

**Gender, Religion and Migration: A Study of Malawian
Chewa and Yawo Muslim women in Durban, 1994-
2017**

Joseph Y. Mbalaka

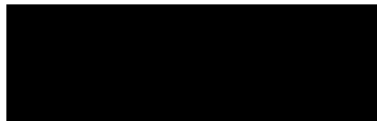
**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban**

Supervised By Professor Kalpana Hiralal

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

DECLARATION - PLAGIARISM

- I,Joseph Y. Mbalaka....., declare that
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Signed

.....

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Secondly, I would like to express my gratitude to all the respondents who took part in this research. Although the topic of immigration is sensitive and delicate, the Chewa and Yawo women agreed to be interviewed. I'm grateful to these courageous women. Furthermore, I would like to express my gratitude to my family for their patience. I would also like to thank my mother, who has been encouraging me to continue my studies.

Thirdly, I would like to thank the former director of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), Sheikh Saleem N. Banda, for his steady guidance and support during my study at UKZN. He generously offered me access to WAMY premises while I was conducting my research. When his contract expired in 2021, the organization was led by someone who immediately terminated me from the place. During the search for new accommodation, I had to pack and send my books and other documents to different relatives. I felt the urge to move out and find another place to live while I was sick. It disturbed me and had a negative impact on my mental health. It was not easy for me to concentrate and write my thesis, but I persevered, knowing that it was God's will for the new director to chase me from the premises. He taught me a lesson about how skin colour and 'otherness' matter to others, and that not all the people who call on God daily have a love for other human beings. My goal was to complete the thesis and put the negative treatment I received behind me, though it seemed that a student doing a PhD was seen as useless to him. Furthermore, the floods that took place on April 11, 2022, after it continually rained for a 24-hour period, causing damage to my books and documents, which were kept by some relatives. If I had been allowed to continue using WAMY's premises for the rest of my research, I wouldn't have lost important books and documents. However, the new director evicted me, even though he knew I was doing my PhD. It is well-known that WAMY sometimes supported students in furthering their

education when Sheikh Banda was the director. It is surprising, then, that the future of many students was doomed by the new regulations introduced by the new director of WAMY in 2021.

Lastly, all praise to the Almighty (*ambuje Amanani*) for his guidance and for keeping me in good health during these difficult times and COVID-19.

Dedication

The project is dedicated to all Chewa and Yawo Muslim women, Ndapeuli Zakee Y. M'balaka, and all my children, Valiant Mussa, as well as my late father M'balaka Bwanali Mtwana Somela Mapanje Sultan Mponda, who positively shaped my life through the history book entitled *Wayao* by Yohanna Barnaba Abdallah which has significant significance for this project. I received the book as a gift in 1982, which was published in 1919 by the government printers in Nyasaland (now Malawi). In particular, this work sparked a passion for the history of the Yawo people that gave me the desire to work hard and aspire to greatness. The loss of my father is extremely sad as he was destined to live to see his labours fruition and have an opportunity to reap those rewards.

List of Abbreviations

CBRLDP	Community Based Rural Land Development Project
CJS	Criminal Justice System
CMRM	Claremont Main Road Masjid
DODMA	Department of Disaster Management
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
GBV	Gender Based Violence
HDI	Human Development Indices
MBC	Malawi Broadcasting Corporation
MCP	Malawi Congress Party
MDHS	Malawi Demographic and Health Survey
MJC	Malawi Judicial Council
MNLP	Malawi National Land Policy
MYP	Malawi Young Pioneers
NEHAWU	Nurses' Health and Allied Workers' Union
NSC	National Statistical Office
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SA	South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SANA	South Africa National Archives
TEBA	The Employment Bureau of Africa
TIP	Taking Islam to the People

TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa
UDF	United Democratic Party
UK	United Kingdom
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UMCA	Universities' Mission to Central Africa
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFP	United Nations Population Fund
UP	United Party
USA	United States of America
WAMY	World Assembly of Muslim Youth
WHO	World Health Organization
WNLA/WENELA	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association

Abstract

People move inside and between states as part of globalisation in the twenty-first century, looking for jobs, a family, and an education, fleeing violence, persecution, terrorism, and human rights violations, and coping with climate change, economic hardship, and natural disasters.¹ This increased global migration has been a significant milestone in South Africa's post-apartheid transition. The opening of borders has led to an increase in women migrating across Africa, changing historically male-dominated immigration patterns. Muslim women now account for a fraction of the global migration flux. However, few studies have focused on Malawian women's migration experiences, highlighting the need for more research on women in post-apartheid South Africa. This study focuses on Malawian immigrants in post-apartheid South Africa, specifically Chewa and Yawo women. It examines their migration reasons, challenges, and assimilation of Muslim identities. The study highlights opportunities, socio-economic, and cultural obstacles faced by these women, providing a nuanced gendered history. Participants were chosen using snowball and purposive sampling. The study utilised gender, social history, oral history, and transnationalism theory to investigate thirty women's lived experiences and migration patterns. It found that gender dynamics significantly impact migration patterns and experiences in host societies. Women from Chewa and Yawo tribes were found to be more prone to abuse and exploitation than men. International migration often leads to social isolation and abusive relationships for women, highlighting power imbalances. Male immigrants earn higher wages than females, while female migrants send more money home. Chewa and Yawo Muslim women can use their strength to flee and show agency in their host country, potentially causing envy among conventional hosts. This usually leads to xenophobic attacks on foreigners. Hence, the study explores women's agency in migration, highlighting their struggles and aiming to shape their lives. It contributes to the historiography of migration in Africa and South Africa, and the scholarship on the "feminisation of migration." It is also a study about resilience, Africa in Islam, longitudinal experiences of communities, Pan-Africanist worlds, the persistence of memories, and the fluidity of culture, the regional history of Durban and first-generation migrants and labour practices. This dissertation is a trans-disciplinary study with history as the fulcrum. This study is crucial for understanding gender, memory, and African oral history, particularly for women immigrants. It highlights women's active participation in migration, coping strategies, and absorption into host societies. This dissertation covers essential aspects of post-Apartheid South Africa's immigration history.

Keywords: Muslim, Chewa, Yawo, Xenophobia, Agency, Divorce, illiteracy

¹ Mathias Czaika and Constantin Reinprecht. "Migration Drivers: Why Do People Migrate?" In Peter Scholten (ed). *Introduction to Migration Studies: An Interactive Guide to the Literatures on Migration and Diversity*. (Cham: Springer, 2022) 54.

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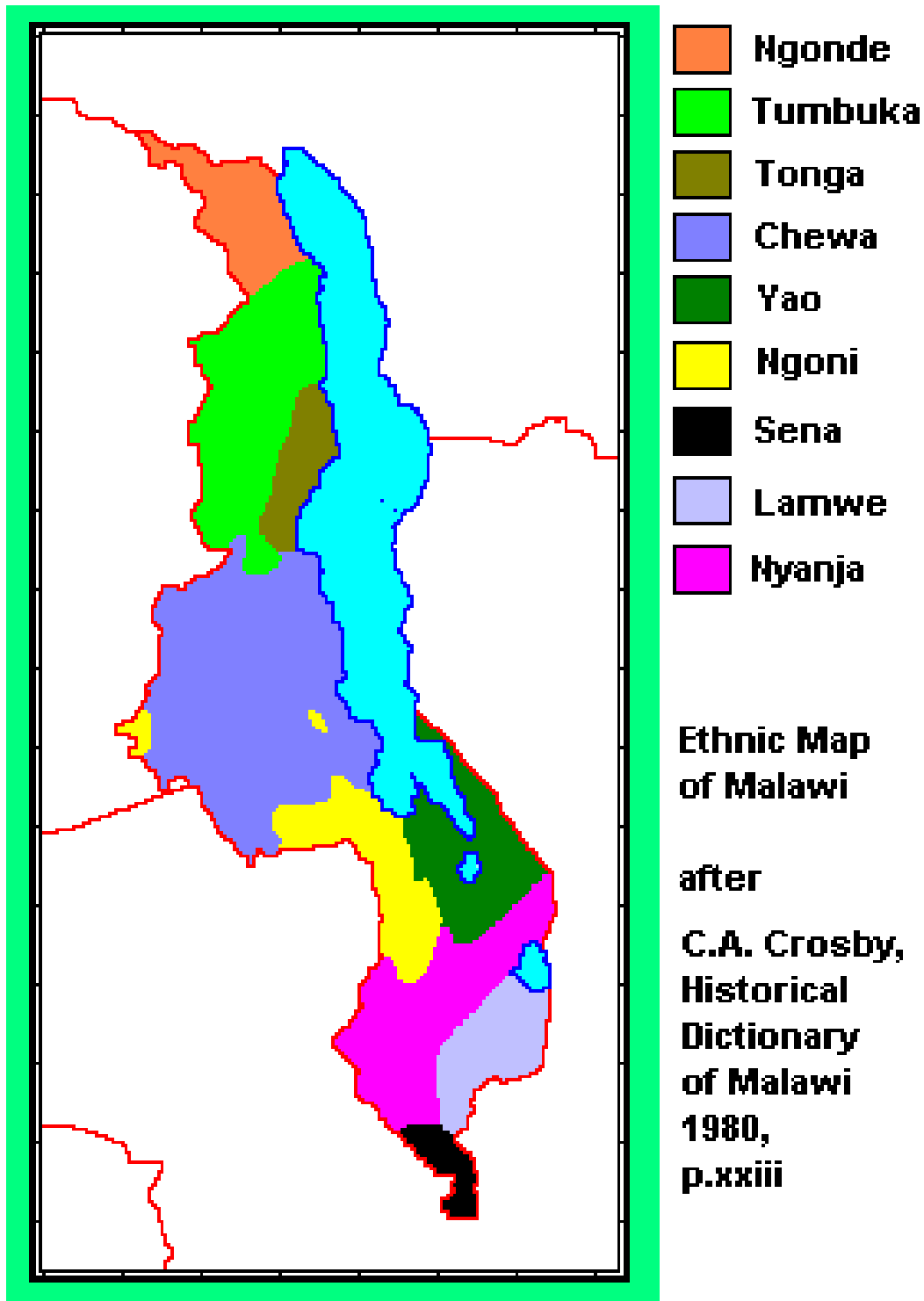
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Map 1: Map of Malawi showing ethnic groups

SOURCE: <https://www.zum.de/whkmla/histatlas/southafrica/haxmalawi.html> (Accessed June 17, 2022).

Chapter 1

Introduction and Background to the study

South Africa's transition to a post-apartheid society was marked by the opening of borders to the world. The border's opening has attracted many immigrants from different countries, such as Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Zambia, Congo, Somalia, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Malawi, and beyond Africa. Currently, with an increasing number of African immigrant women, generally, male-dominated migration patterns are changing.² The migration of women has progressively intensified in Africa. Immigration is no longer male-centered. Even Muslim women are also no longer invisible in the migration process.³ They are also part of global migration flows. Therefore, it is necessary to study Muslim migrant women as a heterogeneous category in Africa and globally. Reports show that the figures of international immigrants worldwide have reached around 272 million, up from 153 million in 1990.⁴ In 2020, nearly 281 million people had left their homes and were living abroad.⁵ In fact, 48% of all international immigrants in the world are women.⁶

South Africa's strategic positioning in the Southern Africa region as an economic and political power has seen several immigrants from neighbouring countries flocking in the post-1994 era in search of greener pastures. The end of apartheid and the beginning of democracy in South Africa (SA) made new cross-border mobility possible. Studies show that South Africa is a leading destination in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), viewed and identified by many immigrants as relatively peaceful and economically stable.⁷ The influx of immigrants shaped and changed South Africa's history. Immigrant women from Malawi are among the African women who find a new home in South Africa. Pervasive or endemic poverty, unemployment, job opportunities, and marital problems are both pull and push factors. This scenario forces women to

² Barry Turner (ed). *The Statesman's Yearbook 2013: The Politics, Cultures and Economies of the World*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) xix.

³ Glenda Tibe Bonifacio (ed). *Feminism and Migration: Cross-Cultural Engagements*. (London: Springer, 2012) 102.

⁴ United Nations. *International Migration 2019: Report 14*. (New York: United Nations) iv.

⁵ World Migrant Report 2020. (IOM UN Migration). <https://worldmigrationreport.iom.int/wmr-2022-interactive/> (Accessed March, 3 2022)

⁶ United Nations. *World Migration Report 2020*. (International Organisation for Migration (IOM): Geneva, 2019) 3.

⁷ Christopher Isike and Efe Mary Isike (eds). *Conflict and Concord: The Ambivalence of African Migrant/Host Relations in South Africa*. (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022) 51.

move faster to other regions in search of sustainable livelihoods and political stability in new territories. Researchers estimate that between 1998 and 2008, 90% of Malawians migrated to many SADC countries. 79% of them have decided and directed their trip to South Africa.⁸ In a decade, from 2008 to 2018, 44,099 Malawians immigrated, the majority of them settling in South Africa (81%), while others went to Zambia and Mozambique.⁹ Out of 254,934 Malawian immigrants, 191,602 immigrants were between 20 and 39 years old. These figures include 149,906 immigrant women.¹⁰ Figures suggest that Malawian women are an integral part of international migration. Statistics South Africa indicates that the figure of foreign nationals in SA was 2.2 million in the 2011 census.¹¹ According to calculations by the United Nations (UN), around 3.14 million people born outside of South Africa were living in the country in mid-2015. In 2016, the South African Community Survey figures showed that the number of foreigners had dropped to 1.6 million people.¹² Based on mid-2021 population estimates, this would give an estimate of 3.95 million people.¹³ Additionally, Chiumia asserts that the 2011 census showed that 86,606 people born in Malawi moved to South Africa. The last survey in 2016 gave a total of 78,796.¹⁴ Between 2011 and 2016, the number of Malawian migrants living in South Africa decreased due to xenophobic attacks. It is estimated that fewer than 100,000 Malawians live in South Africa.¹⁵

Malawian immigrants heading to Durban were mostly Chewa and Yawo Muslims. The Chewa people share ancestry with the Bantu community of Zambia, Mozambique, and Malawi.¹⁶ On the other hand, the Yawo are a Bantu ethnic group present in Tanzania, Mozambique and Malawi. They are also scattered in Zimbabwe and Zambia. Chewa Muslim women immigrants to Durban came from Nkhotakota, Dedza, Salima, and Zomba, whilst Yawo Muslim women immigrants came from Malawi's Zomba, Balaka, Mangochi, Machinga, Mangochi, Dedza, Salima, Blantyre,

⁸ David Ndegwa. *Migration in Malawi: A Country Profile* 1014. (Geneva: International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2015) 1.

⁹ Suzgo Khunga. "Emigration doubles in 4 years". *The Nation*. (Malawi) 1. 11 June, 2019.

¹⁰ Khunga. "Emigration doubles in 4 years".

¹¹ Stats SA. "Erroneous reporting of undocumented migrants in SA". 5 August, 2021.

<https://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=14569> (accessed September 20, 2021).

¹² Sinthia Chiumia. "Six million Malawians in SA?" Feature. *The Nation*. (Malawi). 17 January, 2017.

¹³ Stats SA "Erroneous reporting of undocumented migrants in SA."

¹⁴ Chiumia. "Six million Malawians in SA?"

¹⁵ Chiumia. "Six million Malawians in SA?"

¹⁶ Harry W. Langworthy. "Conflict among rulers in the history of Undi's Chewa kingdom". *Transafrican Journal of History*. (1971, 1: 1) 1.

Chiradzulu, and Mulanje Districts. When they arrived in Durban, they settled in the following areas: Mawelewele, Sydenham, Savannah Park, Durban CBD, Chatsworth, Mayville, Clare Estate, Mawelewele, Lindelani, Sydenham, Overport, Burnwood, Isipingo, Progress, Village, Mariannhill, Malukadzi, Sherwood, Fourteen, Newlands, Esihlahleni, and Pinetown.

The Chewa and Yawo women immigrants work as hawkers, saloon (hairdressers), domestic workers, and tailoresses. Although these ladies come from two different ethnic groups and are divided into Qadria/Qadriyya (members of the Sunni Qadiri tariqa- (“road,” “path,” or “way”) (Sufi order) and Shadhili/Shadhiliyya (a tariqah or Sufi order of Sunni Islam) to show that they are not heterogeneous, they are united under the banner of one *ummah*, one Islam, as will be shown in later chapters. These Muslim women immigrants communicate via WhatsApp groups and share information on gatherings, funerals, Eid prayers, and traditional activities like *jando* (circumcision initiations). During various functions, Malawian women in the diaspora dress similarly to represent solidarity. Despite religious disparities among Malawians in Malawi, Muslim and Christian Malawians in South Africa transcend these divisions to establish a pan-Malawian identity that merits/warrants more investigation in subsequent studies.

Historically, Chewa and Yawo males, known as Nyasa, arrived in South Africa in the 1860s following the discovery of minerals in the Kimberly and Witwatersrand.¹⁷ However, many Malawians migrated to South Africa in the 1880s to work in the mines. In the 1870s, the Yawo settled in Durban as indentured labourers after being freed from slavery.¹⁸ But migration was largely male-centric, both in terms of migration and academic work.¹⁹ After the end of apartheid, however, things began to change. In the 1990s, Malawian women joined their male counterparts in the migration process. According to Mbiyozo, the number of African women immigrating to South Africa is increasing dramatically. It is estimated that the number of immigrant women in

¹⁷ Robert B. Boeder. “Malawian labour migration and international relations in Southern Africa”. *African Insight*. (1984, 14:1) 17.

¹⁸ See Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed (eds). *Chatsworth: The Making of a South African Township*. (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu- Natal Press, 2013) 84.

¹⁹ Farzana Gounder, Kalpana Hiralal and Amba Pande (eds.). *Women, Gender and the Legacy of Slavery and Indenture*. (London: Routledge, 2021), 123; See also Donna R. Gabaccia and Mary Jo Maynes (eds.). *Gender History Across Epistemologies* First edition. (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

South Africa has quadruplicated since 1990.²⁰ About 400,000 women immigrated to South Africa in 2001. Immigrant women numbered 1.8 million in 2017, representing 44% of the total immigrant population.²¹ Malawian women are among the African women who immigrated to South Africa after apartheid.

The cited sources above do not provide statistics on Malawian women living in South Africa. As a result, according to the sources, the number of Chewa and Yawo women immigrants living in Durban is unknown. Although Malawian women have been migrating to South Africa, it is challenging to estimate the number of Chewa and Yawo immigrants in Durban because sources do not provide evidence of communication and data sharing between South Africa as a receiving country and Malawi as a sending country, as well as procedures to evaluate the reported migration flows in southern Africa. What was noticed in Malawi is that between 1998 and 2008, more than 90% of Malawians emigrated, with 79% of them traveling to South Africa.²²

The Malawian government does not, however, have precise information on the number of citizens who leave the country. According to the National Statistical Office (NSO), 21,487 Malawians left their nation in 2014, and 54,230 moved abroad in pursuit of employment in 2018.²³ The majority of Malawian immigrants (81%) chose to settle in South Africa, while others traveled to Zambia and Mozambique.²⁴ Statistics show that out of Malawi's 254,934 immigrants, 149,906 were female.²⁵ Only 40,962 of the 149,906 Malawian women who relocated to South Africa in 2018 did so.²⁶ With this context, it is difficult to determine how many Chewa and Yawo out of the 40,962 statistics from 2018 migrated to Durban. Although a significant number of Malawian women immigrate to South Africa, their migration experiences have been less studied. The only known academic work is my Master's thesis, which highlighted the immigration of Yawo Muslim women

²⁰ Aimée-Noël Mbiyozo. *Gender and migration in South Africa: Talking to women migrants*. Southern Africa Report 16 November, 2018. (South Africa: Institute for Security Studies (ISS), 2018) 3.

²¹ Aimée-Noël Mbiyozo. "Women Migrants: Forgotten Victims of South Africa's Xenophobia" Institute for Security Studies, 8 May 2019. <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/woman-migrants-forgotten-victims-of-south-africas-xenophobia#:~:text=The%20number%20of%20African%20women,of%20the%20total%20migrant%20population.> (Accessed March 10, 2020).

²² Ndegwa. *Migration in Malawi: A Country Profile 2014*, 1.

²³ Suzgo Khunga. "Emigration doubles in 4 years". *The Nation*. (Malawi), 1, 11 June, 2019.

²⁴ Khunga. "Emigration doubles in 4 years" 1.

²⁵ Khunga. "Emigration doubles in 4 years" 1.

²⁶ National Statistical Office (NSO) 2018 Malawi Population Census Main Report. (Zomba: (NSC) 18.

to Durban. Furthermore, this study fills the existing gaps in Malawi's migration history by examining and documenting the experiences of Chewa and Yawo Muslim women in relation to the drivers of migration, settlement, socio-economic development, and challenges of post-apartheid South Africa. As Erman puts it, documenting the real-life experiences of Muslim women in international migration literature challenges the stereotypical images of Muslim immigrant women portrayed as passive followers of their husbands in the city and as submissive or docile in the city.²⁷ Therefore, the historiography of Muslim immigrant women shows the creativity and hard work of immigrant women who bring positive changes in their lives in a foreign country. Understanding Muslim immigrant women is not just a social science imperative; rather, it will be important for laypersons (non-specialists), strategists, and policymakers.

Review of the literature and justification for the choice of topic

Traditionally, historiography both in Africa and around the world has portrayed migration from a male perspective. Between the 1980s and 1990s, feminist researchers not only developed a critique of academic works that considered all migration processes to be a male phenomenon, but rather found that women were more independent actors in the migration process than previously thought.²⁸ According to Fintel and Moses, migration studies gradually focused on the lack of studies documenting the migration of women in the 1990s.²⁹ Scholars began to contest early studies which assumed that many women routinely left their original homes to follow immigrant men.³⁰ As Kihato and Timmerman et al. put it, early approaches focused on portraying women as helpers or passive victims, lacking choice, social status, and collective or personal agency.³¹ When

²⁷ Tahir Erman. "The meaning of city living for rural migrant women and their role in migration: The case of Turkey". *Women's studies. International Forum*. (March- April 1997, 20: 2) 263- 273.

²⁸ Katharine M. Donato and Donna Gabacci. *Gender and International Migration: From the Slavery Era to the Global Age*. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2015) 2.

²⁹ Dieter von Fintel and Eldridge Moses. *Migration and gender in South Africa: following bright lights and the fortunes of others?* Stellenbosch Economic Working Papers: WP09/2017. (University of Stellenbosch: The Department of Economics and the Bureau for Economic Research, 2017) 1.

³⁰ Silvia Pedraza. "Women and Migration: The Social Consequences of Gender". *Annual Review of Sociology*. (1991, 17) 306.

³¹ See Calorine Wanjiku Kihato. "Invisible lives, inaudible voices? The social conditions of migrant women in Johannesburg". *African Identities*. (2007, 5:1) 89-110; Christiane Timmerman, Maria Lucinda Fonseca, Lore Van

they immigrated, they were portrayed as secondary immigrants and adjuncts in the migration process.³² Nevertheless, women were part of the international migration process.³³

Currently, Mbiyozo and Kihato have recorded the agency of females in the migration routes. These more recent studies show that feminist scholars have begun to formulate a gendered approach to the study of human mobility, both internal and international.³⁴ The use of gender as an essential analytical category stimulates current questions and perceptions about how we theorize and document gender movements in migration studies.³⁵ Hiralal notes that the inclusion of gender, in particular, attempted to situate the analysis in the context of agency, identity, employment and livelihoods.³⁶ Such studies and approaches have brought a new narrative to the migration process. It reveals that women have been autonomous actors, and not "a leftover" in the migration process.³⁷ It is within this context that Malawian Muslim women immigrants are not explored and their migration experiences documented. Hence, this study argues that the feminist approach seeks to empower women immigrants and give their voices, and agency to act for their rights, as well as fight for any forms of discrimination in the immigration process. Further, the theoretical framework examines the intersections of gender, class, race, socio-economic status, sexuality, and nationality in order to interrogate the notions of inequalities and inequities.

Praag, Sónia Pereira (eds). *Gender and Migration: A Gender Sensitive Approach to Migration Dynamics*. (Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2018) 7.

³² Kalpana Hiralal. "Our Plucky sisters who have dared to fight: Indian Women and the Satyagraha movement in South Africa". *The Oriental Anthropologist*. (June 2009, 9:1) 1.

³³ See Caroline B. Brettell. *Gender and Migration*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016), and Stephanie J. Nawyn. "Gender and Migration" Integrating Feminist Theory into Migration Studies". *Sociology Compass* (2010, 4:9) 750.

³⁴ See Caroline B. Brettell. *Gender and Migration*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016).

³⁵ See Farzana Gounder, Kalpana Hiralal, Amba Pande, and Maurits S. Hassankhan (eds). *Women, Gender and the Legacy of Slavery and Indenture*. (Routledge, 2020).

³⁶ Kalpana Hiralal. "Women and Migration-Challenges and Constraints – A South African Perspective". *Nordic Journal of African Studies*. (2017, 26: 2) 159.

³⁷ Hiralal. "Women and Migration-Challenges and Constraints" 159.

Women's Migration

Women's Migration from Europe to America and Asia to Europe

In the 19th and 20th centuries, the desire to work in America pushed European women to leave their countries.³⁸ However, their actual experiences in peasant and industrial family economies have been overlooked and not fully explored.³⁹ In the 1990s, new studies emerged that still seem to bridge this gap.⁴⁰ For example, Guglielmo examines the Italian women's resistance movement that took shape in the 19th century in the New York and New Jersey areas.⁴¹ Women's participation in the resistance movement would reveal that Italian immigrant women were politically active and willing to make positive changes in their lives as immigrants. Their participation in politics illuminates how women in male-dominated societies can undertake or engage in any activity suited to their needs and interests. Similarly, Lindstr'om analyzes how Finnish immigrants have been involved in left-wing politics in Canada. They had challenged and defied many conventions of class, gender and race.⁴² Not only were they victims of discrimination, but they were also agents who advocated for gender equality in Finnish-Canadian communities and organisations. Related studies have also been noted on Asian immigrant women in America.⁴³ Murugan examines South Asian immigrant women who have experienced physical violence, rape and/or stalking, harassment by a close partner in their lifetime and who described short and long-term effects such

³⁸ Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta. "Women, Work, and Protest in the Italian Diaspora: An International Research Agenda". *Le Travail*, Fall, Masculinities and Working-Class History (1998, 42) 171.

³⁹ Donna Gabaccia. "Italian American Women: A Review Essay". *Italian Americana*, Fall/Winter. (1993, 12:1) 50.

⁴⁰ Gabaccia and Iacovetta. "Women, Work, and Protest in the Italian Diaspora: An International Research Agenda". *Le Travail* 163.

⁴¹ See Jennifer Guglielmo. *Living the Revolution: Italian Women's Resistance and Radicalism in New York 1880-1945*, New Edition. (The University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

⁴² See Varpu Lindstr'om. "*I won't be a Slave!*" *Selected Articles of Finnish Canadian Women's History*. (Finland: Aspasia Books, 2010). See also Michel S. Beaulieu, David K. Ratz, and Ronald N. Harpelle (eds). *Hard Work Conquers All: building the Finnish Community in Canada*. (Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 2017) 11; Robert Alexander. "We Serve Too: Finnish Canadian Women in International service Organization". *Canadian Women Studies*. (1988, 9:2) 65-66 and Michel S. Beaulieu, David K. Ratz, and Ronald N. Harpelle (eds). *Hard Work Conquers All: building the Finnish Community in Canada*. (Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 2017) 11.

⁴³ Rashmi Sharma. "Gender and International Migration: The Profile of Female Migrants from India". *Social Scientist*. (March-April 2011, 39:3:4) 46.

as injuries and symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder.⁴⁴ Dasgupta argues that domestic violence is shaped by patriarchal, ethnic and cultural beliefs.⁴⁵ Peshwaria discerns women's agency by highlighting how immigrant women are fighting domestic violence in their host country (America).⁴⁶ Yung focuses on the Chinese women in Francisco who were part and parcel of immigrants to America as far as the 1800s.⁴⁷ She illuminates the significance of oral history and how it allows women to tell their stories in their own words and with their own voices on issues such as gender roles and relationships, discrimination, sexuality, and social change in their lives.⁴⁸ Similarly, Lew-Williams documents the narratives of Chinese women and girls who experienced and suffered human trafficking and deportations in America.⁴⁹

African Women Migrating to Europe and America

In the 1960s, African women accounted for nearly a third of all international immigrants on the continent.⁵⁰ However, there is little literature on African women immigrating to Europe or America. To bridge the gap, Arthur uses structured surveys and telephone interviews to examine immigrant women from West Africa to the United States of America (USA).⁵¹ While Akinsulure-Smith et al examine intimate violence among 32 West African immigrants, with females reporting

⁴⁴ See Vithya Murugan. *Intimate Partner Violence Among South Asian Women in the United States: Prevalence and Help-seeking Behaviors*. (Washington University, 2017).

⁴⁵ Shamiat Das Dasgupta. *Body Evidence: Intimate Violence against South Asia Women in America*. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2007) 1.

⁴⁶ See Anu Peshwaria. *Never Again: An Indian American attorney's campaign against domestic violence and abuse among South Asians and legal immigration policies*. (Diamond Pockets Book, 2020).

⁴⁷ Judy Yung. *Unbound Feet: A Social history of Chinese Women in San Francisco*. (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995) 1.

⁴⁸ Judy Yung. "Giving Voice to Chinese American Women". *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, Problems and Perplexities in Women's Oral History. (1998, 19: 3) 131.

⁴⁹ Beth Lew-Williams. *The Chinese Must Go: Violence, Exclusion, and the Making of Alien in America*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016) 24, 204.

⁵⁰ Kevin J.A. Thomas and Ikubolajeh Logan. "African female immigration to the United States and its policy implications". <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4119759/> (Accessed August 16, 2021).

⁵¹ John A. Arthur. *African Women Immigrants in the United States: Crossing Transnational Borders*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) 1.

numerous cases of abuse and a sense of irritation at existing help/support options.⁵² These studies show that African immigrant women in America are trapped in abusive relationships. They do not focus their analyses on a specific African group but homogenize the experiences of African women.⁵³ African migrant women are not the same; they come from different backgrounds and have different experiences.

Internal, Urban Migration of African Women

While British, Indian, and Chinese women immigrated to South Africa, African women also immigrated from rural to urban areas. For example, Lee analyzes the real-life experiences of women who settled in Cape Town during the apartheid (1948-94) and after apartheid. She examines how they managed domestic economies, participated in social organisations in townships and renovated homes.⁵⁴ James explores how the lived experiences of migrant women have been neglected in many works. Her research shows that immigrant women in South Africa embraced dance and music to express their heritage and destiny.⁵⁵

Migration within the African Continent

Migration is not a new phenomenon in Africa. In the pre-colonial era, the movements now considered international migration took place over a large area contained or delimited only by war.⁵⁶ Historically, migration in Africa is not homogeneous; different patterns of movement across and within national borders have promoted trade, pastoralism, warfare, natural disasters, and job searching.⁵⁷ Most of the migrations in the east, west and southern Africa were linked/related to the

⁵² Adeyinka M. Akinsulure-Smith, Tracy Chu, Eva Keathy and Andrew Rasmussen. "Intimate Partner Violence among West African Immigrants". *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment and Trauma*. (2013, 22:3) <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/10926771.2013.719592> (Accessed September 29, 2021)

⁵³ Arthur, *African Women Immigrants in the United States* 1

⁵⁴ See Rebekah Lee. *African women and apartheid: migration and settlement in urban South Africa*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

⁵⁵ Deborah James. *Songs of Women migrants: performances and Identity in South Africa*. (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1999) 36.

⁵⁶ Aderanti Adepoju. "Migration in Africa: An Overview". In Jonathan Baker and Tade Akin Aina (eds). *The Migration Experience in Africa*. (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Gotab, 1995) 89.

⁵⁷ Adepoju. "Migration in Africa: An Overview" 89-90.

economic strategies of the colonial movement.⁵⁸ Coquery-vidrovitch traces the history of the migration of women to the urban centres of east and southern Africa. Between the 1920s and 1930s, many women migrated to urban centres where they created new jobs to become the economic and social focal point of Africa.⁵⁹ These women were considered to be prostitutes or 'loose' women who migrated to please male immigrants.⁶⁰ Obbo states that it was believed that "town migration is not for women."⁶¹ And the men restrained women from immigrating. However, women continued to immigrate, although in many cases, they were restricted.⁶² Thus, women have rarely been immigrating on their own due to conservative social values.⁶³ For example, women from Malawi immigrated to Zimbabwe during the colonial period. Groves examines the Malawian men and women who moulded the culture and politics of urban Zimbabwe during the colonial era that is still visible today.⁶⁴ Using oral histories and colonial archives, Groves emphasizes the importance of analysing women's experiences in the migration process, which was lacking in the past literature.⁶⁵ The use of oral history is relevant to my research on independent Malawian immigrant women in South Africa.

As mentioned by Barou et al, internal migration in sub-Sahara Africa has always been important and, nearly 17 million inhabitants of sub-Saharan countries live in a foreign land; only 2% of them live in a country outside of Africa.⁶⁶ Thus, Africa had a dramatic surge in international migration

⁵⁸ Adepoju. "Migration in Africa: An Overview" 89-90.

⁵⁹ Iris Berger. *Women in Twentieth-Century Africa*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016) 13-14.

⁶⁰ Christine Obbo. *African Women: Their Struggle for Economic Independence*. (London: Zed Press, 1980) 26.

⁶¹ Obbo, *African Women: Their Struggle for Economic i*.

⁶² Dieter von Fintel and Eldridge Moses. "Migration and gender in South Africa: following bright lights and the fortunes of others?" Stellenbosch Economic Working Papers: WP09/2017. (Department of Economics and the Bureau for Economic Research, University of Stellenbosch, September 2017) 1.

⁶³ Carole Wenger and Dalia Abulfotuh. *Rural Migration in the Near East and North Africa – Regional trends*. (Cairo: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2019) 32.

⁶⁴ See Zoë R. Groves. *Malawian Migration to Zimbabwe, 1900- 1965: Tracing Machona*. (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

⁶⁵ See Groves, *Malawian Migration to Zimbabwe*.

⁶⁶ See Jacques Barou, Petra Aigner, and Bernard Mbenga. "African Migration in its National and Global Context". In: Attias-Donfut C., Cook J., Hoffman J., Waite L. (eds). *Citizenship, Belonging and Intergenerational Relations in African Migration*. Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship Series. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230390324_2 (Accessed August 20, 2021).

over the past years, going from 13.3 million migrants in 2008 to 25.4 million in 2017—a staggering increase of 91.2 per cent, or an average annual growth rate of 7.5 per cent. The majority of the international immigrant population in Africa is made up of working-age immigrants, who numbered 19.7 million in total in 2017. International migrant workers increased significantly from 7.5 million in 2008 to an estimated 14.4 million in 2017.⁶⁷

The percentage of international immigrants in Africa increased from 1.4% in 2008 to 2.0% in 2017. In 2017, South Africa accounted for 16.5% of all immigrants in Africa, followed by Côte d'Ivoire (8.9%), Uganda (6.9%), Nigeria (5.0%), Ethiopia (5.0%), and Kenya (4.4%) as the most popular destinations for immigrants. Male immigrants outnumbered female immigrants in any given year, according to the data.⁶⁸

In contrast to 2008, when there were 7.13 million men and 6.17 million women immigrants, there were 13.51 million men immigrants in 2017 (representing 53.1% of the total immigrant population) and 11.93 million women immigrants (representing 46.9%). This gender imbalance, despite its small size, highlights the fact that men continue to make up the majority of the labour market and that finding job remains the primary cause of migration. Women currently make up a bigger proportion of migrant movements in Africa than they did previously, despite migration historically being a male phenomenon.⁶⁹

Between 2008 and 2017, the number of immigrant women surged by 93.4%, while the general female population increased by just 28.8%. Despite the fact that there appears to be a modest correlation between the increase in the number of female immigrants in Africa and an increase in the proportion of women participating in the labour force, it is crucial to remember that many of them end up working in irregular employment. In general, it is extremely difficult for immigrant workers to overcome a shortage of acceptable employment when they enter the labour market in their destination countries.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ The African Union Commission. “Report on Labour Migration Statistics in Africa”. Second edition (2017). (Addis Ababa: the African Union Commission and JLMP partners (ILO, IOM, UNECA), 2020) 4.

⁶⁸ The African Union Commission. “Report on Labour Migration Statistics in Africa” 31.

⁶⁹ The African Union Commission. “Report on Labour Migration Statistics in Africa” 31.

⁷⁰ The African Union Commission. “Report on Labour Migration Statistics in Africa” 31.

Studies on Immigrant Women to South Africa

Historically, early studies of migrant women have generally focused on the lives of European women in Natal, the Cape Colony and the Transvaal.⁷¹ Bradford argues that African and imperial history marginalized the experiences of women in the British colonies.⁷² Her research shows that women played a role in the slave revolt of 1825 under the Khoikhoi and in the Millennium Movement of 1856–7 under the Xhosa. Gender was more important than class or race in defining subordinates' involvement in violent resistance.⁷³ Erlank also challenges male-centred narratives of immigrants by focusing on how women worked alongside men in various jobs, such as storekeepers, teachers, and hat makers.⁷⁴ Parley analyzes the settlers of Natal in the 19th century in the context of their work, their economy, their motherhood and their social control.⁷⁵ Beall examines the role and status of women in the political economy of colonial Natal.⁷⁶ Her study contributes to a better understanding of political, economic and social developments controlled or directed by women. Studies by Beal, Erlank and Parle have largely focused on the lives of white immigrant women from Europe.⁷⁷

Other studies of immigrant women have also captured the experiences of indentured and 'passenger' Indians. Badassy argues that much of the work on Indian immigrant women have been

⁷¹ See J. Beall. "Class, Race and Gender: The Political Economy of Women in Colonial Natal." Ma Thesis. University of Natal, Durban, 1982; J. J Van Helten, and K. Williams. "The Crying Need of South Africa – the Emigration of Single British Women to the Transvaal 1901–10". *Journal of Southern African Studies*. (1983, 10:1) 17–38.

⁷² Helen Bradford. "Women, Gender and Colonialism: Rethinking the History of the British Cape Colony and Its Frontier Zones, c.1806-70". *Journal of African history*. (1996, 37:3) 351.

⁷³ Bradford. "Women, Gender and Colonialism" 360-61.

⁷⁴ Natasha Erlank. "Writing Women In (to) Early nineteenth Century Cape Town". *Kronos*. Southern Africa Histories. (November 1996, 23) 75-90.

⁷⁵ Julie Parle. "History, She Wrote: A Reappraisal of Dear Louisa in the 1990s". *South African Historical Journal*. (1995, 33) 33-35.

⁷⁶ Josephine Dianne Beall. "Class, Race and Gender – The Political Economy of Women in Colonial Natal". MA dissertation. (University of Natal, Durban, 1982) 1.

⁷⁷ Natasha Erlank. "Thinking it Wrong to Remain Unemployed in the Pressing Times: The Experiences of Two English Settler Wives". *South African Historical Journal*. (1995, 33) 62; Julie Parle, "History, She Wrote: A Reappraisal of Dear Louisa in the 1990s". *South African Historical Journal*. (1995, 33) 33.

male-centred, with perhaps only references and footnotes limited to ordinary women such as Indian domestic workers.⁷⁸ Studies by Bhana and Brain, Bhana and Pachai, and Palmer did not fully examine the experiences of indentured women.⁷⁹ The most notable works by Beall, Badassy and Sheik analyze Indian women's experiences of migration, servitude, marriage, and labour exploitation in Natal.⁸⁰ The action of these women proves that they actively resisted the oppression of the planter and colonial rule. Hiralal alludes to the crucial role women played in politics notably the Satyagraha movement of 1913. Their involvements in this campaign have challenged accounts and depictions of Indian women as docile.⁸¹ These recent works seek to counter the social constructs of females with no agency.⁸² Women are now at the centre of histories of indenture.⁸³ The invisibility and silence of Indian women immigrants and their alleged docility in the migration process are thus rectified.⁸⁴ Similarly, Harris examines the migratory experiences of the free

⁷⁸ Prinisha Badassy. "...and my blood became hot! Crimes of Passion, Crimes of Reason: An analysis of crimes against Masters and Mistresses by their Indian Domestic Servants, Natal, 1880- 1920". MA Thesis. (University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2005) 3.

⁷⁹ Badassy. "...and my blood became hot! Crimes of Passion, Crimes of Reason, 3. The following are works which Badassy suggests that they needed to explore more on indentured women: Surendra Bhana and Joy Brain. *Setting Down Roots: Indian migrants in South Africa, 1860-1911*. (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1990); Surendr Bhana and Bridglal Pachai (eds). *A Documentary History of Indian South Africans*. (Cape Town: David Philip, 1984); Surendra Bhana (ed). *Essays on Indentured Indians in Natal*. (Leeds: Peepal Tree Press, 1990); Uma Shashikant Dhupelia. *From Cane Fields to Freedom: a Chronicle of Indian South African Life*. (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2000); Bill Freund. *Insiders And Outsiders: The Indian Working Class Of Durban, 1910-1990*. (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995); Fatima Meer. *Portrait of Indian South Africans*. (Durban: Avon House, 1969); Y.S.Meer. et al. *Documents of Indentured Labourers, 1852-1917*. (Durban: Institute of Black Research, 1980), and Mabel Palmer. *The History of the Indians in Natal*. (Cape Town, New York: Oxford University Press, 1957).

⁸⁰ Sheik. "Labouring under the Law: Gender and the Legal Administration of Indian Immigrant under Indenture in Colonial Natal, 1860- 1907", 1.

⁸¹ Hiralal. "Our Plucky sisters who have dared to fight: Indian Women and the Satyagraha movement in South Africa" 1.

⁸² See Kalpana Hiralal. "Immigrant Sisters Organizing for Change – The Gujarati Mahila Mandal 1930–1950.". *Journal of Sociology and Social Anthropology*. (2013, 4:1-2) 105–115.

⁸³ Kalpana Hiralal. "Voices and Memories of Indentured Women in Natal". *African Economic History* University of Wisconsin Press. (2020, 48:1) 74

⁸⁴ Hiralal. "Women and Migration in South Africa" 63.

Chinese immigrants at the Cape and indentured Chinese labour in the Witwatersrand gold mines. Much emphasis is placed on social aspects such as sexuality, privacy, and living conditions in the compound system.⁸⁵ Although Chinese women have been part of the migration process, their stories and experiences remain extremely understudied. Recently, Hiralal, within a comparative framework has examined how patriarchy, cultural and social barriers, shaped and defined Indian and Chinese women's decision to migrate to South Africa.⁸⁶

African Women immigration to South Africa

Historically, women from Malawi (then Nyasaland) did not only immigrate to Zimbabwe in the 1900s, but some accounts suggest that Yawo and Makhuwa women were part of indentured labourers in South Africa in the 1870s. They had been freed from slavery by the British navy.⁸⁷ The Yawo, who settled in Bluff and later moved to Chatsworth Unit 2, are better known as Zanzibaris.⁸⁸ Later, these Yawos induced more Yawos to settle in Durban.⁸⁹ They are generally called Mazizimbani among the Zulu people. The language of the Yawo spoken in Chatsworth is Chiyawo.⁹⁰ There have been limited studies on Yawo women. Oosthuizen speaks of the dress of

⁸⁵ Karen Leigh Harris. "A History of the Chinese in South Africa to 1912". Doctor of Literature and Philosophy in History. (University of South Africa, 1998) vi.

⁸⁶ Kalapana Hiralal. "Why were the Women Left Behind? Chinese and Indian migration in the Indian Ocean Region: A Historical Perspective". In: K. Hiralal and Z. Jinnah. (eds). *Gender and Mobility in Africa*. (Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2018) 720.

⁸⁷ See Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed (eds). *Chatsworth. The making of a South African township*. (Scottsville, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2013) 84.

⁸⁸ Gerhardus C. Oosthuizen. "Islam among the Zanzibaris of South Africa". *History of Religions*. (Feb 1992, 31: 3) 307. More on the Zanzibaris, see Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed (eds). *Chatsworth. The making of a South African township* 84-98; P Kaarsholm, "Population movements, Islam and the interaction of Indian and African identity strategies in South Africa during and after apartheid". *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*. (2006/2007, 24:25) 37-63; Zubeda. B Seedat. "The Zanzibaris in Durban: A social anthropological study of the Muslim descendants of African freed slaves living in the Indian area of Chatsworth". MA Thesis. (University of Natal, 1973).

⁸⁹ Goolam Vahed. "Muslim women's Identities in South Africa: A Zanzibari Perspective in KwaZulu-Natal". *New Contree*, (November 2014, No. 70, Special Edition) 110- 111; Desai and Goolam Vahed eds., *Chatsworth: The Making of a South African Township* 84.

⁹⁰ Seedat. "The Zanzibaris in Durban" 74.

Zanzibari Muslim women which is different from that of Indian Muslim women.⁹¹ It reveals that the Yawo women of Zanzibaris were present in this migratory wave. Between 1956 and 1960, 326 Nyasa (Malawian) women immigrated to South Africa.⁹² Additionally, Vahed explored how Zanzibari women in contemporary KwaZulu-Natal navigate between race and femininity (womanhood).⁹³ Vahed's work gives a voice to the women of Zanzibari as they reflect on their own life, context, changing subjectivities and paths to public identity and political commitment.⁹⁴

In recent years, scholars such as Jinnah, Kihato, Chimukuche, Mutambara, Umubeyey, Namwala, and Hingston have broadened our perspectives on the migration of women to South Africa. For example, Jinnah examines the livelihoods of Somali Muslim women in Johannesburg through oral interviews.⁹⁵ Kihato focuses on how African women negotiate identity and religion in post-apartheid South Africa.⁹⁶ Chimukuche investigates how strict immigration and visa procedures prevent Zimbabwean skilled immigrant women from working in South Africa.⁹⁷ While Mutambara explores the xenophobic and gender-based violence attitudes faced by immigrant women from Zimbabwe when working in the informal sector of South Africa.⁹⁸ Umubeyey

⁹¹ Oosthuizen. "Islam among the Zanzibaris of South Africa" 308.

⁹² See the Annual Reports of the Labour Department, 31st December 1952 to 31st December 1960. (Zomba: Government Printer). The women who migrated from Malawi to South Africa 1952-1960; 1956 (66 women); 1957 (78 women); 1958 (87 women); 1959 (43 women); and in 1960 (52 women).

⁹³ Vahed. "Muslim women's identities in South Africa" 107.

⁹⁴ Vahed. "Muslim women's identities in South Africa" 108.

⁹⁵ See Zaheera Jinnah. "Unfinished journeys: an exploration of agency within Somali women's lives and livelihoods in Johannesburg". Dissertation -Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), Department of Anthropology, Gender, and Historical Studies. (University of KwaZulu Natal, November 2013).

⁹⁶ See Caroline Wanjiku Kihato. *Migrant Women of Johannesburg: Life in an in-between city*. (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2013).

⁹⁷ Rujeko Samantha Chimukuche. "The 'accompanying spouse dependent visa status': challenges and constraints faced by Zimbabwean immigrant women in integration into South Africa's formal labour market". PhD in Gender Studies. (University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2019) viii.

⁹⁸ Marcia Victoria Mutambara. "Xenophobia and Human Security: Gender-based Violence Experiences of Zimbabwean Women Working in the Informal Sector in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal". Doctor of Philosophy in the Postgraduate Programme in Conflict, Transformation and Peace Studies. (University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2018) v.

examines domestic violence among Congolese migrant families.⁹⁹ Namwala explores the significance of the custom of labia elongation among immigrant women in South Africa.¹⁰⁰ Hingston examines how gender identities are regularly challenged, navigated and reinforced among Nigerians.¹⁰¹ These studies allude to the significance of intersectionality, gender and ethnicity as important categories of analysis for understanding the complexity of the challenges of female immigration. Here, the use of the gender approach and oral history in the form of interviews to discover women's experiences is evident. Gender mainstreaming in the international migration process is crucial. It cannot be overlooked because gender shapes and determines the migration patterns of people.

Studies on Muslim Women Immigrating Out of Africa

My study examines the issue (theme) of "feminisation of migration" with the acceleration of women's movements in different parts of the globe, particularly Muslim women.¹⁰² Current studies show that Muslim women migrate to different regions of the world. For example, Salih's work examines Moroccan females in Italy on the basis of their religion, transnationalism, citizenship, and identity.¹⁰³ The study explores the construction of a "home" by women in Morocco and Italy and how these can also help one to understand displacement and feelings of belonging. Haddad et al., on the other hand, describe the problems that Muslims encounter and the opportunities that

⁹⁹ Beatrice Umubyey. "Probing Marital Conflicts within the context of migrant families from Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in Durban, KwaZuluNatal Province". Doctor of Philosophy in Conflict Transformation and Peace studies. (University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2017) iv-v.

¹⁰⁰ Nachilima Namwala. "An Investigation into the Meanings and Contestations Around the Practice of Labia elongation amongst a select group of Migrant Women living in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa". Master of Social Science (Gender Studies). (University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2017) iv.

¹⁰¹ Claudine Anita Cassandra Hingston. *Gender Contestations in the Migration Site: The Case of Nigerian Migrants in Durban, South Africa*. PhD in Gender Studies. (University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2014) iv.

¹⁰² Samaa Abdurraqib. "Hijab Scenes: Muslim Women, migration, and Hijab in Immigrant Muslim Literature" *Multi- Ethnic Literature of the United States (MELUS)*. (December 2006, 31:4) 55.

¹⁰³ See Ruba Salih. *Gender in transnationalism: Home, longing and belonging among Moroccan migrant women*. (London: Routledge, 2003).

some Muslims in America enjoy.¹⁰⁴ While Keaton tackles several issues, such as instilling and introducing a "common culture" beyond identity and xenophobia in France.¹⁰⁵ Keaton's work is a pivotal attempt to understand the intersections between immigration and gender-based violence. Similarly, Sultan and Mlowezi examine the processes of labour migration and the exploitation of women from Zanzibar and Tanzania hired as domestic servants in the Middle East.¹⁰⁶

Based on oral accounts and using the gender approach, researchers seek to understand the challenges African Muslim immigrant women face in the context of their religion, transnationalism, citizenship, and identity. And how they construct their identity and navigate the problems faced and the opportunities offered in the receiving countries.

Studies on Muslim Immigrant Women in South Africa

Historically, there are general works on indentured and 'passenger' Indians that suggest that there were Muslim women in the migration flows between 1860 and 1910.¹⁰⁷ However, little has been written about the migration history of Muslim women in South Africa.¹⁰⁸ There is a shortage of literature on gender, religion, and their impact on the migration processes of Muslim women.¹⁰⁹

Contemporary studies of Muslim women migrating to South Africa are the works of Jinnah, Waiganjo, Moodley, and my research.¹¹⁰ Jinnah examines how low-income Somali Muslim women engage in informal trade or work in low-paying jobs in Johannesburg.¹¹¹ While Waiganjo

¹⁰⁴ See Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad et. al. *Muslim Women in America: The Challenge of Islamic Identity Today*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

¹⁰⁵ See Trica Danielle Keaton. *Muslim Girls and the Other France: Race, Identity Politics, & Social Exclusion..* (Bloomington: Indian University Press, 2006).

¹⁰⁶ Biubwa Sultan and Mwanamboka Mlowezi. *Women's Labour Migration on the Africa-Middle East Corridor: Experiences of Migrant domestic workers from Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar*. (Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW): Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC, 2019) v.

¹⁰⁷ Goolam Vahed, "Indentured Muslim women in Colonial Natal: Mothers, Wives and Work", 95- 110. In Amba Pande (ed). *Indentured and Post-Indentured Experiences of Women in the Indian Diaspora*, 1st ed. (Springer, 2020).

¹⁰⁸ Vahed. "Indentured Muslim women in Colonial Natal: Mothers, Wives and Work" 95-110.

¹⁰⁹ Vahed. "Indentured Muslim women in Colonial Natal: Mothers, Wives and Work" 95- 110.

¹¹⁰ See Joseph Y. Mbalaka. "Exploring the migration experiences of Muslim Yao Women in KwaZulu-Natal, 1994-2015". MA Thesis. (University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2016).

¹¹¹ Jinnah. "Unfinished journeys" 24.

focuses on how Somali women have been subjected to overt and covert xenophobia and Afrophobia at the intersection of nationality, clan, religion and gender.¹¹² Moodley also sheds light on how Muslim immigrant women live in South African society and how they negotiate their identity and space.¹¹³ The voices of Muslim immigrant women are a way of understanding and perceiving this community.¹¹⁴

The above emerging body of works is relevant to research on the migration of Chewa and Yawo Muslim women from Malawi to South Africa since 1994. Thus, this new body of literature is useful for studying the immigration of Chewa and Yawo Muslim immigrant women. In contrast to the early literature on Malawian Muslim immigrants, my research aims to highlight the contributions of female Muslim immigrants. The studies of Vawda and Mumisa, among others, have focused on Yawo Muslim men. They study Malawian Yawo Muslim men.¹¹⁵ One of the gaps in this historiography is the underrepresentation of Malawian female immigrants in the literature. This study seeks to close these gender gaps.

According to a report published in 2020 by Statistics South Africa, there is still a dearth of information on gender and migration in South Africa.¹¹⁶ An expansion of the current literature on immigrant women in South Africa would be the writing of the history of Muslim women immigrants from Malawi. My dissertation for my master's degree was entirely centred on the everyday experiences of Yawo women living in Durban, and this current research is a continuation

¹¹² Anthony Gathambiri Waiganjo. "Gender complexities in the Context of Xenophobia Afrophobia in the Transnational Space: the Experiences of Somali Women in Mayfair, and Pretoria west in Gauteng province, South Africa". Doctor of Philosophy in Gender Studies Programme. (University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2017) vii-viii.

¹¹³ Kavishka Moodley, "Narratives of Immigrant Muslim Women in Fordsburg", Masters of Arts in Community-based Counselling Psychology, Faculty of Humanities. (University of the Witwatersrand, 2018) 56.

¹¹⁴ Moodley. "Narratives of Immigrant Muslim Women in Fordsburg" 10.

¹¹⁵ Shahid Vawda. "Migration and Muslim Identities: Malawians and Senegalese Muslims in Durban, South Africa", Department of Anthropology, School of Social Sciences. University of Witwatersrand. Presented at the University of Johannesburg, Department of Anthropology/Sociology Seminar, 17 February 2010, 6 and Michael Mumisa, "Islam and Proselytism in South Africa and Malawi". *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*. (2002, 22:2) 275- 298.

¹¹⁶ Statistics South Africa. *Migration Dynamics of Women, Children and the Elderly in South Africa*, Report No. 03-51-04. (Pretoria: Statistics South Africa, 2020) 10.

of that earlier work.¹¹⁷ This study contrasts the real-life/ true tales of two ethnic groups from Malawi, Chewa and Yawo. There are no comparative studies of Chewa and Yawo immigrant women in South Africa. This study allows me to compare and contrast the experiences of Yawo and Chewa women, a first in the history of Muslim immigrant women from Malawi to South Africa. Groves argues that Malawians are not well represented in the burgeoning historiography on African labour migration.¹¹⁸

This study challenges the non-existence or absence of Muslim women from the Chewa and Yawo ethnic groups in the literature on global migration. It records their arrival, settlement patterns, language barriers, economic participation, xenophobia, and religious empowerment from 1994 to 2017. It demasculinizes the history of migration by recording the silenced voices of women. The study is significant because the oral histories collected from the Chewa and Yawo Muslim women in Durban will add to fresh perspectives on independent Malawian migrants to South Africa, especially in KwaZulu-Natal, and open the door to further investigation of other Malawian ethnic groups residing in this nation. The study shows how important it is for Muslim women to move to new places on their own; and make their own decisions. It will encourage critical discourse on Muslim immigrant women from the Chewa and Yawo tribes. Future comparative analyses of female immigrants from other parts of the African continent will be able to build on the rich accounts that have emerged from this research. This will undoubtedly contribute to a new understanding of gendered migratory experiences, which are gaining prominence in global research. It will also advance a richer and more complex understanding of the history of Muslim immigrant women in South Africa. Scholars studying oral history, memory, and gender in Africa will find this study useful. According to Weinberg et al., studying women in migration allows "historians to view women as something more than a footnote to history."¹¹⁹ In this way, the invisibility and silence of immigrant women, as well as the assumption that they are

¹¹⁷ See Mbalaka. "Exploring the migration experiences of Muslim Yao Women in KwaZulu-Natal, 1994- 2015".

¹¹⁸ Groves, *Malawian Migration to Zimbabwe* 3.

¹¹⁹ Sydney Stahl Weinberg, Donna Gabaccia, Hasia R. Diner and Maxine Schwartz Seller. "The Treatment of Women in Immigration History: A Call for Change [with Comments and Response]". *Journal of American Ethnic History*. (Summer, 1992, 11: 4) 29.

passive in the migration process, are being corrected.¹²⁰ Thus this study challenges male dominated frameworks on Malawian migration.¹²¹

Research problem and objectives: Key questions addressed

This study examines the real-life experiences of Malawian women. The key aims of this study are as follows:

- a. What were the Chewa and Yawo people of Malawi's historical origins? What were their religious affiliations?
Did Muslim women experience difficulties in the process of establishing themselves in Durban?
- b. How do Chewa and Yawo women keep and practice their cultural identities outside of their own country? What customs and traditions have immigrants brought with them from Malawi? Did the Chewa and Yawo women follow any of their own traditions, or did they just copy what other people did?
- c. How do the Chewa and Yawo Muslim women deal with the religious identity challenges they face? Did the Chewa and Yawo women experienced physical and/or sexual violence at the hands of a partner or other sexual aggressor in their communities? How do the social constructs of gender influence the lives of Chewa and Yawo Muslim women? In the context of migration, how do these women negotiate their identities in terms of both their nationality and their ethnicity?

Research problem and objectives: Broad issues investigated (general topic examined)

Problems and goals of the study: the scope of the inquiry (examined topic)

There are also issues that are more widespread that will be explored:

First, this thesis has two primary goals. The first is to investigate the various causes for the migration of Chewa and Yawo Muslim women to South Africa. The political and social conditions in both the sending and receiving countries will be major focus areas.

¹²⁰ Hiralal. "Women and Migration in South Africa" 63.

¹²¹ Rohit Barot. Harriet Bradley and Steven Fenton (eds). *Ethnicity, Gender and Social Change*. (London: Macmillan Press, 1999) 29.

Second, the difficulties the Chewa and Yawo Muslim communities encountered as they attempted to relocate to Durban. By delving into the thoughts and feelings of these ordinary women, we gain insight into the lived experiences of these Malawian women immigrants living in Durban. This study seeks to contextualize the experiences of xenophobia, stigma, and prejudice that underpin sentiments of identity nostalgia, self-awareness, and appreciation for a foreign nation.

Thirdly, it will also investigate the conflicts surrounding their religious, cultural, and national identities. In the context of global migration, Chewa and Yawo women in Durban negotiate their economic, cultural, and religious identities. Individuals have multiple identities. This thesis looks at how Chewa and Yawo Muslims place their "identity" in relation to other identities, such as being Malawian, African, Chewa, Yawo, Muslim, and foreigner.

Fourth, this research aims to situate oral histories in the context of migrations. This thesis utilizes oral history as its primary research methodology to examine the lived experiences of Chewa and Yawo women. What new narratives emerge when women's voices in oral histories are shifted from the margins to the centre? Oral narratives not only allude to the marginalized voices of women, but also demonstrate how a comparative study of the Chewa and Yawo Muslims provides nuanced perspectives on migratory experiences within the context of religion, gender, and identity.

Theoretical framework

This section examines the four fundamental theories on the basis of which the research was conducted. They are gender, social history, oral history, and transnationalism.

Social history has its origin in the cultural revolution of the 1960s.¹²² It refers to the "history of society", focusing on people's real-life experiences.¹²³ Edward Palmer Thompson in his publication, *The Making of the English Working Class*, spearheaded an investigation of grassroots history related "from below".¹²⁴ Previously, history mainly documented records of famous people's accomplishments.¹²⁵ However, social history attempts to restore the accounts of ordinary people's

¹²² Berger et al. eds. *Writing History* 63.

¹²³ Werner Conze and Charles A. Wright. "Social History". *Journal of Social History*. (Autum, 1967, 1:1) 7.

¹²⁴ See E. Thompson. *The Making of the English Working Class*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1966).

¹²⁵ Burke. *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* 26.

lived experiences.¹²⁶ This research relies heavily on social history because it was used to record the lives of ordinary women like the Chewa and Yawo Muslim women.¹²⁷ In addition to providing me with a better understanding of the subjective and real-life experiences of the Chewa and Yawo Muslim women, the theory also provided a platform for the voices of these women. It made it easier for me to follow along with and comprehend how they manage their religion, gender, and identity as they move from place to place.

This study also used *oral history* to understand immigrant women's experiences. When people are interviewed, their oral memories are written down.¹²⁸ Oral traditions are used by Africans to pass down stories from generation to generation through word of mouth, poetry, and songs.¹²⁹ Oral materials have been used by Western societies to trace their origins back to the early Greek historian Thucydides.¹³⁰ In the 16th century, Spanish historians relied on oral sources to compile the history of the Aztecs and Incas. Allan Nevins started the oral history movement in 1948 so that people could record interviews on tape.¹³¹ In 1960, Belgian scholar Jan Vansin emphasized the value of oral history in capturing the "histories from below" of oppressed, ordinary, and marginalized Africans.¹³² The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa (TRC) has made extensive use of oral history to shed light on apartheid's atrocities.¹³³ We can learn about people's goals, perceptions of what they were doing, and current perceptions of what they did from oral sources in addition to what they actually did.¹³⁴ Thus, oral sources provide information not only about what people actually did but also about what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now consider they actually did. Traditional sources (written sources) often leave out or generalize individual experiences, but oral history can fill in the gaps.¹³⁵

¹²⁶ Burke. *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* 37.

¹²⁷ Joan Wallach Scott. *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988) 69.

¹²⁸ Ranjit Kumar. *Research Methodology: a step-by-step guide for beginner*, 3rd edition. (London: Sage, 2012) 161.

¹²⁹ J. M. Vansina. *Oral tradition as history*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985) 27.

¹³⁰ Donald A. Ritchie. *Doing Oral History*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2015) 20.

¹³¹ Ritchie, *Doing Oral History* 22.

¹³² "Oral histories". http://www.archivalplatform.org/blog/entry/oral_histories/ (Accessed July 30, 2019).

¹³³ Allan Wieder. "Testimony as Oral history: Lessons from South Africa". *Educational Researcher*, Disciplinary Knowledge and Quality Education. (Aug-Sept 2004, 33:6) 23.

¹³⁴ Alessandro Portelli. "The Peculiarities of Oral History". *History Workshop Journal*. (1981, 12:96-107) 99. More on Oral History, see for example; Paul Thompson. *The Voices of the Past: Oral History*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹³⁵ Anna K. Kelly and Mark Y. Wong. "Constructing Authenticity: A case of Chinese Cultural space Establishment in a Canadian Prairie City". In *Migration, Ethnicity, and the State*. International Conference, Conference Proceedings, 217- 29 March 2015. (Sun Yat-sen University, Guangzhou, China) 7.

Therefore, oral histories provide us with information about people's goals, perceptions of their actions, and current perceptions of what they did.¹³⁶ Oral history gives us a view that we might not get from traditional sources, which often leave out or generalize personal experiences.¹³⁷ As a result, the oral sources assisted me in shedding light on the understudied histories of the Chewa and Yawo women and re-centering their experiences. It allowed me to have a deeper knowledge of the problems they experienced while migrating and to emphasize the subtleties of women's lives.

Additionally, the oral sources aided me in highlighting the neglected histories of the Chewa and Yawo women and putting their narratives at the center of the study. I was able to obtain a deeper grasp of the difficulties they faced while migrating, as well as appreciate the intricacies of women's experiences. Through oral history, I first recognized the significance of telling "history from below" through personal narratives, which focus on ordinary people as the centers of the narratives. This resulted in a restoration of women's perspectives and feelings. The history of women, according to Lerner, enables us to see the past as a whole and complete entity.¹³⁸ Hence, oral history was utilised in this study as I was not necessarily searching for 'facts' but meaning and memory from the Chewa and Yawo women in Durban. Thus, whatever the respondents said was not necessarily true, but the memories were based on their experience in Durban, which may or may not be true.

Oral history has some limitations, just like other historical sources with regards to being subjective due to willful or calculated bias, misinterpretation, misrepresentation, or memory indiscretion.¹³⁹ Thus, oral history, like all historical sources, has subjectivity limitations due to intentional and deliberate distortion or memory lapses. Memory is intricate, creative, and flexible all at the same time.¹⁴⁰ To overcome this problem, written records must be used to test their accuracy and

¹³⁶ Portelli "The Peculiarities of Oral History" 99, and Thompson, *The Voices of the Past: Oral History*.

¹³⁷ Kelly "Constructing Authenticity" 7.

¹³⁸ Gerda Lerner. "The Necessity of History and the Professional Historian". *The Journal of American History*. (June 1982, 69:1) 13.

¹³⁹ Abrams. *Oral History Theory* 78-105 for review of memory.

¹⁴⁰ Lynn Abrams. *Oral History Theory*. (London: Routledge, 2010) 105.

objectivity.¹⁴¹ Given these biases, I supplemented the information with primary and secondary sources.¹⁴² Newspapers such as *The Daily Times*, *The Gurdian*, *The Nation*, *Malawi News*, *Al-Qalam*, *Sunday Times*, and *Tribune Herald* assisted the research. Through opinion pieces, editorials, letters to the editors and eyewitness accounts, I was able to gain insight into Malawian immigrants in South Africa, the challenges they faced amidst assimilation, xenophobia and settlement. Furthermore, I gained information about their personal lives in terms of family, work and religion. Newspapers also pointed to corruption in Malawi and illiteracy among the Yawo Muslims as driving factor. Stories of deportations and remittances were also consulted in newspapers. Thus newspapers assisted me to appreciate how people perceived an event when it occurred; offering multiple points of views.¹⁴³ Photographs on Malawians from South Africa after xenophobic attacks were also gathered. By gathering and examining the photographs, it assisted me to portray and summarise the viewpoints of Malawian immigrants without misrepresenting the memories when statements alone were insufficient to denote and depict the field experience.

