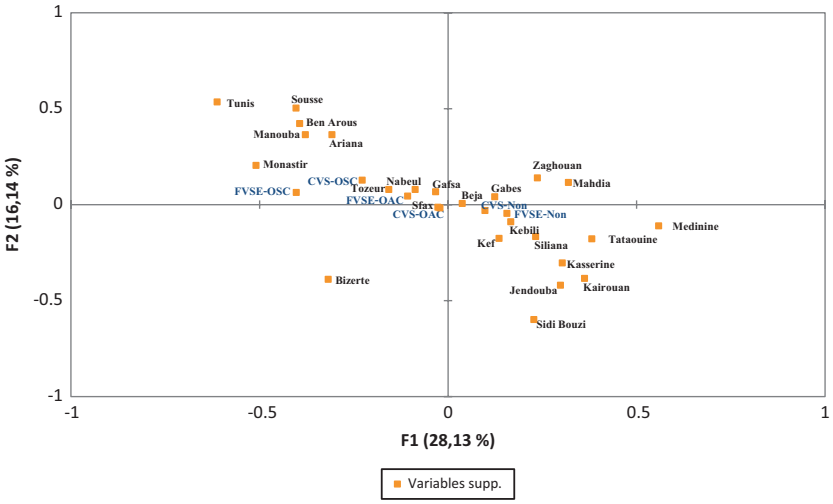
By plotting the regions on the first two axes, we observe that these two axes are in conflict:

The regions were characterized by a low level of development and urbanization, an economy based generally on agriculture, suffering from a high level of illiteracy (generally, the women living in these governorates forbid a girl or a single woman to live alone in Tunisia or abroad);

And other regions characterized especially by high levels of literacy and urbanization. The regions characterized by a high level of socioeconomic development such as the regions of Tunis, Sousse, Monastir, Ben Arous and Manouba are not near the other regions. The women of these regions generally favour unconditionally that a girl can live alone abroad and that a single woman can live alone. The women of the regions of Nabeul, Tozeur, Sfax and Gafsa also favour that single women and girls can live alone, but under certain conditions (Graph 3.6).



Graph 3.5 MCA: Analysis 1. Graph of main and supplementary variables (axes F1 and F2: 44.27%). Source (Spring): Calculation of the author—PAPFAM survey 2001



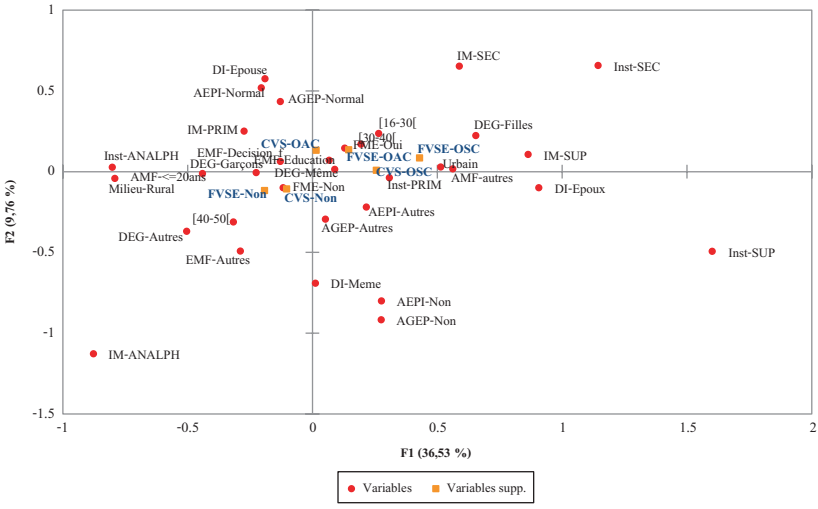
Graph 3.6 MCA: Analysis 1. Graph of regions and supplementary variables (axes F1 and F2: 44.27%). Source (Spring): Calculation of the author—PAPFAM survey 2001

In the second analysis, which concerns the effects of the other questions of gender and the degree of attachment of the women to traditional social standards on the way women perceive women's migration, the results show that the first two axes explain 46% of the differences. The first axis brings into conflict educated women married to men more educated than them, of an upper educational level, married after 20 years, who would rather have a girl than a boy, who think that a modern woman has to have a high educational and cultural level, who are generally favourable to the migration of independent women, with the illiterate women married young with a person of a low level of education, who prefer to have boys rather than girls, who think that the modern woman is not the one who has a high educational and cultural level, and who generally forbid the migration of single and independent women away from their families. The second axis brings into conflict certain modalities of variables: the academic level of the husband, the difference in education between the spouses and the acceptance or not of a woman being more educated and earning more than her husband. On one side, we find the married women with spouses having a secondary level of education, who are more educated than their husbands and think

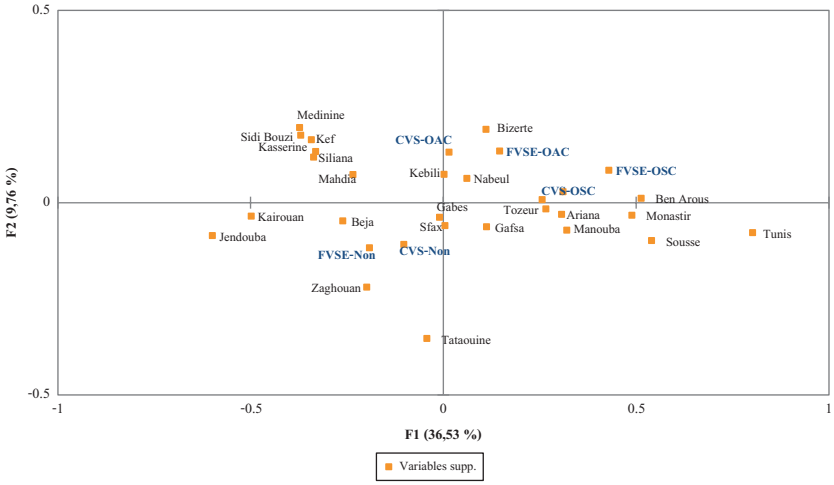
that it is normal for a woman to be more educated or earn more than her husband. These women are not generally against the migration of independent single women. On the other side, we find that the women married to an illiterate husband are generally also illiterate and oppose a woman being more educated or earning more than her husband. These women will not accept a single woman living alone or abroad on their own (Graph 3.7).

As for the regions of residence, we observe almost the same distribution of the regions as in the first analysis. It seems that the women who agree with the traditional social standards come from the same environment as the women who agree to live in an unbalanced couple relationship. Those who "agree" to be in a lower position than a man eventually adopt the social standards and refuse to be their equals (Graph 3.8).

Finally, in **the last analysis**, the effect of the gender relationship on the way women perceive migration is confirmed. The first two axes explain 71% of the differences. The vertical axis brings into conflict those who work at present with those who worked in the past but who exercise no economic activity today. The horizontal axis, on the other hand, brings into conflict the women who worked and who work at present with those



Graph 3.7 MCA: Analysis 2. Graph of main and supplementary variables (axes F1 and F2: 46.28%). Source (Spring): Calculation of the author—PAPFAM survey 2001



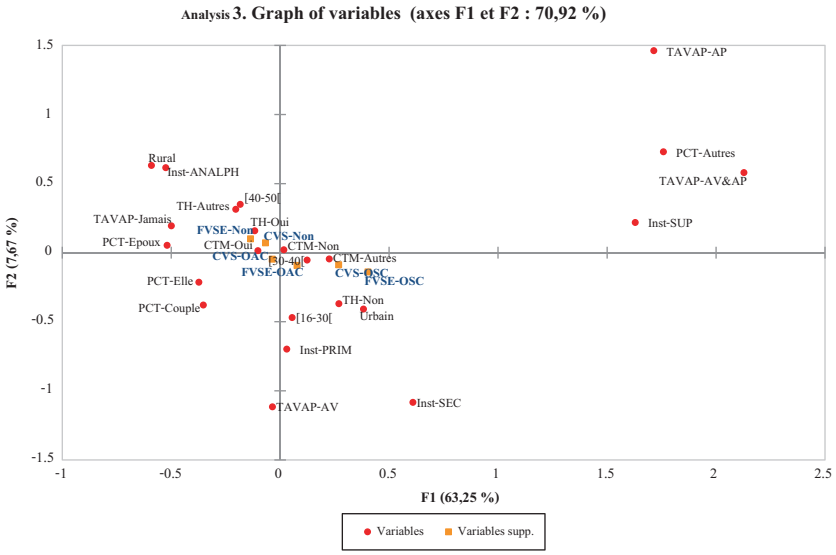
Graph 3.8 MCA: Analysis 2. Graph of regions and supplementary variables (axes F1 and F2: 46.28%). Source (Spring): Calculation of the author—PAPFAM survey 2001

who have never worked, those having a higher educational level than the illiterate women, and those who think that there is no specific work for men and for the other women. It also brings into conflict those who favour the migration of independent single women with those who are against it.

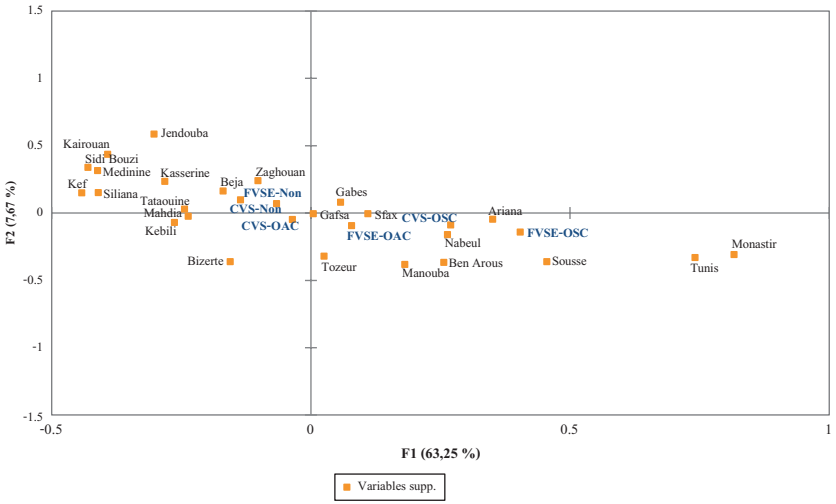
There is almost the same distribution of the regions as observed in the last two analyses (Graphs 3.9 and 3.10).

These various analyses clearly show the effects of the gender relationship on the view which the women have of the migration of single women when it is done independently of their family. Education, just like standards and social values, plays a key role in the determination of the status of women. If the educated women have a modern perception of the role and job of women in society, *the illiterate women kept the traditional mentalities and accepted a lower condition without asking for their rights. Education also played an essential role in the integration of the women into the economy by facilitating access to employment* (OCDE 2004). The various analyses allow us finally to distinguish three types of women.

The first type are "open" and "modern" women who accept unconditionally that their daughters can migrate or that a single woman can live alone. These women are identified in particular by their academic level and



Graph 3.9 MCA: Analysis 3. Graph of main and supplementary variables (axes F1 and F2: 70.92%). Source (Spring): Calculation of the author—PAPFAM survey 2001



Graph 3.10 MCA: Analysis 3. Graph of regions and supplementary variables (axes F1 and F2: 70.92%). Source (Spring): Calculation of the author—PAPFAM survey 2001

by their activity. They are the most educated women and declared that they worked and that they continue to work today. They are from an urban area, married to highly educated men and think that a woman should be able to decide who she marries. These women come from the most developed regions such as Tunis, Monastir, Sousse and Ben Arous.

The second type are moderate women who accept, but under certain conditions, that their daughters can migrate alone or that a single woman can alone. These women have a relatively good financial situation within their family. They always discuss with their spouses financial or domestic issues. They are older or are the same age as their husbands. They declared to have a better status than their mothers. They prefer to have more daughters than sons. These women are generally less educated, but have the same academic level as their spouses. They live in regions averagely developed such as Gafsa, Sfax, Tozeur and Bizerte.

The traditional women, the third type, are more attached to their social and cultural inheritance. They forbid their daughters to emigrate alone and do not accept that a woman can live alone. They are illiterate, have never worked, prefer to have more boys than girls and are less educated and much younger their husbands. They rarely discuss with their spouses financial and domestic issues. These women live in rural areas, in less developed regions such as Sidi Bouzid, Kasserine, Tataouine, Siliana and Kef.

Conclusion

At the social and demographic level, the results are significant. The improvement of schooling has increased at every level. Today the number of women pursuing higher education exceeds that of men, life expectancy and the age of first marriage increased, the rate of illiteracy decreased and so on. But, although women's integration in economic activity was one of the first political concerns, their situation on the job market remains disadvantaged and disproportionate despite the considerable efforts put in place by the state for sixty years.

Analyses developed in this work show a very clear improvement of the situation of women, but they also allow us to note that Tunisian women were not able to abandon their social and cultural inheritance, even though it hindered their liberation. The traditional social model still oppresses women and strongly influences their perception of the world and their behaviour. The reserve observed by certain women towards the migration of independent and single women translates to the resistance of the traditional

social model and the transmission of its values from one generation to another. The various results show clearly that the status of women determines their views of migration. Education plays a very important role and the social model is omnipresent.

Appendix

Presentation (display) of variables used in the data analysis: Variables to be explained	
CVS	Single woman can live alone *(1, OAC (Yes with conditions); 2, OSC (Yes unconditional); 3 Not)*
FVSE	Allows the girl to live alone abroad *(1, OSC (Yes unconditional); 2, OAC (Yes with condition); 3, Not)*
Basic variables	
GOUV	Governorate Tunis, Aryanah, Ben Arous, Mannouba *(District of Tunis (the North of Tunisia))*; Nabeul, Bizerte, Zaghouan *(northeast)* Jendouba, Kef, Siliana, Bejà *(northwest)* Sousse, Monastir, Mahdia, Sfax *(east central region)* Sidi Bouzid, Kasserine, Kerouan *(west central region)* Gabes, Medenine, Tataouine *(southeast)* Gafsa, Kebelli, Tozeur *(southwest)*
Environment	Place of residence (1, Urbain; 2, Countryman)
Inst	Academic level of the women *(0, ANALPH (Illiterate); 1, PRIM (Primary school); 2, DRY (Secondary school); 3, SUP (Higher education))*
GA	Age group of the woman (1, [16–29]; 2, [30–39]; 3, [40–49])
Analysis 1	*The relation and the gender relationship within the couple*
SRMAR	Her status compared to that of her mother with regard to the relation with the husband *(1, Her(It) (His status); 2, Mother (The status of her mother); 3, Other)*
SRMEN	Her status compared to that of her mother with regard to spots housewife *(1, Her(It) (Her status); 2, Mother (The status of her mother); 3, Other)*
SBD	Her status compared to that of her mother with regard to decisions and needs *(1, Her(It) (His status); 2, Mother (The status of her mother); 3, Other)*
DPM	Discuss with the husband the problems of the house *(1, Always; 2, Sometimes; 3, Not)*
DF	Discuss with the husband finance *questions (1, Always; 2, Sometimes; 3, Not)*
AE	*Have living children (1, Yes; 2, Not)*
DA	Difference in age between the spouses *(1, Ag_F=Ag_H>; 2, H_dif=5ans<; 3, H_dif5ans>)*

(*continued*)

(continued)

AM	Age at marriage of the woman *(0, Other; =1, 20ans<)*
LP	Family ties *(1, Lien_p; 2, Pas_lien_p)*
Analysis 2	*Other questions of gender and degrees of attachment of the woman in the traditional corporate(social) standards*
AEPI	Do accept that the woman can be more educated than her husband *(1, Not; 2, Normal; 3, Other)*
AGEP	You accept that the woman earns more her husband *(1, Not; 2, Normal; 3, Other)*
IM	Academic level of the husband *(0, ANALPH (Illiterate); 1, PRIM (Primary school); 2, DRY (Secondary school); 3, SUP (Higher education))*
DI	Difference of instruction between spouses *(0, the same academic level; 1, the woman is more educated; 2, the husband is more educated)*
AMF (*AUTORITÉ DES MARCHÉS FINANCIERS*)	Suitable age of marriage for the girl *(0, Other; =1, 20ans<)*
DEG	The desired sex of the child *(0, Other; 1, Girls; 2, Even; 3, Boys)*
EMF	Chosen marriage or education for the girl *(1, Education; 2, Girl's Decision; 3, Other)*
FME	Modern woman has a high level of educational and culture *(1, Yes; 2, Not)*
Analysis 3	*Question of gender linked to the economic activity*
TAVAP	Current economic situation and before *(1, AV & AP (work before and after); 2, AV (work before and now not); 3, AP (work now and before not); 4, Never (ever work))*
PCT	*The person who controls the right to work (1, The woman; 2, Her husband; 3, Couple decision; 4, Other)*
CTM	Woman can reconcile between *her work and her home (1, Yes; 2, Not; 0, Other)*
TH	Is there a job for men only *(1, Yes; 2, Not; 0, Other)*

NOTES

1. Relative figures of women at university during 2009–2010 from INS, 2010.
2. We consider that the age group of the women academic level, the environment (middle) and the region of residence are basic variables which should be integrated (joined) into the various analyses.

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CHAPTER 4

(Re)negotiating Gender Identity Among Zimbabwean Female Pentecostal Migrants in South Africa

Tinashe Chimbidzikai

Introduction

This chapter seeks to address the question of how women migrants[1] become active agents in (re)constructing and (re)articulating their own gender identities in a migratory context. It contends that migration and transnationalism lead to a negotiation of gender roles or to their new distribution in both the transnational[2] and the local context. The author ventures to do this by focusing on Pentecostalism, which is frequently associated with transnationality (Corten and Marshall-Fratani 2001). According to Jeanne Rey (2013), Pentecostal churches in Africa often insist on taking part in a global world and developing transnational connections.[3] In the last fifteen years, this assertion to transnationality has found a new expression in receiving countries within and outside Africa where migrants established branches of Pentecostal churches that often maintain connections with their places of origin (Rey 2013). The chapter presents an argument that these social spaces that span across borders also

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constitute a new place for (re)constructing gender roles for both male and female migrants. According to Muthoni-Muthuki (2012), the transnational space is a site which provides migrants with opportunities for exploring and redefining their ideas, perceptions and understanding of gender roles and expectations. Gender roles refer to behaviours, expectations and role sets defined by society as masculine or feminine. These behaviours consist of personality aspects such as aggressiveness and gentleness and social roles such as domestic roles, conjugal roles and parenting roles (Pleck 1981). Sociocultural norms that prescribe what men and women should or should not do are inculcated through the process of socialisation. Within the transnational space, circumstances of necessity and opportunity may force a shift of traditional gender roles for immigrants. The reorientation as a result of spatially fractured family arrangements impacts on the division of labour within the household, the husband-wife relationship and the parent-child relationship (Muthoni-Muthuki 2012).

Thanh Nga (2012) notes that scholars argue that women's experiences are particularly relevant in revealing the (in)ability of transmigrants to contest and shape new identities for themselves in diaspora. Migrant women actively (re)negotiate their identities in the context of their positionality within the family, the home nation, the host society and the larger global space. This chapter brings to the fore ways in which gender roles are constructed and reproduced through the prism of religion within migrant communities in the urban context of Johannesburg. The main questions that the chapter seeks to reflect on are as follows. Firstly, in what ways do gendered identities influence migrant women's lived reality in a foreign country? Secondly, how do women make sense of and try to reconcile their new lives as migrants in the "diaspora"? Thirdly, what challenges do migrant women encounter while trying to match this novel situation, and how do they deal with these contestations? The chapter focuses on women migrants, in an effort to contribute to the debate on gender, religion and construction of identities in a new space.

A Brief Chronicle of Migration in Southern Africa

Jonathan Crush claims that the history of migration in southern Africa is "one of the most researched and well-documented academic fields in the region" (Crush 2000: 13). The proliferation of research on labour migration, in particular, is not surprising given the particular institutional

conditions under which labour migration within, and into, South Africa occurred, and the role of this migration in the development of the South African economy. Despite this explosion of research, most of it tended to view migration as a male phenomenon. Until the mid-1980s, the vast majority of literature portrayed a *male face* to both internal and transnational migration, especially in southern Africa where labour migration of black males to South Africa from other southern African countries such as Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Malawi and Zimbabwe took centre stage (Crush et al. 1992; Jeeves and Crush 1997). Furthermore, although (gender) identity is an issue of growing concern within South and southern Africa, little recent work has been carried out on identity construction in migrant communities.

To appreciate why women were largely absent from research produced before the early 1970s, it is worth noting that male bias existed in the works of migration researchers who assumed that male migrants' lives were important for documentation. According to Nkau (2003), scholars also assumed that male migration was gender neutral, thus making it unnecessary to concentrate on women, except when they studied migrant families. The paradigmatic basis for migration theory was therefore predicated on male migrants. Historically most labour migrants within, and into, South Africa were men. Few studies sought to account for this gendered pattern of migration, but many presented the rural household as "a harmonious unit in which all members were united in maximising resources and resisting threats to its integrity" (Walker 1990: 177). Male migration would be predicted in such a household if men had a comparative advantage over women in waged work relative to rural production. In his study of the "farm-household" in Southern Africa, Low (1986) makes this argument explicitly to account for male migration in the region. In South Africa, feminist historians particularly were highly critical of explanations that reduced migration patterns (explicitly or implicitly) to the workings of a unified household, arguing that these accounts ignored the ways in which the gender division of labour had been upheld by "internal structures of control" in rural communities, including social pressure, gender ideology and women's economic dependence (Walker 1990). Chiefs, fathers and husbands had the ability to restrict the mobility of women and thereby reinforce women's traditional roles in rural production (Bozzoli 1983; see also Posel 2001).

More specifically, the late 1970s and early 1980s witnessed a barrage of studies on the effects of the (male) migrant labour system on women in the rural areas. Unfortunately, the "add-women-and-stir" methods of this

literature did not seriously challenge or undermine the male bias of previous research (Cockerton 2013). Men were assumed to be the migrants, while women were passive victims "left behind" in the rural areas. Women were typically portrayed not as active participants in social change, but as victims of the migrant labour system. These victims suffered from both economic insecurity (male migrants' irregular remittances and rural impoverishment) and social dislocation (the breakdown in the traditional family structure, a high prevalence of depressive illness and the growth of female-headed households). Women were also viewed as essentially passive, an assumption rooted in colonial discourse and perpetuated in these studies. In the South African context, for instance, this was further entrenched by the apartheid migrant labour system which tore the African sociocultural fabric by enforcing the separation of men from their families (Groenemeyer 2010). The migrant labour system forced men to live in single sex hostels, pulling families apart and leaving African women confined to the homelands and forbidden from entering urban areas. The dismantling of apartheid institutions encouraged internal migration of young women and men to the cities to seek opportunities denied their parents (Crush and Frayne 2010). The 1994 democratic period created many expectations of a better life for all, resulting in large numbers of people migrating from rural towns or villages to live in urban areas, as well as from outside the borders of South Africa. According to Groenemeyer (2010), migration patterns have become increasingly feminised because of cross-border migration by women.

Contemporary post-apartheid South Africa has witnessed an influx of transnational im/migrants,[4] refugees and asylum seekers, many of whom are women, especially from neighbouring Zimbabwe and Mozambique. The exact number of Zimbabweans in South Africa is unknown, because so many of them are undocumented. The South African government estimates the number at 3 million, which seems inflated, whereas other sources put the number at a more realistic 500,000 (Crush 2008). The Human Sciences Research Council guesstimates that since 2000, in excess of 3 million Zimbabweans have fled their country's borders. This is part of a key development in international migration in recent years which is the "feminisation of migrant populations" or the growing number of female im/migrants and refugees on the move, who now often outnumber their male counterparts (Martin 2001). The increasing migration of women has resulted in new gendered perspectives and brought to the fore issues of

gender identity as migration of women violates notions of woman as homemaker, circumscribed by domestic routines that prevail in African societies. According to Nolin (2006: 5), research attention now focuses not only on the growing number of women on the move but also on their changing gender roles as more female migrants participate as principal wage earners and heads of households rather than as "dependants". Nash (1999: 3) notes that the very fact of leaving familiar orbits raises concerns of *rightness* and *propriety* in the behaviour of women. The main thesis submitted in this chapter is that Zimbabwean women migrants are "not passive and mere appendages of their male migratory counterparts". On the contrary, they are active and independent players "responding to the same geopolitical, economic, and social forces at the core of the movement and transfer of human capital and labour" from Zimbabwe to South Africa (Arthur 2009: 2).

In bringing gender and transnational migration together, Pessar and Mahler (2001) have developed a conceptual model they call "gendered geographies of power". The term "geographies" refers to spatial and social scales (e.g., the body, the family, the state) across transnational terrains. It is within and between these scales that gender ideologies and relations are reaffirmed and/or reconfigured. In other words, differing local gender configurations might coexist within transnational spaces. Thus, conflicts around gender roles might arise, whenever conflicting gender configurations meet in transnational spaces. Clifford (1994: 313–314) points to this dialectic of gender: "On the one hand, maintaining connections with homelands, with kinship networks, and with religious and cultural traditions may renew patriarchal structures. On the other, new roles and demands, new political spaces, are opened by diaspora interactions". Migration and transnationalism can thus lead to a negotiation of gender roles or to their new distribution in both the transnational and the local context (Dahinden 2005).

Pessar (1999b) points out that the initial studies on gender and migration were far too optimistic concerning the gains that migration confers to women. However, migration can result in the improvement, deterioration or renegotiation of gender inequalities. The latter can have unexpected consequences. For instance, Zentgraf (2002) shows how the reconstruction of traditional gender relations among Salvadorans in Los Angeles leads women to adopt new roles and tasks that enhance their sense of empowerment and self-confidence. Pessar (1999a: 586) concludes that

"there is now broad consensus that immigrant women attain some limited, albeit uneven and sometimes contradictory, benefits from migration and settlement". This notion takes us to the focus of my chapter which looks at gender[5] identity, particularly as conceptualised by Judith Butler through her gender performativity theory and how the reproduction of gender identity is always a negotiated process. The chapter endeavours to illuminate just how women migrants find themselves deprived in their private as well as public spaces into which they are often forced for their very existence, exposing them to *dual vulnerability*—as migrants and because of their gender. Using their narratives, the chapter illustrates practices through which the migrant women challenge their subordination in light of their new experiences. Throughout, this chapter uses a Pentecostal "community" where these women belong as a social field, which provides a bulwark against the economic hardships and other social trials faced by Zimbabweans in Johannesburg. Stanczak (2006: 857) notes that religion can provide a space for "maintaining, reclaiming, and altering" aspects of identity. At the same time, he adds that religious authority can help to guide and inform migrants' integration into the destination society without fear of undermining faith. Hence, for migrants in particular, religion can provide a means for both maintaining and expressing continuity of faith and practice while negotiating integration within a new environment. In addition, the chapter suggests that South Africa represents a space where traditional gender role expectations are constantly being questioned, challenged and redefined. Whereas in Zimbabwe women and men generally tend to occupy distinct spheres of daily life—as unpaid domestic homemakers and wage labourers, respectively—this chapter demonstrates that once in Johannesburg, some migrants of both sexes often find themselves having to renegotiate their gender identities as they find themselves engaged in work activities that are at variance with their ways of gender socialisation.

Research Site and Methodological Notes

Data for this chapter is based on reconnaisance ethnography at Evershine Pentecostal Church (EPC),[6] a Pentecostal church in the north-western suburbs of Roosevelt[7] in Johannesburg, South Africa. It attracts an average of around 200 congregants every week to its main Sunday services. The church (also known as an assembly) was formed in 2010 by a group of Zimbabwean migrants who yearned for *kunamata nokurumbidza*

(praise and worship) in a style they were used to back "home" in Zimbabwe. This resonates with Pasura's (2010) observation that:

> Diaspora congregations are extensions of Christian churches in Zimbabwe. Church services are conducted mainly in Shona or Ndebele. Services are public spaces for the performance and expression of cultural and religious identities and for enhancing social networks. (2010: 208)

These churches also have deeper symbolic or spiritual meanings, providing a Zimbabwean *space* in an alienating environment and thus enabling a sense of belonging, even temporary, and refuge from day to day discrimination and taunting that many participants reported. EPC started off with 6 families and individuals making a congregation of 17 people, but now boasts of over 300 adults in their register, with at least 60 per cent being females. EPC is a small assembly of a denomination with global reach. The women in this chapter are drawn from a larger study, and they vary in terms of age, ranging from the early 20s to the late 50s. The congregants are varied in terms of class, gender, age and region of origin, although they are a predominantly Shona-speaking group in what one may refer to as an "ethnic community".[8] There are many migrant-led Pentecostal churches such as EPC in Johannesburg today. Some have existed for more than a decade; others have been very recently established.

Between 2010 and 2012, I spent four months of reconnaisance fieldwork in Johannesburg participating in regularly scheduled events, including weekend and midweek church services as part of a larger study on transnational religious practices among Pentecostal migrants from Zimbabwe. The study adopts the method of an open-ended (in-depth) ethnographic interview. According to Denzin and Lincoln (1998), an ethnographic interview is one of the most common and powerful ways to grasp the meanings that people ascribe to their daily lives. The uniqueness of the method lies in the fact that its open-ended style often allows the researcher to acquire unintended but valuable information or observation. I interacted closely with church members and individuals during social events such as barbeques, social soccer, parties and weddings. During fieldwork, I kept a personal diary of observations, conversations and reflections for later analysis. Reflexive research acknowledges that we all, as researchers, are also part of the processes and relationships that we study (Griffin 2012).

Interviews and narratives were conducted in Shona, the native language for both the researcher and the participants. The use of Shona created a

relaxed atmosphere which enabled the participants to describe their feelings, thoughts and experiences without linguistic hindrances. My study was not solely focused on women migrants; rather, the negotiation of gender roles by migrant women in a new and migratory space was one of my key research questions. As I sought to interrogate this issue further, like other ethnographers, I too was challenged with my status as both an "insider" and "outsider". As a Zimbabwean migrant living in South Africa as well as a born-again Christian[9] I was part of the culture that I was studying. Insider research, which describes scholars studying their own communities or society, has long been debated among anthropologists and sociologists. Proponents of insider research argue that this research allows for more open dialogue with subjects, ease of entry into the field, improved ability to blend into situations, and additional verbal and non-verbal advantages (Aguilar 1981). Critics state that these researchers are at a disadvantage in that, due to their familiarity with the community, important questions are overlooked, the outcomes of findings are subject to researcher bias, and participants may see the researcher as a threat and, consequently, might withhold information (*ibid.*). This debate has moved beyond these differences, especially in feminist scholarship where the terms "insider" and "outsider" are considered essentialising, by not recognising the complicated and multi-layered identities of researchers and communities (Mendoza 2009). Rather than having fixed identities, researchers are considered as belonging to a "scholarship of the world" and, therefore, can move across communities (Narayan 1993).

Conceptualising Gender, Migration and Identity

This chapter draws from recent feminist theory which underscores the role of women as active agents in constructing and articulating their own identities. Through their life experiences and the various discourses with which they intersect, female subject identities are formed and reproduced. As Radcliffe (1993: 104) suggests, "… the [self-] representation of gendered identity is evidenced by the interrelationships of place and history, their associational meanings, and gendered positionings in relation to these abstracts". DeLaet (1999) observed that over the last 30 years, there has been little concerted effort to incorporate gender into theories of international migration, yet, according to Boyd (2003), understanding gender is critical in the migration context. In part, because migration theory has traditionally emphasised the causes of international migration over

questions of who migrates, it has often failed to adequately address gender-specific migration experiences (Boyd 2003). Without clear theoretical underpinnings, it becomes difficult to explain, for example, the conditions under which women migrate, or the predominance of women in certain labour flows and not in others. Gender is a constitutive element of migration because "gender permeates a variety of practices, identities, and institutions" (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2000: 117). The conceptualisation of migration as a factor of social transformation is therefore central to this chapter. Social change brought about by transnational migration includes the reconfiguration of gender relations and norms (Danneker 2005).

Ongoing developments in feminist theory throughout the 1980s and 1990s further contributed to a focus on gender, rather than one based on individual decisions of men and women. Gender is seen as a core organising principle that underlies migration and related processes, such as the adaptation to the new country, continued contact with the original country and possible return. Most important is the view that while sex is defined as a biological outcome of chromosomal structures, *gender* is "socially constructed". In feminist theory, gender is seen as a matrix of identities, behaviours and power relationships that are constructed by the culture of a society in accordance with sex. This means that the content of gender—what constitutes the ideals, expectations and behaviours or expressions of masculinity and femininity—will vary among societies. Also, when people interact with each other, by adhering to this content or departing from it, they either reaffirm or change what is meant by gender, thus affecting social relationships at a particular time or in a particular setting. This means that gender is not immutable but rather changes and, in this sense, is both socially constructed and reconstructed through time.

Among the various facets of social identity (gender, class, kinship, ethnicity, norms, beliefs and values, etc.), gender has been given greater attention in migration research (Hoang 2011: 1433). Being a man or a woman influences his or her perceptions of rights, obligations and legitimate behaviour in relation to other people, as well as the way their migration is strategised within the household. Evidence from Latin America suggests that intra-household dynamics, particularly the gendered division of labour, play an important role in determining who migrates. For instance, gender norms among many other factors influencing migration behaviour in the Sahel such as village identity and social networks, ethnic identity and generation have been found by Hampshire (2002: 25) to be the most important determinant of migration

behaviour. In her study of gender relations and migration in Bangladesh, Danneker (2005: 657) suggested that gender relations structure the whole migration process, including practices, identities and relations between the different actors involved.

From a feminist point of view, gender relations at EPC are complicated terrain. During my fieldwork, I observed that the church has many independent and strong willed women such as Auntie Connie, whose narrative is detailed later in this chapter. Most do not see themselves as victims or pawns of patriarchy; many feel that they have power and a voice. As Patricia Fortuny Loret de Mola (1982: 2) writes of women in a Pentecostal church in Mexico, "converted women feel stronger". The women at EPC are grateful for the church community. They receive social support from it, including child care, house watching and general household chores. Many who are married like Amai Chimbwa emphasise how responsible their husbands have become ever since they became born again, and through testimonies, prayers, praise, speaking and occasional preaching, their voices are frequently heard. Carol Drogus (1997: 58) suggests that whereas "the real intention of most Pentecostal groups is to promote conservative gender relations and morality", it is important to distinguish between "what Pentecostalism sets out to do (reinforce male domination) and what it actually does (equalising some male-female relations)". Pentecostal churches may therefore "provide women with social spaces which they lack in secular society. Church constitutes a space where women find security, moral support, and spiritual and material aid" (1997: 19).

Reconfigured Power and Gender Relations

All the women in this study were involved in economic activities one way or the other, whether in the formal or informal sector. Mbuya Mbedzi brought her *maputi* (popped corn) and dressed off-layer chickens that she sold soon after the Sunday service. Amai Mazana does the same, selling some "leather" jackets she buys from China Mall or similar wares from Oriental Plaza in Johannesburg city. Amai Chorosi (married, aged 34 years) sells cheap cosmetic products which are very popular with the women and girls at EPC. She buys the *stuff* from Dubai where her brother is working in the hospitality sector. These modes of transnational business, which are similar among different immigrant groups like the Senegalese and the Congolese in South Africa (and elsewhere), tend to

provoke the hostility of black South Africans who do not have access to these migration-based economies. Amai Chorosi's financial independence has increased since she became involved in the buying and selling of these cosmetics.

> *I never had any control of our finances. My husband used to do everything because it was his money. But I guess he was right because he managed to save and bought a [residential] stand back home […]. The situation is now different ever since I started my business. I can now buy some groceries and household goods and even send some money back home when he is broke. He now respects me for that [laughs]. He doesn't bully me like he used to before we came here [South Africa].* ***Aisambondiona sechinhu*** *[I was a nonentity in his sight].*

The narrative above shows that women's financial contributions lead to a reconfiguration of power and gender relations within migrant households; in particular, migrants actively participate in decision-making, as expressed by Amai Chorosi. These women not only participated in decisions associated with the economic welfare of the family, such as buying residential stands or other assets, they also exerted some influence in social aspects of family life, including education and sending of remittances to members of their extended families back home. Amai Chimbwa, a pharmacy attendant, shares how working changed things:

> **Researcher:** *So tell me, how did getting this job change things in your home?*
>
> **Amai Chimbwa:** *Oh, it changed things around here a great deal. Ever since I started working, my husband consults me on our expenditure. In fact we sit down and do the budget together. Before that he would just do things on his own. For instance, he never used to send money to my parents* ***kwaMutasa uko*** *(in Mutasa) but he would send money to his parents on a monthly basis. But now we have agreed to do the same for my parents because life is difficult for everyone back home.*

Women's access to an independent income, however, threatens men's hegemonic masculinity, which centres on being the main provider and decision-maker in the family. Most of the women claimed to have control over how they used their salaries, unlike when they were in Zimbabwe. Migrant women also gained some power, through their involvement in family decision-making and also through their control over the use of remittances in their families back in Zimbabwe, as described by TRACY, a 24-year-old single woman who works in a supermarket as a cashier:

Because I am the eldest of three other siblings, and I'm also working, my parents consult me on a lot of issues. I'm the one who pays for my two brothers' school fees as my parents are not working any more. They used to work at a horticulture farm that was expropriated by war vets during farm invasions. So now they are ***kumusha*** *[in the rural areas]. I make sure that every cropping season I send them money for* ***mbeu yechibage*** *[maize seeds], fertilisers and* ***kutsvaga madhonza*** *[hiring draught power] as they don't own any cattle.*

Between Work, Church and Home

Auntie Connie's narrative is quite profound in that it provides illuminating intersections of gender, race, identity and a sense of "home" and "belongingness" among women migrants in South Africa. I conducted the first of the several interviews with her in the well-manicured garden lawn of her *own* house. She is in her mid-40s, single and separated from her husband of six years. She tells me that she married very late as she was determined to pursue her education and build a career as an architectural engineer:

I had to work twice as much [as the men] to prove a point that I was good at this [architectural engineering] because I'm a woman. And I still feel that such bigotry hasn't changed much over the years when I was at high school and later at university.

Auntie Connie's narrative is apposite to this chapter as it offers insights on intersectionality, an approach that addresses the multiple, multi-sited and interlayered realities and social inequalities of migration as a gendered experience. Auntie Connie brings out the issues of gender, race and national identity when she says:

It's not been easy by brother, especially here in the diaspora. The fact that I'm a woman and migrants from Zimbabwe means that I have had to fight a lot of prejudices, especially at work where it's male and white-people dominated field. When I moved from Zimbabwe in 1996 I had got a job at this architectural consulting firm and I was the first female senior consultant and the first foreigner. I was treated as an intruder especially by some juniors with less qualification but had stayed at the firm more than I.

This exposé is corroborated by Ojong and Muthoni-Muthuki (2010) who note that at the workplace, professional African migrant women must be competent enough to negotiate the pressures and difficulties that usually

characterise a male-dominated environment. In other words, women like Auntie Connie are expected to be sufficiently competitive and efficient as foreign nationals to justify their employment in lieu of a local South African citizen.

> *I suppose **kundizvonda kwawo kwaibva pakuti** [their anxiety and apprehension was predicated on the fact that] I probably didn't understand the culture, history and the way 'we do things around here' [at the consulting firm] being a woman. There was that "them" and "I" divide which I had to fight for the four years I worked at the firm.*

These realities by women migrants have stirred in the gender and migration discourse terms such as "double-disadvantage", "multiple jeopardy" and "triple oppression" that are suggestive of an understanding of intersectionality as accumulation or synergy (Yuval-Davis 2006). By examining how gender, race and nation intersect in migration contexts, a number of new studies map new forms of marginality as well as new forms of agency. The application of intersectionality in migration studies reiterates the need to rearticulate and re-emphasise intersectionality's meaning beyond an additive understanding of either marginalities or identities. Building on the 1990s scholarship from Black Women's Studies, researchers provide various definitions of intersectionality: Crenshaw's (1989) definition of interlocking systems of oppression; Collins' conceptualisation of interwoven patterns of inequality as a "matrix of domination"; Shields' framework of "mutually constitutive relations among social identities"; and Yuval-Davis' (2006) conceptualisation of the "ways multiple identities converge to create and exacerbate women's subordination". Auntie Connie continues:

> *To survive my stay I had to quickly learn the institutional culture and identity which also transformed my own identity and the way I see things. **Kunamata kwakandibatsira** [praying helped me] a great deal because I would pray and get support from my cell-group members as well as **mufundisi** [church pastor]. Can you imagine that although I was one of the senior consultants at this firm I was paid lower than some of my juniors despite the fact that I had all the chapters [work permit]? I didn't know it until another company made me an offer and my company wanted to [make a] counter-offer. That is when I realised that I was paid below my professional grade.*

Despite having stayed in South Africa for close to 20 years and having been granted a residence permit, Auntie Connie's narrative challenges the notion of "homing" and "belongingness" on the basis of longevity in the host country ostensibly because of the prejudices she encountered over the years. Brah (1996) contends that the question of home is intrinsically linked with the way in which processes of inclusion and exclusion operate and are subjectively experienced under given circumstances and therefore simultaneously are all about roots and routes. According to Christou (2003: 14), the problem of "home" and belonging is interconnected to the diasporic condition, and for some diasporas the homing need is fulfilled by a return to a place of origin. As Auntie Connie proclaims:

> *My home is not here [South Africa]. I have built another house in Zimbabwe and that where I wish to return very soon once the economy has improved.*

This declaration illustrates the liminality (a sense of in-betweenness) of identities which not only affects women migrants but most migrants who live transnational lives. While liminality may at times be psychologically stressful and limiting (a person being neither/nor), it can also be used to develop the ability to "make connections across borders" (Levitt 2009). In addition, an expanding literature exists on how female and male migrants differ in regard to their desires to return "home" permanently. Auntie Connie's desire to return home is inconsistent with Goldring's (1998) findings which indicate that men's nostalgia for pre-migration gender roles and ideologies makes them regard return more favourably.

What I find particularly intriguing about Auntie Connie's narrative was the transformation of gender roles at work, home and in church, where she presents herself head and shoulders with the men; at church she adopts the traditional female role in the hospitality and decorations team. Talking about her roles and responsibilities at church, she says:

> *There are certain roles that are expected to be taken by women in our church. For instance, the Hose and Décor [short for Hospitality and Decorations] where I am the leader. You rarely find men in such ministries. Same applies to children ministries, because these are traditionally regarded as women domains.*

Of "Men" Women

One ubiquitous statement that permeated my conversations with most women in EPC was that these women had "become men", particularly with regard to gender roles and responsibilities they have assumed in the diaspora. This is not only from the point of view of the women themselves, but also from the *worldly other* such as the recipients of remittances in the home of origin. TRACY is a case in point when she said:

> My father always jokes and says *ndiwe watova murume wepano* [you are now the men in this household].

Amai Chihota, a 54-year-old senior primary school teacher at a private school in Johannesburg, also captured this reality in a joke circulating on social media. As we discussed the issue *of "men" women*, she pulled out her phone and showed me a joke which I felt aptly captured the essence of our discussion on that day:

> A child asked his father: "What is a man?" The father replied, "A person who takes responsibility for his family and his house and takes care of them". Then the child said, "I hope I will be a man like mum one day".

The significance and provoking nature of Amai Chihota's riposte needs to be framed within the context of previous scholars who explained African women's migrations from a male-centred/patriarchal perspective. To put the rejoinder into perspective, Amai Chihota elaborates:

> *To make matters worse, my husband was also very reluctant to come [to South Africa], […] because I think, the fact that I would be the main breadwinner unsettled him. But, he was also in a catch-22 situation as the tyre company he worked for was undergoing retrenchment and his post had been one of the middle management earmarked. In the end, we took a practical decision and I accepted the offer to come and teach here in South Africa. It was not easy at first, I must say because* ***murume wangu*** *[my husband] was not formally employed for close to two years. He was doing part-time, menial jobs that he would never have done had we been back home. It strained our marriage but I prayed over it and prevailed. At one time, he came back home for almost six months but that is when the situation in Zimbabwe had become untenable.* ***Zvanga zvaoma paya****. [It was tough hey] You could not find basic commodities in the shops. The shelves were literally empty.* ***Ndini ndanga ndababa namai.*** *[I had assumed the role of husband and wife].*

Migration theorists, for instance, represent African women as dependent and passive migrants, arguing that African women's migratory decisions are largely influenced by men who migrate to global labour and economic centres. Amai Chihota's narrative epitomises the new face and configuration of Zimbabwean women's migration to South Africa. The African migrants no longer consist of single men who come to South Africa as migrant labourers and eventually return home.

Of Absent Mothers and Virtual Motherhood

Because of the uncertainty of finding employment early and the difficulties of settling in South Africa, most single mothers opt to leave their children behind with grandmothers or other extended family members as caregivers. When the going gets tough in South Africa, some couples agree to send their children back and be cared for by the grandparents. How do these women transform the meaning of motherhood to fit migration and employment, and how are the meanings of motherhood rearranged to accommodate these spatial and temporal separations? The narratives by two women bring out interesting dynamics. Until recently, very few people at EPC knew that Sister Claret (a 31-year-old) had a 4-year-old son back in Zimbabwe. When I asked her why she did not want her fellow church members to know about her child, she said:

> *Yes, very few people in this church know that I was once married and have a child. That's why I'm no longer called by his surname, because* ***ndakamuramba*** *[I divorced him]. I left Zimbabwe because my husband was abusive. He would beat me when he was drunk. Sometimes he would leave me and the baby without anything to eat for days. So, I just took my baby to my parents in Guruve and came here. I hope to bring my child here once I have settled and have a steady job.*

Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila's (1997) study of Latina immigrant domestic workers points to the adoption of a new role that I would call virtual motherhood. These mothers leave their children behind deeply embedded in family life across borders without necessarily constant movement between locations. They see their children's milestones and raise their children through virtual space as expressed by Sister Claret:

> *Nowadays it's easy because of Facebook, WhatsApp, internet and smart phones.* ***Ndakatotengera mai vangu phone inoita WhatsApp*** *[I have since bought my*

mother a WhatsApp compatible phone] so that we communicate regularly. You see, I only get a chance to go to Zimbabwe once every year in December. So during the year, they [family members in Zimbabwe] send me pictures and videos of my child on his birthdays, or the time when he started walking.

This group of women redefines their practice of traditional motherhood to "encompass breadwinning that may require long term physical separation" (*ibid.*: 562). This is a kind of reactive transnationalism as most migrant women find it expensive to hire a maid to care for their children in the diaspora. Even when women migrate along with their families, life in the host society usually involves some renegotiation of gender roles that often benefits women. This kind of familial gender role transformation is shared by most women and it can be attributed to migration. In the excerpt below, Amai Chiduku says:

When we were in Zimbabwe, we could afford a maid. But when we can down here, we can't hire a maid as they are expensive, besides, it's very risky to have someone who hardly know to mind your child while you are at work. I'm glad my husband helps out a lot now with some household chores. I know he would have never done this if we were back home, but he realises that I can't cope. I must say moving here has changed his perspective on our gender roles and that he should offer a hand more often.

Comments like these confirm the emerging idea that migrant women's gender identities are (re)constructed in response to context, that they shift as conditions shift and that they are self-conscious creations.

Discussion and Conclusion

The narratives by the migrant women presented in this chapter contribute to the evidence suggesting that the international migration of women can be a powerful element in transforming gender and power relations in both the host and sending communities (Belanger and Lihn 2011). Literature on social identity suggests that identities are flexible and malleable, arguing that the multiple aspects of "cultural" and self-identity are fluid and shaped by lived experiences (Ghaul 1994—cited in Matshaka 2010). The chapter has also demonstrated how notions of gendered identity are negotiated and performed differently across historical and spatial contexts, intersecting with other axes of social difference such as age, ethnicity and citizenship status.

The migrant women in the study enacted gender roles in different ways to express social status, position and power in what Judith Butler refers to as gender performativity. In this chapter, gender is defined according to the feminist inter-disciplinary debate, which conceptualises gender as a relational and dynamic concept (Gherardi 1995), something individuals do rather than something individuals have. Therefore, gender is a social practice people engage in through social interaction, a doing that produces gender identities through symbolic and discursive practices and a mutual positioning among individuals (Poggio 2006). Assuming this perspective enables us to grasp how, in the very process of gendering, different attitudes and characteristics are arbitrarily attached to (migrant) women and men and how those are informed by asymmetrical power positions. It also enables us to understand that these gender positionings are historically and socially situated and so available to new and diverse resettings. As Butler points out:

> gender is not always constituted coherently or consistently in different historical contexts, and because gender intersects with racial, class, ethnic, sexual and regional modalities of discursively constituted identities. As a result, it becomes impossible to separate out 'gender' from the political and cultural intersections in which it is invariably produced and maintained. (1990: 3)

Butler, in *Gender Trouble* (1990b/2006) and *Bodies That Matter* (1993), bases her theory of the performativity of gender on French psychoanalytic thinkers such as Freud, Lacan, Irigaray, Kristeva and Irigaray; on Foucault's theorisations of the powers of and in discourse in the construction of subjectivities and the sexing of bodies; on Wittig's description of the construction of women as women in the heterosexual system; on Rubin's theorisations of the power of normative sexuality to create normative gender; on Austin's theory of linguistic performances as constitutive actions; and on Esther Newton's argument that drag is not an impersonation of gender but rather a parody of gender that reveals all gender to be impersonation. In other words, Butler's analysis is somewhat unique among discussions of power in its attempt to theorise simultaneously both the features of cultural domination in contemporary societies and the possibilities of resistance to and subversion of such domination—gender identity in this instance.

In *Gender Trouble*, Butler (1990b) argues that gender is formed by "institutions, practices, and discourses with multiple and diffuse points of origin" (xxxi). In this chapter, a diaspora Pentecostal church was used as a public site used in the formation and reformulation of gender. This is consistent with Pasura (2010: 218–219), who notes that these congregations act as "cultural reservoirs, not only for religious beliefs and language, but also for gender roles and relations". Consciously or unconsciously, men use diaspora churches as a means of social control over women as the churches emphasise the importance of "doing things the way they are done back home" (*ibid.*) The empowerment of women in the private sphere through paid work, financial autonomy and the fragmentation of marriages is contested and resisted in the public sphere of diaspora churches that extol Christian values and Zimbabwean "traditions" that situate the husband as the head of the family and the wife as a subordinate. Some women at EPC accept and reinforce this commitment to preserving the gender "norms" of Zimbabwe and attempt to influence others. However, the majority of women who attend diaspora congregations are in their mid-twenties to late forties, arguably with no vested interest in retaining the patriarchal family. This shows that gender identity is thus not substantive, unified and internally coherent—gender identity distinctions are multiple, fluid, non-substantive, symbiotic with, rather than a consequence of, gender discourses (Humphreys 2010: 28–29).

Butler (1990a) calls for people to trouble the categories of gender by repeatedly acting out or *doing* gender instead of *being* gender. I will start by focusing on the aspect of gender performativity among the women migrants in the chapter, which has to do with repetition, very often the repetition of gender norms. The narratives by Amai Chimbwa and Auntie Connie reveal this repletion of gender norms, albeit in a different context. Even in the diaspora, women are expected to take up and perform certain gender roles such as cooking for their husbands. In an interview with Liz Kotz in Artforum, Butler insists that "This is not freedom, but a question of how to work the trap that one is inevitably in".

In an attempt to integrate Butler's thinking in gender and migration studies, I appropriate Gregson and Rose's (2000: 434) argument that "space too needs to be thought of as brought into being through performances and as a performative articulation of power". Judith Butler once said "There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said

to be its results". What this means is that "the substantive effect of gender is performatively produced and compelled by the regulatory practices of gender coherence". Butler prefers "those historical and anthropological positions that understand gender as a relation among socially constituted subjects in specifiable contexts". In other words, rather than being a fixed attribute in a person, gender should be seen as a fluid variable which shifts and changes in different contexts and at different times.

This chapter has also shown that the restructuring of gender relations and gender roles in diaspora households has often become the source of significant conflict. According to Pasura (2010), changing gender relations have resulted in marriage breakdowns, men losing their role as head of the family, men returning to Zimbabwe, low-earning husbands assuming double shifts and, for some, the readjustment of gender roles. Although no divorce statistics are available, most respondents concurred that marriages were facing severe strain and some were collapsing. Many diasporic marriages had failed to adjust and were thus breaking up.

Notes

1. In this chapter, I use the terms migrant and immigrant interchangeably, although cautiously. Rouse (1995: 357) argues that within much popular and academic discourse about migration, "immigrant" suggests a process of unidirectional movement. "Migrant", on the other hand, suggests a process of movement back and forth, one in which individuals remain oriented to their place of origin. I agree with his observation that "matters have rarely been that simple and they have grown steadily more complex under transnational conditions".
2. I am cognisant of the fact that transnationalism explores the dynamic interactions between home and adopted countries and reveals the social, economic, political and cultural fields that span borders and boundaries. However, in this chapter, I am interested in and focus on the lived experiences of im/migrant women in the receiving country, or what Nolin (2006: 123–124) refers to as the "points of attachments" in the reworking and constitution of new identities. According to Glick Schiller et al. (1992), transmigrants are described as social actors who, while clearly influenced and constrained by political and economic hegemonies of both countries, are actively involved in developing and maintaining multiple, layered, fluid identities and relations—familial, cultural, economic, religious, organisational and political—that span the borders of several societies (Basch et al. 1994). A transnational conceptual framework seeks "to examine relations

between displacement and ethnic identity" (*ibid.*: 106) and must be situated economically and politically within the changing global capitalist system and arenas of political conflict, best attempted in a historically and politically informed ethnographic context.

3. Attention in migration research is turning to the transnationalisation of migrants' lives or the ways in which immigrants, migrants and refugees negotiate the multiple realities of places of origin and places of migration or settlement. A transnational optic enables researchers to explore both the causes and effects of migration, how lives change throughout the process of migration, the conditions that affect those who migrate and those who remain behind, and the ways in which gender relations are transformed by policies, actions and movements (Nolin 2006).
4. I use the term transnational as defined by Glick Schiller et al. (1992), that is, those social fields that immigrants build linking together their country of origin and their country of relocation.
5. Although gender is no synonym for women, the latter must be given specific attention since it is their contributions to migration processes that are still largely ignored (Anthias and Lazaridis 2000), and since women provide a unique entry point in the analysis of issues that might otherwise have been left unexplored. In addition, the idea of women's agency into migration theory in the context of structural and institutional influences has become necessary to avoid seeing women as victims of circumstance (*ibid.*).
6. All pseudonyms in this chapter are capitalised, as are words that participants emphasised in our interview conversations.
7. This pseudonym was suggested by the author and accepted by all participants as they did not want the real place mentioned because of the immigration status of most participants. There were fears that should the research findings fall in the hands of the Department of Home Affairs, officers might be sent and swoop on the church looking for "chapters". Roosevelt City is a composite of 32 suburbs located in north-western Johannesburg. The town has been dubbed the "garden city" because of the lushness of the area, especially those sections that are well cared for like the many recreational parks in the area. The garden city title may also refer to the fact that there are no heavy industries or major factories in the region. It consists mainly of light industries, small engineering companies and hundreds of small to medium-sized businesses.
8. I use the ethnic lens as a unit of analysis rather cautiously as I am fully aware that it is problematic. It has been criticised by scholars such as a Nina Glick Schiller (2008) as an expedient descriptive tool because of the increasing fragmentation of ethnic groups in terms of language, place of origin, legal status and stratification which produces too much complexity for analysis. Other researchers have contested the facetious use of concepts of "ethnic

community" and detailed the institutional processes through which ethnic categories and identities are constructed and naturalised (Brubaker 2004; Çaglar 1990, 1997; Erikson 1994; Glick Schiller 1977, 1999; Glick Schiller et al. 1987; Hill 1989; Rath and Kloosterman 2000; Sollors 1989). However, as Vickerman observed, "transnationalism, by orienting immigrants back to their homelands, strengthens ethnicity and slows the process of assimilation" (2001: 220).

9. Birgit Meyer (1998) presents a detailed discussion of Pentecostalism "making a complete break with the past", especially with its emphasis on the "born-again" experience, particularly the past of African indigenous religions and cultures.

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CHAPTER 5

Migration, Mobilities and Families: Comparative Views Amongst Congolese, Burundian and Zimbabwean Female Refugees

Pragna Rugunanan and Ria Smit

Introduction

Even though the role of women in migration was recognized as early as 1885 by Ravenstein (1885), as research subjects, women were largely ignored in much of the migration literature of the twentieth century (Boyd and Grieco 2003; Morokvaśic 1984). It is only in the latter two decades of the twentieth century that recognition of the feminization of migration gave rise to a voluminous body of research throughout the world (Krummel 2012; Piper 2008; Mahler and Pessar 2006), which acknowledged and highlighted the issue of gender and the differences between male and female migrants' experiences (Piper 2008; Kihato 2007; Adepoju 2007; Morokvaśic 1984). Jolly and Reeves (2005) point out that the phrase feminization of migration denotes a change in the way women migrate, as active independent migrants in search of better job prospects

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and improving their lives rather than simply being appendages to men. This necessitated a reconceptualization of the way we understand migrant women; much of the focus on migrant women as 'victims' shifted towards a perspective of migrant women's agency and empowerment and how women's lives can be positively affected by migration (Briones 2009).

Early studies of migration show the 'typical' migrant as male, head of the household, migrating for labour reasons, with women either 'invisible' in this process or economic dependents. In the 1970s and 1980s, feminist researchers questioned the 'invisibility' of women as migrants (Jolly and Reeves 2005). The latter decades of the twentieth century honed in on gender equality and gender relations, but this research still remained very much on the margins of international migration theory (Piper 2005). While there has been substantial growth in the literature on gender and migration, both internationally and in South Africa, the integration of feminist theory into migration studies still needs further development (Nawyn 2010; Parreñas 2009), and more so within a South African context. The aim of this chapter is to add to the existing body of knowledge which treats women not as mere 'appendages' to men, but as agents in their own right, despite the structural and relational challenges present in society.

The findings discussed in this chapter are drawn from a broader qualitative project that considers the perceptions and experiences of female refugees with regard to, inter alia, their daily life experiences, survival strategies and sense of well-being. The research looks at a sample of female refugees from three countries, that is, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Burundi and Zimbabwe. The focus of this chapter specifically is to engage with the research findings from a feminist standpoint theory perspective, the aim of which is to understand the world from the point of view of women and place women's lives at the centre of social inquiry. A feminist standpoint theory lens allows us to refocus our perspective on women as agents in the migratory process and to assess the impact of migration on the woman as an individual, on her well-being, her responsibility to her family and her long-term dreams.

A Feminist Lens on Migration Studies

In an examination of the literature on feminism and migration, Hondagneu-Sotelo (2000) argues that feminist migration research is a 'ghettoized sub-field' of the broader scholarship on migration. During the

first stage of feminist scholarship on migration (in the 1970s and 1980s), the focus was on recognizing the absence of women in migration research, from research designs and androcentric biases (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2000), and criticizing the cultural and traditional perceptions of women as appendages. Simplistically seen as the 'add and stir' approach, the literature failed to interrogate the power differentials that characterized structures and institutions in society. Subsequent research that paid attention to only women's experiences of migration failed to interrogate how 'constructions of femininities and masculinities' structure migration and affect its outcomes (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2000: 114).

The second stage emerged in the latter part of the 1980s and early 1990s, which saw a shift in analysis from women and migration to gender and migration. The prominence of intersectionality gave new meaning to how race, class and gender relations altered the migration process and foregrounded the 'gendering of migration patterns and how migration reconfigures new systems of gender inequality for women and men' (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2000: 115). A key weakness of the multitude of studies during the second stage was the concentration on gender at meso-level institutions such as the family, households, community organizations and social networks. Other broader social and institutional processes were neglected in this frame such as labour markets, labour demands, state agencies, immigration policies, citizenship and the reach of globalization and how it affected processes in the country of origin and destination.

The third stage of feminist research accentuates gender as a 'constitutive element of immigration' and places gender under the spotlight in terms of how 'practices, identities and institutions' are examined in immigration (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2000: 117). Here the focus ranged from macro-level institutions spanning globalization and post-industrial societies, labour practices and ethnic enclaves to meso-level and micro-level practices and identities (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2000).

Feminist theory, however, has made fewer inroads into understanding why certain individuals migrate over others. Much of the feminist research on migration remains concerned with sex role theory, and regards gender as fixed roles for men and women (Nawyn 2010: 751). Parreñas (2009: 6), influenced by the forerunners in Black feminist theory, agrees that 'feminism is the eradication of all forms of inequality in society' and thus argues that focus should not only be on gender but also on gender inequality. Parreñas (2009) is persuasive in arguing that feminism could contribute to transnational migration studies by showing

how gender is 'constituted' as an element of migration; this approach fails to capture how gender inequalities come to define the experiences of migrant women. Parreñas (2009: 6) promotes the argument that feminist migration researchers are tasked with the responsibility of 'identifying and documenting' how gender inequalities inform and shape people's experiences of migration. She argues that this 'would truly be a feminist methodology' of *doing* migration.

By discussing gender inequalities and 'by *do[ing]* feminist migration studies', Parreñas (2009: 10) contends that we need to move beyond simply scrutinizing the 'structural inequalities' that make up the migration process, and instead study gender within a 'comprehensive approach' that includes the identification of gender inequalities, examining how these inequalities intersect with race, class and sexuality, and further, taking into account the multiple relations that migrant women encounter in their experiences of migration. Parreñas (2009) advocates moving beyond the delimiting scope of gender studies that only compare men's and women's experiences of migration, and instead examine how women affect other women in the migration process. Sufficient attention should also be given to how different classes of migrant women in terms of their visa statuses and ethnic background as well as different nationalities are either treated the same or differently (Piper 2005).

In a similar line of thinking, Nawyn (2010: 753) argues that the feminist migration literature has revealed a number of 'economic push and pull dynamics' that illustrate how the migration experiences are different for men and women. For example, many industries are more geared to hiring immigrant women (Kidder and Raworth 2004) as a cheap form of labour, yet women still continue to be disadvantaged in accessing social networks (Livingston 2006). Further, immigrant women's opportunities for employment are affected by their home countries' social-cultural norms and opportunities (Nawyn 2010). An area of research where feminist scholars have made significant inroads has been in the study of migrant households, family relations and social networks. Women are burdened by 'normative gendered expectations' (Nawyn 2010: 755) such as the pressure to remit and maintain close family ties that describes the migration experience for women. A growing body of research examines 'transnational motherhood' where immigrant women leave behind children in their home countries adding strain to the mother's relationship not only with her children but also with the family that looks after the children (Parreñas 2005; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997).

At the very core of feminist views of gender is the notion of power (Nawyn 2010: 759). Here, Silvey (2004) commends feminist research for not only reflecting the shifts in feminist theory but developing novel theoretical approaches in understanding the role of power relations within the migratory processes as a result of globalization. Nawyn shows that some feminist scholars argue that gender is not just an individual characteristic but instead goes much deeper and is rooted in a 'system of power relations that permeates every aspect of the migration experience' (Nawyn 2010: 760). This is further encapsulated within macrostructures of the labour markets and the state (Nawyn 2010: 760). Similar to Parreñas's (2009) view, Nawyn contends that as the structures that shape migration are gendered, feminist research can contribute to the larger body of study on migration.

In order to make sense of women refugees' everyday lives, we draw upon feminist standpoint theory. A central focus of standpoint theory is that an individual's own perspectives are shaped by his or her experiences in social locations and social groups. Collins (2000) argues that at any point in time, one may be an oppressor or be the oppressed, or even both at the same time. Collins (2000) emphasizes 'that people simultaneously experience and resist oppression on three levels: the level of personal biography; the group or community level of the cultural context created by race, class, and gender; and the systemic level of social institutions'.

This chapter seeks to make a contribution by exploring how the migration experiences of a group of women refugees from the DRC, Burundi and Zimbabwe are rooted within a set of power relations that is deeply gendered and perpetuates the gender inequalities in society. Through the 'outsider-within' phenomenon, these women, marginalized because of their refugee status, are best placed to shed light on the dominant group culture and status quo of a society that is increasingly becoming xenophobic, given incidents of xenophobic violence in South Africa in 2008 and 2015 including other forms of verbal and emotional abuse (Crush and Tawodzera 2014).

South Africa remains host to the largest number of refugees and asylum seekers on the continent and the fifth largest in the world (DHA 2016). A distinction should be made between asylum seekers, refugees and migrants within the South African context. The South African Refugee Act No. 130 (1998: 6) describes an asylum seeker as 'a person who is seeking recognition as a refugee in the Republic'. The UNHCR's Convention

and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951) describes a refugee as someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war or violence. While migrants move *voluntarily* from a place of their habitual residence, asylum seekers and refugees are *forced* to move due to a perceived threat to their lives.

South Africa is a signatory to international conventions protecting the rights of refugees and implemented the Refugee Act No 130 of 1998 as a legislative step towards the protection of refugees and asylum seekers (DHA 2016). The recently gazetted Green Paper on International Migration (2016) eradicates policy gaps regarding migration challenges and the reception of refugees in South Africa. One of these gaps is the policy of self-settlement, which allows refugees to integrate and coexist within South African communities, compared to residing in refugee camps as advocated in the Green Paper (DHA 2016: 64). A brief explanation of the methodology undertaken for this study is given next. Thereafter, a discussion on the themes of this chapter is expounded upon, to give agency to the participants' experiences as refugees in South Africa.

Methodology

An exploratory study was initially embarked upon using a qualitative research methodology. Three focus group discussions with Burundian and Congolese refugees were held in Pretoria in 2009. Each group consisted of about ten participants who shared a common language and/or country of origin. Trained interpreters assisted in facilitating the group discussions by translating conversations from either French or Swahili into English and the other way round.

Towards the latter part of 2009, in-depth interviews were conducted with ten Burundian and Congolese women living in Sunnyside, Pretoria. The same themes that were covered in the focus group discussions were explored in much more depth during the one-on-one interviews. Interviews were conducted in either French or Swahili and subsequently translated into English. The women's ages ranged from 22 to 44, and most of them were in their late 20s or early 30s. Four of the women were Burundian citizens while the rest of the six participants came from the DRC.

In 2011, the same interview guide was used to conduct in-depth interviews with 20 Zimbabwean refugee women living in Hillbrow, Johannesburg. Participants were interviewed in Shona or Ndebele with

transcripts later translated into English. The youngest was aged 24, while the oldest was aged 48. Nine women were in their twenties, seven were in their thirties and the rest were in their forties. All but two of them had more than one child.

Compared to their Burundian and Congolese counterparts, the Zimbabwean women were far more proficient in English. In terms of home language, participants who came from Burundi spoke Kirundi, while those from the DRC spoke predominantly Swahili and French. Zimbabwean participants were either Ndebele or Shona mother tongue speakers. The women's educational background ranged from grade 6 as lowest level of education, to two of the women having bachelor's degrees and four having diplomas (see Table 5.1).

A Conscious Decision to Migrate

Shifting the lens from women migrants as victims, more recent research shows that women view outmigration as part of their personal growth and development (Piper 2008; Dannecker 2005) leading to self-empowerment. They also use migration as an opportunity to escape from abusive relationships and unwanted marriages. Briones's (2009) research amongst Filipina migrant domestic workers in Paris and Hong Kong found that these women achieved some form of empowerment through the engagement of livelihood and by becoming the primary wage earners in their families. However, the livelihoods that these women engage in are oppressive and reduce them to victims as they are powerless to change the broader macrostructures. However, in reconciling victimization with agency, Briones (2009) shows how 'agency' can become 'capable' when these women contribute to their family's economic well-being through their livelihoods. So while being victimized in oppressive working conditions, they use this avenue to improve their circumstances within their own families. Studies by Palmary et al. (2010) and Briones (2009) also support the view that migrant women, while victimized in the host country, use this space to create a better life for themselves back in the home country.

In a similar vein, Kihato (2007) acknowledges that while the new literature celebrates women's agency and frees them from the label of 'victimhood', it ignores the broader structural conditions that reinforce their oppression. She maintains that the literature fails to capture the everyday lived experiences of these migrant women, who display agency and live

Table 5.1 Demographic profile of participants

Respondent #	*Age*	*Country of origin*	*Arrival in SA*	*No. of children*	*Marital status*	*Level of education*
1	44	DRC	2004	8	Married	Gr. 10
2	31	DRC	2009	1	Married	Gr. 12
3	37	DRC	2006	5	Married	Gr. 12
4	25	DRC	2008	1	Married	B degree
5	30	DRC	2009	5	Widow	Diploma
6	31	DRC	2007	3	Married	Gr. 12
7	32	Burundi	2002	3	Divorced	Gr. 8
8	22	Burundi	2007	1	Married	Gr. 12
9	34	Burundi	2007	4	Married	Diploma
10	26	Burundi	2004	4	Married	Gr. 12
11	34	Zimbabwe	2009	1	Single, with partner	Gr. 12
12	43	Zimbabwe	2005	2	Divorced	Diploma
13	28	Zimbabwe	2006	1	Single	Gr 12
14	31	Zimbabwe	2009	3	Divorced	Gr 12
15	34	Zimbabwe	2005	1	Married	'O' levels and secretarial course
16	25	Zimbabwe	2009	1	Married	'O' levels
17	24	Zimbabwe	2007	1	Single, with partner	'O' levels
18	26	Zimbabwe	2003	1	Single	Gr 7
19	24	Zimbabwe	2008	2	Single, with partner	'O' levels
20	28	Zimbabwe	2004	2	Married	'O' levels
21	43	Zimbabwe	2004	2	Single, with partner	'O' levels
22	48	Zimbabwe	1989	1	Single	Gr 6
23	28	Zimbabwe	2008	0	Single, with partner	Gr 12
24	24	Zimbabwe	2009	0	Single	Gr 12
25	34	Zimbabwe	2003	1	Married	Diploma
26	36	Zimbabwe	2006	2	Stay with a partner	Gr 7
27	30	Zimbabwe	2001	1	Single	'O' levels
28	40	Zimbabwe	2004	3	Divorced	Gr 9
29	27	Zimbabwe	2005	1	Stay with a partner	'O' levels
30	32	Zimbabwe	2003	2	Stay with a partner	Gr 9

complex lives that cannot be neatly divided into binaries of 'victim' and 'victor'. Instead, Kihato purports that scholarly research needs to move beyond viewing migrant women in terms of binaries to rather 'unpack the(se) complexities of everyday life' so as to better understand migration and the lives of migrant women.

For the refugee women in our study, migration was a 'choiceless choice'. Faced with continuing ethnic violence against minorities, even after the end of civil war, the Burundian and Congolese women found themselves amongst a myriad of countrymen fleeing to escape what could only be described as human rights abuses. While being forcibly displaced seems to be incompatible with a conscious decision to migrate, the latter was nonetheless to some extent true for these women. Although the dire circumstances in their countries of origin left them with few options, this spurred them to take action in migrating with their families. Instead of remaining in refugee camps in neighbouring countries, these women assessed their situations while in transit and chose to continue the migration process until eventually reaching South Africa. In describing her migratory experiences, a Burundian interviewee said:

> I fled the war. At first, we didn't know where we were heading and … [ended up] staying in Tanzania, I was menaced in the refugee camp there … so I went back to Burundi and then decided we need to take the direction [to] South Africa. (32-year-old Burundian interviewee)

Far from being unfamiliar with political intimidation, the Zimbabwean women in our study were by and large propelled to leave Zimbabwe due to the ongoing economic crisis. Whereas the narratives of the women from the Great Lakes region were interjected with words describing severe violence, 18 of the 20 Zimbabwean women mentioned explicitly that the core reason for migrating to South Africa was to generate an income and to flee the ill-fated economic state of affairs in Zimbabwe.

> I came to South Africa because the money I was earning as a teacher was no longer managing to sustain me and my kids. So, I decided to come here to look for something that could give me some money. (43-year-old Zimbabwean interviewee)
>
> I came to South Africa to look for work because things in Zimbabwe are bad. (36-year-old Zimbabwean interviewee)

Explaining why they chose to make South Arica their destination, it became clear that South Africa was a beacon of hope for many of the refugees in our study. The relatively smooth transition to democracy and the much-heralded 'rainbow nation' bode well for South Africa's status on the continent. Not only did these women view South Africa as the most viable economy in the region but also as a land of opportunity and freedom, which inspired them to make their way there.

> I decided to come and stay here because I heard that South Africa is a country where human rights are respected. When my husband died, they wanted to kill me. … So I met some ladies heading to South Africa and I decided to join them. They came from Goma and told me that [the] South African government will help us. We followed them to Jo'burg. (30-year-old Congolese interviewee)

The act of leaving their countries of origin rather than succumbing to the dire circumstances faced if they remained behind displays the women as active agents and decision-makers. This supports Kihato's (2007) argument that the binary view typifying migrant women as 'victims' and 'victors' fails to capture the complexities of decision-making that govern the lives of migrant women. Similar to Briones's (2009) work where agency becomes 'capable', these women show that despite the broader structural conditions that reinforce their exclusion, they make informed and conscious decisions about their future well-being and that of their families.

A Conscious Decision to 'Make A Life' in South Africa

South Africa's peaceful transition to democracy in 1994 and its position as the economic powerhouse in Africa serves as a pull factor for many migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to seek their fortune here. Irregular migration increased significantly in the 1990s, due to the porous borderlands and lack of stringent legislative mechanisms regulating entry and work requirements in a post-apartheid South Africa (Adepoju 2007). Although there are migrants from all over Africa and South Asia in South Africa, one of the largest groups of migrants hails from Zimbabwe.

As the political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe intensified post 1999, droves of Zimbabweans made their way across the border into South Africa. In an effort to regulate the number of undocumented Zimbabweans in South Africa, during the period September 2010 and July 2011, the South African government implemented a regularization programme for Zimbabwean nationals with passports. It is estimated that about 275,000 Zimbabweans applied for work, study or business permits during this time (UNHCR 2012a). By January 2012, UNHCR reports stated that a further additional 175,000 Zimbabweans who were living in South Africa had officially lodged asylum claims. This number seems small in comparison to 'guesstimates' of several hundred thousand to about three million

(Mawadza 2008). The lack of reliable statistics on the number of Zimbabweans residing in South Africa shows that many Zimbabweans are undocumented and living illegally in South Africa (Bloch 2006; Mukwedeya 2011). Recent figures place these estimates at 2,241,543 for Zimbabwean nationals in South Africa (DHA 2016: 26).

In Burundi, the ethnic divisions between the Hutu majority (85%) and minority Tutsi (15%) have led to widespread civil conflict since 1962. The UNHCR (2012b) reports that in 2011 an estimated 520,000 DRC citizens were still living as refugees or asylum seekers in other countries. By January 2012 there were approximately 12,970 Congolese with refugee status residing in South Africa (UNHCR 2012a). By the end of January 2012, an estimated 91,600 Burundians were still displaced in countries other than their own (UNHCR 2012b). In 2015, South Africa received new applications for asylum from Zimbabwe (20,405), DRC (8029) and Burundi (687) (DHA 2016: 30).

Confronted with multiple barriers to integration—some of which lingered long after they first arrived in South Africa—dispelled to some extent the illusion some of the women in our study had of a host society that would ease their transition into a new beginning. The difficulty in accessing affordable housing, the bureaucratic red tape involved in applying for refugee status, the high crime rate and incidences of xenophobic attacks added to the daily strain in navigating life as a foreign resident in South Africa. These challenges in accessing basic services echo the findings of Amisi and Ballard (2005) as well as Crush and Williams (2003). Moreover, rather than seeing migrants as an opportunity for enhanced skilled labour and entrepreneurial development, they are painted as carriers of disease, agents of crime and here to 'steal' jobs (Mawadza 2008).

Furthermore, language barriers posed a challenge for the Burundian and Congolese refugees in not only managing social interaction with local South Africans, but also making it nearly impossible for them to procure steady employment.

> The difference is that we don't work here. To have a job, you need some papers here or attend a university. In South Africa sometimes you can also have that qualification but to get a job is … another thing. (31-year-old Congolese interviewee)

This resonates with Olsson's (2002) study on women refugees from the former Yugoslavia where language problems were the biggest hindrance to finding employment and ensuring integration.

Whereas their non-proficiency in English as well as the lack of employment and earning potential hindered any semblance of normality of life the Burundian and Congolese women might have had, the Zimbabwean women found it much easier to carve out a more viable existence in the host society. Although sometimes on the receiving end of discrimination due to being a foreign national of another African country, the Zimbabwean women nonetheless found it less challenging to make South Africa their (temporary) home compared to the women from the Great Lakes region. One of the major contributing factors for being more successful in integrating into the host society is the fact that all the Zimbabwean women in our study spoke English quite well and all but one were engaged in some form of employment, whether formal or informal. This contributed to a greater sense of self amongst these women, even if money was scarce, their educational qualifications were not generally recognized and they had to accept jobs of a precarious nature. In comparing her life in South Africa to the one she had in Zimbabwe, one of the women stated:

> There is not much of a difference. Life was difficult in Zimbabwe and here it is still tough. Only that here I am making more money than in Zimbabwe. Life is generally tough for me. It is mostly money problems that I face. (27-year-old Zimbabwean interviewee)

For the women in our study, employment was clearly an important avenue to gain a sense of empowerment. Being able to 'make a life' in South Africa was contingent on securing an income. Even though the Zimbabwean women were more successful in becoming economically active, in the face of financial difficulties, all the women—including those from Burundi and the DRC—expressed their commitment in remaining tireless in pursuing income generating opportunities.

> My life is different because here I am working and at least I can do something with the money. In Zimbabwe I was working but the money could not help me in any way survive. (26-year-old Zimbabwean interviewee)
>
> My life is different because at least here I am making more money running a salon as compared to almost nothing I was making in Zimbabwe. (24-year-old Zimbabwean interviewee)
>
> [I wish] to be someone … Someone who is at ease, works somewhere and [is] independent with [a] full capacity to provide for [my] children and myself … With God it is [possible]. (30-year-old Congolese interviewee)

Being able to make a financial contribution to the household, albeit a meagre one, and the active choice to engage in some form of livelihood to sustain themselves and their families and, as far as possible, not to be dependent on others shows these women's agency. Many of them appeared to have 'found' themselves in the sense that they have had to start taking responsibility for themselves. This supports Piper's (2008) and Dannecker's (2005) views that women often reflect on their outmigration as a form of personal growth and development.

> The life for me is different here. In Zimbabwe I used to be married and I was not working there because my husband was the breadwinner. However, when I divorced him in 2003, I had to come here and look for employment so that I can look after myself and my three children … I am trying to improve my life by working as I am doing at the moment. (40-year-old Zimbabwean interviewee)

One of the key facilitating factors in being successful in forging a better life in South Africa was the refugee women's ability to access social networks. All the Zimbabwean women had an existing network of friends and family members in South Africa. Having such networks in place eased their entry into the host society. These social networks provided access to accommodation and points of entry into some form of economic activity. A familiar face in an otherwise hostile environment provided some measure of connectedness for the Zimbabwean refugees. In contrast, the Burundian and Congolese research participants had either no relatives or friends living in South Africa, or if they did, kin were scattered across the country. Having negligible familial support networks put these women in a much more precarious milieu. In the absence of a locally based family network, these women, upon arriving in South Africa, actively sought out existing Burundian and Congolese ethnic enclaves to forge new social network ties in order to draw on cultural capital and gain access to scarce resources. From these networks, the women drew solace from caring for their children.

A Conscious Decision to Persevere for the Sake of Their Children

For nearly all the women in our study, being a mother first and foremost was the principal motivator to be successful in making a life in South Africa. Their quality of life and hope for the future was closely intertwined

with the well-being of their children—viewing motherhood as an all-determining role. For the majority of the women, particularly those from the DRC and Burundi, an overriding concern was the fact that their children were exposed to the harsh reality of daily life challenges faced by refugees such as living in overpopulated and inadequate accommodation and suffering the consequences of not having a stable household income. Ensuring a better life for their children propelled these women into doing whatever they deemed necessary, whether that be taking a job defined as being of lesser status and below their previous social standing, or seeking assistance from charitable organizations. For these women the gateway to a better life was making sure that their children gained access to a good education.

> My relationship with my son is very close. I have problems buying my child what he wants sometimes. But … I think my son will have a better future than mine I will work hard to ensure that he has a good education and a good life. (28-year-old Zimbabwean interviewee)

Even though the women in the study who were married or had a cohabiting partner acknowledged the often peripheral role played by men in the family, they, like their single counterparts, took on most if not all of the parenting responsibilities, going so far as often referring to themselves as single mothers.

> Even though I am staying with a man, I consider myself to be a single mother because I am the one who makes sure that my son has food to eat, goes to school and is properly clothed. (34-year-old Zimbabwean interviewee)
>
> I am a single mother. I divorced the father of my children in 1999. I do not have a partner at the moment. It is tough being a single mother. I have to play the roles of both father and mother to the children since my former husband does not help me in anyway when it comes to these kids. I am the one who makes sure that they are properly clothed, that they have eaten, that they have gone to school. In fact, everything that concerns my children is an issue which I have to face alone as their mother. But I am coping … I am trying to change my circumstances by improving my financial situation. I am working very hard …. (43-year-old Zimbabwean interviewee)

Clearly, motherhood was considered a priority, and attending to the needs of the children was foremost in the minds of all of the women in this study. This speaks to similar findings of studies amongst migrant women in other parts of the world (Izazola and Jowett 2006; Pavlish 2007). The role of the father in providing for their children is absent and

negligible, attesting to the power and agency of the female migrants in making decisions about the household. However, the above narratives can also be understood from the view of the 'normative gendered expectations' that Nawyn (2010: 755) refers to. This is also evident in the women's sense of obligation towards other members of the kinship network.

A Conscious Decision to Attempt to Help Family 'Back Home'

Studies amongst refugees from Africa in other parts of the world, such as the work by Pittaway et al. (2009) in Australia, show that refugees often feel morally compelled to provide some kind of financial support to family members who remained in their home countries. Similarly, for a group of Congolese migrants living in Johannesburg, remittances were seen as the measure used to define their sense of either family belonging or exclusion—something that largely shaped their transnational family relationships (Kankonde 2010).

It was striking that the majority of women in our study expressed this sense of obligation and, in some cases, the intense pressure to contribute financially in supporting their family members back home. The geographical distances between their countries of origin and South Africa, as well as the political and economic situation of these counties, had an impact on whether the women were able to lend assistance. For the women from the DRC and Burundi, political strife in the countries of origin contributed to the loss of entire family lines, displacement of family members or lack of contact—all of which had severed ties with many family members. Even in the few cases where these women still had contact with kin, their own tenuous economic situation of not being able to fend for themselves made it nearly impossible to remit and thus unable to adhere to normative expectations. Yet, the intention to provide support and their hope for a reconnection with the family who remained behind speaks volumes. Speaking about her longing to rekindle family bonds, a Congolese refugee mentioned her wish to assist her family financially, but without having an income herself this was not an option.

> Yes. If God grants me something, then I can help them. At the moment there is nothing I can do to support them … It is difficult to live there in Congo. My brothers try to survive … my parents do … some farming to get a means to live. But, there is nothing I can do at present. (44-year-old Congolese interviewee)

The close proximity of Zimbabwe to South Africa makes it easier for the Zimbabwean women, compared to their counterparts from the Great Lakes region, to maintain relationships with family members who still reside there. They too expressed a strong sense of responsibility towards their close relatives.