Gender is critical to this study. It emerged in feminist groups in North America in the late 1960s and 1970s and has since been around the world.¹⁴⁴ The term "gender" refers to a social construct that defines the roles and behaviours of females and males.¹⁴⁵ Behaviours, identities, and dominance are constructed by the society based on gender. Thus, the way we act, who we are, and how powerful we are is determined by whether we are male or female. In 1986 Joan W. Scott's study of gender earned prominence amongst feminist scholars. It focuses on the separations/divisions and the experiences of femininity and masculinity.¹⁴⁶ It problematises what is considered masculine or feminine in society. Throughout history, male dominance has been the norm in all cultures, with the exception of matriarchal societies, which were rare. This means that women have been seen as less important than men throughout history. The doctrine of the disparity of genders came about from this.¹⁴⁷ Women were seen as inferior to a man. It was believed that a

¹⁴¹ See Abrams, *Oral History* 78-105 for more discussion of memory.

¹⁴² Abrams. *Oral History Theory*, 105.

¹⁴³ "Why Use Newspapers?". https://guides.osu.edu/newspapers/why_use (Accessed May 9, 2021).

¹⁴⁴ Antonio Malo. "Gender Theory" In Martin Schlag (ed.), *Handbook of Catholic Social Teaching: A Guide For Christian in the World Today*. (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press) 61.

¹⁴⁵ Malo. "Gender Theory" 61.

¹⁴⁶ Joan W. Scott. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis". *The American Historical Review*. (1986, 91:5)1053–1075.

¹⁴⁷ Asghar Ali Engineer. *The Rights of Women in Islam*. (London: C Hurt and Company, 1992) 41.

man should dominate and lead a woman. A man can control a woman's future, whether he is her father, brother, or husband. Women were seen as incompetent when it came to deciding their own lives; they were restricted to the household and family life.¹⁴⁸

Scott suggests that it is better to view gender as a social rather than a biological construct.¹⁴⁹ Gender helped facilitate a rethinking of history, as it helped highlight the historical experiences of men and women in relation to each other and how they shaped and defined historical process.¹⁵⁰ It showed how history affects women differently from men. A gendered-based framework is important because it uncovers new narratives that problematise a concept of domination and address issues of equality and inequity.

Feminists have integrated gender as a viable tool in migration histories. They have focused on the "feminisation of migration" and seek to make gender a significant category of analysis, thereby challenging male-centered migration. Migration scholars have attempted to illuminate women's experiences in the context of agency, occupation, identity, and livelihoods.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, feminist approaches to migration have also sought to locate their case within intersectionality theory to describe how gender intersects with class, race and identity to elucidate broader female experiences in the migration process. New perceptions of gender have sought to underline the agency of immigrant women in different geographic contexts.¹⁵² It corresponds to Islamic teachings, which advocate equality between females and males. Nevertheless, in some societies, a patriarchal culture dominates, and females are deprived of their rights. Nowhere does the Qur'an assert that one gender is superior to another.¹⁵³ Regarding this equal relationship, the Qur'an in Chapter 49 *Al Hujurat*, verse 13 details how God created a man and a woman from a single (pair), and made them into nations and tribes.¹⁵⁴ All people are equal before God.¹⁵⁵ A woman is absolutely equated with a male in the sight of God in terms of her privileges and responsibilities.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁸ Engineer. *The Rights of Women in Islam* 41.

¹⁴⁹ Scott. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" 1058.

¹⁵⁰ Scott. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" 1068, 1072.

¹⁵¹ Hiralal. "Women and Migration-Challenges and Constraints" 159.

¹⁵² Hiralal. "Women and Migration-Challenges and Constraints" 159.

¹⁵³ Hammudah Abdalati. *Islam in Focus* (Jeddah: WAMY, 1998) 186.

¹⁵⁴ Abdullah Yusuf Ali. *The Meaning of The Holy Qur'an*. (Johannesburg: Islimu Publications, 1421/2001) 1342.

¹⁵⁵ Jamal Badawi. *Gender Equality in Islam: Basic Principles*. (Durban: IDM Publications, 1999) 10- 11.

¹⁵⁶ Jamal A. Badawi. *The Status of woman in Islam*. (Jeddah: WAMY, 1980) 12.

These religious principles were often negated in the migration process. The gender approach as well as the intersectionality approach assisted in highlighting the nuanced experiences of women and their subordination in the migration process in the context of identity, social practices, religious affiliation and agency. Similarly, the above theoretical framework helped to document the voices of Malawian women as immigrants, how they navigate gender and identity in the migration process.

This study also utilised *transnationalism*, a theory examining immigrants' interactions and social networks, highlighting cross-border connections between their home country and their new country of residence since the 1990s.¹⁵⁷ Transnationalism paradigm involves immigrants creating complex social relationships, binding new cultures to their origin societies, transcending national, cultural, and geographic boundaries.¹⁵⁸ Transmigrants establish and maintain relationships across national boundaries, forming key components of transnationalism.¹⁵⁹ International migration involves the transnational movement of social, political, cultural, and economic resources, promoting cross-national social ties and textures.¹⁶⁰ However, nation-states are not necessarily less important or on the verge of extinction. Thus, transnational refers to the shift from nation-states as sole social containers to regulating and shaping important aspects of social life.¹⁶¹

Furthermore, transnational migrants develop complex senses of allegiance and belonging, varying depending on their origin and destination region. They navigate lifeworlds, knowledge reserves, and experiences, influencing their preferences, expectations, and resources. Examples include forced and labour migrants.¹⁶² In other words, Individuals move and settle distantly, shaping transnational spaces, forming gender and nation networks, and maintaining familial, economic, religious, and political ties to their new places.¹⁶³ The Chewa and Yawo Muslim women's migration from Malawi to Durban strengthens relationships with fellow Malawians and foreigners

¹⁵⁷ Dževada Šuško. *Both Muslim and European: Diasporic and Migrant Identities of Bosniaks*. (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2019) 198.

¹⁵⁸ Šuško. *Both Muslim and European* 198.

¹⁵⁹ Šuško. *Both Muslim and European* 198.

¹⁶⁰ Ludger Pries. "Transnationalism". In Peter Scholten (ed). *Introduction to Migrant Studies: An Interactive Guide to the Literatures of Migration and Diversity*. (Springer, 2022) 233.

¹⁶¹ Pries. "Transnationalism" 234.

¹⁶² Pries. "Transnationalism" 234.

¹⁶³ Georges Fournon and Nina Glick Schiller, "All in the Family: Gender, Transnational Migration, and the Nation-State", *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* (2001, 7:4 Gendering Transnational spaces), 539

in South Africa. The transnationalism approach improves understanding of migration, integration, and relationships, while identifying opportunities and challenges in immigration policies.¹⁶⁴ Transnational paradigm highlights diverse realities of women upholding customs and religious identity, like Chewa and Yawo Muslim women, who engage in social activities across cultural, physical, ethnic, religious, and political borders. In this way, transnationalisation theory is applicable to this study, as it doesn't pose a threat to social stability or nation-state control. It can create new forms of social variety and cohesion beyond fragmentation in multiple locations.¹⁶⁵

Transnationalism is a crucial research program for migration studies, connecting it to global social science issues. It requires multiscalar and multi-dimensional analysis, grounded in social science notions, and broadens the concept of space in its geographic and social dimensions.¹⁶⁶ Because the Chewa and Yawo Muslim women are transmigrants in the sense that they keep in touch with their homelands, transnationalism is consistent with the research question. Therefore, a transnational paradigm or framework is necessary for this study to understand how immigrants function in social fields that transcend geographical, cultural, and political boundaries.

Research methodology

The primary method of this study was oral history, interviewing the Chewa and Yawo Muslim women. Phenomenology holds that any attempt to understand social reality is to be found in people's experience of that social phenomenon or existence.¹⁶⁷

Phenomenology as a qualitative research approach was used to support this thesis, which focuses on the commonality of women's perspectives in Durban. This qualitative research methodology thus brought participants to the "lived world of the subjects, who in their own words describe their activities, experience and opinions."¹⁶⁸ Qualitative research as a method of social analysis focuses on the way people construe and perceive their experiences. It answers the questions of "why," "how", and "what."¹⁶⁹ Given the nature and scope of this research, in seeking to document diverse

¹⁶⁴ Pries. "Transnationalism" 242.

¹⁶⁵ Pries. "Transnationalism" 244.

¹⁶⁶ Pries. "Transnationalism" 244.

¹⁶⁷ David E. Gray. *Doing Research in the Real World*. (Los Angeles: Sage, 2014) 24.

¹⁶⁸ Steinar Kvale. *Doing interview*. (London: Sage, 2007 reprinted 2009) 9.

¹⁶⁹ See Martin N. Marshal. "Sampling for Qualitative Research" In *Family Practice*. (Britain: Oxford University Press, (1996, 13:6).

real-life experiences of Chewa and Yawo women, the oral history method is appropriate. This approach recognised women as the centre of historical analysis and allowed for nuanced experiences of marginalised communities to be documented.

Interviews allowed me to critically reflect on my role as an 'insider' (being of Malawian descent) and 'outsider' (a researcher in South Africa) in writing this thesis. Being an insider (Malawian), I am familiar with local beliefs and communicate in similar language, which gives me a deeper understanding of the issues.¹⁷⁰ It helped make things simple; I had an easy access to the participants who welcomed me into their homes for interviews. On the other hand, I was perceived as an 'outsider' because I was a man interviewing Muslim women. As will be illustrated in the following paragraphs, Islam forbids unrelated men and women from mixing or spending extended amounts of time together in a private setting. Participants in the study are barred by their religion from associating with members of the opposite sex. As a result, despite having easy access to them and having welcomed me into their homes for interviews, several of the participants felt uneasy being questioned by a man. Being both an 'insider' and an 'outsider' at once demonstrated that there were more benefits to gathering information from their memories than drawbacks. In this case, the advantage of being an insider is that the researcher is quickly approved and acknowledged by respondents.¹⁷¹ Saidin and Yaacob further assert that it is easy for an insider to get more information about their research and the phenomena studied.¹⁷²

However, there are also limitations to being an insider'. Greene states, an insider researcher should be aware of the potential for subjectivities to creep in and to take steps to make sure that the research being conducted is error-free.¹⁷³ Additionally, insider researchers have considerable trustworthiness (credibility) and rapport with participants, a fact that may stimulate a greater level

¹⁷⁰ Khaliza Saidin and Aizan Yaacob. "Insider Researchers: Challenges and Opportunities". International Seminar on Generating Knowledge Through Research, UUM-UMSIDA, 25-27 October 2016, Universiti Utara Malaysia, Malaysia, 853. <http://ojs.umsida.ac.id/index.php/icecrs> Article DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.21070/picecrs.v1i1.563> (Accessed July 30, 2019).

¹⁷¹ Sonya Corbin Dwyer. "The Space Between: On Being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research". *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. (2009, 8: 1) 58.

¹⁷² Saidin. "Insider Researchers: Challenges and Opportunities" 853.

¹⁷³ Melanie J. Greene. "On the Inside Looking In: Methodological Insights and Challenges in Conducting Qualitative Insider Research". *The Qualitative Report*, (2014, 19:29) 4- 5. <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2014.1106> (Accessed July 17, 2016).

of openness and sincerity.¹⁷⁴ Insiders can provide critical insight into societies that outsiders would not have realised on their own.¹⁷⁵ Therefore, excessive familiarity with participants can lead to a lack of objectivity, but I have been impartial and avoided bias in this research. I evaded deciphering and decoding data subjectively by using wide-ranging questions to set up a topic. Open-ended questions were asked to structure my field of investigation that stimulated participants' critical reasoning. The general questions gave me the opportunity to consider myself as an objective researcher even though I share an identity, a background, a language, and empirical basis with my interviewees.

As previously said, interviews allowed me to critically analyse my thesis writing as both an "insider" (being of Malawian descent) and an 'outsider' (being a researcher in South Africa). I had a better understanding of the issues because I am an 'insider' (Malawian), am familiar with local beliefs, and speak a language similar to them. It made things easier because I had easy access to the participants, who graciously agreed to have interviews conducted in their homes. On the other hand, interviewing Muslim Chewa and Yawo women in a private setting proved challenging. Thus, it was a difficult challenge for a man who was both an insider and an outsider to interrogate each Muslim woman separately. Due to religious standards, these people are not allowed to mix with members of the opposite sex. Islam is strict on this subject and forbids men and women from mixing. As a result, I felt uneasy interviewing these ladies because some of the participants saw me as an 'outsider' because I was a man.

Ali asserts that the Law of Islam (Sharee'ah) forbids men and women from congregating together, mingling, or mixing, from being crowded together, and from being exposed to or revealed to males. These behaviors are prohibited because they are among the things that lead to *fitnah* (trials or attempts with unfavourable results), stoke desire, and engage in immoral behaviour.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ Justine Mercer. "The Challenges of Insider Research in Educational Institutions: Wielding a Double-Edged Sword and Resolving Delicate Dilemmas". *Oxford Review of Education*. (Feb 2007, 33:1) 7.

¹⁷⁵Marlize Rabe. "Revisiting 'insiders' and 'outsiders' as social researchers". *African Sociological Review / Revue Africaine de Sociologie*. (2003, 7: 2) 156. Sept Articles sur le Conflit en Afrique/Seven Articles on Conflict in Africa.

¹⁷⁶ Abu Zayd Kamran Ali. *Islam For Teenagers: A simple guide explaining common issues faced by young Muslims*. (Independently published, 2022) 44

In a Question and Answer session led by renowned Da'ee (literary meaning 'inviter, caller', who engages in Dawah, the act of inviting people to Islam), the late Ahmed Deedat RA, said, "Men and women are not allowed to intermingle. In Islam no Muslim man is allowed to be alone with a woman who is not his mother or wife or sister or daughter. Everybody else he has to keep at a respectable distance." In the example he gave, being alone with a woman is "a challenge to man's manliness if he doesn't make some suggestions. This is man. Any man. Every man"¹⁷⁷ In a broad context, it is forbidden to be in the company of non-*mahram* males. "No woman should travel except with a *mahram* (a man to whom she is forbidden to marry)," says the Prophet Muhammad (sallallahu alayhi wasallam) [Sahih]. According to another hadith, Rasulullah Muhammad (sallallahu alayhi wasallam) said, "No man is privately alone with a woman; but their third is Satan" [Reported by At-Tirmidhi].¹⁷⁸ In fiqh (Islamic law), a *mahram* is someone with whom marriage is forbidden due to a close blood tie, *radaa'ah* (breastfeeding), or being tied through marriage.

Apart from hadith (the Prophet's sayings), there is proof in the Qur'aan against mixing and intermingling of men and women in one area (Al-'A hz ab [The Combined Forces] 33:53).¹⁷⁹ Thus, Islam has clearly established the limits of interaction between men and women and has placed explicit prohibitions and constraints on such behavior. These behaviors are forbidden because they are among the causes of *fitnah* (temptation or trial with ill effects), stimulating passions, and committing indecency and transgression.¹⁸⁰ Touch, including shaking hands, is likewise strictly prohibited between members of the opposite sex. A man who believes in Allah and His Messenger is not authorised to put his hand in the hand of a lady who is not permissible for him or who is not one of his *mahrams*. Anyone who engages in that has transgressed (committed sin, for example).¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ Bint Ahmed Sulaymaan. "Forbidden in Islam – Free mixing between men and women".

<https://jamiat.org.za/forbidden-in-islam-free-mixing-between-men-and-women/> (Accessed April 30, 2023).

¹⁷⁸ Sulaymaan. "Forbidden in Islam – Free mixing between men and women"

¹⁷⁹ G. Hussein Rassol (ed). *Cultural Competence in Caring for Muslims patterns*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) 60.

¹⁸⁰ Rassol. *Cultural Competence in Caring for Muslims patterns* 60.

¹⁸¹ Rassol. *Cultural Competence in Caring for Muslims patterns* 60.

In accordance with Islamic law, a *mahram* is someone you are not permitted to marry, but you are allowed to shake their hands, hug them, and see them without covering your head with a *hijab* (head scarf). With a few exceptions, being non-*mahram* means that marriage is not forbidden by Islam. Women considered *mahram* for a man include his mother, grandmother, daughter, granddaughter, sister, aunt, grandaunt, niece, grandniece, his father's wife, his wife's daughter (step-daughter), and his daughter-in-law (if she has already been married to his biological son). Given this context, some study participants were hesitant to participate in the interviews because their husbands, brothers or relatives had advised them not to, citing a hadith from the Prophet Muhammad that stated: "No man is privately alone with a woman; but their third is Satan." The hadith emphasizes that Satan continuously whispers wicked deeds into men's ears; as a result, being alone with a woman stimulates appetites, and a man commits sin. Furthermore, some women found it unsettling to be interviewed by a man. But I had to persuade them that the information gleaned from the interview would give them a voice in regards to their real-life experiences in Durban.

The fact that I was a man interviewing Chewa and Yawo Muslim women cast me as an 'outsider.' These ladies were constrained by religious restrictions that forbade the mixing of men and women. On the other hand, I was an 'insider' (being of Malawian descent) who was conversant with local beliefs and communicated in similar languages.

Furthermore, as an 'outsider' (a scholar/researcher living in South Africa), I lack sufficient experience with those being studied.¹⁸² Thus, I do not have enough experiences with those being studied. An outsider researcher does not often understand all the complexities, details and discrepancies at stake.¹⁸³ But as an outsider (scholar/researcher living in South Africa) it helped me to explore problems with 'new' eyes and consequently notice phenomena that insiders take for granted or do not perceive.¹⁸⁴ The dual status (insider and outsider) helped me to negotiate easily about the experiences of the Chewa and Yawo Muslim women. A researcher from Malawi who lived in South Africa and multilingual in Chiyawo, Chichewa, slight isiZulu, and English had his advantages. In addition being a PhD candidate enhanced my status among the Chewa and Yawo

¹⁸² Rabe. "Revisiting 'insiders' and 'outsiders' as social researchers" 157-59.

¹⁸³ Rabe. "Revisiting 'insiders' and 'outsiders' as social researchers" 157-59.

¹⁸⁴ Rabe. "Revisiting 'insiders' and 'outsiders' as social researchers" 157-59.

Muslims, I was considered in the community as a suitable person to interview them. Hence, it was reasonably easy for me to access Malawian Muslim women in my fieldwork. I was regarded as one of their 'own' and had a trusted and shared identity and culture. It allowed me to ask them general questions about their real-life experiences in Durban. Although some participants tended to overlook and neglect the facts, presuming that I already understood them, (one of the limitations of being an 'insider'), or conceal their real perspectives for being afraid of my displeasure and dissatisfaction. I allowed them to express themselves freely. Nevertheless, throughout the research, I tried to be fair and unbiased. Thus, Merriam et al. assert that the analyses of both 'insider' and 'outsider' must be acknowledged as valid efforts to understand the nature of society.¹⁸⁵

Ideas of Trustworthiness

The advantage of qualitative research is that the findings often have greater validity and less artificiality, since studying phenomena in natural, real-life settings generally gives scholars a more accurate understanding of those phenomena. Good qualitative research often discloses the depth of experience and richness of detail.¹⁸⁶ The accuracy of the results of such findings is significant in any qualitative research.¹⁸⁷ According to Blink, reliability is involved with uniformity, dependability, steadiness of the participant's explanations, and the researchers' competence to gather and record information correctly and precisely.¹⁸⁸ On the other hand, validity refers to the correctness, accuracy, and dependability of instrumentals such as data and research findings.¹⁸⁹

Sampling

The researcher engaged the participants in this research through snowball sampling. An Islamic organisation, such as the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) based in Durban, as the primary informant, guided and led this researcher to the first participants, who later showed the way to other more participants. WAMY assisted me in allocating the Chewa and Yawo Muslim

¹⁸⁵ Sharan B. Merriam et al. "Power and Positionality: Negotiating Insider/ Outsider Status within and Across Cultures". *International Journal of Lifelong Education*. (September-October 2001, 20:5) 415-16.

¹⁸⁶ Study Guide. *Research Methods*. (Durban: Management College of Southern Africa, 2012) 84.

¹⁸⁷ Johan W. Creswell. *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. (USA: Sage Publications, 1994) 163.

¹⁸⁸ H. I. L Brink. "Validity and reliability in qualitative research". *Curationis*. (1993, 16:2) 35.

¹⁸⁹ R. Bernard. *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, 2nd Edition. (London: Altamira Press, 1995) 38.

women. A Gatekeeper's letter was sourced to this effect (see appendix 5). The process began by identifying and locating interviewees in the outer lying areas of Durban: Mawelewele, Dematt, Savannah, Sydenham, Overport, Chatsworth, Magwinyeni, Progress, Fourteen, Esihlahleni, Newlands West, Lindelani, Malukadzi, Isipingo, Clare Estate, Marianhill, and other surrounding areas.

In this study, interviews were conducted with 30 Malawian Muslim women (15 Chewa and 15 Yawo) from diverse occupational backgrounds such as domestic servants, hawkers, and tailors. The Chewa Muslims came from Salima, Dedza, and Nkhotakota districts in central Malawi. Mangochi, Machinga, Balaka, and Zomba districts in southern Malawi have witnessed more Yawo women migrating to South Africa for greener pastures.

The marital status of the women was as follows: 15 were divorcees, 10 were single, and 5 were married. According to the study, out of 30 respondents, 25 arrived in South Africa alone, while five went with their husbands or relatives to join them when they arrived; 50 per cent of Chewa and Yawo immigrant women were divorced; 33.33 per cent were single, and 16.66 per cent were married. It was also found that six Chewa women and nine Yawo women divorced. Among the Chewa women studied, five were single, compared to six Yawo women. Three Yawo women and two Chewa women were married. The Chewa women speak Chichewa, also known as Chinyanja, while the Yawo women speak the Chiyawo language. Most Chewa women could understand English compared to the Yawo women, who preferred to express themselves in Chiyawo and Chichewa. On the other hand, the majority of Malawian Muslim women who come to South Africa belong to the Yawo ethnic group. The Chewa are following the footsteps of the Yawo. The Chewa and Yawo Muslim women prefer to immigrate to Durban than other cities due socio-economic potential and the prevalence of Islamic identity.¹⁹⁰ The presence of a large Muslim population and mosques in Durban attracts Malawian Muslim women.

Social networks play a vital role in the migration process. Women who had migrated earlier and already employed in South Africa lured their friends and relatives when employment

¹⁹⁰ Goolam Vahed. "Changing Islamic Traditions and Emerging Identities in South Africa". *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*. (2000, 20: 1) 44, 50- 51.

prospects appeared. The women inspired and helped each other to relocate to South Africa. Some participants worked in the country for nearly a decade, while others worked for three or five years and then returned home. Although they go back home, at least they have returned to South Africa after building new houses in Malawi. The study does not insist or allege to speak for all Chewa and Yawo Muslim women in South Africa. It only highlighted the life experiences of 30 Chewa and Yawo Muslim women in Durban who were asked questions and recorded observations on real-life phenomena.

In-depth interviews

The use of interviews and focus groups is the most appropriate method for data collection in some studies. Focus groups are valuable for gathering comprehensive information on individual and group viewpoints, insights/ observations and thoughts. It also saves money and time. However, this study did not bring together interviewees (focus group) as it was difficult to encourage/urge 30 Malawian women to come to one place due to the nature of the study. The question of migration is very delicate. People who may be undocumented migrants will not allow themselves to gather in one place to discuss migration issues. There may also be differences and inconsistencies in the interview, which may deflect (divert) the main focus of the study. Another reason is that some of the immigrant women were dispersed in different towns of Durban and worked in separate places. Focus groups are demanding/ challenging to control and accomplish. In light of the above, oral interviews are the main method of investigation. This study opted for an interview schedule, rather than a questionnaire. The questionnaire which is a list of questions that respondents receive from the researcher is generally used in surveys with descriptive or exploratory purposes. However, they can also be used efficiently in studies with experimental and case study research strategies. The interview schedule is best suited for this study as a guide when collecting information or data on the 30 Chewa and Yawo Muslim migrants in Durban.

An interview schedule with structured and semi-structured questions guides the interviews. "Follow-up" and "open-ended" questions are also used when some points need further investigation. I used open-ended questions in semi-structured interviews to enable and accelerate participants' articulation of their experiences. The in-depth interviews centred on two aspects. First, the researcher had to find out their personal information, demographics data, and reasons for

leaving Malawi. Second, the discussions were immersed in the challenges they face as immigrants in terms of religion, identity and gender. Although the interviews are time-consuming in setting up, interviewing, transcribing, and analysing data, this study chose face-to-face interviews with Chewa and Yawo women that is individual interviews. It gave me opportunities to investigate subjects/themes that are exceptional to the women's experiences and acknowledge insights into how diverse phenomena of interest were felt and perceived. In-depth interviews were conducted in privacy with only the presence of the participant and the researcher. The purpose of the in-depth interviews was to inspire the participants to speak at great length. On average, each interview lasted for one and a half hours. Thus, the duration of the interviews lasted between 60 and 90 minutes. The interviews took place at their houses at a convenient time for the participants. The researcher deciphered the interviews, and the main or primary arguments and themes were singled out and analysed.

I conducted interviews in English with those women who understand the language. On the other hand, Chichewa and Chiyawo were used as a medium of communication for those who did not understand English. I prepared a verbatim transcript of the interviews in the local language, which was then translated into English.

Ethical considerations

Research on migrant women is a complex and delicate subject that can raise ethical issues. Before conducting an interview, the consent form was shown and explained to the participants. The researcher also discussed the objectives of the project, that is, its goals and benefits. The respondents were given a choice: the right to participate or not and their right to confidentiality. Participants who wished to remain anonymous were respected through the use of pseudonyms. In some instances, I utilized the letters X or Y to conceal participants' identity, particularly when interrogating them about Gender Based Violence (GBV). For ethical reasons, the researcher took no photographs during the fieldwork.

Participants were also advised that the information gleaned from the interviews would be used for research purposes only. This researcher used a password-protected mobile phone to protect the data collected. However, many participants did not want to be recorded with a mobile phone. In

this case, note-taking on the interviews was executed with approval from the participants through an informed consent form.

Archival sources

Although I had previously explored some appropriate materials at the South African National Archives (SANA) in Pietermaritzburg and Killie Campbell Africana in Durban, there are no primary sources on Malawian migrant women in South Africa between 1994 and 2017. The existing documents found in the archives focus on labour migration between southern African countries and South Africa from the 1800s to the 1980s.

My study focuses mainly on the current experiences of immigrant women, of which archival reports in South Africa are somewhat scarce. I was unable to retrieve archival data from 1994 to 2017 due to the 20-year access policy. Researchers cannot access historical material less than 20 years old, as stipulated by Act 1996, No. 43 of the *Custody and Preservation of Records*.¹⁹¹ However, it was also difficult to find archival material on Malawian immigrant women before 1994. Therefore, other sources, such as interviews and secondary sources were used. In this study, oral interviews served as the primary source of information.¹⁹² The interview questions, which included open-ended questions, allowed participants to reveal and relate their life stories. The narratives from immigrant women are first-hand experiences of historical events. The accounts gathered from oral history are valid and reliable. They subsequently generate the historical truth.¹⁹³ Hence the voices of ordinary immigrant women will add to the historical records that were not accessed in archives.

Limitations of Fieldwork

The research for this thesis was conducted when the country went on lockdown starting on March 27, 2020, with strict regulations and restrictions imposed that did not permit people to leave their

¹⁹¹ National Archives and Records Service of South Africa Act (ACT NO. 43 OF 1996) as amended by Cultural Laws Amendment Act 36 of 2001, Assented to 27 September 1996] [Date of Commencement: 1 January 1997], <https://www.sahra.org.za/Wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/national-archives-and-records-service-act.pdf> ACT To provide for a National Archives and Record Service; the proper management (Accessed May 8, 2021).

¹⁹² See Lynn Abrams. *Oral History Theory*, 2nd Edition. (Taylor and Francis Ltd, 2016).

¹⁹³ Gary Minkley and Ciraj Rassool. "Oral history in South Africa: some critical questions". Paper delivered at the Centre for African Studies. (University of Cape Town , 22 March 1995) 3.

homes except under firmly contained measures to get essential products and services. University libraries and national archives were closed. These stringent measures made it difficult for researchers to access archives and libraries. Books and documents were considered super-spreaders of the coronavirus. This research was not without its challenges, as it was not easy to access the vital information required. As a result, the data collection process was hindered. It was impossible for the researcher to access the archives in South Africa by any other means. Participant contact also posed a challenge for the researcher. It was difficult to trace the participants due to the Coronavirus.

On March 23, 2020, South African President Cyril Ramaphosa announced that the country would enter a 21-day lockdown from March 27. He reported 402 confirmed cases of Covid. The unprecedented period imposed stringent regulations and restrictions on the country for the first time in its 26 years of democracy. No one in the country was permitted to leave their homes except under firmly contained measures to obtain essential products and services. Together with the police, the government used the National Defense Force to lend a hand with applying and executing lockdown measures.¹⁹⁴ Later on April 9, 2020, President Ramaphosa addressed the nation to declare that South Africa's 21-day lockdown would be prolonged by an additional two weeks, grounded on decisive research and scientific advice. In his address, the South African leader said: "If we end the lockdown too soon, or too abruptly, we risk a massive and uncontrollable resurgence of the disease."¹⁹⁵ On May 1, 2020, South Africa entered Level 4 of its national lockdown. The government imposed stringent measures; only permitted outdoor exercise between 06:00 and 09:00, food and service deliveries were traded between 05:00 and 19:00, and a nationwide curfew placed, forcing people to remain in their homes from 20:00 to 05:00.¹⁹⁶ As a result, many migrants were locked within South Africa. It was not easy for immigrant women who worked as domestic workers or shop assistants. They would no longer work because of confinement. The result was that many Malawians lost jobs. When some people returned to work on May 4, 2020, an estimated 1.5 million South Africans had returned to work, as some industries reopened under Level 4 lockdown, while 3 million South Africans had lost their jobs due to the

¹⁹⁴ SABC News Channel, 23 March, 2020.

¹⁹⁵ SABC News Channel, 9 April, 2020.

¹⁹⁶ SABC News Channel, 1 May, 2020.

Covid-19 pandemic and subsequent lockdown. Many women lost their jobs. Of the 3 million job losses, 2 million were women.¹⁹⁷ Returning to work happened after Employment, and Labour Minister Thulas Nxesi hosted a media briefing to discuss the country's back-to-work readiness and workplace protocol on May 3, 2020.

Although many people returned to work in May 2020, many Malawians were jobless and stranded in South Africa. At the end of May 2020, the first plane from South Africa carrying 147 passengers landed in Malawi. The returning Malawians were caught on the wrong side of strict two-month lockdown measures aimed at curbing the spread of the global coronavirus (Covid-19) pandemic in South Africa. The second plane carried about 50 returnees.¹⁹⁸ Subsequently, hundreds of Malawians were repatriated to Malawi through hired buses.¹⁹⁹ As a result, many potential participants in this study left the country, and it was not easy to trace those who did not go home. Many of them did not work and changed their place of living.

However, the above challenges did not limit or bound the data collection process. The researcher recruited other participants who were in the Durban area, although some new participants could not understand the importance of documenting their story. Some interviewees felt it was a waste of time to ask about how they got to South Africa. During fieldwork, the Covid-19 protocols outlined in the Ethical Clearance approval letter were followed. The researcher followed Covid protocols such as using sanitisers, maintaining the social distance between the researcher and participants. Thus, observing a distance of 1.5m at all times was observed by this researcher. The wearing of a mask was compulsory for both the participants and me.

¹⁹⁷ Yolisa Tswana, Business and Human Rights Resource Centre. "So. Africa: Three million South Africans have lost their jobs as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic, women most affected" (15 July 2020). <https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/latest-news/so-africa-three-million-south-africans-have-lost-their-jobs-as-a-result-of-the-covid-19-pandemic-women-most-affected/> (Accessed June 20, 2021).

¹⁹⁸ Sam Chunga. "Two planes forced into delayed landing at KIA". Editors Pick, National News. *The Nation*. Newspaper (Malawi), 31 May, 2020.

¹⁹⁹ Llyod Chitsulo. "Mozambique detains 16 Malawian buses". In National News, Editors Pick. *The Nation*. Newspaper (Malawi), 8 June, 2020.

Structure of the dissertation /thesis

Outlines of the Chapters

Chapter one: Introduction and background

The thesis first provides an overview of the purpose of this research, i.e., the introduction and background. Subsequently, the literature is discussed in the framework of "international migration" and the more widespread increase in female migration in many parts of the world and in Sub-Saharan Africa. Further, the chapter gives a rationale for choosing the topic. It then examines the methodology used in this study to document the diverse real-life experiences of the Chewa and Yawo women. It also provides detailed descriptions of the theoretical framework, aims and objectives.

Chapter Two: The history of the Chewa and Yawo people

This chapter focuses on the historical origins of the Chewa and the Yawo people. It introduces Chewa's roots in the Luba and Lunda regions of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It examines the early Chewa migrations to Malawi during the first millennium A.D. It then analyses the long migration history of the Yawo and their involvement in long-distance trade as 'middlemen' along Lake Malawi and the interior. It also focuses on how the Chewa and Yawo embraced Islam in the 18th century.

Chapter Three: Reasons for Migrating to Durban.

This chapter chronicles the Chewa and Yawo Muslim women immigrants' memories of life in Durban. The chapter attempts to examine how and when they migrated to this city and traces the various factors that influenced the Chewa and Yawo Muslim women to migrate to Durban in the context of 'push' and 'pull' factors.

Chapter Four: Challenges and Constraints experienced by the Chewa and Yawo Muslim women.

This chapter outlines and identifies the challenges and constraints faced by the Chewa and Yawo Muslim women in the context of religion, culture, and xenophobia. The interviewees' perspectives

on the challenges and limitations are incorporated into this chapter. Particular emphasis is placed on seeking to reconstruct women's lives in Durban. It focuses on discrimination, xenophobia, and exploitation. It also explores notions of identity and culture in the women's lived experiences in the migration process.

Chapter Five: Negotiating and Assimilation of their Muslim Identities

This chapter builds on Chapter 4 and locates the discussion within key debates on global frameworks. The chapter also examines how the Chewa and Yawo Muslim women negotiate and assimilate their Islamic identity in Durban, particularly how they navigate, adjust, and adapt to a hostile environment.

Chapter 6: Conclusion.

The conclusion will summarise and reflect on what we can learn from ordinary people's perspectives regarding Chewa and Yao women's gender, religion, agency and migration. This chapter will also underline specific areas for further investigation, especially those identified during the research.

Chapter 2

The history of the Chewa and Yawo people

This chapter delves into the history of the Chewa and Yawo peoples. The Chewa and Yawo are transnational migrants or transmigrants who move between and across countries. To understand and depict the life world of immigrants, it is vital to relate to the locations where immigrants have previously lived or where their ancestors have previously lived, where they currently reside, and where immigrants envision themselves living in the future.²⁰⁰ The chapter introduces Chewa origins in the Democratic Republic of the Congo's Luba and Lunda areas. It looks at the initial Chewa migration to Malawi in the first millennium AD, as well as the Yawo's migratory history and their role as "middlemen" in long-distance trade along Lake Malawi and the inland. It also examines how the Chewa and Yawo people came to adopt Islam in the 18th century. The chapter then delves into stories of discriminatory customs, religious and political intolerance, the rise of illiteracy among Muslims, and how the Yawo people were viewed as an impediment to British sovereignty and animosity against Christianity, the major vector of Western civilisation.

Malawi: its geography, people, and history

Malawi is a small country located in southern and eastern Africa. It is surrounded by Tanzania to the north, Zambia to the west, and Mozambique to the east, south, and southwest. It is a landlocked country consisting of about 830 kilometers to the west and south of Lake Malawi.²⁰¹ The width is about 160 km. The total area of the territory is 118,484 square kilometers, of which 94,276 square kilometers is the land area of the country.²⁰² Most of the country consists of the highlands west of Lake Malawi. Therefore, this country is physically divided into two boundaries. One is west of Lake Malawi and the other is south. The country also has 24,400 square kilometers of water known as Lake Malawi in Malawi and Lago Niassa in Mozambique. The lake occupies more than one-fifth of the country's total area. The length of the lake is 585km north-south and the width is up to

²⁰⁰ Pries. "Transnationalism" 243.

²⁰¹ Matthias Rompel and Reimer Gronemeyer (eds.). *Malawi: Economy, Society and Political Affairs*, 1st edition. (Zed Books, 2020) 151.

²⁰² Zeenah Sibande. *The Religious Geography of Mzuzu City in northern Malawi*. (Mzuzu: Luviri Press, 2018) 30.

75km east-west.²⁰³ From the 15th to the 16th centuries, the region from Malawi to eastern Zambia and the upper of the Zambezi River in Mozambique was known as the Kingdom of Maravi. In 1889 the Maravi territory became the British Central African Protectorate after Britain intensified its wars, commercial and proselytising activities in the area and was consequently renamed Nyasaland in 1907 and then Malawi in 1964.²⁰⁴

The 2018 Census of the National Statistical Office (NSO) indicated that there were 17,563,749 people in Malawi. There were 8,521,460 men and 9,042,289 women in the country. Malawi's population would reach 19.65 million people in 2021, an increase of 2.71% from 19.13 million people in 2020.²⁰⁵ Additionally, the 2018 census placed Chewa at 6.0 million (34.4%). Lhomwe has a population of 3.3 million, accounting for 18.9% of the population. 2.3 million (13.3%) were registered as Yawo. The Ngoni are 1.8 million people (10.4%) and 1.6 million people (9.2%) are Tumbuka.²⁰⁶ Out of a population of 17,563,749 million, the following data was collected on believers: 3.0 million (17.2%) are Roman Catholic, 2.5 million (14.2%) belong to the Presbyterian Church of Central Africa (CCAP). The number of Muslims in Malawi is 2.4 million (13.8%). Christian denominations such as Seventh-day Adventists/Baptists/Apostolic are 1.6 million (9.4%), 4.7 million (26.6%) are other Christian denominations, 5.6% of the population belong to other non-Christian denominations and 0.4 million (2.1%) have no religion.²⁰⁷

The early migrations: A historical introduction to the early inhabitants of Malawi

According to Murray, the first inhabitants of Malawi may have been of the same kind as the San of South Africa. The emergence of larger, darker-skinned Bantu tribes in the southern half of Africa occurred during the early Christian era.²⁰⁸ The San were still present in small numbers when the Chewas arrived in the area.²⁰⁹ On the other hand, Morris says that the first recorded inhabitants

²⁰³ Phillip Briggs and Sean Connolly. *Mozambique* the Bradt Travel Guide. (Connecticut: The Globe Pequot Press, 2014) 354.

²⁰⁴ John McCracken. *A History of Malawi, 1855- 1966*. (New York: James Currey, 2012) 55-60.

²⁰⁵ UN World Population Prospects 2019. "Demographics of Malawi". 04 Nov 2021.

<https://statisticstimes.com/demographics/country/malawi-demographics.php> (Accessed, June 8, 2021).

²⁰⁶ 2018 Malawi Population Census, Main Report (Zomba: National Statistical Office, 2019) 20.

²⁰⁷ 2018 Malawi Population Census 18.

²⁰⁸ S. S Murray. *A Handbook of Nyasaland*. (Zomba: The Government Printer, 1922) 8.

²⁰⁹ Samuel Josia Ntara. *The History of the Chewa* (Mbiri ya Achewa). (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1973) 100.

of Malawi were the Batwa.²¹⁰ Subsequent immigrants left them mostly uninterrupted and unhindered to roam the country in small hunting parties and persisted in Malawi until the 17th century.²¹¹ The Batwa appears to have been black, possibly even pygmoid, often short, stocky, and dark-skinned. Their origins are unclear, but they appear to be related to the Bergdama of South West Africa, possibly indicating their earliest existence in southern Africa.²¹² Isolated Batwa bands still exist and still live in parts of Central Africa.²¹³

The Batwa are typical Bantu people, but these people are more accurately known in Malawi as Kafula, the prefix *ka* symbolizing smallness and *fula* denoting either 'take out' or 'to dig a hole'.²¹⁴ Oral traditions suggest that the verb *fula* means to take honey (*kufula utchi*). The Kafula spent more time in the forest hunting, gathering fruits, and searching for bees and honey.²¹⁵ Rangeley argues that Malawians call these stout, stocky peoples the Mwandionerapati, Abatwa or Akafula.²¹⁶ According to some accounts, they lived a wandering life building no more than grassy sanctuaries or dwelling in ant bear holes and caves.²¹⁷ Later on, the Karanga: 'the people of the sun (*kalanga*)', 'sons of the minor wife (*mukaranga*)',²¹⁸ known in Malawi as Katanga, Pule or Lenda, landed in the northern and central regions of Malawi.²¹⁹ After a series of encounters with the Maravi tribes, the Karanga moved south.²²⁰ They moved into the highlands of Zimbabwe to establish the empire of Mwenematupa (Monomatapa) in the 15th century.²²¹

The Arrival of the Bantu Farmers: An Introduction to the History of the Chewa

Sometime in the 16th century, a group of Bantu farmers known as the Maravi entered the country northwest of Lake Malawi. The term Maravi designates and represents all the Bantus who had

²¹⁰ Brian Morris. *An Environmental History of Southern Malawi: Land and People of the Shire Highlands*. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) 43.

²¹¹ John G. Pike. "A Pre-Colonial History of Malawi". *The Nyasaland Journal*. (January 1965, 18:1) 31.

²¹² Pike. "A Pre-Colonial History of Malawi" 31.

²¹³ Pike. "A Pre-Colonial History of Malawi" 31.

²¹⁴ Pike. "A Pre-Colonial History of Malawi" 31.

²¹⁵ Pike. "A Pre-Colonial History of Malawi" 31.

²¹⁶ W H Rangeley. "The earliest inhabitants of Nyasaland". *The Nyasaland Journal*. (1963, 16:2) 36.

²¹⁷ Pike. "A Pre-Colonial History of Malawi" 31; Rangeley "The earliest inhabitants of Nyasaland" 36, 38.

²¹⁸ Brian Raftopoulos and Alois Mlambo. *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008*. (Harare: Weaver Press, 2009) 9.

²¹⁹ Pike. "A Pre-Colonial History of Malawi" 31-32; Bridglal Pachai. *Land and Politics in Malawi, 1875-1975*. (Limestone Press, 1978) 2.

²²⁰ Pike. "A Pre-Colonial History of Malaw" 31-32.

²²¹ Pike. "A Pre-Colonial History of Malawi" 31-32.

migrated at various times from the DRC. In their early documents, the Portuguese referred to the Chewa and other interdependent peoples as the Maravi. The most significant sources are the reports of the Jesuit Monclaro and the Dominican Joao dos Santos.²²²

The Maravi were a general description of interdependent people who came to settle in the new territory. After splitting into nearly eight groups (Nyanja, Mang'anja, Chewa, Chipeta, Mbo, Ntumba, Marimba and Zimba), the country eventually settled by this group stretched south from the Dwangwa River in Malawi to the Zambezi River and as far west as Mozambique and Zambia.²²³ They used names derived from the geography and ruling clans of the area.²²⁴ According to Mkhoma et al, the Chewa people came from Luba (Uluwa) in the Lake Kisale region of the lower Congo.²²⁵ The Chewas migrated to Malawi from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) in the 16th century. Zione Phiri, a 50-year-old Chewa respondent said that that some Chewa chiefs in Malawi believed that Chewa history was also linked to Sudan. Before settling in Uluba in the Congo, the Chewas were inhabitants of Sudan. They have lived for many years in this country. On the other hand, some Chewa chiefs point out that the Chewas are of Egyptian origin.²²⁶ Thus, oral traditions refer to Egypt, Uganda, Mombasa, and Sudan as the origin of the Chewa people before they migrated to the Congo and then to Malawi.²²⁷

Generally, various oral traditions say that the Chewa people migrated from Uluba of the Katanga region of the DRC. The rulers of Malawi may have reached present-day Malawi between 1200 and 1500, but a date closer to 1500 is more likely.²²⁸ According to Pachai, between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D., the majority of central and southern Malawi was populated by Bantu speakers who were initially a collective part of the enormous and extensively settled group of Maravi peoples.²²⁹ On the other hand, Juwayeyi suggests that the Chewa started to settle in central Malawi, Mankhamba, and the remaining southern Lake Malawi region between the twelfth and

²²² M.D.D. Newitt. "The Early History of the Maravi". *The Journal of African History*. (1982, 23:2) 151.

²²³ Pike. "A Pre-Colonial History of Malawi" 32.

²²⁴ Murray. *A Handbook of Nyasaland* 42-43.

²²⁵ Jonathan Nkhoma, Rodian Munyenembe and Hany Longwe (eds.). *Mission in Malawi: Essays in Honour of Klaus Fiedler*. (Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2021) 112.

²²⁶ Interview with Zione Phiri, Mawelewele (2 July 2020).

²²⁷ Ntara. *The History of the Chewa* 1.

²²⁸ Ntara. *The History of the Chewa* 5. Also see Harry W. Langworthy. "Conflict among rulers in the History of Undi's Chewa kingdom". *Transafrican Journal of History* (January 1971) 2.

²²⁹ B. Pachai. *Malawi: The History of the Nation*. (London: Longman, 1967) 4.

the fourteenth century.²³⁰ The leader of the Chewa people from the DRC in Malawi was known as Kalonga (the chief's title).²³¹ He created the Maravi Empire that extended to the eastern part of Zambia and the northern part of the Zambezi River in Mozambique.

The Maravi people settled at Choma in Zambia before they went to Malawi. They chose Kalonga Chinkhole to be their chief. The name Kalonga has several meanings: some say he was called Kalonga because he killed many people and put their heads in a basket (*kulonga*, "to put in something"). Some say it was because he was married to Mwali."²³² Phiri considers Kalonga to be a Chewa idiom that implies one who swears in, crowns, or appoints subordinate chiefs.²³³ And Pike argues that the name 'Kalonga' is a title for chiefs like Kazembe, Jumbe, etc., and is probably derived from '*kulonga*' 'to gather together'.²³⁴ In general, the term Kalonga means monarch.²³⁵

Kalonga was the king who ruled over the vast territory north of the Zambezi River. These rulers, who took the name Malawi, established several kingdoms over the various Chewa peoples between the 15th and 17th centuries.²³⁶

The origin of the name Chewa

According to oral tradition, the name Chewa was attained in Zambia. After settling in Choma for several years, Kalonga Chinkhole, their beloved leader, passed away. As soon as the mourning ceremonies ended, the people shaved their hair to signify the end of bereavement, and a new Kalonga was appointed. They chose Chidzonzi, a nephew of the deceased chief.²³⁷ He led the migrants from Choma and arrived at a hill called Chewa. Probably it was at this point that the Malawi people were known as Chewa.²³⁸ Thus, the Maravi turned out to be the Chewa on the way

²³⁰ Yusufu M. Juwayeyi. *Archaeology and Oral tradition in Malawi: Origins and Early History of the Chewa*. (Woodbridge: James currey, 2020) 173.

²³¹ Ntara. *The History of the Chewa* 4.

²³² Ntara. *The History of the Chewa* 4.

²³³ Kings M. Phiri. "Wealth and Power in the History of Northern Chewa Chiefdoms, 1798 – 1895". PhD Dissertation. (University of Wisconsin, 1972) iv.

²³⁴ Pike. "A Pre-Colonial History of Malawi" 33.

²³⁵ Phiri. *Wealth and Power in the History of Northern Chewa Chiefdoms*, iv.

²³⁶ Langworthy "Conflict among rulers in the History of Undi's Chewa kingdom" 1.

²³⁷ Ntara. *The History of the Chewa* 8.

²³⁸ Ntara. *The History of the Chewa* 8.

after Chewa Hill.²³⁹ What began as Maravi ended with Chewa, Mang'anja, Nyanja, Chipeta, Chikunda, Mbo, Ntumba and Zimba. Names emerged as a result of disintegration and regionalization. In this hierarchy among the Maravis, the name Chewa stands out as the most statistically important group.²⁴⁰

It was not until the Portuguese account of 1831-32 that *Chevas* first appeared in print. Various explanations have been proposed to clarify its meaning: one of which is that it alludes to strangers, the other that derives, according to the late Professor J. B. Bruwer, from the archaic root *chewa* from which still exists the neutral form *ku-ceuka* (the proverb '*Umcewe mwana angapsye*' ('look behind you, the child might get burnt')).²⁴¹ Langworthy argues that many people try to clarify the origin of the name Chewa in many ways, none of which is good enough. There may have been a Chewa Hill, as Ntara claims.²⁴² And there may have been a settled people called the Chewas, who were intermarrying Malawian immigrants. The term Chewa may have originated from others using it as an expression to mean "neighbors", or even "them", and not necessarily a descriptive term".²⁴³

Alinafe, an interviewee, noted that her grandfather in Salima told her that the name Chewa originates from the word *Cheva*. The term *Cheva* was used to refer to the migrant groups who settled amongst the earliest inhabitants. In history, the strangers, newcomers, and immigrants became known as a Chewa from the term *Cheva*, implying outsiders or new arrivals.²⁴⁴ What Alinafe suggests is that the Chewas were foreigners in the new territory. They had found the other Bantu people already settled in some parts of Malawi.

As Pike points out, the story of the Congo migration is portrayed as if it were an exodus of everyone; it may have been the emergence of primary invaders who had secured dominance and hegemony over earlier established groups.²⁴⁵ Furthermore, Pike says that the theory of the main invaders in Malawi is espoused by the traditional division of roles between the two main

²³⁹ Ian Linden. "Mwali" and the Luba origins of the Chewa; Some Tentative Suggestions". *The Society of Malawi Journal*. (January 1972, 25:1) 13.

²⁴⁰ Pachai. *Malawi: The History of the Nation* 6-8.

²⁴¹ Pachai. *Malawi: The History of the Nation* 6-8.

²⁴² Ntara. *The History of the Chewa* 9.

²⁴³ Ntara. *The History of the Chewa* 9.

²⁴⁴ Interview with Alinafe, Sydenham (2 July 2020).

²⁴⁵ Pike. "A Pre-Colonial History of Malawi" 33.

matrilineal clans in Malawi. The Phiri, to which the chiefs traditionally belonged, had political power; and Banda, possibly from the oldest groups, is closely associated with the soil and are recognized as being able to make rain.²⁴⁶ Hence, the tribe is made up of four clans, Banda, Phiri, Nkhoma and Mwale.²⁴⁷

As can be noted above, Ntara states that the people of Malawi (Maravi) left the Congo and travelled southwards until they reached Choma in the southern part of Zambia. At Choma in Zambia, their leader Kalonga Chinkhole died and a new leader was appointed. Chinkhole's nephew, named Chidzonzi, led the people to leave Zambia. They moved eastwards until they entered Malawi.²⁴⁸

In contrast, Pike argues that ancestral tradition says that the tribes of Malawi were led out of the Congo by Kalonga Mazizi. From their first settlement near Mount Choma, about 10 miles north of Mzuzu in present-day Malawi, Kalonga Mazizi sent his son, Kanyenda Mukadzula, in the camaraderie of Kabunduli Phiri, his nephew on a survey journey.²⁴⁹ Mukadzula and Kabunduli travelled southwards along the shores of Lake Malawi and finally reached Mankhamba near Linthipe River.²⁵⁰ They then returned to Choma to pass on their findings, but before the tribe could find time to move, Kalonga Mazizi died. Under the matrilineal arrangement of his lineage, he was succeeded by his nephew. It was this man who led the tribe south to push the Kafula out of the territory. The group reached Mankhamba, where Kalonga built his headquarters.²⁵¹ Thus, the Chewa refer to Choma in Zambia and other Choma in northern Malawi (Mzuzu) as where they rested and settled before reaching Mankhamba in Dedza.

Origin of the name Malawi

The ruler of the Maravi, (Kalonga) established his headquarters near Ntakataka (Mankhamba) in the district of Dedza. The traditional center of the Kalonga kingdom, which included parts of Mangochi and Dedza districts, was called Maravi. The headquarters of the Maravi Empire was near the lake.²⁵² It later turned out to be Malawi.

²⁴⁶ Pike. "A Pre-Colonial History of Malawi" 33.

²⁴⁷ Pike. "A Pre-Colonial History of Malawi" 33-34.

²⁴⁸ Linden. "Mwali" and the Luba origins of the Chewa" 13.

²⁴⁹ Pike. "A Pre-Colonial History of Malawi" 33-34.

²⁵⁰ Pike. "A Pre-Colonial History of Malawi" 33-34.

²⁵¹ Pike. "A Pre-Colonial History of Malawi" 33-34.

²⁵² Ntara. *The History of the Chewa* 16.

The name Malawi can be substituted for Maravi, and it was the Portuguese who used the term in their writings. Certainly, Malawi means 'flames of fire', that was arising from the glittering and dazzling sunrise over the lake's waters. Newitt suggested that the reflection of the sun high above the water seemed to the Chewas like flames, hence the origin of the name Malawi.²⁵³ Langworthy agrees with Hewitt; he says that the Malawi word, meaning people, is the result of the original lake scene with the rays of the sun making the water look like fire.²⁵⁴ Another theory as to the origin of the name Malawi is that the capital of Kalonga was called Malawi because the territory was very hot, and when hot air rose, mirages thus formed to look like the flames of fire (*malawi*, "the flames").²⁵⁵

After settling in Mankhamba, the capital of the Maravi Empire, the Malawi people began to disperse in different directions. Some of the people who remained in the central region became known as the Chipeta ("people of the long grass").²⁵⁶ Thus, tribal names often described an ethnic group living in a particular environment: "Nyanja", the people of the lake; 'Chipeta', the people of the grass grasslands or people of the high grass, a label used for the clans of the early pre-Phiri settlers, now spread throughout in the Dowa, Dedza, and Ntcheu districts.²⁵⁷ Those Malawians who migrated southwards became known as the Mang'anja.²⁵⁸ They acquired the name Mang'anja.²⁵⁹ The name signified the people of the land of the smelters from *ng'anjo* (smelting furnace). Neither the lake nor the river has anything to compare with the excellence of the Mang'anja custom that the Iron has.²⁶⁰ In addition, Ntara argues that the people were called Mang'anja because they settled near a stream called Mang'anja.²⁶¹ In this way, many theories attempt to confirm the etymology of the word Mang'anja. The Mang'anja were led by Lundu Phiri who traveled to the hot low Shire Valley to settle at Mbewe in the lower Mwanza River, about 15

²⁵³ Newitt. "The Early History of the Maravi," 151.

²⁵⁴ Ntara. *The History of the Chewa* 16.

²⁵⁵ Ntara. *The History of the Chewa* 16.

²⁵⁶ Pike. "A Pre-Colonial History of Malawi" 34.

²⁵⁷ McCracken. *A History of Malawi, 1855-1966* 19.

²⁵⁸ Pike. "A Pre-Colonial History of Malawi" 35.

²⁵⁹ Pike. "A Pre-Colonial History of Malawi" 37-38.

²⁶⁰ Pike. "A Pre-Colonial History of Malawi" 37-38.

²⁶¹ Ntara. *The History of the Chewa* 17.

miles south of present-day Chikhwawa. Lundu's leadership existed in the early 1600s as it strengthened its dominance and jurisdiction along the Zambezi River towards the Indian Ocean.²⁶²

As can be seen, the more Malawians (Banda, Phiri, Mwale, and Mbewe clans) moved from Mankhamba in Dedza, the newer names they adopted. The Malawians who settled along the Shire Valley were known as Mang`anja, while the occupiers of the shores of Lake Malawi became the Nyanja. And the settlers in the central highlands of Malawi, in some cases called the Chipeta.

Some Dedza respondents stated that they originally belonged to the Chipeta group of the Maravi people. However, they consider Chipeta a derogatory term used to discriminate against people who lived in grasslands (the tall grasses). They prefer to be called Chewa.²⁶³

Clan Names: Chewa Yawo Relationship

As mentioned above, some of the participants have Nyanja, Mang`anja, Mbo, Chipeta, Zimba, Nsenga, Chewa and Ntumba ancestors, this study classified them as Chewa, which they accepted. All of these related groups had their early stages on the southwestern shore of the lake. It was the time for the division and splitting of the main body of Malawi. They all belonged to a clan or another who came in groups. Clan names such as Phiri (hill), Banda (those who tread grass at their feet), Mwale (from *kumwalira*, "to die"), Linde (from *kulinda*, "to watch"), Kwenda (from *kukwinda*, "to roll up"), Mbewe (from *mbewa*, "mice"), Mphandwe (a splinter from the Banda clan) are common among the Chewa.²⁶⁴ Likewise, the Yawo people who migrated from Mozambique in the 1800s had the same clan names and were identical to the Nyanja (Chewa).²⁶⁵ For example, chief Malemia, the Machinga Yawo who first immigrated to Malawi, had a clan name of *amwale*.²⁶⁶ Clan names such as *apiri*, *amilasi*, *ambewe*, *abanda*, *asimbiri*, *amwale*, *angoma*, appearing in the Maravi tribal group (Chewa, Mang`anja, Chipeta, Mbo, etc.), are also found in the Machinga Yawo. Mitchell argues that these clan names were, then, perhaps the

²⁶² Ntara. *The History of the Chewa* 20.

²⁶³ Interview with Alinafe, Sydenham (2 July, 2020).

²⁶⁴ Ntara. *The History of the Chewa* 6-7.

²⁶⁵ J. Clyde Mitchell. *The Yao Village: A study in the Social Structure of a Nyasaland Tribe*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956) 25, 71.

²⁶⁶ Mitchell. *The Yao Village* 49.

hallmark and characteristic of Machinga Yawo in Malawi. It developed due to their interactions with the Maravi and other indigenous peoples of the country.²⁶⁷

When Chewa from the Mwale clan meets a Yawo with the *Amwale* clan name, a relationship begins. Similar clan names between Yawo and Chewa helped connect through WhatsApp groups. According to the two respondents, Amina and Zione, due to their common name *Anaphiri*, they encouraged each other and moved to South Africa. Chewa and Yawo women with the same family name as Phiri, consider themselves to be sisters. The bond and relationship between the two tribes is very strong through the use of clan names. For example, Amina, a Yawo, and Zione, a Chewa, lived together in Durban for 3 years simply because they belonged to matrilineal tribes with similar clan names and cultures.²⁶⁸ In many cases, the social organization of the Yawo seems to have developed the same values as that of the Chewa. They live in small decentralized units structured around a segment of a marriage line. Descent and succession are through the female tribe, from the mother's brother to the sister's son, and a married couple lives with the woman's parents.²⁶⁹

An overview of the history of the Yawo people: Their origin

Below is a brief discussion of the origins of the Yawo people, the meaning of the word Yawo, and how they migrated to different regions. The Yawo continue to migrate to southern Africa and other parts of the world. They developed into a society of several clans with different names around Rovuma, Lujenda, Luwambala, and the Luchilingo Rivers in the Mwembe district of northern Mozambique.²⁷⁰ Surrounded by these physical features, there is a hill called Yawo, which means “treeless and grass grown.”²⁷¹ This hill is named ‘Cao’, whose plural form is 'Yawo', the name of the people themselves. Yawo Hill has never been exactly discovered by an outsider but holds a very important status in Yawo's mythology.²⁷²

²⁶⁷ Mitchell. *The Yao Village* 71.

²⁶⁸ Interview with Zione, Mawelewele (2 July, 2020) and Amina at Overport (22 July, 2020).

²⁶⁹ Irving Kaplan. *Area Handbook for Mozambique*. (Washington: American University, 1977) 95.

²⁷⁰ W. H. J. Rangeley. “The Yao”. *Nyasaland Journal*. (1963, 16:1) 8.

²⁷¹ Yohanna Abdallah. *The Yaos Chiikala Cha Wayao*, 2nd ed. (London: Frank Cass, 1973) 7.

²⁷² Edward A. Alpers. *Ivory and slaves in East Central Africa: Changing Patterns of International Trade in East Central Africa to the Later Nineteenth Century*. (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California, 1975) 15.

A study respondent named Amina said that her grandfather, who was knowledgeable about the Yawo traditions that are passed down through stories, songs, poetry, and dances, noticed that hills play a significant role in the Yawo tradition, which is demonstrated by the use of hill names to describe themselves in Yawo mythology. Because of this, the Yawo traditions only mention the Yawo hills, which have never been properly found or linked to a particular place. The northern Mozambican town of Mwembe could have been covered in those hills. "The elders informed my grandfather that finding the single hill known as "Chawo" was impossible. It appears that the region contained a lot of *yawo* hills. Yawo, which means "place without trees," is the plural version of *chawo*, which is a hill, treeless and grass grown. Sometimes the Yawo use the term "*matumbi*" to refer to hills in Chiyawo, the location where these people lived was named *matumbi ga ku yaawo*. The people who lived on that mountainside were known as *wandu wakuyaawo (ayawo wakulya yaaawo)*."²⁷³

Amina further asserts that the numerous hills in the region are what people used to refer to as *ku yawo*. Therefore, the hill Yawo in this context can actually consist of multiple hills. The Yawo elders also believed that numerous Yawo subtribes have names that stem from hills, proving that the hill from which the Yawo get their name is neither a genuine hill nor solely a legendary entity. Examples of sub tribes of the "hill people" are the Amasaninga, Amachinga or Amangochi. These people originated in the Yawo hills, but they spread to other hills, where they acquired their new names from other hills. Therefore, more than ten sub tribes or clans of the Yawo each derived their names from the location to which they dispersed after leaving the hill Yawo.²⁷⁴ Thus, hills play an important role in the Yawo tradition, as evidenced by the use of hill names to describe themselves in Yawo mythology.²⁷⁵

As can be seen above, the Yawo people arose from the hill "Yawo", from which the Yawo tribe was born, and it is the birthplace of all Yawo people (*wandu wakuyaawo*).²⁷⁶ They were a people

²⁷³ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

²⁷⁴ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 9-10.

²⁷⁵ P. A. Cole-King. *Mangochi: The Mountains, The People and the Fort*. (Limbe: Montfort Press, 1982) 2.

²⁷⁶ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 7.

who "eat their own food" (*wakulya yaawo*), as opposed to the Makhua, who had to go out and hunt for their own.²⁷⁷

Scholars suggest that the Yawo people left the Yawoland in Mwembe in the 9th century.²⁷⁸ Over the course of history, some spread to the east, others to the west, some in the north, and others in the south. From Lake Malawi, they stretch near the Indian Ocean to Kilwa.²⁷⁹ They took the name of their new place of origin as their tribe.²⁸⁰ Thus, they took the name of the physical features, especially the mountains, hills, and valleys, namely: Amachinga, Achisi, Amasaninga, Amalambo, Amakale, Wambemba, Amangochi, Wanjese, Chingoli, Wamkula, Chimatumba, Chisyungule, Achimkali, Achingunda, Achinamalweso, and Wamwela (Chingoli Mbango).²⁸¹

The Yawo live in large numbers in Malawi, Tanzania, and Mozambique. They are also common in Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and South Africa. In Zimbabwe and Zambia, the Yawo are known by the pejorative names Machawa or Bakachawa, while in South Africa, they are called Mazizimbani. According to Tew, the tribe's name is pronounced and written in different ways: Yao, Veiao, Ayo, Wahiao, Hiao, Wahyao, Wahaiao, Ayawa, Myao, Wajao, Achawa, Adjao, Mujanos, Mujoa, Adsawa, Adsoa, and Mudsau.²⁸² The Portuguese spelling modes were Hiau or Wahiau.²⁸³ It was on these various labels in the description of the Yawo people that Abdallah had to write: if you refer to the books written by the early Europeans (you will find them), say the tribes of the Yawo people are the Ajawa, Achawa and Angulu. There has never been such an error. But the Europeans are not to blame: no, it was the Anyasa (Nyanaja/Mang'anja) and the Amakhuwa/Alolo (Lomwe), and the Europeans went astray by following their example.²⁸⁴

Abdallah then explained: the Yawo [are] from Yawo, and when the Yawo say "Wayawo", Amakhuwa Alolo cannot pronounce it correctly but only says "Ajao", and hence they say

²⁷⁷ Alpers. *Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa* 8.

²⁷⁸ Molefi Kete Asante and Ama Mazama (eds). *Encyclopedia of African Religion*. (California: Sage, 2009) 734.

²⁷⁹ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 7.

²⁸⁰ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 9- 10.

²⁸¹ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 9-10, 38, 50,60.

²⁸² See Mary Tew. *Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region: East Central Africa Part 1*. New York: Routledge, 2017).

²⁸³ Edward Steere. *Collections for Handbook on the Yao Language*. (London: Society promoting Christian Knowledge, 1871) iv.

²⁸⁴ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 7.