> I help my younger siblings. I feel obliged to help them because if I do not, then no one will help them. Both my parents are dead and so I have to look after my younger sisters and brother. (28-year-old Zimbabwean interviewee)
>
> I feel it is my responsibility to assist family members where I can. It is part of our culture to help close family members when you can. (34-year-old Zimbabwean interviewee)

Due to the fact that most of the Zimbabwean women had some form of income, many of them indicated that they were able to make remittances. However, precarious nature of their income generating activities limited how much they were able to send home. This saddened them, knowing that their financial contributions were too small to make a significant difference in addressing their family members' needs. It was particularly distressing for those mothers who had left some of their children in the care of family members living in Zimbabwe.

Thinking Consciously About the Future: Trying to Beat the Odds and Seeking the Meaning of Life

At first glance, it may appear that the refugee women in our study were overwhelmed by the odds stacked against them. Yet, these women's narratives resound with examples of survival strategies that move beyond a sense of liminality or a mere acceptance of being 'stuck' in their adverse situation. Instead, these women cling to their dreams of a better life and hope for the future, albeit not elaborate visions. For some, what they hoped for was expressed in terms of the absence of negative experiences. For example, 'I wish for a life where I do not have to *struggle* for money', and 'I hope to be in a situation where I will not be *suffering* financially anymore' [our emphasis].

For all the women, their plans for the future were intimately tied to their attempt at ensuring a better life for their children and empowering themselves. In the case of the Burundian and Congolese women, this took on a more short-term goal approach, with learning English being

a priority—which was sorely needed in order to find some kind of employment and any semblance of a brighter future.

> My dreams and plans are to be able to speak English and write it. Also, take further studies that may enable me to get a better job … So, the first step I took was to learn English and be able to communicate. I would love to start a life here, but if there is an opportunity, I can consider leaving for another country, but my preference is staying here … [where] the children will have a better future … based on the education they will get. (31-year-old Congolese interviewee)

In contrast to the women from the Great Lakes region who by and large saw South Africa as their final destination, the Zimbabwean refugees considered their stay in South Africa to be temporary, and once things settle down politically in Zimbabwe, most of them wish to return home. Moreover, quite a few of the Zimbabwean women mentioned earning a sufficient income through employment in South Africa in order to one day set up their own businesses when they return to Zimbabwe. And, in order to realize these dreams, the women are putting active measures into place—displaying their agency. In contemplating her long-term goals, one of the Zimbabwean women, with a teaching diploma but currently working in the kitchen of an inner-city bar, said:

> If the situation gets back to normal in Zimbabwe, I want to go back and continue teaching … [but], I hope to be a successful business woman one day who owns her own restaurants. With the Lord willing my dreams can be achieved … I am trying to change my circumstances … I am working very hard. (43-year-old Zimbabwean interviewee)

And

> I hope to be a successful business woman. By working as a secretary, I am already in the process of changing my life. If I save enough, I will then go into the salon business. I would not want to make South Africa my permanent home, but for now I have to stay here in order to make money. (34-year-old Zimbabwean interviewee)

Although clearly displaying agency and a willingness to do whatever is necessary to survive their current situation and more so to realize their plans for the future, many of the refugees turned to their spiritual convictions and

religious beliefs for hope and in seeking the meaning of their lives. The words of one of the Congolese women echo the sentiments of most of her fellow refugees in the study.

> [I wish] to be someone in life. Someone who is at ease, work somewhere and independent with full capacity to provide for the children and myself. With God, it is [possible]. We need to associate God in everything we do. (30-year-old Congolese interviewee)

Conclusion

Using a feminist perspective, this chapter attempted to analyse how female refugee mothers from Burundi, the DRC and Zimbabwe demonstrate a sense of agency in their everyday lives. These migrant women are on the margins of society, and as such, a feminist approach was both needed and useful in bringing their voices to the fore. The role of children and individual and family well-being was an important theme that arose in the course of the research. The women's feelings of helplessness at times, was always offset by a sense of hopefulness for their children and dreams for a better life for both themselves and their children in South Africa. The chapter attempted to show that despite being refugees and living under conditions of exclusion rather than the purported inclusion of South African society, the women in this study made choices that influenced their lives for the better. These are despite the restrictions imposed on them structurally in terms of being refugees and black African women, in a society with a history of segregation.

The dream and hope for a better quality of life for the refugees and their families spurred these women from their conflict-ridden countries to seek salvation elsewhere. The act of agency as necessitated by the refugee women to alter their living circumstances supports the arguments of Giddens's (1984) structuration theory, where humans with preconceived knowledge of their social order act to change their life. From the standpoint of the women from Burundi and the DRC, South Africa was their next 'best' choice of country to turn to. The act of remaining in the country of origin would have had dire consequences, even death, for these women, and instead choosing to be displaced offered them some hope for another chance.

The findings support the views of researchers who show that women are not simply passive migrants, but instead active agents in facilitating the

well-being of their families. While being responsible for providing for their children in relation to the gendered norms that women labour under, this process is also empowering for women as they view the ability to provide for their children as a form of personal growth and development as identified by Piper (2008) and Dannecker (2005). This supports Briones's (2009) argument where she shows how Filipina women used their 'victimization' to become capable in improving their lives. Despite their marginal status in South African society, the women in our study sought to empower themselves by learning to speak English, which could facilitate future employment.

The agency demonstrated by these women implies that quality of life is very important to them. They are willing to actively engage in order to provide some sense of normality in their lives and for their children. Most of the female refugees felt a sense of helplessness because they were not able to adhere to normative expectations in providing financial support to significant others in their home country.

Inspired by Parreñas's (2009) and Nawyn's (2010) to '"do" feminist migration studies', this chapter thus illuminates how the refugee women in this study resist oppression despite their personal biographies of being displaced and the impositions of their cultural context in terms of race and gender. These women acknowledge their power by voluntarily moving to places of safety in search of a better life for themselves and their children.

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CHAPTER 6

Negotiating Culture and Responses to Domestic Violence in South Africa: Migrant Women and Service Providers' Narratives

Monica Kiwanuka

Background to the Study

This chapter has linkages with a study on migrant women's perceptions of the effect of migration on domestic violence, as well as an ongoing qualitative PhD work that seeks to understand conceptualisations of migrant women's vulnerability to domestic violence. Conducted in Johannesburg, it is based upon in-depth narratives and semi-structured interviews of 15 African immigrant women who are survivors of domestic violence from Zimbabwe, Zambia, Rwanda, Burundi, Congo, Kenya, Nigeria and Swaziland, as well as 15 domestic violence service providers delivering psychosocial services to abused women. The analysis of data employs a combination of social constructionist approaches, mainly focusing on discourse analysis, to identify and understand the discursive resources that migrant women and service providers use to make sense of experiences of domestic violence and help seeking for abuse (Parker 1992, 2005) and narrative

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analysis to understand meaning making in lived experiences (Squire et al. 2008; Riessman 2008). The purpose of utilising discourse analysis is three fold—first, to examine the construction and functions of discourses in texts, as well as the subject positions created in these discourses. Second, to analyse the contradictions and functions these serve. Finally, to analyse how language utilised influences the ways in which migrant women position themselves and are positioned by service providers, and how they take on or resist subject positions made available to them in discourses (Parker 2005). This is in line with Patterson's (2000) argument that:

> We tell our lives, in conflict or in co-operation, with others, always in dialogue with other stories and other selves as we negotiate ways of being in the world. (75)

Narrative analysis, on the other hand, is added to this methodology as it is a means through which people make sense of and narrate their lived experiences and simultaneously manage competing narratives in their lives (Riessman 2003, 2008; Elliott 2005). The use of these two approaches is therefore for the purpose of overcoming critiques normally associated with discourse analysis in which the self is made invisible, and experiences are ignored in the interest of emphasising "discursive acts which perform various social activities" (Crossley 2000: 530). This approach then moves beyond presenting responses to domestic violence in terms of only discursive effects, to showing the connectedness of everyday practices of immigrant women and service providers, in the broader contexts within which they live and where domestic violence takes place (Burr 1995).

This chapter aims to move beyond research that explores whether migrant women face more or less domestic violence than their 'host' communities and rather look at how these women understood the meaning of violence from their partners (Raj and Silverman 2002; Erez and Hartley 2003), and the ways in which circulating discourses shaped responses from service providers. In this discussion, I reflect on one of the central and most complex themes that migrant women and service providers returned to in their narratives, namely, culture. Immigrant women's use of culture is shown as a varied and intersecting discourse and resource that combined to further reinforce their reluctance to utilise available services for responding to domestic violence in South Africa. The elements of culture emphasised included among others a belief in their social and cultural difference based

on national difference, understandings of the role and expectations of a wife, and the assumptions and practices within the services that respond to domestic violence. These discourses are analysed for how the migration regime in South Africa defines and constrains the possibilities for challenging notions of culture and the racialised, gendered and national meanings that culture has taken on. This is in keeping with Burman and Chantler's (2005) critique that the structural aspects of the immigration regime are elided in evaluating the cultural appropriateness of domestic violence service provision. As such, this chapter raises questions about how migration shapes notions of culture (rather than the reverse question which is so often assumed in migration studies).

Utilising discussions from domestic violence service providers, the chapter explores the different ways in which the discourse of culture is associated with and utilised in the production of the migrant woman, and how such understandings influence discourses related to migrant women's and service providers' responses to domestic violence. In the analysis, reference is made to how notions of culture as attached to nation, empowerment and socialisation are drawn upon in the production of the other and explanations of the vulnerability of immigrant women to domestic violence in South Africa.

Gender, Culture and Migration

Eagleton (2000), in his review of the shifting and contested meanings of culture in western history, argued that the definition of culture has been at times so wide as to mean anything and so narrow as to be entirely useless. Clearly, different meanings are evoked by the word in different contexts and at different times. Nevertheless, for Eagleton, since the 1960s, culture:

> Now means the affirmation of a specific identity—national, sexual, ethnic, and regional—rather than the transcendence of it. And since these identities all see themselves as suppressed, what was once conceived of as a realm of consensus has been transformed into a terrain of conflict…It is part of the very lexicon of political conflict itself. (38)

This notion of culture as (racial, ethnic) difference has equally been central in post-colonial writing (Fanon 1967; Spivak 1990; Mohanty 1991). As Young (1995) argues, culture has come to replace race in its

othering consequences. This same post-colonial context has centrally shaped the ways in which notions of culture have been taken up by post-colonial writing. Thus, for example, Fanon (1967) in *Black Skins, White Masks* argues that the African response to the denigration of culture can only be to articulate a notion of culture that is race based given the racial basis of the colonial project. In the post-apartheid era, this remains true; however, notions of nationalism have in recent times been tied to articulations of culture (see Mallki 1992; Gilroy 1997).

Given the post-colonial and post-apartheid moment that South Africa is in, it is perhaps not surprising that culture has been used variably as a marker for race and nationality. Mallki (1995) notes the increasing tendency within anthropology to see nation and culture as intrinsically linked through popularised notions of the 'native'. Nowhere is this more evident than in the writing of Fanon where the native can only see their own culture as black, given that the colonial project was rooted in race rather than national identity. Nevertheless, the post-colonial era has seen the rise of culture associated with nationalism. For Mallki (1995) this has become so taken for granted that in the study of migration to move across national boundaries is automatically assumed to involve a 'loss' of culture. Thus, in this rendering of culture, the West has no culture—rather it is the norm against which difference is measured. Nevertheless, as Eagleton argues:

> The nation state does not unqualifiedly celebrate the idea of culture. On the contrary, any particular national or ethnic group will come into its own only through the unifying principle of the state, not under its own steam. Cultures are intrinsically incomplete, and need the supplement of the state to become truly themselves. (59)

This raises questions about why culture might be a useful discursive strategy for immigrant women to express their dissatisfaction with service delivery in South Africa—a question that I shall return to during the course of the chapter. Similarly, popularised notions of culture as race have faced increasing critique for their gendered consequences. Whilst culture has often been used to justify or trivialise domestic violence among marginalised racial groups (thus defending against accusations of racism), for Burman et al. (2004), the problem within current discourses of culture is that they privilege 'race' over gender, thus marginalising the experiences of women within those racial groups. For feminists the concern with the ways that culture and nationalism are treated has been well critiqued (Anthias

and Yuval-Davis 1992, Yuval-Davis 1997; and Daiya 2006) for the ways that women are seen to be the markers and bearers of cultural tradition through their role in the bearing and rearing of children. Thus, women's role within the national project is legitimated through recourse to a notion of culture as race. Similar debates have been seen in the literature on female genital mutilation (see Hayes 2009; Catherine 1996).

With regard to studies of domestic violence, culture is a term only recently used. Bograd (1999), in arguing for attention to intersectionality, for instance, shows how for some racial and ethnic groups in the United States violence has been implicitly regarded as culturally normal. She shows how this:

> Minimizes the extent of domestic violence in white families; ignores the complexity of other cultures' values concerning respectful intimate relationships and conflict resolution (Fry and Bjorkqist 1997); trivialises the ongoing evolution of cultures; may confuse cultural expectations with other social, psychological, or relational factors; and diverts attention from how oppressive cultural practices may rigidify in dangerous forms in a context of discrimination by our dominant culture. (280)

This quote emphasises two aspects of the forms of culture at play in considering domestic violence. First, there has been a tendency to consider culture either as a risk factor for ongoing violence or as a protective factor that prevents violence through social disapproval (see also Palmary 2007). Second, the attention to culture within the domestic violence literature has come in part from accusations of discrimination against minority groups in the study of domestic violence as well as in the provision of services. For example, Burman et al. (2004) and Erez (2000) note how culture in terms of respect for diversity is used by domestic violence service providers to deny services and rights to minoritised women, whilst Hawkins (1987) notes that in the United States, black men who murder their female partners are likely to receive lighter sentences due to myths about the normality of violence among black American communities. What this literature clearly shows is that the notion of culture employed has varied from studies of whether women of minority (or rather, as Burman and Chantler (2005) rightly argue, minoritised) status are more likely to be victims of domestic violence to understanding how culture functions as an explanatory discourse with significant effects for the outcome of domestic violence and access to services for those affected.

What is clear is that in relation to domestic violence, culture is a discursive strategy and resource that produces very real effects that need to be critiqued for their impact on the lives of women who experience violence from their partners.

Whilst the debates over culture and more specifically culture and domestic violence have no doubt been productive, they have tended to focus on the perspectives of those researching domestic violence or those providing services to abused women (Kasturirangan et al. 2004). There is less information about how in everyday talk people use culture to negotiate difference and make claim to particular resources and social positions. This is, as I go on to show, a far less comfortable topic as, in this chapter, it requires a critique of the views of victims of domestic violence and those who assist them. This chapter therefore attempts such a critical reflection with a view to understanding how migrant women and service providers define culture in relation to the violence migrant women suffer from their partners and the consequences this may have for their responses to this violence. Clearly this is a difficult task because it requires an interrogation of culture and womens' interpretations of it with an attempt to remain respectful of the ways that the women in this study experience and explain violence in their lives. It also requires an interrogation of the ways in which those who help them perceive the role of culture, especially in domestic violence service utilisation.

Creating Difference: Culture and Place

Collective identifications of people to a place and a culture have featured commonly in literature on identity and belonging (Mallki 1992; Devine-Wright and Lyons 1997). Culture, like gender, has been constantly framed as a marker of difference usually articulated in politics of the nation in processes of national identity formation and contestation (Burman 2005). In domestic violence and other literature, culture is normally invoked as coherent and stable because of the ways in which it tends to be strongly aligned to a group of people within a particular geographical boundary, as opposed to its dynamic, negotiated and hybrid nature (Fanon 1967). Enhancing national distinctiveness is, and continues to be, at the heart of these discourses, which aim at enforcing boundaries of superiority and inferiority of 'us versus them' (Rose 1996), as well as reinforcing ideologies of nationhood (Billig 1995). However, nations are imagined communities

(Anderson 1991) as such constructions of cultural and other identities are taken up to create common and strong bonds of national solidarity. As Stuart Hall (1996: 613) argues, culture is "a way of constructing meaning which influences and organises both our actions and our conception of ourselves". In this and related literature, constructions of groups of people from different geographical territories aim at executing particular functions associated with labelling, excluding whilst protecting, privileging and claiming national boundaries and heritage (Said 1994). Similarly, participants (immigrant women and service providers in domestic violence service institutions), in creating subject positions and awareness of themselves and the other, draw on such conceptions of a unified national culture and identity (Gergen 1991; Said 1994), as a means of explaining domestic violence in South Africa.

Whereas culture is normally presented in terms of how it produces differences, it has also been used as a resource to create meanings, especially when discussed in relation to place identity constructions and contestations (Rose 1996). Across the findings in these two studies, it is striking the extent to which culture was evoked as an explanation for the responses following domestic violence. In particular, and in keeping with the emphasis on culture as bounded to geographical territory, migrant women perceived police services as the most culturally inappropriate response to domestic violence. Frequently, police and the justice system were set up in contrast to alternative restorative forms of 'traditional' justice, as indicated in the following extracts:

> …Our culture and South African culture is different. It is not easy to take your husband to court. (Gorreti, 37 years old and divorced)

> …At home the police was the very last option of dealing with domestic violence, what is recommended in our culture is that the problem is reported to his parents and my parents, and if they failed, then the community court of elders will intervene to try and resolve the case communally referring to the cultural values as a guide to talk to the man and also solve problems between a man and a woman. (Stella, 30 years old and married)

There are two immediate issues raised by these extracts from women survivors. Firstly, the understanding of culture that is being evoked is one of difference. All participants draw on the 'us and them' divisions utilising

words like our 'culture, at home' and evoking an inclusive and homogenous community in their homelands and a different one in South Africa. Culture therefore functions in these interviews first and foremost to identify difference; the core of this difference is national, suggesting that nationality plays a big part in differences in responses to domestic violence. This national difference is significant because it closes down the possibilities of making use of the restorative justice systems which are equally in operation in South Africa. It means that migration can only be accompanied by a 'loss' of culture given the ways it is aligned to national borders. Furthermore, it sets the use of police and the justice sectors up as a non-cultural or culturally neutral response to domestic violence, reinforcing the notion of dominant culture as cultureless. However, this is not as clearly mapped onto racial categories as it might be in the British or US context. Here, although the dominant culture is equally a black and much marginalised one, it is nevertheless nationally dominant, and it is this nationality that was at the core of women's definitions of culture. Thus, even in speaking about a cultural difference, South Africans are presented as representing a non-African society in the way that they respond to domestic violence.

In addition, there were a number of reasons given for the inappropriateness of policing services. Some were pragmatic and included the fact that police were likely to arrest the women who were undocumented and have a reputation for destroying legitimate migration papers where they do exist (see CoRMSA 2008; Segale 2003; Takabvirwa 2010).

In the women's narratives, participants also pointed to the absence of specific cultural mechanisms for disciplining abusive husbands or preventing abuse from occurring as a source of their abuse in South Africa. This included the intervention of respectable family members like fathers-in-law and the partner's parents who acted as surveillance mechanisms in the home country, which in turn would minimise the occurrence of domestic violence. The fact that women could not identify with existing mechanisms in South Africa as useful strategies to deal with domestic violence suggests how they utilise culture and place-based identity constructions as resources associated with management of domestic violence in places other than the familiar (also see Riessman 1987). The use of culture here then enables ways through which connections of narratives from the past (through ways of dealing with domestic violence in the home country) and the present (ways in which domestic violence is handled during migration) can be constructed through juxtaposition (Taylor 2005). Here culture and place narratives

are utilised selectively and discursively to legitimise particular ways of responding to domestic violence, as well as to enforce hierarchies of cultural superiority whilst simultaneously suggesting the rigidity of culture in which undermining particular ways of what is considered as different.

In their efforts to bring out the change in social contexts and to utilise place narratives (Riessman 1987), as the basis on which their domestic violence response narratives are organised and defended, 'home' for these women was portrayed as a place of safety and peace. Alongside this, a particular image of good family relations was presented in their narratives, as seen in the following extracts:

> Participant: When I was home, I had a family I had a home…. You see, at home you have all the weapons, so here I had nothing that was mine. I was depending on other people for survival …that is why they abused me …. (Jackie, 25 years old, single)
>
> Participant: …He would not beat me because he would fear my family because if he did anything to me, my family will come. If he did this to me, at home, I will go back … At home my parents and his family are there so he knows he cannot do this. Now here am alone and he knows I have nowhere to go. (Sophie, 26 years old married)

In these narratives, migrant women view their lives as better when they were home (home country and the physical home), with the break occurring only when they left a 'safe' home for South Africa. This narrative first seeks to protect the dignity of the home country in which they are recognised, whilst holding onto and safeguarding representations of a bounded community in contexts of displacement, by emphasising the familiar (Gupta and Ferguson 1992). Second, is the perception of South Africa as a different place associated with moral degeneration because of its perceived lack of systems of surveillance to regulate particular behaviours of migrant men as compared to the approaches in their home country. This echoes Shahidian's (1999) argument that migrant women selectively draw on the culture and social norms of behaviour from their home countries in trying to produce differences between their home country and another. However, he sees this reference as a means of essentialising the self and the other. This essentialism was, for example, presented in the image of the South African environment as enabling men to abuse women, and to fight, as migrant women narrated, utilising the existing discourses of exclusion. 'The police are presented as unlikely to

intervene where immigrants are concerned'. This discourse is linked to the so-called culture of violence (see Simpson et al. 1991) that is associated with South Africa, which presumes that violence against women is acceptable. This discourse then presents a romanticised view of the home country as a place with better options for protection of women and prevention of abuse, which seems to suggest how migration to South Africa (not considered home) creates this isolation, disempowerment and for migrant women. This discourse also works in two ways: firstly, to direct attention away from the idea that even where domestic violence is addressed through culturally preferred and familiar traditional systems, these at times are vehicles through which women's abuse is condoned and perpetuated and/or tolerated (Siddique et al. 2008). Secondly, to suggest that the systems existing in South Africa are unlikely to combat domestic violence given the ways in which they are placed within cultural discourses as inappropriate. Similarly, service providers emphasise this difference as rendering migrant women vulnerable to domestic violence by drawing on a discourse of lack of culturally appropriate resources to respond to domestic violence in South Africa. One service provider notes:

> Service provider: I am sure in their own countries or in their own local areas they would have some sort of resources. They would talk to their own families, they would talk to someone who knows their culture, but here it is nobody's culture, it's nobody's family…You are just left alone… (Service provider BV1)

In the extract above, culture is presented as an essential resource without which abused migrant women are unable to access help to deal with the effects of domestic violence. This discourse is one that considers culture as rooted in place, a view that has been highly critiqued (Clifford 1992; Mallki 1992). In this case, constructing South Africa with a 'nobody's culture' seeks to deem spaces with high numbers of migrants from different countries as having no culture, given the way culture tends to be tied to a people and a place. As such, utilising the discourse of absence of cultural resources for migrant women to draw on functions in these narratives as a way in which service providers justify their inability to offer help to migrant women in South Africa (see also Burman (2005) for similar views related to access to domestic violence services for minoritised women). Although this discourse shows the importance of considering 'culture' as an important aspect in responding to domestic violence, it

leaves the role of service providers in the host country unproblematised. The assumption is that because migrant women lack the cultural resources they are used to in their home country to deal with domestic violence, it is not possible to assist them if they are in a different space. This then follows Palmary's (2007: 127) argument regarding how culture is normally utilised to 'shape possibilities for resistance' to 'change'.

In addition to the above observations, there were also other ways in which migrant women invoked culture in relation to the use of shelters, as well as in terms of preserving their marriages. In doing so, warding off or resisting discourses of leaving abusive husbands as the only solution to abuse became evident, a can be seen below:

> We still want to stay with our husbands despite the problems, because in our culture women have to endure…Marriage needs endurance, for one to win. The thing with shelters is that …If you go to the shelter for that time…the man may even marry another woman and they will mistreat your children … so… you will worry a lot about your children…hmm. Shelters are for different people not us. The men need some punishment. When I am taken away from my children to live in a shelter it is as if it is me they are punishing that is why I prefer the police and the court… but there are problems with this too. (Stella, 30 years old, married)

This extract indicates how culture is used to explain why Stella feels she should endure the violence in her relationship rather than make use of shelters. In this form, culture is used as normative to prescribe appropriate gender relations. This is a common usage of culture that has been commented on previously (see Palmary 2007). However, through a discourse of culture, gender relations are reinscribed in normative ways that limit the possibilities for seeking help. Drawing on culture as a value paradigm in this way, allows Stella to position herself as a good wife, one who is concerned for her children and who is tasked with the responsibility of making the marriage work. In this way, she identifies with and takes up the subject position of what Wilbraham (1997) refers to when women position themselves as being responsible for the 'emotional work' in relationships, to keep relationships stable and functional. This emotional work is equally necessary to manage challenges to normative models of culture that shape and constrain gender relations.

Also significant in this extract is the mention she makes of using the courts and police. Whilst potentially contradicting her earlier statements,

this is significant as it reflects how women manage the police and court system—a system routinely referred to as inappropriate and unhelpful (see Rasool et al. 2002; Burman et al. 2004)—in ways that do not challenge their sense of the gendered relationships and values required by their culture. In other words, Stella will use the courts and police to discipline her partner but she will not use shelters because they are at odds with her sense of responsibility as an ideal wife and good mother, identities she seems to consider as a central aspect of her sense of self (Perilla 1999; Rodriguez 1999). Also shifting her identity as a guide to her story, Stella draws on culture through an evaluative strategy inviting and compelling us to see her ways of understanding and perspectives regarding appropriate ways of resolving domestic violence which do not compromise her marriage and role as a mother and good wife. This is a discursive strategy that also draws on culture in which migrant women construct their personal identities in multiple ways as women and as immigrants.

Returning once more to the kinds of women that use shelters, and drawing on culture as a discursive strategy to construct personal and social identities, Stella and Gorreti position such women as those who cannot deal with problems in their marriage but run away from them. In addition, they place the idea of seeking help at the shelter as one way in which a sense of guilt among women as the sources of abuse and who need to be removed from the 'good' man is maintained. This discourse largely draws on the nature of domestic violence interventions where more focus is placed on dealing with women alone as victims of abuse, which suggests that violence can only be from a man against a woman, an position that has been largely critiqued for its narrow focus on perpetration of violence (Dutton 2010; Ross and Babock 2009).

Beyond this, similarly Chantler's (2006) findings show that many women perceived shelters as another place where women are controlled by those managing (the shelters), conceiving shelters as another source of domination apart from their abusive spouses. Therefore, discussing the nature of women who use shelters, the following extract is illustrative:

> People told me that I will not live there for three months, women who are there are stressed they start smoking and learn bad behaviours. I wanted to resolve problems with my husband not to run away. (Gorreti, 37 years old, divorced)

In this extract, the contrast is made with the kinds of women who use shelters—those who smoke are stressed, as well as a range of other 'bad behaviours' (also see Goodman and Latta 2005). Thus, in constructing a counter argument (Billig 1997), the moral reasons for not making use of shelters were emphasised. This is not to say that women did not equally raise concerns about the use of shelters that are more in keeping with the international literature of protecting women from further abuse (see for more details (Rasool 2012; Wright 2004)). Nevertheless, the moral reasons were consistently emphasised as the key reasons for not utilising domestic violence services with such a design, as shelters, perhaps for the purposes of safeguarding values embedded in the cultural and gender expectations of a good wife. In line with non-utilisation of shelters, and confirming immigrant women's low usage of shelters, service providers observed how larger numbers of migrant women only utilised shelters during the 2008 attacks on foreigners. This suggests that although the women recognised the value of shelters as a means of escaping violence targeted against them as members of a social group, they are less willing to use them for the purposes of escaping domestic violence. These findings then confirm previous research that migrant women avoid shelters because they conflict with the particular ways in which they prefer to deal with domestic violence (Goodman and Latta 2005; Kiwanuka 2008).

In other cases, culture was conflated with empowerment and utilised in explaining domestic violence and seeking help. Service providers in this case utilised the image of South African women as a way in which migrant women's increased exposure to domestic violence in South Africa could be understood:

> Participant: …I think you know sometimes our cultures are different you find that here many women are empowered. You find that these women from different countries don't enjoy the privileges South African women enjoy. Most of them because [they] come from violent countries where there is war; their [men] sometimes [are] messed up in the head. I think that if men are stressed it is easy for the men to take out the anger. (Service provider RP2)

> Monica: So in cases of abuse against migrant women in South Africa what is the source of this abuse?
> Participant: …So I know the case where the husband brought the second wife from Congo and she was not happy about that. He beat her and told her "I can bring any woman I want to my house even if you don't want that it is fine". She left him but returned to him and now she is living with

> another woman in the house. This is something you will not easily see among South Africans
> Monica: Hmm why not
> Participant: because you see many South African women are strong and empowered they take no nonsense from men. They will leave; they will not share a man. A man will not step on them. (Service provider RP1)

These two extracts have linkages to the ways in which "discourses of nationalism tend to draw on [*people's historical*] origins as the main organising principles of the national collective" (Yuval-Davis 1997: 22). Drawing from the first excerpt above, domestic violence that affects migrant women is linked to their disempowerment, but at the same time mapped on a homogenous culture associated with their countries of origin. This dominant discourse, besides creating a hierarchical national evaluation, locates South Africa as a nation with a dominant culture in terms of women's empowerment, and ability to combat patriarchy. This discourse perhaps follows a grand narrative of South Africa, as a place of human rights within the rest of the African continent, a place of emancipation and development. It echoes Neocosmos' (2008) reference to a discourse of exceptionalism, taken on by a large number of South Africans, which constructs South Africa as not really in Africa because of its more advanced levels of democracy, development and industrialisation as compared to other countries on the continent. Simultaneously, it also sets apart the South African woman as the 'epitome' on which the migrant woman as the 'other' and the country she originates from are evaluated. Therefore, service providers' constructions of these migrant women as not empowered play an indirect role in disciplining their clients through aspects of power-knowledge relations as advanced in the Foucauldian sense (Ong 1996). The second extract similarly frames women from other countries as not likely to be as empowered given their association with not leaving and/or their likelihood of returning to abusive relationships in a way other empowered women do not. Kasturirangan (2008: 1472), however, argues that being empowered does not imply that one acquires ultimate victory to leave the abuser, but it is a process which women go through to achieve decision-making power and/or 'self-determination'. Although leaving an abusive partner ensures safety, it has also been documented not to be a sole determinant of escaping abuse because perpetrators have often followed and abused women even after leaving (Burman and Chantler 2005). In line with this, as we continue to see in the second extract, South African women are defined not only as

homogenous but as very different from migrant women based on places of origin and related culture. Gupta and Ferguson (1992), however, refer to such conceptualisation of culture as problematic because of the ways in which it is mapped onto place and the ways in which such usage ignores the connectedness of places. I argue that homogenising and focusing on differences is problematic because such an approach takes on extreme position relating to causes and responses to domestic violence affecting the migrant and South African women. I argue that the emphasis here needs to be on the different ways of understanding the differences associated with either category of women and how such differences influence their experiences of and responses to domestic violence.

Further tying culture to nation, different nationalities were positioned as having specific ways of dealing with domestic violence which are embedded in their culture. In this way the notion of culture that was advanced is one that situated culture as a way of doing things within a particular national group. As we see, the 'culture' of responding to domestic violence was attached to Somalia and Congo as nations and utilised a means through which negative responses to domestic violence of persons from these places was constructed:

> Service provider: What we found especially among Somali women is that they are socialised to be submissive… they lack education first and foremost… when you have a Somali woman who is on her own there is a sense of hopelessness. So they come to the office they cry a lot "How am I supposed to live on my own I don't have a man"… With Most of the clients we have obviously you have exceptions you've got the women who if this happens who will go to the police and will put a stop to this immediately…: and the sense of security (for Somali women) comes from the fact that if you get fired there is someone who is making a living as well, and so with most of these women they would rather have this sense of security than try to stop any kind of abuse if it is going on…and the thing you will find with Somali women as a result of that submissiveness uum they have there is a lot of domestic violence that goes on it is just not spoken about but you can tell but it is there… same thing with Congolese women. (Service provider RJ1)
>
> Monica: And you think if that wasn't the case it would be different?
>
> Service provider: I think it would be different but at the same time it is also lack of education and that education aspect comes from the countries they are from. So because they are dealing with patriarchal communities… I don't think that even trying to un do it here, would be sufficient it is something that is conditioned in a lot of these women. (Service provider RJ1)

In the above extract, utilising the discourse of socialisation, concepts of national identity and place as defining the culture of particular abused migrant women and accounting for their acceptance of and not reporting abuse to formal sources are advanced. However, we see the silencing of ways in which other means to overcome and deal with domestic violence that include seeking help from friends in this space could have been utilised (see Rasool (2012) for more on the usefulness of these networks in South Africa). In this way, privileging the use of formal domestic violence services as a means of escaping domestic violence gets advanced as a dominant narrative through which women are expected to disclose, report and overcome abuse. As Palmary (2007: 131) has argued, and in relation to the above quotation, "regardless of how good or bad culture is meant to be for refugee women, it remains centrally about the social position of women within a racial or national other". Therefore, in the process of constructing the familiar, this same discourse defines the abused migrant woman as partly without agency and complicit in her abuse through limitations placed on her by her socialisation and as a member of a particular nation or group. These discourses then function to position her as inferior, victimised and thus disempowered to take action against the abuse she experiences (Mohanty 1991). This is an aspect which is presented as setting her apart from the South African woman, and other migrant nationalities not included here. Such stereotypes, as Bhabha (1994) argues, are a means through which colonial discourses become regulated and reproduced, but simultaneously a means through which hierarchies between women and nations are created and sustained. In this way, this discourse works to invite us, but more so the migrant woman considered as uncivilised, to participate in the colonial discourses that shape the other as backward and disempowered.

In addition, we see how the structural forms of violence, including rampant poverty, unemployment and inadequate support, that immigrants encounter in this space tend to remain uncontested as factors that could partly explain women's dependency on partners and choices they make in relation to responding to domestic violence. Instead we see migrant women as positioned within discourses of submissiveness and lack of agency as an aspect of their socialisation and national identity in which their choice of survival rather than seeking help for abuse can be justified. Once more, we see how this conceptualisation of the domestic violence migrant women experience related to women's cultural background and nation and further influences limitations for accessing help for domestic violence (see linkages with Palmary (2008) on how narrow conceptualisations of women's vulnerability diminish access to help).

Linked to this was a reference to what is popularly (and indeed academically; see Simpson et al. 1991) known as the culture of violence in South Africa. As a consequence of the build-up of violence across South Africa in the 1990s, the term 'culture of violence' gained popular circulation (see Hamber 1999; Vogelman and Eagle 1991). The meaning of this term varies greatly, referring on the one hand to the sense by minority groups that violence had spun out of control after the democratic election and, on the other, referring to the intensification of violence just prior to the elections being held. This too is an approach to 'culture' that renders it normative and comparative. Thus, the discourse of a 'culture of violence' in South Africa was used both to explain the source of violence of women's partners rendering their (immigrant men's) personal violent nature invisible and the poor functioning of security and justice sectors in the host country, when perpetrators are not held responsible for abuse. This is a discourse that condemns as well as positions South Africa as a violent, immoral and degenerated place in relation to their countries of origin. In this way, culture and identity are presented as bounded to a people originating from that particular geographical space as opposed to being contested, negotiated and heterogeneous (Said 1993; Eagleton 2000). This understanding is reflected in the following extracts:

> Stella: My husband was this saint, the nicest man you have never seen. I cannot tell you all the five years we were married, he never mistreated me in any way I can consider violent. He he treated me like a bride everyday … but after leaving er in this country he started seeing and practising what South African men in the neighbourhood did, beating, insulting and mistreating their women as if they are human. (Stella; 32 years; married woman)
> Ruth: In Zimbabwe some of the women, you just can't go to the street at 10 pm. If you are a lady. They will ask you what you are doing outside but that life in South Africa is like the way it is in Zimbabwe.
> Monica: So you are saying life here is what makes men change they start fighting?
> Ruth: Yes and they do whatever they feel like.
> Monica: But police is there [to intervene].
> Ruth: Here in SA The Police can find you fighting or screaming on the road when you have been beaten or … They will just pass you even if you are abused.

Women married to fellow immigrant men from their home countries utilise the discourse of the 'culture of violence' to explain and justify

their partners' violence towards them. In their explanations, the notion of migration as a loss of culture is further reinforced through the popularised notion of South Africa having a 'culture of violence'. Three of the participants, for example, explain their partners' current changed behaviour as learned from South Africa given the country's high rates of domestic and so-called culture of violence and the absence of mechanisms as in their countries of origin to prevent or deal with this abuse. Not only might they have used the notion of culture as an evaluative strategy implying that South African men are abusive and/or deviant, but utilising the discourse of culture of violence also serves to justify the change in their partners' behaviour and persuades us on how to understand the migrant men as violent, as well as how to interpret the role of 'national culture' in influencing their non-violent character.

Observing the findings above, this romanticised construction of culture as tied to place and embraced by all people from the same geographical place (Mallki 1992; Yuval-Davis 1997; Gupta and Ferguson 1992) tends to normalise the culture of the host society as violent. Given that discourses speak to themselves (Parker 1992), and power is everywhere (Foucault 1989), this discourse then invokes the idea of power as a discursive strategy in relation to space and naming, such that even those at the margins of society are seen to participate in this process. It further reinforces notions of innate differences between people drawing on static understanding of what a national culture is or should be. This rhetoric employs some of the same fluidity and contestation in its approach to culture. That culture is national and that makes South Africans violent and their migrant women's own country's lack of violence normative, and vice versa. Clearly, the process of negation of and forging a national identity is achieved through the process of othering, in which these participants draw on culture as an explanatory mode to narrate help seeking in domestic violence situations whilst mapping it onto a national community. This masks the idea of nations and as such the cultures' and communities in them embody as social constructs (Anderson 1991; Hall 1996).

Conclusion

There are a number of implications of this understanding of culture for the immigrant women's responses when they were abused by their partners. Whilst culture was at times used to show how abhorrent domestic violence is and how it influences particular behaviours of national groups, it is at

the same time evoked as the only sufficient means through which violence is resolved. This makes a very narrow form of restorative justice (defined by the women as traditional justice) the only suitable response to domestic violence. Thus, explaining violence in terms of culture for immigrant women closed down avenues for leaving a marriage, whilst migration closed down the use of restorative justice. It is possible that by idealising the one mechanism for addressing domestic violence that has been lost through migration (bringing family members in to mediate the violence) the women are able to justify their decision to remain in the marriage and not to seek help using existing services in South Africa. In this case, migrant women's rigidity with regard to new and different ways of handling domestic violence in South Africa is enhanced by drawing on culture as a resource, which as a consequence limits their access to existing services for dealing with the abuse. It also serves to show the role of narratives in constructing continuity between past and present lives (Riessman 2008).

Furthermore, culture was evoked as a normative statement about how gender relations should operate. As a discursive strategy, this functions to close down critiques about the appropriateness of remaining in a marriage and especially so where domestic violence exists.

Claiming a moral high ground through not making use of shelters can be argued to be a response to an increasing sense which is at times seen to ignore women's own particular and different ways of preventing and dealing with abuse, through prioritising the reporting of domestic violence and not living with violent spouses. In this way, the migration experience serves to ward off such critiques through a notion of cultural and national and place-based differences and uniqueness.

Looking again at service providers' accounts, we need to see their responses not as a way in which they think about the other, but a way in which what they say draws on everyday circulating discourses that tend to position the other as different. In this way, it is possible to evoke differences and hierarchies among different nations and groups of people and ways in which they respond to domestic violence. Moreover, utilising these discourses works in a normative way to sanction the violence that occurs in particular migrant communities and the identity of particular women. Whilst this homogenised approach obscures differences among women even in the same host nation, as well as the unique experiences that shape the violence migrant women experience, the reasons and difficulties for not seeking help or disclosing domestic violence are masked in the interest of highlighting differences.

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CHAPTER 7

'Who I Am Depends on Who I Am Talking To'

Elsa Oliveira and Jo Vearey

Setting the Scene

Although universal definitions of 'urban' and 'urbanization' continue to be disputed, it is generally accepted that urbanization is the process of becoming urban, and it reflects aggregate population growth in cities, be it through natural population growth or migration (Galea and Vlahov 2005; Vearey et al. 2010). According to the World Health Organization, the global urban population will reach 60% by the year 2030 (World Health Organization in UN 2014). In developing countries as a whole, 40% of the population currently lives in urban areas (Cohen 2006). The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) reveals that approximately 60% of refugees currently live in cities (UNHCR 2017). According to the 2011 South African Census, more than half of South Africa's population currently live and work in urban areas, with the largest percentage being in the Gauteng Province (Kok and Collinson 2006). Johannesburg—located in Gauteng and often referred to as 'the city of migrants' (Crush 2005: 113)—is estimated to have 3.9 million residents, of whom roughly 35% are internal migrants, and 7% are cross-border migrants (UNOCHA & FMSP 2009).

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Urban growth in South Africa is taking place at a faster rate than in any other African country, and while migration to urban areas is not unique to South Africa, the history of Johannesburg itself is quite unique. Johannesburg is still in transition from apartheid to post-apartheid. During apartheid, blacks had restricted access to many parts of the city and inner-city areas were reserved for the white population (Saff 1994). Until 1991, when the Group Act of 1950 was abolished, Hillbrow—an inner-city suburb of Johannesburg—was the legal habitat of white residents. By 1970, however, people classified as Indian and Coloured had started moving into Hillbrow, and by the mid-1990s approximately 85% of Hillbrow's population was black (Clarkson 2009; Morris 1999). Today, Hillbrow is one of Gauteng's most densely populated inner-city suburbs. The majority of its residents are migrants who have moved from elsewhere in South Africa or who have crossed a border in search of improved livelihoods. Exact numbers are difficult to ascertain due to the mobility of many of Hillbrow's residents, but it is estimated that 100,000 people inhabit the one square kilometre area of this inner-city suburb (City of Johannesburg 2008).

Many buildings in Hillbrow are managed by illegal landlords and living conditions for some residents lack basic ablution and hygiene facilities. High levels of crime, sex work and drugs keep most South Africans, black and white alike, away from this part of the city. Inner-city areas such as Hillbrow are often considered inaccessible by researchers, city planners and government officials; thereby, the needs of the residents are often not present, known or understood in city programming. Examining the trajectories of people into urban spaces as well as the experiences that people encounter as they navigate urban centres can support the development and implementation of appropriate social service, educational and medical provisions.

Many migrants in inner-city Johannesburg engage in unconventional survival strategies, including sex work (e.g. Richter 2010). Although sex work is considered an informal livelihood strategy, it is currently illegal in South Africa (UNAIDS 2010). Research on sex work in South Africa is limited; however, there is significant evidence that sex workers in inner-city Johannesburg experience unsafe, unhealthy and frequently violent working and living conditions (e.g. Nyangairi 2010; Richter 2010). The study which we describe in this article, 'Working the City', was

motivated by a desire to capture the voices of migrant women sex workers, to engage with their migration histories, livelihood strategies and experiences as urban residents.

Although social science research has contributed to a body of knowledge on sex work, the majority of this literature originates in the West and is often positioned within a trafficking discourse in which sex work is considered a social problem in need of eradication and where sex workers are often portrayed as deviant, mentally ill or vectors of disease (Koken 2010; Nyangairi 2010). Within the trafficking discourse, all sex workers are assumed to be women and are automatically positioned as victims (Bindman 1997). This abolitionist domain is mainly divided into two categories: (1) those who believe that sex work is immoral and (2) those who believe that sex work is a direct violation of women's liberation (Anderson 2002; Busza 2004). Pro-sex work researchers criticize the abolitionist discourse on an array of issues, however, the main criticisms being: (1) the lack of effort made to understand trajectories into sex work and (2) the assumption that all sex workers lack agency and are unable to make adult decisions (Anderson 2002; Palmary 2006). Concomitantly, pro-sex work researchers in Africa are highlighting the need to move away from Western conceptualizations of sex work paradigms, be it trafficking discourse or pro-sex work discourse, and towards the development of regionally relevant research on sex workers and sex work in Africa (Gould and Fick 2008; Magaisa 2001; Muzvidziwa 1997).

The 2009 Human Development Report identifies migration as a key driver of human development (UNDP 2009); however, in South Africa, the informal livelihood sector is typically omitted from research and overlooked in international and local laws, policy and programmes (Vearey et al. 2011a). Agustin (2006) criticizes current migration research, claiming that it ignores migrants who are involved in sex work, leaving it in the hands of feminist scholars to battle out. Research rooted in victim/hero binaries often seen in abolitionist dialogues and/or sex worker revolutionist discourses—mainly focused within feminist scholar circles—not only tends to ignore male, transgender and transsexual sex workers but also begins from a moralizing position (Agustin 2006: 43). This stance ultimately ignores the complexity of realities that lead migrants into sex work, and ignores the effects that selling sex inevitably has on society at large. Agustin states, 'Research that looks at the lives of women selling sex in a

variety of ways could contribute to how society at large considers them and facilitate Western societies' acceptance of its own desires to purchase so much sex' (ibid.).

In an effort to gain deeper insight into the lives of migrant women sex workers, the study 'Working the City' used a multi-method approach consisting of a participatory photo project, journals, narrative interviews and observation.

Previous participatory research projects in Johannesburg highlighted the efficacy of visual research when working with 'hard to reach' urban populations (Vearey 2010; Venables 2011). In 2006, a participatory research photo project with rural migrants in Johannesburg, 'Hidden Spaces', and a participatory film project, 'Kom Vir' (see Vearey 2010), drew on Tonkiss's argument that no resident of the city experiences the same city as another (2005). The two projects allowed for insight into the concept of 'being hidden', which can refer to either one or both of the following: (a) a deliberate tactic employed by particular urban populations to evade the state and (b) a result of marginalization where the state bypasses groups in need of intervention (Vearey 2010).

Kihato introduced the use of images into her research with migrant women in South Africa as a way to lessen the limitations of language when conducting research with individuals who speak different languages (2010). In 2010, a participatory photo project with migrant men, 'Visual Hillbrow', sought to explore links between public health and urban space by asking the participants to take photographs of what they considered to be unhealthy and healthy spaces in the suburb (Venables 2011). By choosing what to represent and how to represent themselves to the researcher and to the audience(s), visual methods allow research participants to have some control over how they are perceived. In this chapter, we suggest that the approach made visible the subtleties of space and revealed the complex experiences of the migrant women who participated (Oliveira 2011; Vearey et al. 2011b).

Utilizing a participatory photo methodology allows participants to engage in their lives in a visual way which allows the research team access into aspects of their lives that we would perhaps otherwise not have access to and thereby an opportunity to deepen our understanding of a marginalized community and the urban spaces in which individuals live and work. These methods provide people whose voices are seldom heard with an opportunity to share life stories and experiences, and to offer insights that might influence policy and governmental programming. Participatory

research can promote critical engagement with 'hard to reach' communities, opening up alternative routes to explore matters of importance (Bhana 1999; DeKoning and Martin 1996; Vearey 2010). Parker et al. (2000) argue that such innovative research methods are necessary for public health officials to better comprehend contextual variables and local needs in particular communities, and these methods are better equipped to provide context-relevant interventions and assistance. They too offer new ways of exploring public health issues (Venables 2011).

Introducing the Study

The primary phase of the research consisted of an 11-day participatory photography project, at which we explored the representation by migrant women sex workers and considered whether and how urban space impacted representation (Oliveira and Vearey 2015). This project involved collaboration with the Sisonke Sex Worker Movement (http://www.aidslex.org/site_documents/SX-0016E.pdf), Market Photo Workshop (MPW) (http://www.marketphotoworkshop.co.za) and the African Centre for Migration & Society (ACMS) (http://www.migration.org.za) at the University of the Witwatersrand. Sisonke identified 11 migrant women, six of whom were rural-urban migrants and five cross-border migrants from Zimbabwe. All women were over the age of 18 and reported that they sold sex in Hillbrow. The women were invited to participate in an introductory workshop at which the project was explained. At the end of this, the women were invited to participate in the study. Informed consent was completed and copies of the consent and information sheets that detailed the project were handed out to each participant. The study received ethics approval from the University of the Witwatersrand Ethics Committee (H100 175), and all photographers signed a consent form for the use of images by ACMS, MPW and the Sisonke Sex Worker Movement. The women, with the exception of two who opted to use their birth names, selected pseudonyms.

During the workshop, the women were lent digital cameras, taught basic photography skills and asked to take photos which would represent the story or stories that they wanted to share about their lives in Hillbrow. Each of the women was partnered with a photojournalism and documentary photography (PDP) student from MPW. These PDP students served as photography mentors, and accompanied the women during daily 'photo shoots' in Hillbrow. The students also assisted in basic editing and the selection of final

images. At the commencement of the workshop, women were also given journals and asked to write any reflections, thoughts, concerns and stories that they felt were important to share during their participation in the study. Daily, each woman took her camera and journal home and was encouraged to continue writing and taking photos in her own time.

During the workshop, participants were reminded daily that the photo project would culminate in a public exhibition, and that each participant would select eight of her own images, including a self-portrait, for this purpose. The selected photographs and accompanying captions offer a visual snapshot of the lives and experiences that each woman wanted to portray and share. The project culminated in a month-long exhibition, *Working the City: Experiences of Migrant Women in Inner City Johannesburg*,[1] at the Market Workshop Gallery in October 2010. The exhibition consisted of a total of 12 posters: one poster for each participant composed of the eight selected images and captions and a poster introducing the project and partnership. Since the initial exhibition, *Working the City* has been displayed in other public spaces, art initiatives and international conferences.[2]

After the workshop, five research participants were purposively selected to participate in two or three in-depth, semi-structured narrative interviews, during which their photographs were used as prompts to gain further insight into the women's lives. Data were compiled using the images, narrative interviews, informal interviews, observations and journal entries. Using both thematic and narrative analysis, categories and codes were created. Thematic analysis was used to describe the recurrent themes in the data, while narrative analysis was used to examine how women used these stories to create and interpret the world (Shaw and Gould 2001). The narrative interviews, observations and journal entries were especially important to interrogate the data, as the captions did not always reflect the original statements made by the women, and images did not always reflect the prominent themes that they discussed during the workshop. For safety reasons, images of the police, clients and/or hotel managers and staff were not taken; however, reports of human rights' violations by police, clients and hotel management were central themes throughout the workshop and during the interviews. In this way, although the absence of images of themes that emerged in the narrative interviews revealed a gap in the methodology, this 'gap' highlighted the living and working conditions of the research participants.

Engaging with the Images and Captions

As reported in existing literature, our findings highlighted the diverse trajectories into sex work and migration into Hillbrow (Flak 2011; Nyangairi 2010; Richter 2009, 2010). Sanders (2009) describes 'agency' as a woman's choice and free will to decide how she wants to use her body, although the 'choice' and 'free will' to become a sex worker is controversial and contested. As we will describe, although the women were vulnerable for educational, economic and social reasons, they did choose to enter sex work. More often than not, discussions about sex work were embedded in a paternalistic view of morality. Arguments often ignore the agency of sex workers and instead concentrate on the perceived reasons why a person would enter the sex work industry and how the industry should be abolished in its entirety. Currently, the sex industry is one of the most lucrative industries in the world and it is not going to disappear. Therefore, the debate must shift away from a moral judgement of a line of work to a human rights discussion centred on protecting those who, for a myriad of reasons, enter the sex industry.

Although extensive research on sex work in South Africa is lacking, existing information indicates that it is a viable option for many migrant women as they seek to support themselves and their families back home (Richter et al. 2010; Oliveira 2011; Vearey et al. 2010). Nonetheless, the current environment in which sex work takes place subjects migrant women sex workers to a high risk of violence, discrimination and HIV (ibid.). As Lety argued, 'some days I make really good money; some days I don't make a lot, but, it's more than if I were to work as a cleaner somewhere'. Many of the women referred to other employment options as less desirable. Yet simultaneously, all but one woman stated that their families 'back home' did not know about their work, and they explained their work to their families as beauticians, peer educators and/or domestic workers.

The following images each depict sex work differently. Images 1–5 can be found at (http://workingthecity.wordpress.com/migration-mobility-and-health-in-the-city-a-focus-on-johannesburg-south-africa/)

Sku and Iketlang (Images 1 and 2) presented themselves in their work attire. Their images reflect their desire to be seen as confident and beautiful sex workers. Pinky, Shorty, Thembi and Lety (Images 3–5), however,

focused on images of brothels to highlight their work. In her caption, Shorty refrains from identifying the building as the place where *she* works; rather, she describes the building as a place where sex workers, in general, work. Thembi (Image 5) describes the dangerous working conditions of outdoor sex workers, Pinky addresses issues of client abuse, while Confidence and Shorty simply state the location where they 'conduct business'. Confidence entitled her image 'Confidence's Shelter' and explained in the interview that the Ambassador Hotel was not just the place where she worked but was also home: 'I have lived here for so long that now it feels like home. Sometimes the managers are abusive but it's my home and my shelter away from the dangers of Hillbrow'.

Other than Lety, the women tended to refrain from talking about their involvement in sex work, yet they photographed and chose images for the exhibition that highlighted their work. Here we see the discrepancy of 'voice'. Confidence, Pinky and Sku perhaps found it uncomfortable to stand before other workshop participants and speak about their work, and found it less threatening to share their work via their images. It is also possible that the research team, PDP students and MPW staff caused greater and immediate discomfort, in contrast to the exhibition, when images were viewed by complete strangers. There were also discrepancies between speaking openly about sex work and the images selected, highlighting again the importance of interrogating the images and the participatory process through narrative interviews and other methodologies.

Entry points into sex work were often analogous to migration into inner-city Johannesburg. In Image 6, Sbu offers insight into her migration history and her trajectory into sex work. Sbu compiled a series of personal images to document her migration from KwaZulu-Natal Province to Hillbrow, and then photographed the collage. Sbu explained each image in the collage individually and, in doing so, explained how she had entered sex work: 'I came to Johannesburg to go to school and to find a job. At first, I sold vegetables and fruit, but my stock was stolen. In order to support my family, I started doing sex work'.

Lety, who had migrated to Johannesburg from Zimbabwe, was the only participant who had been involved in sex work prior to moving to South Africa, and she had migrated in search of better opportunities. Like Sbu, Lety included an image about her entry into sex work, but did not make this obvious to the audience in her caption. Lety chose to concentrate her images on her experience as a migrant in Hillbrow, and only referred to her work in a clichéd statement written in her journal, 'a girls gotta do what a

girls gotta do'. All of Lety's images refer to her migration and her primary experiences of Hillbrow.

Images 7–10 can be found at http://workingthecity.wordpress.com/migration-mobility-and-health-in-the-city-a-focus-on-johannesburg-south-africa/. Lety chose to use her real name because 'The work that I do is not a crime' (field notes), and spoke openly about being a sex worker, but her story focused not on her work but on her migration history and different country circumstances: 'Hillbrow is better than Zimbabwe because here I can make money and buy things. I can make money to send back home and I can travel to Zimbabwe to visit my family when I want to'. Although Lety focused on migration, her captions are highly edited versions of original statements that she wrote in her journal, explaining why she took the photos and what they meant. For example, Image 10, which she titled 'What must I do?', lacks the references to sex work in her journal, 'a girls gotta do what a girls gotta do'. Bailey et al. (2002) argue that identities and space are fluid and are relative to place and time. As the editing process commenced and Lety began to write captions to explain her images to the public, she made an intentional choice about what to reveal to the public. Lety's migration story and the struggles that she and other Zimbabweans face in South Africa took precedence over her work.

In the first interview, Lety discussed her selection of images, and explained that she chose the image above because many people suffer when they migrate to South Africa from Zimbabwe. She wanted to emphasize this '…because people don't understand the abuse and fears that we have when we come across the border'. In Image 7, Lety's physical and facial characteristics exude fear and discomfort; however, her caption reveals an empowered (re)presentation, one of control and strength. Images 8 and 9 spotlight her initial experiences as a Hillbrow resident; Image 10 explains her loneliness when she moved to Hillbrow. All of the images symbolize the struggle that Lety experienced on migrating to the city, although none explain why she moved to Hillbrow. As she described it, 'In Zimbabwe we hear awful things about Hillbrow, but we also hear that if we want to make money we should come to South Africa. Hillbrow is a place where many foreign people live so I found comfort here. I think that the City can improve the living conditions for us but it is okay. I am okay here in Hillbrow'.

According to Gaultung (1990), structural violence refers to a form of violence that is based on how a social structure or social institution systematically harms people by preventing them from meeting their basic

needs. Structural violence renders visible the social machinery of oppression (Green 2002). This was one of the most prevalent themes that emerged in the study. Confidence's photograph and statement, below, illustrate this.

And she is the one who said:

> I want you to take me a picture. So that people can see what happens to us. She wanted to look over there so no one would recognize her. Metro police is harassing street vendors. The way that they harass these people—take their fruits and lots of stuff—they make the children of the mother to starve. Maybe she doesn't have a husband. She is single mother and is trying to raise her kids by herself. She is trying to make something so that the kids can eat. It's not right. Many people think that Hillbrow is bad because of the people who live in Hillbrow but that is not true. Most people who live in Hillbrow are working hard and trying to make a life for themselves. The government and the police is what is hard. They don't care about us. They don't want to care because we are all ugly and poor in their eyes. So many Mamas live in Hillbrow because they can make a little money to feed their kids—so many good people. But, the city doesn't care. They don't want people to sell things on the street but they don't help with getting better jobs. Sometimes I think to myself, if I could talk to one of those big men that are in charge—I would want to know what they know about Hillbrow. Have they ever been and talked to anyone that lives in Hillbrow. They don't come here… they don't even know us.

Farmer (2004) suggests that 'structural violence embodies adverse events that are experienced by the people who live in poverty or are marginalized by racism, gender inequality, or a mix of all of the above' (p. 308). These adverse events include epidemic diseases and violations of human rights. Confidence argues that 'they (the City) don't care about us. They don't want to care because we are all ugly and poor in their eyes'. In the photo, Confidence appeared angry and disappointed. Her words flowed without pause, her eyes darted around and her hands shook slightly: 'If I could talk to one of those big men that are in charge—I would want to know what they know about Hillbrow. Have they been and talked to anyone that lives in Hillbrow. They don't come here … they don't even know us'. Confidence suggested that Hillbrow was a place that others, 'who have not suffered', could not understand.

In Hillbrow, structural violence and literal violence were connected to current and historical political systems. Confidence referred to gender inequality, police violence, the stigma of Hillbrow as a 'bad place' and

poverty. Many participants took photos of the living conditions in Hillbrow and the working conditions of sex workers, and their journal entries and interviews constantly returned to this theme. Beckerleg and Hundt (2004) explain how the violence that women sex workers experience is directly related to the economic and political systems of those countries. Women contrasted the healthy and unhealthy parts of Hillbrow. Some portrayed migrant experiences of pain and suffering, and experiences of police brutality; others focused on the beautiful aspects of Hillbrow, thereby deflecting the negative stereotypes to which Hillbrow, as a space, is subjected.

Often images of still water and dirty alleys seemed to be metaphors for how the city officials were not taking care of them or other residents of Hillbrow. The image below and Images 11–13 (http://workingthecity.wordpress.com/migration-mobility-and-health-in-the-city-a-focus-on-johannesburg-south-africa/) illustrate some of the many photographs taken during the workshop of Hillbrow.

Many participants addressed issues of homelessness. Some of the women took pictures of homeless people as a way to criticize the living conditions of some Hillbrow residents, whereas others highlighted their appreciation for the 'homeless kids' and explained occasions when homeless youth rescued them from dangerous situations. Some women shared their own experiences of being homeless and their fears of living on the street: Thembi described a near-fatal rape; it was the homeless kids that came to her rescue. She stated, 'They heard me screaming and they came running. They ran after the man and got my purse. If it weren't for those kids I would be dead… Me, I love the homeless kids. They help me so much' (Thembi). Confidence also spoke warmly of the homeless youth in Hillbrow. When she explained the image below, Confidence said, 'When I am walking alone at night and I am afraid, I ask them to walk with me and they keep me safe. I pay them twenty rand and they walk me wherever I need to go'. She said that when she needs help carrying heavy things in and out of her room, she pays one of the young people who live on the street to help her, or she gives them food: 'Sometimes they prefer that I go and buy the food myself because they are not comfortable going into the grocery store. People look at them and think that they are going to steal'. This raises questions of belonging. In this case, Confidence, a sex worker who is disenfranchised in many spaces, is able to walk freely into a grocery store and buy food without much harassment, whereas homeless people risk being asked to leave and/or refused service because of the stigma associated with their living situation(s).

Throughout the project, women highlighted issues of structural violence. The images at times appeared to be metaphorical representations of their experiences, spaces and histories. Other times, the images spoke directly to the issue of structural violence. Goffman defines stigma as 'a significantly discrediting attribute' (1963: 2), and argues that there are three types of stigma: (1) a physical deformity; (2) a flaw or (perceived) characteristic such as an experience of mental illness, addiction, unemployment and radical political beliefs; and (3) an association to a particular race, ethnicity, nationality or religion (p. 4). If a person, or a group, conforms to mainstream beliefs then he/she is considered 'normal'; a person or group that deviates from the expected norms is considered 'abnormal'. Those who are considered 'abnormal' are often socially excluded and seen as stigmatized. Those who navigate society without this label create and perpetuate ideologies that seek to characterize those individuals with a stigma as inferior, dangerous and culpable for social decay.

Asserting that inner-group affiliations protect the self-concept, Crocker and Major (1989) criticize psychological theories that predict that people from stigmatized groups have lower self-esteem than those from non-stigmatized groups. An example of this can be seen in Iketlang's images and in her choice to disclose her HIV status to the group. Although a substantial amount of stigma exists with regard to sex work and HIV status, Iketlang challenged the stigma by placing her health conditions at the forefront of her photo story.

Images 14–16 (http://workingthecity.wordpress.com/migration-mobility-and-health-in-the-city-a-focus-on-johannesburg-south-africa/) were taken by Iketlang, and all refer to her health status and her explanation of how she believes she acquired HIV. Iketlang selected an image to be included in her final exhibition poster of a man with an erection, because it reminded her of her rapist. Iketlang did not share the same concerns as we did regarding the content of the image or the possibility that the man could be identified. She wanted this to be included in the exhibition to reflect her story. Although the research team ultimately chose to exclude the image, her contestation serves as another example of the importance of combining visual methodologies with interviews and field notes in order to gain a deeper understanding of the ways in which sex workers navigate stigma.

Iketlang decided to portray herself as both 'victim' and survivor and disclosed both that she had been raped and that she was living with HIV. Iketlang challenged the notion that sex workers cannot be raped, as

reported by the media and in mainstream discourse, and she used her rape and HIV status to bring attention to the abusive treatment that sex workers face.

Conclusion

The participants highlighted issues of stigma, structural violence, abuse, coping strategies, migration histories and trajectories into sex work throughout the project. The women in this study exposed us to ways in which they accept or reject stereotypes, their livelihood strategies and coping mechanisms, their dreams and aspirations, their experiences in Hillbrow, their tragedies with the police and their 'voice' which ultimately allowed them to (re)present themselves as they wanted. We see a fluctuation of reason and thoughts by the participants as they shared their experiences during—and after—their involvement in the project. Themes of disclosure, emotional processing, reflection and personal insight indicate a level of engagement that other methodologies struggle to reach. Thembile highlights this in her statement, 'When I tell my story, I am telling my story with my photo. Like when I was telling the story of how people are trying to rob me, I can show the picture of the place and inside me I know that story. I can tell it or not. But to me I am telling my story. This is important. And I like it because it is too important for me to do this'.

This study allowed the voices of migrant women sex workers in Hillbrow to be shared and documented through innovative strategies; however, the ethical challenges inherent in the use of such methods require caution. The study has produced a body of images that has, and continues to be, utilized in various reports, presentations and publications, thereby impacting the ways in which sex workers are understood, viewed and represented in South Africa. Through various public forums such as domestic and international conferences as well as visual and literary outreach, the images and accompanying captions continue to be utilized as a tool to facilitate discussion and unveil the lives of migrant women sex workers in inner-city Johannesburg. The study makes available critical insight for city planners, governmental officials, public health programmers, researchers and those working to promote social justice and health equity.

The exhibition offers policymakers, urban stakeholders, researchers and the public with a rare insight into the experiences of the participants. The participants in this study expressed that for them, sex work is work—a viable livelihood strategy that allows them to support themselves and their

families. However, the current context in which sex workers are working places them at increased risk for violence, abuse, HIV and discrimination. This study indicates a need for migrant sex workers to gain stigma-free access to public health services and to have feasible avenues for legal recourse in regard to police brutality, client abuse and employer malfeasance, and a need for sex work to be decriminalized.

Cities everywhere are a patchwork of increasingly crowded infrastructures, where a proliferation of impressions and interpretations of space and representation exist on multiple and intersecting levels. This study has shown, and argues, that although a wide range of discrepancies existed in how migrant women sex workers depict themselves, inner-city Johannesburg, specifically Hillbrow, played a defining role in how they explained, presented and represented themselves and their experiences of their urban space.

Notes

1. http://www.marketphotoworkshop.co.za/GALLERY/PastExhibitions/2010/WorkingtheCity/tabid/3257/language/en-US/Default.aspx
2. Images have been used in various academic and popular publications, including *Research for Sex Work Journal, African Women's Journal, Equal Treatment Magazine, Agenda Magazine, African Sex Worker Alliance, Sexual Health and Rights Initiative of South Africa* and *African Media and Diversity Journal*, to name a few. The project has also been selected to participate in various citywide art initiatives, including Goethe Institute's *Wide Angle*, an event that focused on the use of participatory photography as a tool for social awareness and public practice. 'Working the City' has been showcased at the *Drama For Life's Sex Actually Festival* in Johannesburg, South Africa, as well as several International Conferences including *1st International HIV Social Science and Humanities Conference*, Durban, South Africa: June, 2011; *International Association of Forced Migration Studies*, Kampala, Uganda: July 2011; and the *10th International Conference on Urban Health*, Minas Gerais, Brazil: November 2011.

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CHAPTER 8

Between Prosecutors and Counsellors: State and Non-state Actors in the Rehabilitation of Victims of Human Trafficking in Nigeria

Lanre Olusegun Ikuteyijo

Introduction

Migration in Nigeria has been described as multi-dimensional, considering the fact that the country has played different roles in international migration. Nigeria was a major destination country for most migrants during the late 1970s at the peak of the country's oil boom (Adepoju 2006). Later, Nigeria became a transit point as well as a country of origin for most migrants leaving the coasts of Africa. The prolonged period of military rule marked a major watershed in the history of emigration given the tyranny of the time and the attendant collapse of basic social and economic

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infrastructure. During that period, the nation was confronted with a myriad of challenges ranging from political instability, economic downturn and high levels of unemployment, to massive violation of human rights, and the introduction of harsh realities triggered by the introduction of strict policies such as the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). Many Nigerians resorted to migration as a panacea to resolve these challenges. Incidentally, the genesis of human trafficking in Nigeria has been linked to various socio-economic challenges witnessed in the country over this epoch (Carling 2006; Akinyemi and Ikuteyijo 2009). The involvement of Nigeria in the global human trafficking network is raising serious concerns as the country constitutes a major source, transit and destination site for trafficked victims. The case of human trafficking in Nigeria is peculiar in many ways. With a population of over 150 million, Nigeria stands as a country to be reckoned with in terms of development potential. Nigeria has been described as the demographic giant of Africa, not only because her population constitutes one-sixth of the total population of Africa, but because the country also plays crucial political as well as economic roles in Africa. Even as the country has often been labelled the "giant of Africa," her poverty rate is well over 70% (Nigerian Bureau of Statistics 2010), and she is plagued with a myriad of socio-economic challenges. Nigeria indeed paints an ideal picture of a country rife with several push factors for migration.

In an attempt to manage the scourge of human trafficking in the country, a number of policies and organizations have been established. For example, following the global response which was epitomized by the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (hereafter referred to as the Palermo Protocol) in 2000, Nigeria was the first African country to domesticate the Protocol. Consequently, the enactment of the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administration Act in 2003 demonstrated the political will of the Nigerian government to address the problem of human trafficking. The Law led to the creation of the National Agency for Prohibition of Traffic in Persons and Other Related Matters (NAPTIP) in August 2003. Likewise, the problem of human trafficking enjoyed much attention in the wake of the creation of NAPTIP as many programmatic efforts were put together to address the problem.

However, despite the enormous human and material resources invested by the country in the fight against human trafficking, Nigeria remains a major source and transit country for trafficked victims. This chapter therefore discusses the roles played by the major players in the management of

human trafficking in a country with a view to addressing some fundamental challenges in the rehabilitation of trafficked victims and prosecution of traffickers in the country. To this end the activities of two governmental agencies, Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS) and National Agency for Prohibition of Traffic in Persons and Other Related Matters (NAPTIP) and the two foremost non-governmental organizations involved in the rehabilitation of returnee trafficked victims (Women Trafficking and Child Labour Eradication Foundation (WOTCLEF) and IDIA Renaissance), were examined. The study also reviewed the literature on some socio-cultural factors influencing human trafficking in Nigeria, policy framework in managing migration in Nigeria and, finally, appropriate recommendations suggested to ameliorate the problem of human trafficking in Africa's largest source of trafficked victims.

Data and Methods

The data for this chapter were generated from a larger study which examined the patterns and processes of irregular migration among Nigerian youth. While the larger study made use of both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection, the data for this chapter derived from the qualitative aspect which includes interviews with major state and non-state agencies in charge of managing human trafficking, which is a major form of irregular migration in Nigeria. Key informant interviews were conducted with the Comptroller of Immigrations in the Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS), two Directors in the National Agency for Prohibition of Traffic in Persons and Other Related Matters, and Directors of two non-governmental organizations involved with management of human trafficking (Women Trafficking and Child Labour Eradication Foundation (WOTCLEF) and IDIA Renaissance). The interviews were later transcribed and analysed using Atlas.ti software. Secondary data were also obtained from policy chapters of the organizations as well as other published documents.

Brief Literature Review

Human Trafficking in Africa

There is no gainsaying the fact that the African continent needs urgent innovative solutions to combat forced labour and human trafficking (ILO 2013). Most African countries constitute one or more source, transit and destination countries for trafficked victims, and this increasing

involvement in the global human trafficking network raises serious concerns for policy makers and migration scholars. In the southern part of Africa, human trafficking is rampant in three main countries, namely, South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Human trafficking is thriving in South Africa as a result of the following factors: poverty, child and female oppression, limited border security and sexual myths. In Southern Africa, human trafficking takes various forms including sexual exploitation, forced labour, slavery and domestic servitude (World Bank 2009). The National Prosecution Authority of South Africa (2010) identified four major streams of human trafficking flows in South Africa: trafficking to South Africa from outside of Africa, trafficking to South Africa from within Africa, trafficking within the national borders of South Africa and trafficking that uses South Africa as a transit point to other countries.

In the eastern part of Africa, human trafficking is dominated by Uganda and Kenya as source and transit countries for women working as prostitutes in the Gulf states (Adepoju 2005). There are established syndicates run by foreign businessmen, who specialize in trafficking young girls to Europe. In the Horn of Africa, human trafficking is exacerbated by the natural and human induced catastrophes that have threatened peace and stability in the region (Manian 2010). It is, however, more worrisome that victims of human trafficking in the region often undergo dual victimization arising from the conflict in the environment as well as the exploitation of their bodies in violation of their human rights.

Meanwhile, in West Africa, Nigeria, Ghana and Senegal have been identified as source, transit and destination countries for trafficked women and children (Adepoju 2005). There is an established network of traffickers who run the business around the West African hub. Nigeria, Mali, Burkina Faso, Mauritania and Togo constitute the major source countries for child labour, while the major countries of origin for prostitution are Nigeria and Togo (Anarfi 2001; Adepoju 2005). Apart from the hubs within the subregion, traffickers also "export" children and young women to some countries in Europe and the Gulf states (Taylor 2002; ILO 2003; HRW 2003, De Haas 2008). In fact, De Haas (2008) noted that out of the 27,000 migrants apprehended by Moroccan police in 2004, over half were of West African origin, with most migrants coming from the Gambia, Ghana, Mali and Senegal, respectively, while over 90% of migrants apprehended by Algerian authorities between 2002 and 2003 migrated from West Africa (Simon 2006; De Haas 2008).

More recently on the 3rd of October 2013, the news media were inundated with the news of the death of over 300 African migrants in a shipwreck off the Italian Island of Lampedusa.

National Frameworks for Managing Migration in Nigeria

Nigeria's response to international migration could best be described as lenient as far as policies and legal frameworks are concerned. The nature of migration dynamics which was prominent for a while in the country was the rural–urban drift, which resulted from unequal development arising from the urban bias in development inherited from the colonial masters. Rural residents, especially youth, often move en masse to the urban areas in search of "greener pastures." Similarly, the emergence of criminal networks which specialized in the trafficking of children from the rural areas to urban centres also cashed in on the unequal access to resources between the rural and urban centres. For a long time, children were moved from rural areas to the urban areas in the guise of taking them to further their education or put them in apprenticeship programmes. However, the trend assumed a different dimension with the proliferation of bogus migration agents who specialize in facilitating migration abroad. In Nigeria, where the unemployment rate is steadily rising especially among youth (Adepoju 2010; Ikuteyijo 2012), the propensity to migrate among youth becomes amplified. The governments at both federal and state level had over the years created some initiatives to combat the scourge of unemployment and indirectly reduce the propensity of youth to migrate. At the national level, the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) was established in 1986 with the following mandates: to design and implement programmes to combat mass unemployment; to articulate policies aimed at developing work programmes with labour intensive potentials; to obtain and maintain a data bank on vacancies and employment opportunities in the country with other government agencies; and to implement any other policy as may be laid down, from time to time, by the Directorate (Adebisi and Oni 2012).

Although NDE had empowered a number of Nigerian youth through its National Open Apprenticeship Scheme (NOAS), the structural problems in the country have made it impossible for the youth to thrive in the respective skills acquired. Prominent among these institutional bottlenecks is the crisis in the energy sector, most visibly in the power sector. The programme has therefore left much to be desired.

At the state level, different state governments have also introduced similar youth empowerment schemes, but the effects of these programmes have little or no impact on youth migration due to lack of political will and insincerity on the part of the government (most of the programmes were politically motivated). Given the failure of these employment schemes, the unemployment situation among the youth in the country continues to worsen; hence, many youth have opted for an alternative in looking for the "golden fleece" abroad.

Socio-Cultural Factors Influencing Human Trafficking

In Nigeria, there are certain cultural practices and beliefs which fuel human trafficking and some of them are discussed as follows.

Child fostering

Nigeria has a history of the extended family system where the practice of child fostering, a situation whereby children are given away or put in the care of an extended family member like an aunt or uncle or other relatives, is widespread (Asiwaju 2008). While seen as a natural part of the extended family system, child fostering occurs in various dimensions. It is common for a member of a family who resides in the urban centre to go to the countryside to recruit children with the promise of formal education or apprenticeship in a trade or vocational skill (Veil 1998; Adepoju 2005; Adepoju and Van der Wiel 2010). While it is indubitable that some people migrated and became established in the cities through this means, contemporary events have proved that this practice is one that sustains the human trafficking network. Usually, agents of traffickers go to interior parts of the country to lure unsuspecting children under various guises, and most of these children end up being sold into the domestic labour market. Though the government of Nigeria once tried the idea of proscribing the use of underaged children as domestic servants, such efforts hardly saw the light of day. In Edo State—an infamous hub of human trafficking in Nigeria—most of the trafficked victims were lured by relatives who promised their parents to either enrol them in schools or arrange for apprenticeship schemes for them in the urban centres or outside the country. Child fostering or placement could also be laden with religious undertones/sentiments. For instance, it is a common practice in some parts of Northern Nigeria for children to be placed under the tutelage of Islamic teachers. The US State Department (2009) estimated that there were 2 million such children in

the northern parts of Nigeria (Adepoju and Van der Wiel 2010). These children often take to a lifestyle of begging due to lack of adequate care and attention, making them vulnerable to trafficking for the purpose of forced labour, prostitution and begging, mostly in urban centres and sometimes outside their countries (Aderinto 2003; Adepoju 2005). In Nigeria, this category of children also constitutes an easy resource for politicians to foment trouble, especially as witnessed in some states in the northern parts of Nigeria.

Child marriage and forced marriage

Forced marriage is any marriage which is conducted without the consent of one or both parties. Forced marriage usually involves some form of duress, which could either be physical or emotional. The Child Rights Convention (CRC) defines a child as any person under the age of 18, and it is assumed that children are not able to make fully informed choices about marriage; hence, pushing them to marry at that age is akin to forced marriage. Forced marriage is part of the socio-cultural practices influencing human trafficking in Nigeria. Forced marriage is supported in many cultures under the guise of protecting women (mostly young girls) from abuse and immorality (UNFPA 2005). The practice, which usually involves children, has been described by the CRC as a violation of children's basic rights and leads to discrimination against the female child, who is often deprived of her rights to health, education, development and equality. Child marriage is most prevalent in some parts of the country, and it is very common in rural areas and among poor people (Population Council 2002; UNFPA 2005). Child and forced marriage is a practice with deep historical roots and in modern times constitutes a demand for human trafficking. Trafficking networks across Nigeria are cashing in on the prevalence of child and forced marriages to perpetuate their human trafficking. Unlike in some Asian countries where forced marriages are used to traffic young girls due to the skewed sex ratio associated with the population policy of one child per family and a strong son preference, human trafficking in Nigeria often involves sex and labour exploitation.

Polygyny and breakdown in family values

Another socio-cultural factor influencing human trafficking in Nigeria is polygyny. This is a family system whereby a man marries more than one woman and is a common practice across African cultures. The issue is not, however, with the practice itself but with the tendency to produce

a number of children beyond the man's economic ability to support them. This fact coupled with the influence of modernization, urbanization as well as breakdown in family values contributes to human trafficking. Previously, it was tacitly forbidden for a child to leave his/her parents without their consent, or, worse still, for the child to stay where the parents could not in any way monitor the child's upbringing. However, it is now common for parents to abandon their duties of socializing their children, while other institutions like schools, religious institutions and peers have taken over the role of parents as primary agents of socialization. Lastly, the once cherished notion of "family integrity" whereby family members deplored any one who would bring ignominy to the family name is no longer considered relevant. Today, people engage in all sorts of activities to make ends meet irrespective of the effect on their family names. The unbridled craving for wealth has compounded the issue, and well-known human traffickers are celebrated and eulogized rather than reproved. Though polygyny has always been part of traditional Nigerian societies, at this point in history, the problem is not polygyny per se but the fact that the traditional structures and social orientations that supported the institutions have either been broken down or are no longer adequate given trends in modernization and urbanization.

Traditional belief system about witchcraft

The belief that children can be possessed by evil spirits is widespread in some parts of Africa (Mathias and McCabe 2010). Accusation of witchcraft leads to child abandonment and vulnerability to trafficking, and as such, children essentially become street children, who beg, steal or prostitute to survive (End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and the Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes (ECPAT-UK 2008; Mathias and McCabe 2010). In the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, particularly in Akwa Ibom State, Foxcroft (2009) observed that "In Oron Local Government area of the state, where the belief in child 'witches' is rampant; there are frequent 'disappearances' of abandoned street children. The coastal area acts as a hotbed for child prostitution, with many boats travelling along the Gulf of Guinea using this area as a stopping off point. Many of these children are shipped to the Gabon and Equatorial Guinea to work on plantations. This belief is called different names including *ogbanje*, *abiku* and *emere*." Unfortunately, most of these children share some common characteristics; they are usually orphans and

from poor families (Foxcroft 2009: 10). Unfortunately, the management of human trafficking in Nigeria, more often than not, has failed to recognize all these cultural factors in the management of the scourge.

State Apparatuses in the Management of Human Trafficking in Nigeria in the Pre-Palermo Era

For the purpose of this chapter, Pre-Palermo Era refers to the period before the Palermo Protocol was signed in 2000. As stated earlier, it was in the spirit of this Protocol that the Nigerian government established the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administration (TIP) Law, which led to the creation of the National Agency for Prohibition in Traffic in Persons and Other Related Matters (NAPTIP). Prior to the year 2003, when the TIP Law was enacted, persons arrested in connection with human trafficking and related offences were prosecuted under the general criminal legislations available in Nigeria (Asiwaju 2008). These legislations include the Criminal Code in Southern Nigeria and the Penal Code in Northern Nigeria. The crime of human trafficking violates the Criminal Code, which provides for sanctions against "whoever trades in prostitution; facilitates the transport of human beings within or outside Nigeria for commercial sexual exploitation; and makes profits from related activities." Similarly, the Penal Code provides for "imprisonment for the buying or disposing of slaves, and unlawful compulsory labour."

However, there were inherent limitations in the adequacy of the existing legislations to prosecute the problem of irregular migration. Hence, most offenders took advantage of loopholes in the legislations to escape conviction since the laws were not made to address the challenges of irregular migration, prominent among which was human trafficking. Relevant sections of the Criminal Code which were applicable to issues relating to human trafficking were sections 516, 419 and 390. What prosecutors did then was to identify elements of trafficking, and offenders were prosecuted regarding the specific crime identified. For example, identified offences could include conspiracy in cases involving a criminal network, obtaining something under false pretence and intent to defraud (Asiwaju 2008). Similarly, it was difficult to convict anyone under these offences on the uncorroborated testimony of only a witness. Moreover, there was no provision for the protection of those who volunteered to stand as witnesses.

Findings and Results

Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS)

The statutory body responsible for the management of migration in Nigeria is the Nigeria Immigration Services (NIS). The NIS was recruited from the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) in 1958. Then, the body was known as the Immigration Department and was headed by the Chief Federal Immigration Officer (CFIO). At the inception of the department, its scope was limited to the issuance of visas and it maintained a low profile. In 1963, the NIS was formally established by an Act of Parliament (Cap 171, laws of the Federation of Nigeria).[1] Since then, the service has undergone a number of restructurings and reformations towards better implementation of modern migration management. It is responsible for the regulation of movement of people within and outside the country. The NIS has been working in conjunction with a number of institutions (both governmental and non-governmental) to control various forms of irregular migration, prominent among which is human trafficking. The Nigerian Immigration Service has introduced a number of innovations in the fight against irregular migration since the phenomenon became a social problem in Nigeria as well as in the subregion. One of the major successes achieved by the NIS is the signing of bilateral and multilateral agreements with many destination countries regarding the deportation of Nigerians. Prior to this arrangement, it was common for the media to report several cases of human rights violations against Nigerian migrants. A number of cases were cited by Atsenuwa and Adepoju (2010).[2]

The NIS is faced with a number of challenges[3] in the fight against human trafficking but the most common or pronounced is the porous nature of Nigerian borders. There are about 1,975 unofficial borders in Nigeria which are not manned by immigration officers due to logistics reasons (Vanguard 2012). Another challenge facing the Immigration Service is the activities of smugglers and their collaboration in most cases with corrupt migration officials. The involvement of organized crime in the smuggling of irregular migrants is a sensitive and controversial issue (UNODC 2011). The strict policies in destination countries have driven many migrants into the hands of smugglers, who frequently work in conjunction with corrupt migration officials. Interestingly, the smugglers/traffickers are called “connection men” and some of them were serving immigration officers.