"Ajao`wa" (these or Ajao), or "Achawa", this is their misfortune. And this is the mistake of Europeans to imitate Amakhuwa Alolo.²⁸⁵ The name Achawa was derived from (*anolya acawa/wakulya yawo*, meaning the people who "eat their own food", unlike the Makhuwa who had to go out to and hunt for their own food.²⁸⁶ Abdallah argues that the correct spelling and pronunciation of the tribe's country is Yawo (*Kuyaawo*) and their race is Wayawo, which means the people from Yawo, that's how it should be said.²⁸⁷ This study uses the appropriate term Yawo or Wayawo instead of Yao. Participants in this study preferred to be appropriately called Yawo or Wayawo rather than Yao. And the Yawo language is Chiyawo.²⁸⁸

Yawo Migration Trajectory in Southeast Africa

Although the Yawo settled in northern Mozambique centuries ago, scholars have differing views on the origins of the Yawo before they became known as Wayawo, the people of Kuyaawo (Muembe). For example, Tew suggests that "nothing was known about the Yawo people before they settled at Muembe", where there is a hill called Yawo.²⁸⁹ That is, little is known about the Yawo's history previous to their settlement on the treeless hill. Only the Yawo's story, which begins with a hill, has been highlighted. This hill is the tribe's home and origin, marking the start of the Yao history of a tribe that rose to prominence in long-distance trading from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.²⁹⁰ However, the Yawo people before they left the hill have yet to be thoroughly investigated or written about. The Yawo, who lived in Kilwa before the Arabs arrived, has received little mention in the literature.²⁹¹ As a result, historians like Tew concluded that nothing about the Yawo people existed until they settled in Muembe.

Wills agrees with Tew that much less is known about the early Yawo, Makhuwa, and East Coast societies. No precise dates can be given for the appearance of their predecessors at this area, although it is about the first millennium of our era. They have no traditional origin, other than the

²⁸⁵ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 8.

²⁸⁶ Alpers. *Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa* 8.

²⁸⁷ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 8.

²⁸⁸ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

²⁸⁹ See Tew. *Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region*.

²⁹⁰ Philip DeArmond Curtin. *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, 1998) 19.

²⁹¹ T. Price. "Yao Origins". *The Nyasaland Journal*. (July 1964, 17:2) 12.

common belief that they come from the north.²⁹² Recently, some Yawo have indicated that the Yawo came from the north. According to a program called Hidden Stories that was aired on Radio Islam-Malawi in October and December 2021; the narrator (Salim Chiuta) informed the audience that somewhere in northern Africa was the birthplace of the Yawo people. Thus, the Yawo people came from the north before settling in Mozambique.

Amina, one of the respondents, had heard from Salimu Chiuta that the Yawo tradition showed that the Yawo people originated from the Middle East before settling in Mozambique. They were a black race that settled among Asian ethnic groups. The Asian ethnic groups discriminated against them and oppressed them. The six Yawo families, known as Che Tema, Likite, Makoleka, Maliwata, Ndolela and Che Chipande, decided to leave (*malawi tusame*) the Middle East. They left the Middle East in 1500. Initially, six families said they wanted to go to the Congo but travelled overland through Kapiri Mpochi in Zambia. They then passed through Chitipa (Nakonde) in northern Malawi. From Chitipa, the Yawo went to Rumphu and settled. They established the chiefdom of Katumbi (*kukwela m'katumbi, katumbi ako ku Mwazisi*). From Katumbi, other Yawos went to Kafukule (*akawukule mesi tumwe*). Later on, many Yawo people reached northern Mozambique in 1519, where they settled at Mikula between the Lujenda and Rovuma rivers.²⁹³

However, Chiuta's radio broadcast assertion about the Yawo leaving the Middle East and arriving in Mozambique in 1500 is debatable. For 200 years before Europeans arrived, the Yawo may have interacted with and been linked with Arab traders from the east coast.²⁹⁴ According to some researchers, the Yawo connected with the Arabs of Mozambique and the Kilwa as "middlemen" for trade in Lake Malawi beginning around the year 1000 A.D.²⁹⁵ If the Yawo were trading with the Kilwa and Mozambique Arabs about the year 1000 AD, it suggests that they arrived in northern Mozambique prior to 1500. However, it is probable that Heckel's claim that the Yawo originated in North or West Africa is correct.

²⁹² A. J. Wills. *An Introduction to the History of Central Africa: Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1985) 51.

²⁹³ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

²⁹⁴ See Mary Tew, *Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region; East Cental Africa Part 1* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

²⁹⁵ Brian M. Fagan (ed.), *A Short History of Zambia: From the Earliest Times until A.D. 1900* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 130-131.

Heckel points out that the linguistic features of Yawo suggest that they were the first to migrate from the current Guinean region of the West African coast.²⁹⁶ In contrast, Afigbo et al. al, state that the Yawo people originally migrated from the Luba and Lunda peoples on the Shaba Plateau in Congo. They state that "...Some of the earliest immigrants from the west were the Yao and the Makuwa and the Chewa and other related peoples called Malawi or the Maravi".²⁹⁷ The said theory suggests that the Yawo people and Makuwa have their Luba roots just like Chewa. Another theory is that of a man from Lake Bangweulu, which was influenced by traditions originating from the Maravi.²⁹⁸ Hetherwick says that around the wetland of the Luangwa River and Bangweulu Lake, in the Yawo legend, there is an island in the middle of a lake called Kapirintimya.²⁹⁹ Hence, some Yawo claims to have settled in the Bangweulu area of Zambia before migrating to Malawi. This theory is similar to Salim Chiuta's recent hypothesis that the origin of the Yawo begins in the north and then travels to Kapiri Mpochi in Zambia.³⁰⁰

On the other hand, Wills argues that the Yawo people's descendants were part of the "Zinj" communities founded by the occupying Arabs in the coastal plain.³⁰¹ Also, based on Price's description, the Yawo once inhabited this island (of Kilwa), from which the current race descends in part. Historically, the beginning of the eleventh century would be considered an appropriate time frame and that was when the Machinga Yawo admitted Arab settlers to Kilwa, as recorded in the chronicles of Kilwa.³⁰² From the Arabs, they acquired knowledge of the trade, and acted as intermediaries. They sold ceramic and glass beads on the plateau, north and south of the Zambezi River.³⁰³ In 1955, one of the Lemba people who settled around the middle Limpopo River said that "The Lemba people are the maChawa of Muhammad", which Dr von Sicard fully considers them as "Muslim Yawos".³⁰⁴ Other scholars suggest that Balemba originated from the Muslim Yawo,

²⁹⁶ Benno Heckel. "The Yao Tribe: Their Culture and Education". Studies and Reports No. IV. (London: Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press, 1935) 9.

²⁹⁷ A.E. Afigbo et. al. *The Making of Modern Africa Volume 1 The nineteenth Century*. (Longman, Revised edition August, 1986) 21.

²⁹⁸ Alpers. *Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa* 15.

²⁹⁹ Alexander Hetherwick. "Some Animistic Beliefs among the Yao of British Central Africa". *Journal of Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*. (1902, 32) 94.

³⁰⁰ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

³⁰¹ Wills. *An Introduction to the History of Central Africa* 51.

³⁰² Price. "Yao Origins". *The Nyasaland Journal* 12.

³⁰³ Wills. *An Introduction to the History of Central Africa* 51.

³⁰⁴ Price. "Yao Origins" 14.

Venda, Swahili, Shona, and the Lamba of Zambia.³⁰⁵ The Balemba were knowledgeable of the presence of the strong Yawo Islamic community not far north, but have made no effort to group together.³⁰⁶ This alludes to some Balemba descendants of the Yawo tribe and calls for further study of early Yawo migrations in southern Africa. In this case, the Yawo are known as Balemba in Limpopo and Mazizimbani (Zanzibaris) in Durban. Therefore, further research is necessary to uncover the Yawo's buried history in southern Africa. In order to comprehend the Balemba-Yawo connection, more studies need to be done on the migration waves of the Yawo in countries like Zimbabwe and South Africa, particularly the Limpopo area. Yawo history in southern Africa needs to be reinterpreted by academics.

The first references to Yawo appear in Portuguese archives from the 18th century. A good example is provided by the record of Larcerda (1788), who suggests that the Yawo traded inland and bought ivory in markets that were formerly a Portuguese sanctuary/mecca.³⁰⁷ On the other hand, Young argues that in 1616 there was no tribe called Yawo.³⁰⁸ In 1616, a Portuguese traveller named Gaspar Bocarro traveled overland from Tete to Mikindani, and then he went to Kilwa by ship. In his account of the expedition, Bocarro mentions going into the country of Manguro" just before reaching the Luambala River.³⁰⁹ The absence of the name Yawo in Bocarro's diary contributes to the hypothesis that there were no Yawo people in the 17th century.³¹⁰ He does not mention any other tribe after arriving at the Luambala River, other than that mentions the Ngulu people as neighbours of Yawo.³¹¹

However, Rangeley implies that the Yawo people in ancient times were one of the Angulu tribes and that they changed faster than their neighbours due to interaction with the coast. In fact, they may have been one with the aLolo people.³¹² And Bocarro may have encountered descendants of

³⁰⁵ Magdel Le Roux. *In search of the Understanding of the Old Testament in Africa: The Case of the Lemba*. (University of South Africa, 1999) 44.

³⁰⁶ Le Roux, *In search of the Understanding of the Old Testament in Africa* 68.

³⁰⁷ Wills. *An Introduction to the History of Central Africa* 51.

³⁰⁸ Cullen Young. *Notes on the History of the Tumbuka- Nkhamanga People of the Northern Province of Nyasaland*. (London: Cass, 1970) 20.

³⁰⁹ Rangeley "The Yao" 8.

³¹⁰ Young, *Notes on the History of the Tumbuka- Nkhamanga People of the Northern Province of Nyasaland* 20.

³¹¹ Rangeley. "The Yao" 8.

³¹² The Lolo are also a Lhomwe clan just as the Makhuwa, Metos and others.

the modern Yawo people who called themselves Angulu.³¹³ In the 1650s, Ngulu extended north beyond Lujenda to the Rovuma rivers inhabited by the Yawo people.³¹⁴ The Yawo people call Makuwa/Lolo/Angulu Lomwe cousins.

Rangeley further asserts that by the time Bocarro began his expedition, the Yawo might have been centered on Chao Hill, east of the Lujenda River.³¹⁵ However, Davidson states that Bocarro met a few minor chiefs along the way, but passed through the countries where there were no people at all.³¹⁶ The point is that when Bocarro traveled overland from Tete on Zambezi to Kilwa [in 53 days], the Yawo people were at this point developing impressive mercantile capabilities that controlled the commerce of the interior of southern East Africa until the imposition of colonial rule.³¹⁷

The Yawo: the greatest long-distance traders in East and Central Africa.

The Yawo has a long history of migration and a tradition of engaging in long-distance trade. They developed a trading system before Europeans arrived in Malawi.³¹⁸ According to Hallet, ingenuity in the development of trade between the coast and inland was not accomplished by the Arabs and Swahilis of the coast, as is commonly imagined, but by certain peoples of Africa, especially the Yawo, Kamba and Nyamwezi people.³¹⁹ The Yawo people initiated the long-distance trade in eastern and southern Africa. The Kamba and Nyamwezi originated long-distance trade in Central and East Africa. The Yawo made a lot of progress in life at a time when Africa was still considered underdeveloped. It is almost certain that the Yawo appeared as long-distance traders many years before they migrated to Malawi. The commercial spirit had brought the Yawo to Zambia, Tanzania, the DRC and Zimbabwe. In Zambia, the Yawo people traded with the Lunda (Mwata Kazembe) and Bisa peoples. While in Zimbabwe, they traded with the Rwozi.

³¹³ Rangeley. "The Yao" 9.

³¹⁴ Robert B. Boeder. *Silent Majority: A History of the Lomwe in Malawi*. (Africa Institute of South Africa, 1984) 5.

³¹⁵ Rangeley. "The Yao" 9.

³¹⁶ See Basil Davidson, *The growth of African Civilisation East Central Africa to the late Nineteenth Century* (Longman, 1970).

³¹⁷ Richard Gray (ed). *The Cambridge history of Africa C. 1600- C.1790*, Vol. 4. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975) 254.

³¹⁸ Abdallah. *The Yaos*, 26-32.

³¹⁹ Robin Hallet. *Africa since 1875: A Modern History*. (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1988) 588.

The Yawo people's interaction and association with Arab traders on the east coast may have continued for 200 years before the arrival of Europeans.³²⁰ It was from Yawo that the Arabs acquired knowledge of the interior of Africa.³²¹ So the Yawo were the first to open the interior to the Arabs and then to the Portuguese. In the 1800s, the Scottish missionaries and British traders followed in the Yawo people's footsteps.

By the 16th century, the Yawo had developed a trade route from their birthplace west of Lake Malawi to the coastline near the city of Mozambique and then to Kilwa, Tanzania.³²² Alper states that Yawo's interaction with Kilwa was from about 1590 to 1616.³²³ While Ranger et al., say that the Yawo people traded with the East African coast in the early 17th century.³²⁴ Similarly, Crosby observes that the Yawo people are recorded as long-distance traders, trading with the east coast from the early 1700s. In Mozambique and Kilwa, the Yawo traded with the Portuguese, Indians, Arabs, and French.³²⁵ On the other hand, other scholars suggest that the Yawo people came into contact with the Arabs in Mozambique and Kilwa from around 1000 AD and acted as "middlemen" for trade along Lake Malawi.³²⁶ The Yawo people used iron hoes and other metal products that they melted themselves as currency in commercial transactions.³²⁷ They are said to have imitated the Arabs and Swahili, whose literal civilizations they came into contact with and usurped centuries before any other European civilisation entered Mozambique or Malawi. This was done to adjust or adapt to new environments as they changed over time.³²⁸

During the 18th and 19th centuries, they were considered the greatest long-distance traders in East and Central Africa.³²⁹ Roberts argues that the demand for ivory along the East African coast was greater than ever before. The Yawo responded strongly to this demand. The search for cheap ivory

³²⁰ See Tew. *Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region*.

³²¹ Rangeley. "The Yao" 10.

³²² Philip DeArmond Curtin. *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, 1998) 19.

³²³ Alpers. *Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa* 59.

³²⁴ Terence O. Ranger and Isaria N. Kimambo (eds). *The historical Study of Africans Religions*. (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976) 182.

³²⁵ Cynthia A. Crosby. *Historical Dictionary of Malawi*. (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1980) xxvii.

³²⁶ Brian M. Fagan (ed). *A Short History of Zambia: From the Earliest Times until A.D. 1900*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1969) 130-131.

³²⁷ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 23-24.

³²⁸ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 34.

³²⁹ Andrew Roberts. *A History of Zambia*. (Lusaka: Heinemann, 1976) 110.

drove them away from their home countries. They advanced west around the southern end of Lake Malawi, and by 1753, the Yawo merchants had reached the chieftain of Chewa, Biwi. Here, they may have learned about the elephant herds of the lower Luangwa valley in Zambia. In 1766, some Yawo merchants actually went to Zumbo in Mozambique, where they sold cloth more reasonably than the Portuguese. They even crossed the Zambezi into the country of Rozwi (Zimbabwe) and momentarily confronted and defiled the Portuguese, who were Rozwi's main trading partners.³³⁰ The Yawo people not only came to Zimbabwe, they also traded as far as the Congo.³³¹ The Yawo people dominated a route extending from Kilwa to Lake Malawi and the Kazembe kingdom on Luapula in Zambia.³³² They also controlled the route east of Lake Malawi to Bunda in Lilongwe and Mkanda in Mchinji. Linden points out that the Yawo people have been traders since the 17th century, operating between the coast and Lake Malawi, where they traded beads and cloth for ivory from the rich hunting grounds of central Malawi and the Luangwa River Valley. Ivory caravans passed Msinja and Dedza on their way to the shores of the lake, where the Chewa bought fashionable clothes like Yawo's red *mlangali*.³³³

The Yawo people have a fondness for travel and considered a "real" Yawo to be a man who arrived on the east coast on a trading expedition.³³⁴ As Abdallah pointed out, travel is central to Yawo's identity: he who knows foreign countries is someone who deserves to be known.³³⁵ Among the Yawo people, long-distance trading had become a rite of passage for men, children played with minuscule (small) bundles, and anyone who failed to make such a trip was looked down upon with contempt.³³⁶ In the past, men had to travel long distances to Kilwa. Today South Africa has become modern-day Kilwa, where men and women accumulate wealth. This was explained by Amatullah, another respondent:

Everything has change. Since 1994, South Africa has been home to many immigrant women from Malawi. Now, being a "real" Yawo woman means

³³⁰ Roberts. *A History of Zambia* 110.

³³¹ Rangeley. "The AYao" 9.

³³² John Iliffe. *Africans: The History of a Continent*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 181.

³³³ Ian Linden. "Mponda Mission Diary, 1889-1891: Daily Life in a Machinga Village". *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*. (1974, 7:2) 274; Also see Abdallah. *The Yaos* 30.

³³⁴ Suleman Dangor. *Africa's Islamic Heritage: Muslim Regimes in East and West Africa*. (Durban: Islamic Dawah Movement of Southern Africa, 2005) 15.

³³⁵ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 28.

³³⁶ Elizabeth Isichei. *A History of African Societies to 1870*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 440.

travelling to countries like South Africa. The Yawo of Mangochi, Balaka, Zomba, and Machinga in the south, and the Chewa of Salima, Dedza, and Nkhotakota in the central region are Malawian Muslims who migrated to South Africa in large numbers.³³⁷

Malawians believe that the Yawo of Mangochi and Machinga led the migration, then the Ngoni of Mzimba and the Tonga of Nkhata Bay. Asimanye, a respondent, attributes this to the high rate of unemployment and illiteracy among the Yawo. According to Asimanye, many of those who immigrated to South Africa have not completed their education compared to the Chewa of Nkhotakota and Salima.³³⁸ For example, many women leave Malawi due to poverty, corruption, natural disasters, divorce, lack of education and peer pressure. It will later emerge that there are reasons why Chewa and Yawo women do not complete their education in Malawi and rush to South Africa to work.

The Yawo-Tumbuka Relationship: The eighteenth-century Yawo movements in Northern Malawi

The first Yawo people to settle in Malawi were called Balowoka. They settled on the Nkhamanga Plain and the Henga Valley in northern Malawi. Phiri pointed out that in the 15th century, the Arabs built a port on the Indian Ocean called Kilwa. African traders from Kilwa travelled to the northeast of Lake Malawi in search of Nkhamanga.³³⁹ The leader who crossed Lake Malawi became known as Mlowoka.³⁴⁰ They arrived by sailing across Lake Malawi using Arab dhows - dressed as Arabs, they looked dignified in the eyes of the aboriginal Tumbuka. They described Mlowoka as a man with fair skin and an open-minded man.³⁴¹

Needham et al., suggest that the Balowoka were probably Yawo traders from Kilwa in search of the area's abundant ivory.³⁴² McCracken, agreeing with Needham et al., also states that around 1780, a group of Balowoka traders ("probably Yawo"), attracted by untapped ivory stocks, arrived

³³⁷ Interview with Amatullah, Sydenham (20 July 2020).

³³⁸ Interview with Asimanye Ngonji, MarianHill (4 August, 2020).

³³⁹ Bridgalal Pachai (ed.). *The Early History of Malawi*. (London: Longman, 1972) 165.

³⁴⁰ Young, *Notes on the History of the Tumbuka Kamanga Peoples of Nyasaland* 36.

³⁴¹ D. D Phiri. *History of the Tumbuka*. (Blantyre: CLAIM) 10-18.

³⁴² D.E. Needham et al. *From Iron Age to Independence: A History of Central Africa*. (London, 1977) 37.

at Nkhamanga and forged a loose alliance across the elephant-rich country that stretches back to modern border with Zambia.³⁴³

There is also a tradition that states that another tribe east of the lake called Mwera came to northern Malawi.³⁴⁴ Additionally, Tew wrote in 1950 that the Balowoka were referred to as Wamwera. They arrived quietly and adopted the languages and customs of the locals.³⁴⁵ Abdallah states that Yawo adopted the name of their new home as that of their tribe. Those who crossed the Rovuma River to dwell in the hills called Chingoli Mbango were the *Wamwera* or *Achimbango* now they live near the coast, and their language is mixed with Chindonde.³⁴⁶ Similarly, other scholars state that Wamwera are part of the Yawo groups.³⁴⁷

Guthrie split the Bantu languages into areas of genealogical groups ranging from Zone A to Zone S. For example, he arranged the languages alphabetically from A to S. Yawo, Ndonde, and Mwera are part of Guthrie's Zone P20. Therefore, the alphabet P stands for the languages spoken in southeastern Tanzania and northeastern Mozambique. In this case, the Yawo language is encoded as Zone P.21 in the 1948 Guthrie classifications of the Bantu languages, along with their closest relatives Chimwera (Zone P.22) and Chimakonde, (Zone P.23) and Chidonde (Zone P. 24).³⁴⁸ What is illustrated here is that the Chimwera language originated in Kuyaawo before the speakers settled in southern Tanzania where they detribalised and started speaking other languages which diluted the original Chiyawo language. Spoken in the Newala region of Tanzania, Chindonde is related to Yawo and Mwera. These two languages are almost undistinguishable.³⁴⁹ So, Chiyawo is very close to Chimwera. For example, the Milanzi clan is known among the Mwera and is also found among the Yawo with the name Amilaasi.³⁵⁰ As such, the Mwera is regarded by many to be

³⁴³ John McCracken. *Politics and Christianity in Malawi 1875-1940: The Impact of the Livingstonia Mission in Northern Province*, 2nd ed. (Zomba: Kachere Series, 2000) 31.

³⁴⁴ Young, *Notes on the History of the Tumbuka Kamanga Peoples of Nyasaland* 63,188.

³⁴⁵ See Tew. *People of the Lake Nyasa Region*.

³⁴⁶ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 9-10.

³⁴⁷ Rosanne Cecil (ed). *Anthropology of Pregnancy Loss: Comparative Studies in Miscarriage, Stillbirth and Neonatal death*. (New York: Routledge, 2020) 4.

³⁴⁸ Malcom Guthrie. *Classification of Bantu Languages*, International African Institute. (London: O.U.P, 1948) 81.

³⁴⁹ Joseph Biddulph. *The Nubian Digest: A Companion to African Language Studies*. Volume 2. (Indiana University, 2003) 76.

³⁵⁰ Bernard K. S. Kiyenze. "The Transformation of Tanzanian Handicrafts Into Co-operatives and Rural Small-scale Industrialisation". *Jipeyo: Development and Culture Research*, Finnish Anthropology Society. (1985, 6:6) 36.

a subgroup of the Yawo people found in Tanzania and Malawi.³⁵¹ It is interesting to note that the Shimwela language closely resembles Chiyawo, and Abdallah, in his book titled *Chiikala cha Wayao*, lists them as a branch of his Yawo, but it also seems that some Mwera people do not support Abdallah.³⁵² The Mwera are considered to be a separate exodus from the old Kilwa, as they took a completely different direction on the mainland.³⁵³ However, this study suggests that in the 1780s, the Yawo people appeared as the Mwera merchants who left south-eastern Tanzania or Kilwa to northern Malawi.

Young asserts that these traders were Yawo, possibly dressed as "Arabs", coming to find ivory among a person for whom the ivory had no commercial value.³⁵⁴ Nyirenda also confirms that the Balowoka immigrants appeared to be Arabs even though they were not Arabs.³⁵⁵ Thus, the Balowoka were black Africans who wore Arabic clothing (*mikanjo*) and turban (*chilemba*).

Similarly, Alpers argues that the identification of Balowoka is less certain but that the main candidates are Yawo of the coast.³⁵⁶ Alpers found out the real names of the Yawo people who opened the ivory trade in Tumbuka. Mkwinda and Mloka were the ones who opened up northern Malawi to international trade. Thus, Mkwinda and Mloka participated in the opening of the west side of the lake to trade as there may be few people matching their description among the Yawo people or their neighbours on the east side of the lake.³⁵⁷ Kalakala and Kakala are other Yawo names of Mloka.³⁵⁸ Real names like Mloka (mature/the ripen one), Kalakala (old-fashioned/old days or alike/the same thing) and Kakala (rough) were hidden by Mlowoka's praising name. In this case, Mlowoka is not a real name but a praise name of the leader of the Balowoka.³⁵⁹ Thus, previous scholars and missionaries only used Mlowoka or Balowoka to refer to the 1780 Yawo immigrants in northern Malawi.

³⁵¹ Charity Butcher. *The Handbook of Cross-Border ethnic and Religious Affinities*. (London: Rowman and Littlefield International, 2019) 236.

³⁵² Price. "Yao Origins" 14.

³⁵³ Price. "Yao Origins" 14.

³⁵⁴ Young. *Notes on the History of the Tumbuka Kamanga Peoples of Nyasaland* 36.

³⁵⁵ Saulos Nyirenda. *History of the Tumbuka- Henga People*, Bantu Studies. (University of Witwatersland (1931, 5:1) 6.

³⁵⁶ Alpers. *Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa* 164-65.

³⁵⁷ Alpers. *Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa* 164-65.

³⁵⁸ Bridgalal Pachai (ed). *The Early History of Malawi*. (London: Longman, 1972) 165.

³⁵⁹ See Yizenge A. Chondoka and Frackson F. Bota. *A History of The Tumbuka from 1400- 1900: The Tumbuka under the M'nyanjagha, Chewa, Balowoka, Senga and Ngoni Chiefs*. (Lusaka: Academic Press, 2007).

While the Tumbuka-Kamanga tradition does not specify where Mlowoka came from on the coast, *Swahili Ancient History of Kilwa Kivinje*, (Kilwa Kivinje's Old Swahili History), despite its limitations, does include evidence that Mlowoka came from the Kilwa coast.³⁶⁰ According to this account, a man named Mkwinda, whose first home was around Lake Malawi, remained in Kilwa after settling for many years in Machinga. It was he who initiated trade between the Lake and Kilwa. Mkwinda, like Mlowoka, represents a period in the history of Kilwa Kivinje.³⁶¹ There is also linguistic proof that some members of the Yawo tribe had settled at Kilwa Kisiwani many centuries earlier.³⁶² The oral tradition of Kilwa Kisiwani also states that "the island (Kilwa) was originally inhabited by the Wahiao people."³⁶³ Thus, the Wahiao once inhabited the island (of Kilwa), from whom the current race partly descends. A date of around the beginning of the eleventh century is considered accurate, as it was the Machinga Wayawo who admitted Arab settlers to Kilwa.³⁶⁴ Wahiao is a term used to refer to the Wayawo tribe. In this case, the Yawo lived in both places, namely Kilwa Kivinje and Kilwa Kisiwani. These accounts show the certainty that Mlowoka and his followers were Yawo.³⁶⁵

As early as 1768, the Yawo were transacting with Kilwa and with the Congo basin. Doing commercial activities at that time demonstrates clearly that they had been familiar with travel and merchandise for many years before that.³⁶⁶ By 1780 the Yawo people had already known the geography of northern Malawi. They knew the needs of the people of Malawi. They were shrewd traders who knew how to lure their business partners.

Manda, writing under 'Chitipa, Karonga people are cousins of the Yao', summarises the history of the Yawo people of northern Malawi as follows:

If you listen closely to who speaks ChiNdali, chiLambya, chiNyika, chiNyakyusa and ChiNkhonde (Ngonde), you will hear many Yawo words in these dialects. The words and meanings are similar except for the pronunciation. The Chitipa and

³⁶⁰ Edward Alpers. "The role of the Yao in the development of trade in East-Central Africa, 1698 - c. 1850". PhD. (University of London June 1966) 208-209.

³⁶¹ Alpers. "The role of the Yao in the development of trade in East-Central Africa" 208-209.

³⁶² Pachai. *Malawi: History of The Nation* 53.

³⁶³ Price. "Yao Origins"12.

³⁶⁴ Price. "Yao Origins"12.

³⁶⁵ Alpers. "The role of the Yao in the development of trade in East-Central Africa 208-209.

³⁶⁶ Rangeley. "The AYao" 9.

Karonga are cousins of the Yawo people. A branch of the Yawo who came to Tanzania from Amakonde in Mozambique to Songeya, Mbeya, Tukuyu, Kyela and then to Malawi via Karonga and Misuku, messed up their language through intermarriage between countries. Like the Ngoni of Mzimba and Ntcheu, they occupied the land but lost their language. Ndali and Ngonde or Nyakyusa is broken Yawo. Those who descended to Mangochi, Machinga and Mulanje attached themselves to the Yawo women and kept their Yawo language.³⁶⁷

As mentioned earlier, the movement of the Yawo to Malawi was a gradual process that began many centuries ago. Reports indicate that in the 1500s the Yawo were already trading with merchants on the east coast of Africa. For example, the expulsion of the Portuguese from East Africa in 1698 would have affected Yawo's trade. Other documents point to 1000 AD as the first date of commercial expeditions.³⁶⁸

Islamic Identity: The Chewa and Yawo Muslims

When Christian missionaries arrived in modern Malawi and encouraged the British to colonise the area, they wrote about Islam in the area and attributed it to being introduced in the 19th century. The missionaries wrote that Islam was brought to Malawi by Yawo and Swahili merchants. Thus, the Yawo and Swahili traders brought Islam to the east coast during the first half of the 19th century.³⁶⁹ Although Islam spread rapidly during the first half of the 19th century, this study demonstrates that Islam did, in fact, spread to Malawi as early as the 12th century. The first Muslim contact with Malawi preceded the arrival of European missionaries and traders in the 1860s. The Chewa people in particular of Nkhotakota and Yawo at the southern tip of Lake Malawi, adopted Islam in the early 19th century. When Scottish missionaries arrived in Magomero in 1861, they found the Yawo people observing certain Islamic rituals. The Yawo people imbibed some of the culture and literacy of the Arabs and Swahili long before Europeans arrived in this part of Africa.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁷ Levi Zeleza Manda. "Chitipa, Karonga peoples are cousins of the Yao". Bottom Up. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 10 November, 2017.

³⁶⁸ Brian M. Fagan (ed). *A Short History of Zambia: From the Earliest Times until A.D. 1900*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1969) 130-131.

³⁶⁹ Kenneth R. Ross and Klaus Fiedler. *A Malawi Church History 1860- 202*. (Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2020) 378.

³⁷⁰ B. R. Raphael. *A History of Malawi*. (Limbe: Popular Publications- Mont Fort Press, 1980) 40.

The history of Islam in Malawi does not begin with the conversion of the Chewa or Yawo people in the early 19th century; rather, it has a long history. Islam was not truly promoted in the region by a Swahili trader named Jumbe Salim bin Abdallah who arrived at Nkhotakota in the 1840s. He had little interest in the spread of Islam, but he was very interested in obtaining ivory and slaves. It's likely that some Arab slave traders were not there to promote Islam but rather were more interested in financial opportunities along the east coast and in the interior of Africa. However, it was during the Muslim Kilwa Empire, several centuries before the nineteenth century, that Malawi first encountered Islam

Muhomed argues that in following and describing the history of Malawi, one can approach many sources, some of which need to be more consistent.³⁷¹ There are certainly reliable and consistent sources showing that the Malawians became acquainted with Islam in the 12th century during the Muslim Kilwa Empire, under the reign of Sulaiman ibn Daud (1118-1158). During this period, Ibn Sulaiman sent six caravans to Burundi, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Uganda, Zambia and Malawi. These traders initiated the first contact between Malawi ethnic groups with the Muslim faith and traditions.³⁷²

If Sulaiman Ibn Daud led caravans to Malawi in the 12th century, initiating the first meeting between Malawian ethnic groups and the Muslim faith and traditions, the Yawo people were most likely part of that caravan, even if they had not yet adopted Islam. According to studies, this island (of Kilwa), from which the current race originates in part, was originally home to the Yawo. According to Kilwa's chronicles, the Machinga Yawo welcomed Arab settlers to Kilwa at the beginning of the eleventh century, which would be considered a historically significant time period.³⁷³ According to the narrative, the Yawo, who arrived in Kilwa before the Arabs, steered the caravan's travelers to Malawi.

The fact that the Kilwa Empire was Muslim implies that the Sultan was also a devout and loyal Muslim. Again, this indicates that the majorities were Muslims, and therefore, those travelling

³⁷¹ Imuran Shareef Mahomed. "The Development of Tariqas in Malawi" . Qadriyah, Shadhiliyah and Sukuti" In J. C Chakanza ed. *Religion in Malawi*. (November 2000, 10) 19.

³⁷² Mahomed. "The Development of Tariqas in Malawi" 19.

³⁷³ Price. "Yao Origins". *The Nyasaland Journal* 12.

with six commercial caravans might also have been Muslim. In this way, they could have spread Islam in these six countries. However there needs to be more reliable documentation of this story, data validation is a problem. In addition, some historians assert that there was no trade link between East Africa and Malawi at the time.³⁷⁴ On the other hand, research indicates that starting around the year 1000 A.D., the Yawo interacted with the Kilwa and the Arabs of Mozambique as "middlemen" for trade in Lake Malawi.³⁷⁵ If the Yawo began trading with the Kilwa and Mozambique Arabs around the year 1000 AD, it is possible that by the 12th century, when Sulaiman ibn Daud (1118-1158), ruler of the Muslim Kilwa Empire, sent six caravans to Burundi, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Uganda, Zambia, and Malawi, the Yawo were already familiar with Islam. These traders were the ones who first introduced Malawi's ethnic groupings to Islam and its customs.³⁷⁶ Despite not having accepted the religion at the time, it is likely that the Yawo who lived in Kilwa guided the caravan to Malawi.

Mahomed further asserts that although this theory has its limitations, it is likely that Islam entered Malawi during this period.³⁷⁷ This was the first chapter of Islamic presence in Malawi. However, the story does not specify the exact place where the caravan stopped and which inhabitants were the first to feel/experience the Muslim presence in Malawi. Some sources suggest that the second Muslims entering what is now part of Malawi did so nearly 500 years ago. The Maravi (Malawi) traded with Arabs from East Africa. Arab-Muslim traders made commercial expeditions to these areas before the arrival of the Portuguese in the 1530s. The Mang'anja, a branch of the Maravi people, came into contact with these Muslim traders as early as the 16th century.³⁷⁸ Arab Muslims had also penetrated Zimbabwe before 1500 AD.³⁷⁹

Alpers says that Muslim traders from the coast travelled up the Zambezi valley and Shire River to Lake Malawi. After 1505 Muslim traders raised the stakes of this area in trade for the Phiri chiefs.³⁸⁰ Around 1530, these Muslim merchants had established a community of Arab traders at Tete in the Zambezi, not far from the border of present-day Malawi, and it can be suggested that

³⁷⁴ Mahomed. "The Development of Tariqas in Malawi" 19.

³⁷⁵ Brian M. Fagan (ed.), *A Short History of Zambia: From the Earliest Times until A.D. 1900* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 130-131.

³⁷⁶ Mahomed. "The Development of Tariqas in Malawi" 19.

³⁷⁷ Mahomed. "The Development of Tariqas in Malawi" 19.

³⁷⁸ David S. Bone (ed.), *Malawi's Muslims: Historical Perspectives*. (Blantyre: Claim, 2000) 13.

³⁷⁹ Ephraim C. Mandivenga. *Islam in Zimbabwe*. Gweru: Mambo Press, 1983) 1.

³⁸⁰ Alpers. *Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa* 46-47.

their trading activities brought them to what is now Malawi.³⁸¹ Thus, trading relationships brought the Arabs to Nsanje and Chikhwawa.

Arab-Muslim trade flourished along the valleys of the Zambezi Shire until the warlike Portuguese decided to seize control of the trading posts and chronicles the Muslim presence disregarded. When the Portuguese arrived in the area in the 16th century, as well as in East Africa, their goal was to capture and control the trading activities that they perceived to be established by Muslim merchants or locals. Mudenge says the Portuguese were certainly determined to overthrow the Angoche-focused Muslim merchants on the Zambezi route. Between 1530 and 1540, they replaced the Muslim bazaars along the Zambezi with their own settlements at Quilimane, Sena and Tete.³⁸² Murray consented to Mudenge by confirming that twenty nonviolent Arab merchants had settled in Sena. The Portuguese continued to persecute and kill most of them under the direction and recommendation of a priest named Monclaro.³⁸³

Monclaro scolded and rebuked the Arabs for bewitching cattle and horses. But in fact, they were dying from the bite of the tsetse flies.³⁸⁴ In Zimbabwe, the Portuguese also decided to definitively expel Muslim merchants. Davidson presented an official Portuguese document declaring the expulsion of Muslims from the Shire and Zambezi valleys. It is reported that

“After 1550 desiring stronger foothold in the interior the Portuguese settled at Sena and Tete up the Zambezi...by 1600 Tete had about forty Portuguese settlers and soldiers and perhaps 600 other Christians of various origins...they imposed a new treaty (forcing the Mwenemuta king) Mavura...on May 24, 1629, to declare that...he shall expel all the Moors (“the Swahili-Arab long-distance traders”) from his kingdom. And of those who may be found here after this date, it was proclaimed “shall be killed by the Portuguese and their property shall be handed to the agents of the king of Portugal.”³⁸⁵

³⁸¹ Bone. *Malawi's Muslim* 13.

³⁸² S.I.G. Mudenge. *A Political History of Munhumutapa C.1400- 1902*. (Harare: Jongwe Press, 1988) 55.

³⁸³ Murray. *A Handbook of Nyasaland* 72.

³⁸⁴ Murray. *A Handbook of Nyasaland* 72.

³⁸⁵ Davidson. *The Growth of African Civilisation East and Central Africa to The Late Nineteenth Century* 254.

This is how Muslims who stretched from the Zambezi to the Shire Valley were ultimately expelled from the region in the 16th century. Therefore, this expulsion of Muslims by the Portuguese must have caused the indigenous population who had converted to Islam to lose their way of life as well as their Muslim identity because they began to convert to Christianity at a later stage.

Although the Portuguese restricted Arab settlement in the Lower Shire, today in Malawi, there are people known as the Amwenye and in Zimbabwe as the Varembe. These people show traces of their first contact with Islam through circumcision, dietary restrictions, and their Islamic-sounding names.³⁸⁶ Thus, Amwenye settled in Lower Shire. They came from Sena. This tribe practices specific Islamic rituals such as circumcision, the bleeding of animals after slaughtering, and not eating any pork. They are descendants of the Arabs found by the Portuguese at Sena in 1572.³⁸⁷ The Sena, Nyungwe or Mang'anja in the lower Shire bear Arabic or Islamic names such as "Hassan", "Fatima" and so on when they are not formally Muslims. It's all because the ancestors of some of the people in this area were once Muslims. The main factor causing the locals who converted to Islam to lose their Muslim identity was none other than the Portuguese expulsion of the Muslims from this region of Malawi and Mozambique. In this case, Islam did not spread in Sena, Nyungwe and Mang'anja of Lower Shire in the 16th century.

The third era of the Muslim Presence: The nineteenth century

When Europeans arrived in Malawi in the 19th century, they began to document the spread of Islam. They depicted Islam as having been brought by slave traders.³⁸⁸ Thus Islam was introduced to Nkhotakota in 1840 by Jumbe Salim bin Abdallah.³⁸⁹ It is also suggested that merchants returning from the coast during the 1870s and 1880s brought Islam to the Yawo of the Shire highlands.³⁹⁰ Ntata claims that Islam, which originated among the Yawo people living along the southern shore of Lake Malawi, was brought to the region by slave traders from Zanzibar in the 1870s.³⁹¹

³⁸⁶ Bone. *Malawi's Muslims: Historical Perspectives* 13.

³⁸⁷ Murray. *A Handbook of Nyasaland* 72.

³⁸⁸ Claire L. Wendland. *A Heart for the Work: Journey through an African Medical School* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2010) 266.

³⁸⁹ Kenneth R. Ross (ed.). *God, People and Power in Malawi: Democratization in Theological Perspective*. (Mzuzu: Luviri Press, 2018) 125.

³⁹⁰ Amy McKenna (senior ed.). *The History of Southern Africa*. (New York: Britannica Educational Publishing, 2011) 102.

³⁹¹ Z. Allan Ntata. *Trappings of Power: Political Leadership in Africa*. (Bloomington: Author House, 2012) 9.

Some scholars still argue that the Yawo's involvement in commerce brought them into contact with Islam much earlier; it was not until the end of the 19th century that the Yawo people began to adopt Islam.³⁹² So the history of Islam in Malawi will begin around 1840 for the Chewa (Nyanja) of Nkhotakota and in the 1870s for the Yawo when Chief Makanjila of Mangochi converted to Islam.³⁹³

Studies reveal that by the time Jumbe arrived in Malawi in the 1840s, Islam had already been adopted by the locals east of Lake Malawi. At that time, many Yawo appeared as Swahili Arabs due to the long robes they wore. It was the Yawo traders in the 19th century who brought the fire of Islam to Lake Malawi and set it burning along its southern and eastern shores.³⁹⁴ Of the people living in the interior, only the Yawo people were truly affiliated with Islam through contact with the east coast.³⁹⁵ Thus, the descendants of Yawo chiefs such as Mponda, Makanjila and Jalasi (Zarafi) and their followers were exposed to Islamic influence long before they migrated to Malawi in the 19 mid-century.³⁹⁶ The Yawo people had been the conduit and channels of Islam from the eastern side of Lake Malawi. They established trading posts and trade routes along the shores of Lake Malawi before Jumbe Salim bin Abdallah reached Nkhotakota in 1840.³⁹⁷ Yawo merchants, for the most part, traded with the Chewa of this region.³⁹⁸ When Jumbe reached Nkhotakota and settled among the Chewas, he found Yawo trading posts.³⁹⁹ He was more engaged with his economic interests than he was with the spread of Islam.

In the early 19th century, wealthy Yawo merchants were strongly inspired by Islamic culture. They used their wealth to build small chiefdoms among the Chewa (Nyanja).⁴⁰⁰ Kwaule states that in

³⁹² Richard Olaniyan (ed). *African History and Culture* (Lagos: Longman, 1982) 51.

³⁹³ Bone. *Malawi's Muslims: Historical Perspectives* 3.

³⁹⁴ Oliver Ransford. *Livingstone's Lake: the Drama of Nyasa*. (London: John Murray, 1966) 41.

³⁹⁵ John E. Flint et al. *Cambridge History of Africa circa 1790- 1870*, Vol. 5. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1976) 304.

³⁹⁶ Augustine W. C Msiska. "The Spread of Islam in Malawi and its Impact on Yao rites of Passage". *The Society of Malawi Journal* (1995, 48: 1) 51- 52.

³⁹⁷ A Swahili Arab trader from Tanzania who settled among the Chewa of the Nkhotakota district of Malawi.

³⁹⁸ David S. Bone. "Islam in Malawi". *Journal of Religion in Africa*. (1982, 13:2 Fasc) 126.

³⁹⁹ Robin Hallet. *Africa Since 1875*. (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1988) 489.

⁴⁰⁰ Hallet. *Africa Since 1875*, 489.

his ivory trade, Jumbe faced competition from Yawo and Bisa merchants, both of whom had established trading centers permanently in Nkhotakota.⁴⁰¹

Jumbe employed only the Yawo minority in his services and did not trade guns with the local Chewa. He then established his own colony under the leadership of his royal and devoted Yawo vassals.⁴⁰² In this way, Jumbe engaged only the Yawo minority in Nkhotakota because he identified them as people of the same religion. They were also great long-distance traders. On this note, Kwaule further asserts that Jumbe's motive to employ Yawos only, suggests that it was because Jumbe knew the Yawo from first contact and traded with them at the southern end of Lake Malawi. Others say it was so because the Yawo people (already) embraced Islam.⁴⁰³ He chose to hire Yawo Muslims instead of Nkhotakota's aboriginal Chewa, who were not Muslims at the time. Thus, the Yawo introduced Islam to the land before Jumbe. Jumbe preferred to hire Yawo Muslims rather than non-Muslim Nkhotakota Chewas.

According to Mumisa, the emergence and beginning of Islam in Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe came via Mozambique through the intermediary of the *Mwalimus* (*Mu'llims* or Islamic scholars). This is why the Yawo people were the first to be inspired by Islam. The first to arrive were educated *Sheikhs* who won over the local masses with their interesting personalities.⁴⁰⁴ These intellectuals founded *madrassahs* (Islamic schools) in addition to directing prayers in the modest mosques they built in all areas of their influence.⁴⁰⁵

Mumisa goes on to say that Islam was enthusiastically adopted by the Yawo people around the southeast side of Lake Malawi. It then spread among other tribes, such as the Chewa people of Nkhotakota, the Lhomwe people of southern Malawi and the Ngonde people of northern Malawi.⁴⁰⁶ The Ngonde's conversion to Islam took place during the fourth wave of Islam in

⁴⁰¹ Fabiano Kwaule. "Kanyenda and the Swahili challenge" In David S. Bone (ed.). *Malawi's Muslims: Historical Perspectives*. (Blantyre: claim, 2000), 64.

⁴⁰² Kwaule. "Kanyenda and the Swahili challenge" 64.

⁴⁰³ Kwaule. "Kanyenda and the Swahili challenge" 64.

⁴⁰⁴ Mumisa. "*Islam and Proselytism in South Africa and Malawi*" 281.

⁴⁰⁵ Mumisa. "*Islam and Proselytism in South Africa and Malawi*" 281.

⁴⁰⁶ Mumisa. "*Islam and Proselytism in South Africa and Malawi*" 281.

Malawi. A Swahili Arab Mlozi helped introduce Islam to Malawi by establishing a trading post near Karonga at the northern end of the lake between 1880 and 1887.⁴⁰⁷

The Impact of Islam

Iliffe is certain that social mobility and communication have produced cultural change. The Yawo people, with a long trading experience, were the most responsive to coastal culture. When the Yawo chiefs adopted Islam in the 1800s, they began to build their headquarters in the coastal style.⁴⁰⁸

The Yawo people were the product of a resilient and determined tribe who understood what they were looking for and pursued it.⁴⁰⁹ Heckel noted that in Tanzania's Lukuledi Valley, Yawo children were superior to other societies.⁴¹⁰ And Murray says the Yawo are wise and quick to learn a craft or trade.⁴¹¹ Scholars describe Yawo as intelligent and with exceptional learning ability.⁴¹² Islam spread hastily among the Yawo people because they were quickly imitative and full of enthusiasm until the subject was mastered.⁴¹³ Islam spread rapidly when Sheikh Abdallah bin Haji Mkwanda of Makanjila, Mangochi in Malawi (1860-1930) and Sheikh Thabit bin Muhammad Ngaunje of Mponda village, Mtengula in Mozambique (1880-1959) taught and trained many Yawo Imams and Sheikhs. They travelled up and down the lake and into the Yawo villages.⁴¹⁴ Both sheikhs are recognized with the spread of the religion in Malawi with most of the conversions between Yawo and Chewa taking place on the lakeshore.⁴¹⁵ Sheikh Amansi bin Kapinjili was the principal Ulema who permanently lived on the eastern shore of Lake Malawi.⁴¹⁶

⁴⁰⁷ Miriam Memory Chipeta Banda. *The Role of Muslim Women at Ndirande and Kachere Mosques, Blantyre*. (University of Malawi, 1999) 2.

⁴⁰⁸ John Iliffe. *Africans: The History of a Continent*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 184.

⁴⁰⁹ George Shepperson and Thomas Price. *The Independent African: John Chilembwe and the Nyasaland Rising of 1915*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1958) 37.

⁴¹⁰ Heckel. *The Yao Tribe* 9.

⁴¹¹ Murray, *A Handbook of Nyasaland* 47.

⁴¹² Geoffrey W. Silwwe. *Management of Human Resources in the Copper Mining Industry of Zambia*. (Ndola: Mission Press, 1959/98) 359.

⁴¹³ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 44.

⁴¹⁴ Bone. *Malawi's Muslims* 115; McCracken, *A History of Malawi* 101.

⁴¹⁵ Owen J. M. Kalinga. *Historical Dictionary of Malawi*, 2nd edition. (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield. 2012) 200.

⁴¹⁶ Robert. C.Greenstein. "Shykhs and Tariqas: The Early Muslim 'Ulama' and Tariqas Development in Malawi, 1885-1949". History Department seminar paper. (Zomba: University of Malawi-Chancellor college, 1976/77) 20.

Although Islam had almost reached some Yawo people in the 1820s, it spread more rapidly as leaders began to adopt this faith as the official religion in their areas. A good example is Chief Makanjila III, who is said to be the first leader in Malawi to convert to Islam.⁴¹⁷ This was important in the history of Islam in Malawi as it later played an important role in spreading Islam among many Yawo people in the country, including neighbouring chiefs Mponda, Mataka and Jalasi.⁴¹⁸

In the early 1870s, chief Makanjila III, "who controlled an area at the southeastern end of the lake, adopted Islam as the religion of his personal court." His reasons for the switch included increasing trading partners, educational attainment and modernization, and "the need to consolidate his power over his village chiefs by enhancing his own status". Neighbouring chiefs such as the Mataka, Jalasi and Mponda also followed it.⁴¹⁹ Abdallah shows Makanjila III's name as "Banali". It was during this period that Islam spread very quickly and widely.⁴²⁰ Banali is possibly a corruption of Ibn Ali (son of Ali), now permanently transformed and distorted into Binali among the Yawo. At that time, the coastal Arabs lived among the Yawo or traded in the land of Yawo. The Yawo people had become elegant and modern after adopting the Arab dress code.⁴²¹

Missionaries from the University Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) under Reverend W. P. Johnson failed to convert the Yawo people in the Makanjila area. Abdallah states, Padre Johnson had come to bring news of the gospel, but his efforts to spread the Word failed because the whole country was full of Islam.⁴²² Later, Chief Makanjila treated Reverend W. P. Johnson of the UMCA and Acting Consul John Buchanan, disdainfully stripped them of their clothes and inflicted great humiliation on them, causing them to walk around naked.⁴²³ Likewise, McCracken states that Buchanan was stripped and ransomed (for some paint pots) by the Yawo chief Makanjila during a

⁴¹⁷ Possibly during the 1820s an important group of Yawo settled around Mangochi Mountain. It was the Mangochi Yawo who fought with Frederick Charles Mackenzie of the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) in 1861 at Magomero when he was siding with Manga'anja/Nyanja. At that time Yawo were not interested to be converted to Christianity because they had already adopted Islam.

⁴¹⁸ Bone. *Malawi's Muslims* 3.

⁴¹⁹ David S. Bone citing W.H.J. Rangeley. 'The Yao' *Nyasaland Journal*. (1963, 16:1) 25. In David S. Bone (ed.). *Malawi's Muslims: Historical Perspectives*. (Blantyre: Claim, 2000) 3.

⁴²⁰ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 44.

⁴²¹ Rangeley. "The Yao" 25.

⁴²² Abdallah. *The Yaos* 45.

⁴²³ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 45.

visit to his town in 1888, which “Buchanan happily failing to draw his revolver in the scrimmage.”⁴²⁴ After this humiliation at the hands of the Yawo, Reverend Johnson said that these Yawo people have no fear or respect for us, and now England will try to deal with Nyasa.⁴²⁵

A year later, the British government decided to colonize Nyasa, and it was up to Buchanan to declare a protectorate over the highlands and the Shire Valley, which he did in a ceremony outside his home in Blantyre on September 2, 1889.⁴²⁶ Thus, shortly in 1891, after the humiliation of Reverend Johnson and Consul Buchanan, the British sent an expedition on the steamer "Domira". Domira landed at Mpilipili early in the morning and fired cannon. The Europeans razed the village and burned one of the Makanjila dhows. The Masaniga Yawo of Makanjila counterattacked and fought bravely, but the British soldiers were so well organized for the ordinary people and with advanced weapons that many were killed.⁴²⁷ Floyd Dotson and Lillian Dotson called the Yawo and British wars "pocket-sized wars".⁴²⁸

The destruction of the city of Makanjila in 1891, covering a group of large villages in a twelve-mile-long valley, "about 8,000 huts" and possibly more than 25,000 people, the scorching of homes, granaries, and fields on a large scale did not please Yawo.⁴²⁹ Furthermore, in 1895, another Yawo chief, Jalasi, was also defeated by Johnston's soldiers. Chief Jalasi ruled a sprawling community estimated at over 25,000. It was located on the plateau of Mount Mangochi.⁴³⁰ The British scorch policy alienated the Yawo from the new government and from Christianity.

⁴²⁴ John Buchanan. *The Shire Highlands East Central Africa As Colony and Mission*. (Blantyre: BP and P, 1982) iv preface to the new edition.

⁴²⁵ Bertram Herbert Barnes. *Johnson of Nyasaland: A Study of the Life and Work of William Percival Johnson, DD. Archdeacon of Nyasa, Missionary Pioneer 1876- 1928*. (Westminster, Letchworth, Herts: The Garden city Press, 1933) 90.

⁴²⁶ Buchanan. *The Shire Highlands*, iv.

⁴²⁷ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 45.

⁴²⁸ Floyd Dotson and Lillian O. Dotson. *The Indian Minority of Zambia, Rhodesia, and Malawi*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968) 26.

⁴²⁹ Fergus Macpherson. *Anatomy of a Conquest: The British Occupation of Zambia, 1884- 1924*. (Essex: Longman, 1981) 74.

⁴³⁰ David Stuart-Mogg. "Two Unusual Photographs of fort Mangochi". *The Society of Malawi Journal*. (1998, 51:1 (1998) 62.

Accounts on Discriminatory Cultures and Religious Intolerance: The Spread of Illiteracy among Muslims

Missionaries built schools in the Yawo areas to convert them to Christianity. The goal of all missionaries was to bring Africans into membership in the churches to which they belonged.⁴³¹ All schools taught religion. For this reason, Muslim students had been affected by these conflicting terms and requirements.⁴³²

Hauya argues that education and Christianity went hand in hand. Education had helped spread the gospel just as the gospel has spread education to the point of becoming a prerequisite for enrollment in some cases.⁴³³ Thus, the village school often served as the village church; village teachers were often also evangelists in the village. The need for literacy, the main attraction of the early education system, was in part the need for access to the Bible.⁴³⁴ As Oliver and Atmore noted,

The main means that all Christian missions used in their evangelization was to find the network of village schools in which children of all ages could receive a very simple education in reading and writing and arithmetic along with religious instruction leading to baptism and church membership.⁴³⁵

The missionaries continued to teach the Bible to strengthen Christian beliefs and values.⁴³⁶ During the colonial period, clerical workers played an important role in the fields of commerce, agriculture, and mining. The most basic prerequisite was English, and the mission school quickly emerged as a clear avenue of advancement, with which the aspiring could escape the narrow confines of village life in a wide range of well-paying urban jobs.⁴³⁷ The Yawo Muslims in the south stayed out of the mission area and also declined to take advantage of educational prospects.

⁴³¹ Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore. *Africa Since 1800*. (CUP, 1967) 155-57.

⁴³² Leroy Vail and Landeg White. "Tribalism in the Political history of Malawi". In *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*. (London, 1989), 179.

⁴³³ Roy J.R. Hauya. *Education in Malawi: The Question of Curriculum*. (Blantyre: Dzuka Education Foundation Series, 1977) 2.

⁴³⁴ McCracken. *Christianity and Politics in Malawi, 1875-1940*, 120-21.

⁴³⁵ Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore. *Africa Since 1800*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) 157

⁴³⁶ William Jeynes and David W. Robinson (eds.). *International Handbook of Protestant Education*. (London: Springer, 2012) 365.

⁴³⁷ Oliver. *Africa Since 1800*, 157

Few Yawo children have received any education; for example, in Yawo Liwonde District in 1928, less than 1,000 people attended school. Public schools opened in the district that year but attracted little interest and the schools had all been closed by 1934.⁴³⁸

Amina, a respondent, points out that:

The Christian sects brought Malawi under their control. This means that a child from another area would not be admitted to a particular school unless the child changed his or her faith in the denomination that administered and operated that school. In short, an Anglican child could not enroll in a Presbyterian school. In turn, the same would happen to any Christian child who wanted to enroll in a regulated Presbyterian or Roman Catholic school, etc. In addition to this arrangement, no child was enrolled in the school unless he/she or his/her parents decided to convert to a denomination controlling a particular school.⁴³⁹

Today, there are very few educated Muslim women in Malawi. Their educational background was poor as their parents did not attend mission schools but madrasahs, where they learned reading and writing using the Arabic alphabet with Kiswahili as the medium of instruction, which was the *lingua-franca* of pre-colonial Malawi.⁴⁴⁰ Living like an Arab purported to being educated. And the chiefs wanted to be educated, just like their trading friends on the coast. This is why chiefs like Mataka, Makanjila and Mponda had asked teachers to take up residence in their courts. These teachers were called "*Mwalimu*" or "*Walimu*", who worked as scribes and teachers.⁴⁴¹

Above all, the Yawo aspired to be able to connect, more or less, like their peers (their trading partners) on the east coast.⁴⁴² So schools teaching young people to read and write Swahili in Arabic characters were established in most villages, where prayers were also conducted at specific times of the day.⁴⁴³ Therefore, the Yawo were the first Malawians who could read and write, even if it was in Arabic. Other ethnic groups learned to read and write after the arrival of Europeans.

⁴³⁸ Harold D. Nelson. *Area Handbook for Malawi*. (Washington: American University, 1975) 32-33.

⁴³⁹ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

⁴⁴⁰ Murray. *A Handbook of Nyasaland* 49; Harold D. Nelson et al., *Area Handbook for Malawi*. (Washington: American University, 1975) 78.

⁴⁴¹ B.R. Raphael. *A Short History of Malawi*. (Limbe: Mont Fort Press, 1980) 40.

⁴⁴² Raphael. *A Short History of Malawi* 40.

⁴⁴³ Mary Tew. *Peoples of the Nyasa Region*. (London, 1950) 17.

Although Christian missionaries encountered the thriving Islamic education, historically Islam has not been associated with a strong educational tradition in Malawi (unlike some other Islamic parts of Africa).⁴⁴⁴ Consequently, Christian missionaries went to the areas where the Yawo settled in southern Malawi. In central Malawi, they turned their attention to the district of Dedza (under a Muslim Yawo chief Tambala). Chief Tambala lived among the Chewa people on the plateau east of the Nkhoma mission. The missionaries decided to focus on Yawo, where many schools had not yet opened. However, the Muslim area proved to be the most challenging to work in.⁴⁴⁵ In Tambala's area, there was little appeal to formal education, largely due to prejudices stemming from the Christian roots of the Malawi education system.⁴⁴⁶ The Yawo were not interested in any connection with Western influences. They rejected and resisted European interference.

In the 1860s David Livingstone observed that the missionaries often had trouble with the Yawo. They became involved in ethnic wars at Magomero.⁴⁴⁷ Thus, the missionaries were against the Yawo.⁴⁴⁸ First Bishop Frederick Mackenzie in Magomero in 1861 and then Scottish missionaries in Mangochi at Cape Maclear in 1875 failed to advance and progress among the Yawo people.⁴⁴⁹ The clash between Islamic and Western education played a role in Yawo's minimal Western education. It resulted in Yawo not being hired by companies and government departments because they resisted Christian education. Amina, a respondent was born in 1990 and she says:

Muslim parents had to scare their children not to attend a Christian school. They would tell them that pork was supplied at the missions. They thought that the Arabic system of education could work at all times in Malawi. They defended madrassa education and failed to understand that the prospects of Malawi depended on western education. In this way, I was born to the parents who did not attend western education but madrassa.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁴ Claire L. Wendland. *A Heart for the Work: Journey through an African Medical School*. (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2010) 266.

⁴⁴⁵ See Christoff Martin Pauw. *Mission and Church in Malawi: the History of Nkhoma Synod of the church of Central, Presbyterian Church 1889-1962*. (Wellington: Christian Literature Fund, 2016).

⁴⁴⁶ J. G. Pike and G. T. Rimmington. *Malawi: A Geography Study*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1965) 163.

⁴⁴⁷ Christopher Hibbert. *Africa Explored: Europeans in the Dark Countries 1769-1889*. (London, 1982) 277.

⁴⁴⁸ Frank McLynn. *Heart of Darkness: The European Exploration of Africa*. (London: Hutchinson, 1992) 334.

⁴⁴⁹ Mc Cracken. *Christianity and Politics in Malawi* 6.

⁴⁵⁰ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July 2020).

Thus, it was difficult to impose Christian beliefs on the Yawo who had converted to Islam. Christian schools continued to provide Bible lessons to strengthen Christian beliefs and values.⁴⁵¹

Lamba summarized factors that influenced Muslims not to accept western secular education:

Firstly there was the missionary denigration of Muslims. They expected Muslims to readily accept a Bible-centred education where Christian influence was predominant. Furthermore, the use of English instead of Arabic in the post-vernacular stages was not attractive to Muslims in terms of its usage. Above all, the missionaries' insistence on missions to convert students to Christianity in their schools posed a threat to the beloved religion and social order of Muslims, which they simply could not accept. The consequence or the result was the refusal of school places by the missions to non-Christian children.⁴⁵²

Most rural Yawo saw the white man's Christian government as focused on eradicating Islam, which was relatively more accepted than Christianity.⁴⁵³ Jameelah, one of the respondents in this study, is from the Salima district in central Malawi. A Yawo describes how unfavorable and discriminatory it is to be a Muslim in Malawi:

My parents were forced to change their Yawo and Islamic names to English names. They chose to be illiterate instead of abandoning Islam. The Yawo people are smart people, but missionaries and the government system failed our ancestors and they ended up as low-wage workers in Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and South Africa⁴⁵⁴

There was anger and regret in Jameelah's memory. The high rate of illiteracy among Yawo Muslim women is an important factor to note in this study. According to participants, Muslims face discrimination in many sectors of society due to their lack of secular education, which is necessary for employment. Furthermore, Jameelah argues that immigration to South Africa also contributes to Yawo's high literacy rate. They are no longer interested in education but are moving

⁴⁵¹ William Jeynes and David W. Robinson (eds.). *International Handbook of Protestant Education*. (London: Springer, 2012) 365.

⁴⁵² Issac C. Lamba. *Contradictions in Post-war Education Policy Formulation and Application in Colonial Malawi 1945-1961: A Historical Study of the Dynamics of Colonial Survival*. (Zomba: Kachere series, 2010) 157.

⁴⁵³ Lamba, *Contradictions in Post-war Education Policy Formulation and Application in Colonial Malawi 1945-1961*, 2010) 155.

⁴⁵⁴ Interview with Jameelah, Burnwood (22 July, 2020).

to this country.⁴⁵⁵ At the district level, Mangochi (Yawo area)) has the lowest literacy rate at 53% and Machinga (Yawo area) (57%).⁴⁵⁶ This shows that few Yawo Muslims go to school. Consequently, the high rate of illiteracy among Yawo women has forced many of them to seek economic opportunities in South Africa. Migration to South Africa, therefore, increases the number of early school dropouts as they leave school while young with the aim of going to *Joni* (a term referring to Johannesburg or south Africa as a whole) to amass wealth. According to Jameelah, someone who has come to South Africa is better off than a high school graduate working in Malawi.⁴⁵⁷

Political intolerance: Yawo obstruction of British sovereignty and hostility to Christianity

David Livingstone believed that the founding of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) in the Shire Highlands of Malawi in 1861 was his dream of salvation and change in Africa.⁴⁵⁸ As seen above, Christianity was brought to Malawi in the 1860s by Livingstone and later by other Scottish missionaries after his death in 1873.⁴⁵⁹ In 1861, the UMCA under Charles Frederick Mackenzie launched a mission between the Yawo and Mang'anja people at Magomero in Chiradzulu, on the edge of the Yawo region.⁴⁶⁰ Thereafter, in 1875 the Free Church of Scotland under Bishop Robert Laws established a mission at Cape Maclear in the territory of a Muslim Yawo chief Mponda in Mangochi. The goal of establishing missionaries in the Yawo territories did not stop at Magomero and Cape Maclear, but also went as far as Kapeni, another Yawo chief in Blantyre. The Established Church of Scotland opened a mission among the Yawo of Kapeni in 1876.

Although the Scots established a mission at Cape Maclear in 1875, the Yawo people did not accept Christianity. It took Bishop Robert Laws six years to leave the area. In 1881 Bishop Laws arrived at Bandawe in Nkhata Bay. Islam at that time had not yet reached the Tonga of Bandawe. The

⁴⁵⁵ Interview with Jameelah, Burnwood (22 July, 2020).

⁴⁵⁶ 2018 Malawi Population Census 22.

⁴⁵⁷ Interview with Jameelah (Burnwood, 22 July, 2020).

⁴⁵⁸ H. W. Langworthy. *Zambia Before 1890: Aspects of Pre-colonial History*. (London: Longman, 1972) 110.

⁴⁵⁹ Amy McKenna (senior ed.). *The History of Southern Africa*. (New York: Britannica Educational Publishing, 2011) 102.

⁴⁶⁰ Kenneth R. Ross and Wapulumuka O. Mulwafu (eds). *Politics, Christianity and Society in Malawi: Essays in Honour of John Mac Cracken*. (Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2020) 93.

Scots easily converted them in large numbers. Another good reason for the adoption of Christianity by Tongas was that they were troubled and disrupted by the powerful warriors (*impi*) of the Jere Ngoni of M'mbelwa. In this case, the Europeans became Tonga's allies; they protected them from Ngoni's intrusion.⁴⁶¹ It was the beginning of the colonization of northern Malawi.

The missionary answered a call from David Livingstone. He spoke widely of opening a way for commerce and Christianity in Africa. However, he had not revealed to the public yet another goal he had in mind when he returned to Africa. It was not only to convert heathens to believe in the God of Christians but he had something in his mind.⁴⁶² Geoffrey Moorhouse pointed out

“He was prepared to divulge his secrets to a few carefully picked and select acquaintances and friends, though. Not long before his departure he wrote to Professor Sedgwick, who had acted as chairman at the meeting in Senate House at Cambridge. ‘That you may have a clear idea of my objects,’ he said, ‘I may state that they have more in them than meets the eye. They are not merely exploratory, for I go with the intention of benefiting both the African and my own countrymen...but what I can tell to none but such as you, in whom I have confidence, is this. I hope it may result in an English colony in the healthy high lands of Central Africa.’ Livingstone added a portentous postscript to the letter. ‘I have told it only to the duke of Argyll.’⁴⁶³

Thus, besides converting Malawians to Christianity, David Livingstone also aimed to establish a British colony on the territory. The Yawo saw the arrival of missionaries in 1861 as the first step towards colonization and the grabbing of their land. They refused and resisted the imposition of British rule when Bishop Charles Mackenzie of Magomero tried to order them to lay down their arms and leave the country.⁴⁶⁴

Bishop Mackenzie made mandatory agreements with local chief to obtain the land of the Mang'anja. Bishop's agreement with Chigunda was that they must be co-proprietors/common

⁴⁶¹ Groves. *Malawian migrations to Zimbabwe* 26.