Yet another challenge facing the NIS is the lack of motivation of immigration officers. Officers of the service reportedly often feel inferior when they work with immigration personnel from neighbouring countries. Sadly, "poorer" countries' immigration officers tend to be more motivated than their Nigerian counterparts. Furthermore, the teething problems associated with the issuance of the new biometric passports are giving the NIS a big problem in the control of movement across Nigerian borders. Lastly, there are many loopholes in the Immigration Act which regulates the movement of people within and outside the country. For instance, Section 1 (1) placed more emphasis on immigration than on emigration, which concerns human trafficking.

National Agency for Prohibition of Traffic in Persons and Other Related Matters (NAPTIP)

The National Agency for Prohibition of Traffic in Persons and Other Related Matters (NAPTIP) was created by Section 1 (1) of the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) and Administration Act, 2003, as amended, and is the focal agency in the fight against human trafficking and child labour in Nigeria. NAPTIP, a Federal Agency established in 2004, is mandated to investigate, arrest and prosecute suspects of human trafficking; counsel and rehabilitate victims of human trafficking; enlighten the public and liaise with partners to eradicate human trafficking in Nigeria. Providing solutions to migration issues subsequently addresses the issue of human trafficking, which is an offshoot of migration. Since the establishment of NAPTIP, a number of arrests have been made but corresponding prosecution numbers have not been recorded. This is due to the fact that gathering information that leads to prosecution of traffickers and people violating the Child Rights Act has been a tough challenge for the body. Moreover, the victims are usually reluctant to stand as witnesses in court due to fear of reprisal attacks from criminal cartels.

Financially, the amount needed to rehabilitate a victim of trafficking is enormous as such a victim is expected to be monitored to ensure adequate reintegration into society. To meet this requirement, the officers in charge of such a victim would need to be given enough funds to pay regular visits to the victim. Another challenge facing NAPTIP is the *trust syndrome*. Most of the returnees would rather cooperate with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) instead of NAPTIP. Some of the victims perceive the agency as a stumbling block to their bid to travel

overseas,[4] being an arm of government. Some destination countries, especially EU countries, also did not help matters as they preferred to partner more with NGOs due to the human rights issues involved in trafficking and smuggling.[5]

Furthermore, at the conception stage of the Anti-Trafficking Act, the crime targeted was mainly human trafficking, but the proliferation of the phenomenon of human smuggling now involves situations whereby young men and women deliberately patronize organized criminal networks specialized in helping people to cross borders illegally. This process is human smuggling and is not recognized in the Act. Likewise, other dimensions of trafficking like baby factories (where young girls are groomed to have babies for sale) were not recognized in the Act. Lastly, the lack of support from most victims and their families in the process of investigation and refusal to stand as witnesses in the court presents a major challenge in the prosecution of traffickers.

The Women Trafficking and Child Labour Eradication Foundation (WOTCLEF) and IDIA Renaissance

The Women Trafficking and Child Labour Eradication Foundation (WOTCLEF) and IDIA Renaissance are the two foremost non-governmental organizations in the area of human trafficking in Nigeria for a number of reasons. The two NGOs played key roles in the promulgation of Anti-Trafficking Laws at the national and state level. WOTCLEF actually sponsored the Bill that led to the establishment of NAPTIP, while IDIA Renaissance lobbied for the passage of the Anti-Trafficking and Prostitution Bill as well as the domestication of the Child Rights Act in Edo State.[6] Incidentally, both NGOs were run by wives of prominent politicians (WOTCLEF by the wife of a former vice-president of Nigeria, while IDIA renaissance is run by the wife of a former governor in Edo State).

WOTCLEF serves as a rallying point of all Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) involved in anti-human trafficking programmes in Nigeria. The Network of Civil Society Organizations Against Child Trafficking, Abuse and Labour (NACTAL) has its secretariat at the headquarters of WOTCLEF in Abuja, Nigeria. WOTCLEF takes care of returnee migrants who were trafficked outside the country for prostitution and children who were trafficked internally as domestic workers and for other forms of child labour. A number of success stories have been recorded by the organization

whereby returnee migrants have been integrated into society. IDIA Renaissance on its part has enabled some returnee trafficked migrants to reintegrate with members of their families, while they have also empowered some trafficked migrants with various skills and equipped them for self-sufficiency.

Both WOTCLEF and IDIA Renaissance were faced with similar challenges, prominent among which was funding. Interestingly, the problem of funding for both organizations became pronounced after the exit of the spouses of both founders from political administration at their respective levels. The fact that the founders of both organizations were wives of politicians had many implications as the goodwill enjoyed by the organization was only short-lived. Political interference in the affairs of the organizations was another major challenge common to both bodies. The programme officer of WOTCLEF reported several episodes of victimization where the organization was denied assistance due to their link with a politician who was seen as in "opposition" to the mainstream political elites. The programme officer of IDIA Renaissance complained of not receiving any form of assistance from the Edo State government despite the fact that the state was infamous for human trafficking.

Discussion of Findings and Recommendations

Nigeria's management of human trafficking continues to face considerable challenges on financial, legal and political fronts. Financially, the Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS) is underfunded, resulting in difficulties in managing human trafficking along Nigeria's porous borders. Not only is there inadequate funding for staff of the NIS to patrol borders, but the agency also lacks modern technology to monitor the movement of people across the country's borders. On the legal front, NAPTIP works closely with other agencies to rescue and rehabilitate human trafficking victims and prosecute traffickers—but faces numerous challenges.

Although NAPTIP has made a significant number of arrests since its establishment in 2003, its record on prosecuting traffickers has been low. This is mostly due to difficulties in collecting evidence to successfully prosecute traffickers. Additionally, gathering evidence from witnesses is difficult as most witnesses and their relatives are reluctant to stand as witnesses due to intimidation by the criminal cartels involved in human trafficking. Moreover, most of the returnee migrants (especially deported migrants) see NAPTIP from the perspective of a "prosecutor"; hence, they cooperate more with NGOs than any state-based organization. This buttressed

the need for clearly stated roles for all agents of government and, if possible, a separation of victim counselling from prosecution of traffickers (both currently handled by NAPTIP). Such a separation would make way for effective prosecution of traffickers and the cooperation of victims, who currently see NAPTIP as a law enforcement agency whose duty is to punish criminals.

There is need to update the legislation on human trafficking as the existing law (TIP Act 2003, amended in 2005)[7] only has provisions for the prosecution of perpetrators of "trafficking" but is silent on "smuggling." Both acts invoke separate issues and require separate approaches—especially given the human rights implications of human trafficking and the criminal implications of human smuggling.

The TIP Act should also be amended to cater for a number of other issues like separation of law enforcement from counselling functions of NAPTIP, as well as protection of victims and their relatives. This will increase their trust and feeling of safety. This is important to address the issue of irregular migration in the form of human trafficking and smuggling. Similarly, the amendment should reflect new dimensions in human trafficking as shortcomings in the existing law still allow traffickers to beat some of its provisions. For example, Section 11 of the law stipulates that only "children" (defined as any person under the age of 18 years) qualify as victims of human trafficking. In other words, anyone over 18 years of age is considered an adult and as far as that law is concerned, adults cannot be trafficked. As a result, traffickers have resorted to training victims to lie about their age. The problem is further compounded by poor national record keeping, making it difficult to establish the correct ages of many children and adults in Nigeria.

Although Nigeria was the first African country to domesticate the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, it has not yielded commensurate results in the fight against human trafficking in Nigeria to justify the resources invested. Nigeria still accounts for one of the highest stocks of victims of human trafficking from the subregion. Recently, the nation's efforts at fighting human trafficking suffered a setback as the country was downgraded from Tier 1 to Tier 2 status in the United States' State Department 2012 Trafficking in Persons Report because of the allegation that the Nigerian government did not fully comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of human trafficking.

Moreover, since globalization entails that the world is literally reduced to a global village, it is equally imperative to re-examine most of the existing international laws on international migration. Taking, for instance, the European Union, which is one of the major destination regions for victims of human trafficking, the overall actions against trafficking in persons are underpinned by the retributory approach in criminal justice as the main aim is the suppression of the practice through criminalization. This is quite similar to most national responses to human trafficking but this is not enough. Efforts should go beyond criminalization of human trafficking, punishment and strict migration laws aimed at reducing the flow of irregular migrants. Efforts should be made to address a range of wider issues related to human trafficking, for example, corruption, breakdown in social values as well as other cultural and structural factors responsible for human trafficking.

Finally, the national migration policy plan of Nigeria is still in the draft phase. The absence of an official policy has inhibited the development of a migration plan to address the problem of irregular migration, particularly human trafficking and its consequences. The plan is expected to establish an agency to coordinate the activities of all stakeholders in the management of migration and policy implementation; to provide adequate information to promote regular migration; to create a database of Nigerian diaspora; and to promote more effective border control practices. Similarly, the current Anti-Human Trafficking Law is grossly inadequate to address the ingenuities of perpetrators of the crime, and hence the urgent need to amend the Law to reflect present social realities. However, in order for the Law to be more effective, wide consultations with all stakeholders will need to take place and inform implementation. These groups include youth, religious bodies, non-governmental organizations, academia, local and international civil societies and other relevant organizations.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the roles of key players in the management of human trafficking in Nigeria, a major source country for the global human trafficking network. Socio-cultural factors which exacerbate human trafficking were also discussed, as well as the challenges facing the key players. The demographic status of Nigeria entails that the nation manages its population well by providing adequate basic infrastructure and ensures

that the high number of youth are gainfully engaged. Likewise the mindset of an average youth that there is an "Eldorado" out there should also be corrected if the war on human trafficking is to be won in the country. The issue of ignorance should be addressed as most of the victims of human trafficking are often lured by traffickers who promise to get better education and employment for them, only to end up in the human trafficking net.

At the community level, cherished social values like hard work, honesty and integrity should be emphasized, while less emphasis should be placed on materialism and ostentatious living. The family as the primary unit of socialization should be empowered to ensure adequate orientation is given to children about social values and ethics of living.

At the national level, there should be conscious efforts aimed at introducing measures to educate the youth on legal migration options, and the need for empowerment of the youth should be emphasized. Although many state governments have introduced a number of programmes aimed at empowering the youth, such programmes should not end at the level of politics. Also, the National Orientation Agency and the Nigeria Immigration Service should be involved more in field visits to secondary schools and tertiary institutions to help vulnerable or potential migrants to understand the processes of human trafficking and proffer available and viable alternatives. Moreover, interagency cooperation should be intensified in order to stem the tide of human trafficking in the country. Policy response to human trafficking should be holistic in nature as the human rights perspective of human trafficking often takes a back seat relative to the criminal justice perspective.

At the level of civil societies, there should be mapping of all organizations involved in management of irregular migration and a kind of network formed to increase the level of cooperation and efficiency. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) can do better with collaboration with state bodies due to the level of confidence the returnee migrants have in the NGOs. NGOs should be less involved in politics and be more professional, even though that is difficult in a country where political "baggage" (patronage) determines access to resources.

In sum, there is an urgent need to create clearly defined divisions of activities between governmental and non-governmental organizations and to adopt a holistic policy response to human trafficking that balances a criminal justice approach with a human rights approach. The policy implementation also needs to be informed by social realities considering certain socio-cultural factors peculiar to the country.

Notes

1. The Nigeria Immigration Service (2013): *History of the Nigeria Immigration Service*. Available at the NIS website, http://www.immigration.gov.ng/index.php?id=3
2. Atsenuwa and Adepoju (2010) highlight a number of case studies whereby African migrants, especially Nigerians were deported in the most inhumane circumstances, often leading to the demise of the deported migrants.
3. These challenges were enumerated by the Comptroller of Immigration, NIS Headquarters, Abuja, Nigeria in an interview with the author.
4. The present arrangement is that NAPTIP prosecutes the traffickers under the law and also provides counselling services for victims. However, most victims are reluctant to cooperate with NAPTIP and they would rather cooperate with NGOs. This is having a serious impact on the prosecution of traffickers as well as the rehabilitation of victims.
5. Some EU destination countries reportedly work directly with NGOs due to human rights issues involved in human trafficking. In a situation where trafficked persons are perceived as victims, they are seen as needing counselling and rehabilitation rather than punishment, which they believe NAPTIP as a law enforcement agent would resort to if the victims were handed over to them.
6. Edo State is known as the hub of human trafficking in Africa (Carling 2006).
7. It is worthy of note that the Bill that led to the creation of NAPTIP was sponsored by the founder of WOTCLEF and was signed into law by the then president of Nigeria Olusegun Obasanjo only a week after the National Assembly passed the Bill. This development is, however, dwarfed by the fact that ten years after the Bill became a Law, it was only amended once in 2005.

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CHAPTER 9

Crossing Borders, Present Futures: A Study of the Life Histories of Pakistani Immigrants in Durban

Sasha Rai

Introduction

Pakistan has one of the largest diasporic communities in the world, with over five million first-generation Pakistani emigrants living all over the world, and the number of Pakistani children born outside Pakistan pushing that number up to about seven million (Ratha et al. 2011, p. 3), despite the fact that Pakistan was only established as a nation in 1947 as an independent Muslim territory separate from India and the Hindu-Muslim conflict which has existed there for centuries. After the civil war in 1971, which resulted in the secession of East Pakistan into what is now known as Bangladesh, the country's history has been marked by military rule, political instability and continuing conflicts with India. Issues of overpopulation, terrorism, religious extremism, poverty, illiteracy and government corruption have also contributed to Pakistan's ranking as one of the top ten diasporic communities in the world.

The largest Pakistani diasporic communities are in America, Europe and the Middle East, while about 1 per cent live and work in Africa.

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Almost 40,000 live in South Africa, a country rich in diasporic history. While South Africa has a multitude of diasporic communities currently living here, in large part due to the Chinese, Indian and Arabic migrations of free and indentured labour during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries of colonial rule, Pakistani migrancy has little to do with the historic British need for cheap plantation labour. Reasons for Pakistani emigration are more contemporary, with social issues of poor health care and educational opportunities, lack of utilities, development issues, poor political leadership and lack of security are frequently mentioned as reasons for the working class to leave Pakistan (Khan et al. 2012, p. 94). The "push and pull" syndrome of migrancy is prevalent in every country, and the subsequent negative effects of migration are well known: loss of a labour force, fewer people driving scientific and economic growth and so on. But in a country that is as underdeveloped as Pakistan, it becomes a more serious issue, as the loss of skilled and semiskilled labour as well as human capital becomes detrimental to the development of Pakistan. However, many Pakistani people are still determined to leave, and to seek better opportunities in places such as America, Europe and the Middle East, as well as South Africa and the Far East.

Pakistani people in South Africa, and in Durban in particular, have a rich and vibrant community, and it is the lives and stories of some of these people which this chapter wishes to examine. This chapter will first report the findings of each of the interviews, and then examine the common themes and shared experiences of people who come from different walks of life but who all share the same cultural heritage and national history. I will also briefly examine some of the contentious aspects surrounding the use of oral history as a methodological tool for historical analysis as well as a way of informing people about the lives and stories of ordinary historical narratives which do not conform to the "Great Man Tradition" of oral history.

The Formation and Significance of the South Asian Diaspora: The Pakistani Experience

The South Asian diaspora, which forms part of the Indian Oceans historiography, is a relatively new area of historical exploration. The study of diasporic or "deterritorialised" or "transnational" communities, that is, those communities that have originated in countries which differ from those within which the community resides and whose political, social, cultural and economic

affiliations cross national and geographic borders, remained relatively unexplored. In recent years, the emerging recognition of these displaced populations has brought the study of the diaspora to a supplementary or, as James Clifford argues, potentially equal standing to the discourse of the minority group (Vertovec 1997, p. 277), with all its variables and factors—social, economic, geographic, racial and so on. "However, the current overuse and under-theorization of the notion of 'diaspora' among academics, transnational intellectuals, and 'community leaders' alike which sees the term become a loose reference conflating such categories as immigrants, guest-workers, ethnic and 'racial' minorities, refugees, expatriates and travellers" (Vertovec 1997, p. 277) has made the study of any single diasporic community more difficult. The lack of theoretical framework within which to frame research, as well as the relatively smaller number of academics looking at transnational groups as compared to, for example, contributions towards the discourse of minorities, leaves little room for structuring and contextualising research.

Vertovec proposes in his work that three definitions of "diaspora" can currently be applied to any historical work seeking to contribute to the narrative of displacement which is becoming increasingly common in the larger globalised community. He hypothesises that diasporas occur as a form of social displacement; as the result of physical transplantation; as a type of consciousness, wherein the sense of self becomes displaced and often takes on a paradoxical or dual nature which is often influenced by experiences in the country of settlement; and as a mode of cultural production, as a result of multiculturalism and cross-cultural communications which result in new ethnic groups who either re-traditionalise or creolise their cultural, social and religious identities to reflect the essence of original texts and cultural practices or to engage with their present situations and localities.

Transnational migration in the context of Indian oceans historiography and particularly in reference to South Asians can be imagined and analysed as two major migratory patterns: the indentured labour and passenger Indians of nineteenth-century colonial plantations and the migrant workers attracted to urban spaces in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. While labour migration on a large scale has occurred frequently throughout history, largely as the result of the development of an increasingly capitalistic world economy, and exacerbated by European colonial expansion, considerably more attention has been paid to the Atlantic systems of labour migration which began with African slavery. Comparatively, the

study of Indian and Chinese migrants, along with the deterritorialisation of other minority communities, remains an area of limited historical analysis. While fewer South Asians were displaced by imperial expansion and indenture, and represent only a fraction of displaced ethnicities, South Asian communities are divided into their own subsets—based on communal factors of religion, caste, linguistics, geography and so on—and their impact on the formation of larger, more racially and culturally pluralistic societies, that is, their significance as a mode of cultural production, can only be understood if examined through a study of migratory intersectionality. Major features of the analysis of South Asian groups must then take into consideration not only colonial and postcolonial contexts but also "the salience of race and culture versus class, the role of race and religion as keys to identity, the scope of civil rights as the basis for ethnic incorporation, and the relationship of gender roles to class and race differentiation" (Clarke et al. 1990, p. xix).

This is not to say that the patterns of development of South Asian diasporic communities are not without their commonalities. Hans Speckmann determined in 1965, in his work on Suriname Asian Indians, several trends which could be used to analyse the trajectory of South Asian transnational groups. These five trends include (Clarke et al. 1990, p. 3):

> (1) immigration (causing social disarray…); (2) acculturation (a reorientation of traditional institutions and the adoption of new ones); (3) establishment (growth in numbers, residential footing and economic security); (4) incorporation (increased urban social patterns and the rise of a middle class); and (5) accelerated development (including greater occupational mobility, educational attainment, and political representation).

While this methodological framework of analysis is not without limitations, it provides an excellent practical starting point for an analysis of any diasporic community and migratory trends which impact the development of transnational communities, being essentially an analysis of the reasons for migration and experiences of settlement, assimilation and creolisation of the religious and cultural identity, and how the life experiences of the individual and community differed in the country of origin and the country of settlement.

The importance of citizenship and religion, as well as gender, to the formation of the transnational psyche cannot be stressed enough, and much of the diasporic dialogue is centred on this sense of displacement

and identity formation, which contributes to a larger understanding of the political and mobilising dimensions of societies formed under conditions which are simultaneously pluralising and isolating. In particular, the South Asian diaspora is significant for the emphasis it places on international migration as a contemporary issue, but also for the way it highlights the fragmented and different contexts, experiences and trajectories of the development of South Asian diasporic communities around the world, and emphasises the importance of the widely divergent historical contexts which shape these differing experience (Van der Veer 1995, p. 1). However, Werbner (2002, p. 119) argues that while diasporas may be heterogeneous in their geographic or cultural development, there remains a sense of homogeneity in the concerns of all transnational communities which moves the diasporic dialogue to a level deeper than the analysis of life histories as proposed by Speckmann and implies that there are larger lessons to be taken from the larger transnational experience.

> Despite the fact that contemporary diasporas are marked by their heterogeneity, diasporic communities located in democratic nation-states do share a commitment to struggle for enhanced citizenship rights for themselves, and for co-diasporics elsewhere, often lobbying Western governments to defend their human rights. This may well be a defining feature of postcolonial diasporas in the West,

albeit one which is not dealt with in considerable detail in this chapter, as much of the research surrounding this phenomenon places these diasporas in first world western countries, rather than in the developing South Africa within which this chapter is focused.

The South Asian diasporic experience is one which showcases the complexities and contradictions which exist in any transnational space where constantly shifting historical contexts work to continually redefine geopolitical social spaces which work towards identity formation. With major political powers such as Britain and the United States enforcing stricter immigration laws and strengthening their borders to keep illegal immigrants out, while treating legal migrant communities with suspicion and fear, particularly in a post-9/11 context, it is hardly surprising that much of the focus of diasporic discourse focuses on the relationship between these powers and the desires of transnational communities as outlined by Werbner.

Methodological Concerns and Constructions

This chapter is about crossing borders—not just the national borders which define and demarcate Pakistan and South Africa, but also those lines of division of ethics and power relations which so frequently come under fire in the field of oral history. The significance of the voice as a tool for empowerment and subsequently of oral methodologies as a tool for reconstructing historical discourses to reveal hidden narratives cannot be disregarded, for all the criticisms of oral methodology (some very valid) which exist. The origins of history lie with the oral traditions of African and Native American tribes, with the storytelling practices of cultures and communities stretching back to the beginning of human civilisation. Modern oral methodological techniques are a reflection of that ancient technique, emphasising the underlying principle of the voice as the medium of exchange and as the central way to place the individual at the centre of a narrative. Storytelling has for centuries provided people with a link to the past, a tangible connection to their ancestors and subsequently to the foundations of their communal cultural identities, and as with the oral traditions of the past, modern orality is a great tool for mapping the self in a historical sense by putting "the participant's experiences and perspectives centre stage" (Willemse 2010, p. 1) and allowing the speaker to direct the story in a way which is not based on western academic constructs and presuppositions. Through reading and writing against the grain, biographic narrative and, by extension, oral testimonies can be analysed for their articulated points, as well as their silences, gaps and hidden meanings, giving study to not only what is said but how the past is narrated. The move away from the assessment of people as predetermined composite objects defined by the group experience into the theory of how intersections influence the self reflects a growing understanding in academia that the interrelation of external and internal factors (race, gender, class, religion, etc.) is reflected heterogeneously in different experiences, and subsequently, that a homogenisation of personal experiences into a collective identity can distort historical narratives. Traditional recordings and interpretations of history have largely favoured the conquerors and the colonisers, and methodologies and historiographical evidence preserved by the powerful as a vindication of their power. Even now, political parties all over the world would like to revise history to suit their own purposes—South Africa's governing party, the African National Congress (ANC), has tried to rewrite South Africa's resistance history into an ANC

propaganda machine which places their leadership at the centre of the resistance in a way which does not reflect reality, in order to maintain popularity and power (Hyslop 2010, p. 104).

The ethics and power relations which shape these encounters are difficult to navigate, and while the goal of social history—to uncover the hidden histories of previously marginalised communities—seems like a noble one, particularly in a country with a history of blatant secrecy and disempowerment as pervasive as colonial and apartheid South Africa, at what point does this drive to uncover hidden histories become an invasion rather than a tool of empowerment? When historians need to write articles in order to support themselves, when there is a demand by universities for an ever increasing research output, the line between empowerment and exploitation of the life histories of communities for financial and academic gain becomes more difficult to define when faced with intransigence from communities and universities alike.

Social historians view their work as an attempt to find "hidden histories" which lie in the lived experiences and life histories of previously marginalised groups in an attempt to recover their agency and to democratise historical narrative, records of which have previously been used to support and legitimise hegemonic power structures. Tim Keegan, while acknowledging the potential unreliability of human memory—"given to error, misconception, elision, distortion, elaboration and downright fabrication"—also believes that it is an "indispensable source of evidence at the historian's disposal" which shows "some of the major forces of history at work, large social forces that are arguably the real key to understanding the past" (Minkley and Rassool 1998, p. 91) as it is narrated through personal experiences in ways which can allow for a more equal understanding of history. Paul Thompson argues that history provides a focus for people to understand the "upheavals and changes which they experience in their own lives: wars, social transformations like the changing position of youth, technological changes like the end of steam power, or personal migration to a new community" (Thompson 1988, pp. 21–22). History then becomes the lodestone by which identity and community can be formed and rooted, particularly during times of social upheaval. While oral history has significant contributory capacity in areas of political and economic history, it is social history in particular which benefits from the application of oral history paradigms and methodologies to the creation of historical narratives. One of its more significant uses as a tool of change is its cross-dimensional nature: "it can break down barriers between teachers

and students, between generations, between educational institutions and the world outside; and in the writing of history" (Thompson 1988, p. 22).

Without the interview to provide a fuller, richer, more comprehensive family history, much remains lost to historical understanding and what can be gleaned is often distorted, shallow and without much meaning (Thompson 1988, p. 25). That is not to say that the interview process is without problems, some of which I have discussed earlier, and which Dr. Willemse, in her work on Islamic women in Darfur, also expands on. While the demographics of her interviewees differ from mine in several ways, there are several points of intersection between her experiences and mine, not only in the interview process, but also in terms of ideology. A common criticism she has encountered comes from feminist critics of life histories who believe that the format of the biography is inherently western in nature and as a result can potentially distort a narrative since the power dynamic between the interviewer and interviewee is fraught with complexities and inequalities—the need to cross boundaries of educational, religious and cultural differences, the reliance of the interviewer on the information provided by the interviewee and the reticence of the interviewee to subject their personal narratives to scrutiny, analysis and sometimes unfavourable or misrepresentation by the interviewer. Each of these individuals has an agenda, and both must be taken into account when considering the interview as a viable resource for constructing historical narratives.

The kind of history I want to write is not hagiography or praise poetry. The kinds of historical narratives which turn the complex and complicated characters of the past into saintly icons or dastardly villains—tropes and archetypes—and which only chronicle great deeds is not the kind of history "which is respected in critical and academic circles; that kind of history is written by people on the payroll of interested parties, politician or the rich and famous; or it becomes the fuel of myopic politics of nationalists; or it has little interest outside a small circle of readers" (Waetjien 2016), a view which echoes the concerns of historians such as Hyslop (Hyslop 2010). That is not the objective of social historians and that is why I am going to talk about three people in a port city at the southern tip of Africa who are part of a larger story—a transnational diasporic community that came about as the result of blurred lines between politics and ideology, war and religion and social and economic failures in a country on another continent which have been continuing for as long as Pakistan has existed.

While this chapter is not an analysis of interview techniques, or a treatise on the viability of oral history as a historical methodology, I feel that these are important considerations for anyone who is starting out in oral

historiography, as I am, and so I have provided a brief overview here of some of the considerations—positive and negative—which have shaped how I have approached this chapter. These are significant in this context because the struggle to find willing interviewees, the need for external validation from a third party and the othering one feels in a culture and society which one seeks to analyse but with which you have little association can highlight the importance of attempting to cross these self- and externally imposed barriers which can make contact difficult, and in which differences in age, religion, educational and life experiences between the interviewee and interviewer can be both daunting and jarring. The dynamic of being a supplicant and subsequently having power of representation on the part of the interviewer and the reversal of that situation on the part of the interviewee can make for a powerful point of consideration when researching for and writing a chapter.

I have interviewed, for this short chapter, two men and one woman, all of whom migrated here from Pakistan. Finding interviewees who were willing to talk about themselves was particularly difficult during this time, and it was only due to the personal recommendations of a mutual acquaintance that introductions were made and connections established. I have gathered, from my experiences, that the Pakistani community is one that is close knit, and uninterested in the questions of a history student. It is because of this that I am presented with an interesting dilemma. I am a student steeped in social history who believes in the importance of recording the narratives of ordinary people in ordinary situations as a way of empowering the marginalised and re-establishing a sense of history separate from previous "Great Man histories" which give no indication of social and cultural factors which facilitate change outside the beliefs and actions of the 'chosen few' who have dominated our history books for so long. But at the same time, what can an oral historian do when faced with a community that has little or no interest in becoming articles for journals, or even accessible to the probes of analysis?

Findings

The first of my interviews is with Hamza, a 28-year-old man born in 1986 who emigrated from Pakistan to South Africa five years ago (Rai 2015a). Mame, my second interview, is a 46-year-old man from Pakistan who has been in South Africa for almost 30 years (Rai 2015b). My third and final interview for this chapter is with a woman, Fatima, who came to South Africa in 1994 and has, over the years, brought over 32 members of her

family to South Africa (Rai 2015c). What the rest of this chapter intends to do is first share the experiences narrated to me by each of these individuals, and then identify common themes and elements of contention within each of these, and from that, try to establish a conclusion about the lives of the Pakistani diasporic community in Durban, and how this relates to the larger transnational diaspora.

The interview schedule focused primarily on issues of demographics and the experience of migration, with several experiences being the same and many of them reflecting those of the larger diasporic community—particularly with issues in the home country. However, as there is comparatively little literature available on the Pakistani experience in South Africa, with most of the studies reflecting the lives of migrants in Europe, and particularly in Britain, framing the interviews within the larger Pakistani diaspora becomes more difficult.

Interview 1: Hamza (28)

Hamza, an unmarried 28-year-old man with no children, left Pakistan because of the violence he experienced there, particularly in light of the bombings which occurred frequently. He was and remains a practising Muslim and has experienced no changes in his religious observances. His family, with whom he lives, are also practising Muslims, despite having migrated to South Africa from different places. His grandmother is from Patala, India, and his grandfather from Amritsar. It is because of the large number of Pakistani people who originated from India that Pakistan also has a caste system, and he is of the "Arain" caste, but unlike in India, he says the Pakistani system is not graded, nor is it considered as significant to social interaction as it is in India. The Arain caste is historically exclusively Muslim, and people from this tribe are mostly found in the Punjab province. Hamza claims that his life in South Africa is easier, but without the help he received from his uncle when he arrived, it would have been difficult to start his new life due to having no foundations in a new place. His first time in a taxi by himself left him lost in central Durban—a pattern which continued several times by himself. However, he notes that he has never experienced any racial or cultural violence in town, even during the periods of xenophobic violence which made international headlines earlier this year. His migratory experiences were positive, as he felt nothing but excitement on the journey, having never been abroad before. Even the weather is considered favourable in comparison to that of

Pakistan. The people of Durban, Hamza says, are welcoming, friendly and easy to communicate with—a fact eased by his attempt to assimilate with local cultures by learning local languages, including Zulu—and they do not discriminate against him for either his Islamic faith or his immigrant status. In the five years he has been here, he has had very few problems.

Interview 2: Fatima

Fatima has been in South Africa since 1994 and has over the last 20 years brought 32 members of her family to South Africa from different areas of Pakistan. Not only is she responsible for facilitating their migration, she also employs them in various capacities in her company "Vanilla Music" where she retails various musical and audio supplies. Her business is supported by her community to the point where she now has five branches open across South Africa, and she enjoys strong trade with the African community who are particularly interested in Bollywood and other Indian movies. Her children were born here, one at King Edward VIII Hospital in Umbilo, Durban, and the other at McCord Hospital. Her brother's children are also natural South African citizens, as is his wife. Fatima describes South Africa as a welcoming place full of friendly people, and her family is much happier here than in Pakistan. Unfortunately the economic crisis of 2003 forced her to close one of the then six branches of her company, and while business is still good, she enjoys less financial success than previously. However, she still loves South Africa and while she has travelled around the country, she prefers Durban to places like Johannesburg and Cape Town. She has not learned any of the local languages but nevertheless has strong friendships within the community. One of her children is going to marry a white woman while the other is going to marry a Gujarati, and despite the religious and cultural differences, there is little friction or opposition within the family.

Interview 3: Mame

Mame is a 46-year-old married man from Pakistan who came to South Africa to escape the political instability of life in Pakistan as well as the frequent bomb attacks. He graduated from Karachi English Medium School with the equivalency of a matriculation at 20 and went to Digri College in Sindh where he graduated at 22, after which he moved here. He married at 25 to a South African woman who was of a different caste

than his Pathan caste. However, while caste exists in Pakistan, it is not the mark of difference that it is in India, and is only significant in arranged marriages. However, his marriage to his wife was both arranged and a love match and so their different castes did not pose an issue. Starting over in South Africa was difficult, but his brother—who also lives in Durban—helped him with the language differences when they worked together. Mame had heard of the violence in South Africa and for several months was afraid to leave his home for fear of being killed and worked from home for that period. However, he soon found the threat of violence to be a falsehood as he has experienced no problems with personal safety in either public transport or the central business district, and he is now able to navigate his way confidently and without concern. He has experienced some "shouting" at his workplace but nothing on a social level and has friends of all races. He has, however, experienced several robberies at his place of business which have impacted poorly on his already unstable finances and which made his pattern of sending money to his family in Pakistan more difficult. His lifestyle here differs in several ways including dress and religion. While in Pakistan both were enforced more strictly, things are more liberal in South Africa, though he remains a staunch Muslim and is active in the Muslim community who helped him during the early years of his transition. His faith also helped to make his assimilation into his new community easier. He is also raising his child in the Islamic faith, performing his five Salats daily, and he prays at the mosque frequently. He has no particular preference for his mosque other than convenience. His family and business lives have now stabilised, and he enjoys the independence South Africa offers him. He says that he has every intention of staying.

Analysis

In her book *Why History Matters: Life and Thought* (1997), the famed women's and gender historian Gerda Lerner talks about her experiences as a Jewish migrant and as a part of a Jewish diaspora that has for centuries been continually displaced as the "other." In her work, she characterises the Jewish historical experience as one of the continued diasporic displacements: "What it means to be a Jew—having to look over your shoulder and have your bags packed" (Lerner 1997, p. 15). In her narrative, Lerner talks not only about displacement and diaspora but also about the different ways Jewish migrant groups integrated into and interacted with their larger communities while coping with their designation as a "deviant out

group" (Lerner 1997, p. 13). She describes the process as being one of the three possible responses, and while the comparison is not exact given that she talks about Jewish immigrants and refugees while this chapter is a study of Muslim migrants from Pakistan, there remain certain similarities which are becoming more prevalent given the recent rise in rampant Islamophobia and anti-immigration positions being taken by numerous countries in today's politically unstable and post-9/11 world.

The response patterns elucidated by Lerner are described as follows: cultural separatism, denial through assimilation and acculturation. Cultural separatism involves embracing the designation of "other" and engaging in a self-imposed isolation whereby a group associates only with its own members and equates their difference to a sense of superiority to those groups from which they are isolated. Denial through assimilation is "an effort to fuse with the majority and ultimately to give up all distinctiveness" by embracing the new culture and accommodating new values of tolerance, humanism and international multiculturalism, often at the expense of traditional practices and ideologies. Acculturation is the third and most realistic of the three responses. By adapting to the new social environment it "embraces the demand for integration in regard to rights and opportunities" (e.g. through acquired citizenship) without losing one's group or cultural identity (Lerner 1997, pp. 13–14).

Of these forms of adaptation, the one which is most common among Pakistani migrants in Durban appears to be acculturation, with all three of the interviewees in this chapter exhibiting traits of adaption and social integration into their communities while still retaining their religious identities. While Fatima has not learned much of the local languages, she possesses a thriving business and has strong ties in the community with many friends from different racial and religious groups. Similarly, both Hamza and Mame have integrated into their communities and embraced their South African identities, and both have actively tried to learn local languages. All three retain a strong Muslim identity, and Mame in particular indicates that he is still an active member of his Islamic faith, tying his religious identity very strongly with his identity as a transnational migrant. The close-knit relationships that these individuals have with their families both here and in Pakistan, with all of them either sending money to family there or finding ways to bring family members to Africa and then helping them in making the transition a success, are a clear indication of their identifying as South African Pakistanis rather than giving up their transnational identities in favour of total assimilation. In the formation of this new transnational identity, we see

combinations of the elements of Vertovec's (1997) definitions of diaspora: physical transplantation between Pakistan and South Africa; a social recombination of Pakistani and South African culture seen literally through the intercultural, racial and intercaste marriages which the interviewees spoke of as well as their own acceptance of South Africa as their home and the place where they build their communities; and as a mode of cultural production wherein rather than keeping to the traditional dress, caste and social roles of Pakistani Muslims they embrace the more liberal South Africa. For example, Fatima is a businesswoman and a matriarch in her family, many of whom she is responsible for bringing to South Africa, rather than a housewife, and Hamza has been able to broaden his identity and explore the creation of his dual identity as the result of his transnational experiences. Even something as simple as Mame's embracing a new style of dress which differs from the stricter Pakistani code is indicative of the formation of a new identity which goes beyond that of a Pakistani migrant in South Africa and gives rise to the idea that factors which influence the formation of diasporic communities differ according to different geographical and historical contexts, as outlined by Werbner (2002). Both Hamza and Mame have praised the weather in Durban as being preferable to that of Pakistan, and it is statements like these which can contribute to a more nuanced and personalised understanding of diasporic communities. This both goes beyond and contributes to the understanding of a transnational discourse in that it supports the idea of heterogeneous factors influencing the creation of differing diasporic communities while also giving a sense of the scope of multiplicity of the factors that can influence the developmental trajectory and historicity of a community. The idea that "universal notions of culture and self, fail to explain the challenges accompanying the acculturation process" (Bhatia and Ram 2010, p. 226) in an increasingly transnational and globalised world where local and global identities and cultures are merging to form new zones of contact wherein diasporic communities interact according to different developmental trajectories is deeply significant to scholars who study the developmental psychology of diasporas through a "dynamic, multi-voiced and a dialogical notion of self" (Bhatia and Ram 2010, p. 226), particularly when coupled with Speckmann's trends of the trajectories of Asian transnational groups.

One of the reasons I have included a framing of the social integration of these individuals in the context of Lerner's discourse of displaced othering, rather than focusing solely on the theories of Vertovee, Peach, Clarke (1990) and Werbner (2002), is the similarity between the anti-Semitic

treatment of Jewish migrants and the persecution faced by Muslims in the wake of Islamophobia. While this treatment of Muslim migrants is not the focus of this chapter—given that South Africa is more prone to attacks of xenophobia than any particular anti-Islamic sentiment and that none of the people I have interviewed have experienced any racial or religious violence—it is still a significant factor to consider when engaging with the larger discourse of displacement and transnationalism, and becomes significant when considering the direction in which academic discourse about diaspora and Pakistan has gone.

Conclusion

I have spoken earlier in this chapter about the dearth of discourse on South African Pakistani migrants, and perhaps this can be attributed to the late inception of Pakistan as a country and that many of these migrants are the first generation of a relatively recent diasporic community. However, this then arguably opens up the opportunity to study—through the use of oral methodology and life histories—how and why these transnational communities engage with their larger societies and explore the formation of a dual consciousness and its impact on the developmental psychology which impacts on the formation of not only the diasporic narrative of the migrant group but also the psyche of the migrant and how the individual experiences of Pakistani migrants in South Africa and migrants as a whole are able to acculturate themselves to new communities and navigate identity creation. I feel this will become increasingly relevant as new global and historicised challenges of race, religion and culture continue to emerge and evolve as the borders which traditionally demarcate identity-nationalism, race, religion and so on are blurred and crossed. In using the life histories of three ordinary first-generation Pakistani migrants in South Africa, I have attempted to contribute towards the idea that diaspora and diasporic communities can impact deeply on how we understand and interact with an increasingly globalised society.

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CHAPTER 10

Senegalese Migrants in Morocco: From a Gender Perspective

Fatima Ait Ben Lmadani

Introduction

Although the Senegalese presence in Morocco is old, the research which analysed this presence only came to light in the 1990s. In fact, this interest was a result of the creation of the Schengen area and the closure of the borders by Europe which put the spotlight on the sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco (Bensaad 2008). These migrants are stigmatised and often perceived as illegal migrants.

Migration of Senegalese to Morocco is not a new fact but it is part of an old trans-Saharan mobility. A historical perspective noted by several researchers (Ba Cheick and Choplin 2005) is often neglected by migration policies in Europe and in Africa.

Analysis of migration of Senegalese women to Morocco is an oppotunity to show the particularity of Senegalese migration and make visible the role of women in this migration.

In addition, I intend in this chapter to make a point of the different views extracted from research which investigated the migration of Senegalese to Morocco. I will then briefly view some research that treated

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this migration from a gender point of view. Finally, I'll attempt, from the investigation results made between 2012 and 2013 into the migration of Senegalese to Morocco, to show the utility of a gender approach in the understanding of this migration.

The Senegalese Migration to Morocco: A Historic Exception or a Destined Community

Whether it is at the level of the heads of state or of the statements of the interviewed people, everyone agrees on the privileged and historic relations which bind Morocco to Senegal. This latter is often given as an example to express Morocco's attachment to its African continent. Nevertheless, this historic link which was strengthened several times and concretised by bilateral conventions and agreements did not prevent Senegalese migrants from being perceived as *Sub-Saharan* migrants—migrants in illegal situations having a single purpose, that is, to join Europe illegally. This homogenisation of the migrants arriving from the sub-Saharan countries hides a whole piece of the history of intra-African migration and denotes a big misunderstanding of the profiles of those who form this vague sub-Saharan group that appears to have no history. This oversight is particularly visible in the literature on the migration of the sub-Saharan group in Morocco and can be considered as one of the effects of the politics of the closure of the European borders since the 1990s.

The Uniqueness of the Senegalese Migration in Scientific Research

Although the literature on sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco has become more prevalent since the 1990s, knowledge on the subject remains very unorganised and not exhaustive. When we skim through the literature on this question, we realise that it was focused on illegal migration and written in the continuum of the works on irregular migration in Morocco. On the other hand, the literature has constituted a subject for research which allowed other researchers to update their initial subjects by widening their research territories to other nationalities, or by using it as an answer to the European political requests on the question of sub-Saharan migrations.