⁴⁶² Geoffrey Moorhouse. *The Missionarie*. (London: Eyre Methuen, 1973) 135.

⁴⁶³ Moorhouse. *The Missionaries* 134- 35.

⁴⁶⁴ Landeg White. *Magomero: A portrait of an African Village*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 28.

owners of the land.⁴⁶⁵ The Yawo protested this and as a result six villages were burned down. The bishop was determined to fight. Two thousand Mang`anja were recruited and the bishop loaded thirty of their guns.⁴⁶⁶ They went ahead and the bishop kept repeating the battle belongs to the Lord and He rules among the people. During the fighting, they burned the Yawo settlement and looted the gardens.⁴⁶⁷

David Livingstone later wrote in his journal, ‘people will not approve of men coming out to convert people shooting them. I am sorry that I am mixed up with it, as they will not care what view of my character is given at home.’⁴⁶⁸ He further admitted that “It seems to me a frightful thing that the messengers of the Gospel of peace should in any way be connected, even by their presence, with the shedding of human blood.”⁴⁶⁹ Thus, villages and gardens, burned and looted, belonged to the Yawo of Magomero, who opposed Christianity and colonization. An act similar to the burning and looting of homes of the Yawo Muslims took place in 1891 in Makanjila. So the Yawo were difficult, or as Harry Johnston liked to describe them, stubborn and uncooperative.⁴⁷⁰ Hence, one of the initial acts of the British administration in Malawi was to disarm the Yawo⁴⁷¹

The Yawo people had to be watched closely because they were not only a stumbling block or obstacle to British autonomy, hence for the *Pax Britannica*, but also hostile to Christianity, the main medium or mediator of Western civilization.⁴⁷² This type of discrimination and stereotype forced the Yawo to leave the country in search of a new life in new territories.

⁴⁶⁵ T. D. Rangers and John Weller (eds). *Themes in the Christian History of Central Africa*. (London: Heinemann, 1975) 36.

⁴⁶⁶ White. *Magomero* 29.

⁴⁶⁷ White. *Magomero* 29.

⁴⁶⁸ Christopher Hibbert. *Africa Explored: Europeans in the Dark Continent, 1769-1889*. (London, 1982) 277.

⁴⁶⁹ Moorhouse. *The Missionaries* 257.

⁴⁷⁰ Owen J M. Kalinga. “The Production of history in Malawi in the 1960s: The Legacy of Sir Harry Johnson, the Influence of the Society of Malawi and the Role of Dr. Kamuzu Banda and His Malawi congress Party”. *African Affairs*. (Oct 1998, 97:389) 527.

⁴⁷¹ Elizabeth colson and Max Gluckman (eds.). *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959) 310.

⁴⁷² Kalinga. “The Production of history in Malawi in the 1960s, 527.

Stereotypes of the Chewa and Yawo peoples

Although the Wayao were highly regarded by Europeans for their strength and intelligence, they continued to silence and subjugate them.⁴⁷³ When the Yawo people protested and challenged British rule, including the manner in which it was imposed, incalculable or unlimited force was used to bring them down. They were classified as difficult and recalcitrant people.⁴⁷⁴

During colonial expansion in the 1880s and 1890s, Harry Johnston described the Mang`anja, who lived in the highlands of the Shire, as a submissive, docile, and meek society: agrarian societies whose life was interrupted by the Yawo people.⁴⁷⁵ Thus, the Yawo were classified as stubborn and the Chewa as obedient. Between the 1960s and 1980s, the Chewa people and the Chewa culture were central to modern Malawi as they were the oldest and least compromised or influenced by colonialism, and Malawian culture would be deemed identical to Chewa culture.⁴⁷⁶

During colonialism, the Yawo tried to live peacefully with the Mang`anja, but their agricultural activities and aspirations for normal commercial contact with other peoples, including Europeans, received little attention. Johnson wanted to convey the idea that the arrival of the British had saved the Mang'anja from the Yawo hegemony; therefore, colonialism was a virtue for Africans in the region.⁴⁷⁷ Despite that, it was the Yawo who saved the Mang'anja. In the absence of the Yawo penetration into southern Malawi, the Ngoni would have been able to eliminate the entire Mang'anja ethnic group, but they failed because the Yawo carried guns.⁴⁷⁸

Most of Johnson's wars with the Yawo people were in the name of suppressing the slave trade, but the truth is that Johnston's wars in the Central African protectorate were the brutal military suppression of the major African authorities in the territory.⁴⁷⁹ Thus, the British conquest of principal African authorities in southern Africa began in South Africa. The power of Zulu and Pedi

⁴⁷³ Gerhard Maier. *African Donosaurs Unearthed: The Tendagura Expeditions*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003) 53.

⁴⁷⁴ Kalinga. "The Production of history in Malawi in the 1960s, 527.

⁴⁷⁵ Kalinga. "The Production of history in Malawi in the 1960s, 527.

⁴⁷⁶ Leroy Vail (ed). *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*. (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989, 1991) 182.

⁴⁷⁷ Kalinga "The Production of history in Malawi in the 1960s, 527.

⁴⁷⁸ See Basil Davidson, *The Growth of African Civilisation, East and Central Africa to the Late Nineteenth Century*, (London, 1967).

⁴⁷⁹ Kevin Shillington. *History of Africa*. (London: Macmillan, 1989) 325.

was broken in South Africa. In Zimbabwe, Ndebele under Lobengula was defeated. Zambia's King of Lozi, Lewani, readily submitted to British sovereignty. On the other hand, the Yawo people of Malawi were uncooperative and stubborn. In order to capture a Masananga and a Machinga Yawo nation (southern Malawi at the time), Johnston had to present a base to attack them. D. D. Phiri explicitly states that in order to justify the takeover of (country), Yawo chiefs were accused by (Harry) Johnston and others of a lawless and slave raiding so Yawo chiefs Kawinga, Makanjila, Chikumbu (and others) were attacked.⁴⁸⁰ For five years, the Yawo had to wage war against British forces who, according to Shepperson and Price, were Yawo slavers who waged “stubborn wars” to repel the imposition of British rule.⁴⁸¹ The Acting Commissioner of the British South African Company in 1897 called the Yawo people "the chief slave raiders for Arabs."⁴⁸²

The abolition of the slave trade in Malawi was used as a scapegoat for territorial conquest and discrimination against Yawo Muslims. The Yawo reacted to the growing presence of Christian missionaries and colonial officials. They had a closer connection with Islam than any other ethnic group in Malawi.⁴⁸³

The Yawo's close association with Islam forced them to boycott Western influences that could contaminate their Islamic identity while other local ethnic groups welcomed Western culture. Because of the Yawo's rejection of evangelization and Christianity, they quickly endured cultural isolation in the country. Christianity was the only source of Western education available at the time. As a result, the Yawo were excluded from the ability to participate and integrate into the colonial system as secretaries, interpreters, etc.⁴⁸⁴ Thus, Muslims in the country have fallen behind their Christian colleagues in terms of education and income. The colonial educational practice appears to be the main cause. Even though the British colonial government established Muslim-only schools for the country's Muslim population, the Education Ordinance of 1927 also entailed compulsory Christian religious instruction in all schools. As a

⁴⁸⁰ D. D. Phiri. *From Nguni to Ngoni*. (Limbe: CLAIM, 1982) 114.

⁴⁸¹ Shepperson. *The Independent African* 405.

⁴⁸² B.S.A. Co., *Annual Report*, 1896, NAR, File C 8438, 12.

⁴⁸³ See David Bone. *Introduction to Islam for Malawi*. (Mzuzu: Mzuni, 2021).

⁴⁸⁴ Risto Marjoma. “The Martial Spirit” Yao Soldiers in British Service in Nyasaland (Malawi), 1895-1939”. *The Journal of African History*. (2003, 44:3) 416- 17.

result, many Muslims kept their children out of school, creating an education gap that still afflicts Muslims in Malawi today.⁴⁸⁵

After being excluded to take part in the colonial education practices and exclusively being excepted from governments' jobs, the Yawo people migrated to Zambia to work in copper mines and agricultural industry.⁴⁸⁶ By 1940, Yawo Muslims had appeared in the mining town of Broken Hill (in modern Kabwe).⁴⁸⁷ Other Yawo Muslims worked as "house boys" or "servants" for Whites and Indians. In Zambia, the Yawo people continue to spread the message of Islam. The Yawo first introduced the religion to the eastern region of Zambia among the Chewa people when they hunted for ivory and traded in slaves.⁴⁸⁸ They also spread Islam among the indigenous peoples, especially the Bisa and Lala. By 1923, Saidi Kazembe, a Yawo Muslim from Nkhotakota built Masala mosque in the city of Ndola.⁴⁸⁹

According to Groves, Chewa and Yawo immigrants (sometimes known as Machawa in Zimbabwe) left Nyasaland (Malawi) as devotees of Islam and founded new Muslim associations in Salisbury Harare).⁴⁹⁰ Similarly, Mundivenga says, the Yawo of Mangochi and Machinga are some of the Malawians who brought Islam to Zimbabwe in 1900 when they came to work and settle.⁴⁹¹ Thus, the Yawo migrated to Zimbabwe between 1900 and 1970 during the period of labour migration to South Africa when Malawi also served as a reserve of labour for the mines and farms in Zimbabwe. They spread Islam among the local population. Islam was attracted to the Shona people when the Yawo married Shona women. Although the Muslim presence in Zimbabwe dates back to the 17th century, many Zimbabweans caught the attention of Muslims in 1960.⁴⁹² The

⁴⁸⁵ Abd Allah Ahmad Na'im (ed). *Islamic Family Law in a Changing World: A Global Resource Book*. (London: Zed Books, 2002) 190.

⁴⁸⁶ Giacomo Macola, Jan-Bart Gewald and Marja Hinfelaar (eds). *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-colonial Zambia* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008) 173; Geoffrey W. Silwwe. *Management of Human Resources in the Copper Mining Industry of Zambia*. (Ndola: Mission Press, 1995/98) 359.

⁴⁸⁷ Felix J. Phiri. *Muslim Associations and the Resurgence of Islam in Zambia*. (Fenza with the Lemabani Trust, 2008) 62.

⁴⁸⁸ John Henze. *Some Basics of Religious Education in Zambia*. (Mission Press, 2007) 9.

⁴⁸⁹ Henze. *Some Basics of Religious Education in Zambia* 80.

⁴⁹⁰ Groves. *Malawian migrations to Zimbabwe* 143.

⁴⁹¹ Ephraim C. Mandivenga. "The role of Islam in southern Africa". In *Religions and Politics in southern Africa* (ed). Carl Fredrik Hallencreutz and Mai Palmberg 74-84. (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1991) 76.

⁴⁹² Ingvar Svanberg and David Westerlund (eds.). *Islam Outside the Arab World*. (London, New York: 1999) 114.

Yawo continued to preserve their identity in a foreign land against all odds.⁴⁹³ They have retained their identity, which manifests itself in their Islamic initiation practices and their Beni dances.⁴⁹⁴ The Chiyawo language is also broadcast on Zimbabwe's National FM, although it is not an official language in the country.⁴⁹⁵ Mosques were built near the mines and farms. Thus, the Yawo people who had settled in Zimbabwe propagated the religion due to their good character. With the support of Sheikh Adam Makda through the help of Saudi Arabia, many mosques have mushroomed in Zimbabwe.⁴⁹⁶

Yawo Muslims have advanced further into Botswana.⁴⁹⁷ They first came to Francistown in the 1950s, where South African mining companies hired labour from the rest of Africa. Many Malawians have settled permanently in the county without returning to Malawi.⁴⁹⁸ Even though Islam came to Botswana in the 1890s from Indian merchants of South Africa, they did not try to convert the Tswana or other ethnic groups. Parrat argues that the main way in which Islam began to spread among the indigenous people was through intermarriage. The majority of Muslims in Botswana are of Malawian origin, predominantly Yawo, who settled there in the 1950s. After Botswana became independent in 1966, many of the Indian and African Muslims living there took citizenship, ensuring that there would always be a Muslim presence in the country.⁴⁹⁹

Some Yawo Muslims have come to Swaziland. Islam in Swaziland began in 1963 with the first Malawian workforce in asbestos mine. The Malawian practice of Islam attracted and captivated followers, and soon Malawian-Swazi societies took shape in a few small towns. Later, the new faith was recognized as a religion by the King of Swaziland in 1972.⁵⁰⁰ While the presence of Yawo Muslims in South Africa dates back to the history of indentured labour in South Africa in the 1870s. The Yawo and Makhuwa, freed from slavery by the British Navy, settled in Bluff and

⁴⁹³ Svanberg. *Islam Outside the Arab World* 114.

⁴⁹⁴ Kirk Helliker, Patience Chadambuka, and Joshua Matanzima (eds). *Livelihoods of Ethnic Minorities in Rural Zimbabwe*. (Cham: Springer, 2022) 200.

⁴⁹⁵ Anna Gladkova and Sadia Jamil. *Ethnic Journalism in the Global South*. (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021) 175.

⁴⁹⁶ Svanberg. *Islam Outside the Arab World* 114.

⁴⁹⁷ James N. Amanze. "Islam in Botswana During the Colonial Period 1882- 1966". *Botswana Notes and Records*, Vol. 30, 68.

⁴⁹⁸ Svanberg. *Islam Outside the Arab World* 113.

⁴⁹⁹ See Saroj N. Parrat. "Muslims in Botswana". *African Studies*. (1989, 48: 1).

⁵⁰⁰ Svanberg. *Islam outside the Arab World* 115.

later moved to Unit 2 of Chatsworth.⁵⁰¹ They are commonly known as Mazizimbani among the Zulus and these people speak a slight Chiyawo language.⁵⁰² Some Yawo people migrated to work in gold and diamond mines in South Africa.

Being Muslim in Malawi

The 2008 Population and Housing Census shows that there were 13 million ordinary residents, of which 10.8 million (83%) were Christian, 1.7 million (13%) were Muslim, 2% belonged to other religions and 2% did not follow any religion.⁵⁰³

The 2018 Census reported that there were 17,563,749 million people in Malawi. Roman Catholics were 3.0 million (17.2%), 2.5 million (14.2%) were members of the Church of Central African Presbyterian (CCAP) and Muslims in Malawi were 2.4 million (13.8%). Christian denominations such as Adventist/Baptist/Apostolic were 1.6 million (9.4%). While 4.7 million (26.6%) were from other Christian denominations. 5.6% belonged to other non-Christian denominations and 0.4 million (2.1%) had no religion.⁵⁰⁴

According to the 2008 National Statistics Office Census, Christians were officially recorded at 82.7% and Muslims at 13.0%. Some scholars in 1982 observed that Muslims in Malawi were 16.2%.⁵⁰⁵ While Kalinga in 2012 estimated that between 12 and 17% Malawians profess Islam.⁵⁰⁶ Writing in 2016, Strohbahn observed that Muslims were about 15%.⁵⁰⁷ On the other hand, the *Hutchinson Encyclopedia* in 1990 stated that Christians were 75% and Muslims 20%.⁵⁰⁸ Yet the

⁵⁰¹ Oosthuizen. "Islam among the Zanzibaris of South Africa". More on the Zanzibaris, Desai. *Chatsworth: The making of a South African township* 84-98; Kaarsholm. "Population movements, Islam and the interaction of Indian and African identity strategies in South Africa during and after apartheid" 37-63; Seedat. "The Zanzibaris in Durban".

⁵⁰² Seedat, "The Zanzibaris in Durban" 74.

⁵⁰³ 2008 Population and housing Census, Population distribution by religion, 1998 and 2008. http://www.nsomalawi.mw/images/stories/data_on_line/demography/census_2008/Main%20Report/Census%20Mai Population distribution by religion, 1998 and 2008n%20Report.pdf (Accessed November 20, 2015).

⁵⁰⁴ 2018 Malawi Population Census 18.

⁵⁰⁵ See David B. Barret ed. *The World Christian Encyclopedia a comparative study of Churches and Religion in the modern World AD 1900- 2000*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

⁵⁰⁶ Owen J. M. Kalinga. *Historical Dictionary of Malawi*, 4th edition. (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 2012) 200.

⁵⁰⁷ Ulf Strohbahn. *The Zionist Churches in Malawi: History- Theory- Anthropology*. (Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2016) 451.

⁵⁰⁸ *The Hutchinson Encyclopedia*. (Oxford: Helicon Publishing, 1996) 654.

2018 census shows that Muslims are 13.8%. Thus between 2008 and 2018, the figures for Muslims in Malawi have only risen by 8%.

As shown above, estimates of the number of Muslims in Malawi fluctuate, and as a result, followers of this religion believe that there are inconsistencies in how Muslims are represented in the country. With this context, it will be clear that there is not a precise percentage of Muslims in Malawi, which is why a number of Muslims have disputed the statistics. Muslims contend that the data contains inconsistencies and abnormalities. For example, Amatullah, one of the respondents is of the view that Islam cannot be dormant for ten years. Islam cannot be stagnant in this manner. According to Amatullah, 8% is a very small figure. Islam is not only a religion of the Yawo or Chewa of Nkhotakota. It is spreading fast among different ethnic groups.⁵⁰⁹ She bases her argument that it is impossible that the Muslim population can be stagnant and only increase by 8% between 1998 and 2018.

Muslims doubt the authenticity of the Malawi population census. The figures from the 2018 National Statistics Office in Zomba are challenged by Muslims. The method and methodology used in the census is disputed by Muslims. They believe that the politicization of the numbers is in some cases used when compiling the numbers to exclude Muslims. As Habiba points out:

Politics of figures are used in Malawi to sideline Muslims in many spheres of life. They are ostracized because they are viewed as a minority group. It is not easy for Muslims to occupy government top positions. An Islamic name is also a setback in Malawi. A Muslim name is a source of marginalization. It is challenging to get jobs in companies and departments. We are forced to travel to South Africa to seek green pastures because joblessness is high among the Chewa and Yawo Muslims.⁵¹⁰

Habiba's collections show that some ordinary Malawians, politicians, and government officials regard Muslims as second-class citizens, despite the fact that Islam was the first foreign religion to enter the country. They base their arguments on the fact that Muslims make up a small percentage of the country's population. And they do not pay attention to Muslim pleas.

⁵⁰⁹ Interview with Amatullah, Sydenham (20 July 2020).

⁵¹⁰ Interview with Habiba, Pinetown (20 August, 2020).

The more ordinary Malawians, legislators, and government officials see Muslims as second-class citizens, the more Muslims face discrimination and marginalization in government job opportunities. And the more Malawian Muslims leave the country in pursuit of work in southern African countries, particularly South Africa, where they accrue riches to start businesses, build better houses, and buy land for farming. Since the colonial administration, there has been no discernible development in Muslim areas. Treating Muslims as second-class citizens of the country has a negative impact on how Muslims form their own identities because the government does not distribute resources equally among all citizens.

Furthermore, Habiba, a respondent, says that government-built clinics, hospitals, and schools have not been erected in Muslim communities, and those that have been built are poorly scattered clinics. Various Christian denominations-built clinics and schools in Muslim communities in order to convert Muslims to Christianity and provide them with Western education. For example, Christian-built schools were spaced between 4 and 5 kilometers. As a result, from the colonial era to the present, Yawo Muslims have endured discrimination.

Matiki argues that there was bias and bigotry against the Muslims owing to their distinctiveness as Muslims (social identity by means of attires, food and religious observance).⁵¹¹ Muslims in Malawi have long been characterized or stereotyped as having a harsh faith whose beliefs contradict Western ideals and culture. For example, when it comes to funerals and funerary customs, Yawo Muslims, according to Bones, follow traditions that are both authentically Islamic and inspired by tradition. When a Muslim man dies, the Sheikh is summoned to bless the body and deliver an oration. To prepare the body for burial, the intestines are squeezed empty and a hole is created in the neck. Non-Muslims regularly comment on this technique, which serves as the foundation for numerous anti-Muslim misconceptions.⁵¹²

⁵¹¹ Kelly Dehnert, "Christin- Muslim Relations in Malawi, Africa 1860s- 2007".

http://www.muslimpopulation.com/pdf/malawi_Christian_Muslim%20relation. (Accessed November, 17 2015)

⁵¹² David S. Bone. "Islam in Malawi". *Journal of Religion in Africa*. (1982, 13: 2) 132.

According to Habiba, a respondent, the assertion that Yawo Muslims were adhering to traditions in which the body is prepared for burial by having a hole cut in the neck and having the intestines squeezed empty has been debunked. These opinions were shared everywhere the Yawo moved. Even beyond Malawi, it spread to nations like Zambia and Zimbabwe. The truth was that this rumour was spread by non-Muslims to frighten people away from Islam. Before the first Christian mission was founded at Magomero in 1861, missionaries discovered that Islam was already thriving in the Yawo areas of Makanjila, Mpondas, and Nkhotakota.⁵¹³

Furthermore, Habiba says that the claim that a deceased Yawo Muslim had a hole cut in his neck and had his intestines squeezed empty has diminished ever since Muslims and various Islamic organizations in the nation came out against it. Muslims have been speaking out against it since the 1980s. Muslim authorities invited Christians to see the procedure of washing and dressing the deceased Muslim in an attempt to disprove the rumour. Many Christians in Malawi were able to comprehend that what had previously been said was a tactic to demonize Muslims, marginalize them, and portray them as second-class citizens thanks to what Muslim leaders had done by inviting non-Muslims. The aforementioned rumour had a negative effect on how Muslims formed their identities. Despite the protracted conflict that was initially sparked by early Christian missionaries, Muslim leaders have been working to foster a sense of social cohesion among Malawians. Just because Muslims have not converted to Christianity and have not adopted Western education in large numbers does not mean that they should be treated as second-class citizens in Malawi.⁵¹⁴

Throughout the 1980s, Malawi saw a huge increase in the production of Islamic literature, primarily in English and Chichewa. In addition to translations of the Qur'an, there were other works elucidating and lauding Islam's principles and practices. In this decade, Muslims increased their efforts to improve the chances of their young people achieving higher social status. This was made evident by the sheer quantity of Muslim-run schools and the number of bursaries offered to Muslim children to attend any primary or secondary school.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹³ Interview with Habiba, Pinetown (10 Sept, 2020).

⁵¹⁴ Interview with Habiba, Pinetown (10 Sept, 2020).

⁵¹⁵ David Bone. "The Establishment of Islam in Malawi". *The Society of Malawi Journal* (2020, 73:2) 40-41.

The Muslim Students Association, founded in Malawi in 1982 and with a reformist outlook, was especially successful in achieving the goals of encouraging Muslims in the national education system to learn about their beliefs and practices of their faith and to retain their religious identity in what was a largely Christian environment. Several reactions resulted from these developments and the rapidity with which they were occurring within a segment of society that had previously maintained a low profile and was widely regarded as being backward.⁵¹⁶

The government of President Kamuzu Banda (1964-1994), while stressing its dedication to a policy of religious tolerance, was suspicious of any ties developing with Islamic nations, particularly those with a history of exporting Islamic revolution. It consequently placed some travel limitations and closely monitored changes within Malawi's Muslim community. Some Christian church leaders perceived the new Muslim assertiveness as aggressive and expressed concern—shared by some segments of society at large—that activism might eventually turn into militancy.⁵¹⁷

The government of then-President Kamuzu did not like Muslims associating themselves with Islamic countries, despite the fact that Muslims wanted to stand up for themselves and receive an education that was both Islamic and secular in a society that primarily accepted Christians and treated Muslims as second-class citizens. By placing various restrictions on travel to Islamic countries, Muslims were barred from attending school there. The government of Banda kept a careful check on Muslim activity. Muslims continued to leave the country in quest of a better life, mainly in South Africa, as Christian groups continued to consider Muslims as a threat to the country. Because Muslims constitute a small minority of Malawi's population, they have been marginalized and ignored, which has led to lower educational standards among this group. Religious teaching, for example, is mandated in public primary schools until 2020, with no opt-out clause, and accessible as an elective in public secondary schools. Muslim organizations continued to ask the Ministry of Education to discontinue the "Bible knowledge" course and replace it with the broader-based "moral and religious education" curriculum (drawing from the

⁵¹⁶ Bone. "The Establishment of Islam in Malawi" 40-41.

⁵¹⁷ Bone. "The Establishment of Islam in Malawi" 40-41.

Christian, Islamic, Hindu, and Baha'i faiths) in primary schools, especially in Muslim-majority areas.⁵¹⁸

After Bakili Muluzi, a Yawo Muslim, was elected president in 1994, the topic of changing the curriculum from "Bible knowledge" to "moral and religious education" sparked debate. Prior to the 1994 elections, non-Muslims and politicians gained by degrading Muslims by portraying them as second-class citizens unsuitable to contest for significant government jobs. Thus, prior to 1994, Muslim men and women were subjected to anti-Islamic abuses.

Despite Malawi's claims to religious, associational, and educational freedoms, Habiba believes these rights have long been violated. When Muslims wanted to study both Islamic and secular subjects in other countries, it was assumed that they would bring with them militancy thinkers. They were also supposed to be Islamizing Malawi if they wore Islamic attire and built aesthetically appealing mosques. Before and after Malawi's first multiparty general election in 1994, the "Islamization of Malawi" theory gained traction. Muslims who felt unwelcome in the country began to flee in search of a better life in South Africa.⁵¹⁹ For instance, according to reports, Chakufwa Chihana and Gwanda Chakuamba were two politicians who started coordinating the Islamophobia campaign theory of the "Islamization of Malawi" in 1992 and 1996, respectively. One local weekly newspaper, *The Mirror*, quoted Chihana as saying the following:

Immediately after his release [from prison]...globe trotted telling the world that the UDF will islamise the country because its president is a Moslem...⁵²⁰

The United Democratic Front (UDF) was a political party founded by Muluzi, a Yawo Muluzi in the 1990s. Some newspapers and Christian denominations continued to emphasize the phrase "Islamization of Malawi" from Muluzi's election in 1994 until the end of his two terms as president. One such example is a framed letter published in November 1994 by *The Malawi Democract*

⁵¹⁸ U.S Department of State. "2020 Report on International Religious Freedom: Malawi". Office of International Religious Freeddom. 12 May, 2021 <https://www.state.gov/reports/2020-report-on-international-religious-freedom/malawi/> (Accessed April 30, 2023).

⁵¹⁹ Interview with Habiba, Pinetown (10 Sept, 2020).

⁵²⁰ *The Mirror* (Malawi), 17 February, 1994.

accusing President Muluzi and Abdul Hamid, a well-known Asian businessman, of plotting to Islamize Malawi.⁵²¹

It was hoped that Malawi would always be led by a Christian president because it was assumed that Muluzi could not be an ethical and just leader. These arguments were based on the notion that, despite being a secular state, Malawi was also a Christian state. As a result, a Christian, rather than a Muslim, was expected to rule over a Christian state.

Dr. Silas Ncozama, a former secretary general of the CCAP Synod, published an article in *Lamp Magazine* in response to the anti-Islamic sentiments that arose in Malawi after Muluzi was elected president. Ncozama made the following observations:

Islam and Christianity have existed side by side for 120 years, influencing Malawian communities to the extent of almost stifling their traditional religions where Mulungu approached via ancestral spirits...in all the years the two religions have co-existed here, there has never been a more urgent need for dialogue there is now. Today, there is no excuse for Muslims and Christians not knowing each other... There are many people within the country and elsewhere who are concerned that Malawians has a Muslim President. We can not blame people who have this fear because of the bad experiences endured by many African countries headed by Muslims. However, the election of Mr. Bakili Muluzi to the presidency had nothing to do with his religion. Let us be honest: at the time we were struggling for political change we were not looking for a Christian leader who would represent human rights and work for the common good of all the people of Malawi. In short most people were looking for a good leader. As for Christian leaders, well, we had one before, and the country wept silently and without tears for its daughters and sons. At least today under a Muslim leader, we can talk openly about any subject under the sun.⁵²²

If one reads Ncozama article critically, they will notice that some of his arguments are flawed. Ncozama, for example, stated that many people in Malawi and elsewhere were concerned about

⁵²¹ "Hamid and Muluzi will Islamise Malawi". *Malawi Democrat*. November, 1994.

⁵²² Silas Ncozana. *The Lamp*. (Malawi), October/December, 1995, 16.

Malawians having a Muslim president in 1994. There is no need to blame those who harbour this fear because of the negative experiences of many Muslim-run African nations. He tried to portray African Muslim leaders as brutal and autocratic. However, if Idi Amin Dada of Uganda and Dr. Kamuzu Banda of Malawi were to be compared, the former was a Muslim and the latter was a Christian who both consistently perpetrated atrocities against humanity.

Facts show that brutal and oppressive regimes have existed in both Muslim- and Christian-ruled African nations, demonstrating that people have suffered not only in Muslim-dominated African nations. Africanvault, for example, ranks the top 20 most brutal and ruthless African dictators in descending order:

NUMBER	NAME	COUNTRY AND YEAR
20	Paul Kagame	Rwanda: 1994-present
19	Zine El Abidine Ben Ali	Tunisia: 1987–2011
18	Gnassingbé Eyadéma	Togo: 1967–2005)
17	Hastings Kamuzu Banda	Malawi: 1963–1994
16	Gaafar Nimeiry	Sudan: 1969–1985
15	Siad Barre	Somalia: 1969-1991
14	14. Charles Taylor	Liberia: 1997-2003
13	Yahya Jammeh	Gambia: 1994-2017
12	Idriss Deby	Chad: 1990-
11	Obiang Mbasogo	Equatorial Guinea: 1979-
10	Paul Biya	Cameroon: 1982-Present
9	Jose Eduardo Dos Santos	Angola: 1979-
8	Robert Mugabe	Zimbabwe: 1987-November 21, 2017
7	Francisco Macías Nguema	Equatorial Guinea: 1968-1979
6	Hissene Habre	Chad: 1982-1990)
5	Omar Al-Bashir	Sudan: 1989-Present
4	Sekou Toure	Guinea: 1958-1984

3	General Sani Abacha	Nigeria: 1993-1998
2	Colonel Muammar Gaddafi	Libya: 1969-2011
1	Idi Amin Dada	Uganda: 1971-1979

Table 1: The top 20 African dictators in descending order.

SOURCE: Africanvault.⁵²³

Other African dictators like Joseph-Désiré Mobutu of Zaire (1965 to 1997) and Jean-Bédél Bokassa of the Central African Empire (CAE) (1966 to 1979) were Christians, but the assertion that only Muslim nations had repressive governments is unfounded. Bokassa, Banda, and Mobutu were not Muslims. Muluzi, a Muslim leader, allowed open discussion about the country's history and its leaders.⁵²⁴

Islam did not influence Muluzi's 1994 presidency, as it predated Christianity in Malawi. Mosques were built before 1860s, and the Islamization of Malawi theory was illogical. However, it significantly impacted Malawian politics and migration of Chewa and Yawo Muslims.

When Muluzi interacted with Islamic countries, some news outlets continued to report that he was receiving funding from those countries to Islamize Malawi. Some local newspapers that never catered to anti-Islamic sentiments disputed the "Islamization of Malawi" theory. *The Mirror*, for example, stated in its comment: *The Independent* says the UDF is sending Muslims in large numbers to the Islamic countries alluding over the fact that they are undergoing military training. The Muslim community is encouraged to send individuals to predominantly Islamic countries like Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, Kuwait, Egypt, Libya, Iran, Syria, Jordan, Turkey, and Pakistan for Islamic and secular education. This is not for military training, but rather for studying the Koran and pursuing secular fields like medicine, law, and engineering.⁵²⁵

⁵²³ Africanvault. "Top 20 Most Brutal and Ruthless Dictators in Africa". 8 September, 2015.

<https://africanvault.com/dictators-in-africa/> (Accessed February 23, 2023).

⁵²⁴ Ncozana. *The Lamp* 16.

⁵²⁵ Comment. "Muslims too are humans". *The Mirror*. (Malawi), 13 October, 1994.

A Christian writer expressed outrage at Muslim discrimination in democratic Malawi, leading to the "Islamization of Malawi" theory persisting until 1997. The *Mirror* newspaper condemned the Independent newspaper and criticized anti-Muslim groups. However, the *New Vision* newspaper reported that African American Louis Farakhan allegedly brought blood money to Malawi to convert Malawians to Islam via Libya.⁵²⁶

In August 1997, the *New Vision* campaigned against Islam, claiming Sudan's president Omar Al Bashir visited Swaziland, attracting blood money. Al Bashir was welcomed by Malawi's vice president Justin Malewezi, a Chewa Christian. Owen Nyirongo wrote: Bakili Muluzi receives MK1.26 billion from dubious sources; UDF receives \$60m gift from Middle East.⁵²⁷

Another article by the *New Vision* appeared in the same edition of August 1, 1997, and it read as follows: Sheikh Abdel Moustafa Naguib arrived in Malawi on a covert mission to check on Iranian hit-squad hired by the UDF, meeting top UDF and Islamic leaders.⁵²⁸

In 1998, the *New Vision* published its customary anti-Islamic articles in response to Muluzi's visit to the Vatican City. According to the news article: Pope John Paul II questions Malawi's state President Bakili Muluzi over potential Islamization plans in the predominantly Christian Central African country.⁵²⁹

In the 1999 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections, Malawians expressed their political concerns in Christian terms, with the *New Vision* newspaper stating that voters could only elect Christian leaders, not Muslim ones.⁵³⁰ The Weekly Chronicle (July 27, 1998) speculated that Malawi would select another Muslim vice president, Dr. Cassim Chilumpha to Islamize Malawi.

Malawi's politics were influenced by newspaper content, promoting religious intolerance and tribalism, and promoting anti-Islamic propaganda. Muluzi's reluctance to choose Chilumpha as

⁵²⁶ "Blood money". *New Vision*. (Malawi), 21 February, 1997.

⁵²⁷ Owen Nyirongo. "More blood money" flows into country". *New Vision*. (Malawi), 1 August, 1997.

⁵²⁸ "Sheikh from Iran". *New Vision*. (Malawi), 1 August, 1997.

⁵²⁹ "Warns Muluzi no to abuse official powers- Pope worried over Malawi's Islamization". *New Vision*. (Malawi), 14 February, 1998.

⁵³⁰ See *New Vision*. (Malawi), 25 July, 1998.

successor and his failure to pass UDF leadership to Dr. Cassim Chilumpha led to downfall of the UDF party.

Muluzi was frightened by pastoral letters and newspaper articles criticizing Islam and Muslims. The *New Vision's* August 7, 1998, article urged Christians to vote for a Christian to save Malawi from Islamization.⁵³¹

Ibrahim Gondwe disparaged Islam and Muslims on *New Vision's* page, comparing them to devils. He criticized Muslims for their hatred of dogs, citing Mohammed's failure to rise up from death as Jesus did and dogs found their meat.⁵³²

Anti-Islamic propaganda significantly influenced Malawians' presidential candidates, with Muluzi's potential successor Dr. Cassim Chilumpha being rejected due to his Muslim background. Instead, Muluzi hand-picked Bingu wa Muthalika, a Catholic who had previously failed in the 1999 elections under his United Party (UP). However, Muthalika gained popularity after Muluzi campaigned for him in 2004, winning the elections.

Despite the fact that Muluzi personally chose Muthalika to carry the UDF torch, Muluzi was unaware of Muthalika's anti-Islamic views. On September 13, 1998, Muslims issued a document known as a "*Fatwa*" to the government, at which point one newspaper published an article revealing Muthalika's hatred of Islam. Many of the articles in Malawian newspapers disparaging Muslims and referring to them as "devils" infuriated Muslims. Such events sparked Muslim protests against the government.

After Muslims petitioned the government in response to the newspaper's and some clergy's continued attacks on Islam and Muslims, *The Weekly Chronicle* reported that: Malawians have expressed unacceptable demands for Islam to be introduced in schools, arguing that it is unacceptable. Executive Director of MIDEA, Shyly Khondowe, emphasized that Malawi has traditionally been a Christian country due to Christian missionaries. He emphasized that Muslims

⁵³¹ See *New Vision*. (Malawi), 7 August, 1998.

⁵³² Ibrahim Gondwe. *New Vision*. (Malawi), 7 August, 1998, 5.

have their own schools teaching Islam, and should utilize them. The opposition United Party (UP) of economist, Bingu wa Muthalika opposes teaching Islam in schools, stating Malawi is a Christian state and prohibits its teaching of Muslim ideas.⁵³³

Despite taking a strong stance against Islam and Muslims, claiming that Islam should not be taught in schools, Muthalika disbanded his United Party (UP) in 2000 after losing the 1999 presidential election to rejoin the UDF party led by a Muslim.

Muthalika ran as a UDF presidential candidate in 2004, and secured the support of the Muslim community. Because of his hostility towards Muluzi, Islam, and Muslims, he resigned from the UDF and established the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in 2005. He claimed that Muluzi desired to maintain control of the government from the shadows, which led him to create the DPP based on the same principles as his defunct/dissolved United Party.

Malawi's Islamization trend was promoted by politicians, mainstream churches, and Protestant denominations during Muluzi's rule. For example, Pilirani Semu stated in a 2000 article:

Catholic bishops in the country have protested against the introduction of a new subject called Religious and Moral Studies which includes Islam, forcing the Ministry of Education to put the subject on hold until further consultations.⁵³⁴

Catholic bishops criticized the new curriculum for being too Islamic, citing Malawi's "Islamization" and accusing Muluzi of starting it. Opposition was driven by a desire for a Christian president to succeed the country's Muslim leader.

The syllabus under discussion was created during Dr. Kamuzu Banda's 1980s administration, which was hidden from the public. The clergy politicized the curriculum, claiming it was initiated by a Muslim president. Christians and Muslims reacted differently to divisive remarks made by

⁵³³ "Moslems demands 'UNACCEPTABLE'". *The Weekly Chronicle*. (Malawi), 5 October, 1998.

⁵³⁴ Pilirani Semu. "Catholic bishops cry Foul-Ministry puts Religious and Moral Studies on hold". *The Nation*. (Malawi), 15 February, 2000.

Pastor Thaulo Phiri (between February 18, 21, and 29, 2000, *The Daily Times*) on the school syllabus issue.

Later on, Dr. David Mphande, a Protestant Christian CCAP member, wrote articles for *The Nation* on February 25 and 28 defending the Religious and Moral Studies curriculum in Malawi's multicultural society but was disregarded.

Just one day after Mphande's last article (February 28, 2000), the state-run Malawi Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) (February 29, 2000) announced a Presidential directive in favour of Catholics to put the syllabus "on hold" until further consultations, which were to take place but did not result in the syllabus being reintroduced into the school curriculum's original plan.

Muluzi issued a presidential directive due to pressure from politicians and the Catholic Church, deciding to follow those opposed to the curriculum. However, he was unaware of the Secondary School curriculum, which had been established in 1987 before Muluzi was considered for the presidency. In the 1980s, academics predicted Muluzi as Malawi's president in and he succeeded Kamuzu Banda in 1994.⁵³⁵

The history of Malawi's Secondary School curriculum is crucial to understand Muluzi's administration's implementation of the 1987 syllabus. The project to reform Malawi's curriculum began in 1987, with a teacher's guide published in 1991 under the title *Malawi Primary Teaching Syllabus: Religious Education Standards 1–8* stating that religion significantly impacts Malawi's way of life. Understanding and respecting beliefs promotes harmony among religious groups, while providing religious experiences helps students become aware of their commitments and traditions.⁵³⁶

Second, Roy Hauya's 1992 *A Handbook for Teacher Trainers* highlights Malawi's 1985-1995 Education Plan, enabling the Ministry to review the entire Primary Education Curriculum,

⁵³⁵ George E. Dehry, *The World Encyclopaedia of Political System Volume 1*, (Longman, 1993), 650.

⁵³⁶ *Malawi Primary Teaching Syllabus: Religious Education Standards 1-8*. (Domasi: MIE, Ministry of Education, 1991) xv.

including Religious Education, due to dissatisfaction with the 1982 syllabus: The syllabus in Malawi is Bible-centered, using confessional or evangelical teaching methods. It excludes other religions like Islam and Traditional Beliefs, and does not include Malawian moral values. Religious Education syllabuses should include Christianity, Islam, and Malawian Traditional Beliefs and Moral Values.⁵³⁷ Therefore, Bingu wa Muthalika, leader of the UP, mistakenly believed Muslims were pressuring Muluzi's administration to introduce Islamic studies in Malawian schools in 1998 which was contrary to 1991 and 1992 Malawi Primary Teaching Syllabus.

Muthalika opposed Muslim ideas and the 1987 Ministry of Education's plan to introduce Islam in school syllabus. Surprisingly, it was the Ministry of Education that had planned in 1987 with the assistance of academics at the Malawi Institute of Education in Domasi, Zomba to introduce Religious Education curricula that should include Christianity, Islam, and Malawian traditional beliefs. Hence Muthalika's opposition was unfounded. In 1998, he declared Malawi a Christian state, without justification.⁵³⁸ Malawi's Muslim population existed before Christianity arrived in the 1860s, making Muluzi's Islamization unusual, considering indigenous traditions. Indigenous peoples practiced traditional religions, believing in ancestors and a powerful God, but could not directly approach Him. They revered their forefathers, believing that God was watching over them. Malawi is a secular state with freedoms enshrined in the constitution, including freedom of worship. Citizens in Malawi have the right to worship without violating others' rights. Some people, like Mbona at Khuluvi, practice Traditional Religion. The Chewa, monotheists, worships a Supreme God called Chisumphu, Namalenga, Mulungu, Mphambe, and Leza, who communicates with them through ancestral spirits. Thus, the Chewa monotheists suggest Malawi's Islam and Christianity were not the first to believe in a single Supreme Being.⁵³⁹

Malawi is not primarily Christian, it has Muslims, and therefore discriminating against Chewa or Yawo Muslims is illogical. Muthalika failed to recognize the potential for well-informed citizens,

⁵³⁷ Roy Hauya (ed). Themes in Religious Education: A Handbook For Teachers Trainers. (Domasi: Malawi Institute of Education, 1992) 6-7.

⁵³⁸ "Moslems demands 'UNACCEPTABLE'". *The Weekly Chronicle*. (Malawi), 5 October, 1998.

⁵³⁹ James N. Amanze, *African Traditional Religion in Malawi: the Case of the Bimbi Cult*. (Blantyre: CLAIM, 2002) 125.

leading to Islam being associated with the Yawo. This marginalization and discrimination contributes to Yawo marginalization and discrimination in the public and private sectors. Rejecting a multicultural curriculum in Malawi led to discrimination against Muslims, as they were unaware of Islam's pre-Christian history. Islam and Muslims will remain indefinitely, coexisting peacefully with Christianity. Christian religious leaders rejected the curriculum based on Muluzi's Muslim origin, as Muluzi did not create the religious curriculum.

The above cited events will further reveal four occurrences during President Muluzi's term which highlighted the situation of Muslim communities in Malawi and how they viewed it.⁵⁴⁰

The initial one was a *fatwa* (a binding Islamic proclamation) on 'Machineries Spreading Anti-Islamic Propaganda' released in September 1998 by the Muslim Association of Malawi to the Government, all political parties, the press, civic organisations, and all mosques. It presented itself as a 'preemptive caution' against what its authors saw as the persistent biased slander and unfavourable categorisation of Islam and Muslims, specifically by political adversaries and substantial portions of the press, as well as the indifference and passiveness of the government in response to it. Highlighting that having a Muslim president did not transform Malawi into an Islamic state and rejecting the assertions that Muslims had a political agenda, the authors of the *fatwa* made a plea, not for immunity of Muslims from criticism, but for fairness and impartiality. Specifically, the *fatwa* requested the Government to safeguard Muslims against defamatory allegations of attempting to Islamize Malawi, urged politicians not to use Muslims as targets for attacks and to treat them as 'second class citizens in their own country', advised the press to refrain from associating the religion of Islam with terrorism and fundamentalism, and encouraged them to report in a balanced manner. Additionally, it advised the general public to seek guidance from qualified Muslims before making statements, and called upon all members of society to identify themselves primarily as Malawians and then as members of their respective faith communities. It also urged Muslims to consistently exhibit restraint, endurance, and self-control.⁵⁴¹

⁵⁴⁰ David Bone. "Malawia's Muslims in the Era of Multi-party Democracy". *The Society of Malawi Journal*. (74: 1, 2021) 30.

⁵⁴¹ Bone. "Malawian's Muslims in the Era of Multi-party Democracy" 30-31.

The second issue pertains to the 1999 election campaign. Despite the request in the religious decree (*fatwa*) of the previous year, the election campaign once again politicised Islam when opponents alleged that the President had utilised foreign funds to advance an Islamist agenda. What differed from 1994 was that, following Muluzi's re-election, a series of assaults on mosques and individuals from the Southern Region occurred in the Northern Region. Although this animosity was primarily aimed at the UDF, it was Muslims who were discriminated and suffered the most. The Muslim leadership effectively mitigated any potential for a violent response. However, the occurrence of violence, what they perceived as a slow reaction from the police, and the tepid condemnation of the attacks by the majority of Malawi's Christian church leaders contributed to Muslims' perception of the hostility of other segments in society and their own lack of safety.⁵⁴²

A third incident arose from an endeavour by the Government Department of Education in 2000 to substitute, at the secondary school level, the study of Bible Knowledge with Religious and Moral Studies, which encompassed instruction about Malawi's three primary religious traditions, Christianity, Islam, and African Traditional Religion. The process that led to this modification had commenced during the Banda era and the proposed curriculum, having been formulated by educators from a range of religious backgrounds, had undergone the usual procedures. However, since both the President and the Minister of Education were Muslims at the time of implementation, despite similar modifications having been made at the primary level without opposition during President Banda's tenure, certain factions of the Christian churches interpreted this move as part of a scheme to Islamize Malawi. They successfully generated controversy surrounding the issue and lobbied extensively, causing the President to feel compelled to halt the implementation of the new curriculum. Conversely, Muslims generally embraced the change as finally granting their religion its rightful place within the secondary school system. When the new curriculum was put on hold, certain factions were deterred from demonstrating on the streets due to a combination of strong police intervention and the moderating impact of the Muslim community's leadership. Despite a resolution being reached allowing schools to select their preferred curriculum, this event further solidified the perception among many Muslims that the Christian establishment would exploit any chance to maintain their marginalisation.⁵⁴³

⁵⁴² Bone. "Malawian's Muslims in the Era of Multi-party Democracy" 31.

⁵⁴³ Bone. "Malawian's Muslims in the Era of Multi-party Democracy" 31.

The fourth occurrence had a worldwide aspect. In April 2000, as part of the United States of America's so-called 'War on Terror', five Muslim foreign individuals residing in the city of Blantyre were apprehended at the request of the United States on the suspicion, later proven unfounded, that they had connections to the al-Qaeda movement. Despite court orders served in Malawi, the five were unlawfully extradited to Zimbabwe, the President seemingly powerless to prevent it. The response of sectors of the Muslim community, particularly among the Qadiriyya, unusually involved a certain degree of violence with pelting and incineration of some Christian churches, but also with structures of the UDF and the Muslim Association of Malawi as targets of protest. For many non-Muslims, these disturbances were taken as evidence for what they were prepared to believe was the inherently aggressive nature of the adherents of Islam. For numerous Muslims, however, it was perceived as proof of the animosity of the United States and the Western World towards Islam and Muslims worldwide. While Malawi's Muslims were rightfully proud of their country having a Muslim leader, their responses to it were generally cautious. There were sporadic grievances from some of them that the President did excessive efforts to please the Christian Churches at the expense of Muslim communities. They were aware of the limitations of the President's authority, as evidenced by the outcome of the incidents concerning the new Religious and Moral Education syllabus and the al-Qaeda suspects. The President did not always enjoy the unanimous support of the Muslim communities. As the 1998 *fatwa* and the subsequent attacks following the 1999 election demonstrate, many Muslims felt exposed in the face of the animosity from certain segments of Malawian society, and their willingness to politicise anything that may appear as Muslims attempting to "Islamize" the country. They were also cognizant that there would come a time when there would no longer be a Muslim President.⁵⁴⁴

According to Dehnert it transpires that the confrontation between the two faiths stem from David Livingstone as Christianity was not present prior to his arrival.⁵⁴⁵ Islam was in the country the time Livingstone and Bishop Frederick Mackenzie fought the Yawo at Magomero in 1861.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴⁴ Bone. "Malawia's Muslims in the Era of Multi-party Democracy" 31-32.

⁵⁴⁵ Dehnert. "Christin- Muslim Relations in Malawi, Africa 1860s- 2007".

⁵⁴⁶ Cecil Northcott. *David Livingstone: His Triumph, Decline and Fall*. (London, 1973) 81.

As already seen in Chapter 2, Livingstone introduced Europeans to Malawi, and missionaries arrived in 1861 to civilise, Christianise, and trade. His coast-to-coast journey between Loanda and Quilimane in 1854-1856 significantly influenced Malawi's history. Livingstone summarised his 1857 Africa trip in a speech: Direct attention to Africa, as I will be cut off in a few years. Return to create an open path for commerce and Christianity, I leave the work with you.⁵⁴⁷ Universities sent first missions to Central Africa in 1857, responding to Livingstone's call.⁵⁴⁸

Bishop Mackenzie's mission, founded in 1861, had a challenging and scandalous history.⁵⁴⁹ First Christian missionaries saw the Yawo as outlaws, and Bishop Mackenzie, a Church of England member, was appointed as bishop in Central Africa, influenced by his experience in South Africa. He was 34 at the time.⁵⁵⁰

Scandalous missionary news sparked skeptics, with Bishop Mackenzie receiving the first dispatches to attack the Yawo tribe in East Africa during his mission in 1861.⁵⁵¹ The Bishop protected his mission station with a loaded gun and crosier. Six days later, Yawo attacked, and Livingstone ordered fire. The 'enemy' withdrew, and slaves escaped, igniting a conflict between the missionaries and the Yawo.⁵⁵²

Bishop Gray discusses the controversy surrounding the use of armament in the Yawo conflict, highlighting the prohibition of such actions. The Mission's official line is "Patient suffering," but the impact of a slave gang on Englishmen was not anticipated. To be effective, patient suffering must be consistent and non-intervention should be the starting and ending point.⁵⁵³ Dr. Livingstone justified his actions by fighting with the Yawo at Magomero, setting fire to their' gardens and

⁵⁴⁷ B. Pachai. "In the wake of Livingstone and the British administration: Some Considerations of Commerce and Christianity in Malawi". *The Society of Malawi Journal*, July, 1967, Vol. 20, No. 2 (July, 1967), 40-41

⁵⁴⁸ Pachai. "In the wake of Livingstone and the British administration: Some Considerations of Commerce and Christianity in Malawi" 44.

⁵⁴⁹ Pachai. "In the wake of Livingstone and the British administration: Some Considerations of Commerce and Christianity in Malawi" 44

⁵⁵⁰ John Selfridge. "The Church's First Thirty Years in Nyasaland (Now Malawi), 1861-1891". A Thesis. (Nkhoma: Nkhoma Press, 1976) 13.

⁵⁵¹ Geoffrey Moorhouse. *The Missionaries*. (Eyre Methuen: London, 1973) 256.

⁵⁵² Cecil Northcott. *David Livingstone: His Triumph, Decline and Fall*. (London: Lutterworth, 1973) 81

⁵⁵³ A. E. M. Anderson-Morshed. *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa 1859-1898*. (London: Office of the UMCA) 24.

homes. The missionaries focused on starting fights rather than spreading Christianity. Livingstone's group that included the Magololo, Sena, and Mang'anja ransacked the Yao villages, but the majority of Yawo men were not present.⁵⁵⁴

The Yawo were concerned about the missionary party's sudden war events, as Livingstone assaulted them without breaking negotiated agreements. They perceived the missionaries as meddling in their political and economic affairs, leading to "Ajawa trouble" and later "Achawa" to denigrate the Yawo. Livingstone, concerned about his reputation, wrote in his journal that people would not approve of missionaries coming to convert people and shooting them.⁵⁵⁵

Livingstone's scandals gained public attention, but he was a sensitive individual with a clear intention to establish an English colony in Central Africa, not just exploratory.⁵⁵⁶

Livingstone and missionaries initially viewed the Yawo as evil outlaws involved in the cursed triple-trade in slaves, hating African slave trade and taking Portuguese or French slave trade lightly. Livingstone encountered numerous slave bands in Loanda between November 1853 and June 1854, where people didn't differentiate between them and real explorers. The growth of the slave trade led to inflationary repercussions and a curse for being a slaver. After his epic trek through Africa, Livingstone reached Mozambique in 1856 and learned that the Portuguese had traded ivory for slaves with the Transvaal Boers. What's worse, according to Livingstone, was that a significant trader was a half-caste. This enraged the doctor, who then made his well-known contract between the sincere intentions of the Lisbon administration and the graft and avarice of its local officials.⁵⁵⁷

Bishop Mackenzie's behaviour at Magomero demonstrates his dislike of non-European slave merchants, as scandalous reports emerged, despite his conviction. Mackenzie, inspired by

⁵⁵⁴ Landeg White. *Magomero. Portrait of an African village.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987/1989) 21-2

⁵⁵⁵ Christopher Hibbert, *Africa Explored: Europeans in the Dark Countries 1769-1889.* (London, 1982) 277.

⁵⁵⁶ Geoffrey Moorhouse. *The Missionaries.* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1973) 134-35.

⁵⁵⁷ Moorhouse. *The Missionaries* 256.

Classical Greek heroic sagas, pursued noble warfare. Henry Rowley, a coworker from the UMCA Mission, sent his journal to a disabled wife in Oxford to publish and make money.⁵⁵⁸

Mackenzie and his missionaries' "war" against the Yawo was fully described in the journal that Mrs. Henry Rowley planned to publish, among other things. After learning that it will soon be published, the UMCA's London secretary wrote to Mrs. Rowley to beg her not to. He wrote that "although the committees have no desire to conceal the proceedings of the mission...circumstances have occurred...which need not with any advantage in all their details be brought before the public..."⁵⁵⁹

Mrs. Rowley complied due to Church elder pressure, but the UMCA faced dilemmas: publicising details of Mackenzie's war would damage the country's African venture, or keeping it quiet would lead to dishonesty. The Anglican Church's annual Church Congress decided to present Mackenzie's papers.⁵⁶⁰

During the Anglican Church's annual Church Congress, Mackenzie's papers presented his account of the war, causing shock among the delegates. They heard about the Bishop's party's decision to attack the Yawo, giving powder to the Mang'anja tribe, burning huts, and marching like a small army.⁵⁶¹

Mackenzie's papers resemble military reports to Sheldonian Churchmen, not Christian missions. They were uneasy as they recalled the excellent bishop traveling to East Africa with a rifle and crozier in each hand. After these revelations were finished, Dr. Edward Pusey, who was at the height of his power as the head of the Anglo-Catholic revival in the Church of England, suddenly emerged on the platform. Pusey was well recognized as a man who sincerely believed in doing Christianity the hard way, aside from his ardent desire to restore the richest and most vivid Catholic traditions to his Church. The Doctor criticised Mackenzie's mission account, stating that it

⁵⁵⁸ Moorhouse. *The Missionaries* 256.

⁵⁵⁹ Moorhouse. *The Missionaries* 256.

⁵⁶⁰ Moorhouse. *The Missionaries* 256.

⁵⁶¹ Moorhouse. *The Missionaries* 256-57.

demonstrates frailty in humanity and is frightful that the gospel of peace should be connected to human bloodshed. He emphasized that the Gospel is planted through suffering.⁵⁶²

An athema scream from a powerful Church figure led to ecclesiastical publications condemning the mission, shattered the UMCA's governing framework, and led to Durham and Dublin abandoning the connection. The central committee was divided into two sections, with Admiral Washington, Sir Roderick Murchison, and churchmen like Dr. Goulburn resigning. Resentment spread, and a North England letter threatened legal action against the missionaries in a letter to Lord John Rusell.⁵⁶³

Bishop Mackenzie and Livingstone's actions at Magomero in 1861 led to potential lawsuits against the missionaries. The Mackenzie report at the Sheldonian Theatre highlights the terrible consequences of their actions. The journal of Henry Rowley, Mackenzie's colleague, provides detailed information on the Yawo's wars. The first missionaries in Malawi shed blood, and in 1880, even more brutal events were reported that also happened in the Yawo area

As Bishop Mackenzie and Livingstone were chastised for the wars they fought in the Yawo territory in 1860s, an unpleasant incident occurred at the Established Church of Scotland mission, which was also established in another Yawo territory around 1876. Moorhouse details the Yawo Chief Kapenis' area, mentioning that Andrew Chirnside, a Royal Geographical Society Fellow, discovered a pit behind a blacksmith's shop with a tunnel and a stone pyramid. This was the mission station prison, used regularly. Men were confined for three-4 days, without food or water, and were subjected to punishment by Scottish missionaries.⁵⁶⁴

Chirnside heard a rumour of a local porter dying in the hands of missionaries. The porter was shackled to a tree, and a buffalo skin whip was used to lash him. Three African missionaries were given the whip, and the victim was brutally flailed with more than 200 lashes until his death.

⁵⁶² Moorhouse. *The Missionaries* 256-57.

⁵⁶³ Moorhouse. *The Missionaries* 256-57.

⁵⁶⁴ Moorhouse. *The Missionaries* 257-59.

Chirnside reports daily logging with whip, causing up to 100 lashes and salt rubbed on bleeding backs.⁵⁶⁵

Chirnside witnessed a brutal incident involving the missionaries. The mission had taken a woman into custody for protection, and two men were furious as was customary in the region, to take care of their food and lodging needs as well as to act as their female serf. Three months later, the woman was found shot to death. Duff Macdonald and his colleagues assumed the perpetrators were former employees, but Chirnside was convinced they were innocent based on community rumours. They were initially accused of murder, but Chirnside found no evidence against them. The missionaries informed the people that whoever killed should be killed, and one of the victims managed to escape.⁵⁶⁶

As Chirnside observed it, a man who failed to escape was shot in the head, a grave having dug on the other side of the stream, blindfolded, and tied to his arms and legs. Eight indigenous people were instructed to serve as exculpators. The man was trembling and bleeding, but the whites reloaded the weapons, causing him to be dragged back into the grave. The chiefs of a nearby village ended the tragedy by using Mr. Robert Henderson's breech-loading rifle to blow the man's brains out at the muzzle of his gun.⁵⁶⁷

Chirnside reported the Blantyre Massacre, a judicial execution by missionaries, leading to fighting between local tribesmen and the missionary party. The missionary forces were better-armed and killed several opponents.⁵⁶⁸

Furthermore, Chirnside recounts a story where local chief Chipitula visited the mission with ivory for Livingstonia Trading company executives. He requested the return of African employees who had escaped his control. Chipitula convinced the missionaries to return the men, and a party was sent to bring them in. Chirnside wrote that the poor fellows were mutilated and tortured by

⁵⁶⁵ Moorhouse. *The Missionaries* 257-59.

⁵⁶⁶ Moorhouse. *The Missionaries* 257-59.

⁵⁶⁷ Moorhouse. *The Missionaries* 259.

⁵⁶⁸ Moorhouse. *The Missionaries* 260.

Chipitula. Missionaries should either refuse to harbour refugees or assist them in fleeing, rather than delivering them to frightful deaths.⁵⁶⁹

The antipathy towards white men in Blantyre was widespread, with missionaries from the Free Church in Livingstonia facing difficulties. They had to pass through Blantyre to receive supplies, leading to a shortage of supplies. Natives were increasingly open to attacks, as they couldn't differentiate between white men and their supporters. The Blantyre mission's work was likely to be impacted by these collisions, potentially putting it back by 15-20 years.⁵⁷⁰

Alexander Riddel, a Blantyre fan and supporter, defended the missionaries' claims in his own pamphlet. Riddle argued that many of Chirnside's claims were false and others were incorrect. He examined Chirnside's narrative and denied that the woman owned by the two men was joint property. Riddel emphasised the harrowing nature of executions and the missionaries' potential consequences.⁵⁷¹

Riddel's response to Chirnside's allegations of the missionaries' executions of Africans was typical of missionary organisations' initial response to criticism. The Church of Scotland's General Assembly established a commission of inquiry, upholding Chirnside's accusations and determining the mission's faith was not damaged. Rev. Duff MacDonald and two white artisan missionaries in Blantyre were expelled in 1879, but Macdonald was recalled by the Foreign Mission Committee and fired in 1881.⁵⁷²

Duff Macdonald, the first ordained missionary to Central Africa, faced numerous scandals, desertion, and misbehavior during his time. Despite his scandalous nature, he contributed to studying indigenous cultures, including the Yawo. His book, *Africana*, illustrated Yawo culture. The Blantyre atrocities, including the shooting death of an innocent man, are remembered for their involvement in the mission's civil power. Despite Macdonald's responsibility for these incidents,

⁵⁶⁹ Moorhouse. *The Missionaries* 260.

⁵⁷⁰ Moorhouse. *The Missionaries* 260.

⁵⁷¹ Moorhouse. *The Missionaries* 260-61.

⁵⁷² Moorhouse. *The Missionaries* 260-61.

research shows that floggings and imprisonment were common practices among missionaries during the early years of Christianising the pagan population.

Regardless of being flogged, some Mangochi Yawo in the area maintained their faith in Christianity. Madconald preached to the Yawo villages in 1878 and 1879, and later contributed to the growth of the Malawi's Protestant church. However, the 1861 demolition, burning of gardens, and massacre of the Yawo at Magomero pushed many Yawo away from Christianity. The Universities' Mission was dispatched to work with the indigenous, under Bishop Mackenzie, but the mission's history was tragic.⁵⁷³ The mission failed due to fights with the Yawo and the deaths of missionary members. The graves of Bishop Mackenzie, Rev. H. Scudamore, and Dr. Dickinson show their selfless dedication to the welfare of survivors. The indigenous people still admire the work of the missionaries, with younger generations preserving their graves, while older generations can only recollect them in person.⁵⁷⁴

Overall, the Universities Mission was a failure due to its interference with the country's internal affairs. Missionaries joined forces with local tribes, such as the Mang'anja/Nyanja, and engaged in deadly battles that violated Christian precepts. This led to unanswered questions about the appropriateness of foreign meddling and morality in violent battles. The U.M.C.A's treatment of the Ayawo and the Anglican Church's induction into Malawi were also criticized.⁵⁷⁵

The narratives above demonstrate that the Yawo have traditionally faced challenges in Malawi. Being Muslim has a bad effect on people's educational and living conditions in Malawi. The Yawo have endured/faced the most adversity in the country. Despite efforts by Christianity and Western education to obscure the existence of Islam, the Yawo nonetheless upheld their Islamic identity and spread it to countries such as Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Eswatini, and South Africa among the Black people of Inanda and Kwamashu as will be seen later. Because of this, according to Dehnert, when speaking of Islam in Malawi, one definitely speaks of the Yawo tribe.⁵⁷⁶ The

⁵⁷³ Andrew Chirnside. *The Blantyre Missionaries Discreditable Disclosures*. (London: Willam Ridgway, 1880) 2.

⁵⁷⁴ Chirnside. *The Blantyre Missionaries Discreditable Disclosures* 2.

⁵⁷⁵ Pachai. "In the Wake of Livingstone and the British Administration: Some Consideration of Commerce and Christianity in Malawi" 45.

⁵⁷⁶ Dehnert "Christin- Muslim Relations in Malawi, Africa 1860s- 2007".

Yawo acted as representatives of Islam in Malawi in the early 19th century. They had a new identity before the advent of Christianity. Hence they had closer ties to Islam than any other tribe in the country.⁵⁷⁷

Chewa Muslims are sometimes considered Yawo. So it is not easy to distinguish between Chewa and Yawo Muslims. In this case, being a Muslim in Malawi is like being a Yawo. Chewa Muslims are also known as Achawa, a derogatory term for the Yawo people. And Islam is considered to be the religion of Achawa (*mpingo wa Achawa* / the Church of *Machawa*). People tend to greet anyone dressed in Islamic clothing with *Asalam Alaykum* and then a Chiyawo salute. This gives the impression that Islam is only for the Yawo.⁵⁷⁸

The Chewa and Yawo belong to different ethnic groupings, but they are united by their devotion to Islam. The Chewa and Yawo Muslims, however, are not a homogeneous group of people since among themselves, they are separated into many religious groupings that go by various names, but they are all united by the religion of Islam. For instance, some Chewa and Yawo are Qadria members (Qadiriyya Brotherhoods). The Qadiria are adherents of the Qadiri tariqa, an order of Sunni Sufis.

Abdul Qadir Gilani/Jilan, a Hanbali scholar from Gilan, Iran, gave the tariqa its name. He lived from 1077 to 1166. The order heavily depends on devotion to Sunni Islamic law's principles, and some Malawians are ardent Gilan adherents. However, some Chewa and Yawo are members of the Shadhilia (Shadhiliyya) order, a tariqa or Sufi order of Sunni Islam founded by al-Shadhili in the 13th century.

The Chewa and Yawo Muslims are not familiar with South African Sufi orders like Chishti and Naqshbandi, but they are familiar with Qadiria and Shadhili orders. These Sufi sects lay a strong focus on adhering to rigorous orthodox rules regarding worship and social concerns as well as shari'a (Islamic law). Nevertheless, depending on one order, there are variations in how social affairs are observed.

⁵⁷⁷ See Bone. *Introduction to Islam for Malawi*. (Mzuzu: Mzuni, 2021).

⁵⁷⁸ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

The Shadhilia and Qadiria Brotherhoods', or tariqas', activities provided additional impetus for the growth of the Muslim population as well as the development of some of the characteristics that distinguished Muslim communities in Malawi in terms of how they practiced their faith. Both arrived in Malawi via Zanzibar and the East Coast around the turn of the 20th century, while the Qadiriyya, which would eventually grow to be the stronger, by around 1920. Most shaykhs were affiliated with one or more of the tariqas by the 1930s. Some of the customs that these shaykhs introduced quickly spread among Muslims in Malawi. The most notable was arguably *sikili*, which is similar to the Arabic practice of *dhikr* (remembering God by repeating his names and characteristics). This ritual might be performed at the mosque, during festivals, at weddings, and, for the Qadiriyya, at funerals. It typically consisted of a sequence of rhythmical gestures accompanied by controlled breathing. They also introduced the usage of flags and banners, which became a common practice.⁵⁷⁹

According to Bone, if the burial is done in accordance with Qadiri customs, the procession is accompanied by flags and singing, but if the Shadhili rites are observed, it will proceed in silence. Funerals frequently serve as the initial focal point of shared Islamic identity in communities of Muslims that are thrown together, such as towns.⁵⁸⁰ Offerings to the ancestral spirits were made on a regular basis as part of religious devotion in ancient Yawo society. These celebrations had the form of a feast shared by living and deceased lineage members, and they were accompanied by certain kinds of song and dancing. *Sadaka*, an Islamized version of these practices, is still practiced among Muslim Yawo. *Sadaka* will be scheduled at a specific time after a man's death or if anyone has had dreams about the deceased. The local Muslim community will gather in the presence of the sheikh or waalimu on this occasion.⁵⁸¹

Prayers are said, food is supplied, and there is a lot of *zikiri* (the chanting of passages from the Quran) when the deceased person and his family are remembered. Ziyala is another significant celebration that unites Muslims in Malawi. The celebration of the Prophet's birthday (*mawlund*), which is commemorated, is explained as taking place at various points during the ziyala season in

⁵⁷⁹ David Bone. "The Establishment of Islam in Malawi". *The Society of Malawi Journal* (2020, 73:2) 37.

⁵⁸⁰ David S. Bone. "Islam in Malawi". *Journal of Religion in Africa*. (1982, 13: 2) 133.

⁵⁸¹ Bone. "Islam in Malawi". *Journal of Religion in Africa* 133.

various locations to encourage as much involvement as possible. Even if non-Muslims are welcome, it takes the form of zikiri, eating, and teaching about Islam.⁵⁸²

According to Amatullah, a respondent, certain Chewa and Yawo Muslims perform the burial in accordance with Qadiri customs, and the procession does include flags and singing in Malawi, but not in South Africa. However, some Indians and Pakistanis who follow Qadria will plant flags in their yards. Malawian Qadria followers sing: “*lā ’ilāha ’illa -llāhu, muḥammadan rasūlu -llāh*”, literary meang “there is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God” or “I bear witness that there is no deity but God, and I bear witness that Muhammad is the Messenger of God.”⁵⁸³

Furthermore, Amatullah says fter the deceased person is buried in Malawi, which Qadria members fail to do in South Africa, they prepare food for those who attended the funeral ceremony. They argue that food is served to individuals who attended the funeral because they believe that those who attend funerals do not eat breakfast or lunch beforehand. As a result, meals should be prepared for both attendees and the grieving family. After the funeral, the deceased's family members and certain community members stay at the deceased's home for a few days while the Mwalimu or Sheikh recites the Quran every day. However, in South Africa, this custom of staying at the deceased's family home is no longer practiced. In Malawi, after an oration in memory of the deceased, the family of the deceased prepares food for the people to consume on the seventh day. *Sadaka* is a ritual that is conducted to request God's forgiveness for a deceased relative. After forty days, the next *sadaka* in honour of the departed is held, which is known as *alubaini*. The deceased's name (*kulehemu*) is mentioned on this day by the Qadria sheikh or Mwalimu, who says: *Allahu ma ghufirhahu maskanahu fil jannah* (for males). *Allahu ma ghufirlaha maskanaha fil jannah* (for females), literally translated as “May Allah arrange a space in heaven for his or her soul and pardon him/her. The congregation would then resound with “Amen”! (May this be so!). The final and most important plea would then be offered, ending with a benediction and an appeal to Allah for pardons for everyone who had participated in the *sadaka* ceremony, as well as for those who were unable to attend and for the souls of all the deceased.⁵⁸⁴ Thus, the last and final petition would

⁵⁸² Bone. “Islam in Malawi”. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 133.

⁵⁸³ Interview with Amatullah, Sydenham (20 July 2020).

⁵⁸⁴ Interview with Amatullah, Sydenham (20 July 2020).

then be offered, blessing everyone present at the *sadaka* ceremony, even those who were not there, pleading with Allah for forgiveness and praying that all those who had passed away may find eternal peace.

Amatullah's memories reveal the contrasts between Chewa and Yawo Shadhilia order followers and Qadria followers. For example, when a Shadhilia adherent dies, the community simply washes and wraps the body in long lengths of white cloth (*sanda*) before carrying it to the cemetery in silence (*sukutu/sukuti*) without saying the shahada—"I bear witness that there is no deity but God, and I bear witness that Muhammad is the Messenger of God." The Yawo refer to Shadhilia members as "*wandu wakutama sukuti pa malilo*" because they remain silent throughout the funeral procedure, which derives from the Yawo phrase *sukutu*, which means "silence." As a result, all Shadhilia people in Malawi are referred to as Sukuti, or "the quiet people." Furthermore, the Sukuti Muslims do not cook or share a meal known as *sadaka*, nor do they chant Quranic texts or perform zikiri at funerals, but instead make supplication at the gravel yard to Allah for forgiveness of the dead and living. Another key point on which these people disagree is how to conduct Friday prayers (Jumuah prayers). The Qadria combine Dhuhur-midday prayer with Jumuah prayer, which the Shadhilia oppose.

Additionally, Amatullah claims that there are minor differences among Muslims in the Chewa and Yawo communities of Malawi and South Africa regarding *ziyala/siyala* (the commemoration of the Prophet's birthday (*mawlud*)). The Sukuti/Shadhilia sees it as an innovation, whilst the Qadria celebrates the day with feasting, zikiri, and recitation of the prophet's (*Sirah*) history. They say it's important to remember the prophet's birth because he was a blessing to the world with his good qualities.⁵⁸⁵ Thus, the prophet's birth is significant to the Qadria Muslims because of his good deeds and mercy to the world.

As will be seen in Chapter 5, *sikili* is still practiced in a transnational setting by Chewa and Yawo Muslims in Durban. They make *sikili* during weddings, Eid day, and also during the ceremony when the boys have been circumcised at the hospital. With easy access to information through phones, the songs sung during *sikili* are similar to those sung by other Muslims in Zambia,

⁵⁸⁵ Interview with Amatullah, Sydenham (20 July 2020).

Zimbabwe, Malawi or Mozambique. Thus, transmigrants and transnationalism contribute to the preservation of their traditions in the host country. Some of their Sukuti/Shadhilia and Qadria ceremonies are being incorporated in South Africa. Despite the fact that some Yawo and Chewa do not practice *sadaka* rites in Durban, few of their beliefs have been lost. An outsider, however, would not be able to know that Muslims disagree/dispute on subjects as basic as *sadaka*, *sikili*, and *Juma* prayers.

This chapter explored the original inhabitants of Malawi, the Batwa, Karanga and Chewa. It also examined the migration path of the Yawo in Southeast Africa, who were the largest long-distance traders in East and Central Africa, taking them to countries such as Congo, Zimbabwe and Malawi. The chapter then explored how the Chewa and Yawo adopted Islam in the early 1800s. The Yawo's close ties to Islam forced them to boycott Western influences that could cloud their Islamic identity, while other local ethnic groups they have embraced Western culture. Many Muslims have kept their children out of school, creating an educational gap that still plagues Muslims in Malawi. Due to the Yawo's rejection of evangelisation and Christianity, they soon experienced cultural isolation in the country and regarded as second-class citizens. As a result, the Yawo were prevented from participating and integrating into the colonial system as secretaries and interpreters. Muslims in the country have fallen behind their Christian peers in terms of education and income. Therefore, discrimination against the Yawo, who are Muslims, has continued from the colonial period to the present day. There was prejudice and bigotry against Muslims because of their particularity as Muslims (social identity through clothing, food and religious observance. Currently, Muslims face discrimination in many sectors of society due to their lack of secular education required for employment. Immigration to South Africa contributes to Yawo's high literacy rate. They are no longer interested in education and move to this country. This shows that few Yawo Muslims go to school. Consequently, the high rate of illiteracy among Yawo women has forced many of them to seek economic opportunities in South Africa. Migration to South Africa therefore increases the number of dropouts when they drop out of school as teenagers with the aim of going to *Joni* to amass wealth. In the next chapter, the study attempts to examine how the Chewa and Yawo Muslim women migrated to Durban. It will examine in more detail the factors that push these women to leave one region or country and settle in another region.

Chapter 3

Reasons for migrating to Durban

This chapter maps out the reasons for Chewa and Yawo Muslim women immigrants' migrating to Durban in the context of 'push' and 'pull' factors. It also explores how and when they migrated to this city. There are many factors that lead people to leave one region or country and move to another territory. If it is not triggered by environmental factors (natural disasters), the movement of an individual or groups of people from one region to another is usually caused by the poor economy of the country of origin and the social prospects of the country of destination. Many people in Africa are migrating in the hope of a better quality of life, supporting their families back home, and escaping from financial difficulties, poverty, and political upheaval. Rural poverty in Malawi has forced women to move to urban areas of Malawi, such as Lilongwe, Zomba, Blantyre, and Mzuzu cities in search of job opportunities.⁵⁸⁶

"Malawi's Growing Ties with South Africa": Labour Migration, a Historical Background

Although the goal of this study is not to describe 19th-century labour migration to South Africa, this section is important because it discusses diamond and gold exploitation's impact on South Africa's economy, shaping Nyasaland (now Malawi), which has a long history of cross-border labour migration due to its high population density, scarcity of resources, and central location in southern Africa.⁵⁸⁷ Thus, the discovery of diamonds and gold in 1867 and 1887 shaped South Africa's economy, shaping Nyasaland (modern-day Malawi). Between 1900 and 1988, Malawi was the second-largest source of hired wage labour for South African mines. Unskilled or semi-skilled male labourers were recruited by South African mines.⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁸⁶ Toyin Falola and Daniel Jean-Jacques (eds.). *Africa: An Encyclopedia of Culture and Society*, 3 Volumes. (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC- CLIO, 2015) 735.

⁵⁸⁷ Taryn Dinkelman and Martine Mariotti, "The long run effects of labor migration on human capital formation in communities of origin", First draft: October 2013, This draft: September 2015 (the UK Department for International Development (DFID) and the Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA) for the benefit of developing countries (GA-C2RA4-181), 8.

⁵⁸⁸ Mpalive-Hangson Msiska. "Kujoni: South Africa in Malawi's National Imaginary" *Journal of Southern African Studies* (2017, 43:5) 1011, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2017.1360634> (Accessed May 20, 2022).

SADC countries historically provided mining industry labour.⁵⁸⁹ South Africa attracted international labour migrants from Malawi and other nations, requiring low-cost labour in mines from the 1800s to 1980s.⁵⁹⁰ Malawians used terms like *ulendo wa Wenela* (Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA/WENELA) to describe the journey to South African mines, established in 1900 for unskilled labour.⁵⁹¹ TEBA (The Employment Bureau of Africa), created in 1977, replaced WENELA's recruitment duties in Malawi, gained popularity.

WENELA and TEBA, the two companies hiring mine workers in Malawi, symbolised enlightenment, power, and riches.⁵⁹² *Wenela*, a bus terminuse in Blantyre, and *Wenela*, a spot in Lilongwe, still holds significance for Malawians. The name *Joni* (Johannesburg) represents South Africa as a whole.⁵⁹³ Whilst, the youth refer to it as *kumadzi/kumesi gakasupe* (spring of water), indicating its wealth in southern Africa.⁵⁹⁴

Malawians migrated to South Africa to work in diamond and gold mines, while others migrated independently (*ulendo wa selefu*), to gain wealth. Men influenced their lives, starting new enterprises or farming, and prospering as returning back from South Africa. This connection to South Africa facilitated global capital.⁵⁹⁵

According to the 1966 Malawi census, a total of 266,000 Malawians left the nation, 240,000 of them were men, accounting for slightly more than 20% of all adult male citizens. In some sections of the country, 75% of adult males were abroad.⁵⁹⁶ Malawians have long been leaving the country, transitioning from hawkers and subsistence farmers to fishermen. Migration has balanced these activities, with new ventures forming from South Africa.

⁵⁸⁹ David Yudelman. *The Emergence of Modern South Africa: State, Capital and the Incorporation of Organised Labour on the South African Gold Fields*. (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers Limited, 1984), 19.

⁵⁹⁰ John McCracken. *A History of Malawi, 1859-1966*. (New York: James Currey, 2012), 23, 83.

⁵⁹¹ R. Mansell Prothero. "Foreign Migrant Labour for South Africa". *The International Migration Review*. International Migration in Tropical Africa (Autumn, 1974, 8:3) 385.

⁵⁹² Jonathan Crush, Vincent Williams and Sally Peberdy. "Migration in Southern Africa." A paper prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration, September 2005, 2.

⁵⁹³ Msiska. "Kujoni: South Africa in Malawi's National Imaginary" 1018.

⁵⁹⁴ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020)

⁵⁹⁵ Msiska. "Kujoni: South Africa in Malawi's National Imaginary" 1020.

⁵⁹⁶ R. Mansell Prothero. "Foreign Migrant Labour for South Africa". *The International Migration Review*, International Migration in Tropical Africa (Autumn, 1974, 8:3) 389.

Before the migration to South Africa began in the nineteenth century, Malawian men, particularly the Yawo, had been trading and migrating to Kilwa. By the 16th century, the Yawo had established a trading route from their birthplace west of Lake Malawi to the seashore near the city of Mozambique and then to Kilwa, Tanzania.⁵⁹⁷ Other scholars believe that the Yawo have been in contact with the Arabs of Mozambique and Kilwa since around 1000 A.D., acting as "middlemen" in trade along Lake Malawi.⁵⁹⁸ Furthermore, Okoth contends that the Yawo were among the first and most influential peoples to take international trade seriously.⁵⁹⁹ Initially, the Yawo only traded with the coast for hoes, tobacco, and animal skins. However, in response to the demands of coastal traders, they transitioned to the larger, more lucrative ivory trade.⁶⁰⁰

Yawo men traded with the coast for hoes, tobacco, ivory, cloth, and animal skins; women now bring Malawian cloth materials and agricultural products to South Africa. Yawo tribe, nomadic in northern Mozambique and Malawi, reflects wandering lifestyle in songs:

“Lwendo lwendope alulu! Roving, roving, roving,
“Lwendo lwendope lyaka Myao! Roving like a Yawo.”⁶⁰¹

Hetherwick states that the Yawo, known as *lwendolwendope*, enjoyed traveling and migrating to different regions.⁶⁰² The Yawo were highly respected travelers, with those who knew foreign parts being considered valuable. Travel was a popular topic of conversation, and those who had traveled abroad were respected. However, those who had never been abroad or seen other countries were often laughed at, leading to disagreements and misunderstandings.⁶⁰³ Yawo's identity is influenced by travel, as well-versed in diverse cultures makes him well-known.⁶⁰⁴ Children played with small bundles, showcasing Yawo's long-distance trading ritual and despised non-travelers.⁶⁰⁵

⁵⁹⁷ Philip DeArmond Curtin. *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, 1998) 19.

⁵⁹⁸ Brian M. Fagan (ed.). *A Short History of Zambia: From the Earliest Times until A.D. 1900*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1969) 130-131.

⁵⁹⁹ Assa Okoth. *A History of Africa Volume One: African Societies and the Establishment of Colonial Rule 1800-1915*. (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 2006) 57.

⁶⁰⁰ Okoth. *A History of Africa Volume One: African Societies and the Establishment of Colonial Rule 1800-1915*, 57.

⁶⁰¹ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 28.

⁶⁰² Alexander Hetherwick. *A Handbook of the Yao Language*. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1902) xviii.

⁶⁰³ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 28.

⁶⁰⁴ Abdallah, *The Yaos*, 28.

⁶⁰⁵ Elizabeth Isichei. *A History of African Societies to 1870*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 440.

British colonisation in Malawi led to a decrease in Yawo journeys to the east coast, and the British imposed on severe hut and poll taxes on Malawians. This led to a migration of migrants to South Africa, where they gained wealth to support new economic enterprises. Many immigrants invested in small stores, farming, and fishing, raising their status and prestige in the community.⁶⁰⁶

Gold discovery in South Africa significantly impacted Malawi's political and economic history, leading to colonisation of Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Malawi, forming the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953.⁶⁰⁷ Cecil John Rhodes, a British-South African entrepreneur, expanded his influence by encouraging treaties with interior chiefs and forming an ally with Harry Johnston, focusing on modern Malawi.⁶⁰⁸

Kamuzu Banda's 1964 cabinet minister, Henry Chipembere, praised South Africa's gold discovery as "*Malawi's Growing Links with South Africa*."⁶⁰⁹ In the 1890s, South Africa supported Malawi's colonial era by contributing £2,000 to Sir Harry Johnston's team and £10,000 annually to support the financially unsound British protectorate of Nyasaland.⁶¹⁰ On the other hand, Lamba claims Rhodes allocated £17,500 annually to Nyasaland administration.⁶¹¹ South Africa's wealth rapidly spread to Malawi, prompting many Malawians to seek employment.⁶¹²

When the British Consul in Mozambique, Harry Johnston, arrived in the Lower Shire area of Malawi in July 1891, he encountered men, women, and children who were paying the Portuguese a tax of around two shillings sixpence ahead.⁶¹³ Johnston advised chiefs and headmen to pay a

⁶⁰⁶ Msiska "Kujoni: South Africa in Malawi's National Imaginary" 1013-1014.

⁶⁰⁷ Colin Black. *The Lands and Peoples of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1961) vii.

⁶⁰⁸ A.E. Afigbo et.al. *The Making of Modern Africa Volume 1 The Nineteenth Century*. (Hong Kong: Longman, 1986) 289.

⁶⁰⁹ Henry B. Masauko Chipembere. "Malawi's Growing Links with South Africa- A Necessity or a Virtue ?" *Africa Today*. Independence: The Second Decade (Apr., 1971, 18:2) 27.

⁶¹⁰ Chipembere. "Malawi's Growing Links with South Africa- A Necessity or a Virtue ?" 27.

⁶¹¹ I. C. Lamba. *Contradiction in Post- War Education Policy formulation and Application in Colonial Malawi 1945-1961: A Historical Study of the Dynamics of Colonial survival*. (Zomba: Kachere Series, 2010) 188.

⁶¹² Chipembere. "Malawi's Growing Links with South Africa- A Necessity or a Virtue ?" 28.

⁶¹³ Colin Baker. "Tax Collection in Malawi: an Administrative History, 1891-1972". *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 1975, Vol. 8, No. 1 (1975) 41.

reasonable annual tax of six shillings per dwelling for British occupation, protecting their tribes against slave raiders and Portuguese.⁶¹⁴

Southern Lake Malawi chiefs were forced to agree to impose six shillings hut tax, either as a poll tax or hut tax.⁶¹⁵ Johnston claimed Malawi chiefs approved poll and hut taxes, but was persuasive and prepared to use force to "pacify" missionaries and planters who opposed taxation, arguing it increased labour costs and was unjustified.⁶¹⁶ Missionaries opposed taxation, arguing it should be agreed upon in open gatherings. Johnston reduced tax to three shillings per year, a game of chance.⁶¹⁷

Yawo chiefs saw Johnston's administration's hut and poll taxes as oppression, leading to fierce opposition and wars in the Central African Protectorate. Johnston's wars were fought in the banner of 'slavery abolition,' while his conflicts in the Central African Protectorate were the military subjugation of the territory's principal African rulers.⁶¹⁸

Johnston sought to take over the Masaninga and Machinga Yawo nation in southern Malawi by accusing them of slave raiding and lawlessness, leading to invasions of chiefs like Kawinga, Makanjila, Chikumbu, and others.⁶¹⁹

According to Shepperson and Price, Yawo slavers fought stubbornly against British rule, resisting submission.⁶²⁰ Harry Johnston led an expedition against Yawo leaders in 1891, arriving in Mangochi with Captain Maguire and an armed force of two Britons, 70 Indians, nine Zanzibar troops, local recruits, and one seven-pounder gun. Maguire was killed in a skirmish with chief Makanjila.⁶²¹ The Yawo were defeated after five years.

⁶¹⁴ Baker. "Tax Collection in Malawi: an Administrative History, 1891-1972" 41.

⁶¹⁵ Baker. "Tax Collection in Malawi: an Administrative History, 1891-1972" 41-42.

⁶¹⁶ Baker. "Tax Collection in Malawi: an Administrative History, 1891-1972" 41-42.

⁶¹⁷ Baker. "Tax Collection in Malawi: an Administrative History, 1891-1972" 41-42.

⁶¹⁸ Kevin Shillington. *History of Africa*. (London: Macmillan, 1989) 325.

⁶¹⁹ D. D. Phiri. *From Nguni to Ngoni*. (Limbe: Claim, 1982) 114.

⁶²⁰ George Shepperson and Thomas Price. *Independent African: John Chilembwe and the Origins, Setting and Significance of the Nyasaland Native Rising of 1915*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1969) 405.

⁶²¹ Prosser Gifford and W. M. Roger Louis (eds). *Britain and Germany in Africa: Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule*. (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1967) 673-75.

The British captured Malawi in 1895, resulting in more than 40% of males escaping the nation in the 1940s, with men relocating to South Africa to evade the burden of poll and hut taxes.⁶²² On this remark, Chipembere emphasises that Malawians migrated to South Africa and Zimbabwe in search of employment because of unemployment and the imposition of hut tax.⁶²³

WENELA steadily increased the number of Malawians enrolled and hired, with 12,750 employed in 1946 and 31,800 in 1961, while "*Mselfu*" immigrants (from the phrase "by himself," i.e. on his own), also increased steadily. By 1967, around 80,000 were engaged in South Africa, 46,000 of whom were engaged for contract labour on mines by WENELA.⁶²⁴

In 1966, Malawi's labour agreement increased miners' employment in South Africa from 39,000 to 19,141 in 1973.⁶²⁵ In 1975, Malawian migrant workers in South Africa decreased due to labour conscription restrictions and mineworker returned to Malawi after Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda, Malawi's then-President from 1964 to 1994, prohibited and outlawed all labour conscription activities. This cost the industry R7 million until 1977.⁶²⁶

Malawians were affected by mine interruption and postponement in South Africa, with 19,000 employed in Chamber of Mines mines and 12,000 in agriculture, manufacturing, and other essential businesses.⁶²⁷ Malawi's Labour Representative in Johannesburg managed South African employment with employers.⁶²⁸

Why are Malawian women not mentioned in WENELA and TEBA labor migration?

Study participants argue that women were not recruited for mine work due to labour challenges, strong men dug rocks, and it was not easy for women to travel long distances from Malawi to

⁶²² Annual Report of the Labour Department, for the Year ending 31st December 1948. (Zomba: The Government Printer, 1949) 4.

⁶²³ Chipembere, "Malawi's Growing Links with South Africa- A Necessity or a Virtue ?" 28.

⁶²⁴ Chipembere, "Malawi's Growing Links with South Africa- A Necessity or a Virtue ?" 28-29.

⁶²⁵ Wiseman Chijere Chirwa. "The Malawi Government and South African Labour Recruiters, 1974-92." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. (Cambridge University Press: 1996, 34:4 (1996) 638.

⁶²⁶ Chirwa. "The Malawi Government and South African Labour Recruiters, 1974-92, 623.

⁶²⁷ Chirwa, "The Malawi Government and South African Labour Recruiters, 1974-92, 623

⁶²⁸ Chirwa, "The Malawi Government and South African Labour Recruiters, 1974-92, 623

South Africa.⁶²⁹ Recruitment agents provided transportation for Malawian labourers, but *mselefu* had to walk to South Africa.

Boswell and Barbali research reveals that mine migration excluded women as workers, with men given scheduled contracts, and women marginalised as domestic workers in white households.⁶³⁰ Though temporary immigration was always male-dominated, some females accompanied their partners or left on their own for South Africa, where they worked in the laundry, commercial sex, and beer brewing.⁶³¹

No exact figure exists for Malawian women immigrants who lived and worked in the South before and during apartheid. Researchers suggest many males and a few females migrated to Rhodesia and South Africa to work in and near gold, diamond, and copper mines.⁶³² However, according to the Annual Reports of the Labour Department for the Years Ending December 31, 1952 to December 31, 1960 (Zomba: Government Printer), Malawian women who immigrated to South Africa between 1952 and 1960 were as follows: 66 women left Malawi in 1956, 78 in 1957, 87 in 1958, 43 in 1959, and 52 in 1960.⁶³³

Government implemented influx control to prevent migrant workers from permanently staying in Southern African towns. However, as cities grew in size, these controls were frequently circumvented. 1920s Zimbabwean officials noted numerous Nyasaland women entering territory, either with husbands or alone. They were becoming more common in South Africa twenty years later. In 1942, it was reported that "several hundred Northern women were resident in South Africa and that the number was constantly being increased by further clandestine entries."⁶³⁴

⁶²⁹ Interview with Ndiwuzo and Anisah (Central Durban, 3 July and 18 July 2020).

⁶³⁰ Rosabelle Boswell and Silvana Barbali. "Engendering Migration in South Africa." *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, No. 72, Two decades of African feminist Publishing (2007), 145.

⁶³¹ Kate Lefko-Everett. *Voices from the Margins: Migrant Women's Experiences in Southern Africa*, Southern Africa Migration Project 2007. (CapeTown: Idasa, 2007) 7.

⁶³² Anthony Appiah, Henry Louis Gates (Jr.) (eds). *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 702.

⁶³³ See The Annual Reports of the Labour Department, for the Years ending 31st December 1952 to 31st December 1960, (Zomba: Government Printer).

⁶³⁴ McCracken. *A History of Malawi* 184-85.

Nyasaland officials debated the benefits of women joining husbands, collaborating with chiefs and male guardians to prevent women from leaving. By 1958, restrictions were relaxed, allowing 1,733 women and 17,813 men to use the free 'ulere' bus service from Nyasaland to Southern Rhodesia.⁶³⁵ Malawi frowned on women leaving community for city work unless following spouse, family, or permanent job; men could relocate.⁶³⁶ Men could relocate to Malawi's towns and cities. Women remained in the village, tending crops and raising children. Malawi is evolving. Female immigrants in Southern Africa feminise male-dominated migration patterns, with Malawian women increasingly seeking material commodities in South Africa.

As will be seen in subsequent chapters, African women's migration history is contested, often depicted as prostitutes seeking male gratification.⁶³⁷ Independent immigrant women are sometimes thought to send more remittances from the money they earn from a variety of men. It was often considered that "town migration" was not appropriate for women.⁶³⁸ It was also believed that it was men's responsibility to relocate, both nationally and globally, in search of salaried work by initiating or bringing into being a growing number of female-headed households.

The way the government of Nyasaland managed and prohibited women from traveling was similar to how the apartheid government in South Africa operated. For example, between 1930 and 1937, South African legislators enacted laws that restricted women's movement to urban areas. The laws governed and monitored the behaviour of women.⁶³⁹ Women were kept in reserves, and the state and chiefs worked together to limit their mobility. The patriarchal Natal Code considered women as legal children.⁶⁴⁰ To leave the reservation, they needed the permission of a husband or male guardian.

South Africa and Malawi governments worked with chiefs and male guardians to prevent women from migrating, but some fearless women continued to migrate, forcing stricter controls. The

⁶³⁵ McCracken. *A History of Malawi* 184-85.

⁶³⁶ Interview with Amina

⁶³⁷ Christine Obbo. *African Women: Their Struggle for Economic Independence*. (London: Zed Press, 1980) 26.

⁶³⁸ Obbo. *African Women: Their Struggle for Economic i*.

⁶³⁹ Iris Berger. *Women in Twentieth-Century Africa: New Approaches to African History*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016) 14.

⁶⁴⁰ Berger. *Women in Twentieth-Century Africa* 14.

apartheid government in the 1950s implemented stricter controls, but many women returned home. Although gendered figures for 1990s are unavailable, there was a significant rise in temporary female immigration to South Africa.⁶⁴¹

According to the aforementioned accounts, women have been traveling independently rather than as followers of families, even though the process of women's migration during and after apartheid was not brought to the forefront until the 1980s.⁶⁴² They have been actively engaged in work.⁶⁴³ Women, on the other hand, have been opposing patriarchal (male-controlled) tendencies that have tended to constrain and impede them.⁶⁴⁴ These facts illuminate that migration from SADC nations to South Africa prior to and during apartheid is more pertinent when considering migration in South Africa throughout the 19th century, a phenomenon that is still present now.

Post-apartheid South Africa - A Popular destination

South Africa's economy, with its diversified and industrialized economy, remains the regional economic hub of Africa and attracts many immigrants from SADC countries and beyond.⁶⁴⁵ Although South Africa is the regional economic centre of SADC, many people continue to migrate to other less developed countries. Malawi is an excellent example of such a poor receiving country in the migration process. Despite being considered a developing country; it emerged that it is not just a key “transit country” for international migrants moving to other SADC countries.⁶⁴⁶ Nevertheless, it has become one of the most popular and favourite destinations for immigrants from all over the world. A large portion of its immigrants come from Asian countries, mostly India and Pakistan. Malawi also attracts Chinese immigrants. There have also been immigrants from

⁶⁴¹ Kate Lefko-Everett. *Voices from the Margins: Migrant Women's Experiences in Southern Africa*. Southern Africa Migration Project 2007. (CapeTown: Idasa, 2007) 7.

⁶⁴² See Sophie Vause and Sorana Toma. "Is the Feminization of International Migration Really on the Rise? The Case of Flows from the Democratic Republic of Congo and Senegal". *Population*. (2015, 70:1) 39- 63.

⁶⁴³ Alice Sironi, Céline Bauloz and Milen Emmanuel (eds). *International Migration Law: Glossary on Migration*, No.: 34. (Geneva: International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2019) 73.

⁶⁴⁴ Lefko-Everett. *Voices from the Margins: Migrant Women's Experiences in Southern Africa*, Southern Africa Migration Project 2007 (CapeTown: Idasa, 2007), 7- 8.

⁶⁴⁵ Olusola Ogunnubi and Samuel Oyewole (eds). *Power in Africa: Nigeria and South Africa in Comparative Perspective*. (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020) 147, 192.

⁶⁴⁶ Margaret Chitiga, Ismael Fofana and Mariam Diallo. *African Commitments For Agricultural Development Goals And Milestones For Malawi*. GRODEP Working Paper 0045 April 2020,6

South Africa, Zimbabwe, Congo, Nigeria, Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania, Mozambique, Nigeria, and Somalia to name a few.

Despite South Africa being the second largest economy in Africa, there have been some South Africans who have migrated to Malawi. This clearly demonstrates that South Africa is not the only country that receives immigrants from all over the world, but that there are many poor countries in the world that also accept immigrants. The tables below show the number of South Africans residing in Malawi between 2008 and 2018.

Table 2: Foreign nationals in Malawi- population distribution by nationality, 2008

Nationality	No.	Percentage of total foreigners
Mozambican	19,020	36.9
Zambian	5,772	11.2
Zimbabwean	4,442	8.6
Burundian	2,943	5.7
Rwandan	2,820	5.5
Indian	2,388	4.6
Tanzanian	2,487	4.8
British	1,604	3.1
Congolese	1,506	2.9
South African	1,439	2.8
Others	7,133	13.8
Foreigners	51,554	100.0

SOURCE: National Statistical Office (NSO), Population and Housing Census, 2008

Table 3: Non-Malawian population by country of nationality, 2018 Census

Nationality	No.	Percent
Total	57, 211	100.0
United Kingdom	862	1.5
United States of America	366	0.6
Zambia	12,127	21.2
Zimbabwe	2, 875	5.0
Mozambique	5, 349	9.3
South Africa	1, 736	3.0
United Republic of Tanzania	1, 252	2.2
Other African Countries	25, 876	45.2
Other countries outside Africa	6, 758	11.8

SOURCE: National Statistical Office (NSO) 2018 Malawi Population Census Main Report, 17

As Table 2 shows, Malawi is also home to South Africans. On the other hand, Malawians continue to leave the country and are mostly directed to other SADC countries. Between 1998 and 2008, more than 90% of Malawians immigrated to many SADC countries; 79% of these Malawians went

to South Africa.⁶⁴⁷ However, the government of Malawi does not have accurate data on citizens leaving the country. It has no official statistics on Malawians who left the country between 1920 and 1990. The National Statistical Office (NSO) reported that 21,487 Malawians left the country in 2014; in 2018, about 54,230 immigrated in search of work.⁶⁴⁸ Most Malawian immigrants settled in South Africa (81%), while others went to Zambia and Mozambique.⁶⁴⁹ Zione 50, one of the respondents, states South Africans employ Malawians as domestic workers, shop assistants, or in other areas such as mining and farming.⁶⁵⁰ The number of Malawians leaving the country for greener pastures has increased in recent years, a sign that the economic progress recorded in 2019 has not trickled down to average Malawians, especially young people.⁶⁵¹ Many people leave the country from the three regions of Malawi (North, Central, and South). For example, the number of immigrants from southern Malawi has increased by 549% in recent years, from 4,586 in 2008 to 29,802 in 2018, with most immigrants coming from Mangochi and Machinga.⁶⁵²

Mangochi and Machinga are predominantly Yawo Muslim districts in Malawi. In the central region, where there are few Chewa Muslims, the number of immigrants increased from 1778 to 10,073. Most came from Lilongwe. In the northern region, it increased from 2,889 to 10,736, many came from Mzimba. Malawians between the ages of 20 and 39 have been the key migrating group. According to statistics, 191,602 of Malawi's 254,934 immigrants belong to this age group, of whom 149,906 are women.⁶⁵³ However, there are no exact figures on how many Malawian people live in South Africa. Statistics South Africa has only conducted three censuses (1996, 2001 and 2011) since 1994. In the 1996 census, 958,188 people were registered as born abroad, 1.03 million people in 2001, and 2.2 million in 2011. By mid-2021, estimates would be 3.95 million foreigners living in South Africa.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁴⁷ Ndegwa. *Migration in Malawi: A Country Profile 2014*, 1.

⁶⁴⁸ Suzgo Khunga. "Emigration doubles in 4 years". *The Nation*. (Malawi), 1, 11 June, 2019.

⁶⁴⁹ Khunga. "Emigration doubles in 4 years" 1.

⁶⁵⁰ Interview with Zione, Overport, 2 July, 2020.

⁶⁵¹ Khunga. "Emigration doubles in 4 years" 1.

⁶⁵² Khunga. "Emigration doubles in 4 years" 1.

⁶⁵³ Khunga. "Emigration doubles in 4 years" 1.

⁶⁵⁴ Stats SA, "Erroneous reporting of undocumented migrants in SA". Media Statement. 05 August, 2021. <https://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=14569> (Accessed June 22, 2022).

Table 4: The number of Malawian men and women who have migrated to other countries, 2018

Country of Destination	Overall		Men		Women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Overall	254,934	100.0	197,501	100.0	57,433	100.0
Zambia	10,170	4.0	7,015	3.6	3,155	5.5
Zimbabwe	1,435	0.6	894	0.5	541	0.9
Mozambique	20,726	8.1	14,208	7.2	6,518	11.3
Republic of South Africa	205,730	80.7	164,768	83.4	40,962	71.3
Tanzania	7,811	3.1	4,678	2.4	3,133	5.5
Those migrated to other African Countries	3,115	1.2	2,321	1.2	794	1.4
UK	1,198	0.5	642	0.3	556	1.0
USA	1,010	0.4	562	0.3	448	0.8
Migrated to other regions outside Africa	3,739	1.5	2,413	1.2	1,326	2.3

SOURCE: National Statistical Office (NSO) 2018 Malawi Population Census Main Report, 18.

The NSO of Malawi says there are about 40,962 women who have immigrated to South Africa.

Table 5: The whys and wherefores of leaving Malawi, 2018

Explanations for leaving	Overall		Men		Women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Overall	254,934	100.0	197,501	100.0	57,433	100.0
Employed in Mines	2,572	1.0	2,337	1.2	235	0.4
Employed in Farms	11,388	4.5	9,643	4.9	1,745	3.0
Employed in other areas	28,147	11.0	23,470	11.9	4,677	8.1
Domestic employee/Housemaid	23,099	9.1	15,805	8.0	7,294	12.7
Formal/ Official business	7,132	2.8	5,130	2.6	2,002	3.5
Shop helper	24,024	9.4	21,194	10.7	2,830	4.9
Learner	5,268	2.1	3,323	1.7	1,945	3.4
For medical examination/ treatment	382	0.1	209	0.1	173	0.3
Going after the family / Marriage	16,005	6.3	4,192	2.1	11,813	20.6
Other	38,395	15.1	30,307	15.3	8,088	14.1
Not knowledgeable/ Don't Know	98,522	38.6	81,891	41.5	16,631	29.0

SOURCE: (NSO) 2018 Malawi Population Census Main Report, 18.

As previously mentioned, most Malawians immigrate to South Africa, then to Zambia, Mozambique and other African countries.⁶⁵⁵

⁶⁵⁵ Khunga. “Emigration doubles in 4 years” 1.

Push and pull factors

For many years people have migrated in search of food and sustenance, fleeing enemies and rivals, or in search of wealth, spreading their ethos, languages, genes, and diseases.⁶⁵⁶ There are also many reasons why people move to South Africa and their motivations vary from country to country. Socio-economic and political unrest in the country of origin forced women to cross national borders. Factors affecting women include poverty, lack of work, poor educational facilities, economic recession, natural disasters (famine or drought), poor medical care, cultural religious, or political persecution, wars and political conflicts (political revolutions, civil wars) are collective reasons people want to relocate from a certain region. Therefore, a "push factor" encourages people to move away from a certain place. The pull factor is often the exact opposite of the push factor. That is increased security, increased employment opportunities, or the possibility of a better life. However, some pull factors are not directly correlated with push factors, such as geographic proximity or the presence of relatives or friends in the destination country. In 1966, Lee introduced the theory of the "push and pull factor". These are the factors that shape migration. The characteristic features are origin; impacts and impulses related to the destination; existing problems, obstacles, barriers, and subjective and individual factors.⁶⁵⁷ These factors emerged in the interviews with the subjects in this study.

Poor socio-economic conditions

Poor socio-economic conditions have played a pivotal role in shaping the decisions for migration from Malawi. According to Chitiga et al., 50.7% of Malawi's population lives below the poverty line. In 2016, the masses were still living below the poverty line of less than \$1 a day.⁶⁵⁸ Similarly, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) 2018 regional and country Human Development Indices (HDI) show that Malawi remains below average when it comes to human development in sub-Saharan countries. According to the report released in 2020, Malawi is ranked in the low human development class, ranked 172 out of 189 countries and territories.⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁶ Joseph P. Ferrie and Timothy J. Hatton. "Two Centuries of International Migration". *Discussion Paper No. 7866*. (Bonn, Germany: IZA, December 2013), 2

⁶⁵⁷ Everett S. Lee. "A Theory of Migration". *Demography*. (1966, 3:1) 49- 50.

⁶⁵⁸ Margaret. *African Commitments For Agricultural Development Goals And Milestones For Malawi* 6

⁶⁵⁹ Human Development Report 2019. "Inequalities in Human Development in the 21st Century: Briefing note for countries on the 2019 Human Development Report". Malawi. (UNDP: 2020) 302.

The Human Development Index provides an overview of aspects of human development in terms of education, life expectancy, and standard of living. Poor services, poor medical care, and a lack of good educational institutions are therefore some important factors contributing to poverty in Malawi. Amina, 48, a mother of four who migrated to Durban in 2008, mentions how poor socio-economic conditions forced her family to leave Malawi. She narrated her story:

I was born in Mangochi. The schools in our neighbourhood are far from each other and it took us two hours to walk to our primary school. It was not good for young women to walk long distances. I didn't even make it to standard 8. I failed school and got married at a young age. In this context, I could not find a job. Clinics are also far apart. Nothing is free in Malawi. Everything is bought. From maize seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, and sacks (bags) for putting maize grains. Ordinary villagers have to pay school fees at secondary level and hospitalisation fees. Where can I find the money? I have decided to come here.⁶⁶⁰

Amina's narrative reveals how poor socio-economic conditions, lack of poor health care, an uneducated and unskilled workforce, and poverty are fertile grounds that encourage the migration of people in search of a better life. New communication technologies, widely available in urban settings even in developing countries, make it possible to compare Western to local lifestyle situations, where the homes and luxury cars of expatriates (and local authorities) often contrast with the precarious living conditions of the local population which is the wealth gap.⁶⁶¹ Hence, migration and development are closely linked and influence each other. Paradoxically, at least initially, migration can be driven by both underdevelopment and increasing socio-economic development in a given country.⁶⁶² Thus inadequate services such as medical care and a lack of good educational institutions are some of the factors that push Malawians, especially the youth, to seek a better life in South Africa and beyond. Thokozani 30, one of the respondents who came in 2015, a Chewa from Salima, says:

⁶⁶⁰ Interview with Amina, Overport, 22 July 2020.

⁶⁶¹ Castelli. "Drivers of migration: why do people move?" 3.

⁶⁶² Castelli. "Drivers of migration: why do people move?" 3.

Malawi's general success in its social and economic aspects is lacking. The social and economic features of the health of its inhabitants, the level of education, and the quality of life are still deficient in Malawi. We are forced to leave the country.⁶⁶³

However, migration is also spurred by diverse understandings of development, needs, and wants. Thita 38, another respondent, a Chewa from Dedza who arrived in 2014 explains:

Malawi people's needs are different; some want employment; some need education and tuition; others crave loans from banks or government lending institutions. Yet other people plea for better roads in their villages, clean running water, boreholes, profitable markets for selling their products, and good schools.⁶⁶⁴

In rural Malawi socio-economic conditions are appalling. Sports facilities, youth training centres, and women's support groups are just some of the social impacts that are lacking in rural areas. Rural Malawi also lacks economic development. People need more jobs, loans, small businesses, and promising markets. There are no factories in rural Malawi to create jobs. Therefore, it is appropriate to state that Malawi is one of the poorest countries in the world due to low social and economic development and poor physical infrastructure. As one of the poorest countries in the world, women in rural Malawi are also the poorest people in the SADC region. It is the women who cultivate in the villages while their husbands go to work in the cities. According to Ambulule 40, a respondent who came in 2014, dependence on small-scale agriculture makes life difficult for many rural women. Without applying fertilizer on the farm, plants cannot grow properly. The price of fertilizer in the country is high for an ordinary villager who does not work.⁶⁶⁵ By 2023, a 50 kilogram bag of fertilizer would cost around R1000 (Mk 85,000), which an ordinary villager who is unemployed cannot afford. Although some people in Malawi work as shop assistants or teachers, it is widely recognized that both of these groups of people are underpaid in the country. Many shop workers in Malawi make between R500 and R700 per month, whilst a primary teacher earns less than R2000 and a university graduate earns between R4000 and R50000 per month. On the other hand, Malawians who migrate to South Africa to work as domestic workers earn between R1500 and R3000 per month, and shop assistants earn between R2800 and R3000 per month. While

⁶⁶³ Interview with Thokozani, Mawelewele (15 July, 2020).

⁶⁶⁴ Interview with Thita, Mawelewele (15 July, 2020).

⁶⁶⁵ Interview with Ambulule, Savannah Park (9 August, 2020).

primary and secondary school teachers in South Africa earn between R15000 and R20000 per month.⁶⁶⁶

The narratives of these Muslim immigrants from Malawi show that Malawi is one of the poorest countries in Africa. Thus, it has been reported that some Malawians have openly stated that being subjected to xenophobia in South Africa is better than poverty in Malawi. This demonstrates how serious the economic state of affairs in Malawi.⁶⁶⁷ Below are other unfamiliar, concealed push factors that force Malawian women to migrate.

Child Marriages and Divorce

While many participants in this study cited economic reasons for leaving the country, another factor that is often overlooked is Malawi's high divorce rate in recent decades. As will be seen, getting married early contributes to unstable families that end in divorce. According to a 2013 survey by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), *Marrying Too Young*, one in two women aged 20 to 24 in Malawi were married before the age of 18. This is the eighth-highest rate of child marriage in the world. The fact that Malawi is in the top 10 shows that the country has failed to curb child marriage.⁶⁶⁸ The Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015 further reports that about half of women in Malawi were married before the age of 18 and 30% became pregnant by the age of 19.⁶⁶⁹ Other scholars assert that many girls are 9 or 10 years old when they are married. This practice violates women's rights. This also contributes to the high rate of literacy, poverty, and maternal mortality in Malawi.⁶⁷⁰

The marriage of children is deeply rooted in Malawi culture, widening the gap between men and women. The custom of girls marrying men who immigrated to South Africa is also a phenomenon that takes place between the Ngoni and Tumbuka of northern Malawi. Chavula noted that challenging and combating harmful customs and traditions among the Ngoni people is a way to redeem, preserve and protect teens from child marriage.⁶⁷¹ However, some rural communities refer

⁶⁶⁶ Interview with Ambulule, Savannah Park (9 August, 2020).

⁶⁶⁷ Staff Writer. "Message from xenophobia". My Turn. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 29 April, 2015.

⁶⁶⁸ James Chavula. "South Africa migrants trapping girls into early marriage". *The Nation*. (Malawi), 3 August, 2014).

⁶⁶⁹ Precious Kumbani. "Covid ripping girls' futures", Development. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 14 September, 2020. See also Mike Van Kamande. "Saving girls from marriages", Feature. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 07 March, 2019.

⁶⁷⁰ See Agnes Odhiambo. "*I've Never Experience Happiness*": *Child Marriages in Malawi*. (Human Rights Watch, 2014).

⁶⁷¹ Chavula. "South Africa migrants trapping girls into early marriage"

to the wealth of Malawians working in South Africa as a silent trap for young school girls. In the rural communities of the Mzimba district, 'the boys will remain boys' until they leave the neighbourhood and migrate to South Africa. The economic paradise that turns poor boys into rich or affluent men explains why single parents allow and tolerate girls to drop out of school and marry before they turn 18.⁶⁷² In Mzimba and other districts of Malawi, fathers and mothers have the authority and influence to approve or accept a daughter's matrimonial arrangements in her absence. The groom doesn't have to be there all the time. The Ngoni of Mzimba allows and tolerates arranged marriages; however, hasty and premature marriage deprives young women of any chance to thrive and succeed.⁶⁷³ The Ngoni youth of Mzimba, like the Yawo women of Mangochi, Zomba, Balaka, and Machinga and the Chewa of central and southern Malawi, are attracted and encouraged to marry immigrant workers in need of luxury clothing, blankets, phones, cosmetics, fridges, beds, and other essential goods coming from Africa's second-largest economy.⁶⁷⁴ Thus, poor girls leave school, preferring to be wealthy in clothes, bicycles, cosmetics, blankets, electronics, and other essentials that immigrant workers bring or send from South Africa.

Furthermore, Chavula states that the custom of attracting school-aged girls into marriage (future brides) is not only found in the northern part of Malawi, especially in the Mzimba district. The United Nations states that 14 million girls worldwide marry before their 18th birthday. Thirty of the 41 nations with at least 30% or more youth marriages are in Africa.⁶⁷⁵ In this case, early marriages are a global problem that is not unique to Malawi. Khadijah 26, a Yawo from Mangochi who arrived in South Africa in 2017, spoke of her origins as a tragic experience she had to endure after being forced to marry a man who was in South Africa. She said:

I am the eldest daughter of a poor family of eight children. My father was a fisherman and my mother helped plant maize. My parents could not afford basic necessities. Sometimes I would go to sleep hungry because of the bad harvest. The soil in Malawi requires the application of fertilizer, which is an expensive commodity for the general public.⁶⁷⁶

⁶⁷² Chavula. "South Africa migrants trapping girls into early marriage"

⁶⁷³ Chavula. "South Africa migrants trapping girls into early marriage"

⁶⁷⁴ Chavula. "South Africa migrants trapping girls into early marriage"

⁶⁷⁵ Chavula. "South Africa migrants trapping girls into early marriage"

⁶⁷⁶ Interview with Khadjah, Progress (24 July 2020).

She continued. "I realised that I wasn't fortunate and had no choice but to marry a man who worked in South Africa. I thought that was the way not to blame my parents for being poor." Tikhale, a 35-year-old Chewa Muslim from Nkhotakota who came in 2014, said she had dropped out of school because she was from the Chewa tribe, where culture drives girls to marry early. Tikhale's role models were the women who had travelled to South Africa. She faced many challenges, including poverty, sexual advances from wealthy men, and a culture of prejudice that despises young women, "I went after a man who had a shop. He persuaded me into early sexual relationships, marriage, and then a teenage pregnancy that later led to subsequent divorce."⁶⁷⁷ Tikhale further says, "I decided to grow vegetables. I sold the vegetables to get my passport. After I got my passport, I decided to travel to South Africa. The WhatsApp group provided an excellent network to communicate with other Chewa Muslims who settled in South Africa"⁶⁷⁸ Tikhale continues:

The Chewa culture is persistent and pervasive through stereotypes and has the wrong impression that young women's only choice is to get married on time." Therefore, culture plays an important role in hindering girls' education. They can't focus on education and drop out of school and look for ways to get out of the country.⁶⁷⁹

Scholars such as Kings Phiri agree with Tikahle, noting that Chewa women usually married a little early, a few months after reaching puberty (i.e. between 12 and 14 years old). However, men had to wait and wait for some time before they could get married, as they had to be proficient and skilled in building a hut for their wives, tending plants for their in-laws, and performing various handicrafts. Community judgment was generally directed against the marriage of young people who had not yet developed such skills.⁶⁸⁰ Thus, Malawian girls and women are adversely affected by early marriages, which limit their development, status, and security. Their right to education, health, and marriage is denied.⁶⁸¹ Poverty and weak legislation in Malawi contribute to the high

⁶⁷⁷ Interview with Tikhale, Chatsworth (5 July, 2020).

⁶⁷⁸ Interview with Tikhale, Chatsworth (5 July, 2020).

⁶⁷⁹ Interview with Tikhale, Chatsworth, (5 July, 2020).

⁶⁸⁰ Kings M. Phiri. "Some Changes in the Matrilineal Family System among the Chewa of Malawi since the Nineteenth Century". *The Journal of African History*. (The History of the Family in Africa. (1983, 24: 2) 260.

⁶⁸¹ See Agnes Odhiambo. "I've Never Experience Happiness": *Child Marriages in Malawi*. (Human Rights Watch, 2014).

rate of child marriages. Hence, Malawi still had a law that allowed girls to marry at the age of 15 with parental consent.⁶⁸²

A clause in Malawi's Constitution enabling minors between the ages of 15 and 18 to marry with parental approval was abolished by the country's parliament in 2015. Additionally, it rose the marriage age from 15 to 18 years.⁶⁸³ Malawi's government stated in April 2018 that the country had lowered the rate of child marriage from 50% to 42% in just two years.⁶⁸⁴ On the other hand, reports in 2021 shows that when the government realized in 2017 that the country had a weak law allowing girls to marry at the age of 15 with parental consent, Malawi's parliament banned the marriage of girls and boys under the age of 18 years old.⁶⁸⁵ Although child marriages are banned in the country, the trend of marrying young girls to immigrant men in South Africa continues to this day. Some scholars have argued that there is a link between early marriage and divorce among women.⁶⁸⁶

Malawi is said to have the highest divorce rate in Africa. Emery says Malawi has the highest divorce rate among the continent's 54 countries.⁶⁸⁷ Divorce rates are particularly high in parts of the south of the country where the Yawo are predominant. In Balaka, for example, two-thirds of all first marriages end in divorce. Men from the relatively poor southern region spend more time in cities than in other parts of Malawi, adding to the union's vulnerability.⁶⁸⁸ Such high divorce rates are common in Malawi due to early marriages.⁶⁸⁹ Thus, teenagers get married before the age of 18 and a third become pregnant during their teens.⁶⁹⁰

Amatullah 30, one of the respondents in this study who arrived in Durban in 2010, stated that South Africa's wealth is driving young women to drop out of school and immigrate to the city of

⁶⁸² Chavula. "South Africa migrants trapping girls into early marriage".

⁶⁸³ Collen Lowe Morna, Lucia Makamure and Danny Glenwright (eds). *SADC Gender Protocol 2018 Barometer: 10 SADC Gender Protocol and the Barometer!* (Johannesburg: Gender Links, 2018) 162.

⁶⁸⁴ Collen Lowe Morna, Lucia Makamure and Danny Glenwright (eds). *SADC Gender Protocol 2018 Barometer: 10 SADC Gender Protocol and the Barometer!* (Johannesburg: Gender Links, 2018) 55.

⁶⁸⁵ Suzgo Chitete. "Sexual violence stuns Mzimba". *The Nation*. (Malawi), 20 January, 2021.

⁶⁸⁶ Robert Chester (ed). *Divorce in Europe*, 1st ed. (Springer, 1977) 188.

⁶⁸⁷ Robert E. Emery (ed). *Cultural Sociology of Divorce: An Encyclopedia- Volume 1*. (Los Angeles: Sage, 2013) 739.

⁶⁸⁸ Emery. *Cultural Sociology of Divorce* 739.

⁶⁸⁹ Laurens Cherchye, Bram De Rock, Selma Telalagic and Walther Frederic Vermeulen. *Where Did It Go Wrong? Marriage and Divorce in Malawi*. Discussion Paper No. 9843. (Bonn: IZA, 2016) 14.

⁶⁹⁰ Suzgo Chitete. "Sexual violence stuns Mzimba". *The Nation*. (Malawi), 20 January, 2021.

gold. Marriages are easily broken in Mangochi and Machinga because women want to go to South Africa to acquire financial independence.⁶⁹¹ Hanifa 22, another respondent who came in 2017, explicitly stated that she divorced her husband (*kupeleka cheswela*) because he was poor and could not go to *Joni*. The name *Joni* (Johannesburg) represented South Africa as a whole.⁶⁹² Malawians still refer to South Africa as *Kujoni*. Not only are men divorcing women, but women are now divorcing their husbands at a rapid pace. Females want to be independent and migrate to *Joni*.⁶⁹³ Therefore, the Yawo culture allows and tolerates women who initiate divorce proceedings. They are free to seek a divorce from their spouse and, unlike in most African societies, there is no stigma attached to doing so.⁶⁹⁴

Divorce is sometimes also a factor in women's migration. Some women divorce their husbands because of jealousy and gender-based violence within their families. Yankho, a 30-year-old single mother from Salima, said she left behind a jealous and abusive spouse who was unsupportive of her family. She divorced and moved to South Africa.⁶⁹⁵ Studies indicate that widows, single mothers, or divorcees who experienced discrimination used migration to avoid social stigma.⁶⁹⁶

In addition to the Yawo culture, Islam also allows women to divorce their husbands. In some cases, the husband leaves forever and does not support the partner or if he is impotent, the wife has the right to divorce the husband. For example, the Yawo women can divorce husbands who have been in South Africa for a long time without returning (*Machona*). Literally, this term refers to a person who has forgotten his country of origin and does not wish to return back home. People in his home believe he is dead. The Yawo say *wachonile*, the words that derive from *IsiZulu* language, *washona* (he died); *ukushona* (to die), and *ushonile* (he's dead). While Chichewa language is *anachona* (he went for good, he is lost or he is died). According to Islamic Law, Vahed argues that a man's

⁶⁹¹ Interview with Amatullah, Sydenham (20 July, 2020).

⁶⁹² Mpalive-Hangson Msiska. "Kujoni: South Africa in Malawi's National Imaginary". *Journal of Southern African Studies*. (2017, 43:5) 1018.

⁶⁹³ Interview with Hanifa, Village (26 July, 2020).

⁶⁹⁴ York William Bradshaw, Joseph F. Healey and Rebecca Smith. *Sociology for a New Century*. (Boston: Pine Forge Press, 2001) 244.

⁶⁹⁵ Interview with Yankho, Mayville (2 July, 2020).

⁶⁹⁶ United Nations General Assembly. "The Impact of migration on migrant women and girls: a gender perspective". (Human Rights Council forty- first session 24 June- 12 July 2019 Agenda item 3) 8-9.

violence, abuse, or flight can lead to the dissolution of his wife's marriage. Divorce is allowed if her husband has disappeared and his whereabouts unknown.⁶⁹⁷

Similarly, Nadvi asserts that women have been given the legal authority to dissolve their marriages. The wife has the right to file for divorce on her own initiative if the marriage devolves into an abhorrent, miserable situation or if the husband is cruel to the wife, neglects to uphold the wife and children, fails to fulfill his marital obligations, or engages in questionable behaviour. Likewise, the wife has the right to divorce if the husband is insane, has an incurable mental illness, or suffers from another terminal disease.⁶⁹⁸

This divorce is known as a *Khula* in 'Shari'a Law' which signifies freeing or dissolving the ties that bind marriages. The spouses must both agree to end the marriage for it to be valid. If the husband refuses to agree to the divorce, the wife offers the husband something in exchange for the marriage's breakup. The court (*Qadi*), upon the payment by the wife to the husband of a specific amount, not to exceed the amount of the dower (*Mahr*), shall pronounce the dissolution in the event that the husband refuses to terminate the marital contract or the mutual agreement fails.⁶⁹⁹

The Qur'an and Sunna have granted women this right "If a wife fears cruelty or desertion on her husband's part, there is no blame on them, if they arrange an amicable settlement between themselves; and such settlement is best; even though man's souls are swayed by greed. But if you do good, practice self-restraint, Allah is well acquainting with all that you do." (4:128).⁷⁰⁰

It is clear from the hadith in Sunan al-Baihaqi: "A woman came to the Prophet and said: "I hate my husband and like to separate from him." The Prophet asked: "Would you return the orchard that he gave you as a dower?" "She replied: "Yes, even more than that." The Prophet said: "You should not return more than that."⁷⁰¹

⁶⁹⁷ Muhammad Vahed. *Islamic Family Law*. (Durban: Regent Business School, 2012) 60.

⁶⁹⁸ Syed Habibul Haq Nadvi. *Islamic Legal Philosophy and the Quranic origins of the Islamic Law (A Legal-Historical Approach)*. (Durban: The Department of Arabic, Urdu and Persian, university of Durban Westville, 1989) 61.

⁶⁹⁹ Nadvi. *Islamic Legal Philosophy and the Quranic origins of the Islamic Law* 61.

⁷⁰⁰ Nadvi. *Islamic Legal Philosophy and the Quranic origins of the Islamic Law* 61.

⁷⁰¹ Nadvi. *Islamic Legal Philosophy and the Quranic origins of the Islamic Law* 61.

According to the aforementioned sources, women are permitted to file for divorce under Yawo culture and Islamic law. The wife may be able to divorce her husband if, among other things, he abandons her permanently, abuses her, or becomes impotent. Furthermore, the accounts reveal that numerous Yawo women may have divorced their husbands who had been residing in South Africa for a lengthy period of time without returning (*kuchona*). As a result, the husband vanished and his whereabouts are unknown.

Ruqaiya 28 who arrived in 2017, for example, faced this difficult situation and she had no choice but to divorce her husband because he did not have the courage to return home (*kuchona*). Che Lanje 43, another respondent who came in 2013 said when her husband got a job in South Africa around 2000:

He forgot about our condition in Malawi. He disregarded that we were poor and wanted his provision. We did not own any land in our village. Over the years, my husband wedded another woman in Durban and he could no longer connect with me. I was really suffering, while he was sending remittances to his relatives. In turn of events, his relatives were not supportive. I finally I divorced him. The Yawo culture and Islam allows us to divorce a husband in absence if he is gone forever. The divorce ceremony is called *kupeleka cheswela*.⁷⁰²

The story of Che Laje is no exception. Many men marry again once they are in South Africa and never return. Women feel abandoned and consider men "dead" (*machona-Mchona* is a singular word which is a borrowed from isiZulu (*ukushona*/ to die). The women noted that the long search for greener pastures across borders robs them of their marital rights and happiness, as well as financial support. Some men spend years in South Africa without contact with their families. They don't even go home to see their families, let alone send them money for their daily needs. The above narratives highlight the pain of Malawian women whose husbands have migrated to South Africa in search of new pastures.⁷⁰³

⁷⁰² Interview with Che Laje, Fourteen (7 August, 2020).

⁷⁰³ Nation Online. (Malawi). "Economic exodus fuels GBV". 04/04/2022.

As can be noted the changing trend can be seen across the world, with many women not only relocating but travelling alone rather than reuniting with family.⁷⁰⁴ Thus, the feminisation of migration is a current issue related to migration. A global trend has evolved in which many women are not just moving, but also moving alone rather than with their families. The formerly male-dominated pattern of migration within and out of Africa is becoming increasingly feminised. African women move both domestically and internationally for economic, educational, professional, and marital reasons. Migration is becoming more gendered as a result of changing skill requirements, such as those for domestic workers, nurses, teachers, care providers, and other traditionally female-dominated occupations.⁷⁰⁵

The feminisation of migration contributes to influencing gender equality. Women become economically stronger, acquire different skills, and perform different tasks in their countries of origin, transit, and destination.⁷⁰⁶ Thus, women become beneficial to the economies of receiving and sending countries. They become economically stable on their own and are exposed to new ways of thinking and new skills. Asauyeje's reminiscences,

In our village of Mangochi, I was nothing but getting married at a young age due to poverty. I didn't know any skills in life until I immigrated to South Africa. Through a WhatsApp group, I identified some women who had settled in Durban. Through this social network, I was encouraged to apply for a passport. It was difficult to get money for admission; however, I started growing some vegetables along our stream. The money I got from selling the vegetable for a long time was used for passport expenses and left our village. When I arrived in South Africa, I was not an expert in any work; it was difficult to work. Today I'm happy to say that I know how to use a sewing machine. I am a seamstress/tailoress which for me as a Malawian woman is an excellent result.⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰⁴ Annelize Allner (ed.). *Migration Dynamics of women, children and the elderly in South Africa*. Report No. 03-51-04. (Pretoria: Statistics South Africa, 2020) v, 1.

⁷⁰⁵ Allner. *Migration Dynamics of women, children and the elderly in South Africa* v, 1.

⁷⁰⁶ Allner. *Migration Dynamics of women, children and the elderly in South Africa* 1.

⁷⁰⁷ Interview with Asausyeje, Malukadzi (5 August, 2020).

The new skills acquired by Asausye 22, in South Africa since her arrival in 2016, have strengthened her economically. She uses her talent to empower and inspire other women in Malawi when she returns home shortly. The feminisation of migration has brought about overwhelming socio-economic and cultural changes in Southern Africa. It is favourable to women because they are economically empowered and acquire new skills. The experiences gained in South Africa have facilitated and helped many women to gain independence and autonomy in their lives and to provide labour markets for their society. Thus, immigration to South Africa becomes a rite of passage for Malawian women. When immigrant women return home, they can pass on their skills to their peers. There is also an indication that some immigrant women are able to maintain a greater degree of independence and gain from the new standards, skills, and competencies they have brought home. Furthermore, the acquisition of goods, when returning home also contributes to their status.

Poor education and illiteracy among Yawo Muslims

Castelli suggests that international immigrants are often perceived as illiterate and poor fleeing poverty in remote rural areas. In most cases, this stereotype is far from true when it comes to economic and forced migrants. In most cases, they are more educated than their peers who have been left behind in their countries.⁷⁰⁸ But Malawi's history shows that only a few Yawo in southern and central Malawi received a secular education from colonial times to modern times due to their religion. The Chewa women in this study were slightly more educated than the Yawo women. For the most part, Islam has not appealed to the majority Chewa. There are more school dropouts among the Yawo than among the Chewa. For example, in the southern region of Malawi, the Mangochi district, where Yawo Muslims are predominant, leads to early school dropout due to high pregnancy rates. The country recorded 4,950 teen pregnancies involving girls between the ages of 10 and 14 in 2020.⁷⁰⁹ Other reports indicate that the Mangochi district made headlines when over 7,000 teenage pregnancies were reported during the school holidays due to Covid-19 between January and June 2020.⁷¹⁰ Most of the girls' challenges were related to extreme poverty,

⁷⁰⁸ Castelli. "Drivers of migration: why do people move?" 5.

⁷⁰⁹ Kumbani. "Covid ripping girls' futures".

⁷¹⁰ Malawi News Agency. "First lady inspires Mangochi teens mothers" In Nation News. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 29 December, 2020.

parental influence on girls to marry, and lack of motivation to continue attending school.⁷¹¹ Phalombe (the Lhomwe area) recorded 5 447 teenage pregnancies from January to May 2020. In general, adolescents who turn out to be mothers in childhood are more likely to drop out of their education.⁷¹² As of September 2020, there were over 20, 000 girls who got married and dropped out of school. After dissolving their marriages, only 5 000 girls returned to school.⁷¹³ In this case, it is true that international immigrants are often perceived as illiterate and poor fleeing poverty in remote rural areas. This is so because girls from Malawi leave school at a young age to go to *Joni*. Young women from Mangochi, Balaka, Zomba, Blantyre, and Machinga, known as the Yawo corridor, continue to marry at a young age and leave school.

Poor educational background is a key migratory factor. For example, Ambulule, a 45-year-old woman from the Wachisi clan in Mangochi who arrived in Durban in 2014, was married for 10 years when her partner left Malawi and came to South Africa to look for a job. Neither she nor her partner had progressed beyond elementary school. The reason is that it was very difficult for Yawo Muslims to go through high school given the limited educational facilities. At times Yawo learners had to give up their religion if they wanted to enroll at a missionary school. It was the Christian missionaries who built many schools in the Muslim areas of Yawo. Few school buildings have been built by the government.⁷¹⁴ Thus, discrimination against the Yawo limited their educational development.