It is possible in this direction to regroup this research into three categories. The first category of works consists of studies of the Senegalese community which focus on migration or religion. As such, we can quote the work of A. Pian (2007), N. Lanza (2010), M. Alioua (2007), A. Kane

(2007), D.H. Fall (2003) and M. Timera (2009, 2011). The second category of works concerns more specifically the irregular migrations by trying to remove completely their mechanisms, causes and attachments. In this context, we quote the work of M. Lahlou (2005), S. Bredeloup and O. Pliez (2005), A. Pian (2007), l'AMERM (2008, 2009), C. Escoffier (2008) and M. Peraldi (2011). The third category of works concerns specifically those who relate to the historic and identity aspect, Bonte (2002), E.H. Chouki (2006), M. Ennaji (1996), M. Naimi (2004) and M. Villasante-de Beauvais (2000). This research was added to the corpus of literature which is understanding the phenomenon by historicising it and by showing the processes of continuity and discontinuity which characterise it.

In addition, it is important to note that this last category of research focused mainly on Senegalese migrants and their impact on Moroccan history, specifically linked to trans-Saharan trade.

These works do not allow us to have a global view and cumulative knowledge on sub-Saharan migrants. The facts on the migration of the sub-Saharan group in Morocco remain incomplete and cannot stand alone, in spite of the significant number of reports and studies on this topic. The analysis as well as the methodological approaches of immigration to the countries of the South and specifically the case of the countries of transit—as is the case for Morocco—are a reproduction often not contextualised. Migrants are treated in political and media statements in a dichotomous and normative way which does not take into account the diversity of their situation, the variety of their routes and especially the differences in their type of integration in Moroccan society. The realities of these migrants as well as their aspirations are often sacrificed by national and international actors who are concerned at various levels by this question for the benefit of the immediate political agendas.[1]

The European Policy of Outsourcing of the Borders: A Turning Point in the Perception of Senegalese Migration

Since the 1990s and the implementation of the Schengen territory,[2] the migration questions which until now have been discussed at the bilateral level will need to be settled in a multilateral way between Europe as a unified political body and the developing countries. One of the essential points

of this migration politics is the fight against illegal immigration. This included selection and control measures and an outsourcing of the migration problem. This outsourcing will involve the strengthening of the border controls at the external limits of Europe (Pian 2007).

This situation makes Morocco one of the focal points of illegal migration for its citizens and for the other candidates of this type of migration who come from sub-Saharan countries. The latter have been diverted in their project by increasingly strict controls of the marine borders on the western side of the African continent (Choplin 2010). In addition, the 2011 political upheaval in Libya forced a large number of sub-Saharan workers to flee the violence; many chose to go to Tunisia and Morocco, most likely intending to cross the Mediterranean Sea to settle in Europe.

This political and economic context has put the spotlight on the sub-Saharan category. Since 2000 they have been the subject of an unprecedented focus.

Unawareness of the Role Played by Women in Senegalese Migration

The Minimisation of the Migration of Senegalese Women

Little research has been interested in the question of gender regarding the migration of the sub-Saharan group generally or the Senegalese in particular in Morocco. In this context, we can quote the work of Pian (2007), AMERM (2008) and Lanza (2010) on the Senegalese, which treats the sub-Saharan group as an irregular situation. The little interest taken in this segment of the population and the inferior treatment to which it is subjected is similar to the treatment of the migration of women generally and that of those coming from the Muslim world in particular (Morokvaśic 2011; Moujoud 2008; Ait Ben Lmadani 2007, 2012). It echoes the subordinate place reserved for women in most patriarchal societies and confirms their inferior status. However, as shown in the aforementioned works, the role and the place of women in Senegalese migration are important. It is the minimisation of this role which remains the dominant position.

Furthermore, the migration of the Senegalese is not a new fact because it is in the continuum of a very old regional mobility between the various countries of western Africa, an intense mobility linked mainly to the commercial sector, a mobility and an important role which our survey with the Senegalese revealed (Fall 2007).

A Diversified Profile and an Important Place in the Community Networks

A survey led by Z. Chatou on the Senegalese in Morocco between 2011 and 2013 gave evidence of the evolution of the migration of the Senegalese in Morocco. She accentuated the arguably dominant role of women in this migration. In fact, even if we did not have reliable and measured data, the qualitative survey led with one hundred Senegalese in five big Moroccan cities (Fes, Rabat, Casablanca, Meknes and Marrakesh) showed that women's presence is as important as that of Senegalese men. In fact, an attentive reading of the results of this research shows the presence of women in Morocco as long as men and underlines their occupational integration in almost all the business sectors (with the exception of the building sector). These are represented also in the various investigated profiles: sportsmen, storekeepers, students and senior executives. Two categories escape this report, the *tijane* association and the domestic women.

It is in this way that we noticed the group of storekeepers (traders) is represented equally by men and women. These were since the 1970s the base of the trade between Morocco and Senegal. These pioneering women storekeepers were "authorised" by their husbands to trade between Senegal and Morocco because the latter is a Muslim country and is a sister country Tijania (Pian 2007). This is what Anaik Pian (2007) calls "the suitcase" trade. Some of them even developed this business activity on a transnational scale in several cases that we met who trade between Italy, France or Spain, Morocco and finally Senegal. Women migrants settled in Morocco as well as trader visitors or "women in constant move" who came for the Ziyarat (visit) to the Zaouiya-Tijania in Fes before buying in Casablanca (Bredeloup 2012).

However, in spite of the importance of this business activity, for the most part these women migrants occupy only a subordinate position of subcontracting, versus the Senegalese men who were well established in the transnational trade business and do not share a part of their merchandise. This report was confirmed by other research on these "women in constant move" who use both seduction and modesty to make a successful "negotiated entry into the men's world" (*Ibid*. 2012: 34).

The second profile is women athletes. During the survey, researchers noted the extent of the athletic economic sector and, in particular, the participation of young migrant Senegalese women as female atheletes. Young girls, recruited early to girls' basketball clubs, live in precarious

situations. Paid between 2500 and 3500 dirhams a month, they have to take charge and prove their presence in Morocco. They become more and more vulnerable and exposed to the risk of not getting paid.

The third profile is domestic workers who are one of the more recent faces of migrants' profiles, further complicating the Senegalese migration landscape in Morocco. These women who arrived in the 1990s are encouraged by Moroccan families to settle in Senegal. As Mr. Diop,[3] president of the Senegalese nationals association living in Morocco (Arserem), specified in a context of the closure of borders with Europe, certain Senegalese women were obliged to offer themselves as domestic workers to meet their needs. According to him, the domestic work of the Senegalese seems to be in connection with the resuscitated desire that some families of Fez have to have cleaners. If this assertion seems plausible, it is still necessary to qualify it by registering the domestic worker in its more globalised logic. The quasi-mechanical link which is often made between a situation of slavery and the serving work of certain black slaves to the big Moroccan families should not disguise the new world situation and the desire of certain social affluent classes to distinguish themselves from other families by recruiting foreigners. This last assertion can be strengthened by the recent but nevertheless important arrival of Filipina women on the Moroccan domestic labour market.

Beyond this link, the statements and the focus group made with ten Senegalese women show that a minority of them arrived with an employment contract as domestic workers while the others offered their service as domestic workers once they were on Moroccan soil. In this focus group, it is the women who were trading and, because of the frequent police controls, they preferred for some time to work as domestic workers. The Senegalese women working for Moroccan families lived in an exploitative situation that was particularly violent. The majority of them lived in extreme vulnerability, subjected to working hours in contradiction with labour law, cut off from any social relationships. They often found themselves with a seized passport and without an employment contract. There is also an intercultural conflict between what is represented as domestic work in Senegal and what is perceived by the imagination of the Moroccan families. The definition of hygiene, cleanliness and the arrangements change, and with it the definition of the domestic space. The domestics find themselves legally unprotected and several of them leave their employers. It is probably in the domestic work where conficts are the most virulent.

These women also work as hairdressers or cooks for fellow countrymen to make ends meet. Another category waits to fit into a basketball club and must have a casual job to survive. This uncertain situation can explain the occupational pluralism which most of the working migrants women practice; they are often forced to do several jobs to earn incomes in trade, paid work or service work. Contrary to two other profiles which content themselves with a single activity that corresponds to their initial qualification, the situation of economic vulnerability from which these women suffer obliges them to work in multiple small jobs to compensate for the loss of income in their main activity.

Thus, the women seem more exposed to instability and resort to "resourcefulness" compared to the men. The same migrant woman could be simultaneously a hairdresser, a storekeeper, a cleaning lady, sometimes salaried or self-employed and even an intermediary to employers in search of domestic workers.

Finally, there is a difference in the way men and women react to the negative stereotypes and the attitudes of indifference or rejection of the Moroccans towards them. It is in this way that women, regardless of their social status and the mode of insertion, are more easily inclined than men to express their dissatisfaction at the expressions of rejection. This differentiation is partially explained by the social vulnerability of the women compared to men and by the place of women in the Moroccan society. One trading woman denounces the attitude of certain Moroccans by stating, "as soon as they see a black women, they think she is a prostitute". Migrant men do not necessarily have to encounter this particular situation on a regular or daily basis.

It seems that gender does not play a determining role in access to these various spheres. Whether it is in the practice of a commercial activity, access to certain jobs in tertiary education or the choice of the sectors of higher education, the women and the men divide up in almost equal measure. This observation goes against the preconceived ideas that convey the image of Muslim women assigned to exercise subordinate jobs and to access less prestigious sectors.

However, if the professional integration of Senegalese women migrants in most of the business sectors is as important as that of men of the same social background, certain sectors remain closed and continue to submit to this "natural" distinction of gender in its social roles. This is how certain sectors (such as those of the domestic services) remain almost exclusively female. On the other hand, the building sector remains completely dominated by men.

Following the example of what takes place in most countries in the world, these two jobs continue to be exclusively female or exclusively male. In addition, within these various activities, the place and the role of women can be determined by the differences linked to gender. As an example, in the trade sector, women are generally relegated to retail and distribution only. Moreover, the discrimination in salaries according to gender forces most of these women to engage in multiple activities.

Furthermore, as shown by Blanchard (2011), for the Senegalese in Marseille, the women play a dominatant role in the community networks. In fact, during our survey, we noticed the role of these migrants in the preservation of family links. Often, they find themselves compelled to aid their family by sending money regularly. They are also at the heart of the community solidarity, as in the case of a woman who transformed her apartment in to a restaurant where she welcomes first comers or passing migrants in Rabat. However, this solidarity does not exclude the reproduction of social inequalities linked to gender. In fact, the same women who denounce exploitation can resort to it with regard to other women who have arrived in Morocco more recently.

Conclusion

Migration between Senegal and Morocco existed long before the modern borders of these countries were defined. However, the experiences of men and women migrants differ. As the survey showed, the Senegalese migrants often move alone by mobilising the family network to emigrate, find accommodation or find work. The presence of women in Morocco is as old as that of men, and the evolution of their profile was appreciably the same as that of men, but the research that studied this presence, or that studied the role of these women from the gender point of view, is rare.

For my point of view, this absence has two causes. The first cause is the one which is at the origin of the oversight of women until recently when women began to migrate worldwide. In fact, as indicated by Morokvaśic (2011: 26), "the problem of 'women and gender in migrations' remained for a long time hidden, in part and at the same time because of the researches on the migrations and on the women, the social relationships of sex and gender which had evolved independently, without crossing each other and without acknowledgment".

The second cause is linked to the specific acknowledgement of migration in certain countries of the South. This acknowledgement stresses the

situation of "transit" through the countries that are on the border of Europe, and which perceives the migrant as a supposed young male adventurer, and alone. This dominant vision conceals the presence of migrant women who are supposed "to join a spouse" or at least to emigrate "legally". This reason proves to be more plausible than some reports that treated sub-Saharan women migrates in Morocco as linked to the networks of human traffic. This is how in these works "we abandon the hidden and confined victim and we pass to the victim whom we are going to be able to show" (*Ibid.* 2011: 36). The migrant is only so exposed to be better concealed.

Notes

1. Even if we have enough elements to judge the new migration politics in Morocco, the actions put in place in the policy of the regularising of sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco tend more to answer the European agendas than the needs of migrants in the region.
2. The convention of Schengen was signed on June 19, 1990, and came into effect in 1995.
3. Quoted by N. Lanza (2010).

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CHAPTER 11

Mobile Women: Negotiating Gendered Social Norms, Stereotypes and Relationships

Sarah Matshaka

Introduction

You women from Zimbabwe, one can always identify you. Even if you change the way you dress and look like the women here [in South Africa]…you cannot disguise who you are. Your [self-effacing] comportment weighs on you and the dignified manner in which you carry yourself is evident[1]*…*

Changes in the Zimbabwean political economy in the last two decades have resulted in shifts in the character of migration from this country to its neighbour South Africa, with increasing numbers, more diversification in terms of who migrates as well as shifts to more extended stay. Included in this current wave of migrants to South African cities are an increasing number of women who unlike the historically more visible and discussed[2] Zimbabwean female cross-border trader are often locating in this host space for indefinite periods. In this chapter, I focus on young Zimbabwean migrant women who are part of the post-2000 wave of migration, exploring their negotiation of 'community' and identity as they attempt to find, secure and maintain homes in Cape Town's socio-economically marginalised peripheries. Rather than painting a comprehensive portrait of Zimbabwean migrant, urban experience in South Africa in the last two decades, the chapter hopes to map some significant dynamics which were

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manifested in a few migrant women's practices and encounters in the host city of Cape Town. By invoking the 'everyday practices' and life, the research attempts to situate and analyse gendered negotiation of physical and discursive spaces in the lived experiences of migrants.

To contextualise this discussion I begin by situating these mobile women who are part of the post-2000 migration wave from Zimbabwe to South Africa. After a brief discussion of the methodology, I go on to paint a picture of the dense networks of everyday life which make up part of the 'community' of Zimbabweans located in the urban periphery spaces of Cape Town. In discussing this community, I point to what it enables as well as constrains, focusing on the complicated relationship between reproduction of 'community' and the construction of gendered migrant identities. I then discuss the dominant images of mobile Zimbabwean women and notions of normative femininity that are simultaneously perpetuated and challenged within this context. In the next section, I point to some of the ways that these notions of female respectability and decency are reinforced, reconstructed and reinterpreted in the periphery spaces of Cape Town for Zimbabwean women to embody. I also consider how respectability is policed and the ramifications for the gendered identity and migration experiences of this group of young migrant women. In these discussions, I point to the implications of these images and constructions of migrant femininity for the young women's everyday negotiations of access, gendered identities and relationships. I argue that these realities dictate day-to-day rules of behaviour, shaping women's concerns, capabilities and relationships. The latter part of this chapter thus substantiates how migrant women in practice negotiate these expectations and stereotypes in home and neighbourhood contexts as well as personal relationships with men in heterosexual partnerships.

Situating Zimbabwean Migrants in South Africa

Reflecting changes in the political economy, over the course of its long history, dating back to pre-colonial times, the character of migration between Zimbabwe and South Africa has evolved in terms of who migrates. Patterns have shifted with numbers surging and ebbing. For example, in the first half of the twentieth century, it was "virtually a rite of passage for young men from colonial Rhodesia to have had a stint working" as contract mine workers or migrant workers on commercial farms in South Africa, a pattern that decreased after Zimbabwe's independence (Sisulu et al. 2007: 554, also see Dodson 1998). A survey in 1997 by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) on migration in the region showed the

largest number of cross-border migrants from Zimbabwe to South Africa to be women who oscillated between the two countries as informal traders (SAMP Public Opinion Survey Project 1997 in Dodson 1998). In addition to this regular flow of cross-border traders, migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa, there are particular periods that stand out. This includes the wave of migrants in the late 1970s and early 1980s, which included white emigrants fleeing from the war for independence and later from the establishment of black majority rule referred to as the 'white flight' (Crush 2000; Muzondidya 2008: 5) as well as the wave of political refugees fleeing from violence that mainly targeted members of the Ndebele ethnic group in the south-west provinces of Zimbabwe between 1983 and 1987 (Sisulu et al. 2007: 554; Pigou 2004). The patterns of migration from Zimbabwe have also altered significantly over the last decade and a half with increasing numbers and individuals from all levels of Zimbabwean society joining the post-2000 wave of migration to South Africa and other regional and international destinations. These changes reflect the widespread multi-layered volatility, an intersection of domestic political and economic instability and uncertainty that has dogged Zimbabwe since the late 1990s, what has been dubbed "the Zimbabwean Crisis". During this period the country has gone through food riots; a fast track land resettlement programme; a shrinking economy; hyperinflation; widespread shortages of goods as well as local and foreign currency;[3] as well as intimidation and violence during successive elections. The politicisation of the crisis makes it difficult to distinguish between economic and political motivations for migrating. Although there are no reliable figures for the current number of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa,[4] there can be no contestation about the increasing numbers and increased longevity in settlement patterns. A significant fraction of this current wave of migrants to South Africa are young women who are moving to the South African context in larger numbers and for more prolonged periods than previously recorded post-Zimbabwe's independence (Makina 2007).

Although Zimbabweans from all levels of society have joined the post-2000 wave of migration, they face widely varying experiences due to different backgrounds, motivations and other variables such as gender, age, education, social class and migration networks. The current wave of Zimbabweans are positioned differently in the South African context in terms of legal status (documented and undocumented), skill levels and

spatial location and type of residence in South Africa. Masade (2007) has noted how "migrants sometimes find themselves once again on the peripheries of rich economies in conditions just as insecure if not more so, as those they had left at home". This is the result of a combination of multiple factors which include migration policies, limited formal job opportunities as well as limited access to networks necessary to access the economic and social 'centre' of the host society. Due to limited access to the South African political economy, a significant proportion of the post-2000 Zimbabwean migrants has relocated to the geographical and social margins of South African cities where they negotiate housing and livelihoods through social networks and private arrangements (Muzondidya 2008: 7; Matshaka 2009). This is the situation in which the mobile Zimbabwean women, who are the focus of this chapter, find themselves.

In the Southern African context, the usual focus of discussions of cross-border migrant experiences are relationships with the state and its agents, the economy or relationships with the citizens in their host spaces. Though these aspects are important to migrants' experiences, other aspects are also key to their immediate everyday negotiation of the migration experience. Empirical literature looking at gender and migration in different contexts has pointed to the complex ways that gendered norms, relations and identities are negotiated in the 'new' spaces migrants occupy. This work has looked at how gender relations and expectations evolve during the process of migration, pointing to how "the reconstruction of gender relations within the family at the place of destination is a dynamic process during which some elements brought from communities of origin are discarded, others are modified, and still others are reinforced" (Parrado and Flippen 2005: 606). Historical work like Barnes (1999) and Bozzoli and Mmantho (1991) has pointed to shifting definitions of broad female respectability, particularly the emergence of urban female respectability and the shifts in definitions over time (also see Hungwe 2006). By looking at the constructions and renegotiation of migrant femininities, surfacing the complex and fluid gendered realities that make up life for a particular group of mobile women, this chapter attempts to contribute to understanding the complex gendered dynamics of this particular historic moment.

Methodology

This chapter draws from research carried out with a sample of young Zimbabwean women located in the periphery of the city of Cape Town, which is combined with some insights that emerged from previous research

conducted with young Zimbabwean men in Cape Town[5] as well as historical literature. The research the chapter draws from was grounded in an epistemological framework that sees the value of exploring the experiences of these mobile young women, from listening to their perspectives and from observing their actual situations and practices, as well as how they are constructed by others around them (Babbie and Mouton 2001). The qualitative approach was used for data collection and analysis to explore the nuances of these gendered negotiations and reproduction of community, identities and relationships. Fieldwork for the research on young Zimbabwean migrant women and the previous research with young Zimbabwean men in Cape Town[6] made use of ethnographic data collection tools which relied on the informants' narrative accounts obtained primarily through key informant interviews and informal conversations, complemented by participant and non-participant observations in homes and the neighbourhood.[7] This qualitative approach has allowed me to engage with the fluid and transformative nature of the lived experiences and gendered identities of these mobile women.

Although fieldwork for the research with Zimbabwean women included 'research encounters' with several women and men, I worked regularly with 12 Shona-speaking women. The 12 key informants fell in the age range of 20 to 35 years old. Like many other Zimbabwean migrants, the young women who took part in this research are in South Africa due to a combination of motivations. They were a mix of women who have never married, were once married or are currently married. At the time of the research, they were currently living or had recently lived in the 'working class' townships on the Cape Flats, such as Philippi and Eersterivier, with the larger number being located either in a section of the Harare area or in Litha Park, sections of Khayelitsha Township which became the primary field site. This post-2000 wave of mobile Zimbabwean women is distinguished from cross-border traders who oscillate between South Africa and Zimbabwe. The women were engaged in a range of livelihood activities which included vending, hair dressing, domestic or restaurant work, as well as one who worked as a secretary. However, for most of the women involvement in these activities was not stable or constant.

In the remainder of the chapter, I discuss the production of 'community' and gendered social norms among Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa, considering the ways in which these mobile women are constructed and positioned within the social environment in which they are located. I not only look at 'community' in terms of the spatial grounded place of the neighbourhoods where the women are located but also discuss 'commu-

nity' as the 'non-place based association of people', defined in this case by the common identity as Zimbabwean nationals (McDowell 1997: 13). In discussing the experiences of my informants, pseudonyms are used. The women whose experiences are presented are: Loreen, Precious, Vongai, Joanna, Mutsa, Memory, Mai Pana, Enniah and Fungie. Other pseudonyms will also appear.

Zimbabwean Social Networks: The Production of 'Community'

On one of my early visits to Harare, Khayelitsha, as I stood by the station walkway[8] where I had been introduced to women I could potentially work with, it seemed to me that every other person who was selling along the concord or passing by was speaking in Shona.[9] When I commented on this to my two companions, Precious, who was acting as my guide, responded by saying, "Ahh *kuno kumusha chaiko*, this place is really [like] home. It's really Harare [making parallel between Harare in Khayelitsha Township to Harare, the Zimbabwe capital]". Another informant, Vongai, summed up the neighbourhood experience when she recounted how on first arriving in Cape Town she tried to be inconspicuous so as not to be identified as a foreigner and attract the attention of law enforcement agents since she did not have the required documentation to regulate her stay. She was, however, taken aback when her sister gave her a boisterous welcome at the station "like we would do at home" (Vongai, Casual Conversation, 4 October 2008). When they got on the train to Khayelitsha, she was even more surprised to observe many Shona speakers comfortably conversing[10] in their language. In the predominantly black, Xhosa-speaking 'working class' townships and informal settlements on the Cape Flats such as Khayelitsha, Philippi and Nyanga, informants shared not only their living quarters but the wider township space with fellow Zimbabwean women and men. Attesting to the visible presence of a 'community' of Zimbabweans described above by Precious and Vongai in this part of Khayelitsha where I spent most of my time during fieldwork, I observed several Zimbabwean-led Zionist churches referred to as *Vapostori*[11] conducting their fellowship meetings in the open spaces of the township, as well as quite a few Zimbabwean-operated informal ventures such as hairdressing salons. As I came to know some of the Zimbabweans in this space and charted their relationships, I found that these compatriots lived in clusters, often with immediate and extended family, friends, acquaintances or fellow workers.

It is not uncommon to find a number of people from the same neighbourhood areas back in Zimbabwe living in proximity to each other, an aspect which I found to be the case for many of my informants. Concentration in these areas may be attributed to the presence of earlier migrants who offer newly arrived migrants a place to stay or help them find accommodation (see Polzer 2008). Even after they settle and set up on their own, migrants often choose to settle in the same areas which they have become familiar with and which they recognise to be cost effective for their often stretched budgets. One informant pointed to this in a group discussion:

> *There are plenty of us from the same area here [in Harare], this one here [referring to a friend who was also present], is also from my neighbourhood, from Highfields… Ahh there so many of us, if it's a matter of going home we would require two busloads, they are definitely loads of us…up to that end [pointing to other end of Harare], it's just Highfields [people]. [Group Discussion, 18 October 2008]*

Like Muzondidya (2008), I found that after they have crossed the border in to South Africa, Zimbabwean migrants try, to some extent, to "integrate among locals by learning local languages, cultures and subcultures" (Muzondidya 2008: 9). Most of the Zimbabweans I encountered who had stayed in the predominantly Xhosa-speaking townships of Cape Town for more than a few months are able to communicate comfortably in Xhosa. In spite of these efforts and relations with the other occupants of the township spaces which vary from day-to-day cooperation to veiled or occasional overt antagonism, connection with other Zimbabweans remains central to the young women's migration experience. Proximity, with migrants staying in the same rooms or streets as their compatriots, as well as the connections based on areas of origin back home build the links central to 'community'.

It is, however, not only proximity which contributes to the sense of 'community' articulated by some of my informants. For the migrants located in areas outside Xhosa-speaking townships where there is a less visible 'community' of Zimbabweans, key to production of 'community' is the activation of connections based on common areas of origin or common acquaintances, as well as connections they make based on nationality and ethnicity in work places and social settings. For example, despite the eruption of the xenophobic violence in May 2008, Loreen

another informant, had relocated from Khayelitsha and stayed for a period in one of the more affluent suburbs of Cape Town, she still referred to the township space as 'my neighbourhood, *kumaraini*'. Although Loreen had moved to the suburbs where she "knew no one", she continued to make connections through already existing networks with other Zimbabweans, particularly those from her hometown. She described the making of connections as follows: "for example my cousin will come across someone we know from home and she will say to them, 'do you know Loreen is also here [in Cape Town]?', then she gives the person your number, that is how we connect". On another occasion in a Zimbabwean-run hairdressing container that I frequented during fieldwork, I observed how two women, who had not been acquainted before, on discovering that they came from the same neighbourhood in Zimbabwe, were soon identifying common acquaintances and updating each other on people from their neighbourhood who were also in Cape Town. As a result of this practice of building extensive links, which develop based on common areas of origin and identification of shared acquaintances, and which also expand as they move from place to place, the women who were part of this research often had networks spread across the wider Cape Town space.

In addition to the proximity and common identity based on common areas of origin, these multiple social networks that exist among migrants are also key in reproduction of 'community' for this current wave of Zimbabwean migrants in Cape Town. The various networks of everyday life Zimbabwean migrants are involved in mitigate their ability to adjust within the context in which they immigrate (Beyene 2004). For young women, both kinship-based and non-kin networks of support have been key in helping them access accommodation, as well as in providing or contributing to meeting their material costs such as food, rent and transport in this migration context.[12] In addition to providing this material support, both existing and newly established support networks also provide social support such as shared childcare as well as in circumstances such as childbirth, and at times of bereavement.[13] For example, I witnessed how when one informant lost her father back in Zimbabwe, it was a neighbour from Zimbabwe and a friend she had made in Cape Town who rallied to support and comfort her. When Vongai's older sister passed away in a Cape Town hospital, it was only through the monetary contributions of fellow Zimbabwean migrants and the support of her fellow traders in garnering these contributions that she was able to bury her sister in a local cemetery.[14]

For the young Zimbabwean women, the social networks that exist among migrants also provided opportunities for remitting money and parcels home, as well as transference of skills such as hairdressing skills, for instance. The networks are also key sources of advice or information with regard to opportunities such as jobs or ventures that are deemed to offer better livelihood. These exchanges are often based on closeness and trust as many of the women often pointed out, with many lamenting how Zimbabweans often keep any information of benefit to themselves. The women also rely on social networks for information about the political space of Cape Town and South Africa, often substituting or seeking to verify or supplement the media information with information from each other (although this information is not always accurate and is often speckled with rumour). Popular topics of discussion, which reflect concerns central to the women, were the ever-changing procedures for the issuing of migration documentation, rumours about planned xenophobic attacks, checks by Home Affairs officials, and updates on the situation back in Zimbabwe. It is not only information about the socio-political environment that is exchanged, however, but also information about other members of the migrant community, an aspect which is central in relation to the reproduction of gendered scripts of behaviour.

As Curran and Saguy (2001) posit, 'community' and social networks "are not only powerful conduits for instrumental information", but allow for the transmission of values and cultural perceptions (Curran and Saguy 2001: 59). As sites for the renegotiation of the former order of things as well as the perpetuation of particular social gendered norms and stereotypes, these networks contribute to the construction of the gendered migrant identities which young women have to negotiate. Furthermore, I argue that in addition to housing and employment assistance, as well as financial and at times emotional support, "these networks also provide a cultural outlet" for these migrant women with similar cultural characteristics (Beyene 2004). Composed mainly of similarly aged women, friends or kin who draw from similar cultural backgrounds and are situated in township spaces, migration networks become the frames of reference against which appropriate and successful gendered migrant identity is measured.

The term 'community', however, assumes a sense of cohesion and often romanticises ideas of collective collaboration, harmony and consensus building. In reality, although community and social networks may be a source of security and the basis of supportive networks for many people

whose lives are relatively restricted in an everyday sense to a small area, they may be an equal source of irritation, danger and even despair depending on one's location or social characteristics (McDowell 1997: 19). Proximity and its associated monitoring, accompanying lack of privacy, and the prevalence of gossip contribute to the reproduction of gendered scripts of behaviour that are not always desirable particularly for those young women attempting to escape the stifling bounds of 'community' and seeking to reinvent themselves in this new space by leaving previous experiences or labels in the home country such as being labelled the 'neighbourhood whore' or the social stigma of being an unmarried mother.

Perceptions of Mobile Zimbabwean Women

Throughout history, there have been varied responses to mobile Zimbabwean women. In colonial Rhodesia during certain periods of history, there was great concern over women who, for varying reasons, were breaking with accepted practice by travelling "beyond the bounds of their immediate residential neighbourhood" to the newly emerging urban centres (Cheater and Gaidzanwa 1996: 191; also see Barnes 1999). These mobile women, particularly when unaccompanied by a *patrikin* or spouse, were viewed as problematic not only by the colonial authorities who were concerned with influx control but also by the indigenous patriarchs who saw them as a threat to what was seen as African social reproduction (Schlyter 2003: 15; Barnes 1999). Even when they operated within the patriarchal family as accompanied wives or daughters, women were deemed susceptible to the corrupting urban environment. To some extent, this mirrors and explains the obsession in society about the moral behaviour of urban women which continues today (Schlyter 2003). Over time, with increasing numbers of mobile Zimbabwean women moving between rural and urban areas and beyond, there have been some shifts in the perceptions of and responses to these women. Nonetheless, some themes and images persist in the dominant portrayals of these itinerant women, particularly those who migrate and move beyond the borders of Zimbabwe.

Perceptions About Zimbabwean Women in South Africa

… most of the Zimbabwean girls that are here [in South Africa], aggh, I am repulsed by them…I just don't like the way they go about their things… they

show that they are at the end of their tether when they come to a place like South Africa…they end up doing anything so that they can make money…[15]

You can pay good lobola brideprice for her, 10 cows; she will make a good wife. She will cook, clean and she comes with a guarantee unlike your South African women[16]

The ways in which Zimbabwean women who travel and locate (for varying periods) in South Africa are constructed and perceived can be seen to fall at two extremes of a continuum, as we see from the above quotations. On one end of the binary pole is the image of the deviant woman who operates outside the boundaries of accepted Zimbabwean 'respectable' feminine behaviour and 'morality'. This may be a response to difficult circumstances which render them desperate or due to general disregard for accepted gendered scripts of behaviour. On the other end, there is the figure of the 'respectable' Zimbabwean woman who in spite of the corrupting experience of migrating to South Africa continues to be the glowing example of female respectability conforming to traditional gender roles, placed often in contrast with the lack of 'respectability' of local South African women. I start by discussing the image of the deviant or transgressive woman and my informants' experiences of this.

During the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe (1966–1979) there was a "functional redefinition of socially acceptable behaviours" during which time "mobile women were no longer referred to, as in pre-colonial and early colonial times, as 'prostitutes'". Instead they were now encouraged to move independently of their families to join or assist the cause of liberation (Hungwe 2006: 40; also see Gaidzanwa 1995 and Nhongo-Simbanegavi 2000). However, following the advent of political independence, there was a reverting back to many of the definitions of female 'respectability' of old. Hungwe (2006) points to how "women who had been mobile or active as fighters during the war were now expected to" either "return home and take up traditional domestic chores" or take up demarcated 'respectable' often low-income jobs such as nursing and teaching (Hungwe 2006: 41). In post-independence Zimbabwe, vilification and public denunciations in the Zimbabwean state media of female migrants (Cheater 1998; Cheater and Gaidzanwa 1996; Muzvidziwa 2001) who chose to travel independently participating in informal cross-border trade saw the rebranding of women's mobility as 'unrespectable'. Women who chose to engage in cross-border trade as an income generating option were seen to be defying the boundaries of mobility (which during the later days of the colonial

period had extended to accept the mobility of women from rural to urban areas). In addition to female cross-border traders being constructed as unpatriotic economic saboteurs undermining mainstream (male-dominated) trade, they were also represented as lazy and sexually deviant (Muzvidziwa 2001: 68). The Shona word *pfambi* (prostitute), which literally means "one who walks", was used in the pre-colonial and early colonial periods to describe female prostitutes (Cheater and Gaidzanwa 1996; Hungwe 2006) and came to be used as a derogatory term for female cross-border traders as part of what Muzvidziwa (2001) describes as a smear campaign against these entrepreneurial women. Over time, however, cross-border traders came, to some extent, to be admired and emulated for their success in not only surviving but sometimes prospering in the face of the increasingly harsh economic conditions in Zimbabwe (Muzvidziwa 2001). Nevertheless, the negative projection of Zimbabwean female cross-border traders, particularly around their sexual conduct,[17] appears to persist. This is illustrated by the following comment by one young man during an informal group discussion:

> *…I'll never marry a cross-border [trader] no-matter what… a friend of mine told me how he managed to propose [love] to a married cross border woman he met on the bus. Yet, he had observed her being sent off by her husband but she still accepted his proposal… those people are disgraceful.*[18]

The dominant negative stereotypes of mobile women are, however, not confined to this particular group (oscillating cross-border traders), but are shaping how the current wave of Zimbabwean women migrating and relocating to areas such as Cape Town are being constructed. Some of the common assumptions found to prevail with regard to Zimbabwean migrant women in South Africa, particularly when they are unaccompanied, include the stereotyping of these women as desperate, parasitic purveyors of disease, images which I elaborate and reflect on below.

The general opinion expressed particularly by attached, often older, women as well as Zimbabwean men in the Cape Town context is that the majority of ever-increasing numbers of young women who are travelling independently to the city are unmarried mothers who are seeking to find ways to take care of the children they have left at home. These unattached women are a group who are traditionally constructed as 'unrespectable' and viewed as moral failures by virtue of being unable to clinch or hold on to a husband and, if never married, as "raising 'totemless'[19] illegitimate

children" (Chitauro-Mawema 2003). Although 21-year-old Memory (who had moved to Cape Town to stay with her two brothers following a failed cross-border trade venture and unrewarding experiences on the job market in Polokwane) was childless and was yet to get married, she felt that she was the exception. Although she indicated that young 'untainted' girls like her were also beginning to travel independently to Cape Town, she emphasised that the current wave of migrant women are "predominantly women who have children…those [women] who have been impregnated [out of wedlock] and jilted back in Zimbabwe" (Memory, Individual Interview, 27 November 2008). In migrating to South Africa, these women are not seen only to be responding to the combined economic and political adversity in Zimbabwe over the last decades, but their difficult situation is viewed as a product of the absence of spousal economic support, therefore constructing them as desperate. Because of their desperation, these young women, particularly when they do not have established networks in the migration destination, are described as resorting to any measures to either find shelter or to cover their living costs. Memory described what she perceives to be a common situation for young unaccompanied women:

> *At times, a young woman leaves home not knowing where she is headed. She gets to Joburg and finds that Joburg is teeming with police. Hearing that things are better in Cape Town, she then gets on train to come here. But once in Cape Town she is stuck for a place to go as she knows no-one…they just hear that there is a place called Harare where many Zimbabweans stay and if you go there you will not fail to find a place to stay …often she finds other Zimbabweans willing to take her in after she explains her situation, but she is expected to contribute to buying mealie meal and relish …[even if she does not have money] she will have to find ways around that,…that is why you find many young women end up whoring. If a man propositions her she knows that if she becomes involved with this man he will give her money, then she can be able to buy mealie meal. [Memory, Individual Interview, 27 November 2008]*

Twenty-two-year-old secretary Joanna echoed this view:

> *The problem is that if a woman fails to get a place to stay here …you find that some females when they find that they are in a tight situation, sometimes she won't have an option, that is why you find that here cohabitation is very common… It is rare for a [single] woman like me to stay alone. [Individual Interview, 28 October 2008]*

As a result of the difficult situations back in the home country that prompted them to migrate and the often desperate situations they find themselves in the migration context in the absence of kin or other support and because of the difficulty of finding work, young women are also viewed to be susceptible to being taken advantage of by men (often by their fellow countrymen), who dupe them. As one young man observed:

> *…some Zimbabwean [men], if they see a young woman from Zimbabwe who is facing difficulties, they take advantage… they go and spoil this person who just came to look for money in South Africa instead of showing them the avenue for making money… they don't advise that but instead take her for his woman. In the long run you will find that girl pregnant or ill.*[20]

It is because of the perceived susceptibility as well as the vulnerability of unaccompanied young women in the South African context that Joanna's family were reluctant for her to stay in Johannesburg with her female friends. Instead they encouraged her to travel to Cape Town where she could have the support and 'protection' of her brother and male cousins. This perception of the vulnerability of female migrants is one that is not only expressed by others but by the young women themselves. Joanna articulated this feeling of vulnerability by pointing out how as a woman alone "you may be able to brave being alone but there some elements that will just bring you down especially considering that this is a foreign country" (Individual Interview, 23 October 2008). She added that:

> *…some of the men here have the wrong idea about us women who are here… they can do anything with every Zimbabwean female they come across. They think that you are desperate and they know that there is no one to protect you here, unlike when you are in Zimbabwe where you have your relatives and friends. Here someone can easily get away with it…*

Young unaccompanied women are, however, not only perceived to be desperate and vulnerable but are also constructed as lazy and parasitic. They do not embody the expected work ethic[21] of 'respectable' women but instead are often perceived to be taking the 'easy' way using relationships with men (who are frequently married with spouses back in Zimbabwe). When they become a man's live-in girlfriend, the historically socially deplorable and controversial (Barnes and Win 1992) *mapoto wife*,[22] they rely on the man for rent or other material costs. The *mapoto wives* are thus understood to survive through this relationship that also allows them

to achieve successful migrant status, which is defined as the accumulation of capital and goods as well as regular remitting. Unabashedly speaking about her neighbour's new live-in girlfriend (even though the woman was a few feet away), Mutsa, an accompanied wife, expressed this common stereotype, stating:

> *When they get here, single women are budgeting (saving on costs) by moving in with men so they do not have to worry about rent…she will be glad to find someone to cover rental costs so that her income goes to covering her transport costs to work and sending money to the child she left at home. [Casual Conversation, 14 November 2008]*

As a result of the above gendered stereotypes and expectations around independent or 'own-account' migrant women's strategies for survival, a woman alone in this migration context who is not seen to strictly tread the line of respectability is treated with suspicion. Young women's dress and public comportment or behaviour in particular is often used to judge them as respectable or not, determining how they are treated.[23] For example, single mother Enniah[24] described how one young man who had offered to provide her and her friend with a room to stay later turned around to say he could not organise the room citing that his landlady (a Zimbabwean woman) had declared that because "the girls wear mini [skirts]" they could not be accommodated on her plot "as they would tempt her husband" with their short skirts (Enniah, Individual Interview, 11 March 2009). Young unaccompanied women who are not visibly involved in any income generating activities (or actively looking for openings) are also treated with suspicion as they are thought to be out to ensnare men. Illustrating this suspicion, in reference to one newly arrived young woman who had taken to spending her days with her male relative who sold wares at the Khayelitsha station where she also operated, Vongai commented, "she wakes up, baths and does herself up so that she can spend the day talking to men. Some people come here to find men" (Vongai, Casual Conversation, 3 March 2009). However, her status as an unaccompanied married migrant also placed Vongai in the lower ranks of respectability. Women who travel independently, leaving a spouse back in Zimbabwe for extended periods, are viewed with suspicion in the same way as unmarried female migrants. It is assumed that both single and married unaccompanied female migrants "*vanoshanda nemusana*", which translates to 'lying on their backs', implying that these women use sex to get by

or supplement their incomes. Unaccompanied married women were charged with giving their spouses back home the false impression that they 'worked hard' in 'regular' work to accumulate the goods and capital they send or return with. For example, by choosing to remain in Cape Town after her husband decided not to return from a trip home, 20-year-old Precious's standing in the eyes of others swiftly shifted from that of 'respectable virtuous wife' to that of a 'suspicious woman alone'. When she went on a trip to Johannesburg to explore market options for her informal business venture, one Zimbabwean male neighbour speculated that she had found herself another man whom she had gone to meet.

Unaccompanied women in this migration context are also frequently stigmatised as purveyors of disease. Particularly when they are identified as having crossed the border into South Africa through irregular channels, young women are treated with suspicion, especially by young men who assume that they were likely subjected to sexual exploitation and abuse at the hands of migration officials or *maguma-maguma*—Shona urban lingua for conmen and operators often involved in facilitating illegal crossing of goods and people through the border. Pointing to this assumption, young Zimbabwean men repeatedly emphasised that getting into an intimate relationship with a woman who is a 'border jumper' was dangerous and not encouraged. Whether they are acting out of desperation, are duped or seeking the 'easy' way by engaging in parasitic 'whorish' behaviour, unaccompanied women are viewed as more susceptible to sexually transmitted infections which they transmit to unsuspecting new partners (or their partners back home). It is not only intimate partners (particularly when they are men the young women have met in this migration context) who treat these young migrant women with some degree of suspicion (an aspect which is discussed further in the final section of the chapter when I consider how these migrant women negotiate heterosexual partnerships). For instance, Enniah recounted how during a disagreement with her live-in boyfriend's housemate, he had said to Enniah's friend, "*voetsek*, go to hell. You are whores! You want to give my boy AIDS". Such negative assumptions and perceptions have implications for how a woman alone is treated in this context and how they negotiate their migration experience. Often they are accorded little respect and treated as insignificant or expendable. For example, I witnessed how when another male friend came looking for Enniah's live-in partner, he did not even bother to greet her or acknowledge her presence, instead speaking to the young men present to inquire about her boyfriend's whereabouts.