Shortage of land, drought, and famine:

Malawi is a small country with a large population in the SADC countries. For example, Malawi's population has nearly multiplied since independence in 1964. The population grew from 4,039,583 people in 1966 to 17,563,749 people in 2018.⁷¹⁵ Rapid population growth over time is the result of high fertility and decreased mortality.⁷¹⁶ Malawi's high birth rate and poor contraceptive programs cause the population to grow every year. On the African continent, in particular, the increasingly young population is likely to far outweigh an otherwise improving but the unequal economy, giving rise to the phenomenon of the so-called "jobless generation". This means that, at

⁷¹¹ Malawi News Agency "First lady inspires Mangochi teens mothers"

⁷¹² Kumbani. "Covid ripping girls' futures".

⁷¹³ SABC News, Channel Africa. Chinyanja Service, 24 Septembetr, 2020.

⁷¹⁴ Interview with Ambulule, Savannah Park (9 August, 2020).

⁷¹⁵ 2018 Malawi Population Census 47.

⁷¹⁶ Mary Gachochi. *Urban Poverty in Africa: Selected Countries Experiences*. (Nairobi: African forum on Urban Povert, United nations Centre for human Settlement (Habitat), 1999) 39.

least in the short to medium term, increasing global wealth will not translate into enough jobs to meet the growing expectations of the growing generation of young and skilled people.⁷¹⁷ The unemployed generation in Malawi who do not own agricultural land will continue to migrate to South Africa in search of wealth to support themselves and their families. Added to this is the poor access to land by the local Malawians. Monopolisation and exploitation of local lands, “land grabbing”, is another factor that has influenced women’s migration. The term “land grabbing” refers to the intensive exploitation of large tracts of land in rural areas of low-income countries by private international corporations or even foreign governments for large-scale intensive farming (mainly biofuels and food crops), forestry or the tourism industries. This is done to the detriment of the poor, poorly paid (and often coerced) local populations, who are practically forced to leave rural areas to reach the degraded urban peripheries of their own country, where they often live with difficulty in another environment, far away from the land that they themselves and their families have experienced for centuries.⁷¹⁸

During the colonial period, chiefs in Malawi sold the tribal lands with worthless muzzleloaders or calico.⁷¹⁹ For example, chief Kumtanja bartered his land with seven trusses of calico measuring 1, 750 yards long, worth six pence per acre. The large tracts of land west of Mount Michiru and around the headwaters of the Likhubula River were taken by Joseph Booth, the missionary of the Zambezi Industrial Mission.⁷²⁰ Langworthy argues that any land in the region that was sold to Europeans by African chiefs was sold with a full understanding of what a sale meant.⁷²¹ In contrast, Morris suggests that chiefs, who were not foolish, clearly felt that they were giving Europeans usufructuary rights over the land. In this case, the usufruct granted a temporary right to use someone else's property and derive income for a limited period of time. The chiefs did not sell the land as exclusive private property. In some cases, chiefs, whether Manga'anja or Yawo thought they would gain political allies through land deals. Additionally, some whites entered into land deals by marrying the daughter of the local chief.⁷²² It is therefore clear that when the chiefs of the

⁷¹⁷ Castelli. “Drivers of migration: why do people move?” 3.

⁷¹⁸ Castelli. “Drivers of migration: why do people move?” 3.

⁷¹⁹ Desmond Dudwa Phiri. *History of Malawi: From Earliest times to the Year 1915*. (Limbe: CLAIM, 2004) 263.

⁷²⁰ Bridglal Pachai. *Land and Politics in Malawi, 1875- 1975*. (Limestone Press, 1978) 32.

⁷²¹ Harry Langworthy. *“Africa for the African”: The life of Joseph Booth*. (Zomba: Kachere Series, 1996) 35.

⁷²² Brian Morris. *An Environmental History of Southern Malawi: Land and People of the Shire highlands*. (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) 108.

Shire Highlands accepted arms and calicoes from European settlers, they felt that in return they were giving them usufruct rights to the land, not absolute ownership.⁷²³

In southern Malawi, the failure of land reform has led to a shortage of land.⁷²⁴ In order to reform the land situation, the government of Malawi introduced the new Malawi National Land Policy (MNLP) (2002) and the Community Based Rural Land Development Project (CBRLDP) (*Kuzigulira Malo*) with funding from the World Bank.⁷²⁵ Instead of acquiring land in Thyolo and Mulanje, *Kuzigulira Malo* project encouraged people from Thyolo and Mulanje districts to migrate to Mangochi and Machinga to get land. The *Kuzigulira Malo* project exacerbated the land shortage in the Yawo and Chewa (Nyanja) areas of Mangochi and Machinga due to the high population density. Many people do not have land for agriculture in the two districts. They depend on subsistence farming for their survival. Thus, destitution in their villages also originates from inadequate land and land grabbing. Mentally, people in those communities are always affected and international migration may occur.⁷²⁶ In addition to these direct impacts, the economic benefits of smallholder agribusiness benefit local communities, while intensive land use through land grabbing mainly benefits private entrepreneurs and the international market, leading to the gradual impoverishment of the areas. Along with the environmental damage caused by climate change, the loss of small farms and their conversion to intensive agriculture lead to progressive land degradation, leading to the progressive abandonment of the dwellings by many people.⁷²⁷

Ruqaiyah 28, one of the respondents from Mangochi who arrive in Durban in 2017, said their chief handed over their ancestral lands to the people of the *Kuzigulira Malo* project. The land situation has forced them to migrate to South Africa to amass wealth which will later be used to buy more land for farming. She says:

When I was a young girl, my parents grew maize on a small plot of land. Unfortunately, our land was taken and given to the people of *Wozigulira Malo*. I decided to leave our village and immigrate to South Africa.

⁷²³ Morris, *An Environmental History of Southern Malawi* 107.

⁷²⁴ Freedom Mazwi, George Tonderai Mudimu and Kirk Helliker (eds). *Capital Penetration and the Peasantry in Southern and Eastern Africa: Neoliberal Restructuring*. (Cham-Switzerland: Springer, 2022) 105.

⁷²⁵ George. *Capital Penetration and the Peasantry in Southern and Eastern Africa* 110.

⁷²⁶ Castelli. "Drivers of migration: why do people move?" 3.

⁷²⁷ Castelli. "Drivers of migration: why do people move?" 3.

Furthermore, Zione, 50, another respondent from Dedza in central Malawi, is a Chewa and mainly spoke about how her relatives impoverished her by usurping her parents' land. As a Muslim, she was disadvantaged in Malawi and said:

My relatives took away the land after my father died. My parents used to grow maize on a small tract of land. When my father passed away, it was difficult for my mother to rent land to grow maize. And from that experience, I decided to come to this country and get the money that I will use to buy land. I am also thinking of getting into fish farming when I return to Malawi.

As some respondents such as Ruqaiyah and Zione pointed out, women face the problem of land shortages. This scenario forces them to leave the country and go to South Africa. Not only is the scarcity of land a barrier for women, but the Chewa and Yawo women who lived along the lakeshore also depended on fish for their livelihood, which is now depleted. They cannot get income from the fishing industry.⁷²⁸

Ecological Damage and Natural disasters

The Chewa and Yawo Muslims who lived along Lake Malawi in Salima and Mangochi districts depended on fish for food and a living. Unfortunately, fish production declined after fish stocks were depleted due to high quotas for fishermen and women. The longer people lived by the lake, the more they became fishermen and women. The effect is that overfishing threatens the people's livelihoods along the lake. It also threatens the delicate ecosystems and other creatures that depend on fish as a food source. Men who immigrated to South Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries owned large fishing nets after returning from *Joni*. In the 1950s, immigrants who introduced new fishing technologies (mosquito nets, nylon gillnets, bottom trawls, and close-knit beach seine nets) represented an emerging class of fishing entrepreneurs. For the Tonga and Yawo (*alovi/alofi*-fishermen and women) who lived around Lake Malawi, the purchase of fishing nets (*machela/likoka*) was of the utmost importance. They caught the fish faster than the fish could spawn to replace what had been caught. Lack of resources for law enforcement, lack of surveillance, poor understanding of fish populations and poor management of the country's lake

⁷²⁸ York William Bradshaw, Joseph F. Healey and Rebecca Smith.. *Sociology for a New Century*. (Boston: Pine Forge Press, 2001) 244.

have all contributed to the depletion of fish stocks. Previously, the fishing industry once shaped Malawi's economy as lakeshore residents became self-employed. Asawilunda 53 of Mangochi, who came to Durban in 2004, believes that:

Poverty along the lake shore has also been exacerbated by overfishing. Therefore, South Africa has become home to many immigrants from districts such as Nkhata Bay, Mangochi and Salima, which were once the centres of the fishing industry.⁷²⁹

She further states that she will work hard in South Africa to get the money that will be used to start fish farming in Malawi. Some scholars have argued that, with the decline of fishing in Bangkok, more and more men are leaving the village to migrate for work, effectively leading to women-headed households. Such families would also be in a difficult situation if the money was not remitted.⁷³⁰

Natural disasters have also influenced migration. For example, Malawi's 2015 rainy season was characterized by droughts and floods, affecting an estimated 2.8 million people in need of food and humanitarian aid, killing 176 people, mainly in Nsanje, Blantyre, Phalombe, and Chikwawa. President Peter Mutharika declared Malawi in a state of disaster when it was estimated that around 2.8 million people would experience hunger.⁷³¹ Similarly, in 2022, Tropical Cyclone Ana affected nearly 900,000 Malawians in 16 districts. The cyclone turned many villages into rubble. It caused the fourth catastrophic flooding in the lowlands since 2015. The Department of Disaster Management (DODMA) reported that Tropical Cyclone Ana destroyed 78,000 hectares of crops belonging to approximately 222,000 households in six districts. Thousands of people in Chikhwawa battled the effects of hunger and poverty from Cyclone Idai in 2019.⁷³²

Malawi was once more impacted by "Tropical Cyclone Freddy" in 2023. On March 13, President Lazarus Chakwera proclaimed a State of Disaster while traveling through South Africa on his way back from Doha, Qatar, where he presided over the Fifth United Nations Conference on Least Developed Countries. When he returned to Malawi, he reported that South African President Cyril

⁷²⁹ Interview with Asawilunda, Newlands West (12 August, 2020).

⁷³⁰ Kyoko Kusakabe and Sirayuth Thongprasert. *Women and men in small-scale fisheries and aquaculture in Asia: Barriers, constraints and opportunities towards equality and secure livelihoods*. (Bangkok: FAO, United Nations, 2022) 72.

⁷³¹ Suzgo Khunga. "Drought, floods forecast for rainy season", In Editors Pick National News. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 27 September, 2017.

⁷³² Khunga. "Drought, floods forecast for rainy season".

Ramaphosa had sent a rescue team to assist with the cyclone response efforts, and that a South African private investor had given R1 million as a result of discussions he had with him during his brief visit. Malawi reported 507 deaths, 1332 injuries, and 537 persons were missing at the time. There were 553 614 displaced people, with 543 camps set up to house them.⁷³³

Natural disasters and lack of water, food, and agricultural resources are forcing people and livestock to relocate in pursuit of less hostile surroundings. There are many examples of land degradation caused by climate change that fuel migration, create food insecurity, and risk health crises.⁷³⁴ Therefore, the environment can influence migratory flows by directly influencing the danger of a place, but also by indirectly modifying the economic, political, social, and demographic context with very complex interrelations.⁷³⁵

In Malawi, production (70% of subsistence farmers) and food preparation are generally carried out by women. This means that climate change affects the productivity of smallholders, including discrimination against women in access to and management of land, directly affecting the nutritional status of most rural families. Unless steps are taken to improve women's access to agricultural land, women remain vulnerable to the hunger and malnutrition that have plagued Malawi for many years.⁷³⁶ To alleviate hunger in Malawi, participants in this study, particularly the Chewa, said they came to South Africa to accumulate wealth, which will be used to buy land for farming. They also aim to buy water pumps that will be used for irrigation. Thus, when they return home, they will irrigate their crops to combat the hunger caused by the long-term drought that occurs during the growing season

Corruption

Malawi attained independence 59 years ago but remains one of the most corrupt and poorest countries in the SADC region. In 2016, corruption was rampant, many girls were married off at young ages, and hunger was on the rise, affecting almost 6.8 million Malawians.⁷³⁷ The country

⁷³³ Ntchindi Meki. "Chakwera rues cyclone impact". In Front Page, National News. *The Nation* (Malawi), 23 March, 2023.

⁷³⁴ Castelli. "Drivers of migration: why do people move?" 4.

⁷³⁵ Castelli. "Drivers of migration: why do people move?" 4.

⁷³⁶ Emmanuel Muwamba. "Lack of land ownership for women makes them vulnerable. Development Editor's Pick. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 1 September, 2014.

⁷³⁷ James Chavula. "Being the warm heart of Africa", Feature. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 3 January, 2017.

has a poor road network, a weak economy, and a shortage of government hospital drugs.⁷³⁸ Few school buildings have adequate teaching and learning materials. Many school buildings have no desks and students are seated on the floor.⁷³⁹ Malawi is one of those countries where students huddle under a tree while teachers give instructions on the blackboard. In many rural areas, there are school buildings with grass roofs, mud walls, and dusty foundations.⁷⁴⁰ Amatullah 30, a respondent who came in 2010 noted,

Due to corruption in our country, we have poor schools, some with thatched-roof classrooms, few teachers, dusty streets, and few clinics. A sick person walks more than five kilometers for a medical examination. In 2020, Malawi celebrated 56 years of independence but we see no change in development. We see the difference when we travel to countries like South Africa, Zambia, Mozambique or Tanzania. Financially we become independent in these countries.⁷⁴¹

Malawi's long-term dependence on donor aid and poor governance contribute to Malawi's underdevelopment.⁷⁴² The economy has performed poorly over the years. As aid poured into the country, economic performance did not improve significantly and some socio-economic indicators weakened. The weakening of the country's economy was exacerbated between 1994 and 2023 under different leaderships. Malawi is ranked 122nd out of 180 countries in Transparency International's 2016 Corruption Perceptions Index with an overall score of 31. According to Transparency International, Malawi is considered a corrupt country.⁷⁴³ As one respondent noted:

⁷³⁸ Rex Chikoko. "LL City under fire over poor road works". *The Nation*. (Malawi), 1 May, 2017; Temva Mhone. "Burden of poor road network in Mwanza". Development, *The Nation*. (Malawi), 14 July, 2017; Holyce Kholowa. "Poor road network affects ecotourism on Zomba plateau. Business News. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 27 May, 2015; Watipaso Mzungu. "Poor roads hinder healthcare access". National news. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 24 April, 2015; Dumabani Mzale. "Donor bemoans poor road maintenance". Business News. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 22 November, 2013; Jonathan Pasungwi. "Drug shortage hits hospitals". National News. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 28 February, 2020.

⁷³⁹ Joseph Mwale. "ECD lessons offered in dilapidated classrooms". National News. *The Times*. (Malawi), 13 November, 2015.

⁷⁴⁰ Correspondent. "Danes rescue Lwanjati". Feature, *The Nation*. (Malawi), 17 May, 2019.

⁷⁴¹ Interview with Amatullah, Sydenham (20 July 2020).

⁷⁴² Staff Writer. "Atupele faults aid dependence", Business News. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 29 October, 2012.

⁷⁴³ See Md Shamsul A. Chowdhury, *Remarking the Wealth of the Nations*. (Xlibris Group, 2018).

Malawi remains poor because of corruption. Poor governance has forced people to flee the country in search of green pastures in southern Africa and beyond. Malawi.⁷⁴⁴

Malawi experienced economic growth between 1964 and 1994. In 1982, the Malawian kwacha was roughly equivalent to the US dollar. Between 1994 and 2003, the Malawian kwacha dropped to 97K.⁷⁴⁵ There was corruption that went unnoticed for fear of political persecution, but there were economic and developmental achievements under Dr. Kamuzu Banda's (1964-1994) leadership.⁷⁴⁶ Although Malawi experienced economic growth between 1964 and 1992, some remember Banda as a dictator who suppressed and silenced political opponents. Scholars like Mwakasungura and Miller coined the period between 1964 and 1994, noting the increasing human rights violations, as "*Malawi's Lost Years*". President Bakili Muluzi, who ruled Malawi between 1994 and 2004, campaigned based on alleviating poverty (*kuchepetsa umphawi/ kumasya, kunandiya usauchi*). His philosophy was premised on the economy, 'poverty alleviation' and prioritising health, education, agriculture, youth and women empowerment, and government coffers' loans.⁷⁴⁷ Che Ngonji, lamented the shortcoming of President's Muluzi rule:

The concept of 'poverty alleviation' was good initially; however, poor governance played a role in restraining and containing the country's capacity to develop economically and raise the poorest and destitute out of poverty.⁷⁴⁸

Muluzi missed an opportunity to take Malawians out of poverty because he was engrossed with domestic political antagonisms, enmities, and contentions that weakened his government's ability and skills in addressing the issue of poverty.⁷⁴⁹ Angala, one of the respondents, related how she migrated to South Africa in 1996 during this period:

⁷⁴⁴ Interview with Amatullah, Sydenham (20 July 2020).

⁷⁴⁵ Diana Cammack. *Poorly Performing Countries: Malawi, 1980-2002*, Background Paper 3 for ODI study on Poor Performing Countries (Overseas Development Institute March 2004) 4.

⁷⁴⁶ Cammack, *Poorly Performing Countries: Malawi* 8.

⁷⁴⁷ Cammack. *Poorly Performing Countries: Malawi* 9.

⁷⁴⁸ Interview with Che Ngonji, Marian Hill (4 August, 2020).

⁷⁴⁹ Cammack. *Poorly Performing Countries: Malawi* 9.

I came to Johannesburg and then to Durban when I was 26. It was a period of democratic dispensation in Malawi and South Africa. I was one of the many women in Malawi who escaped poverty resulting from the poor economic management.⁷⁵⁰

During President Bingu wa Mutharika's tenure (2004-2012), one observes the cessation/halt of donor aid after Mutharika began to exhibit autocratic behaviour.⁷⁵¹ The suspension of donor aid left a gap in the national budget, which depends on donor support. The consequence was a shortage of foreign currency in Malawi. It affected the poor masses as the Malawi kwacha dropped, and essential commodities hiked.⁷⁵² Subsequently, Joyce Hilda Banda (née Mtila) assumed the role of the 4th President of Malawi's republic from 7 April 2012 to 31 May 2014 following the passing of President Mutharika. Her administration was overshadowed by reports of corruption in her government, which emerged in early October 2013. Large amounts of public coffers amounting to over K9 billion or 0.7 percent of GDP were looted.⁷⁵³ Numerous donors started suspending aid in reaction to the outrage.⁷⁵⁴ The impact on ordinary Malawians was that life became hard; essential commodities' prices went up. It disturbed the cost of maize, the staple in the country. By 2016 the maize price stood at about K15 500 for a 50 kg bag, contrasted to K5 500 in 2015.⁷⁵⁵ More and more undocumented Malawian immigrants were deported from South Africa during this period. Therefore, migrating to South Africa in large numbers between 2012 and 2014 was understood and perceived as an indication of an intensifying economic hardship.⁷⁵⁶

Malawians voted Peter Mutharika as the 5th President of Malawi in the 2014 polls. The leadership of Mutharika was strained by a wave of popular discontent, emanating from corruption, load shedding, and food shortages. Malawians were not happy with the lack of essential goods in the country. They had to raise their voice through protests and marches.⁷⁵⁷ The allegations of rampant corruption in Mutharika's government contributed to his defeat in the 2020 elections, and Lazarus

⁷⁵⁰ Interview with Angala, Clare Estae (20 September, 2020).

⁷⁵¹ Johnny Kasalika. "New era for UK- Malawi ties". National News. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 1 June, 2012.

⁷⁵² Fanwell Kenala Bokosi. "Reflecting on Malawi's 50 years of post- independence gains and losses". Business News. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 10 July, 2014.

⁷⁵³ Bokosi. "Reflecting on Malawi's 50 years of post- independence gains and losses"

⁷⁵⁴ Dumbani Mzale. "Cashgate darkened the economy in 2013". *The Nation*. (Malawi), 1, 2 January, 2014.

⁷⁵⁵ Enelles Nyale. "1000 Malawians languish at Lindela in South Africa". National News. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 26 February, 2016.

⁷⁵⁶ Nyale. "1000 Malawians languish at Lindela in South Africa".

⁷⁵⁷ Suzgo Chitete. "Demos and demos in 2019". Front page. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 30 December, 2019).

Chakwera became the 6th president of the Republic of Malawi. He took an oath as president of Malawi on 28 June 2020. Unfortunately, by 2023, during Chakwera's presidency—the president who vowed to fight corruption to the bitter end—Malawi had only slightly improved from 35 to 34 points on Transparency International's (TI) 2022 Corruption Perceptions Index, maintaining position 110 out of the 180 nations evaluated. According to the TI statement made public on January 30, 2023, the assessment reveals that the nation is still exceedingly corrupt despite repeated attempts.⁷⁵⁸

Malawi was ranked 120 with 32 points in 2018 and fell down to 123 with 31 points in 2019, then up to 129 with 30 points in 2020, before rising up 19 positions to position 110 with 35 points in 2021.⁷⁵⁹

The above state of affairs in Malawi has forced women to migrate. As Amale 45, a respondent from Salima who came in 2013 remarks:

It is the poor masses that have been deprived of getting a better life. Malawi's underdevelopment is becoming a burden to South Africa's politics and the economy as Malawi's unemployed youth are flocking to this country for greener pastures leaving school at a tender age. In the end, indigenous South Africans are competing with foreign nationals in seeking job opportunities, which fuels xenophobic sentiments.⁷⁶⁰

Zione, a respondent, explained how corruption hinders the development of the country:

As corruption and poor services increase in Malawi, more people will be forced out of the country. We have no choice but to leave our country. The gloomy picture is that Malawian immigrants are becoming a drain on the South African economy. The people of South Africa are struggling for the meager resources available to almost fifty million people. Foreigners also compete for the same resources and spaces in the townships.⁷⁶¹

⁷⁵⁸ Joseph Mwale. "Malawi slips on corruption index". In National News. *The Nation* (Malawi), 1 January, 2023.

⁷⁵⁹ Mwale. "Malawi slips on corruption index".

⁷⁶⁰ Interview with Amale, Sherwood (6 July, 2020).

⁷⁶¹ Interview with Zione, Mawelewele (2July, 2020).

The narratives of Amale and Zione illuminate the failure of Malawian governments (past and present) and the private sector to create jobs and improve the socio-economic conditions of the people. Malawians migrate to South Africa to escape the difficult economic conditions in their country. Apart from economic decline, tribalism, nepotism, regionalism, and political interference have also forced some Malawians to seek work elsewhere.⁷⁶² Hopelessly, when foreign nationals compete for scarce resources in South Africa, vigilant organisations like "Dudula", which means "to push back" in the *IsiZulu* language, accuse foreign nationals of contributing to the country's high unemployment rate and of stealing jobs, homes, and women from South Africans. Thus, while there are 'push' factors, 'pull' factors played an equally significant role.

Pull factors: Social networks

Networks of immigrant women in their country of origin or previous migrant experiences of women can help arise and accelerate migration. Social networks, as a series of interpersonal links linking migrants, former immigrants, and non-migrants in countries of origin, transit, and destination through kinship, friendship, or community of origin, can encourage rural women to travel across borders.⁷⁶³ Additionally, social networks can also help immigrants find housing and employment, as well as send remittances. Many employers also use immigrant networks, especially those grounded on kinship, to recruit.⁷⁶⁴

The main attraction for Malawian women in the receiving country is a network of friends or relatives who help them in the settling process and job hunting. Immigrant women from Malawi who come to Durban use their social capital in the form of social networks to support the process of acclimatization in the host country. Thus, the deciding factor in the decision to travel to South Africa was the presence of friends, brothers, uncles, sisters, or fathers. Other factors such as ethnic and social customs are also important. Motivation and desire to migrate is a major key factor that, together with other push migration factors, makes the final decision to actually migrate.⁷⁶⁵ Most women immigrants are usually accepted by male relatives such as uncles, siblings, fathers, and cousins. It is this type of network that makes it easier for Malawi females to enter South Africa.

⁷⁶² Lowani Mtonga. "Can Xenophobia be eradicated? In Lowani Mtonga. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 26 April, 2015.

⁷⁶³ United Nations General Assembly. "The Impact of migration on migrant women and girls" 11.

⁷⁶⁴ United Nations General Assembly. "The Impact of migration on migrant women and girls" 11.

⁷⁶⁵ Castelli. "Drivers of migration: why do people move?" 5.

Amina noted that women in Malawi hear stories about the country "as a country with more job opportunities, more wealth, better services and cheaper goods". Amina further says, not only do social networks help provide shelter and food for arriving immigrants but the often overstated and overstressed stories of better livelihood and higher-income prospects assist to generate and attract more immigrants. These tantalizing stories, coupled with the display of luxuries like beautiful corrugated iron houses when visiting their villages, persuade more women to make the choice to leave their households in pursuit of a better life. Durban is often portrayed in migrant stories as a peaceful city with many job opportunities.

The 30 respondents of this study noted that they followed friends and family to the peaceful city of Durban. As Asawilunda explains:

I accompanied my companions to Pietermaritzburg who led me to my relative who has established residence in Sherwood. Prior to locating my relative, I held a position as a salesperson in Pietermaritzburg, where the earnings were exceedingly meager. The employer exploited this circumstance due to my status as a recent arrival in the city. Subsequently, I secured employment in Durban as a cleaner where the remuneration was more favourable.⁷⁶⁶

Amatullah 30, another respondent said she came to Durban in 2010 when her husband sent her money for transport. She says, "I came 10 years ago. I don't remember how much I paid for transport, but I think it was less than a thousand rands. Recently, the price for the distance between Blantyre and Johannesburg is said to be over R2000. When we arrived in South Africa, there was someone we knew who came long before us. In my case, I am with my husband who taught me the way to Durban, while my colleagues are with their families and friends".⁷⁶⁷ Likewise, Che Laje was at liberty to travel to Durban to find a job after the annulment of her marriage. She was lucky that her sister and her husband were by this time in South Africa. They came in the 1990s, realised Che Laje's plight and provided transportation costs to get from Mangochi to Durban. According

⁷⁶⁶ Interview with Asawilunda, Newlands (12 August, 2020).

⁷⁶⁷ Interview with Amatullah, Sydenham (20 July, 2020).

to Che Laje, this Malawi network is important for securing housing and jobs, as some people know potential employers, primarily Indian Muslims.⁷⁶⁸

Geographical proximity and Acculturation

Geographical proximity is also a fascinating factor that attracts Malawians to South Africa. South Africa is not far from Malawi. Many Chewa and Yawo Muslim women use buses or private transport to get to Durban. They are also attracted by Durban's ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity, especially the many Muslim inhabitants of Durban. The visible presence of Islam is a major attraction for Malawi Muslim women. Religious identity is seen as an interesting attraction for the concentration of Malawian Muslim women in and around Durban. Vahed elaborates on this issue. He argues that ethnically and culturally, Durban is South Africa's most cosmopolitan city. Here grand mosques dominate the city skyline. Men in traditional Arabian dresses and Muslim women in *hijabs* (veils) are everywhere.⁷⁶⁹ For example, according to some respondents, wearing the *hijab* gives a pleasant feeling. It means that Islam is the universal religion that sees no borders. Hence, the appearance of black Muslims in the *hijab* (women's Islamic dress) means that Islam is no longer considered an Indian religion in southern Africa. According to the respondents in this study, Islam was seen as an 'Indian' religion and this perception is only changing now with the arrival of African Muslims from other parts of Africa. But the "black" or dark complexion of women also means that they are foreign. It is easy to be stopped by the police when dressed in *hijab*.

But African Muslims are also met with hostility from locals. Amina, a respondent said she was "sad" when she wore the *hijab*. When she tries to greet another Indian Muslim woman with an Islamic greeting of 'Assalam Alaykum (peace be upon you), she encounters a silence or' complaint 'response.'⁷⁷⁰ According to Amina, the woman who is greeted does not respond, taking her for a beggar in Islamic dress. She says, Malawians are not begging in town. They work hard to earn a living even though they receive low wages in many workplaces. They also understand

⁷⁶⁸ Interview with Che .Laje, Fourteen (7 August, 2020).

⁷⁶⁹ Goolam Vahed. "Changing Islamic Traditions and Emerging Identities in South Africa". *Journal of Muslim Minority Affair*. (2000, 20:1) 44.

⁷⁷⁰ Interview with Amina, Overport (2 July, 2020).

that Islam encourages sharing and giving but discourages begging and laziness. Working is part of life.⁷⁷¹

Asawilunda recalls her experiences as an African Muslim women immigrant in Durban,

I followed my spouse who worked at Masjid (mosque)...Only a few black South African Muslims were able to work in the mosque. Malawi people with an Islamic upbringing were hired by Indian Muslims to work in various mosques as cleaners and *Muadhins* (caller to the prayers). South Africa is not far away from Malawi and it is easier to come here than to go to Europe. When I arrived in Durban, I was received by Indian Muslims. I came across an Indian Muslim before the Zulu. I remember the Zulu people treated us in a different way because of our clothes. They considered us as half Indians belonging to the Indian religion. But today, South Africans seem to understand that Islam is a religion of all races. We have changed the history of Islam in South Africa.⁷⁷²

Although religious networks work to connect Muslim women, they also fail to attract them to Muslim lands. Surprisingly, Malawian Muslim women cannot go to North Africa. According to Amina, a respondent, South Africa is unique in Africa. Many black Africans have the ability to transfer money to their country. Across Africa, South Africa has provided more opportunities for black African immigrants than any other Muslim country in North Africa.⁷⁷³ Many respondents cite Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria as Muslim countries where they cannot look for work due to their aversion to black Africans. Libya, for example, is considered xenophobic. Reports show that in 2000 there were violent clashes between Libyan and African workers. This has led to stricter immigration rules and forced evictions on a regular basis.⁷⁷⁴ In October 2011, news articles appeared indicating that Libyan rebels were systematically massacring and persecuting black Africans.⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁷¹ Interview with Amina, Overport (2 July, 2020).

⁷⁷² Interview with Asawilunda, Newlands West (12 August 2020).

⁷⁷³ Interview with Amina, Overport (2 July, 2020).

⁷⁷⁴ International Organization for Migration (IOM). "Irregular Migration from West Africa to the Maghreb and the European Union: An Overview of Recent Trends, No. 32. (Geneva: IOM, 2008) 16.

⁷⁷⁵ John Eibner (ed). *The future of Religious Minorities in the Middle East*. (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018) 58; see also Adeoye O. Akinola (ed). *The Political Economy of Xenophobia in Africa*. (Cham: Springer, 2018) 34.

Additionally, Hamidah said there are job opportunities in South African cities such as Durban compared to other African cities. Jobs such as domestic servants are easy to find, although there is a lot of competition nowadays as other foreigners are also looking for similar jobs. In Durban, it is easy to start your own small business by selling African attires and vegetables. Here people eat different types of vegetables. In addition to vegetables such as beets, asparagus, kale, broad beans, carrots, broccoli, cucumbers, cauliflower, peas, peppers, spinach, potatoes, sweet potatoes, squash, spinach, radishes, spring onions, squash, and turnips, Malawian women sell Chinese cabbage and rape.⁷⁷⁶ According to respondents, it is sometimes easier to find work in Durban than in Johannesburg, Polokwane, or Pietermaritzburg. Hence for many Durban is the preferred choice of settlement.

Hawa Tadala 24, a respondent who came in 2017, says:

I worked as a housemaid in Lilongwe, Malawi, where I was paid 400 Rand a month. Now I work in a Congolese women's hairdresser in Durban. I get 3000 Rand per month. 1000 Rand is used for the rent of the house. The other remaining money is used to buy food and also send it home. Every month, I send money to my parents.⁷⁷⁷

Amina also said that the cost of living in Durban is lower than in other cities.⁷⁷⁸ While Amatullah said Durban police posed a lesser threat to foreigners than Johannesburg law enforcement officers following buses to Park station. Police searches are common at Park Station. They will not search Whites or Indians. This happens especially on Sundays when many foreigners go to flea markets to buy cheap goods. But Durban is slightly safer than Johannesburg, Pretoria, Bloemfontein, and Pietermaritzburg.⁷⁷⁹

Thus the above narratives reveal that many of the respondents in this study have alluded to both 'push' and 'pull' factors that influence transition and immigration. Factors such as land shortages, crop failure, poor services, gender inequality, high unemployment, floods, corruption, poverty, and

⁷⁷⁶ Interview with Hamidah, Isipingo (24 July, 2020).

⁷⁷⁷ Interview with Hawa Tadala, Lindelani (17 July, 2020).

⁷⁷⁸ Interview with Amina, Overport (8 July, 2020).

⁷⁷⁹ Interview with Amatulla, Sydenham (20 July, 2020).

high divorce rates make South Africa home to many foreign immigrants. Malawian women are no exception.

Chapter 4

Challenges and Constraints experienced by the Chewa and Yawo Muslim women immigrants

This chapter outlines and identifies the challenges and constraints faced by Chewa and Yawo Muslim women in the context of religion, culture, and xenophobia. When these desperate immigrants arrive in South Africa, they face a number of challenges, including low wages, lack of educational opportunities, unemployment, police harassment, crime, poor health care, mental illness, lack of housing, and, in particular, hostility by local residents. Collectively these factors shape and define Chewa and Yawo women's experiences in Durban.

The Journey to Joni -In Transit

As noted in Chapter 3, South Africa has been home to many immigrants seeking a better life. When these desperate immigrants arrive in South Africa, they face many challenges as will be seen later. Studies by Chiumia illuminate how covert activities are going on between Malawi and Joni. She reveals the challenges they face and the corruption that runs rampant along the borders.⁷⁸⁰

Amina, a respondent says:

Women spend a lot on corrupt officials in Malawi (Dedza and Mwanza borders), Mozambique (Zobue, Kalomue and Kuchamano), Zimbabwe (Nyamapanda and Beitbridge borders), and South Africa (Betbridge).⁷⁸¹

Bribes are paid to officials to allow immigrants to cross borders from Malawi to South Africa.

According to historical records, travellers through Mozambique up to the 1920s faced the risk of being attacked and robbed by armed gangs. They were also regularly the target of extortion from police officers and messengers in both that country and Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). The risk of entering South Africa illegally

⁷⁸⁰ See Cynthia Sintha Chiumia. "Bus trip to Joni: The story of undocumented Malawian migrants' journeys to Johannesburg". Master of Art in Journalism and Media Studies. (University of the Witwatersrand, 2016).

⁷⁸¹ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

was increased by the fact that people who were detained frequently ended themselves working on Bethal's low-paying farms in the northeastern Transvaal as labourers.⁷⁸² Immigrants were more vulnerable when coming home with a large amount of things, and riding the train did not eliminate the risk. In the middle of the 1930s, the Blantyre station was a favourite hangout for sneak thieves looking to steal luggage.⁷⁸³

As noted above, up until the 1920s, immigrants passing through Mozambique faced the risk of being attacked and robbed by armed gangs. Extortion by police officials and messengers was also common in both that country and Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Unfortunately, as will be seen later, similar heinous crimes are currently being committed in Zimbabwe. *Gumaguma* gangs prey on illegal immigrants trying to cross the border. They commit a wide range of crimes along the Limpopo River, including rape, murder, extortion, and robbery. Furthermore, border guards, police officers, and immigration officials in Mozambique and Zimbabwe are allegedly abusing Malawian immigrants

Accordingly, it has not been simple to travel from Malawi to South Africa and from South Africa to Malawi, as evidenced by the history of migration in southern Africa from the nineteenth century to the twenty-first century. Some immigrant women, for instance, are still forced to pay bribes despite possessing a valid document allowing them to cross the border. They are said to be buying the Mozambique-Zimbabwe route (*kugula njira/kusuma litala*). Amina goes on to say that:

The border guards (*guarda frointera* in Portuguese) in Mozambique require an official stamp on our passports or an official bank statement or an official receipt from the forex-exchange bureau to prove that we have the necessary R3000 to show to the officers of immigration when we reach the South African border. Even if we have an original bank receipt, the corrupt border guards and immigration

⁷⁸² McCracken. *A History of Malawi* 183.

⁷⁸³ McCracken. *A History of Malawi* 183.

officials in Mozambique say “*isso e falso/errado*” in Portuguese, meaning "that's fake/wrong", so we would have to give them 50 or 100 rands every time we cross the border.⁷⁸⁴

Amina further says “while others have the original receipts, some Chewa and Yawo Muslim immigrants have no proof, so they will bribe immigration officers from the Mozambican border to Joni. Immigrant women pay these bribes directly to border officials or bus drivers, who act as beneficiaries and have agreed to share the income with border officials. Imagine how much money Malawian immigrants lose to these corrupt officials?” Amina asked.⁷⁸⁵

Respondents in this study noted that if an immigrant has been to Tanzania, Kenya, Ghana, Zambia, Angola, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, or other countries where a yellow fever vaccination certificate is required for travellers arriving at the border, that traveller must present a yellow fever immunization certificate that will be shown to Mozambican immigration officials. If they don't have the vaccination certificate, they have to pay the bribes again. Studies show that vaccination against yellow fever may be necessary or recommended. Dozens of unvaccinated Chinese immigrants contracted yellow fever while working in Angola, highlighting the significance of yellow fever inoculation for travellers.⁷⁸⁶

Also, Amina states that in addition to paying immigration officers for bribes if you don't have a yellow fever vaccination, in Mozambique you have to pay R50 to R100 to buy the road (*kugula njira*). You also have to pay more if you stay too long in South Africa. There is no point in paying Zimbabwean and Mozambican officials' money just because someone has stayed too long in South Africa. Why pay bribes to these officials as if Malawians stayed longer in their country? It is a serious problem in SADC countries. SADC countries should investigate these clandestine activities in Mozambique and Zimbabwe involving corrupt immigration officers.⁷⁸⁷

⁷⁸⁴ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

⁷⁸⁵ Interview with Amina (Overport, 22 July, 2020).

⁷⁸⁶ Gary W. Brunette and Jeffrey B. Nemhauser (eds.). *CDC Yellow Book 2020: Health Information for Travel*, Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019) 507.

⁷⁸⁷ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

Amina and other participants in this study blame the government of Malawi, which reportedly entered into a deal with the government of South Africa not to allow Malawians carrying less than R3000 in traveller's cheques to enter South Africa. That is why immigration officials in Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and South Africa are insisting on and enforcing proof of adequate funds to enter South Africa. Travellers from Malawi believe this provision discriminates against them at borders as travellers from Zimbabwe or Zambia are exempt from this. According to a staff writer of *The Nation* newspaper in Malawi, Malawian immigrant women say that foreign currency is not always available in Malawi and that they have no choice but to look for it on the black market. But the problem is getting their passports stamped by the banks. However, there are black market traders who have unreliable bank stamps, but most of the time these stamps are spotted at the border. The women said many Malawians have had problems at Beit Bridge.⁷⁸⁸ The staff writer further argues that sometimes some women have sex with border officers to enter the republic. Some people even try to cross the river by swimming across the Limpopo River, but some have lost their lives to crocodiles.”⁷⁸⁹

The above strict measure to stem the influx of Malawians into South Africa forces them to cross the border illegally. It is therefore undocumented or “overstayers” immigrants who immigrate illegally and bribe officials with R50 or R100, in some cases R500 at each border crossing to reach Joni. Zione shared her experiences of the journey from Malawi:

It is not just the issue of illegal documents that poses a challenge to women; women also face sexual harassment from transporters and those who are experts in transporting illegal immigrants through uncharted routes. Some women are forced to sleep with transporters and experts on unknown roads. For example, there are stories among Malawians that some transporters from Malawi have been implicated in scandals involving the impregnation of the women they transport to South Africa. Unfortunately, some of these women are married and become pregnant only a few months after arriving in South Africa. The husbands abandon/leave them after realising the wife is pregnant. In return, these women start selling their bodies to

⁷⁸⁸ Staff Writer. “Malawians ordered to have R3000 to get into SA”, In Business News. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 25 February, 2012.

⁷⁸⁹ Staff Writer. “Malawians ordered to have R3000 to get into SA”.

earn a living. Immigrant women also face a challenge when crossing into South Africa. In Zimbabwe, gangs known as *gumaguma* in Shona, which means "pat you on the back or punch you to get your attention", are the most infamous gang around the Limpopo River. These gangs of criminals target illegal immigrants as they cross the borderline. They rob and sometimes rape.⁷⁹⁰

The respondents' narratives reveal that undocumented migrants entering South Africa risk being intercepted by the *gumaguma*, bandits who commit various abuses, including extortion, robbery, rape, and murder, along the Limpopo River.⁷⁹¹ In addition, United Nations studies have shown that immigrant women in transit may be coerced into engaging in transactional sex to facilitate border crossings.⁷⁹² Hence, irrespective of whether they migrate regularly or irregularly, there is evidence that immigrant women are at high risk of being exposed to acts of violence during transit or upon arrival and thereafter, including gender-based violence, human trafficking, exploitation, slavery, and detention by officials, individuals or criminal gangs.⁷⁹³ Studies show that women are most at risk in transit and at the destination, especially if not accompanied by a male migrant.⁷⁹⁴ According to the report, Taiwan is a gendered destination for immigrant women and children subjected to forced labour and prostitution.⁷⁹⁵

Other challenges women immigrants face when using the more than 200 illegal entry points across the Limpopo River, are being attacked by hippos, crocodiles, or drowned or ambushed by criminals who rape, rob, and kill them.⁷⁹⁶ For example, reports show that on 31 December 2015, 11

⁷⁹⁰ Interview with Zione, Mawelewele (2 July, 2020).

⁷⁹¹ Munyaradzi Mawere (ed.). *The Political Economy of Poverty, Vulnerability and Disaster Risk Management: Building Bridges of Resilience, Entrepreneurship and Development in Africa's 21st Century*. (Bamerda, Cameroon: Langaa RPCIG) 341.

⁷⁹² United Nations General Assembly. "The Impact of migration on migrant women and girls: a gender perspective". (Human Rights Council forty- first session 24 June- 12 July 2019 Agenda item 3) 14.

⁷⁹³ United Nations General Assembly. "The Impact of migration on migrant women and girls 11.

⁷⁹⁴ Nelson Okorie, Babatunde Raphael Ojebuyi and Juliet Wambui Macharia. *Handbook of Research on the Global Impact of Media on Migration Issues*. (Hershey PA USA: IGI Global, 2019/2020) 77.

⁷⁹⁵ See Takashi Inoguchi (ed.). *The Handbook of Asian Foreign Policy*, 1st Edition. (University of Tokyo, 2019/2020).

⁷⁹⁶ Malawi News Agency. "Hippo attacks SA-bound Malawians in Limpopo River" In National News. *The Nation* (Malawi), 20 January, 2016.

Malawians were attacked by a hippopotamus in the Limpopo River while trying to cross an illegal passage.⁷⁹⁷ In general, women, especially those who immigrate irregularly, are usually stranded in transit countries for lack of adequate documentation, as they hardly have local contacts, skills, or knowledge of the local language, and are vulnerable to victimisation and hatred during transit.⁷⁹⁸

Language Barrier

The first major challenge for Malawian immigrant women when they arrive in South Africa is the language barrier. Most Yao women, when they arrive in this country, cannot speak English or the IsiZulu languages, other than Chiyawo and Chichewa. Some Chewas understand English better than Yao women. In contrast, Chewa Muslim women have to some extent completed high school compared to many Yao Muslim women who have dropped out of school. Thus, the inability to communicate in English and the local language contributes to the stigma and the mockery of women immigrants. They are seen as a lower class of people and labels like *makwerekwere* began to appear.⁷⁹⁹

Studies show that immigrant women in Japan, despite secure residency permits, are often stuck in niches of employment such as domestic work due to language barriers.⁸⁰⁰ Similarly, in South Africa, most Malawian women are confined to household chores due to difficulty in communicating with their bosses in other sectors of work.⁸⁰¹ Additionally, the language barrier poses a major challenge for Malawians, because it is difficult to report any problem they encounter in Durban. Thus, they cannot report their abuse to the relevant authorities.

⁷⁹⁷ Malawi News Agency “Hippo attacks SA-bound Malawians in Limpopo River”.

⁷⁹⁸ Bandita Sijapati. “Women’s Labour Migration from Asia and Pacific: Opportunities and Challenges”. (International Organization for Migration (IOM), Migration Policy Institute (MPI). (March 2015, 2) 4.

⁷⁹⁹ Mbalaka. “Exploring the Migration Experiences of Muslim Yao Women in KwaZulu-Natal, 1994-2015” 68-69.

⁸⁰⁰ Nicola Piper and Mina Roces (eds.). *Wife or Worker; Asian Women and Migration*. (Lanham: Roman and Littlefield Publishers, 2003) 17.

⁸⁰¹ Interview with Amina, Overport (2 July, 2020).

A UK study found that marginalised Muslim immigrant women in Britain often face multiple isolating factors due to language barriers and a lack of peer networks.⁸⁰² Studies further illuminate that immigrant Muslim women in Canada face additional barriers and burdens due to lack of family support due to cultural sensitivities, language barriers, and geographic separation.⁸⁰³ In Turkey and Azerbaijan, the language barrier contributes to the exploitation of Turkish migrant women from the villages. They receive lower wages than Turkish citizens.⁸⁰⁴ These women also prefer to tolerate abuse and violence of any sort from their employers or spouse rather than disclosing it to others

Language barriers also impact social relations with locals. Malawian immigrant women have experienced the hatred of the indigenous population for their inability to properly understand isiZulu. If a person cannot speak isiZulu, she is treated as the "other", inferior alien. For example, immigrant women face many problems when they are sick. Language barriers make it difficult to get to the clinic or hospital. Some words in the Zulu language are difficult to learn for an adult. When women arrive at the clinic and describe their ailment in broken English, the nurse frequently taunts and mocks them, asking if they are truly African or *abelungu abamnyama* (black people who believe they are White and speak English). Immigrant women have a difficult time expressing themselves in isiZulu. They arrived in the country knowing no isiZulu. Thus, when ladies describe their conditions in English, some nurses make fun of them by whistling like *abelungu abamnyama*.⁸⁰⁵ As a result of their failure to communicate effectively in isiZulu, they are cast in a lower position and experience the phenomena known as "medical xenophobia" in the hospitals, as will be seen later. Apart from being a violent phenomenon, xenophobia manifests itself in South African culture through the exclusion and differential treatment of foreigners in a variety of institutions, including hospitals, schools, banks, the police, the Department of Home Affairs, social

⁸⁰² Naomi Thompson, Rabia Nasimi and Marina Rova. *Community Work with Migrant and Refugee Women: 'Insiders' and 'Outsiders' in Research and Practice*. (Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing, 2022) 48.

⁸⁰³ Afaf Ibrahim Meleis, Eugenie L. Birch and Susan M. Wachter (eds.). *Women's Health and the World Cities* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011) 159.

⁸⁰⁴ Wilma A. Dunaway. *Gendered commodity Chains: Seeing Women's Work and Households in Global Production*. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2014) 114.

⁸⁰⁵ Mbalaka. "Exploring the Migration Experiences of Muslim Yao Women in KwaZulu-Natal, 1994-2015" 68.

services, and immigration entry points.⁸⁰⁶ Given this context, it is critical to understand what the term "medical xenophobia" means, how it affects how foreign nationals are treated in South Africa, and how some healthcare professionals exhibit a "bad attitude" toward patients that reflects their dislike for immigrants who visit the country's clinics and hospitals. Some immigrants and refugees are denied healthcare because they are outsiders. Only their country, language, and skin colour were offered as reasons for treatment denial. As Vanyora points out, the majority of the time, this discrimination is carried through using language, paperwork, and referral systems. Healthcare professionals blame foreigners for their lack of proficiency in the local language, lack of referral letters, or lack of documentation.⁸⁰⁷

“Medical xenophobia”

Chewa and Yawo immigrant women experience intersecting marginalisation due to various factors, including ethnicity, class, race, gender, immigration status, religion, physical appearance, and employment status. Immigrant women frequently reside in hazardous accommodations, confront health hazards, and endure bias and mistreatment within the healthcare system.⁸⁰⁸

The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) asserts that access to health services is a fundamental human right guaranteed by the Constitution, including reproductive health services and emergency medical treatment.⁸⁰⁹ Section 7 of the Bill of Rights safeguards South Africa's rights and upholds democratic ideals.⁸¹⁰ Thus, the South Africa's Constitution guarantees equal access to healthcare, regardless of nationality or legal status. The National Health Act ensures primary care in clinics and community centers, and all pregnant or nursing women and children

⁸⁰⁶ See Kerry Bystrom. *Democracy at Home in South Africa: Family Fictions and Transitional Culture*. (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016),

⁸⁰⁷ Kudakwashe Vanyoro. “Myths, migrants, and who benefits from medical xenophobia”. Bhekisisa Centre for Health Journalism, 1 September, 2020. <https://bhekisisa.org/health-news-south-africa/2022-09-01-access-to-healthcare-for-migrants-in-south-africa/> (Accessed January 5, 2023).

⁸⁰⁸ Staff Reporter. “A sick system abuses its refugees”. *Mail and Guardian*. (South Africa), 16 May 2012.

⁸⁰⁹ South African human rights commission, *Access to Health*, 1. <https://www.sahrc.org.za/home/21/files/FINAL%20Access%20to%20Health%20Care%20Educational%20Booklet.pdf> (Accessed July 28, 2022).

⁸¹⁰ The South African constitution, Bill of Rights Chapter 2, Section 7-39.

<https://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/constitution/chp02.html> (Accessed July 28, 2022).

have equal access to healthcare.⁸¹¹ Similarly, Gauteng Health Spokesperson Simon Zwane says National Health Act policy states that foreign patients without any permit or documentation should not be denied emergency medical care.⁸¹²

In addition, the South African Refugee Act regulates rights of asylum seekers and refugees, ensuring healthcare eligibility as citizens.⁸¹³ While the 2007 South African Department of Health circular allows asylum seekers access primary healthcare without proper documents.⁸¹⁴

Surprisingly, the Immigration Law requires hospitals to inquire about patients' legal status before providing medical care. The Immigration Act mandates clinics and hospitals to notify the Director-General of Home Affairs of illegal immigrants without affecting patient rights, as per other laws.⁸¹⁵

Scalabrini argues doctors and nurses should not notify the Home Affairs department of suspected illegal immigrants, contradicting South Africa's comprehensive immigration laws and international view of healthcare facilities as safe spaces championed by organizations such as *Médecins Sans Frontière* (Doctor Without Borders).⁸¹⁶

Similarly, Article 25.1 of the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights guarantees individuals a standard of living for their health and well-being, including essential services and security in unexpected circumstances.⁸¹⁷ In this case, South African and international human rights laws mandate healthcare for all citizens, including undocumented and documented immigrants.⁸¹⁸

⁸¹¹ Scalabrini, "Migrant and Refugee Access to Public Health care" (Scalabrini Center of Cape town). <https://www.scalabrini.org.za/news/migrant-and-refugee-access-to-public-healthcare-in-south-africa/> (Accessed June 28, 2022).

⁸¹² Ina Skosana , Bhekisisa Team, "Foreign mom's neglect turns fatal" *Mail and Guardian*, 20 Sep 2013.

⁸¹³ Scalabrini, "Migrant and Refugee Access to Public Health care"

⁸¹⁴ Scalabrini, "Migrant and Refugee Access to Public Health care"

⁸¹⁵ Scalabrini, "Migrant and Refugee Access to Public Health care"

⁸¹⁶ Scalabrini, "Migrant and Refugee Access to Public Health care"

⁸¹⁷ Dan Biswas, Brigit Toebes, Anders Hjern, Henry Ascher and Marie Norredam. "Access to health care for undocumented migrants from a human rights perspective: A comparative study of Denmark, Sweden, and the Netherlands". *Health and Human Rights* (December 2012, 14:2) 54.

⁸¹⁸ Biswas. Dan, Brigit Toebes, Anders Hjern, Henry Ascher and Marie Norredam, "Access to health care for undocumented migrants from a human rights perspective: A comparative study of Denmark, Sweden, and the Netherlands" 56.

On the other hand, Alfaro-Velcamp notes that South Africa's immigration laws are unconstitutional, with hospital officials restricting treatment and medical professionals interpreting the law. Access to health should be regulated with respect for constitutional rights and non-discriminatory policies for vulnerable immigrants.⁸¹⁹ Everyone should have access to healthcare, according to Section 27.⁸²⁰ However, immigrants face discrimination and restrictions in South African hospitals. Healthcare professionals and employees exhibit negative attitudes towards immigrants and refugees, particularly African migrants in South Africa. New reports reveal undocumented immigrants face discrimination in public healthcare facilities and mistreatment.⁸²¹

Crush and Tawodzerwa describe “medical xenophobia” as negative attitudes towards refugees and immigrants in South Africa, despite violations of the Constitution, Bill of Rights, international human rights obligations, and Code of Professional Ethics.⁸²² Thus, “medical xenophobia” refers to negative attitudes and behaviours towards South African immigrants and refugees denied treatment in public hospitals.⁸²³

Additionally, according to Vanyoro, “medical xenophobia” refers to adverse attitudes and actions by healthcare workers against non-citizen patients, often motivated by the perception that non-citizens are “undeserving” of treatment and overburden the public healthcare system.⁸²⁴ “Medical xenophobia” stems from untrue stories about foreigners visiting South Africa for HIV treatment or to give birth. These attitudes lead to exclusionary behaviours, including treatment refusal and resource delays.⁸²⁵

⁸¹⁹ Theresa Alfaro-Velcamp, “Don’t send your sick here to be treated, our own people need it more”: immigrants’ access to healthcare in South Africa” *International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care* (13:1) <https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/IJMHS-04-2015-0012/full/html> (Accessed June 29, 2022).

⁸²⁰ Vanyoro. “Myths, migrants, and who benefits from medical xenophobia”

⁸²¹ Staff Reporter. “A sick system abuses its refugees”. *Mail and Guardian*. (South Africa), 16 May 2012.

⁸²² See Jonathan Crush and Godfrey Tawodzera, “Medical Xenophobia and Zimbabwean Migrant Access to Public Health Services in South Africa”. *Journal of Ethics and Migration Studies* (2014, 40:4).

⁸²³ See Crush and Tawodzera, “Medical Xenophobia and Zimbabwean Migrant Access to Public Health Services in South Africa”.

⁸²⁴ Vanyoro. “Myths, migrants, and who benefits from medical xenophobia”

⁸²⁵ Vanyoro. “Myths, migrants, and who benefits from medical xenophobia”

Zione, a study participant, says that many Malawians prefer private clinics or Durban pharmacies. They do not visit government hospitals, fearing insults from the staff, detention or deportation through access to healthcare.⁸²⁶

In addition, Che Laje says that immigrant women in South Africa perceive government hospitals as unsafe and prefer private pharmacies and paid health institutions for healing.⁸²⁷ Nevertheless, there are some women who are not afraid of being apprehended and deported, so they seek treatment at public healthcare facilities. Asawilunda, hailing from Mangochi, disclosed that her pregnant relative encountered what is commonly referred to as "medical xenophobia" as she received inadequate care until her demise at a hospital in Sydenham. Despite being in her ninth month of pregnancy, she was turned away when she arrived at the hospital on the day of her delivery. The labour pains began while she was at home, and she was subsequently readmitted to the same hospital. Unfortunately, she gave birth to a lifeless baby. The infant passed away at the aforementioned hospital in Sydenham, while the mother had expended all her strength during childbirth. The gravely ill mother was then transferred to Addington Hospital, where she ultimately succumbed. As a result, the deceased child was placed in the mortuary of King George Hospital, while the mother's body was taken to the mortuary at Addington Hospital.⁸²⁸ Moreover, Asawilunda noted that following this tragic narrative, family members suspected that certain healthcare professionals were intentionally providing subpar care in order to discourage immigrant women from giving birth in South Africa, as they feared an increase in the foreign population. They believe it would be preferable for immigrant women to go back to their home country and have more children.

Asawilunda recalls clinics and hospitals failing to serve foreign nationals, causing difficulties for pregnant women and mothers with small children, often with detesting attitudes. This occurs in some Durban government hospitals as well as in Johannesburg-Gauteng.

⁸²⁶ Interview with Zione, Mawelewele (2 July, 2020).

⁸²⁷ Interview with Che Laje, Fourteen (7 August, 2020).

⁸²⁸ Interview with Asawilunda, Newlands (12 August, 2020).

Gauteng hospitals have rules contradicting National Health Act, while anti-migrant protesters use physical intimidation to disperse immigrants. Increased financial constraints are causing immigrants and asylum seekers to face difficulties accessing higher-level care in Tshwane's main tertiary hospitals, particularly for pregnant and breastfeeding women and children under six. The cause of these denials is the Gauteng Department of Health's "Circular 27 of 2020," which contains ambiguous language about the "scheduling of fees for hospital services."⁸²⁹ The circular exempts pregnant women and children under six from paying fees, but primarily assesses ability for South African patients with ID documents and documented refugees. Some hospital administrators interpret it as a directive against withholding testing and services for undocumented, asylum-seeking, or stateless individuals, violating the National Health Act.⁸³⁰ In many cases, some doctors are unaware of the country's national health policy until they notice a foreign patient being rejected.⁸³¹ This is reflected in Amale's story, another respondent:

I spent numerous hours in the medical facility without receiving immediate attention because South Africans have greater precedence at public hospitals in comparison to immigrants. I was an "outside" attempting to utilise the government clinics without charge. My sibling assisted me and took me to a private clinic, where they promptly assessed my blood pressure and had me relax on a bed for some time. I could have perished if it weren't for the costly private clinic that swiftly came to my rescue.⁸³²

Additionally, Amale highlights that nurses experience frustration with insufficient staff, leading to "medical xenophobia", where they refuse to treat immigrants. She argues that "medical xenophobia" is not the issue, but rather the "bad attitude" of health professionals due to understaffing in understaffed hospitals, resulting in rude attitudes towards refugees and immigrants.⁸³³

⁸²⁹ Tasanya Chinsamy and Claire Waterhouse. "Vulnerable migrants denied maternal and child health care services at Gauteng hospital." *Mail and Guardian*. Opinion (South Africa), 7 September, 2022.

⁸³⁰ Chinsamy Tasanya and Claire Waterhouse. "Vulnerable migrants denied maternal and child health care services at Gauteng hospital"

⁸³¹ Ina Skosana, Bhekisisa Team, "Foreign mom's neglect turns fatal" *.Mail and Guardian*, (South Africa), 20 Sep 2013.

⁸³² Interview with Amale, Sherwood (6 August, 2020).

⁸³³ Interview with Amale, Sherwood (6 August, 2020).

Amale's memories show that not all nurses or doctors are prejudiced against immigrants. Similarly, according to Vinyora's findings, not all South African medical professionals are opposed to all African immigrants.⁸³⁴ In urban areas, discrimination may be more pervasive, while in communities along borders, like Musina in South Africa, access to healthcare services is easier due to cross-border intergenerational kinfolk.⁸³⁵ Though, immigrants are blamed for the deterioration of South Africa's healthcare system, nonetheless, the primary issue lies in the shortage of personnel and hospital accommodations, along with concerns regarding poor governance.⁸³⁶

While expressing a difference of opinion from Amale and others, Zione argues that if the issue is simply "negative attitudes" of hospital staff or a shortage of staff, why does this alleged "negative attitude" only manifest among black African healthcare professionals and workers towards fellow black African refugees and immigrants? Few immigrants have encountered discrimination in healthcare facilities caused by Indian or Caucasian healthcare personnel; if there has been an occurrence, it is an isolated one," she asserts. However, black immigrants have faced racism in the workplace when employed by Caucasian or Indian families. On various occasions, some black South Africans have been identified as the source of racial bias towards black Africans. For instance, when conducting ID or passport checks on the streets of Durban or Johannesburg; black African law enforcement officers will almost always stop a black African immigrant rather than an Egyptian, Moroccan, or Caucasian individual. In South Africa, Caucasian individuals are viewed as tourists rather than undocumented immigrants. Even if a Caucasian or Egyptian undocumented immigrant arrives at a South African hospital, a black medical staff member will readily greet and treat them first without even verifying their documentation. Undocumented Caucasian individuals in South Africa are therefore held in higher regard than undocumented black individuals.⁸³⁷ Hence, xenophobic incidents targeting individuals with dark skin are frequent in South Africa and are perpetrated by a small number of black South Africans due to the country's

⁸³⁴ Vanyoro. "Myths, migrants, and who benefits from medical xenophobia"

⁸³⁵ Vanyoro. "Myths, migrants, and who benefits from medical xenophobia"

⁸³⁶ Vanyoro. "Myths, migrants, and who benefits from medical xenophobia"

⁸³⁷ Interview with Zione, Mawelewele (2 July, 2020).

highly politicised approach to healthcare. The anti-migrant group Operation Dudula, established by certain black South Africans, has specifically targeted the sick and vulnerable.⁸³⁸ Thus, Afrophobia and anti-Blackness are racial issues targeting African heritage, with Africans viewed as undeserving of human rights.⁸³⁹ There has been a rise in afrophobia as a result of the inflow of immigrants looking for jobs after apartheid ended in 1994. Afrophobia and xenophobia are synonyms, a subtype of xenophobia, referring to fear or contempt towards black people and their culture.⁸⁴⁰

“Medical xenophobia” arises from fear of social loss, threats, economic success, and superiority, leading health professionals to believe they are superior to immigrants from poor or violent African countries. South Africa faces xenophobia due to fear of immigrants overburdening the healthcare system, affecting medical experts' ability to treat patients effectively. Factors like language, ethnicity, economic status, immigration status, and skin tone of the Chewa and Yawo immigrants contribute to this fear, making certain hospitals and clinics difficult for foreign nationals.

Furthermore, Amale asserts that she is scared to the hospital because the nurses advised her to utilise contraception as a means to prevent having an excessive number of children in South Africa. Immigrants with a significant number of offspring will cause overpopulation in South Africa with *makwerekwere* children.⁸⁴¹ Hence, foreign nationals think that this democratic administration is capable of replicating the actions of the apartheid regime towards black women. As time passed, the apartheid regime started to worry about the increasing black population and reacted by creating the National Family Planning Programme in 1974, with the aim of enhancing the availability of contraception for all women, specifically focusing on Black South African women.⁸⁴²

Tadala, a respondent, asserts a numbers of immigrants utilise traditional healing methods, including spiritual, emotional, and psychological components, to address health issues. Some

⁸³⁸ Tasanya. “Vulnerable migrants denied maternal and child health care services at Gauteng hospital”

⁸³⁹ Theodore S. Ransaw. *Mindful Teaching Practices for Black Achievement: A Student-Focused Guide for Educators*. (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman, 2022) 28.

⁸⁴⁰ Sabella Ogbobode Abidde and Brenda I. Gill. *Africans and the Exiled Life: Migration, Culture, and Globalization*. (Lanham: Lexington books, 2018) 147.

⁸⁴¹ Interview with Amale, Sherwood (6 August, 2020).

⁸⁴² See Cara Margherio, “Centering female agency while investigating contraceptive use: a case study in Agincourt South Africa”, *International Journal for Equity in Health* (2019, 18:60).

Chewa and Yawo Muslim women use herbs instead of divination and spiritualism when hospitalised. Moreover, since plants are considered a divine gift, the Quran mentions various plant species, including blackseed, date palms, figs, olives, ginger, grapes, *miswak*, onion, barley, garlic, pomegranates, camphor, and other important medicinal and food-producing plants. Western medicine is occasionally used in combination with alternative therapeutic methods. They adhere to safety regulations when employing alternative healing approaches. Chewa and Yawo women also discuss other common health challenges they face, such as breast cancer and its warning signs, cervix cancer and its warning symptoms, HIV/Aids and sexually transmitted diseases - women and HIV/AIDS.⁸⁴³

Tadala's memories show Islamic religion allows alternative healthcare practices, as long as ingredients are *halal*. According to Rassool and Morris, Muslims adopt various medical and healthcare philosophies, with some using Qur'anic verses, water, natural herbs, oil, or honey, while the majority uses complementary or alternative medicine. The World Health Organization (WHO) defines complementary therapy as non-integrated healthcare practices within a country's dominant system.⁸⁴⁴

Natural medicines and mind-body approaches are the two main categories into which complementary therapies frequently fall. Some Muslims now use homoeopathy, meditation, yoga, hypnotherapy, and reflexology, among other "orientalist" approaches to treating illness and chronic conditions. Muslims seek alternative therapies for chronic illnesses, seeking ultimate treatment after mainstream medicine fails. Understanding their entails and permissibility under Islamic law is crucial.⁸⁴⁵

Ngonji, a participant, states that she abstains from visiting the medical facility due to the inadequate treatment provided. She believes that the politicisation of health services has resulted in discrimination. A number of South Africans link the general deterioration in societal functioning

⁸⁴³ Interview with Tadala, Lindelani (17 July 2020).

⁸⁴⁴ G. Hussein Rassool and Hannah Morris. "Use of Complementary Therapies by Muslims: Halāl or Harām?" *Journal of Integrated Sciences* (December, 2020, 1: 1) 12.