The young women, however, do not always subscribe to these gendered stereotypes and assumptions surrounding their behaviour and experiences. Instead, they often find varying, sometimes subtle ways of subverting or resisting being typecast into these images and countering the social stigma of 'unrespectable' femininity. For example, in Enniah's case, although she did not have any other place to stay following the fallout with her ex-husband, she resisted the unwanted sexual advances by her new hosts.[25] She indicated that the young men thought "because you are stranded with nowhere else to go, you will eventually give in and say alright let's do it" (Enniah, Individual Interview, 11 March 2009). In resisting these advances Enniah refused to subscribe to the image of parasitic desperado who is assumed to be sexually 'easy'. She recalls saying to her friend, "It's better, for us to even stay on the street than for these men to take advantage of us. We are not that cheap" (Enniah, Individual Interview, 11 March 2009). When shortly after they moved to another place, even though Enniah was involved in an intimate relationship (which she describes as having developed following "love at first sight") with their host who gladly 'provided for them', the two young women decided to use the little money they had to buy some groceries.[26] Enniah explained that they did this so they would not be seen as freeloaders "eating and residing for free". In doing so, they positioned themselves as not entirely dependent on their host. Another key way of challenging the negative stereotypes of Zimbabwean women is through the reinforcement and reconstruction of images of respectable Zimbabwean femininity suitable to this migration context. The construction of these contrasting images highlights what are deemed positive aspects or traits of 'traditional' Zimbabwean female identity.

Constructing Respectable Zimbabwean Migrant Women

Reinforcing Gendered Cultural Ideals

Hungwe (2006) points to how, with the increased presence of women in the colonial towns of the former Southern Rhodesia and the parallel increase in the branding of urban women as prostitutes, married women

living in towns with their husbands "wished to create a new kind of respectability by differentiating themselves from 'unrespectable' women—'the prostitutes'" (Hungwe 2006: 35; also see Barnes and Win 1992 and Barnes 1999). Similarly, in this current migration context of Cape Town, there is a desire, not only by accompanied women but also by other different groups of women and men who make up the 'community' of Zimbabwean migrants, to construct 'respectable' Zimbabwean women. This 'respectable' Zimbabwean migrant woman is one who is perceived to display and epitomise normative respectable femininity, which draws on what are defined as 'traditional' notions of Zimbabwean femininity, bringing honour and esteem to her national group in this foreign context. This 'respectable' woman exists in direct opposition to the dominant negative image of the 'unrespectable' desperate and parasitic Zimbabwean woman, for whom the code phrase is "*hure*, prostitute"[27] who attracts social opprobrium (Hungwe 2006). In this migration context, one of the ways in which the 'respectable' migrant Zimbabwean woman is constructed and the indices of good standing are reinforced is through women socialising each other into acceptable female behaviour. Among the Shona, historically the role of providing guidance and socialisation of young women into the role of acceptable adult womanhood was the responsibility of the paternal aunt and grandmothers (Gelfand 1973, 1979).[28] As has happened elsewhere on the continent (see Tamale 2005; Schlyter 2003), with growing urbanisation which saw the absence of the traditionally appointed older female relatives to play this role,[29] there was a re-structuring of this tutelage or socialisation to suit the changed conditions. This role increasingly fell on mothers as well as other older women located in the urban space. However, unlike in the urban areas of Zimbabwe where there is a mix (age wise), in the context of cross-border migration and settlement, in the absence of the older generation,[30] it is increasingly women in the same age ranges who become the resources for maintaining gendered aspects by passing on to each other discourses of decency and respectability in relation to expected and accepted gender roles and expression of sexuality. Whenever they come together in pairs or groups, women's talk often usually turns to feminine behaviour and comportment, during which time they advise and give counsel (*kuraira*) or admonish (*kutsuura*) each other with regard to acceptable female practice and wifely duties.

In the discussions the women engaged in while I was present, I often overheard the women admonish and advise each other on how to take care of their partners (which translates to cooking and cleaning with emphasis

on doing household chores on time so partners do not complain). The traditional gendered expectations around domesticity, which can be defined as the idea that the 'natural' place for women is the private space, the household, where they are solely responsible for reproductive labour (Budlender 2003), are not the only aspects of 'respectable' adult women that is imparted or reinforced. The women also discussed how to keep their men from going astray and 'bedroom' etiquette. Also emphasised in this peer socialisation is sexual uprightness reflecting the belief that the woman "is the one who should keep her morality" (Chitauro-Mawema 2003: 141), as well as an attempt to counter the dominant negative sexual discourse and image of the 'loose' unaccompanied migrant woman. Sexual morality in this context is defined as being faithful to partners (both absent and present), and for the unattached women as not to be seen to have several concurrent or successive partners. These discourses serve to control women by the policing of their sexuality, using a different scale for sexual conduct or morality from that used for men.

The advising or admonishment often takes the form of light or playful banter. However, the reproaching also frequently takes a serious tone. For instance, on one occasion I arrived at the container salon I frequented to find one of the women who occasionally worked there being chastised over her involvement in some alleged gossip. The other women were strongly cautioning her not to be associated with any gossip as it would ruin her relations with her in-laws (who were implicated in the gossip) and more so with her husband. Whether done playfully or otherwise, in their day-to-day interactions with other women in the home or 'community' space, these migrant women receive, reinforce and re-transmit the messages they grew up with, messages received from their family, school and church regarding what constitutes standards of proper behaviour for women, messages which also operate powerfully in the migration context (McLaren 2007). This practice contributes to shaping the rules of behaviour in everyday life and attempts to ensure that regardless of the 'uprooting' from their country of birth, this current wave of Zimbabwean migrant women become or continue to be 'respectable' women, wives and mothers.

Among these Shona-speaking migrants in the context of Cape Town, as part of the project of constructing the image of the 'respectable' Zimbabwean migrant woman, both women and men reinforce positive and often reinterpreted customary or cultural aspects of Zimbabwean femininity. In constructing this image of female respectability, Zimbabwean women are often pitted against local South African women, particularly

the Xhosa- and Afrikaans-speaking women who are their neighbours in the township spaces they occupy. With the production of the image of the 'respectable' woman, there is a concurrent construction of the 'unrespectable other' through a process of hierarchisation and differentiation. Although the ideal Zimbabwean gendered female body is the one still located back in Zimbabwe, uncorrupted by the South African context, even the Zimbabwean migrant woman in Cape Town is positioned on a different scale of morality or decency from the local South African woman. A case in point is with regard to sexual conduct, consumption of alcoholic beverages and dress, with the local women presented as lacking in virtue and rectitude, 'loose', immodest and heavy drinkers, among other things. The stereotypes with regard to the Zimbabwean women's deportment are illustrated by the popular observation (made by both women and men) that one can always identify a Zimbabwean woman from her dress style, defined as modest, and her demeanour, demure and self-effacing. These characteristics thus contrast them to local women often along lines of ethnicity and gendered norms. Even when they are acknowledged to deviate from what are considered to be normative notions of respectable femininity, Zimbabwean migrant women are presented as more restrained in their transgressions.

There also appears to be some degree of re-appropriation of stereotypes of deviant femininities to local women. Mai Pana, a 21-year-old accompanied wife, applied the stereotype of the parasitic deviant to local women, expressing the opinion that because "local women are aware that foreign men are hardworking …they only get involved in [love] relationships with them so that they can benefit from the money he is working for. Not that they are sincerely in love with them". In doing so, she contrasts local women to Zimbabwean women whom she represents as looking for genuine long-term relationships (with the added benefit of financial support or access to shelter), though unfortunately they are often duped. Similar to unaccompanied Zimbabwean women, local Xhosa women are also frequently represented as purveyors of disease. Migrant Zimbabwean women commonly worry about Zimbabwean men's 'fascination' with local women; as one young woman observed, "when young men from Zimbabwe get here they don't give us a second glance as they become ensnared with the local women" (Pauline, Informal Group Discussion, 3 March 2009). There is also a perceived heightened risk for sexually transmitted infections when Zimbabwean men get involved with local women. When discussing her ex-husband who had been attempting to foster reconciliation, Enniah

expressed this concern: "he now has some Xhosa [women] whom he swaps and I thought no! He is no longer fine. He is no longer in good health" (Individual Interview, 10 March 2009). On a later occasion she made the following comment: "once you find that your partner is involved with local Xhosa women it should be cause for worry. It is better for him to be going around with [other] women from home…" (Enniah, Casual Conversation, 26 July 2009). This process of 'othering' the local women (and to some extent local men) serves also to define Zimbabwean migrant women's identities within existing dominant gender discourses. The collective negative stereotypes, however, often do not surface in their everyday interactions with Xhosa-speaking women who are their 'friends', neighbours or landladies with whom they spend time and have a high level of cooperation.

The Policing of Respectability

The construction of the respectable Zimbabwean migrant woman is also achieved through the policing of these migrant women's behaviour along binary lines of acceptable and unacceptable behaviours. Following the pattern of hetero-patriarchal discourses which police and control women's bodies and sexualities, respectability is maintained by shaming and branding any woman who is seen to be threatening the (patriarchal) *status quo*. These arguments are often cast in negative sexual language (Baines 2003) with women often labelled 'loose' or 'prostitutes'—'*mahure*'. Carried out by both men and women, such labelling puts pressure on women to conform to the normative notions of respectability.

The policing of a migrant woman's respectability, which is not only defined in terms of her sexuality but also in terms of her day-to-day conduct with regard to the spaces she occupies, who she socialises with and what activities she takes part in, is carried out at both the level of home and level of the wider 'community'. In the home, available kin (male and female), as well as fellow housemates or other occupants of the plots they occupy, police young women's behaviour. Memory, for instance, during our discussions repeatedly emphasised how her brothers were "very strict" with her, questioning her when she received phone calls and expecting her to stay indoors. For the partnered women, policing of their behaviour also comes from their husbands or live-in partners. For example, I witnessed how Enniah's live-in partner made repeated reference to how he did not tolerate "people with no manners". Although this was said in what appeared to be a nonchalant way, in an interview later, Enniah recounted

how when she and her friend had begun staying with him, he had cautioned the young women "not to misbehave" particularly in the presence of his maternal cousin (customarily held with the same regard as his biological mother), who stayed with other relatives on the same plot. Enniah explained that because she is a social drinker, he feared that they might behave in ways that might bring him opprobrium from his kin. In conversation, Mai Pana also indicated how her husband often reproached her regarding her inclination for hanging out with her Xhosa-speaking female neighbours who are often collectively constructed as 'unrespectable' as illustrated above.

Although many of these Zimbabwean migrant young women may often "not have to answer to parental figures in their households", their conduct and behaviour is monitored and policed by other Zimbabweans within the neighbourhoods in which they live (as well as Zimbabweans in other areas of Cape Town who are connected to them through common networks) (McLaren 2007). The policing of femininities outside the usual home or community spaces of Zimbabwe also comes to include close or key non-kin networks which are re-appropriated or explained as being like kin relationships. In Joanna's case, her brother's network of friends, who are key to her support network and who she also considers as her 'brothers', felt it was their place to monitor and comment on her behaviour in this migration context. On hearing that she had left the job as a domestic worker (which he had connected her to) one of these 'brothers' was suspicious of how she was now taking care of herself, commenting, "she wants to get into mischief here in South Africa…" (Postman, Casual Conversation, 28 October 2008).

This policing of respectability for migrant women at community level is also achieved by making judgements about the "kinds of women" they are, then branding them, as well as through what Merry (1997) discerns as judgemental gossip (Merry 1997: 11). Even though they have travelled the long distances from their home country, there appears to be a continued disapproval of mobile women. Powerful notions of a woman's place 'in the home' continue to be invoked even in this migration context and women deemed to transgress from this expectation branded negatively. I often heard negative comments being passed (more often by men) about particular women who were perceived to spend large amounts of time moving around the neighbourhood who were labelled 'Johnny Walker' or the 'Mayors of Harare' in disparaging tones. Their movements were perceived as attempts to either attract the attention of men or to spread gossip. Particular negative discourses also develop in association with certain geographical spaces within Cape Town and activities such as regularly drinking alcohol or frequenting nightspots such

as nightclubs, with women labelled unrespectable if they are seen to partake in these activities or frequent these spaces. Several theorists in cultural studies and anthropology who have challenged the time-honoured assumption[31] that gossip and scandal serve as effective modes of informal social control, Merry (1997) in consensus with these theorists argues "that talk, by itself, is far less important in deterring deviance" than imagined (Merry 1997: 48). Nonetheless, although gossip about individual or groups of migrant women's behaviour may not completely succeed in controlling it, the content of gossip points to the underlying rules, values and expectations or prescriptions key to defining Zimbabwean female migrant identities and experiences. Even though, as I point out earlier, the young women may not always subscribe to the gendered social norms that emerge through the construction and policing of the 'respectable' and 'unrespectable' Zimbabwean migrant woman, the attitudes and stereotypes reflected in these discourses have ramifications for their positions, choices and actions. In the home and township spaces they occupy, the young migrant women have to negotiate these expectations and assumptions that govern their experiences and how others respond to them. Their individual situations, motivations and prerogatives are, however, more complex than the stereotypical binaries portray.

The earlier sections of this chapter have pointed to the diverse relationships that are key to the young women's experiences. Central to the construction of the migrant woman (respectable or otherwise) is her sexuality and how she follows gendered scripts of performance with regard to relationships with men. To highlight the complexities of their individual experiences as well as the ways the migrant women negotiate the discourses of respectability and the accompanying monitoring and disciplining in their everyday, in the final sections of the chapter, I pay particular attention to heterosexual partnerships. Central to the construction of the migrant woman (respectable or otherwise) is her sexuality and how she follows gendered scripts of performance with regard to relationships with men. Romantic partnerships provide a useful example of how women negotiate their position within the social and discursive environment described above at the everyday and micro level of body, identity and relationships in this migration context.

Limiting Stereotypes and Seeking Respectability Relationships with men—Negotiating Expectations and Identities

In the earlier sections I have pointed out that one of the dominant perceptions among the 'community' of Zimbabwean migrants is that for unaccompanied women, relationships with men are useful resources,

which allow them to survive and 'achieve' in this migration context. Some of the views expressed by the young women echo this gendered expectation that in heterosexual partnerships the man should provide for the material needs of the woman.[32] However, their experiences and aspirations also point to the complex and varying meanings these women attach to these relationships. As I will illustrate, although on occasion they may enter into relationships of 'convenience' determined by the need to secure access to 'free' accommodation or which allow them to obtain spending money or have their other material costs covered, for the young women this is not the only side of relationships with men, with affection and aspirations for marriage coming into play (Ramphele 1993). In this final section I look at the ways in which young migrant women experience romantic partnerships (both marital and non-marital), pointing to how the polarised gendered stereotypes and expectations surrounding mobile Zimbabwean women are often reflected and played out in the different ways they construct and negotiate these relationships. Central to this discussion is the bearing that the dominant discourses around gendered social norms and expectations as well as the policing of respectability have on the young women's relationships.

The experiences of the different young women demonstrate the variation and fluidity in the constructions and expectations as well as the dynamics and complexities of negotiating relationships with the non-kin males they encounter within this migration context. With marriage still central to how an adult woman and respectability are defined, marital status is also key to how these relationships are defined and negotiated. For the married women who were part of this research, maintaining their relationships with their spouses and safeguarding their position as 'respectable' wives is a key concern. On the other hand, many of my unmarried informants are at a juncture in life where they feel they are at the age when they are supposed to find their place in society as wives. They are therefore keen on entering into love relationships that will lead to the married status to which they aspire. However, for both the attached and unattached women, negotiation of these intimate relationships is mediated by different factors which include the polarised stereotypes and gendered expectations around migrant respectability (the 'unrespectable' parasitic desperado on one end and the 'respectable' hardworking virtuous woman on the other) that exist within this social environment. These constructions and concerns shape the course and character of heterosexual partnerships and in particular the young women's sense of self, as well as how they negotiate it.

In discussing heterosexual partnerships in this context most of the young women interviewed indicated that these relationships often present a challenge. For one, those women who had partners back in Zimbabwe expressed insecurities about their relationships with some fearing or reporting transgressions by their partners. They also pointed to the strain put on the relationship by distance and mutual suspicion. Joanna expressed this concern when discussing her relationship with her boyfriend back home: "of course we communicate but I no longer call it a relationship", adding "he is not sure what I am doing here and he is always questioning me about who I spend time with here" (Joanna, Individual Interview, 28 October 2008). Vongai, an unaccompanied wife, echoed this experience. Insecurities, however, do not only exist around relationships with absent partners but also around establishing new or maintaining relationships in this context.

As I pointed out earlier, in this migration context single or unaccompanied female bodies are viewed suspiciously as parasites or constructed as 'easy' or 'loose' sexual objects which are often discussed in relation to casual relationships. In discussing his unpleasant experience with a fellow Zimbabwean woman who had nearly succeeded in duping him into sending money for marriage proceedings to purported relatives when she was already married to another man back in Zimbabwe, one young man asserted:

> *If I have a relationship [with a Zimbabwean woman here], it will be something casual not something serious…When I want to marry I will go and get someone back in Zimbabwe, not someone who is already here…. (Individual Interview, 15 October 2008)*

This view is one shared by many of the Zimbabwean men who are the targets of these young women's marriage aspirations. With unattached or unaccompanied migrant women stereotyped as 'unrespectable', which translates to 'unmarriageable' (Hungwe 2006), establishing a genuine, sustainable relationship in which they are not seen as temporary expendable casual partners but that will lead to the matrimony to which many of these women aspire becomes complex. However, it is not only young men who approach relationships with the opposite sex with some degree of scepticism and caution. Cognisant of the assumptions and accompanying attitudes towards them, and holding their own stereotypes about their male compatriots together with what they have seen to be the practice of their male kin, Zimbabwean migrant women are also often apprehensive about men's intentions towards them. When discussing a young man she

had met in Cape Town, Joanna expressed this dilemma with regard to relationships in this context; "the thing is it's very hard for females to have relationships here [in South Africa]", adding "you never know who is real. I keep asking myself, 'what does he want from me?' …" (Individual Interview, 28 October 2008).

Informal discussions and interviews with other women revealed that for unmarried young women the issues of trust, fear of deception and desertion were among the key mediating factors that shape their understanding and negotiation of intimate relationships in this migration space. Although she holds aspirations for marriage, indicating that this is something she has been praying for,[33] 23-year-old never married Fungie shared similar concerns with Joanna regarding the potential of being deceived and 'exploited' by the men she meets in the space of Cape Town. Describing what she perceived to be the common experience of single unaccompanied women in the space of Cape Town, Mai Pana had the following to say: "she gets here and gets [romantically] involved with a person she does not know, someone she does not trust. He gets you pregnant then makes off leaving her with problems…" (Mai Pana, Follow-up Interview, 22 March 2009). She added, "Most of them will be a married man with a wife back at home. You get involved with him then [later] he tells you 'Oh by the way…'". These risks of deception and desertion also exist in the context of Zimbabwe but are seen to be heightened by the convergence of people from different backgrounds (often unknown to each other) in the absence of the usual family and social networks that monitor the relationships between young people through various mechanisms such as making commendations about a potential partner's character or providing detail about their history.

The apprehension over deception or desertion is linked, to some degree, to anxiety over being assumed 'unrespectable', which translates to 'unmarriageable' and therefore prone to the trickery and the 'exploitation' which single or unattached women associate with relationships with young men in this context. In an attempt to avoid being read as 'unrespectable' or viewed and treated as a woman who men "can do anything with" (Joanna, Individual Interview, 28 October 2008), some of the young women, for example, attempt to vigilantly police their personal moral careers (Salo 2004). The mechanisms of this policing are often centred on avoidance practices such as monitoring who one talks to or who one is associated with. When I inquired about the wellbeing of a mutual acquaintance who had introduced us, Fungie was quick to say that she had decided to stop

speaking to the young woman due to her proclivity for concurrently dating multiple men. Another informant indicated that for what she described as her "safety" she was unwilling to visit her boyfriend overnight. This would help her avoid embarrassing her family by having to elope as a result of an unplanned pregnancy. She added that she wanted time to establish herself and be sure she "can afford to take care of" herself and her baby in the event of being jilted (Memory, Individual Interview, 27 November 2008). Married women also attempt to monitor their personal moral careers and reputations through similarly policing their behaviour and interactions or associations or through meeting the expected gendered domestic roles.

Avoiding association with particular practices, activities, geographical and social spaces, as well as avoiding being associated with other women who are deemed to not meet morally prescribed sexual and social respectability, is an attempt by young migrant women to safeguard their reputations. For the single women, maintaining their good name and 'good gal' (Salo 2003, 2004) image can also be seen to promote their chances of finding genuine long-term relationships which will allow them to transition from good daughter to respectable wife and mother. For the married women, this negotiation of self to promote a good name is seen to play a part in maintaining their relationships with their spouses and safeguarding their position as 'respectable' wives. However, the young women often find that strictly policing their personal moral careers is not always enough to shield them from being assumed 'unrespectable' and therefore temporary and expendable, nor is it always possible, with some reporting experiences of forced sex. Regardless of their actual behaviour, assumptions and suspicion of what is considered deviant behaviour continues to carry social consequences for migrant women. This is particularly so for single mothers and divorcees, making it difficult to achieve the social reinvention and redemption sought after by some of them.

The vigilant adherence to 'traditional' Zimbabwean female respectability to counter the negative assumptions of mobile Zimbabwean women is not only difficult, but also often undesirable. For migrant women living with their spouses, for some of whom the migration context is the first time they are staying alone as a couple and managing their own household, in the space of Cape Town they are able to challenge some of the expected roles and behaviours in the absence of the usual social controls and monitors (such as in-laws they share households with back in Zimbabwe). This leads to a redefinition of what it means to be a 'respectable' wife, daughter-in-law or mother not only in response to the

limited and often precarious circumstances of the migration context, but also as an expression of women's agency.

The single women also find that the practices and behaviour that are required to maintain the 'good gal' image do not always work to achieve their aspirations. For example, even though Memory reiterated that it was not proper for her to go and stay with her boyfriend before he paid *lobola*, she indicated that if she saw that "he is not thinking or working towards doing the marriage negotiations first," then she would "just have to go" and live with him. With scepticism and uncertainty in relation to relationships with men vying with the desire for genuine 'loving' sustained partnerships (and often leading to ambivalent feelings), the young women negotiate the intricacies of relationships in ways that suit or reflect individual situations, aspirations and personalities. Their apprehensions and ambivalences, not only in relation to heterosexual relationships, shape young Zimbabwean migrant women's identities and how they position and negotiate self in this migration space, choosing when to tread the line or not with regard to the expectations surrounding their female respectability within this social and discursive environment.

Inherited and Reinforced; Manipulated and Renegotiated

For the young women presented in this chapter, the migration experience places them in a situation that requires them to re-examine and re-establish some aspects of their gendered identities. There is an interplay between cultural and gender discourses in the construction and conceptualisation of the ideal migrant Zimbabwean woman. The young women in conjunction with the other members of the 'community' of Zimbabwean migrants in the urban outskirts of Cape Town where they are located use the transitional migration space to retrieve or reinforce particular aspects of female identity—which they present to be the 'authentic', 'traditional' Zimbabwean female identity. The acceptable 'respectable' Zimbabwean migrant woman is constructed in juxtaposition to the deviant/'unrespectable' migrant woman who falls outside the boundaries of accepted Zimbabwean 'respectable' feminine behaviour and 'morality'. These polarised gendered stereotypes are the discourses that are key to the experiences of this current wave of mobile Zimbabwean women in both the home and neighbourhood spaces where they relocate to on the peripheries of Cape Town as well as in their relationships with male partners. Good or 'respectable' women are bearers of indigenous 'traditional'…, beyond the reach of Western 'modernity', or the

corrupting influence of locating in a foreign country, a theme that has historically been common within discourses on culture and tradition (Ahmad 2006). The reinforcement of particular feminine ideals is done through selective appropriation of gendered social norms and discourses of respectability which are shaped by and embedded in Christianisation, colonial discourses and a history of nationalism (Mupotsa 2005), have come to encode female respectability in Zimbabwe over time. Culture and tradition are invoked in idealised ways which homogenise gendered identities and relations in the Zimbabwean context. Some of the ideals that index women's respectability that are reinforced and become salient in this context include a strong work ethic, and domesticity. With sexual identities being central to gendered cultural prescriptions (Tamale 2005), there is also an emphasis on the exhibition of appropriate female sexuality regulated through codes around dress and behaviour, with sexual propriety defined as the expression of women's sexuality only in the confines of marriage.

Bolzoni (2009) suggests that participation in dense networks, such as those that exist among Zimbabwean migrants in the township spaces they occupy, is accompanied by a "push to conformity", some degree of homogeneity and "the observance of cultural and social norms" (Bolzoni 2009: 136). Physical and social proximity shapes the meanings and the practice for acceptable femininities among Zimbabwean migrants through continued perpetuation within this social environment of particular definitions of mobile Zimbabwean women. These definitions are also inherited through social conventions and perpetuated through relationships that they carry over from home, for example, with male kin or in-laws. However, these relationships and conventions have to be enacted in different ways in Cape Town, due to circumstances such as limited housing space, which makes observance of some of the conventions and behaviour systems difficult. The women, together with their kin, friends and neighbours who make up the 'community' of Zimbabwean migrants in the spaces they live, make sense of and impute particular expectations, acts or spaces with meanings of respectability or lack of respectability, which reflect the new needs of material living conditions in the current context. The dynamics discussed here are however not stagnant but shifting as these mobile women and the communities are constantly evolving. These shifts over time are linked to external factors such as changes in the political economy in both the home and host country. At a personal level, as the women spend more time in the host spaces it is not only their material and social circumstances that shift but the passing of time and exposure to different circumstances also comes with studes, aspirations, expectations and practice for mobile women.

Notes

1. Young man indicating to one of my informants that he had identified her as Zimbabwean even before he had heard her speak in Shona, 14 May 2009.
2. Muzvidziwa (2001).
3. Consequently, many Zimbabwean businesses have closed, leading to retrenchments, which has contributed to high rates of unemployment which have often been reported to be above 90 percent. The suspension of the Zimbabwe dollar and introduction of the multi-currency system as well as the signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) in February 2009 and its subsequent consummation through the formation of the shortlived Government of National Unity (GNU) among other key events, have shaped the state of the Zimbabwean economy but have failed to halt the increasing impoverishment of the Zimbabwean populace.
4. Given the circulatory migration process, the high level of undocumented and 'unauthorised' cross-border entry as well as the reliance on deportation figures. The media and advocacy group estimates of three to five million people, contrast with the approximately one million legal and illegal migrants suggested by the few scientific studies that have been carried out (see Makina 2007), as well as with the estimate that three to four million Zimbabweans have left the country in the last decade for different destinations (Sisulu et al. 2007).
5. Matshaka, N.S. 2007. Marobot neMawaya—Traffic Lights and Wire—Migration Experiences and Gendered Identities: The Case of Young Zimbabwean migrants living in the city of Cape Town (Unpublished research project for partial fulfilment of BsocSc Honours degree), African Gender Institute: University of Cape Town.
6. The formal fieldwork period for the research focusing on young Zimbabwean migrant women stretched between October 2008 and July 2009 while field work for the previous research on gender, migration and masculinities was carried out in 2007.
7. Participant observation activities involved long visits and 'hanging out' (Bernard 1994; Bhavnani 1994) with the young women. I not only spent several hours at a time observing activities and interactions and having casual conversations in the young women's home spaces, but in the case of the women who were located in Harare and Litha Park, I came to share their neighbourhood as I moved around the area in their company getting to know their networks. I became a regular at the market area at the Khayelitsha Station, where I often stopped by to make conversation with one of my key informants and in time became acquainted with other Zimbabweans (male and female) operating in this space. In the process of engaging in the lives of the research participants, I was able to access the discursive (what people say in public), what they do (the practice) and internal realities (attitudes and beliefs) of these young women.

8. Along which vendors line up and display their wares to people who have disembarked from the trains or are leaving the adjacent Khayelitsha shopping mall.
9. This surprised me, as this was not my usual experience of Cape Town. Sisulu et al. (2007) point to how in the last few years there has been a change in the ethnic composition of the Zimbabwean 'community' in South Africa with a massive increase in Zimbabweans of Shona ethnicity. A few years ago, it was not common to hear Shona being spoken in many South African cities. Nowadays it is rare to move around without hearing snatches of conversation in Shona.
10. It is, however, not always deemed safe to do so as I learnt during my fieldwork through anecdotes about incidents of foreigners being thrown off the train along the Cape Town—Khayelitsha train line.
11. Zimbabwean-led congregations of these popular prophet-healing groups have mushroomed in many of South Africa's informal settlements and townships where Zimbabweans have relocated (http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/zionist+church; Muzondidya 2008).
12. The social networks that are central in these Zimbabwean women's migration experiences are not limited to nationality or ethnic-based networks but also involve cooperation with Xhosa-speaking neighbours and landlords with whom they share childcare responsibilities, for example.
13. In times of illness, responses appear to be varied depending on the extent of illness and the closeness of the relationships. Migrants who are ill for a long period or 'diagnosed' to be terminal are often encouraged to travel back to Zimbabwe 'before it is too late'.
14. Muzondidya (2008) points to how burial societies have become an established feature in some parts of Johannesburg and Pretoria, which have become home to many Zimbabweans. However, at the time of the study in the Cape Town context, I did not find any of my informants to be members of similar groups. The few stokvels that the women reported to have heard of were described as unsuccessful due to the uncertainty of the length of people's stay with people returning to Zimbabwe at any time and at times absconding with group funds. The women I spoke to indicated that they preferred not to be members of such groups due to the perceived complications, which include some degree of undesirable monitoring of one's financial situation and behaviour, preferring in most cases to limit their associational life to church membership or casual interactions. As one woman put it, "this congregating [for anything] with other Zimbabweans poses problems. It leads to a lot of talk" (Mutsa, Individual Interview, 14 November 2008).
15. D.M. Individual Interview, 27 August 2007.
16. Informant speaking to a local Xhosa-speaking man in reference to me the researcher, Participant Observation, 10 August 2007.

17. Muzvidziwa (2001) points to how in the Zimbabwean state media, "stories about cross-border traders prostituting themselves with haulage truck drivers, and spending long periods in South Africa selling nothing but their bodies were rife" and how these traders "were charged with resorting to illegal abortions during their trips as 'shoppers'" (Muzvidziwa 2001: 69).
18. L, Informal Group Discussion, August 2007.
19. A totem is a natural object (animal, vegetation) serving as the emblem of a family or clan, passed from one generation to the next (Moser et al. 1996).
20. Agali, Individual Interview, 27 August 2007.
21. Which over time has come to be associated with the older generation of cross-border trader women who suffer deplorable conditions such as sleeping in the open air at border posts or market places, working hard to support and improve the situation of families at home.
22. *Mapoto* literally translates to cooking pots. A *mapoto* relationship is often a temporary set-up which does not involve the payment of *lobola* [bride price] from the man to the woman's family. According to Barnes (1999) this type of relationship became common in the urban centres of Rhodesia due to the colonial system which precluded women from getting housing by asserting that only men could register for housing (Barnes 1999; also see Barnes and Win 1992). This meant that for accommodation, single women had to rely on relationships with men living in town without their 'married' wives.
23. Also see Mupotsa (2005) for a similar discussion.
24. When she initially arrived in 2007, Enniah had stayed with her estranged husband, but efforts to revive their relationship were not successful. She and her old school friend were stuck for a place to stay when kicked out of the ex-husband's place of residence.
25. At the time Enniah shared a one-room informal structure with a male friend who stayed with an older brother and male cousins.
26. Although the young women were later accused of stealing a cell phone which had disappeared from the rented room and then using the money from the sale of the phone to buy the groceries.
27. Zimbabwean feminist writers (Gaidzanwa 1995; Hungwe 2006; Mupotsa 2005) have pointed to how, in contemporary Zimbabwe, the term 'prostitute' is used not only to refer to women who sell sexual services but also as an umbrella term to insult and censure any woman who displays an array of behaviours that is disapproved of or considered defiant of the hegemonic patriarchal order.
28. A key role of the paternal aunt was (and continues to some extent) to provide guidance and to be a confidante for her brother's children before and after marriage.
29. Gelfand (1979) points to how for a period some urban-based Shona continued to send their children to stay with grandparents in the rural areas

during school holidays or for a few school terms during which time they were socialised into appropriate behaviour.

30. The older women in this space are often engaged in cross-border trade activities and only come for short periods, often returning home to attend to school-going children and other gendered domestic roles.
31. An assumption put forward in the work of anthropologist such as Radcliffe-Brown (1933), Gluckman (1963) and Pitt-Rivers (1971), among many others.
32. This expectation is one that is not unique to this context but becomes more pronounced in this migration space where the need for a male partner to 'provide' gains importance in the absence of family or other usual support. The expectation not only positions young women as dependent but allows young men to play the masculine role of 'provider', which among some Zimbabwean male migrants was referred to as *"kuhoster vasikana"* (hosting the girls) (Matshaka 2007).
33. In a conversation she indicated that she had recently begun attending *masowe* (prayer sessions) with one of the Zionist sects where she received prayer guidance and prophetic revelation (which is one of the common features of this church) about her future and prospects regarding making a good marriage.

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CHAPTER 12

Social Control in Transnational Families: Somali Women and Dignity in Johannesburg

Marnie Shaffer

Introduction

Transnational mobility often separates families and distances people from the kinship and social structures by which they organized their lives prior to migration. Movement has altered the dynamics of Somali households, families, and communities post-migration, reshaping social constructions as individuals manage their lives in new locations without the familial support that sustained them in Somalia.[1] While outcomes of these hardships are variable and often uneven in different settlement spaces, migration can offer new opportunities for people to pursue avenues from which they were previously excluded, such as by assuming roles and responsibilities their relatives once filled. These changes precipitate shifting identities and are challenging for women who find themselves self-reliant in the diaspora, particularly in the absence of (supportive) husbands and close kin.

This chapter draws on doctoral research conducted in Johannesburg's Somali community from 2010 to 2011. The ethnographic study focused on the dynamics of changing gender relations among Somalis living in Mayfair, a suburb just west of the city center, where the Somali community established its base in the city and continues to grow with new arrivals in search of refuge and livelihood opportunities. Based on group and focus

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group interviews, in-depth qualitative interviews with women and men, and extensive participant observation in Mayfair, this chapter explores the assumption that migration provides an opening for women to challenge subordinating gender norms that limit their autonomy. It also questions whether migration loosens social rules for Somali women or if notions of respectability are redefined in settlement. In this context, respectability refers to cultural understandings of being a 'good woman'—that is, chastity outside of marriage, associations with virtuous individuals, limited contact with non-kin males, commitment to household and family, obedience to male authority, observance of segregated social spaces, and, above all, demonstrated devotion to faith through actions and appearances. I argue that while migration alters conceptions of appropriate behavior and women's position in their households and families, they remain limited by social control within their extended families and communities.

The focus of this chapter is two-fold. First, I explore the nature of transnational familial relationships as women conduct their lives without the physical presence of close kin. Second, I consider the challenges women face not only from the geographical boundaries of space and location, but also through a transnational lens. The dynamics of diasporic life challenge customary arrangements, with women given few options in the absence of (supportive) husbands and close kin to provide support. While they must take care in maintaining their families' respectability, the reality too is that women provide critical resources to their immediate and extended families, often ensuring their survival. This chapter questions whether this trade-off results in relaxing the rules for women, and if it is appropriate to redefine dignity and respectability as it pertains to Somali women.

Transnational Migration and Networks

The process of uprooting and exile leads to a restructuring of the sociocultural constructions that guided life prior to migration, culminating in unexpected challenges as individuals conduct their relationships under new circumstances. These adjustments are gendered, relational, and subject to the changing conditions in which people find themselves in space and time, even as they are structured around larger institutional domains (Castellanos and Boehm 2008). Such dilemmas inspire modes of conformity, in addition to those of resistance, and often play out beyond the spatial dimensions of settlement locations. Webs of social networks that maintain linkages to the homeland are vital to transnational migrants.

Equally important are what Engebrigtsen (2007, p. 729) refers to as the spatial dimensions of 'cultural scripts'—symbols, structures, and processes—and the ways in which these negotiating processes shape life abroad. Empirical studies point to the value networks play in providing information and resources to those separated by the circumstances that led to migration, but access to resources may be uneven to individuals within networks (Ryan 2011). These connections benefit people in different ways, whether it is through remittances migrants send home, advice provided to aspirant migrants, or updates movers and non-movers offer to retain associations. While networks are advantageous to individuals in sending and receiving societies through the complex dynamics of exchange, facilitated in part by the ease of modern communication (see Panagakos and Horst 2006; Vertovec 2004a), they can also have adverse consequences (Wilding 2006). The multidimensional nature of kin and social networks requires an exploration of how these relationships change locally and transnationally to understand the ways in which geography, time, and the strength of connections evolve with migration. The degree to which change occurs depends on a multitude of variables, possibly limiting or accelerating change after migration.

Vertovec (2004b, p. 972) contends that outcomes of migrant transnationalism are part of a much larger transformative process: "While not bringing about substantial societal transformations by themselves, patterns of cross-border exchange and relationship among migrants may contribute significantly to broadening, deepening or intensifying conjoined processes of transformation that are already ongoing." He argues further that because migrants often maintain transnational relationships, the nature of communication changes but the structure of networks resists permanent modifications. People invest in transnational relationships for myriad reasons. Transnational practices are influenced by state policies and social exclusion in settlement places, leading marginalized refugees to strengthen their attachments to home post-migration (Cheran 2006). Tied to this is the value of social capital, of the benefits associated with investing in social relationships that enable people "to symbolically represent their social position, and allowing greater choice in social and personal life" (Anthias 2007, p. 792). Refugee migration especially situates people in socially disadvantaged positions in their host communities, often serving to strengthen ties to home rather than to eliminate them. People may respond to these changes with divergent survival strategies: defending their position or pursuing new pathways (Anthias 2007).

Social Control and Agency

Gender norms may be conceptualized as roles that are normalized and unconsciously performed, thereby linking to social organization (Portes 2010). It is through social norms that standards for behavior and 'bargaining power' are determined but can change over time (Agarwal 1997). Research has shown that refugee women often respond proactively to uprooting, enabling them to negotiate their position post-migration (Essed et al. 2004). With new access to social and economic resources, women are empowered to effect change in family gender relations by making important decisions in matters from which they were excluded in the past (Kibreab 2004; Mills 2003). However, migration does not guarantee considerable changes to the social order and instead may reinforce core practices (Hays 1994; Portes 2010). The key to sustainable change may lie in the broader acceptance of social transformation (Agarwal 1997), a colossal challenge for women who are often "the central purveyors of a community's 'culture' and 'tradition'" (Rajasingham-Senanayake 2004, p. 152). Furthermore, migration outcomes depend not only on migrants, but also on host communities and those who stay behind (Van Hear 1998). It is understandable then that change within transnational communities is an evolving process, one occurring over time and at different paces determined by the complexities of place. Shifting power structures enable women to contest gender norms, which may produce changes within social systems over time (Hofmann and Buckley 2012), but the immediate effect can be negative for women who resist customary social norms.

Cooper et al. (2009, p. 2) define social control as "an aspect of social conditioning" that is learned and shared within a society. For Nader (1997), social control is about power over groups or relations that leads to domination or resistance. It is one type of the 'controlling processes' that moves with people and institutions, leading to "diffusion and transculturation" (p. 720). In transnational contexts, social control derives from homeland memories of norms and behaviors that are carried through migration and acted upon in host societies (Cooper et al. 2009). Movement often grants women greater freedom to make choices in their lives, such as in employment and personal relationships, yet they remain constrained by sociocultural expectations. Even with transnational migration and protracted separation, women are expected to act in ways that maintain their families' dignity and reputation. These behavioral expectations are enforced to ensure honor within families or in broader society (Cooper et al. 2009). As family representatives, women are pressured to conform to

culturally acceptable standards of behavior despite realities that situate them as self-reliant. Women remain under the watchful eye of their families through expansive networks and the widespread use of technology, which facilitate a new form of social control in transnational families. These actualities raise questions about the degree to which transnational movement is a liberating force or rather a reconfiguration of social control.

How migrant women balance the potential to act on their agency with social control has been explored in other studies. For example, qualitative interviews with young, female Cuban and Haitian immigrants in the United States revealed women's association of social control with protection against "physical harm or social dishonor" (Day and Icduygu 1997, p. 7). The authors, however, found that controlling young women is more about preventing harm to a family's reputation than it is a matter of guarding women. The research concluded that migration does not eliminate cultural expectations for women's behavior that conforms to customary arrangements; living outside of the homeland does not provide a sense of freedom to instate new forms of acceptable behavior. That all of the women included in the study lived with or near their parents helps to explain why they struggle with social control. Other research links destination to the ability to resist pressure from within an ethnic community—in settlement and from home. In their comparative study of Borşa, Romanian immigrants in Milan and London, Boswell and Ciobanu (2009) use systems theory to explain why transnational ties are stronger for migrants in Italy and weaker for those who settled in the United Kingdom. Their argument is rooted in analyses of state structures and the ways in which policies and experiences shape the connections migrants have with their hosts, and the degree of inclusion they develop as members in their adopted societies. They concluded that varying degrees of inclusion in host societies largely affect migrants' need for, and use of, their own ethnic networks and transnational ties to access employment, housing, education, and health systems.