⁸⁴⁵ Rassool and Hannah Morris. "Use of Complementary Therapies by Muslims: Halāl or Harām?" 12.

to the arrival of destitute and unhealthy foreigners in the country.⁸⁴⁶ For instance, AllAfrica reported on November 20, 2018, that Health Minister Aaron Motsoaledi, speaking at the National Education, Nurses' Health and Allied Workers' Union's (Nehawu) Summit, claimed that unauthorised immigrants inundated South Africa and overwhelmed hospitals and clinics.⁸⁴⁷

However, foreign nationals make up at most 8% of the total population. General personnel shortages in the medical sector, bed shortages in state hospitals, staff members dealing with severe workloads, and low nurse morale in public facilities are among the difficulties plaguing the public healthcare system. The post-apartheid era's faults in health-care administration, mismanagement of cash and state resources, corruption, and underfunding have all made providing primary healthcare more challenging.⁸⁴⁸ According to Corruption Watch, research shows corruption hinders access to quality healthcare for many, focusing on immigrants rather than addressing apartheid-era health disparities in a nation.⁸⁴⁹

In 2022, Dr. Phophi Ramathuba, Limpopo Health MEC, criticised a woman from Zimbabwe who was seeking medical help, accusing her of contributing to the overloaded healthcare system. She made a controversial comment on August 24, 2022, about a Zimbabwean immigrant seeking medical assistance in a public hospital. She accused immigrants of misusing government resources and claiming they enter South Africa expecting treatment. She claimed the health system was being destroyed by foreigners as if she was running a charity department.⁸⁵⁰ The MEC informed the patient that she would be discharged once she paid her bill. Ramathuba claimed she had to prove she could fend for herself if she fell ill abroad. Politicians like MP Mbuyiseni Ndlozi and Mmusi Maimane criticized Ramathuba for insulting the patient and demanded her medical license be revoked.

⁸⁴⁶ Interview with Ngonji, Mariannahill (4 August, 2020).

⁸⁴⁷ Savo Heleta, Sharon Ekambaram and Sibongile Tshabalala, "South Africa: Motsoaledi's Remarks Blame Immigrants for Government's Failures" *AllAfrica* <https://allafrica.com/stories/201811200003.html> (Accessed June 29, 2022).

⁸⁴⁸ Vanyoro. "Myths, migrants, and who benefits from medical xenophobia".

⁸⁴⁹ Vanyoro. "Myths, migrants, and who benefits from medical xenophobia"

⁸⁵⁰ Yoliswa Sobuwa. "Limpopo health MEC slammed as an 'Afrophobe princes'. City Press.

<https://www.news24.com/citypress/news/watch-limpopo-health-mec-slammed-as-an-afrophobe-princess-20220824>

Ramathuba's controversial statements highlight “medical xenophobia” in hospitals, claiming Zimbabwean immigrants strain the country's health system. She urged patients to advise Zimbabwean President Emmerson Mnangagwa to improve the country. Ramathuba's comments sparked mixed reactions, with some praising her and others expressing anti-foreigner views.

Similarly, Gayton McKenzie, Patriotic Alliance president, threatened to switch off a foreigner's oxygen to save a South African. After remaining silent for several days, the government defended the right to access basic health services, stating it is a fundamental human right guaranteed by the Constitution.⁸⁵¹

Mckenzie and Ramathuba lack pan-Africanism, promoting brotherhood and collaboration among Africans, both within and outside Africa. Africans should unite for common interests, as Zimbabwe and South Africa are close neighbours. Historically, some Mapungubwe civilisation members migrated north and formed part of Zimbabwe. Mapungubwe's original inhabitants were early Iron Age settlers. They resided there between 1000 and 1300 AD, and around 1500 Iron Age subsistence farmers arrived there as well.⁸⁵² The term *mabwe* is at the end of both names because all of these people who were related used *mabwe* (stones) to build their dwellings. In this instance, history will not fairly judge some South Africans. Some xenophobes are perplexed by the colonial-era borders that were drawn between South Africa and Zimbabwe. The migration of people from Mapungubwe to the north, where they established Zimbabwe and spoke Shona, is documented in history. When some of these people return to the same area of Mapungubwe, now known as Limpopo, they are ejected from the medical facilities. These people are pursuing family members who have the same ancestry.

Overall, studies show immigrants often lack equal access to healthcare and reproductive health care due to lack of awareness, education, isolation, and fear of deportation, especially for illegal immigrants..⁸⁵³ Thus, South Africa's failing health system is attributed to poor leadership, staff

⁸⁵¹ Tasanya. “Vulnerable migrants denied maternal and child health care services at Gauteng hospital”

⁸⁵²Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection (MISTRA). *Mapungubwe Reconsidered: A Living Legacy- Exploring Beyond the Rise and Decline of the Mapungubwe State*. (Johannesburg: Rap, 2015) 32.

⁸⁵³ United Nations General Assembly, “The Impact of migration on migrant women and girls: a gender perspective”, (Human Rights Council forty- first session 24 June- 12 July 2019 Agenda item 3), 14.

shortages, and immigrants, with 8% of the population being foreigners, but politicians routinely exploit them as a scapegoat.⁸⁵⁴ WHO emphasizes the importance of public healthcare systems accommodating migrating populations. 2019 research suggests nations should prepare for sudden population demands, focusing on decency, ethics, and public service, rather than blaming low-income immigrants for inadequate governance.⁸⁵⁵

Family Isolation and Loneliness

Although migrant women maintain or develop multiple attachment networks with their country of origin while settling in a new country, in some cases women experience family breakdown and loneliness. Asawilunda, for example, came to South Africa alone, without following her relatives. Thus, her loneliness forced her to fall in love with a man. She later became a victim of domestic violence. Asawilunda found it difficult to leave her violent marriage because she was new to Durban and unemployed. Furthermore, she had no family that could assist her in times of need. She later abandoned her husband after finding work selling Malawi rice porridge and pap with the help of other immigrant females. What may be emphasised here is that if women lack financial stability, it is more difficult for them to leave abusive marriages. In general, migration to South Africa (not considered home) creates this isolation and powerlessness for immigrant women.⁸⁵⁶ Lack of family support and an inability to understand their rights makes immigrant women helpless and vulnerable to physical abuse by landlords and employers. Similarly, some African immigrant women working in the homes of Algerian families experience physical violence, seizure of their passports, and deductions from wages.⁸⁵⁷ Likewise, some Chewa and Yawo immigrant women pointed out that they feel isolated from family and friends when they are exploited at the

⁸⁵⁴ Vanyoro. "Myths, migrants, and who benefits from medical xenophobia"

⁸⁵⁵ Vanyoro. "Myths, migrants, and who benefits from medical xenophobia"

⁸⁵⁶ See Kalpana Hiralal and Zaheera Jinnah (eds). *Gender and Mobility in Africa: Borders, Bodies and Boundaries*. (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018) 106.

⁸⁵⁷ Office of the Undersecretary for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights. "Trafficking in Persons Report June 201. (Department of State: USA, 2017) 62.

workplace. They feel emotionally lost in a foreign country because they work overtime from Monday to Sunday without rest and receive a low salary.

Similar studies of immigrant women living on Prince Edward Island in Canada show that women have experienced high levels of isolation from friends and family support networks that are crucial to their mental and emotional well-being. They suggest that such isolation can dispose of immigrants of disease, specifically in stressful situations such as voluntary or forced immigration.⁸⁵⁸

Amina, a study participant, stated that women in Durban are organizing Islamic education programs to raise community awareness of how to deal with exploitative bosses and abusive husbands in order to cope with isolation and mental illness.⁸⁵⁹ Asawusyeje further asserts that they have developed strategies to deal with their issues. They are effectively organized, she claimed. What might be referred to as a Malawian diasporic identity exists. She states that although they do not actually know how many women live in Durban, they have noticed a large number of Malawians. They stay in touch with other Malawians through Dawa outreach (preaching), which helps them cope with their high degrees of familial isolation. Through these initiatives, women talk about issues relating to "women and health" or "Gender Based Violence."⁸⁶⁰

Chewa and Yawo immigrant women have particular mental and health problems and need particular attention. For instance, when women learn that many hospitals or clinics employ a sizable proportion of male medical workers, they feel more alone. To put it another way, men make up a sizable majority of healthcare professionals, particularly doctors and experts. This indicates that it is frequently difficult for women to express their wants and issues. Additionally, not all medical professionals always treat women with respect. In this case, the Chewa and Yawo women encourage one another to speak up while explaining to the doctor the health difficulties

⁸⁵⁸ Evangelia Tastsoglou and Peruvemba S. Jaya (eds). *Immigrant Women in Atlantic Canada: Challenges, Negotiations, Re-construction*. (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press/ Women's Press, 2011) 257.

⁸⁵⁹ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July 2020).

⁸⁶⁰ Interview with Asawusyeje, Malukadzi (5 August 2020).

they are suffering, whether the pain is normal or the result of being battered by an abusive spouse. Another important thing to be aware of is that Chewa and Yawo women do not have complete access to medication since immigrants encounter prejudice and marginalisation in public hospitals. Interacting and chatting with other immigrants about health difficulties, on the other hand, is an important step in the fight against isolation. Get started and volunteer in numerous women's organizations. When one assists others, one feels better. Most importantly, stay in touch with your loved ones via phone, email, or in person. Amina said.

Amina asserts that "females working together" is another initiative that has gained traction in Durban to alleviate loneliness. Women must cooperate both individually and in groups. The quality of a woman's life can change if she works alone. However, when a woman collaborates with another woman, both their lives and those of other women can be changed. The life of her children, family members, friends, and other loved ones are also subject to change.⁸⁶¹

Furthermore, simply by virtue of their gender, women face legal challenges. Women are vulnerable to sexual assault, violence, abuse, and rape. Additionally, they must deal with challenges like child maintenance. Because they lack support or the money needed to pay for assistance, women frequently find it difficult to get help and they are always isolated. They are frequently too terrified to report an abusive spouse or boss and sue them in court. They do not want their husbands to serve time in prison because it would be detrimental to the children. However, the aforementioned initiatives empower women to discuss various crimes such as abuse, battery, and indecent assault with their religious leaders, brock leaders and seek assistance from them in order to reduce or minimize social isolation among fellow immigrants.

Zione also emphasized the need for women to take the initiative to learn about prevalent health issues that afflict people. When living with illnesses like diabetes or tuberculosis, tramigrants should not feel isolated. The Chewa and Yawo females reaffirm to one another that the worst cause of high blood pressure is smoking. In addition, there is a greater likelihood that you may have high blood pressure if one of your grandparents does. You are also more likely to get it if you worry excessively, get angry easily, or become agitated frequently. If you are severely overweight,

⁸⁶¹ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July 2020).

consume large amounts of salt or fatty foods (such as butter, cheese, salt, and red meat), or both, you are more likely to acquire it. If you do not exercise regularly, you are more prone to develop it. Several Islamic organizations and Islamic leaders discovered these topics. Zione said.⁸⁶²

According to Habiba, family isolation and loneliness can be reduced among women immigrants if they know how to treat themselves correctly through alternative medicines after being refused access to public health facilities. This is part of an endeavour to stay healthy in a foreign country. Furthermore, by staying in touch with family, friends, and neighbours in person, we can lessen social isolation among fellow immigrants, whether they are Malawians or from other nations. Additionally, women's WhatsApp groups help them feel less alone by connecting them to other women going through similar difficulties. Talk to the family by voice call, voice note, WhatsApp text message, or emails if they are in Malawi. Elderly women you may confide in and chat to about your feelings are usually knowledgeable about subjects that young people cannot learn through Google. They are aware of alternative therapies for a wide range of women's health difficulties, but we ignore their advice. To fight or lower isolation, senior Yawo women who came to South Africa before the 1990s advised us on how to establish business development programs, family counseling, and cultural groups in Durban.⁸⁶³

The memories of the participants illuminate that the Chewa and Yawo women have also established business development programs, family counseling, and cultural groups in Durban, where they adapt and feel at home in the new environment. Participating in cultural groups helps them cope with stress. People become stressed when they are unable to solve challenges. Most people are subjected to stress on a regular basis when they are isolated from their family. Stress, on the other hand, can have a severe impact on people's physical and mental health if they are unable to regulate their stress levels.

⁸⁶² Interview with Zione, Mawelewele (2 July 2020).

⁸⁶³ Interview with Habiba, Pinetown (10 Sept, 2020).

Moreover, studies of immigrant women in the United Kingdom and South Korea have demonstrated to some extent how similar organizations allow immigrant women to network to assert their identities and develop relational capital and a sense of belonging increased.⁸⁶⁴

Gender based violence (GBV) (*Nkhanza kwa amayi/ngalwe kwa achimmasyeto/achakongwe*)

According to studies published in 2015, cultural behaviours that make girls and women less valuable than men and more susceptible to abuse and violence are the main targets of criticism rather than social standards. The prevalence of violence against women in Malawi is significant, according to data. For instance, the Malawi Demographic and Health Survey (MDHS 2010) data shows that 25% of all women between the ages of 15 and 49 had ever been the victim of sexual assault. Domestic violence is categorically justified and regarded as a private matter; hence it is not addressed by legislative or state level support services.⁸⁶⁵ However, according to studies published in 2020, all four major forms of gender-based violence—physical, sexual, emotional or psychosocial, and economic—are quite common in Malawi and disproportionately affect women. These studies cite reports from the 2014-2020 National Plan to Combat Gender-Based Violence. According to the National Statistics Survey, 41% of women—2 out of every 5—experience physical or sexual violence. Physical abuse is simply one type of gender violence; structural gender violence, which pervades our society on institutional, discursive, and philosophical levels, is significantly more prevalent. As a result, understanding how gender and sexuality-related issues are arranged in Malawi's political and economic history is critical. The historical, social, cultural, political, and legal meanings and interpretations associated with the human body have a systematic influence on our relationship to desire, politics, religion, identity, dress, movement, kinship links, disease, social roles, and language.⁸⁶⁶

Traditionally, a woman's role in Malawi has been built as inferior to that of males, and this extends to how female sexualities have been culturally and historically portrayed as inferior and

⁸⁶⁴ Shibao Guo and Elizabeth Lange (eds.). *Transnational Migrations, Social Inclusion, and Adult Education: New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*. (San Francisco: A Wiley company, 2015) 14.

⁸⁶⁵ See Chia Longman and Tamsin Bradley (eds). *Interrogating Harmful Cultural Practices Gender, Culture and Coercion*. (London: Routledge, 2015).

⁸⁶⁶ See Samraghni Bonnerjee. *Subaltern Women's Narratives: Strident Voices, Dissenting Bodies*. (London: Routledge, 2020).

subordinate to men's sexual desires, behaviours, and needs. The patriarchy, which is rooted in numerous structures such as the state, religion, and culture, influences how women are treated and is an underlying factor in situations of female oppression and sexual assault.⁸⁶⁷

In 2005, which is over 18 years ago, a research in Mangochi also found that violence in all forms—physical or verbal—is accepted as a technique of resolving disputes in Malawi, including inside the family, in jails, clinics, schools, and between political parties.⁸⁶⁸ Malawian legislators had been stating that they "want a GBC-free society" by 2013 in an effort to combat violence.⁸⁶⁹ Malawi likewise adopted a National Response to Combat GBV strategy (2008–2013) to address gender-based violence; however there is ongoing violence against women and girls in the country as can be seen in the studies that cite reports from the 2014-2020 National Plan to Combat Gender-Based Violence.⁸⁷⁰

The studies further reveal that the Malawi culture, like many other African societies, thinks that the man is the breadwinner and, as such, women are expected to be docile and tolerant of anything that is done to them. Men are regarded as strong, whilst women are regarded as weak.⁸⁷¹

What has been noted above is that studies in Malawi have shown that the terms "culture" and "tradition" have frequently been invoked to justify the mistreatment of those regarded as inferior in the community; those who are powerless and, regrettably, frequently women, particularly in patriarchal communities. Power, patriarchy, and violence against women are all clearly linked.⁸⁷² As a result, patriarchy is a societal structure in which men possess the majority of power and are disproportionately represented in positions of moral authority, social privilege, and property control.

⁸⁶⁷ See Bonnerjee. *Subaltern Women's Narratives*.

⁸⁶⁸ Marion Baumgart dos Santos. *Consensus: Combating Gender Based Violence Through Islam, Tradition, and Law*, Issue 27 of Kachere text. (Zomba: Kachere Series, 2006).

⁸⁶⁹ SADC Gender Protocol 2013 Barometer (Johannesburg: Southern Africa Gender Protocol Alliance, 2013), 185.

⁸⁷⁰ SADC Gender Protocol 2013 Barometer (Johannesburg: Southern Africa Gender Protocol Alliance, 2013), 185.

⁸⁷¹ Elna Mouton, Gertrude Kapuma, Len Hansen and Thomas Togom (eds.), *Living with Dignity: African Perspectives on Gender Equality* (Sun Press, 2015), 255.

⁸⁷² Elna Mouton, Gertrude Kapuma, Len Hansen and Thomas Togom (eds.), *Living with Dignity: African Perspectives on Gender Equality*. (Sun Press, 2015) 255-56.

As previously stated, a recent 2020 study shows that gender-based violence, including physical, sexual, emotional, psychological, and economic abuse, is still a problem in Malawi to varying degrees, and that women are disproportionately affected by it. These studies show that poverty contributes to Malawi's high risk of GBV. Women are more likely to be economically disadvantaged and so more vulnerable to GBV as a result of gendered power dynamics that favour individuals with access to economic power.⁸⁷³

Furthermore, poor families entice their children into harmful practices such as child marriages or forced marriages. As a result, societal factors play a significant role in utilising proverbs that cause those girls who married young and encounter abusive marriages but fail to report domestic abuse since they were instructed to persevere in the family no matter how the husband abuses her. Amina states that:

There is a saying in the Chewa and Yawo culture that goes: *mankhwala a banja mkhuphilira/mtela wamwiwasa nikupilila* (which literally means persistence in a family is medicine for marriage). The proverbs persuades married women to persevere even the husbands are abusive.⁸⁷⁴

Amina's memories suggest that several proverbs used in Chewa and Yawo cultures that tell women to stay in violent marriages reinforce patriarchy. Why can't a husband stay in a marriage if the wife is abusive? Is it true that only women should persevere? In this scenario, the females used the term 'patriarch' to emphasize their awareness of existing power inequalities in the world and to demonstrate the violence females encounter at home, at work, and elsewhere in the community.⁸⁷⁵ As a result, the link between patriarchy, power, migration, and domestic violence in the contexts of gender, class, and culture is clear. Females attempt to challenge the balance of power during the migration process, but they frequently fail and are more vulnerable to exploitation. Amina continues to state:

Because of patriarchal and power dynamics, Malawian women immigrants in South Africa endure gender-based violence. Some Malawian women arrive alone, while

⁸⁷³ See Bonnerjee. *Subaltern Women's Narratives*.

⁸⁷⁴ Interview with Amina, Overport (2 July, 2020).

⁸⁷⁵ Elna Mouton, Gertrude Kapuma, Len Hansen and Thomas Togom (eds.), *Living with Dignity: African Perspectives on Gender Equality* (Sun Press, 2015), 255-56.

others are accompanied by a sibling or a relative. In that case, they run into friends who have already come. However, due to financial constraints, the friend will be unable to keep the new immigrant. In that case, the new immigrant will be easily enticed into an unwanted marriage simply to seek assistance from a new husband she met in South Africa. These are the types of marriages that are unstable, resulting in the wife being battered without reporting to police, Muslim leaders, or their *nkhoswe/namangosye* (a guardian of the family in Chewa and Yawo matrilineal culture, such as a maternal uncle or older brother) out of fear of breaking up their family. Since moving to this country, I've seen both Malawian and South African men beat their wives. So, domestic violence exists everywhere, whether in Malawi or South Africa. Similarly, culture is utilised to persuade women to persevere in violent families.⁸⁷⁶

What Amina said above demonstrates that while Malawi adopted a National Response to Combat GBV strategy (2008-2013) and the 2014-2020 National Plan to Combat Gender-Based Violence or aimed at addressing gender-based violence that stems from a number of factors like culture; studies in 2020 in South Africa also reveal that South Africa is a deeply violent society and continues to struggle with the impact of decades of institutionalised racism, sexism, exclusion, structural violence, and other factors that have continued to undermine human rights. Thus, violence undermines human development and positive social cohesion.⁸⁷⁷

According to the 2018 Global Peace Index, South Africa is one of the world's most violent countries, ranking 38 out of 163, and has one of the worst murder rates outside of combat zones. According to the findings of the 2018 Victims of Crime Survey, crime increased in 2017-2018 compared to 2016-2017, and people's faith in the criminal justice system (CJS) decreased. Over the past year, as daily media and police reports of horrifying and senseless murder, rape, and maiming of women and children in homes and communities bombarded all South Africans, the levels of vulnerability to violence for all women have gradually come into sharper focus. Women bear the brunt of poverty, unemployment, and inequality, particularly black, poor, and rural

⁸⁷⁶ Interview with Amina, Overport (2 July, 2020).

⁸⁷⁷ "National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide: human Dignity and Healing, Safety, Freedom and Equality in Our Lifetime". (Pretoria: National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide, 2020) 22.

women, while also being responsible for supporting the emotional, material, and financial needs of children.⁸⁷⁸

Long-standing apartheid policies, high levels of inequality and poverty, racism, unequal power relations between the sexes, and intolerance to sexual and gender diversity all contributed to the long history of violence in South Africa. The high homicide and crime rates speak to the profound levels of collective trauma that have been caused, which are evident in day-to-day interactions across all social spheres. Similarly, to how apartheid policies that encouraged migration destabilised families and negatively impacted family systems.⁸⁷⁹

It has been hypothesised that men are more prone to use violence to exercise their dominance in situations when they are unable to retain their masculine superiority. As a result, GBV was ingrained in the societal structures that approved of using violence to uphold the status quo. Other types of community violence, such as gang and taxi violence are connected to it and encourage it. Numerous social theorists from various disciplines have thoroughly documented these historical contexts of violence and crime. Among the most prevalent combinations of theories found are: A 'culture of violence,' in which violence is accepted as a means of conflict resolution, apartheid legacy, wherein injustice, poverty, lack of access to services and opportunities, marginalisation of men, and militarisation of men were contributory; institutionalisation of violence during the apartheid era; exceptionally high levels of drug and alcohol abuse; dissolution of families; violence as an expression of anger and a means of asserting power; absent parents; gender inequality, patriarchal social standards, and religious ideologies all contribute to the above-mentioned circumstances that feed GBV in South Africa.⁸⁸⁰ Despite the prevalence of GBV, the vast majority of cases remain unrecorded, underreported, or unaccounted for in national data. Data that is reliable and trustworthy is the foundation for policy formulation and should be utilised to inform, plan, design, implement, assess, and review programs and policies. Because budgets are based on reliable data sets, it is also critical to ensure that resources are distributed correctly. By creating clear roles and duties for key actors, sound information can help to address service delivery

⁸⁷⁸ “National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide: human Dignity and Healing, Safety, Freedom and Equality in Our Lifetime” 22.

⁸⁷⁹ “National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide: human Dignity and Healing, Safety, Freedom and Equality in Our Lifetime” 24.

⁸⁸⁰ “National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide: human Dignity and Healing, Safety, Freedom and Equality in Our Lifetime” 24.

difficulties and fill gaps. Despite having a greater corpus of research on GBV than other countries, there is still a knowledge gap that prevents more effective GBV responses in South Africa.⁸⁸¹

Physical violence is the most commonly reported form of GBV in research, with multiple prevalence studies from 1998 to 2020 from a variety of situations and demographics proving that GBV is widespread and endemic in South Africa. A number of population-based studies on women have been conducted to assess the severity of GBV in South Africa. A population-based GBV study on women in Gauteng (2011), for example, found that more than 1 in 3 women (37.7%) had experienced physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence (IPV), 18.8% had experienced sexual IPV, and 46.2% had experienced economic or emotional abuse.⁸⁸²

The variables that influence individuals, relationships, communities, and society as a whole and are motivated by social and political processes collectively constitute the drivers of GBV. Discrimination and gender norms have frequently been highlighted as the primary causes of GBV in South Africa and other parts of the world. These pervasive patriarchal norms encourage the use of violence as acceptable social behaviours and feed into: Ideas of masculinity that emphasise male control of women, male sexual entitlement, unequal gender attitudes, risk-taking, and antisocial behavior; and ideas of femininity that encourage women's subordination to men, encourage them to be complicit in violence and the subjugation of women, and place expectations on women to acquiesce to male partners' violence.⁸⁸³

These social and gender norms are upheld in communities where there is a higher cultural value placed on gender hierarchy, where violence in interpersonal relationships is more acceptable, where men's dominance and control over women is accepted, and where the idea that GBV is a private matter between the couple in the relationship is more prevalent. Men who believe that their ability to impose control over women is critical to their ability to appraise themselves are far more

⁸⁸¹ “National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide: human Dignity and Healing, Safety, Freedom and Equality in Our Lifetime” 32.

⁸⁸² “National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide: human Dignity and Healing, Safety, Freedom and Equality in Our Lifetime” 24-25.

⁸⁸³ “National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide: human Dignity and Healing, Safety, Freedom and Equality in Our Lifetime” 29-30.

prone to use violence towards submissive and subservient women. Men believe that their ability to control women is critical to their ability to appraise themselves.⁸⁸⁴

Historical economic injustices that caused women and their families to live in poverty are a significant contributor to GBV. Poverty and GBV both increase the chance of violence against women, but GBV also increases the likelihood of poverty. Economic stress can increase the likelihood of resource-allocation conflicts, whereas poverty increases financial reliance on violent male partners. While men may face stress as a result of their inability to meet household expectations, poverty, low education, and unemployment increase women's vulnerability to IPV.⁸⁸⁵

A number of intersecting macro- and micro-level factors, such as social norms dictating how men and women should behave in society (e.g., that women should stay at home and raise children), sexual and reproductive health (e.g., HIV status), housing availability, awareness of and access to services, and migrant relationship patterns in rural communities, all exacerbate vulnerability in marginalised groups. Research has also shown that media-reinforced socialisation of children in all environments—including their homes, schools, and communities—starts them off on a path toward exposure to violence and the notions that justify it.⁸⁸⁶

Relationships that children later have with peers, partners, and their own children are fundamentally shaped by their relationship with their primary caregiver (for example, their mother). A baby's ability to form good relationships is harmed, often for generations, when they are ignored or exposed to violence. As a result, their likelihood of being a victim or a perpetrator of violence as an adult is raised. Childhood adversities, such as physical, emotional, and sexual abuse as well as neglect, have been demonstrated to be a reliable predictor of violent experiences as an adult in South Africa and other contexts throughout the world.⁸⁸⁷

⁸⁸⁴ “National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide: human Dignity and Healing, Safety, Freedom and Equality in Our Lifetime” 29-30.

⁸⁸⁵ “National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide: human Dignity and Healing, Safety, Freedom and Equality in Our Lifetime” 29-30.

⁸⁸⁶ “National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide: human Dignity and Healing, Safety, Freedom and Equality in Our Lifetime” 29-30.

⁸⁸⁷ “National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide: human Dignity and Healing, Safety, Freedom and Equality in Our Lifetime” 29-30.

In 2022, Nafisa Patel argued that we either withhold interventions on these issues or are consciously naive to how male privilege impacts awareness of gender-based violence and how Muslims respond to it. The topic of gender-based and sexual violence, including rape, is frequently discussed by Muslims as *if* it were an issue that did not affect the Muslim community as a whole, as *if* Muslims were immune to it, were shielded from it, or did not engage in this violence themselves. Gender-based and sexual violence pose significant spiritual and religious challenges to Muslims. Their default position is quiet or remoteness and they typically fail to address the problem directly. Do they, on the other hand, consider how their inaction and apathy cause Muslims to be wounded and divided on a social and spiritual level?⁸⁸⁸

As noted above, gender-based violence, which has patriarchal roots rather than Islamic ones, affects Muslims in South Africa as well as Malawi. Aside from research in Malawi and South Africa, studies in the United Kingdom and the United States have shown that domestic violence among Muslim immigrants is linked to culture. This demonstrates that gender-based violence has no regard for boundaries, ethnicity, or race.

Domestic abuse is prevalent in the Asian-American society, where culture and family play a part in the lives of South Asian women, according to Ayyub's research.⁸⁸⁹ According to these researches, the most significant barrier confronting the American Muslim community is the expansion and dependence on cultural identities, traditions, and rituals rather than focusing on the Quran and hadith (traditions of the Prophet Muhammad).⁸⁹⁰ As a result, violence among Muslims stems from cultural norms rather than religion.

The Quran prevents a man from striking his wife. Propagandists frequently quote Chapter 4 verse 34 as proof that wife battering is allowed. Verse 34 of the aforementioned Chapter 4 is also translated as follows:

⁸⁸⁸ Nafisa Patel (South Africa). "A Self-Reflexive Response to Gender-Based Violence in our Communities. In Sa'diyya Shaikh and Fatima Seedat (eds). *The Women's Khutbah Book: Contemporary Sermons on Spirituality and Justice from around the world*. (Yale University, 2022) 150.

⁸⁸⁹ See Ruksana Ayyub. "Domestic Violence in the South Asian Muslim Immigrant Population in the United States". *Journal of Social Distress and Homelessness*. (2000, 9:3).

⁸⁹⁰ Eve S. Buzawa, Carl G. Buzawa and Barbara J. Hart. *Responding to Domestic Violence: The Integration of Criminal Justice and Human Services*, Sixth edition. (Sage about Islam Publishing, 2022).

“Pickthall: Men are in charge of women, because Allah hath made the one of them to excel the other, and because they spend of their property (for the support of women). So good women are the obedient, guarding in secret that which Allah hath guarded. As for those from whom ye fear rebellion, admonish them and banish them to beds apart, and scourge them. Then if they obey you, seek not a way against them. Lo! Allah is ever High, Exalted, Great.

Yusuf Ali: Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because Allah has given the one more (strength) than the other, and because they support them from their means. Therefore the righteous women are devoutly obedient, and guard in (the husband's) absence what Allah would have them guard. As to those women on whose part ye fear disloyalty and ill-conduct, admonish them (first), (Next), refuse to share their beds, (And last) beat them (lightly); but if they return to obedience, seek not against them Means (of annoyance): For Allah is Most High, great (above you all).

Shakir: Men are the maintainers of women because Allah has made some of them to excel others and because they spend out of their property; the good women are therefore obedient, guarding the unseen as Allah has guarded; and (as to) those on whose part you fear desertion, admonish them, and leave them alone in the sleeping-places and beat them; then if they obey you, do not seek a way against them; surely Allah is High, Great.

Muhammad Sarwar: Men are the protectors of women because of the greater preference that God has given to some of them and because they financially support them. Among virtuous women are those who are steadfast in prayer and dependable in keeping the secrets that God has protected. Admonish women who disobey (God's laws), do not sleep with them and beat them. If they obey (the laws of God), do not try to find fault in them. God is High and Supreme.

Mohsin Khan: Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because Allah has made one of them to excel the other, and because they spend (to support them) from their means. Therefore the righteous women are devoutly obedient (to Allah and to their husbands), and guard in the husband's absence what Allah orders them to guard (e.g. their chastity, their husband's property, etc.). As to those women on whose part you see illconduct, admonish them (first), (next), refuse to share their beds, (and last) beat them (lightly, if it is useful), but if they return to obedience, seek not against them means (of annoyance). Surely, Allah is Ever Most High, Most Great.

Arberry: Men are the managers of the affairs of women for that God has preferred in bounty one of them over another, and for that they have expended of their property. Righteous women are therefore obedient, guarding the secret for God's guarding. And those you fear may be rebellious admonish; banish them to their couches, and beat them. If they then obey you, look not for any way against them; God is All-high, All-great.”⁸⁹¹

According to a number of Muslim scholars, the word DARABA, which has been mistranslated as "beat or strike," instead means to separate, in addition to the dozen other meanings the word may have, according to Lane's English-Arabic Lexicon. As a result, the verse should be read as follows: “And as for those women whose ill-will and harassment you have reason to fear, admonish them (first); (if that fails) then leave them alone in bed, (and as a last resort) (daraba) SEPARATE from them...” The very next verse speaks of a separation that has already occurred, which would make little sense if the verse condoned beating. The prophet Muhamad (PBUH) denounced domestic abuse committed by men throughout the hadith.⁸⁹² However, in some instances, it is the media that portrays domestic violence in Muslim families as stemming from Islamic teachings. Macfarlane asserts that patriarchy permeates all civilisations, but it appears to take on an unusually severe form in some Muslim communities. This brings up the important question of whether Islamic culture and (asserted) religious values encourage domestic violence differently and in different ways. Media coverage, which rarely makes a distinction between religious and cultural beliefs, typically implies that Muslim men have a predisposition toward violence. This may be a reflection of the propensity to blame a minority's actions—especially a minority that is widely despised and feared—on their innate cultural or religious beliefs when such beliefs are different from and foreign to those of the majority.⁸⁹³

Furthermore, according to Macfarlane, political scientist Mahmood Mamdani argues that Muslim men who assault their wives engage in the same violent behaviour as their non-Muslim counterparts. However, the framing of such incidents frequently links Muslim family violence to culture while attributing non-Muslim family violence to abnormal behaviour. What Mamdani

⁸⁹¹ <https://corpus.quran.com/translation.jsp?chapter=4&verse=34> (Accessed January, 5 2023)

⁸⁹² IPCI. *Answers to Non-Muslim on Common Questions about Islam*. (Durban: IPCI) 75.

⁸⁹³ Julie Macfarlane. *Islamic Divorce in North America: A Shari'a Path in a Secular Society*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) 135.

·2012.

refers to as "culture talk." The result is "the assumption that violence is an exception in our culture [referring to non-Muslim cultures], so we must look into the perpetrator's psyche or life experience, while violence is the norm in their culture [Muslim culture], so what is relevant is their entire culture or religion"⁸⁹⁴

The stereotype presented is "the imperiled Muslim woman, the dangerous Muslim man, and the civilised European." These prejudices are evident in popular media reports of wife assault. When Aasiya Hassan was brutally murdered by her husband Muzzammil in Buffalo in 2009, media coverage frequently referred to Muzzammil's Muslim origin, the Hassans' ownership of a Muslim television station, and Aasiya's decapitation. The same week, a White American man decapitated his wife, although that tale/story made no mention of their culture or (Christian) faith.⁸⁹⁵

Another explanation for the link between domestic violence and Muslim households is recent media attention of so-called honour-based violence (HBV). Socially constructed notions of "honour" connect to family, social status, and power; "honour" codes have appeared throughout history in many civilisations and are not specific to Muslim cultures. In communities, honour codes are used both explicitly and implicitly as a weapon of social control, particularly male control of women.⁸⁹⁶

In some Muslim families, "honour" is tied to a woman's sexual control, particularly her virginity. Although HBV is widely condemned in the Muslim community, when women and girls act in ways that defy the sexual and social expectations set by men in their community, such as dating before marriage or marrying a non-Muslim, "honour" may be used to justify violence against them. Women who would typically report domestic violence to the police or other law enforcement agencies (hospitals, shelters) may be silenced by an honour code.⁸⁹⁷

⁸⁹⁴ Macfarlane. *Islamic Divorce in North America: A Shari'a Path in a Secular Society* 135.

⁸⁹⁵ Macfarlane. *Islamic Divorce in North America: A Shari'a Path in a Secular Society* 135
·2012.

⁸⁹⁶ Macfarlane. *Islamic Divorce in North America: A Shari'a Path in a Secular Society* 135
·2012.

⁸⁹⁷ Macfarlane. *Islamic Divorce in North America: A Shari'a Path in a Secular Society* 135
·2012.

The aforementioned accounts illuminate that Muslims do not conduct domestic violence because of their religion in diverse countries. The media just taints Islam's image. The same media does not link Christian violence to Christianity. As a result, a Muslim should not abuse his wife in accordance with Islamic principles. Similarly, if the wife does not disclose the violence, it is not because her faith requires her to, but rather because she follows societal norms. For example, in this study, a pseudonym "X" was used to mask the identity of a domestic abuse victim who was not reporting violence in order to keep the marriage. She says:

I arrived in South Africa on my own and shared a room with a friend earning minimum pay. We were fighting for our lives. And then I met a man who was financially supporting me before I obtained a job in town. After a while, my spouse began physically and emotionally abusing me. I hadn't said anything because I had nowhere to go as a new immigrant in Durban. He stopped buying food and left home, claiming that he was supporting his other wife. His actions were now in violation of Islamic principles. When I kept asking him why he wasn't backing me, he began beating me. He accused me of having an affair because I went to Islamic meetings with other Muslim ladies. He once grabbed and twisted my arm, and I sobbed hysterically and uncontrollably. I remained in the room for months without informing my family. As a married immigrant woman, I kept the abuse a secret out of respect for the institution of marriage and because I did not want to lose him. He was someone I frequently cared about and did not want to lose. I persisted in thinking that my spouse would cease abusing me. At one point, I also thought I wasn't very valuable and that I wouldn't be able to get by on my own. The fact that my husband could tell me I was worthless exacerbated the situation. Furthermore, I believed that violence against women was a normal (natural) element of relationships. Some family and friends advised me to stay in the relationship and work on the problem. My husband merely gave me pain relievers and a bandage for my arm because he couldn't tell his friends and family, and I was embarrassed to tell anyone that he had twisted my arm. I was hesitant to report to the police because I feared they would deport us immediately away. GBV is prevalent, committed by both Muslims and Christians, and is not limited to Muslim households. Within a week, I witnessed a Christian Zulu man abusing his wife frequently. In addition,

the wife's face was swelled from multiple bruises. However, she was unable to go and report the violence. Women have the right not to be abused, and it is the responsibility of the government to protect them and their children. Men assault many, many women in South Africa and Malawi, both within and outside of their homes. Many women believe that they are only assaulted because it is their fault. This is not the case. "X" bemoaned.⁸⁹⁸

The experiences of "X" suggest that some femininity ideologies urge women to be subservient to men, to participate in violence against women and other forms of oppression, and to accept their violent partners' behaviour. Moreover, the memories of participant "X" show that that married immigrant women are more likely to face domestic abuse than single women because they value the institution of marriage and wish to keep it at all costs.⁸⁹⁹ Furthermore, the recollections of "X" revealed that many South Africans, and even Malawians, are unaware that there exist centers that assist women and children who have been mistreated or who have legal issues. They provide counseling and assist women in using the court system to aid themselves. They are located in magistrate's courts or police stations, but they are not operated by the police.

Women must understand that they are not to blame for being assaulted. The man who assaulted them is accountable for his actions. It doesn't matter what he says; it's his fault, and he's broken the law. It is not the fault of women. Many women in South Africa and Malawi believe that they are the only ones who are abused because it is their fault. This is also true of married Muslim immigrants in the United States of America. According to Abugideiri, married Muslim immigrants in the United States tend to believe the aggressor and justify his behaviour with passages far from the Quran. At the same time, they blame themselves for not having persevered. They also tend to wonder if God is punishing them or is angry with them for their past sins, and more importantly, they struggle to understand how God might view their desire to end the marriage.⁹⁰⁰

⁸⁹⁸ Interview with "X", Durban CBD (22 July, 2020).

⁸⁹⁹ Salma Elkadi Abugideiri, "A Perspective on Domestic Violence in the Muslim Community" 2. <https://www.faithtrustinstitute.org/resources/articles/DV-in-Muslim-Community.pdf> (accessed July 20, 2022).

⁹⁰⁰ Abugideiri, "A Perspective on Domestic Violence in the Muslim Community" 2.

In addition to dealing with spiritual issues, married Muslim women who immigrated to the United States also face a range of social problems, such as the shame of being a divorced woman or of being a woman who reported her husband to the police. They may be hesitant to turn to reception (shelter) because they mistakenly believe that their children will be taken away from them that reception centres will report undocumented migrants, or those negative views of Muslims will be prolonged.⁹⁰¹

Abugideiri argues that the Quran clearly prohibits any form of injustice or oppression. Some verses explicitly prohibit behaviours that involve emotional and psychological abuse, such as bullying, spying, verbal abuse, insults, and blackmail.⁹⁰² Islamic teachings advocate equality among people. The Quran does not say that one gender is superior to another.⁹⁰³

Men should also not associate violence against women with poverty. In many cases, poverty has been linked to violence in various ways. Many scholars and lay people believe that people living in poverty are prone to violence because of their circumstances.⁹⁰⁴ For example, in a study of Congolese women in Durban, Umubey found that poverty; unemployment and stress in family life, lack of communication between partners, absence of a partner, emotional and financial deprivation of a partner, and alcohol abuse all contribute to marital conflict.⁹⁰⁵ Umubey's study also found a link between marital conflict and migration.⁹⁰⁶ Instead, Gupta argues that linking poverty and violence demoralises and depresses the moral character of poverty reduction efforts. The absence of a significant link between poverty and violence could undermine poverty reduction

⁹⁰¹ Abugideiri, "A Perspective on Domestic Violence in the Muslim Community" 2.

⁹⁰² Abugideiri, "A Perspective on Domestic Violence in the Muslim Community" 2-3.

⁹⁰³ Hammudah Abdalati, *Islam in Focus* (Jeddah: WAMY, 1998), 186.

⁹⁰⁴ See Robert D. Crutchfield and Tim Wadsworth, "Poverty and Violence", *International Handbook of Violence Research*, 67-82 https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-0-306-48039-3_4#:~:text=Poverty%20has%20been%20linked%20to,that%20they%20are%20subjected%20to. (Accessed July 20, 2022).

⁹⁰⁵ Beatrice Umubyey, "Probing Marital Conflicts within the context of migrant families from Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in Durban, KwaZuluNatal Province", Doctor of Philosophy in Conflict Transformation and Peace studies, UKZN, 2017, iv-v.

⁹⁰⁶ Umubyey, "Probing Marital Conflicts within the context of migrant families from Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in Durban, KwaZuluNatal Province", iv-v.

policies.⁹⁰⁷ Disha Experts also point out that there is no convincing link between poverty and violence. The link between poverty and violence should never be underlined.⁹⁰⁸

On the other hand, a study by Abugideiri from North America showed that there are many Muslim immigrant families who have experienced violence only after entering the United States. Women in these families report seeing a change in their husbands due to increased stress related to acclimatisation difficulties, multiple losses (including extensive family, career, social status, etc.) or threat of expulsion, especially after '11 September and then implementation of the Patriot Act.⁹⁰⁹ Other stressors occur in severely traumatised families, which can occur during the war, who live under oppressive regimes, escape from the country or live in refugee camps. In other cases, women may not realise that they are being abused because perceptions of violence are so common in society.⁹¹⁰

Additionally, Mutambara's study of the xenophobia and gender-based violence experienced by Zimbabwean immigrant women while working in the informal sector in Durban reveals how women's identity as immigrants and women increases their vulnerability.⁹¹¹ Similarly, most of the women in this study are victims of domestic violence that were not reported to the police or Islamic leaders. As Muslim women immigrants, Chewa and Yawo faced all forms of emotional and psychological abuse, including stalking, intimidation, denial of support, abusive language, insults and intimidation. Immigrant women may fear the authorities, including the police and the courts. Studies in America also show that undocumented immigrant women experience domestic violence and never report their attackers to the police, as the police usually question the immigration status of Latinos and Latinas.⁹¹²

⁹⁰⁷ Anu Gupta, *Clat Previous Year's Solved Papers 92007- 2019): Common Law Admission Test* (New Delhi: Prabhat Prakashan, 2021), 269.

⁹⁰⁸ Disha Experts, *11 Years Clat and Ailet (2008-18): Topic-wise Solved Papers*, 2nd Edition (New Delhi: Disha Publication, 2018), 55.

⁹⁰⁹ Abugideiri, "A Perspective on Domestic Violence in the Muslim Community"

<https://www.faithtrustinstitute.org/resources/articles/DV-in-Muslim-Community.pdf> (accessed July 20, 20220.

⁹¹⁰ Abugideiri, "A Perspective on Domestic Violence in the Muslim Community"

<https://www.faithtrustinstitute.org/resources/articles/DV-in-Muslim-Community.pdf> (accessed July 20, 20220.

⁹¹¹ Marcia Victoria Mutambara, "Xenophobia and Human Security: Gender-based Violence Experiences of Zimbabwean Women Working in the Informal Sector in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal", PhD in the Postgraduate Programme in Conflict, Transformation and Peace Studies, UKZN, 2018, v.

⁹¹² Joshua M. Price, *Structural Violence: Hidden Brutality in the Lives of Women* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012), 47.

As noted earlier, Umubey's research on the impact of migration on Congolese immigrant women and domestic violence in Durban highlighted poverty, and absence of a partner contributing to marital conflict.⁹¹³ These factors have intersected with gender to increase women's susceptibility to domestic violence. In many cases, these abuses are not reported to the authorities for fear of deportation. For example, the Chewa and Yawo women, are afraid to report the abuse to the police, they adopt or employ a strategy to divorce their husband (*khula* in Arabic) and move to another community where they start a new life. The right to dissolve a marriage is also granted to women in Islamic and Yawo cultures, as noted in chapter 3. When the husband is cruel to his wife, therefore the wife has the right to terminate the marital relationship by divorcing on her own initiative.⁹¹⁴ The wife pays the husband a certain sum, which does not exceed the amount of the dowry (*mahr*).⁹¹⁵ According to Amale, she divorced her abusive husband by returning a certain sum which they call *kupeleka cheswela* in the Chiyawo language to end marital contact.

Despite the fact that GBV is also a common occurrence among immigrants in South Africa, the vast majority of incidents go unreported, are underreported, or are not included in national data since so many immigrant women are scared to report the abuse to the authorities. As an illustration, participant "Y" in this study had bad communication with her spouse, which led to the woman being abused. She was unable to leave her abusive husband, however, because doing so would bring dishonour to the wife's family. "Y" states:

My partner and I started miscommunicating when he started spending more time on "social media" and paying less attention to me. He could talk to other people while ignoring me. As he spent more time listening to haraam music, he stopped going to the mosque to pray. Instead of giving up, I stayed with this dysfunctional family for a long time. Strangely, he used to mock me, thinking I had found a new partner since I wanted to chat to my friends. He did it for a long time. He began

⁹¹³ Umubey "Probing Marital Conflicts within the context of migrant families from Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in Durban, KwaZuluNatal Province" iv-v.

⁹¹⁴ Syed Habibul Haq Nadvi. *Islamic Legal Philosophy and the Qur'anic Origins of the Islamic Law (A Legal-historical Approach)*. (Durban: University of Durban-Westville/ Academia, The Center for Islamic, Near and Middle Eastern Studies, 1989) 61.

⁹¹⁵ Interview with Amale, Sherwood (6 August, 2020).

acting violently, and one day he burned me on the chest with a cigar. After he continuously burned me with a cigar for a few minutes, I felt as if it were the end of my life. I yelled out, but he covered my mouth with a piece of material. It was difficult for me to breathe in and out. The scars remain visible. I dashed to a friend's house. On that day, I regretted being married to my abusive spouse. I've discovered that the "small things" that actually fracture families are indeed small. Things could get complex if the other spouse does not listen and understand the matter. In my instance, the problem was that my partner was devoting more time on 'small things' such 'social media' instead of more spending time on me. When he turned to violence instead of realizing that women require care and compassion, it became a major issue. When women speak, they must be heard. When discussing concerns, bad men do not make their wives feel significant by staring at them. In this scenario, my husband was constantly preoccupied when I needed love. Many women crave their husbands' company and wish to converse with them. One sign of a dysfunctional family is poor communication during the day and even in bed. Spending more time on the phone conversing than making love to the wife is a sign of a lousy husband. What happens in a house if a woman talks to her friends while her husband wants to make love? Obviously, the husband will be upset and assume that his wife is having extramarital affairs. In marriages, the choice of words is equally crucial. The way men use words upsets wives. Men must learn to say nice things to their women. Beautiful words bond and comfort the hurting heart. Reading the Quran might also help to comfort a broken heart. Furthermore, the remedy to GBV violence is for men to understand that there is no verse in the Quran that allows them to beat their wives. During Islamic meetings in Durban, I learned of many sorts of abuse, such as financial abuse, mental abuse, sexual abuse, and physical violence. Women of all faiths, Muslim and non-Muslim, should be aware of their religious rights, which recognise that all individuals, regardless of race or colour, are equal and neither inferior nor superior. "Y" concluded.⁹¹⁶

⁹¹⁶ Interview with "Y", Overport (2 July, 2020).

Respondents to this study indicate that victims of domestic violence form Islamic groups in which they discuss issues related to combating gender-based violence. They cite verses from the Quran that prohibit any form of injustice or oppression. They also use the word "patriarch" to express their awareness of existing power imbalances in the world and to illustrate the violence that women face at home, at work and elsewhere in the community.⁹¹⁷

According to the respondents' memories, women choose to stay with violent males for a variety of reasons. Some of the arguments are monetary (money-related), others are social (what people think), and yet others are emotional (connected to a woman's personal sentiments). Low self-esteem, fear of additional abuse, loneliness anxiety, shame or guilt, fear of the unknown, and love and care for the spouse are other factors.

Another crucial thing to keep in mind is that the Chewa and Yawo experienced emotional and psychological abuse in addition to battering or assault, such as stalking, harassment, hateful words, and obscene gestures. As an example, participant "Z" mentioned that:

Unlike many women assaulted in South Africa and Malawi, I have never been beaten or otherwise mistreated by my husband. According to the news I saw on television, South Africa has one of the highest rates of domestic violence in the world. In South Africa, one in every six women is physically abused by her lover on a regular basis. However, in addition to being verbally and physically assaulted by the husband in many couples, I also endured stalking and obscene gestures. You are aware that I am an African woman from Malawi who lives in a modest flat with both locals and other Africans. When I wasn't working and my husband left for work, a South African man would frequently follow me to the bathroom to take a bath. He used to do this all the time, and the other day I pushed him to explain why he was stalking at me. He told me he was tired of his marriage and desired to fall in love with a Malawian. He was aware that I was married, so I was perplexed as to why he was bothering me in this manner. I was worried that if I revealed to my husband that I was being stalked by a man, there would be further violence as the

⁹¹⁷ Elna Mouton, Gertrude Kapuma, Len Hansen and Thomas Togom (eds.). *Living with Dignity: African Perspectives on Gender Equality*. (Sun Press, 2015) 255-56.

men would start fighting. I didn't think that if I told my family or friends, they would be able to help me because they are aware of South Africa's "culture of violence." I also did not want to file a report with my local police department because I believed the police would not assist an undocumented immigrant in this case, and I assumed the man would deny his evil intentions because the small apartment in which we were living did not have surveillance cameras set up to record the times and dates he had been following me. My limited knowledge taught me not to confront him, but rather to phone the police and submit a report. However, I was also aware of how difficult it may be to acquire enough evidence to jail and penalise someone for "stalking" in many situations. I was alone at the moment, and I knew that if I confronted the man, he'd get what he wanted: sex from me. Even though "silence" was driving me insane right now, I needed to think about how to defend myself from this GBV. Because I was the only person who could make decisions at the moment, I decided to speak out against this individual. Even if it may be perilous in other conditions, I ultimately decide to approach him. I addressed him courteously during the time he was walking in the corridor/passage of our apartment. He was overjoyed at first when he thought I would accept his proposal, but he had no idea what was going through my mind. Despite his toothy grin, I felt brave at the time. If I obtain a divorce from my husband, I asked him if he would marry me. "No!" he said, citing his wife's dread. Then I questioned him, "Why isn't my husband making you scared?" He asserted with confidence that he was not scared of illegal immigrants because they had no control over South Africa as undocumented immigrants (*amakwerekwere, amazayizayi, amangongo, amagrigamba, amashangani, and amabradha*). Then, I questioned him about whether he feared the same God who had made all people equally and had also forbade adultery. He remained silent, so I kept saying that if he really wanted me to love him; he should first inform his wife that he had been following me while I was using the bathroom. Second, I was the one who could go tell the wife that he was following me to the restroom. That man felt humiliated by my statements, and his sense of superiority diminished as a result. I came to understand that women are strong if they use their intelligence and rational language to slam abusive males.

Instead of screaming at them, try to reason with them like I did. The issue is that many women believe we have no voice in matters that touch our lives simply because we are inferior to superior males as beings. “Z” spoke with confidence as she concluded her remarks.⁹¹⁸

The experiences of participant "Z" demonstrate that, on the one hand, confronting a stalker is not the most secure way to deal with this issue. Most of the time, confrontation is seen as provocative. However, it also revealed that "Z" could readily confront a stalker. Despite her belief that it was conceivable, she found it difficult to produce evidence that the police could help if she contacted them. She not only personally asked the stalker to meet up with her at his request, but she also did not beg him to leave her alone and go on with his life. She gave him a direct stare without any fear, while simultaneously providing the stalker words of wisdom. She reasoned with him instead of pleading with him to stop all this madness because she was aware that psychopaths stalk, lack empathy, have a strong sense of entitlement, fabricate delusional relationships, assume that their victims are weak, and are more knowledgeable about their victims' backgrounds. In "Z's" example, the stalker assumed she had to adore him because she was a Malawian immigrant with no voice in South Africa.

Additionally, "Z"'s experiences demonstrate that while it is advisable to go to the police station and file a report, she did not do so despite the fact that she had concerns about the stalker. Thus, even though she did not go to the police to report the stalker, it is still advisable to do so. Because the woman is an undocumented immigrant, the police will not just arrest her; instead, they will take up and look into the stalking case. Similarly, documented and undocumented immigrants should encourage one another to seek assistance from Durban's Victim Support Centers, which assist women and children who have experienced abuse or are dealing with legal issues. As Amina explains below, this will help to curb domestic violence.

Amina, a respondent states that in order to combat domestic violence, Chewa and Yawo women encourage each other to seek help from Victim Support Centers in Durban which help women and children who have been abused or have legal problems. The victim assistance centres mentioned

⁹¹⁸ Interview with “Z”, Durban (22 July, 2020).

provide advice and help women use the justice system to help themselves.⁹¹⁹ Additionally, Amina says the Chewa and Yawo women have understood that although Victim Support Centres are based at magistrate's court or police stations, they are not run by the police. Amale also says that women lack information on how to combat violence. Gradually they learn that no one has the right to arrest the victim of violence in the magistrate's courts or police stations. They can go at these institutions to seek help. They will no longer believe that violence against women is a natural (normal) thing in a relationship. Respondents say that by creating many Islamic groups, the Chewa and Yawo immigrant women will continue to disseminate information on what to do if someone is mistreated. Immigrant women should learn to help other women find a safe place and call the police if they hear of a woman who has been beaten or abused.

Amina also advocates that women should also consider applying for a protective order and talking to others about domestic violence so everyone is aware of the problem. They should support Islamic or non-Muslim organisations that help women deal with violence. Immigrant women can give their help or their money to these organisations. They should help promote the services of these organisations so that more women know that help is available.

Asawuinda, another respondent, says women should no longer be ashamed of telling others that they are being abused by their partner. Religious leaders should not tell them to stay in an abusive relationship and try to work things out.⁹²⁰ Most of the women in this study are victims of domestic violence that were not reported to the police or Islamic leaders. This is verified by reports from South Africa's 2020 "National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence," which demonstrate that despite the prevalence of GBV, the vast majority of cases are still not registered, are reported insufficiently, or are not taken into account in national data. Despite conducting more GBV research than other countries, South Africa lacks the knowledge required to adopt more effective GBV remedies.⁹²¹ Similarly, studies in the United States also show that undocumented migrant women experience domestic violence and never report their abusers to the police, as police

⁹¹⁹ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

⁹²⁰ Interview with Asawilunds, Newland West (12 August, 2020).

⁹²¹ "National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide: human Dignity and Healing, Safety, Freedom and Equality in Our Lifetime". (Pretoria: National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide, 2020) 32.

typically question the immigration status of Latinos and Latinas (Hispanics).⁹²² Therefore, Chewa and Yawo faced all forms of emotional and psychological abuse, including stalking, harassment, refusal of support (financial abuse), abusive language, obscene gestures, insults and harassment that were not reported for fear of deportation.

Xenophobia

Anti-immigrant sentiments among Africans are usually directed against other Africans. The attackers have often accused foreigners of stealing the fruits of democratisation.⁹²³ South Africa hosts 2.2-3.95 million foreigners.⁹²⁴ A 2020 Reuter report indicates that there are around 87,000 Malawians living in the country.⁹²⁵ There were 75,512.00 refugees in 2021, 1.59% less than in 2020 when there were 76,729.00 refugees in the country.⁹²⁶ Refugees from Ethiopia and Somalia have opened numerous shops in Durban, employing locals and other foreigners. They make an important contribution by creating jobs, paying taxes, renovating and renting buildings in Durban, and delivering competitively priced goods to the buyer. Studies show that contrary to popular belief, immigration is not associated with low employment rates for indigenous peoples in South Africa, and some immigrant groups may improve employment opportunities for indigenous peoples. They pay taxes to the host country's government, increasing South Africa's per capita income. Tax payments by foreigners have a positive effect on the national budget.⁹²⁷ Few South Africans understand that foreigners pay taxes

⁹²² Joshua M. Price. *Structural Violence: Hidden Brutality in the Lives of Women*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012) 47.

⁹²³ See Audie Klotz. "Borders and the Roots of Xenophobia in South Africa". *South African Historical Journal*. (2016, 68:2).

⁹²⁴ Stats SA. "Erroneous reporting of undocumented migrants in SA". Media Statement. 05 August, 2021. <https://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=14569> (Accessed June 22, 2022).

⁹²⁵ Charles Pensulo. "Dreams dashed: Malawi migrants return empty-handed from South Africa". Reuter, 19/10/2020. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-malawi-migrants-health-coronavirus-idUSKBN2741GN> (Accessed July 20, 2022).

⁹²⁶ South Africa Refugee Statistics 1993-2022- Macrotrends <https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/ZAF/south-africa/refugee-statistics#> (Accessed July 21, 2022).

⁹²⁷ Theo Sparreboom, Tendai Gwatidzo et. al. "How Immigrants Contribute to South Africa's Economy, Economics Impact of Immigration, September, 2018

in various forms. ⁹²⁸ Reports also show that public opinion seems unaware of the impact of immigrants and their impact on the domestic work market. International migrants make up a small part of the South African population and the overall impact of international immigrants on the labour market is not harmful. One of the respondents, Amina, felt that the locals were too "hostile" due to the spread of false information across the country. She says that there are many things black South Africans can learn from foreigners. For example, the demand for housing has recently increased due to the increase in immigrants. Black South Africans can build rooms in their yards. She says that foreigners can rent these rooms. They can also start small-scale businesses that will sustain their livelihood.⁹²⁹

Habiba, who immigrated to South Africa in 1994, says that the country has long been afflicted by an unfounded fear or hatred of black Africans. She believes it began in the 1990s, after apartheid was removed, when the majority of indigenous people began to travel to other places in South Africa in search of work. The fact that many unskilled vocations were occupied by citizens of neighbouring countries pained them much more. Intense violence against foreign immigrants began on May 11, 2008, and lasted until April 15, 2015, then 2018. Habiba states:

Before 2008, there was anti-foreign-country sentiment. Some opposed to our presence well before the 2008 protests. We were called *Amagrigamba* and *Amashangani* in Johannesburg, and *Amazayizayi* in Durban. In Durban, Yawo Muslims were frequently referred to as *Amazizimbani*. I'm not sure what *Amamgrigamba* or *Amazayizayi* imply, but I believe it refers to an inferior individual. We were despised because we were seen as rivals for different resources. Both in 2008 and 2015, there were horrifying, terrifying reports of foreign nationals being killed, while hundreds—including women and children—were beaten, raped, and had their homes and property looted. It has psychological effects on me. I was wondering where we would spend the night, if we were assaulted. I remember that we weren't ready to go home yet. It was just terrible. It

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/328093927_How_Immigrants_Contribute_to_South_Africa's_Economy (Accessed July 21, 2022).

⁹²⁸ Interview with Amina, Overport (2 July, 2020).

⁹²⁹ Interview with Amina, Overport (2 July, 2020).

resembled being ambushed by a roaring lion. I was hesitant to wear a veil or the hijab. Even though I was terrified to walk around town, I continued to wear the hijab. My neighbour stopped wearing the hijab due of xenophobia. You are aware that wearing the hijab identifies us as foreign Black Muslims, as the bulk of people who wear the hijab are. We had difficulty falling asleep. I prayed to God that no xenophobic attacks would occur against us. In answer to your question about my future in South Africa, I can say that it already feels like home. I, on the other hand, am not amused by the "culture of violence." Violence does not appeal to me. It's a pleasant place to live in South Africa. We have built better residences in Malawi as a result of the remittances we receive from this country. Xenophobia should not be used to characterise all people unfavourably. Only a small percentage of South Africans are xenophobic; the majority of people do not advocate hatred for individuals of African heritage. I'll use the Dudula, a violent anti-immigrant vigilante organisation, as an example. Some members of the group harbour severe prejudices against people with dark complexion. There are some decent people, but there are also some nasty rotten eggs. Some South Africans are polite and pleasant to foreigners, and some even work in foreign-owned enterprises. Few people, particularly the ignorant, are xenophobic. We coexist peacefully with the majority of South Africans, but if every South African was xenophobic, all immigrants would have been attacked by now.⁹³⁰

Jameelah, who arrived in 2009, states:

The majority of South Africans do care about us, and some Zulu people even tell us ahead of time when a xenophobic attack is about to take place, making it easy for us to flee to neighbouring townships or mosques for safety. When I first arrived in South Africa, I imagined I would live quietly and for the rest of my life here because we were fleeing the poverty of Malawi. However, due to xenophobia, I periodically ponder returning home; therefore I'm at a crossroads right now. Although there are moments when the atmosphere is hostile, I believe that South

⁹³⁰ Interview with Habiba, Pinetown, (10 Sept, 2020).

Africa will have a bright future if its citizens are able to shed their prejudice against other Black people. In order to further the nation's development, they must begin working assiduously. We need to cease assigning blame. They can observe how we run our little enterprises. The notion that immigrants compete with locals for jobs, housing, and other resources like education and health care is unfounded given that the majority of immigrants do not actually use public hospitals. A small number of people visit, but the majority use pharmacies.⁹³¹

Amatullah, who arrived in 2010, adds that individuals who are tribalistic or xenophobic should subscribe to Africa's *umundu* worldview, which promotes the concept of humanity toward others. *Ubuntu* in isiZulu corresponds to *umundu* in Chiyawo. It encompasses healthcare, social interaction, and charity systems. Africans can coexist in peace and cooperation for the benefit of the entire community. Furthermore, blaming foreign countries for domestic problems such as HIV/AIDS, poverty, crime, and unemployment is irrational. It is basically a dislike and fear of immigrants who work hard and engage in trade to send money home.⁹³²

Amatullah also asserts that she was attacked in her Burnwood (Sydenham) *mjondolo* room in 2015 and 2019; she describes both incidents as unpleasant. When it was claimed that several Malawians had purchased stolen goods in Burnwood in 2019, xenophobia there first surfaced. They were escorted out of their rooms, and a woman hit her in the face with a plank. For weeks, she struggled to see clearly, so she had to go to Mariannhill to find shelter. Thankfully, the Zulu neighbours guarded her possessions from being taken by the criminals who were attacking foreigners out of bigotry.⁹³³

Amale, who arrived in South Africa in 2013, argues that:

The country's xenophobia is multifaceted. It can be evident in a variety of settings, such as when someone is subjected to police mistreatment. Consider how the officers at Johannesburg's Park Station search black foreign nationals. They

⁹³¹ Interview with Jamellah, Burwood, (22 July, 2020).

⁹³² Interview with Amatullah, Sydenham, (20 July, 2020).

⁹³³ Interview with Amatullah, Sydenham, (20 July, 2020).

primarily target persons with darker skin tones. My friends and I were travelling by bus from Malawi when we were harassed by police at Park Station. We were being scrutinized from the luggage to the body. I was amazed at how quickly they checked us when we submitted our passports and notified them of our previous border crossing. They couldn't hear us because of the colour of our dark skin. However, some Europeans on the same bus as us were not scrutinised or requested to show their passports. Not only the police target foreign nationals; a number of Department of Home Affairs personnel and landlords also treat black foreign nationals with contempt. As an example of xenophobia, the landlord of the townhouse where we were living overcharged us in comparison to the local occupants. We were unable to resist because we were afraid he might chase us. It should be mentioned that in this country, xenophobia manifests itself as unfair labour practices, such as the denial of paid leave and the unjust treatment of foreign black workers in terms of labour law requirements. Other examples of xenophobia include preferring to hire unregistered foreign nationals. As an example, I worked while pregnant until I was eight months along. They only do these things to us because they know we will not inform anyone.⁹³⁴

Asawilunda, who arrived in 2014, commented, "I feel awful when someone in the bus or on the street sees me wearing the hijab and calls me "*amakwerekwere*." The name "*amakwerekwere*" is insulting and demeaning to us. The phrase has now evolved into an identifying marker for us. For the past three decades, this has been the most common way South Africans refer to us. This term, in my opinion, meant that outsiders are inferior and barbarians incapable of speaking South African languages, whereas we speak our languages, which generate a constant murmuring sound that neither the Zulus nor the Sothos can understand."⁹³⁵

Additionally, Asawilunda stated that:

South Africans will stare at me and my friend when we speak Chiyawo aboard a bus. They'll assume that we are babbling or chatting mindlessly or incoherently.

⁹³⁴ Interview with Amale, Sherwood, (6 August, 2020).

⁹³⁵ Interview with Asawilunda, Newlands, (12 August, 2020).

Chiyawo is a babbling discourse or sound to South Africans. They are unaware that our Zanzibaris (Amazizimbani) brothers and sisters have been speaking Chiyawo in Chatsworth for many years. I believe that more should be written by historians regarding the Yawo's contributions to South Africa's socioeconomic realms beginning with the arrival of our ancestors. The current generation of South Africans has to understand that Chiyawo and Makhuwa are the minority languages in Durban. I suffered abuse because I speak Chiyawo during the 2015 xenophobia. We were being attacked with wips by a group of men who said they hated *kwerekwere* language. It was horrifying to see an African attack another African who was speaking in their own language on the African continent. I began to think about how some individuals might not be aware that European colonialists were responsible for establishing the borders of the African continents. Our Malawian ancestors had told us that monarchs and other authorities were responsible for caring for Africans. Additionally, Malawian people were travelling by foot from Malawi to South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Zambia. They were solely wary of wild creatures; border checkpoints did not frighten them. As such, several South Africans should be acquainted with the term "Pan Africanism."⁹³⁶

Ngonji, a 2008 immigrant, claims:

Discrimination involves more than just my language. Another key feature that distinguishes me from South Africans is the hue of my skin. I am regarded to be a darker woman than a Zulu woman. I was once out for a walk with a Malawian friend who had a deeper complexion than me. Two Zulu women approached in front of us. "*Yho yho yho awe!*" *Waze wanyama umuntu*," yelled one of the women. Literally, I have never seen a black person dressed like this in my life. She was referring to my acquaintance's dark skin tone.⁹³⁷

⁹³⁶ Interview with Asawilunda, Newlands, (12 August, 2020).