It is through agency and the capacity for behaving in new ways that enables some degree of change. These processes must be examined by considering structural, institutional, or intersubjective limitations (McNay 2000, p. 23). Ortner (2006) takes the position that social agents are so deeply involved in their social relations that a wholly free social actor is untenable. Agents operate within their social networks as well as in larger social contexts where power, inequality, and competition are everyday realities. While most people have the ability to act as agents, uneven power structures influence and sometimes limit agency (Moore 1994). In other words, actors use agency to influence social outcomes, to resist power

structures in order to transform society, and to achieve their goals, but there remain sociocultural constructions of power that can and sometimes lead to disempowerment:

> Whatever "agency" they [persons] seem to "have" as individuals is in reality something that is always in fact interactively negotiated. In this sense they are never free agents, not only in the sense that they do not have the freedom to formulate and realize their own goals in a social vacuum, but also in the sense that they do not have the ability to fully control those relations toward their own ends. As truly and inescapably social beings, they can only work within the many webs of relations that make up their social worlds. (Ortner 2006, pp. 151–152)

Using Sherpa women as an example, Ortner (1996) shows that while women have the ability to pursue their own interests and act (for the most part) freely, their agency is limited within society by gender disparities engrained in their cultural fabric, serving to weaken their agency.

While personal agency accounts for individual action in response to opportunities or circumstances, social cognitive theory explores the key role proxy and collective agency plays in how people conduct their lives (Bandura 2001). In the absence of direct control, people may turn to alternative modes, or proxies, to achieve desired outcomes. Those in positions of power are used to influence situations over which other individuals have no control. Using social control as an example, proxies may be used to intervene on behalf of extended families that are unable to directly control women's behavior from afar. In doing so, they seek to modify behavior perceived as damaging to the family as a whole and accomplish this by investing others with the power to act. Building on this, collective agency demonstrates the strength of communities that can also influence outcomes by applying pressure, such as threats of social abandonment or punishment in the afterlife, to those who endanger their position in society by exhibiting poor, culturally inappropriate behavior. In the case of monitoring women's actions, collective agency serves to preserve cultural norms jeopardized by transnational migration and settlement in diaspora communities.

Gossip plays an important role in controlling actions by transmitting information that travels to family abroad, the consequences of which can be destructive to individual relationships. Transnational migration often necessitates reliance on social networks able to provide information and

resources to a multitude of dependent parties. For women and men living in transnational communities, social support is fundamental to building new lives, making community perceptions of individuals crucial to receiving support. Gossip is a powerful tool used to demonstrate power while manipulating the subjects of gossip (Isotalo 2007). It may promote community solidarity, but it also creates conflict and serves to punish those who defy cultural values and norms. As a form of social control, gossip teaches people how to behave and discourages people from acting in inappropriate ways, and it is used especially to scrutinize women's morality. Consequently, the stakes are high for those who have been separated by migration in terms of how gossip damages reputations within new communities and the emotions evoked by gossip to families separated by geography (Dreby 2009).

The Somali Context

Years of physical and economic insecurity in Somalia impelled as many as two million refugees to flee the country, prompting a large transformative process as families lost contact with missing relatives and those who remained behind or settled elsewhere in the diaspora (Boyle and Ali 2010). Whereas the extended family managed relationships, from courtship to marriage, and controlled all aspects of social life in Somalia, the disruption of uprooting contributed to the de-emphasis on family (Kleist 2010). While social control has declined in the diaspora (see Boyle and Ali 2010), however, extended families remain an extremely powerful force in people's lives. Controlling processes within families are not simply dichotomous—that is, geography dictates whether it exists—but rather its complexity cannot be reduced to the physical presence or absence of family. Somalis globally transmit information through a dizzying array of networks in a remarkably expeditious fashion. Social control transcends location, and while the rules have loosened, they have not disappeared as Somalis carry their values and responsibilities with them in settlement spaces.

Studies throughout the diaspora reveal divergent migration outcomes for women. In his research with Somalis in Portland, Maine, Allen (2009) found that women face enormous pressure from their community to conform to customary practices, such as maintaining conservative dress, even if it limits their employment opportunities in resettlement. Interestingly, Allen discovered that pressure increases with

family reunification due to extensive social ties and dependence on those networks within their community, the rationale being that it is riskier for women with strong social ties to abandon custom and face community ostracism. Conversely, Boyle and Ali's (2010) work with Somali refugees in Minneapolis, Minnesota shows important changes in family structure, namely a surge in female-headed households and the dissolution of strong networks that comprised social and family life in Somalia. Family dispersal implies less control over women and the choices they make in their lives, such as regarding marriage and divorce decisions without family interference. These personal matters were mediated by kin in Somalia, often culminating in family rather than individual decisions concerning marriage and divorce. This also extended to the ways in which women were treated in marriage, providing women with support systems should a husband abuse her (Affi 1997; Mohamed 1997). The authors argue that migration limits the application of social control from the extended family. Several studies corroborate this (see discussions in Affi 2004; Boyle and Ali 2010; Crosby 2008), but the power of family remains an impenetrable force in the lives of many women. Women's autonomy in the diaspora indeed grants them greater agency, yet they remain committed to the families they left behind, and this continues to limit their ability to fully realize their autonomy. Somali women in Cairo, for example, lead the charge in providing support to their families transnationally and invest in building a supportive Somali community (Al-Sharmani 2006).

Somalis in Mayfair, Johannesburg

Johannesburg, located in Gauteng Province, is the largest and most densely populated city in South Africa (Statistics South Africa 2007) with about 3.8 million residents (Parks Tau 2012). At the time of fieldwork, estimates suggested there were more than 450,000 forced migrants living in the city with an additional 417,700 asylum seekers and other migrants in dire circumstances (Women's Refugee Commission 2011). There is a well-established Somali community that is mostly concentrated in Mayfair (Jinnah 2010; Peberdy and Majodina 2000), a suburb just west of the city center, and neighboring areas including Mayfair West and Fordsburg, and to a lesser extent Brixton, Langlaagte North, and Newtown. A 2006 African Cities survey indicates that almost 89% of Johannesburg Somalis live within Mayfair (FMSP 2006), making it the uncontested heart of the Somali community while remaining the Islamic center of Johannesburg.

Data on the Somali population in South Africa are problematic. While population estimates range anywhere from 20,000 (IRIN 2007) to 40,000 (Jinnah 2010) people throughout the country, South Africa received 8500 Somali asylum applications in 2008 (UNHCR 2009)—the year South Africa became the top destination for asylum seekers, receiving one-third of global applications (UNHCR 2011)—and more than 3800 of those were filed in Gauteng Province (SCOB 2008). Somalis who came to South Africa during apartheid likely entered the country illegally or as contract workers, per South African immigration laws in this period that excluded non-whites from legal migration processes (Peberdy 1998). As apartheid fell in favor of democracy, influxes of Somalis migrated to the country starting in 1992, one year after the Somali state collapsed, and continued intermittently in the 1990s and 2000s. Most asylum seekers arrived after Nelson Mandela was elected president in 1994—a common trend among other migrant groups as well (Buyer 2008; Castles and Miller 2009)—when South Africa admitted refugees legally (Peberdy 1998). Events in Somalia have encouraged refugee flows since then, most notably when Ethiopia invaded Somalia in 2006 (Jinnah 2010). Census data are not available for Mayfair Somalis, and Somali community organizations could not provide population estimates due to the frequent mobility of Somalis who work in and out of townships, movement to and from other Somali communities around the country, and a lack of resources and mechanisms to count the population. During the fieldwork period, some community members suggested a population of about 5000 Somalis living in Mayfair, the same number posited by community groups in 1999 (Dykes 2004).

Mayfair is small—about one square kilometer (Jinnah 2010)—and yet there are dozens of Somali owned and operated shops in the area, ranging from restaurants, clothing shops, and small grocers to electronics shops, internet cafés, and guesthouses. Other migrants live in Mayfair and run their own shops, but Somalis are the largest and most visible ethnic community in the area. Somalis were drawn to the Mayfair area for its existing South African Indian Muslim communities that have established mosques, Muslim cultural services, and halal butchers (i.e., religiously permissible food shops) (Sadouni 2009; Vigneswaran 2007). Mayfair's proximity to the city center was also important for developing successful businesses and trading schemes (Jinnah 2010). Many Somali shopkeepers who work in townships come to Mayfair to purchase bulk goods that are sold in their shops, and most of the Somalis who live in Mayfair work and interact within the confines of the community to maximize the use of their networks and employment opportunities (Moret et al. 2006).

South Africa has suffered severe growing pains in its young democracy. Class disparities have replaced racial segregation; high unemployment, inadequate housing, poor service delivery, and persistent corruption are among the most pressing issues South Africans face. Pervasive immigration—legal and illegal—in the wake of apartheid invoked xenophobic attitudes and behaviors from citizens who feel migrants, and especially black migrants from around the continent, threaten to take South Africans' already scarce economic opportunities while aggravating the country's high crime rates. Indeed, South Africa's propensity toward xenophobia distinguishes the country as one of the most hostile environments for foreign migrants in the world, and for black Africans in particular (Comaroff and Comaroff 2001; Peberdy and Majodina 2000). These realities have serious implications for Somalis, and women in particular. Emigration from a deeply patriarchal society like Somalia to a constitutionally progressive country such as South Africa might assume women's empowerment, defined as new possibilities for what women can achieve in areas from which they were previously excluded (Mosedale 2005). While changes can include greater freedom for women, discrimination, crime, and xenophobia hinder women's ability to act on their newly ascribed rights and opportunities in Mayfair. Physical and economic insecurity draw women and men to live in a community where they feel protected and supported by their networks and ethnic kin. Women thus find it difficult to challenge their social position and effect meaningful change in their lives because of their limited mobility and pressing social and economic needs.

The Somali community is vulnerable to social and institutional discrimination and has struggled to acquire adequate living accommodations conducive to productive lives (Peberdy and Majodina 2000). Moreover, refugees in Johannesburg receive little, if any, humanitarian assistance, thereby forcing them to carve out their own economic niches to survive (Jacobsen 2005). While refugees and other migrants are legally entitled to the same health, employment, and educational opportunities as other South Africans, this is seldom the case (Harris 2001; Landau 2008). Xenophobia continues to threaten stability in South Africa (see, e.g., Kamwimbi et al. 2010; Landau 2006; Landau et al. 2005; Lefko-Everett 2007; Misago et al. 2009; Wa Kabwe-Segatti and Landau 2008) as do high crime rates and deadly attacks on migrants, most notably the wave of violence that swept across the country in 2008, killing dozens of migrants including Somalis. In addition to the perception that Somalis are an economic threat to South Africans,

they are also soft targets as 'mobile ATMs' (Landau 2008). Hostility toward migrants has led to Somali shops being looted and burned by mobs, women and children being threatened in their homes, and Somalis generally being targets for robbery and other brutal attacks (Landau 2008; Misago et al. 2009). While the most abhorrent violence occurs in Somali shops in the townships, Mayfair residents face persistent threats or violations against their person or property. Research shows that more than 70% of the Somali population in Johannesburg have been victims of crime, and the same percentage have been stopped by police, resulting in interrogations, destroyed documents, and paid bribes (Landau 2008). Consequently, Somali women in South Africa limit their movement, dress in *hijab* or *niqab*[2] when going out, and opt for private Somali taxi drivers instead of public transportation as a way to protect themselves from the threat of robbery, (sexual) harassment, and rape. Most women live in Mayfair, where community solidarity provides them with a sense of protection. Not only does this limit their ability to integrate into larger South African society, but it reduces their economic opportunities.

Despite ongoing violence and discrimination, South Africa remains an attractive destination for migrants. Johannesburg hosts more male than female migrants in general (Jacobsen 2005; Landau et al. 2005), a pattern observed among Somalis. Early Somali arrivals were predominantly men who migrated without their spouse (Peberdy and Majodina 2000), but this demographic started to change around 2004–2005 as more women came to South Africa in search of husbands—or to reunite with their husbands—and to find opportunities. As the population has grown, so has chain migration as Somalis encourage members of their networks to join them. Others are enticed by South Africa's immigration laws that grant refugees legal status in the country, an important distinction from most African countries, and to live freely rather than in refugee camps, which South Africa does not have (Jacobsen 2006). Most Somalis have traveled on land routes or used smugglers to transport them by boat from East Africa to Mozambique, followed by land to the South African border (Shaffer et al. 2017). They often pay bribes to enter the country and apply for asylum in Johannesburg. Once status is granted, refugees have the right to apply for an adjustment of status—a permanent residence permit—five years after being granted asylum and living continuously in South Africa (Lawyers for Human Rights 2009). As resettlement prospects wane with increasingly restrictive immigration policies, particularly to key destinations

such as the United States and the United Kingdom, South Africa has become an attractive destination for those frustrated with refugee life in camps. The country is also a destination for some Somalis hoping to migrate onward to a third country in the global north. While there are lucrative business opportunities available to entrepreneurs, those jobs are generally in townships and are dangerous enterprises due to the constant threat of robbery and violence. Nevertheless, refugees desperate for a livelihood and security accept the risks or even refuse to believe that such perils exist at all and try their luck in South Africa.

Extended Families and Social Control in Mayfair

While women acknowledge their right to lead independent lives in South Africa, their autonomy is limited by pressure from within the community, often through kinship and social networks established in Somalia. The challenge for women is in how to balance their customary network building and family representative roles with the different responsibilities they accept in settlement spaces. Migrants generally remain invested in their families' lives and want to retain attachments to their households and communities (Cohen and Sirkeci 2011; Vertovec 2004b). The family unit remains critically important in the social, economic, and political world of Somalis even as the diaspora scattered families and dismantled leadership positions that previously ordered life, leaving people with less direct control over their conduct. Somalis lived under the shadow of their parents, elders, and the community, but without them they may accept greater risks. Nevertheless, extended families influence behavior from afar through network members, or proxies. Reverence for parents mostly prevents people from going astray, even as men and women have more autonomy in transnational locations.

Social control is intimately and inseparably tied to sex, marriage, and building relationships through networks. Extensive social and kinship networks in Mayfair leave many women feeling especially scrutinized. During a women's group discussion of the issue, a single mother observed, "No matter what you do, your family will find out. If you are dating another man, your family will know even if they live in East Africa. I don't know how people here get the number but they will call and tell them everything." This problem is exacerbated by the propensity for emphasizing negative behavior, or even interpreting rumors as facts to pass on to other interested parties. The widespread use of gossip as a controlling

mechanism cannot be overstated, and it is through rampant gossip and the constant fear of social damning that so few Somalis completely trust even their closest friends with secrets. This serves to control women's behavior in Mayfair, effectively ensuring that some semblance of the old life remains in the midst of larger, uncontrollable processes extending beyond the community. Many Somalis suggest it also keeps people in check, on a level playing field, but is often considered a response to jealousy. Nevertheless, the need to protect relationships with people who may provide the only real sense of security to women often minimizes risky behavior.

The absence of extended families is paradoxically problematic and liberating, and the long-term cultural effect of family dispersal remains to be seen. For women who ventured to Mayfair alone, a loss of immediate kin grants them greater autonomy in personal choices regarding behavior, activities, spouses, and opportunities, but it may leave them vulnerable to abusive relationships and limited protection against insecurity and destitution. A negative outcome of transnational families is the perception that husbands can treat wives poorly without close kin intervention. Conversely, living in South Africa affords women the freedom to live without family interference, but it is a choice that those who covet their responsibilities as members of a household, family, and community seldom make. They challenge customary practices primarily when the need arises or when seeking a specific outcome (Stake 1995). Women feel conflicted about their social and family position in a place where the clan structure that governed Somali social organization is now largely dismantled. This is not to say that clan does not guide daily life in Mayfair—it certainly does—but rather geography, urban landscapes, and the realities of conflict have reshaped the physical configuration of Somalis who were often situated within their clan families in Somalia. This restructuring created an amalgamation of clan families forced to co-exist in a foreign land, leaving individuals vulnerable to discrimination, gossip, and isolation once separated from immediate kin and merged with different clan groups.

The Visible Family Flag

Women are the underlying strength of the family unit, a responsibility intimately tied to their position as lineage perpetuators, as those who carry subsequent generations that comprise the growing family tree. A woman's role is to carry the family forward through procreation but more immediately to strengthen the reputation of the family and enhance their position

within society. Women reflect virtuous rearing, family decency, and Islamic principles within a family, representing those from the past and present, while producing the children who will lead the family in the future. For these reasons, women are closely guarded not only to protect them against harm, but to secure the family's reputation.

Women who socialize with men who are not close kin risk gossip in the community regardless of their marital status. The primary danger is that a woman will bear a child out of wedlock, that she will carry an illegitimate child and bring shame to her family. Dunia, a single mother with six children in Mayfair, explained why women bear the brunt of sex outside of marriage:

> They don't want the daughter to carry a bastard child. The man is not getting pregnant. If the man does something, it's finished, but the lady has the evidence. It will be shameful for the family. After five months, how is she going to hide a pregnancy? If she is not married, then who is the father? People will then question the rest of the family and say that maybe other members are like this too.

Roble, a single man, noted such shame would destroy a woman's life and that of her family, calling it a "life or death" decision. If she were pregnant and unmarried, she would have to leave and go where people do not know her. Batuulo, a married woman who runs a successful business in Mayfair, corroborated Dunia and Robles's comments:

> If you get the child before marriage, all the family will get the problem because of you. They say, 'Your daughter got the bastard baby and you, too, if you want to marry another man, you cannot.' The family leaders will lose everything because you are making the family name dirty.

In these cases, an illegitimate child has no place in any lineage, and membership within a clan is the basis of one's identity and positions them appropriately within the social structure. The importance of kinship cannot be overstated. When children are born, boys and girls alike are given their father's first name as a middle name and their paternal grandfather's first name as a last name. These names are carried throughout the lifecycle and the pattern continues with the next generation. Women never change their surname at marriage, for their birth name provides information about their patrilineage, which is used to determine kin and social relationships. This

issue of dignity, therefore, is closely related to the problem of managing an illegitimate link in the family tree. If there is an illicit child, people do not know from where the child came and it spoils the family name, as it is a permanent mark on the family. Conversely, a male drunkard may be a social outcast, but the problem ends when he dies. A woman who becomes pregnant out of wedlock brings a stigma that endures through the generations, making sex sacred only for marriage. Men's actions damage the individual; women's actions destroy the family. The eternally shameful damage of illegitimacy is used to control women's behavior more vehemently than men's actions.

Related to private sexual behavior, public misbehavior injures the reputation of a woman's family and leaves a negative impression of the entire group. For example, men would not be willing to marry the sister of a woman who misbehaves because the entire family faces stigmatization. This potentially includes the families of women who simply socialize publicly with men, as people will wonder what she is doing. This is tied to the fundamentality of kinship, which not only perpetuates a family's lineage but also serves as the basic foundation for organizing social relations and building networks.

For these reasons, women and men seldom date openly, instead opting to see each other outside of Mayfair in other parts of Johannesburg. In contrast to Somalia, where men courted women via their families as a way to maintain a family's honor and ensure chastity prior to marriage, Somalis in Mayfair develop relationships clandestinely. I raised this issue during interviews, asking women and men if dating in the absence of family intervention is something that goes on in South Africa. Most people acknowledge that pursuing romantic relationships is common, but that it must remain hidden for if a couple is found to engage in an inappropriate relationship, the details of that encounter would be relayed to the woman's father or male siblings, resulting in enhanced scrutiny and vulnerability to gossip. While the nuances of time, place, and experience in Somalia limit any consensus on acceptable levels of courtship, it is generally agreed that dating in Mayfair differs from Somalia in that families guarded women, enabling immediate intervention should she cross the boundary of appropriate action. Interestingly, it was also acknowledged that family separation affords more freedom to choose partners and pursue relationships, but women still hide their relationships from society at large. This protects them from gossip and social exclusion in the community, where they

might be called prostitutes, as well as in their families who may shun them for spoiling their name. While the rules have loosened in Mayfair, they have not disappeared.

A Paradox in Practice

Women's burden to conform to social prescriptions for behavior comes from their families globally and from interactions with people in their everyday lives, such as those in their households and community. Women discuss feelings of being controlled in a variety of contexts, from how they dress, pray, and conduct their personal relationships to how they survive in Mayfair. Interestingly, women celebrate their freedom to do as they please in South Africa while acknowledging the incomplete nature of their independence. They exercise their autonomy in new ways but with a degree of hesitation, wanting to satisfy their cultural responsibilities while aspiring to make their own choices to lead fulfilling lives. It is evident that women struggle with their position. Women want to embrace new opportunities for self-improvement and honor their Somali identity. One of the challenges all Somalis face is negotiating the colossal transformations that have occurred in the homeland. The changes throughout protracted conflict have culminated in uncertainty about (re)defining Somali culture, particularly in light of new Islamic conservatism and various clans living together in diasporic communities. The insulated nature of Mayfair's community especially encourages conformity for the sake of maintaining social inclusion critical for survival. Both real and imagined victimization for being unwanted refugees in the country fuel people's fears for personal safety, thereby exacerbating the need for community solidarity and protection (Stake 1995).

For most women, maintaining a favorable position in Mayfair is crucial to receiving community support, particularly for those without spouses or more immediate family members who would maintain them in Somalia (Shaffer 2013). To earn favor in the community, women's appearance, first and foremost, is used to judge their dedication to culture and religion. Starting in the latter years of Mohamed Siad Barre's regime, Somalis turned to conservative Islam and more women donned *hijabs* and *niqabs*. This has become standard practice, with women expected to cover their bodies fully to demonstrate their respectability. Women in Mayfair adhere to the new norm while wishing there were greater flexibility in what is considered decent or acceptable. Women who would like to wear jeans publicly or leave the

house without a headscarf fear accusations of prostitution or promiscuity. One woman, a Kenyan Somali, noted her preference for jeans that she wore in Kenya before questions of her character pushed her into long skirts and headscarves. In another case, Dunia is often the victim of gossip for wearing only a loose headscarf and was warned that her choices are not in line with Islamic practice or Somali culture. As one of the earlier migrants to Mayfair, she began covering her head only in response to criticism she received, citing comments that she was a bad person and would go to hell for showing her hair in public. She felt shamed, saying, "The more they [Somalis] point, the more you feel guilty." For Dunia, and I would argue for many women, what is considered right or wrong is confusing because change has occurred rapidly and defining what is or was Somali culture is problematic. The Mayfair community comprises Somalis who were divided under colonialism and experienced colonization differently.[3] Moreover, those who left Somalia did so at different times, meaning some people encountered the war and its outcomes more directly than others. Debating what is Somali culture or religion is thus left to interpretation. Instead, women in Mayfair follow paths that minimize their risk of exclusion and mostly adhere to the norm even as they sometimes test the boundaries.

The following case studies provide a context through which we can understand how social control affects individual lives in Mayfair. Because female dignity is intimately tied to family, these examples demonstrate the power of families and the complexities of personal relationships.

Case 1: Cawo Marriage to an appropriate partner is important for establishing ties and perpetuating lineages. It is difficult to gauge the extent of diasporic changes regarding arranged marriages versus unions founded on individual choice, though studies have found arranged marriages on the decline due to the dismantling of extended family networks (Boyle and Ali 2010). Nevertheless, what is clear is the emphasis on reciprocity, that bridegrooms provide resources for women including, in some cases, financial assets to a wife's immediate family, while women offer children and the responsibilities that come with managing the household. While arranged marriages certainly continue in Mayfair, the general perception is that women choose their partners because family members are not present to arrange them and women cannot be forced into a union, though coercion is frequently used to pressure women into compliance. For example, several people spoke of women being told that if they did not accept a marriage, her family would curse her; conversely, accepting a man

would bring her blessings. One woman who received such a threat from her mother could not resist and accepted the marriage, but eventually secured a divorce.

The rationale behind arranged marriage is to benefit young women who lack life experience and cannot make such important decisions independently. Families seek responsible, good men to marry daughters as a way to look out for their best interests and protect them against poor choices. This argument carries some strength, but perhaps more important are the benefits promised through marriage, as well as the social stigma should two people marry in a union deemed inappropriate. For example, Cawo, a young, single woman in Mayfair, was summoned to Pretoria by her clan family to meet with a Somali-Canadian woman who traveled to South Africa in search of a wife for her son. Cawo was the most attractive candidate, and the woman promised her resettlement in Canada in exchange for marriage. Cawo adamantly refused, spending several days arguing with the woman and her family who sought to persuade her otherwise. Frustrated that they would not accept her decision, Cawo finally told them to stop wasting her time and that she would not see them again. While Cawo was hesitant to journey to Pretoria for the meeting, she felt unable to decline since they were family. She adhered to cultural practice before acting on the autonomy she gained in South Africa to resist interference in her personal life, but at the cost of having people in her life who could potentially help her later. Had she been in Somalia during these negotiations, it would have been extremely difficult for her to reject the potential suitor.

Case 2: Batuulo In another case, Batuulo and her husband Farah chose to marry in Somalia years ago, but Farah's family felt Batuulo was domineering and never warmed to her. Their marriage was strong early on, though Farah turned malicious and abusive over time, which Batuulo attributes to Farah listening to his own family, who frequently berated Batuulo and encouraged him to leave her. By the time I met her in 2010, Batuulo, a successful businesswoman, wanted to divorce her unemployed husband whom she suspected was unfaithful. While Batuulo was respected in the community for her charity and work as a conflict mediator, she could not divorce her husband without his permission. Batuulo provided the only source of income for her family, making it advantageous for Farah to stay married to her. He agreed to divorce but only if he kept their children and Batuulo's business, effectively trapping her in the marriage.

As tensions mounted in the marriage, local elders and relatives from both families traveled to Johannesburg to mediate. Batuulo despaired at the intrusion, feeling it was a private matter that only she and Farah could resolve. Even her mother in the United States and Farah's mother called regularly to insist that she remain in the marriage. Batuulo would emerge from such conversations in tears, saying she had to do as her mother said even as she confided to me that she considered drinking poison as her only escape. Members of the community also intervened, but Batuulo accepted there was nothing she could do about it and her family negotiated the divorce settlement that would give Farah the business and include financial incentives. Batuulo explained that women cannot divorce men, so securing a divorce includes intervention with her male kin who essentially pay the husband to leave her. Refusing to surrender her business, Batuulo stayed in the marriage.

Batuulo complained bitterly of dealing with elders, who she said would not listen to her argument and instead reminded her that children were involved and her responsibilities, first and foremost, are to her husband and children. When discussing the matter with me, Batuulo said, "Even if the elders ask me questions about why I want a divorce, they say 'You're wrong. You Somalian ladies say you're free women now and before you weren't free. That's why you think like this.' You see? It's abuse." Batuulo reluctantly complied with the conclusions reached by the elders until Farah threatened her life and she turned to the South African police for intervention, an option that would not be available to her in Somalia. It was this extreme action that tipped the balance in her favor as both families, community members, and Somali elders finally, albeit grudgingly, consented to divorce. For Batuulo, going to the police was the only option she had to protect herself and demand recognition of her position in the quarrel. As much as she tried to negotiate and resolve the issue through customary outlets, Batuulo could not manage the situation without assistance from the state.

Batuulo's story highlights several important points about social change and control in Mayfair. In point of fact, elders serve as judges, as revered leaders whose wisdom guides conflict mediation. Marital discord is often resolved through elders, comprising relatives from both sides of the family who want to maintain peace, solidarity, and dignity within families. The loss of the extended family pushes people to mediate using the broader clan family, who become the extended family in exile. While this is transformed in the diaspora, the rules and structure of mediation remain the

same. This example also shows how personal relationships involve families and not just individuals in those relationships. Somalis turn to their families for resolution, and members on both sides negotiate to determine fault and solutions. Finally, Batuulo shows us how these customary arrangements are changing. The outcome would have been vastly different were Batuulo still in Somalia, but living in South Africa afforded her a new avenue for challenging conclusions reached by elders. Most Somalis value their cultural customs and wish to maintain those practices, but they also recognize their ability to realize different outcomes that favor them as individuals. Women can divorce their husbands, leave the house, or call the police to report domestic violence. Exercising autonomy in this way is problematic as it is perceived as revenge or a much larger power struggle. For Somalis, a good woman is one who solves problems the Somali way—that is, privately or through mediation with elders—but the problem with consulting elders is that women feel they favor men in such cases and do not listen to women.

Case 3: Waris Beyond women's natal kin, social pressure also comes from their husbands' family, much like with Farah in Batuulo's case. A wife's behavior can adversely affect a happy marriage if her in-laws object to her actions. Waris, a twice divorced mother of two young daughters, parted from her second husband after she refused female genital cutting for her daughters. In her personal experience, cutting was a painful, traumatizing event that she attributes to the difficulties she suffered with intimacy and childbirth. When Waris became a mother, she was adamant that her children would not undergo the cultural practice, much to her mother-in-law's chagrin. The mother-in-law, still living in Somalia, insisted on the procedure and advised her son to offer Waris an ultimatum: proceed with the cutting or accept a divorce. Undeterred, Waris chose the latter and her husband ended their marriage, leaving her to raise her daughters as a single mother. Waris recognized the hardship she would face without her husband, but she accepted the risk because it concerned what she felt was the well-being of her children and it was non-negotiable. It would have been extremely difficult for Waris to resist pressure from extended families had this incident occurred in Somalia, but being in South Africa and having distance from relatives provided her with the power to act on her wishes.

Cultural Reproduction and Shifting Norms in Mayfair

Women speak of honoring their culture and managing social control in contradictory ways. Sitting with Cawo one day discussing being a Somali woman in a foreign land, she said, "I think Somali women they prefer mostly to respect their culture, their traditions, not South Africa culture." The women I met generally abide by the guiding principles of what they understand Somali culture to be but challenge those that limit them, an ability they acquired through their migration experience and survival instincts. They feel South Africa affords them new rights that they cannot pursue in order to secure their position in families and communities (Shaffer 2013). After Dunia commented that she is free to do as she wishes, she admitted, "They [other Somalis] judge you, so of course they are controlling us because we are still scared." It is confusing to know how to embrace rights and opportunities in the face of economic and physical insecurity in South Africa. Women work to improve their lives and provide resources for themselves and even the families asserting control (Shaffer 2012). While transnational communication is crucial to building and maintaining social relationships, it paradoxically holds enormous power over individual behavior even in settlement places (Bandura 2001) and can be an unwelcome distraction to those who prefer distance from those relations (Wilding 2006). Women therefore resist domination by controlling aspects that may not threaten their position as a family or community member. The threat of abandonment limits deviance, but as demonstrated in the cases here women push the boundaries and effect change over time through their resilience, albeit with different levels of acceptance or condemnation from the broader community.

Portes (2010) reminds us that social change is a complex web of change and stability, of multi-layered, uneven processes that affect individuals, communities, and societies. It is through social structure that power is used to satisfy a multitude of interests. Even though new locations modify aspects of culture, "ideas and values that people see as expressions of 'our traditions,' although no longer lived experience, still motivate people's sense of belonging" (Engebrigtsen 2007, p. 729). It is important to note that values and norms are different (Portes 2010), and women have modified the norm—that is, their roles—by using their autonomy to provide security for themselves and their families, thereby

reflecting their values as dedicated to family. Nevertheless, protecting Somali culture remains a primary goal for those who fled their homeland. Social control signifies cultural preservation in a country where Somalis have little broader control, especially for men who find themselves disempowered in South Africa.

Nostalgia for Somalia ensures cultural continuity, but even as realities challenge core structures they ultimately do not eliminate them. The challenge for women, and all Somalis in the diaspora, is mitigating conflict between 'producing locality' in settlement and working to "repair or re-establish continuity with the place of origin" (Day and Icduygu 1997, pp. 275–276), leaving women balancing the values they covet with restrictive customary norms that limit their autonomy. The risk of ostracism within an already marginalized community is a way to secure compliance with the old way. At the same time, exile has led to shifting gender norms and women assessing sociocultural demands locally and transnationally. When up against their extended families and the broader Mayfair community, women must demonstrate their devotion to family and culture, which most do willingly, in the face of collective influences guiding their behavior. Bearing in mind that "while values motivate or constrain, power enables" (Portes 2010, p. 1541), women submit to larger forces of social control because it serves their survival interests in the long run (Agarwal 1997). The growth of subsequent generations (Vertovec 2004b), time to form a diasporic identity, and Somalis' position in South Africa will be crucial to loosening social controlling processes.

Notes

1. Some of the most important social changes include greater flexibility in choosing spouses and the absence of extended family or household members, thereby affecting customary male intervention in times of conflict or negotiation processes. Moreover, mandatory dower contracts in Somalia established unions and granted men "full rights over a woman both as a partner and as a bearer of children" (Lewis 1994, p. 42). Husbands had rights to the children they produced with their wives, and those children remained with their father and lived among patrilineal kin when there was a divorce. This has been replaced by widespread single motherhood in the diaspora. Furthermore, the sexual division of labor positioned women as primary caregivers and men as family resource and security providers. This also limited women's political participation in Somalia.

2. A *hijab* covers a woman's head but leaves her face visible, while *niqabs* reveal only a woman's eyes.
3. Ethnic Somali territory was divided into five parts during colonialism: Southern Somalia (Italy), Northern Somalia/Somaliland (Britain), Kenya (Britain), Ogaden (Ethiopia), and Djibouti (France).

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CHAPTER 13

Concluding Thoughts and Pathways for Future Research

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There is a significant body of literature on gender and migration that has emerged over the last few decades which has assessed scholarly, applied and policy orientations on how we understand this field, its intersection with various other areas of enquiry in social science, and the challenges that lie ahead in better reflecting, responding and shaping the nuanced dynamics that underpin any work in this area (Palmary et al. 2010; Chant 1992; Ueno and Yamamoto 2004; Jolly et al. 2005).

This collection goes one step further in interrogating the intersection of gender and migration from historical and contemporary perspectives in Africa. In particular it interrogates the social constructions, performances and representations of gender in the context of migration. Drawing on 11 case studies from across the continent, and combining a multi- and inter-disciplinary approach, the book explored patterns and trends of gendered mobility, reflected on responses to and discourses of gender and migration on the continent, and posed new questions on how gender and migration unravel, intersect and are performed in Africa.

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Gender

The central thrust of this book was to interrogate what gender means for us as a diverse group of authors, academics and activists working on, and from the African continent. The chapters show a healthy engagement with the concept of 'gender'. We used gender as a social construct, relying on the seminal work of West and Zimmerman (1987), who advanced an understanding of gender as 'an emergent feature of social situations: both an outcome and rationale for social arrangements' (p. 126).

The most relevant and pervasive social context in this collection of chapters is of course, migration. But here the book unpacked migration as a spatial and social process encompassing and traversing borders, both international and imaginary. In the first instance the chapters speak to a multitude of journeys that migrant women embark on. Here the diversity of countries of destination (South Africa, Morocco), origin (India, Pakistan, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Burundi, Tunisia) and transit, point to the need to reimagine Africa as a sending country or one dominated by colonial passages of movement. Second, the book's engagement with boundaries, in essence across time (colonial, apartheid and post-independence) and imagined norms of gender, calls for a critical reflection on how gender is conceptualised on the continent. The chapters raise the long history of mobility of women on the continent and the tremendous ways in which women have been renegotiating legal and social boundaries that dictate gender norms and family roles. However, we also take this approach to boundaries and their engagement with the third concept of this book—bodies—to other levels, within the state in policies such as trafficking and sex work (Chaps. 7 and 8), at community level, in churches (Chap. 4), in households and in interpersonal relations (Chaps. 10, 11 and 12).

We interrogate gender in its widest forms: from roles or situated identities (Hughes 1945), to the interactional nature of gender, that is, how it evolves and is performed in relation to everyday transactions with others and with the environment (Goffman 1976). Here we find that gender is very much a concept undergoing transition, especially in the context of migration. We find that migration poses both opportunities and risks to redefine gender norms and identities, and that political and personal worlds collide in the most intense ways over borders, in border management and through bodies, in how the female migrant body in particular, is constructed, contested and symbolised.

Continued Journeys in the Field of Migration and Gender

The contributions in this book collectively add three main arguments to the field of migration and gender studies. First, the book combines historical and contemporary perspectives of mobility in Africa. Chapters 1 and 2 attempt to conceptualise and transcend bounded notions of time in relation to migration in Africa. By focusing on two specific historical periods (colonial and post-independence), the book allows for what Murray in his livelihoods work calls both a 'retrospective and circumspective' view of gender and migration (2002: 1). It is only by looking back that present realities can be understood in their historical context. For instance, the first section of the book on historical perspectives shows the marking of Africa by external powers through colonial authorities, processes which helped shape some migratory routes and imposed national borders and ethnic identities, all factors that contributed to gender norms and contemporary migratory patterns. The continuation of mobility in all its forms over time is often overlooked in the migration literature, which largely focuses on contemporary and reactive mobility on the continent. By situating various time perils and routes of mobility in Africa such as Indian migration to South Africa in the early twentieth century (Chap. 2) and historical and new patterns of mobility in North Africa, this book contextualises migration in a broader historical framework. In so doing it creates a compilation of chapters on mobility and gender that resists colonial and post-colonial boundaries of thought.

Indeed what the first section of the book illustrates is two-fold—first, the continuity of migration during colonialism and well after independence, pointing to migration as more than just a survival strategy or a response to economic or political challenges, but rather as an inherent characteristic of life in Africa. Although Africa is less mobile in comparison to other continents, it has a long history of migration. From colonial programmes of forced movement across the continent, restricted migration during apartheid in Southern Africa to post-colonial, multi-directional flows, migration remains characteristic of Africa and needs to be interrogated across bounded notions of time for underlying themes to emerge.

Second, the first chapters bring to the fore the migration of women, from an historical perspective, an analytical angle that has largely been dominated by patriarchal literature. Each of the first two chapters shows the centrality of gender in differing forms of migration patterns. In Chap. 2, Hiralal looks at female migration within the context of colonial

family migration across the Indian Ocean, pointing also to the multiplicity of mobility histories on the continent. This theme is further developed in Chap. 3, where Bouchoucha points to colonial and post-colonial migratory patterns of Tunisian women which are rooted in highly gendered socio-cultural expectations of women and family.

Our second contribution is in advancing the variety of forms that gender takes on the continent. We do so by using the metaphor of the body. The seven chapters in the second section of the book interrogate how gender and migration is represented and performed through, with and within the 'body'. These contributions depart from the literature on gender and geography and how the body becomes a site of understanding the relations between people, space and time (Longhurst 2012: 1). The section ends with an engagement of Butler's famous text on performance; Chimbidzikai challenges the notion of performativity by drawing on narratives grounding Butler's philosophical claims in more localised, ethnographic accounts of Pentecostal migrant women who belong to the Evershine Pentecostal Church in Johannesburg, South Africa.

Finally, contributions in the book point to the need to look beyond traditional social science methods of enquiry to understand gender in a migratory context. As Dewey (1939) argued that social enquiry needs to move beyond categories and into a study of interdependency and fluidity. As Gerring (2011: 4) notes, the 'social sciences are divided… by their methods' across both disciplines and between quantitative and qualitative approaches. The chapters in his volume are based on a wide range of methods including archival data, statistical analysis, visual methods and other forms of enquiry. We show in this book that a mixed- and multi-method approach is not just possible, but can be particularly useful in identifying and interrogating themes that emerge from different methods of enquiry. The contributions point to the underlying continuity of migration in Africa's history, politics and social structures, evidenced in big data (Chap. 3), visual data (Chap. 7) and the different ways in which it conditions understanding of what gender is and how it is performed across the continent, and across time (Chaps. 1 and 2).

In conclusion, the book raises two important points for further research, debate and reflection:

First, how do contemporary forms of migration across the continent reflect and respond to historical patterns of migration? As we saw in the chapters on Tunisia and southern Africa, colonial and apartheid era policies

of dominance and power persist. Using post-colonial approaches we can better interrogate, and theorise how political systems created unequal countries and societies, and how for many migration from peripheral to core (industrialised and developing) spaces is a means to ensure a livelihood.

Second, that the continent has mixed and multi-directional flows of contemporary migration, and that women are increasingly active agents of this process as migrants themselves or as part of households. However, despite this, migration in its forms and responses remains patriarchal and male dominated. More importantly there is little scholarship that reflects the diverse gendered experience of migration on the continent and which challenges a binary understanding of migrating as empowering or risky for women.

The chapters here presented a breadth of evidence on the multiple, complex and changing nature of gender in Africa. Hiralal's chapter focused on historical migrations and the need to challenge critically traditional narratives of women being docile and passive. It highlighted the complexity of South Asian female migration to South Africa at the turn of the century. There were reasons for male-centred migration and leaving the 'women behind'. Socio-economic, political, cultural and personal factors collectively intertwined to hinder and facilitate their mobility. This study calls for more analysis of women's experiences from the other side of the Indian Ocean region, not just from the host country. In contrast, Chgimbidzikai discussed how migration shifted economic roles amongst Zimbabwean women who assumed more active breadwinner positions in their families.

The book also offers insight into how gender roles are changing over time. Bouchoucha, for instance, uses statistical data to show the transformation of Tunisian families during and after colonialism. As levels of labour market participation increased for women, the age of marriage rose too, suggesting very strongly that personal decisions around highly gendered norms are conditioned by the broader context.

Ultimately though the divergent notions of gender and migration, and their continued unravelling and reproduction, is perhaps the most compelling conclusion of this book. By defying patterns, resisting norms and redefining identities, the case studies here illustrate the multiple ways in which gender and migration intersect, and emphasise the need to continue exploring how gender in Africa is performed, conceptualised and

understood. By working from the lens of the female body, its movement across borders, over time and around the continent, this book illustrates the complex and intersecting ways in which we interrogate gender in Africa and how migration has shaped our understanding of it today.

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