⁹³⁷ Interview with Ngonji, Mariannhill, (4 August, 2020).

Habiba also encountered a few xenophobic women who disapproved of her skin tone. She claims that:

One day a woman kept shouting, "Where do you come from?" Mashangani, you're black. I don't like Amashangani. Where are you from? The woman yelled, "I want to go to Africa one day." I questioned why, when being in Africa, this woman was expressing a desire to travel there. It occurred to me that some South Africans may believe that their country is located on another continent because of their lighter skin tone. This is one method of categorising us based on our outward appearance. It is also pitiful to witness so many police officers harassing and rounding us up simply because we are people of colour. Foreigners with dark skin are frequently stopped by police on the streets of South Africa because they may be undocumented immigrants. Johannesburg exhibits this pattern more overtly than Durban. Police occasionally round up and bother people, and it's not always just foreigners with dark skin. In addition, the darker-skinned Vendas, Tsongas, Shanganis/Tsongas, and Pedis are thought to be undocumented residents. In other instances, a darker-skinned Zulu will be questioned about his citizenship until he produces an ID, at which time they will let him to leave.⁹³⁸

Che Laje, who moved here in 2008, stated:

In South Africa, I had a variety of experiences, some positive and others negative. South Africa has a bright future, in my opinion, but its residents must learn to appreciate one another. Foreigners in South Africa enjoy better lives than they do in their own countries. It is a good country, and all that is expected of its residents is hard work and an unwillingness to blame immigration for the majority of its problems. The country's progress is further hampered by the 'culture of violence', since the government must rebuild the infrastructure damaged by the strikers. Consider a crowd torching libraries, schools, buses, and even police vehicles. It's awful to see these things on TV on a regular basis. Despite the fact that I was not in South Africa in the earlier part of 2008, I did encounter bigotry in 2015. The people of Lindelani were singing anti-immigrant songs. "*Abakufika bahambe*"

⁹³⁸ Interview with Habiba, Pinetown, (10 Sept, 2020).

translates as "foreigners must go." I meant to go shopping, but the locals refused to let us pass. We were forced to hike up Mtuzuma Road. I was adversely affected. I was enraged. They fully discriminated against us since our skin was a little darker than the indigenous' fair skin. Around the same time, we had to accompany our friend Asiya's child to Khan Hospital in Chatsworth. She was expecting her first child. The xenophobia in 2015 will linger with me because it happened in the same month as the birth of that granddaughter. The baby was born on April 17, 2015. It was difficult to transport the pregnant girl to the hospital. We were afraid that anti-immigrant gangs would beat us up. Worse, we stopped going to work and shopping, and we didn't have enough food in our homes. Tuck shops owned by Ethiopians and Somalis were targeted and closed down. Some were looted, and the owners were attacked. They were likewise hiding, just like us. My memory is that buses were sent to pick us up by the Malawian government, but we were unable to leave South Africa since my friend's child was in the hospital. She had to deliver through Caesarean section since my friend's pregnant child's high blood pressure was caused by her fear of being attacked. The birth of my friend's first grandson brought me the most happiness in South Africa. The baby was born in South Africa, which made me pleased though the child dies a few months later.⁹³⁹

Ambulale, who arrived in 2014 and had previously been with Fatima in Bayview, Chatsworth, stated:

There was no xenophobic violence against immigrants in Bayview in Chatsworth, which is a hotspot for the Makhuwa and Yawo in Durban. Despite the fact that there are many Indians in Chatsworth, no immigrants were attacked by Indians. As a result, Indians were never involved in any of the attacks on Black Africans. We were listening to people's thoughts and watching it on television. There were no xenophobic events in Bayview at this time, which was in 2015. I only witnessed "Operation Fiyela" in Chatsworth. Police and soldiers were on the lookout for narcotics and weapons. Despite the fact that there are pockets of unreported

⁹³⁹ Interview with Che Laje, Fourteen, (7 August, 2020).

violence in South Africa on occasion, Fatima and I think that this country is our place, our home, and where we belong. Our sons have never been to Malawi. They were all birthed in South Africa. We were nervous when we initially arrived in South Africa, but we are now thrilled to be a key part of the country. We believe in South Africa's promising future, yet the people here tend to forget that we are a part of the African continent. Malawi is home to some Ngunis. They are referred to as Ngoni. They are dispersed throughout the districts of Rumphi, Ntcheu, Thyolo, Dedza, Mwanza, and Mzimba, which is a corruption of the Zulu term *umzimba* (body). Places in Mzimba with names originating in South Africa but retaining a Zulu connotation include Euthini and Edingeni. Given this context, South Africans ought to accept us now that we are drawn to the country's economy. Some Ngoni are returning to KwaZulu-Natal, where they first settled. Shaka's wars caused them to be dispersed over Malawi. The hub of southern African nations is now South Africa. In contrast to other African nations, South Africa has a beneficial thing in that many people have access to food. Low-wage workers have the same access to supermarkets that wealthy people do for food purchases. Malawi does not experience this. Supermarkets are for the wealthy in Malawi, while local markets are where the underprivileged purchase their food.⁹⁴⁰

Zione, who arrived in 2006, says that the 2015 xenophobic violence affected her directly. At the time, she was living at Clare Estate. That nightfall, men in pangas stormed through the door and stole everything from their home. The only thing they left behind was the food in the saucepan. They were left with nothing. They were trapped with nowhere to turn until another victim informed them that various non-governmental organizations were assisting xenophobic victims.

Furthermore, Zione asserts:

Despite occasional racial animosity between Indian Muslims and Malawian immigrants, it is untrue to generalize that all Indians are racist or that they pay their employees cheap wages. Indian Muslims are the first to help the victims of

⁹⁴⁰ Interview with Ambulale, Savannah Park, (8 August, 2020).

tragedies, whether they are caused by natural disasters or merely by xenophobia. By alerting their employees to the impending xenophobic attacks, Indian Muslims also play a part. Thus, it can be argued that the majority of Indian Muslims in South Africa are not racist since they understand that mercy toward all people is the path to paradise. As a result, they are well recognised for their charitable giving to both Muslims and non-Muslims. Few Indians, nevertheless, appear to underpay their employees, overwork them, and feed them expired food. However, the vast majority of Indian Muslims are devout individuals who are kind to the underprivileged masses, whether they are in Africa or elsewhere. However, we cannot also generalize that all Black people are terrible; even among black Africans; there are some who are racist, tribalistic, nepotistic, and xenophobic. We are surrounded by both Indian Muslims and non-Muslims, as far as I know. When xenophobia immediately struck me, several Zulu neighbours were the first to come over and give us some food the day after the attacks. I had to seek protection from Indian Muslims during the ensuing days. Additionally, these Indian Muslims fed both Muslims and non-Muslims of Malawian origin without separating them based on religion. At WAMY headquarters, several male immigrants from Malawi were given sanctuary, whether they were Muslims or Christians. I recall the former director of WAMY, Sheikh Saleem Banda, who we refer to as *Mlera wana* (a provider) in Chichewa and Chiyawo, giving a number of displaced persons shelter and food. At WAMY, Banda was a sincere individual. He was expected to stay on at WAMY for a considerable amount of time because the results of the development program were evident. He was gifted and kind to people from all backgrounds. In 2015, when Malawians were being attacked, he gave them tickets for the buses that were taking them back home. Because we had nothing to take and the thugs who came in the name of xenophobia robbed all of our furniture, TVs, beds, and clothes, my husband and I chose not to return home. Although we chose to live in Durban, we had to relocate. Permit me to reiterate that we first received assistance from the locals, after which Indian Muslims, WAMY under Sheikh Banda provided support for a while. Even though a small number of Zulu people were blamed for xenophobia, the relationship was not overly strained because more foreigners

returned to Clare Estate and other townships when the xenophobic violence ended. It should be noted that occasionally the local Zulu are the ones that alert us to an impending attack. We have connections to the locals and Muslim Indians in this way. In summary, a number of Malawian men and women work in Indian houses and enterprises. As a result, relations with Muslim Indians are generally cordial, but occasionally they become strained over issues like poor payments, excessive work, overcharging for rent, giving out expired food, and undermining black workers. There aren't many Malawians working in Black communities, although some males work for Black South Africa in the furniture, tailoring, welding, and mechanic industries.⁹⁴¹

The recollections of Zion reveal that despite certain Zulu people being accused of xenophobia, there was not much tension in the community as more foreigners relocated to other areas. They were informed of an impending attack by the local Zulus. In this sense, they have ties to the community and Muslim Indians. The Chewa and Yawo immigrants simultaneously assimilated into the new Durban host culture with the Zulus and Indian Muslims while maintaining strong and symbolic ties to their native countries. They continue to keep their Malawian relatives updated on events in South Africa. This makes it easier for Malawian family members to be less agitated and concerned about potential xenophobic attacks. Chewa and Yawo Muslims, like indigenous Zulus and Indian Muslims, have friendly relations with Malawian Christians and other immigrants from various nations. Sometimes WhatsApp groups bring Malawians together in South Africa, whether they are Christians or Muslims from diverse ethnic backgrounds. Additionally, during xenophobic attacks, many Indian Muslims are the ones who defend immigrants by providing them with food and shelter. In this aspect, local Africans believed that Indians were helping immigrants rather than indigenous Africans during xenophobic outbreaks. It is essential to comprehend these nuanced racial problems in order to understand how certain local Africans approach charitable issues. In the setting, immigrants who were attacked needed assistance from anyone, whether a Muslim or a Christian. Indigenous Africans failed to remember that charity sees no colour, country of origin, race, or ethnicity but can be offered to the one it deserves. Indian Muslims were correct to assist

⁹⁴¹ Interview with Zion, Mawelewele, (2 July, 2020).

immigrants, which was misconstrued as favouritism because all Malawians who experienced xenophobic attacks were labelled as Muslims just because they received food hampers from Indian Muslims. However, the truth is that Indian Muslims helped both Christian and Muslim victims. In this scenario, fear of the unknown constantly weakens the truth and leads to crime against immigrants.

In addition Zione says that some few locals see foreigners as responsible for unemployment, poverty, crime, and even HIV and AIDS. She adds: They also consider most foreigners as people who do not use roll-on perfumes and have an odour in their armpits (*kununkha kumkhwapa/kununga kungwapa*). Furthermore, in many cases this factor causes them to be isolated at the same time since the immigrant status of some women is that of illegal immigrants. However, women's groups help them socialize and associate with Zulu Muslim women.⁹⁴²

The Chewa and Yawo Muslim immigrant women are afraid of South Africa's culture of violence that is said to have emerged in the 1980s when the violence was primarily political in nature. During this period, violence was used and supported across the political spectrum.⁹⁴³ According to Harris, violence remains the primary means of solving problems in South Africa.⁹⁴⁴ In addition, he says, xenophobia is a product of nationalism. The attempt to initiate the nation-state is a struggle for the monopoly of the means of violence.⁹⁴⁵

⁹⁴² Interview with Zione, Mawelewele, (2 July, 2020).

⁹⁴³ See Bronwyn Harris. "A Foreign Experience: Violence, Crime and Xenophobia during South Africa's Transition". *Violence and Transition Series*. CSVR. (August 2001, 5).

⁹⁴⁴ Harris. "A Foreign Experience".

⁹⁴⁵ Harris. "A Foreign Experience".



Photograph 1: Xenophobia's culture of violence is a result of nationalism.

SOURCE: Ennelles Nyale, “113 Malawians displaced in xenophobic attack, In Front Page News, *The Nation* (Malawi), 11 September, 2019.



Photograph 2: A foreigner being beaten in South Africa.

SOURCE: Ennelles Nyale, “113 Malawians displaced in xenophobic attack, *The Nation* (Malawi), 11 September, 2019.

In South Africa over the past few decades there has been a wave of attacks on foreigners. Foreigners living in South Africa, mostly of African descent, live in fear of xenophobic violence from vigilante groups sprouting up in various regions in the name of nationalism and state-building. The fear or distrust of foreigners because of their nationality or because they are or appear to be strangers is becoming a norm in the contemporary history of South Africa. Discursive and physical attacks on outsiders in everyday interactions are an affirmation of the post-apartheid meaning of democratic citizenship.⁹⁴⁶

Black South Africans became victims of a brutal white regime in which they were marginalised in all walks of life. Now the victim has become the perpetrator of the victimisation of fellow black Africans. Julius Malema calls this phenomenon "self-hatred".⁹⁴⁷ Thus to hate black Africans in South Africa is self-hatred, a black man who hates himself. And Matsinhe labels it "Africa's fear of itself".⁹⁴⁸ Black foreigners are regarded as "*makwerekwere*" while White foreigners as tourists. According to South Africa's High Commissioner for Malawi, Cassandra Mbuyane-Mokoena, there are a significant number of people from the African continent, Eastern Europe and Asia who are undocumented citizens in South Africa.⁹⁴⁹ In a broad context, these undocumented foreigners from Eastern Europe and Asia are considered tourists by most South Africans. They will not attack them, but they will target black Africans. It's black against black hatred. Both black and white South Africans equate the word "foreigner" with "black foreigner", which in turn has "all different negative connotations". Black South Africans not only "hate black nationalities", but "show great respect for white people because they are the creators of wealth for

⁹⁴⁶ See Audie Klotz. "Borders and the Roots of Xenophobia in South Africa". *South African Historical Journal*. (2016, 68:2).

⁹⁴⁷ SABC News Channel. Julius Malema's speech on Labour Day, 1 May, 2022.

⁹⁴⁸ David Mario Matsinhe. "Africa's Fear of Itself: The Ideology of *Makwerekwere* in South Africa". *Third World Quarterly*. (2011, 32:2) 295.

⁹⁴⁹ Sam Chunga. "Xenophobic was RSA low point" In Q& A. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 05 August, 2015.

them".⁹⁵⁰ Additionally, in the South African tourism industry, 'tourist' is a 'Whites only' category. African foreigners are *personae non-gratae*.⁹⁵¹ Most South Africans are becoming increasingly xenophobic, seeing "almost exclusively black foreigners" as directly responsible for rising unemployment and violent crime. African foreigners are more often victims of physical violence than other nationalities.⁹⁵² Xenophobia has not ceased from the 1990s until today, but in many cases, the stories of attacks go unreported. According to some scholars, numerous outbreaks of xenophobic violence continued in South Africa, many of these incidents were not reported or the police did little to contain the situation.⁹⁵³

Participants in this study recounted unreported xenophobic attacks in the peripheral areas of Durban such as Mansuthu, Burnwood, Kenville, Kennedy Road, Clare Road, Spencer Road, Sparks Informal Settlement, and other surrounding areas. They are aware that the police do not help or prosecute criminals. For example, between 25 March and 2 April 2019, Durban was gripped by a wave of anti-foreigner violence in the Burnwood informal settlement near Durban displacing more than 100 Malawians. Most Malawians fled "xenophobic attacks" in informal settlements that began after a Malawian was found in possession of property stolen from a South African. This dire situation was then captured by a group of locals who began evacuating Malawians in the name of eliminating "criminal elements". In extending an olive branch, Malawians wrote a letter asking for forgiveness from those who committed the crime, and the gesture was expressed by locals as a sign of their desire to welcome Malawians back into their community.⁹⁵⁴

In many cases, South Africa has not charged anyone for past xenophobic violence, including the April 2015 attack in Durban that displaced thousands and the 2008 xenophobic attack that claimed

⁹⁵⁰ See David Mario Matsinhe. "Africa's Fear of Itself: The Ideology of *Makwerekwere* in South Africa". *Third World Quarterly*. (2011, 32:2) 295-313.

⁹⁵¹ Matsinhe. "Africa's Fear of Itself 295-313.

⁹⁵² Matsinhe. "Africa's Fear of Itself 295-313.

⁹⁵³ Emmanuel Matambo (ed.). *Interrogating Xenophobia and Nativism in Twenty-First-Century Africa*. (Maryland, London: Lexington Books, 2022) 147.

⁹⁵⁴ Bongani Mthetwa. "Malawians want to go home following attack at a Durban informal settlement". *Sunday Times*. (South Africa), 1 April, 2019.

more than 60 lives. Immunity for these xenophobic crimes remains a major issue that needs to be addressed urgently.⁹⁵⁵ In 2015, seven people died in similar attacks. Even the Ekurhuleni attacks in 2019 which displaced 113 Malawians (68 men, 30 women and 15 children); virtually no one was brought to justice.⁹⁵⁶ Xenophobic attacks in Katlehong in 2019 also caused 624 adults and 227 children to flee their homes. According to Seleka of *The Nation* newspaper in Malawi, Aida Chisi of Malawi, who was holding her one-year-old daughter in her arms, had lost everything, including documents. She had lost everything she owned. The attackers even stole all the items she intended to take to Malawi for resale. She spent the night at Katlehong police station after her home was attacked.⁹⁵⁷

The reasons for xenophobic reactions are varied. Locals say foreigners in South Africa work for low wages and do not fight to improve wages and working conditions. Other South Africans consider foreigners criminals and should not be offered police service or protection. Foreigners are also accused of stealing local businesses and spreading diseases such as HIV / AIDS. Other South Africans do not like to have asylum seekers, refugees or foreigners in their communities.⁹⁵⁸ Thus, black South African citizens in particular display high levels of xenophobia towards other Africans, which exposes them to various forms and degrees of discrimination and prejudice.⁹⁵⁹ According to Moge kwu, xenophobes lack sufficient knowledge about the people they fear, hate, or dislike which limits cross-cultural integration.⁹⁶⁰ As such, most South Africans lack sufficient knowledge about the determining factors that attract black Africans to come to this country.

⁹⁵⁵ SABC News. "Rise in xenophobia violence as elections near" 15 April, 2019.

<http://elections.sabc.co.za/elections2019> (accessed July 25, 2022).

⁹⁵⁶ Nyale. "113 Malawians displaced in xenophobic attack"

⁹⁵⁷ Ntwagaae Seleka. "Xenophobia: agony, grief and fear, in Feature. *The Nation*.. (Malawi), 18 September, 2019.

⁹⁵⁸ South African History. "Xenophobia Violence in democratic South Africa".

<https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/xenophobic-violence-democratic-south-africa> (Accessed June 28, 2022).

⁹⁵⁹ Carol Adjai et al. "Migration, Xenophobia and New Racism in Post-Apartheid South Africa". *International Journal of Social Science Studie*. (April 2013, 1:1) 192.

⁹⁶⁰ Sabella Ogbobode Abidde and Emmanuel Kasonde Matambo (eds.). *Xenophobia, Nativism and Pan-Africanism in 21st Century Africa: History, Concepts, Practice and Case study*. (Cham: Springer, 2021), 259; See also Matt Moge kwu. "African Union: Xenophobia as Poor Intercultural Information". *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*. (2005, 26:1) 5-20.

Additionally, in reports on the BBC's Focus on Africa programme in 2015, the SA High Commissioner in London asserted that South Africans are hostile to Africans because South Africans were not integrated into the rest of Africa. Most of them have never journeyed outside their state or region. An additional reason is that they may not have received the kind of history in their schools that might have conditioned them toward the Pan-African brotherhood.⁹⁶¹ Another High commissioner to Malawi, Cassandra Mbuyane-Mokoena said that South Africa has a historical past of economic marginalisation of the vast majority of its citizens, which is the root cause of xenophobia.⁹⁶²

In my fieldwork, many of the above sentiments could be clearly discerned. Zione an interviewee believes that South Africa's economy will continue to shrink as long as most South Africans continue to attack fellow black Africans. Potential investors cannot come and invest in a hostile environment. The discriminatory treatment of black Africans is appalling and inhumane. It is also likely that most foreigners will leave the country in the near future.⁹⁶³ The hatred of black Africans may be associated with a *new racism* based on the discriminatory treatment of the "other" because of their national or ethnic origin.⁹⁶⁴ According to Tafira, xenophobia in South Africa is a form of racism deeply rooted in cultural differences, which are reflected in differences in nationality, ethnicity, language, dress, customs, social and territorial origin, speeches and accents. These disparities are exacerbated by social and economic inequalities and the frustrations of the local population are expressed through deep economic grievances. Furthermore, some current black-on-black violence is reminiscent of the anti-black racism of white apartheid.⁹⁶⁵ Thus, the waves of hatred and aversion towards black foreigners by black South Africans are said to reflect the same feelings white people had for black people during the apartheid era. So far, South Africa's redefinition of the perimeters of nationality and belonging focuses on constructing a "new other";

⁹⁶¹ Desmond Dudwa Phiri. "Economic consequences of SA xenophobia". In Economics and Business Forum. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 7 April, 2015.

⁹⁶² Sam Chunga. "Xenophobia was RSA low point". In Q& A. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 5 August, 2015.

⁹⁶³ Interview with Zione, Mawelewele (2 July, 2020).

⁹⁶⁴ Carol Adjai et al. "Migration, Xenophobia and New Racism in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *International Journal of social Science Studies*. (April 2013, 1:1) 192.

⁹⁶⁵ See Kenneth Tafira. "Is xenophobia racism". *Anthropology Southern Africa*. (2015, 34:3-40).

the "non-citizen", the "foreigner", the "alien".⁹⁶⁶ Amina believes that after the end of apartheid, when most of the indigenous population moved to different cities in South Africa to look for work, there was unjustifiable fear or hatred towards foreign black Africans. They were devastated when they realized that many menial jobs are being occupied by people from neighbouring countries.⁹⁶⁷

Amatullah, a respondent says it has been nearly fourteen years since xenophobia erupted in Alexandra Township and reached Gauteng and the rest of the Western Cape. In mid-May 2008, groups of armed men attacked many foreigners, including women and children. She says that on television, the Chewa and Yawo Muslim immigrant women had seen Malawians, Mozambicans, Zimbabweans and Congolese evacuate their homes in terror.⁹⁶⁸

Amtullah argues that armed mobs chanted '*awahambe amakwererekwere* (the *kwerekweres* must go) and dragged people out of their homes. Some of them set fire to their belongings and drove foreigners out of the area. Several television stations broadcast footage of crying women and children.⁹⁶⁹ Similar violence occurred in Brazzaville, an informal settlement near the township of Atteridgeville, 15 kilometers west of Pretoria. A mob made headlines in May 2008 after 28-year-old Mozambican Abraham Misimango who owned a shop was stoned and burned. That year, 62 people died in xenophobic attacks, the worst since the advent of democracy in 1994. The informal settlements of Ramaphosa in Ekurhuleni, Alexandra, Diepsloot, and the town of Masipumelele in the Western Cape were among others affected.⁹⁷⁰ More than 350 foreigners were killed in South Africa between 2008 and 2015, according to data published by the African Center for Migration and Society at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg.⁹⁷¹

⁹⁶⁶ Jonathan Crush and Wade Pendleton. "Regionalising Xenophobia? Citizen attitudes to immigration and refugee policy in Southern Africa". Southern African Migration Project (SAMP). (Queen's University Canada: Idasa, 2004) 4.

⁹⁶⁷ Interview with Amina, Overport (2 July, 2020).

⁹⁶⁸ Interview with Amatullah, Sydenham (20 July, 2020).

⁹⁶⁹ Interview with Amatullah, Sydenham (20 July, 2020).

⁹⁷⁰ Staff Reporter. "Foreigners brave an uneasy refuge in SA". *The Mail and Guardian*. (South Africa), 24 Apr 2014; Emmanuel Matambo (ed.). *Interrogating Xenophobia and Nativism in Twenty-First-Century Africa*. (Maryland, London: Lexington Books, 2022) 147.

⁹⁷¹ Lowani Mtonga. "Can Xenophobia be eradicated? In Lowani Mtonga. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 26 April, 2015.

Yankho recalls the violence of xenophobic attacks of 2015. She says a Zulu neighbour told her that their king had told them that all foreigners had to leave the country. She encouraged us to change location because xenophobic feelings were expressed daily.⁹⁷² On March 21, 2015, at the Moral Rejuvenation or Renaissance Meeting in Pongola, KwaZulu-Natal province, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini noted that foreigners should return to their homeland because they are changing the nature of South African society with their possessions and enjoying wealth that should have been for the locals. His comments sparked xenophobia in the country.⁹⁷³ Additionally, Yankho noted that after the King's comments, Zulu mobs descended on foreigners, and men and women were attacked. Several countries, including Malawi, repatriated their nationals caught in the xenophobic violence in South Africa. More than 3,900 Malawians in 2015 had been affected by South African attacks on immigrants. Many of the repatriated immigrants came from Mangochi. According to the government, the total death toll at the time was seven, three of whom fled South Africa and died in transit.⁹⁷⁴

The Mzimba Heritage Association of the Ngoni people of Malawi decided to use the annual uMthetho cultural festival to condemn King Goodwill Zwelithini for his conduct in initiating the killing of foreigners in South Africa.⁹⁷⁵ One of the respondents, Amina, said that the Mzimba Heritage Association wanted to tell the Zulu king that the Nguni have strong cultural, ethnic and historical links with the Zulus of Natal. The Nguni are known as Ngonis. They are scattered throughout the Mzimba region, a name derived from the Zulu words *umzimba* (body), Ntcheu, Dedza, Mwanza, Dowa, and Rumphu. So killing a Ngoni man is the same as killing the Zulu brothers.⁹⁷⁶

⁹⁷² Interview with Yankho, Mayville (5 July, 2020).

⁹⁷³ Mercy Malikwa. "Continental CSO petition AU on SA xenophobia". In Front Page, National News. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 12 June, 2015.

⁹⁷⁴ Mercy Malikwa. "Malawi buries its dead as 1000 more xenophobic victims arrive home". In Editors Pick, National News. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 6 May, 2015.

⁹⁷⁵ Pledge Jali. "Ngonis to summon Zulu king over xenophobia". *The Nation*. (Malawi), 15 May, 2015.

⁹⁷⁶ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

According to DD Phiri, around Bulawayo in southern Zimbabwe, there are people who speak almost the same language as the Zulu. It is called Ndebele. In northern Malawi, there are towns with Zulu names. The Mzimba and Mzuzu chiefs also have Zulu names such as Mthwalo Mabilabe, and so on the village and personal names. The ancestors of the peoples of southern Zimbabwe, southern Tanzania, eastern Zambia, and northern Malawi lived in what is now KwaZulu-Natal. They were Ngoni like Zulu, driven out by Zwelithine's ancestor Shaka during the Mfecane (crushing).⁹⁷⁷



⁹⁷⁷ Phiri. "Economic consequences of SA xenophobia"



Photograph 3: Depicts a 2015 Xenophobia refugee site located at WAMY offices in South Africa, where Malawians are awaiting repatriation. Photos by Joseph Mbalaka (author)



Photograph 4: Malawian women and children arrive home in 2015 after repatriation.

SOURCE: Mercy Malikwa. “Continental CSO petition AU on SA xenophobia”. In Front Page, National News. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 12 June, 2015.

However, there are denials that xenophobia exists in South Africa for almost over twenty years now. According to Crush, the denial has heightened xenophobia on the ground, as there is no counterbalance to the benefits of migration. The police and the judiciary generally appear unable or unwilling to hold perpetrators of xenophobic violence accountable.⁹⁷⁸ Besides the denials that there is xenophobia in South Africa, there are also denials that the derogatory terms Makwerekere, Grigamba, Mazayizayi, Manyasa, Makalanga, Mashangan, Mabroder, and Ngwangwa are offensive and derogatory towards other Africans. Amina, an interviewee wonders why the government has not banned these terms.⁹⁷⁹

Tafira, citing *The Star* Newspaper of July 9, 2008, said the Black Lawyers Association has proposed adding the painfully offensive term Makwerekere to the lexicon of hate speech in law books.⁹⁸⁰ Additionally, Tafira says *makwerekere* has its roots in linguistic differences. Speakers of foreign languages with unusual phonetic sounds were seen as carriers of an extraterrestrial language completely incomprehensible to the indigenous people. When black Africans speak; the phonetic sound is "*kwerekwerekere*", hence the name *makwerekere*.⁹⁸¹ Amina, a respondent says it is strange to see South Africans not calling the Chinese, the Spanish, a Pakistani, a Bangladeshi or any other foreigner beyond the African continent a *Kwererekwerekere*. The phonetic sounds in languages outside Africa also sound like *kwerekwerekere* but they are not labelled as *makwerekere*. Many Malawian women immigrants view the term *Amakwerekere* as offensive. For more than two decades, this phrase is used by South Africans to refer to and humiliate foreign black Africans. As Zione, a respondent noted, for many foreigners, this label signifies that foreign black Africans are inferior and barbaric compared to local Africans.⁹⁸²

Respondents' narratives also reflect the way foreigners, that is Africans are classified based on their language and appearance. Many police officers harass and arrest foreign Africans because they have dark skin. Dark-skinned foreigners are always suspected of being illegal immigrants and are a hot target for police harassment on South African streets. This trend is worse in Johannesburg

⁹⁷⁸ See Jonathan Crush. *Deadly Denial: Xenophobia Governance and the Global Compact for Migration in South Africa*. Southern African Migration Programme, 2021

⁹⁷⁹ Interview with Amina (Overport, 2 July, 2020).

⁹⁸⁰ Hashi Kenneth Tafira. *Xenophobia in South Africa A History*. (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018) 24.

⁹⁸¹ Tafira. *Xenophobia in South Africa A History* 24.

⁹⁸² Interview with Zione, Mawelewele (2 July, 2020).

than in Durban. Sometimes it's not just dark-skinned immigrants who are picked up and harassed by the police. The dark-skinned Venda, Tsonga, and Pedi are also considered illegal immigrants. Madalitso, a respondent says police will easily arrest black Africans than harassing illegal immigrants from Asia and Europe.⁹⁸³ Amina, another respondent said, a white illegal immigrant from Zimbabwe has never been harassed by Home Affairs officers or the police since arriving in this country. Amina states that it is problematic for African women to have dark skin in South Africa. As hallmarks of identity, skin colour and language have reflective implications for how Malawian women negotiate and shape their identity in South Africa. Some women even try to lighten their skin to resemble the colour of local South Africans.⁹⁸⁴ So far, apart from language and skin colour, there is no physical or visible difference between foreigners and South Africans. Skin colour and language are therefore used as indicators of identity; distinguish between "insiders" and "others" and are used in various ways to describe outsiders, such as *Magrigamba*, *Mashangaan*, *Mazayizayi*, *Makwererekwere* or more generally, *Mgwangwa*. Furthermore, Amina says that when women encountered aggression, fear, hostility, intimidation, and resentment in one township, they would migrate to another settlement in Durban.

Many respondents in this study have also lamented the role of the South African media and its coverage of post-apartheid cross-border migration and how it can influence negative public opinion on immigration. The study by Danso and McDonald, which examined more than 1,200 press clippings on migration from all English-language newspapers between 1994 and 1998, shows that South African coverage of migration is generally anti-immigrant and non-analytical. Many newspaper articles and letters to the editor that were reviewed were not positive about immigrants and immigration.⁹⁸⁵ South African newspapers have been exceptionally unanalytical and uncritical on cross-border issues. They reproduce assumptions about immigrants. Many articles also reproduce racial and national stereotypes about immigrants from other African countries. For example, they portray Mozambicans as car thieves and Nigerians as drug traffickers. This

⁹⁸³ Interview with Madalitso, Savannah Park (3 July, 2020).

⁹⁸⁴ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

⁹⁸⁵ Ransford Danso and David A. McDonald. *Writing Xenophobia: Immigration and the press in post-apartheid South Africa*, Southern African Migration Project (SAMP). (CapeTown: Idasa, 2000) 1.

"criminalisation" of immigrants from other parts of Africa is compounded and exacerbated by the more subtle use of terms such as "illegal" and "alien", although it has been harshly criticised by institutions such as the United Nations for contributing to misconceptions about an otherwise law-abiding group of people.⁹⁸⁶

Moreover media coverage of the increase of undocumented or "illegal" immigrants in South Africa since 1990 is often seen as a big new "problem". Sensational media headlines such as South Africa has been "invaded" by an unstoppable "flood" of "illegal aliens", further fuel anti-immigrant sentiment.⁹⁸⁷ Amina, one of the respondents believes that not only have newspapers increased the negative perception of black immigrants in this country but that some radio stations have produced hostile programs. For example, a radio station in Durban Central (name withheld) portrays immigrants draining South Africa's resources This type of discourse is conducive to fueling anger against immigrants. The use of unreliable figures ignites or incites violence against black Africans.⁹⁸⁸ But it's not just newspapers and radio stations that are fueling xenophobic sentiment, politicians too are equally responsible. For example, according to a report by the *Mail and Guardian*, South African politicians say foreigners invading South Africa are undermining the country's security, stability, and prosperity.⁹⁸⁹

While some newspapers, radio stations, and politicians try to foment xenophobic sentiment, respondents in this study believe that xenophobia is generally isolated incidents and confined to a small group of anti-foreigners in South Africa. However, xenophobia is not limited to South Africa. For example, when South Africans assaulted foreigners during national violence in 2015, Zambians then brutally attacked foreigners and accused them of social problems in 2016.⁹⁹⁰ In the case of Botswana, xenophobia manifests through legislation with institutional support, mainly through visa control.⁹⁹¹ Around 2017 and 2018, thousands of Rwandans were expelled from

⁹⁸⁶ Danso. *Writing Xenophobia* 1.

⁹⁸⁷ ILO. "Labour Migration to Southern Africa in the 1990s". Policy Paper Series No.4. (International Labour Office, Southern Africa Multidisciplinary Advisory Team, Harare, Zimbabwe) 15-16.

⁹⁸⁸ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

⁹⁸⁹ Nyale. "Malawians displaced in xenophobic attacks"

⁹⁹⁰ Adeoye O. Akinola (ed). *The Political Economy of Xenophobia in Africa*. (Cham: springer, 2018) 33.

⁹⁹¹ Akinola. *The Political Economy of Xenophobia in Africa* 34.

Tanzania, where they have lived as minorities in harmony with the local population since the 1930s.⁹⁹²

Access to Education

Access to education is a fundamental right of boys and girls, especially immigrant young girls. Hurdles immigrant girls face in realizing their rights to education are language barriers, pre-school assessments, and qualifications.⁹⁹³ They face other challenges such as the migration or the residence status of their parents or relatives. Furthermore, the environment in a new school also plays a critical role, as stigmatisation and prejudice can restrain immigrant children from attending school. Immigrant women are more reluctant to enrol in education and exercise their fundamental rights because they are afraid that the personal data of immigrant children and their relations can be imparted to immigration authorities. Above all, access to education is denied because they fear deportation.⁹⁹⁴ Zione, a respondent, said that it is difficult for immigrant women from Malawi to send their children to school in Durban. They receive low wages after paying rent and remittances. However, some of the children of foreigners are school drop-outs due to constant bullying due to their dark skin. In some cases, parents cannot enroll their children in school because they do not have the necessary documentation such as birth certificates and immigration status. Children born in South Africa to undocumented parents are not recognised as citizens of that country.⁹⁹⁵

Gender and Religion

All 30 respondents noted that many mosques in South Africa do not accept women. It is a challenge for Chewa and Yawo immigrant women not to pray in mosques. Malawian mosques have a section reserved for women. When these women arrived in South Africa, they found that there were few mosques in the country that were accepting female worshippers.

⁹⁹² Akinola. *The Political Economy of Xenophobia in Africa* 27.

⁹⁹³ United Nations General Assembly. "The Impact of migration on migrant women and girls" 15.

⁹⁹⁴ United Nations General Assembly. "The Impact of migration on migrant women and girls" 15.

⁹⁹⁵ Interview with Zione, Mawelewele (2 July, 2020).

In 2005, Jeenah noted that the quality of mosques housing women varies and that many small and dirty rooms are allotted to women and are referred to as "women's sections."⁹⁹⁶ Although Muslim women are not accommodated in many mosques in South Africa, studies show that the Prophet Muhammed prayed with males and females in the mosque. There were no obstacles. The Prophet went into combat with the females. And some of his wives were sources of religious verdicts and knowledge.⁹⁹⁷ Thus, at the time of the Prophet, males and females were not separated in the mosque; females modestly prayed in rows behind males.⁹⁹⁸ But females were encouraged to pray at home. It has (also) been said that the best (praying) row for females is the last row, and the worse is the first row.⁹⁹⁹ A hadith (the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad and his practices (Sunnah) from Abu Daud are said to have said that a woman's prayer in her house is better than in her yard, and her devotion in her apartment is better than in the rest of her house. However, females also receive more rewards for praying in the mosque, just like men. This is notably true when the mosque in our time has specific sections for females.¹⁰⁰⁰ Thus, an ancient tradition shows that females could pray in the mosque with the permission of their husbands. However, in contemporary Islam, cultural traditions influence the role of females in Islam.¹⁰⁰¹

The strict separation of males and females, therefore, does not correspond to the model of the mosque of the Prophet Muhammad in Madina (Medina), where women were much closer to men.¹⁰⁰² The Chewa and Yawo Muslim women find it strange how many South African women

⁹⁹⁶ Na'eem Jeenah. "Space, no Space, Small Space, Damp Space: Women in Our Mosques". Opinion. *Al-Qalam*. (South Africa), October 2005.

⁹⁹⁷ Raihan Ismail. *Rethinking Salafism Transnational Networks of Salafi 'Ulama in Egypt, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021) 168.

⁹⁹⁸ Gina Messina-Dysert and Rosemary Radford Ruether (eds.). *Feminism and Religion in the 21st Century: Technology, Dialogue, and Expanding Borders*. (New York: Routledge, 2015) 108.

⁹⁹⁹ Ismail. *Rethinking Salafism Transnational Networks of Salafi* 168.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Gina Messina-Dysert and Rosemary Radford Ruether (eds.). *Feminism and Religion in the 21st Century: Technology, Dialogue, and Expanding Borders*. (New York: Routledge, 2015) 108.

¹⁰⁰¹ See George W. Braswell Jr. *Islam: Its Prophet, People, Politics and Power*. (Broadman and Holman Publishers, 1996).

¹⁰⁰² Edward E. Curtis IV (ed). *The Practice of Islam in America: An Introduction*. (New York: New York University Press, 2017) 29.

do not go to the mosque for prayers simply because they are strictly excluded. In America, more women want to attend American mosques, although the gender arrangement at the Atlanta mosque makes some "male Muslims" uncomfortable.¹⁰⁰³ In Australia, most women believe that Muslim women should go to the mosque for the same reasons they go: empowerment, community engagement, and a sense of belonging.¹⁰⁰⁴ While the Chewa and Yawo women had a sense of belonging by attending prayers in the same mosques as the men. They also went for Eid prayers which were held in mosques or in open spaces in Malawi.

Many South African women are unable to join males for Eid prayers, which are held at the end of the fasting month of Ramadan due to the restricted number of mosques that allow women to enter.¹⁰⁰⁵ Reports show that Muslim women in Johannesburg and Durban 2014 had launched a gender jihad to secure all-inclusive entry to mosques and Eid prayer hall, usually in the outdoor arena. Al-Islam mosque in Brixton Johannesburg and Claremont Main Road Masjid (CMRM) in Cape Town had focused on community development and social justice. In the two mosques, men and women shared the prayer room, separated by a wooden railing and from the CMRM by a simple rope. During the time of the Prophet Muhammad, women were active participants in the mosque. They spoke loudly in the masjid and even challenged the imam.¹⁰⁰⁶

According to Amina, a respondent, the Prophet Muhammad even asked women to participate in Eid prayers. But in South Africa, during the Eid prayer, men usually go to prayer and join together, while women stay at home: they pray there or they don't pray at all. In many cases, women spend more time preparing food for men returning to Eid celebrations.¹⁰⁰⁷ This gender discrimination in religious practices is common in many mosques and places of worship in South Africa. They are more common in Johannesburg, Durban, Pietermaritzburg and other areas where Islam is practiced primarily by South Africans of Indian and Pakistani ancestry. On the other hand, the Malay

¹⁰⁰³ Jamillah Karim. *American Muslim women: Negotiating Race, Class, and Gender within Ummah*. (New York: New York University Press, 2009) 177.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Halim Rane. *Islamic and Muslim Studies in Australia*. (Basel: MDPI, 2021) 84.

¹⁰⁰⁵ See Qudsia Mall. *Swapping Horns for Wings*. (Patridge, 2015).

¹⁰⁰⁶ Staff Reporter. "Struggling to find God in a shared space". *The Mail and Guardian*. (South Africa), 19 September, 2014.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

community and the Black Muslim community allow women to pray in mosques.¹⁰⁰⁸ Studies also show that Muslim women from the Middle East now attend mosque rituals more often than before.¹⁰⁰⁹ Therefore are no verses in the Qur'an or hadith that forbid women, but some Indian men in South Africa unfairly impose a patriarchal culture on women without justification. This culture is deeply rooted in society and is reminiscent of Islamic law.¹⁰¹⁰ Likewise, Pillay notes that the local Indian society is very patriarchal. This exclusion of females is particularly prevalent in Pakistan, India and South Africa.¹⁰¹¹

Meanwhile, in 2018 the inequality in several mosques in Durban and Johannesburg further angered many South African Muslim females. Shameelah and Noorjan Alli launched the Women of Waqf campaign to establish an all-encompassing space for females in mosques. They said that mosque not only harbours a sexist and patriarchal culture but also contradicted the teachings of the Qur'an.¹⁰¹² Mosques are very important in Islamic society, and to exclude females is to ignore the community. Women were fed up with the fact that Islam had turned into a patriarchal system that oppresses them emotionally, spiritually and physically.¹⁰¹³ Unfortunately, after Shamila Khan launched a movement to allow women to have space in mosques, the Muslim publication *The Majlis* called the women "lesbians and prostitutes", and the Muslim Judicial Council (MJC) in Western Cape said in a statement that it was "deeply moved by the offensive and hateful remarks against the Muslim sisters in Ormonde. It is truly a shame for women to be verbally abused and silenced by their male counterparts in our society."¹⁰¹⁴

According to the respondents in this study, the exclusion of women from mosques and other places of worship in South Africa do not stem from Islamic traditions; rather it comes from the culture of a particular Muslim society. Chewa and Yawo Muslim women believe that the exclusion stems

¹⁰⁰⁸ Kgaugelo Masweneng. "We want to pray in mosques too,' says a group of Muslim women". *Sunday Times*. (South Africa), 06/06/2018.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Margaret Lee Meriwether and Judith E. Tucker. *A social History of Women and Gender in the Modern Middle East*. (New York: Routledge, 2018), 189.

¹⁰¹⁰ Masweneng "We want to pray in mosques too".

¹⁰¹¹ Claudia Pillay. "Controversy over Women Organising Eid Festiva". *Tribune Herald*. (South Africa), 16 November, 2003.

¹⁰¹² Masweneng. "We want to pray in mosques too".

¹⁰¹³ Masweneng. "We want to pray in mosques too".

¹⁰¹⁴ Aaisha Dadi Patel. "Women of Waqf starts movement". National. *The Mail and Guardian*. (South Africa), 15 June, 2018.

from the patriarch's religious culture. The religious practices and difference between the old established religious communities in Durban, particularly the role of race and class in religious rituals can be noted here.

While the Chewa and Yawo Muslim women are trying to find space in mosques, they are still at a crossroads as most of the new mosques built in Durban do not have spaces for women. Respondents in this study say that even though they pray at home, they still feel isolated from the community. Praying alone in the room was an uncomfortable experience as they used to gather in mosques at home. It is not easy to lose old practices in a new environment. In many cases, they cannot pray alone. They leave their homes on Fridays and pray at the Jumuah Masjid at the corner of Grey (now Yusuf Dadoo) and Queen Streets, at the Muhammadiyah Mosque on Sparks Road in Overport, or at the Pinetown Mosque where they welcome women. Amina, a respondent, explains:

In South Africa, finding a mosque that allows women can be challenging. This provides the impression that Islam is solely practiced by men. I sometimes have difficulty explaining to my Zulu friends why there are mosques for women in Malawi but not in South Africa. What I have noticed is that converted Muslims have trouble looking for other Muslim women. A mosque is a good place to get together and interact with different people. Praying with many women in the mosque is part of our culture, but it is sad to see the changes in South Africa. Things are different now; we cannot go to the mosque to pray, we pray at home. However, without mosques, some women don't pray five times a day. In other cases, some employers don't take the time to pray or allow workers to pray; they work their employees for long hours. We experience intersectional discrimination simply because we are women.¹⁰¹⁵

Zione agrees with Amina by noting that in fact, the Chewa and Yawo women face many challenges in terms of religion. For example, some Muslim employers do not give workers (especially domestic workers) the option to go to pray at a specific time, even on the employer's premises. All that an employer wants to see is the work done. Unfortunately, some wives of the employers who own shops do not pray in the shop even if the husband has gone to the mosque to make swalah.

¹⁰¹⁵ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

Additionally, Zione says that in Durban, mosques and collective Eid prayers have conventionally barred women.

After noticing that many mosques do not receive women during Eid prayers, the Chewa and Yawo Muslim women advise each other to participate in Eid Swalah in an open space organised by an organization called Taking Islam to the People (TIP).¹⁰¹⁶ According to an organizer, TIP was established in 2003 as Durban's first family Eidgah. When former students in Jordan tried to organise the first Eid prayer, it sparked an outcry among conservative Muslims. However, TIP organises Eid Swalah every year, which attracts foreign Muslim women and locals.¹⁰¹⁷

The respondents in this study and South African Muslim women are opposed to the discrimination and exclusion that occurs in most South African mosques. Women can no longer be ruled out from the social and religious realm of the Islamic religion. For example, gender ideas inherent in Islam have been twisted, misconstrued or in some cases completely disregarded, especially by conventional components of the Islamic religious society. Islamic teachings advocate equality among people. The Quran does not say that one gender is superior to another.¹⁰¹⁸ Regarding this equal relationship, Surah *Al-Hujarat* in verses 49 and 13 of the Holy Quran says that God created a man and a woman as a couple and made them a nation and a tribe.¹⁰¹⁹ The Qur'an is clear about the superiority and inferiority of any man or woman. All people are equal before God.¹⁰²⁰ Before God, women are absolutely equal to men in privileges and duties.¹⁰²¹ Thus, Islam gave women the right to life, honour and property rights.¹⁰²² They are equal to those who seek knowledge and education. Women have the equal right to freedom of expression as men.¹⁰²³ Islam generally recognises women as equal partners in childbirth. In this partnership, women are equal in all respects.¹⁰²⁴

¹⁰¹⁶ Interview with Zione, Mawelewele (2 July, 2020).

¹⁰¹⁷ Interview with the women organizing committee of 2021 Eidgah, Durban.

¹⁰¹⁸ Hammudah Abdalati. *Islam in Focus*. (Jeddah: WAMY, 1998) 186.

¹⁰¹⁹ Abdullah Yusuf Ali. *The Meaning of The Holy Qur'an*. (Johannesburg: Islimu Publications, 1421/2001) 1342.

¹⁰²⁰ Jamal Badawi. *Gender Equality in Islam: Basic Principles*. (Durban: IDM Publications, 1999) 10- 11.

¹⁰²¹ Jamal A. Badawi. *The Status of woman in Islam*. (Jeddah: WAMY, 1980) 12.

¹⁰²² Muhammad Iqbal Siddiqi. *Islam Forbids Free Mixing of Men and Women*. (Delhi: Adam Publishers and Distributors, 1986) 7.

¹⁰²³ Abdalati. *Islam in Focus* 186.

¹⁰²⁴ Abdalati. *Islam in Focus* 186.

As mentioned above, part of what the Chewa and Yawo Muslim women are fighting against is disregard for the Quran and Sunnah which promote gender equality and the exclusion of women from religious spaces in Durban. They deny being excluded from the prayer room and see it as a violation of their Islamic right to equal rights. Therefore, male dominance and exclusion of women from places of worship is not Islamic law but a cultural law, more prevalent in South Africa rather than in Malawi, which can be challenged by Muslim scholars, Islamic feminists and gender activists in specific frameworks.¹⁰²⁵

Domestic workers: Discrimination and Racism in the Workplace, Hard work, Low wages

According to Hurlbert, many women from SADC countries travel to South Africa without legal papers in search of better economic opportunities. However, they are often marginalised and discriminated against in transit and on arrival. Once they have achieved their goal, there are obstacles to their stability and security in South Africa that exacerbates the exploitation of employers.¹⁰²⁶ Malawi Muslim women are among the most exploited undocumented immigrants in the country. As Hurlbert put it, undocumented immigrants live on the fringes of society and have virtually no access to their rights due to fear and intimidation. Because domestic work is considered private and part of the informal sector, policymakers cannot create legal safeguards to regulate the industry.¹⁰²⁷ Similar exploitation of Muslim domestic workers considered cheap labour is occurring in Europe. For example, the exploitation of Moroccan immigrant women in the receiving country due to racism and the absence of inclusion and citizenship are exacerbated in domestic work, specifically where immigrants are illegal.¹⁰²⁸ The Canadian study also highlights

¹⁰²⁵ Ali. *The Meaning of The Holy Qur'an* 1342.

¹⁰²⁶ Emma Liu Hurlbert. "Undocumented Women domestic Workers in South Africa: An Intersectional look at Marginalization and Inequality). *Security Distillery*, 28/08/2020 <https://thesecuritydistillery.org/all-articles/undocumented-women-domestic-workers-in-south-africa-an-intersectional-look-at-marginalisation-and-inequality> (Accessed July 20, 2022).

¹⁰²⁷ Hurlbert. "Undocumented Women domestic Workers in South Africa.

¹⁰²⁸ See Moha Ennaji. *Muslim Moroccan Migrants in Europe: Transnational Migration in its Multiplicity*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

the victimisation and exploitation of domestic workers from underdeveloped countries.¹⁰²⁹ Driven by poverty, Ethiopian domestic workers face violence, hardship and exploitation from their bosses in Middle East and Gulf countries.¹⁰³⁰

Reports from 2014 indicated that Malawian workers in Qatar faced a range of challenges including imprisonment, or detention by the police. Employers in Qatar and the United Arab Emirates underpay Malawians immigrants. These studies illuminate that domestic workers are exploited in many countries, regardless of whom they work and where they live. Malawian women immigrants in Durban share similar experiences. When Malawian women settled in South Africa, they preferred to work for Indian Muslims and Whites rather than being employed by the African employers. The interaction between Malawian women and Indian women is described as friendly, although in many cases they are exploited and racially segregated, as we will see later. The presence of many Indian Muslims as potential employers attracts Muslims from Malawi. In this way, it can be said that there is a network of former Malawians who know potential Indian employers in Durban, which makes life easier for new women in South Africa. Amina says this:

In our culture, we have been raised as hard workers and this habit has made the Yawo reliable in many countries. It was easy for the Yawo to be hired by Indian Muslims because they are hard workers.¹⁰³¹

However, Amina says receiving low wages is a major challenge for Malawian women. Employers abuse undocumented immigrants. Foreigners work too much and are underpaid. Many respondents noted that employers favoured Malawian women immigrants because they were loyal, reliable, non-violent, and committed to work. But the truth is that the aforementioned trustworthiness occurs because many of these immigrants have no voice and no place to directly report exploitation.

¹⁰²⁹ Deepita Chakravarty and Ishita Chakravarty. *Women, Labour and the Economy in India: From Migrant Menservants to Uprooted girl children maids*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2016) 10.

¹⁰³⁰ Fassil Demissie (ed). *Ethiopian in an Age of Migration: Scattered lives beyond borders*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2017) 7.

¹⁰³¹ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

Respondents in this study differ in how they perceive their salary. Earnings for women in the country range from R2, 000 to R3, 000 per month depending on the caliber of the employer, work experience, and location of the employer. Malawian domestic workers are paid less than tailors. Women who arrived in the 1990s received more wages than those who arrived in 2015. New immigrants are more easily exploited than those who arrived a long time ago. Most Chewa and Yawo domestic workers have no say and do not directly report attacks and exploitation. For example, Hurlbert argues that undocumented domestic workers in general, and this sector in particular, are politically marginalised, allowing private employers to exploit them. As there is no legal protection, undocumented immigrants live in a difficult environment and are almost totally dependent on employers. They report very low wages, long working hours, and limited personal leave set by the employer.¹⁰³²

Most respondents of this study decry low wages, discrimination, and long working hours. Sakina, 20, wakes up early in the morning to work in the Morningside suburb. She wakes up at 4 am sleeping in her home in Clare Estate's Mamsuthu community after a strenuous shift as a housekeeper. "I have to work hard, but it's hard work because I'm working hard until six in the evening," Sakina said. "I can't rent a good room because I get R1800 per month. With that money, I pay R500 for the slum. All I want is to save some money and send it home. The issue of low wages for domestic workers was raised by many respondents to this study. However, Tikhale 46 noted that at least wages in South Africa are better than in Malawi. Tikhale, a divorced woman, is among the domestic workers who have spoken out about the long working hours with low wages. In 2014, she left her now 8-year-old daughter with her mother and immigrated to South Africa as there were no job opportunities in her home country. For people like Zion, 50, a peddler is better off than Tikhale because she is self-employed. She doesn't have to wake up at 4 a.m. to work at someone's house. However, she still has other concerns and anxieties. She only thinks and plans how and where to sell the new stork on the streets of Durban. Her concern is for the municipal police and the locals who chase them on their selling spots. She is also worried about her safety in

Mawelewele due to recurring xenophobic violence and crime. She recalls how the thieves pretended to hug her at the taxi rank and stole her mobile phone as people watched the incident.

Respondents go on to say that women who worked in the suburbs of Durban were paid more than those who worked in the KwaMashu, Umlazi or Chartworth townships. Chewa women were recorded working among Whites and receiving better wages than the Yawo, who worked among Indians. On the other hand, some Yawo women working for Chinese employers receive lower wages than women working for Indians and Whites. Pakistani, Egyptian, and Bangladeshi employers are seen as more exploitative than Indians. Some Egyptians are worse than Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in terms of aggression, racism, autocracy, and exploitation. According to many of the responses, some Egyptians believe they are better than India Muslims just because they speak Arabic, the language of the Quran. Furthermore, despite the fact that they are also Africans in Africa, they do not respect Black Africans and instead view themselves as Middle Eastern Arabs. Amina claims.¹⁰³³ The interviewees' memories indicate that they would rather work for Indian families than for any racist or despotic Egyptians.

Sometimes a Bangladeshi or a Pakistani employer will give higher wages to an Indian domestic worker than an African domestic worker. In this scenario, Hurlbert argues that race also affects the low wages of black Africans. Black Africans earn less than Asians, whites, and coloured South Africans. In a country with large wage gaps by race and immigration status, black undocumented immigrants earn less than South African colleagues.¹⁰³⁴ Nevertheless, their earnings in South Africa were much better for Malawian women immigrants than for some Malawian government employees. For example, the average salary of a primary school teacher in Malawi is R2, 000 per month. As a result, many Chewa and Yawo Muslim immigrant women work as domestic workers, vendors, or care for children. Although, they are underpaid, they were enthusiastic, friendly and cooperative with the work that was available and at their disposal that the locals could not take due to low wages. The willingness to do underpay jobs that South Africans didn't want has led to some conflicts between locals and foreigners. Amina, a respondent says,

¹⁰³³ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

¹⁰³⁴ Hurlbert. "Undocumented Women domestic Workers in South Africa".

even though locals don't like foreigners' low-paying jobs, they later complain that foreigners are taking their jobs away.¹⁰³⁵ Conflicts lead to xenophobic feelings and attacks as alluded to earlier in this chapter.

Immigrant workers from Malawi and other SADC countries are also particularly at risk due to various legal restrictions on social security, according to a report by the Institute for Law and Social Policy at Northwestern University in South Africa. Migrant workers from Malawi face discrimination in law and practice, particularly women, involved in cross-border trade. This is because most workers from Malawi are unskilled or poorly skilled and occupy the bottom of the labour market. Most Malawians work illegally. In general, many Malawians seeking work in South Africa are illegal immigrants and do not report abuses to authorities for fear of deportation.¹⁰³⁶ Some Chewa and Yawo Muslim women are working illegally. Zione, for example, indicated that her passport had expired and that she had overstayed her visa in South Africa, which is illegal under South African immigration standards.¹⁰³⁷ Additionally, Hurlbert suggest that in general many women seeking work in South Africa are illegal immigrants and do not report abuses to authorities for fear of deportation.¹⁰³⁸ Thus, domestic workers encounter stigmatisation because of their status as illegal immigrants that contribute to lower salaries. These women are often reluctant to unionise for better working conditions and pay for fear of being deported.¹⁰³⁹

Apart from stigmatisation as a result of their status as illegal immigrants, which contributes to lower wages, many respondents to this study reported racism at work. They are victims of abuse, sexual harassment, and social inequality. For example, a domestic worker is assigned a separate bathroom. Sometimes she wasn't allowed to sit on the sofa at her employer's house. If she was unwell she was forced to work. Khadijah, a respondent had to go to work when she had boils in her armpit.¹⁰⁴⁰ Ulemu, another respondent, says, "Sometimes our employers' wives are worse than

¹⁰³⁵ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

¹⁰³⁶ Christopher Jimu, "Malawians migrant workers ill-treated in S Africa", Business News, *The Nation* (Malawi), 27/12/2013.

¹⁰³⁷ Interview with Zione, Mawelewele (2 July, 2020).

¹⁰³⁸ Hurlbert. "Undocumented Women domestic Workers in South Africa"

¹⁰³⁹ Hurlbert. "Undocumented Women domestic Workers in South Africa"

¹⁰⁴⁰ Interview with Khadijah, Progress (24 July, 2020).

our bosses. They ask for a massage at odd hours." She continues: "It's too much, but we need the money, we have nowhere to go."¹⁰⁴¹

In addition, many employers do not trust their domestic servants. Some employers' wives tend to 'babysit' the maid while she works around the house. Ulemu says that there is no peace at all, we work like slaves. No matter how long you work with other bosses, they don't trust a black worker. Thita, a 38 respondent stated, some immigrant women choose to sleep in or stay with their employer (*kugonera konko*).¹⁰⁴² Furthermore, Thita says she is one of the domestic workers who work long hours. She is forced to work from 6:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. every day. Sometimes she doesn't have a vacation.¹⁰⁴³ Ndiwuzza, a 49 respondent, stated that some employers instructed their workers to drink tea outside and did not allow them to use the eating and drinking utensils found inside the house. Therefore, maids are advised to use separate kitchen utensils while the same maid cleans all utensils. In many cases, employees receive expired food items. Sometimes they would get 'stale food', that has been in the refrigerator for a long time. Amina, one of the interviewees stated: "We agree to take them, just to respect the boss. When we get home, we throw them in the garbage." Similarly, Amattulah noted, "We are always given old, torn clothes. After giving us these used clothes, they start deducting the salary from the donated old clothes. Other employees are forced to sweep and mop on their knees, not standing. A worker vacuums or mops a mansion in one day, which is too much". Amina, another respondent feels racially discriminated against by some employers,

A mansion with one or two workers who clean every day, cook breakfast for the boss every morning, then the wife asks for another breakfast once the husband is off to work. The maid bathes the children, dresses them, feeds them, plays with them and makes beds for the family. The employer sometimes berates the employee as if she were lazy, only to humiliate her. They clean the dishes in the evening until 10pm. Even if you are cleaning the plates or cups, you cannot use them. They are also not allowed to use the toilets in the house. Maids have special toilets for workers outside the house.¹⁰⁴⁴

¹⁰⁴¹ Interview with Ulemu, Clare Estate (7 July, 2020).

¹⁰⁴² Interview with Titha, Mawelewele, (15 July, 2020).

¹⁰⁴³ Interview with Titha, Mawelewele (15 July, 2020).

¹⁰⁴⁴ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

Intersecting identities of race, illegal status, immigration and gender compound the exploitation of women in the workplace. They work long hours, are underpaid, forced to work on Sundays, without paid holidays, and their job can easily be terminated without notice.

This chapter has highlighted some salient aspects of the challenges faced by Chewa and Yawo women in the migration process. While settling in South Africa, they faced challenges such as isolation, xenophobia, language barriers, domestic violence, religious discrimination, unemployment and gender inequality in the workplace, all of which compound the exploitation. They have responded differently to religious exclusion and domestic violence by forming Islamic groups that help them network and advise each other.

Chapter 5

Negotiating and Assimilation of Chewa and Yawo Muslim Identities

The previous chapter highlighted the challenges and constraints that Chewa and Yawo Muslim women face in the migration process. Although xenophobia and inequality are common around the world, factors such as language barriers, unemployment, gender-based violence, cultural barriers, and gender inequality intensify discrimination against immigrant women to some magnitude. The chapter also highlighted key important aspects of how women react to xenophobia and abuse. In cases of family and geographical isolation that contributed to their abuse, the women responded by leaving their spouses and setting up a few small businesses in Durban. Racism, lack of access to health care, illegal immigration status, insufficient wages, overwork and work without leave all affect women's vulnerability to exploitation in the process of immigration. The respondents in this study highlighted similar paths of discrimination and stigma experienced by Muslim immigrant women around the world. This chapter now builds on Chapter 4 and examines how the Chewa and Yawo Muslim immigrants negotiate and assimilate their identities, particularly how they navigate and adapt to a hostile environment in Durban. This chapter examines the notions of identity and culture in women's experiences in the migration process. It explores how Chewa and Yawo women maintain and observe their cultural and religious identity across national borders, the traditions and practices they have passed down from Malawi, and the relevance of these traditions in the contemporary environment. It highlights how they incorporate some elements of Malawian culture into Zulu culture. Therefore, this chapter aims to show that the way of life of the Chewa and Yawo peoples in South Africa was not static.

The Value of Culture: a Way of Life

The influx of foreigners after 1994 means that South Africa is moving from its isolation from the continent to a new life based on diverse African cultures such as artwork, clothing, food, norms, ideas, languages, customs, beliefs, music, dance, and play. The way people dress and eat shows a new variety. Studies show that immigrants enrich their host country with their cuisine, festivities, songs, and other cultural traditions.¹⁰⁴⁵ Consequently, the exchange is a two-way process and leads

¹⁰⁴⁵ Garrick Bailey, James Peoples. *Essentials of Cultural Anthropology*, Third Edition. (California: Wadsworth, 2014) 23.

to unification. As Eagleton puts it, the term culture means customs, values, symbolic practices, beliefs, entire lifestyle, poetry, music and dance, food, the type of sport, and the type of religion practiced.¹⁰⁴⁶

Kalman joins Eagleton in suggesting that culture is a way of life. It is our clothes, the food we consume, and the stories, languages, and ways we celebrate. It is the way we express our thoughts through music and writing. Culture is also about our origin or our heritage.¹⁰⁴⁷ Culture is what we are, not what we have.¹⁰⁴⁸ It is "the way of life of a group of people" and how they live their lives.¹⁰⁴⁹ It is a multi-faceted word. Culture is therefore a broad concept that can mean diverse things to various people.¹⁰⁵⁰ It teaches us how our ancestors dressed, worshipped, ate, married, sang, and danced. Therefore, culture is important in every ethnic group. Culture is valued for its ability to meet our needs for guidance, education, perspective, comfort, correction, and encouragement.¹⁰⁵¹ Its value is truly curative and beneficial. It can help us cope better with the worries of everyday life. The Spanish phrase - *la cultura cura* (culture recuperates) - is an assertion of the capacity and therapeutic power of the cultural traditions that constitute the beliefs of a people.¹⁰⁵² However, culture is changeable and adaptable; it is not static. Culture changes from generation to generation. It develops and disappears when the tribes mix and assimilate into each other's culture. As Falola explains, culture and society can be fluid and reflect the constant adjustment. Society and its culture can move ahead or retrograde.¹⁰⁵³ In the context of Chewa and Yawo immigration, have their traditions and practices changed to suit the local environment? Did Chewa and Yawo women adopt local customs, or did the locals imitate foreign customs?

¹⁰⁴⁶ Terry Eagleton. *Culture*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016) 1.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Bobbie Kalman. *What is Culture?* (Ontario: Crabtree, 2009) 4.

¹⁰⁴⁸ See Steve Gruenert and Todd Whitaker. *Committing to The Culture: How Leaders Can Create And Sustain Positive Schools*. (ASCD, 2019).

¹⁰⁴⁹ Warren Kidd and Alison Teagle. *Culture and Identity*, Second Edition. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 6.

¹⁰⁵⁰ See Gruenert, *Committing to The Culture*.

¹⁰⁵¹ See The School of Life. *What Is Culture For?* (School of Life Press, 2018).

¹⁰⁵² Muhammad Shafiq and Thomas Donlin-Smith (eds.). *The (De) Legitimization of Violence in Sacred and Human Contexts*. (Cham: Springer, 2021) 241.

¹⁰⁵³ Toyin Falola. *The Power of African Cultures*. (New York: University of Rochester, 2003) 1.

Historically, the Yawo loved to travel and considered a "real" Yawo to be a man who had travelled to the east coast on a trade expedition.¹⁰⁵⁴ As Abdallah points out, travel was central to Yawo's identity. The Yawo were great travellers, for they used to say: He who knows foreign places is a man to know. Travel was also a big topic of conversation in the village square.¹⁰⁵⁵ Through travel, the Yawo had adopted various cultures. They imitated the way Arabs and Swahilis dressed and prayed. The culture of Asia and the east coast of Africa has been assimilated into the Yawo culture. During the 19th century, Swahili traders, along with the Yawo, moved west along the southern shore of the lake to the Maravi region. There was a social bond between these immigrants and the Chewa which took place in the 1840s in Nkhotakota.¹⁰⁵⁶ Therefore, the Yawo and the Swahili assimilated their culture into the Chewa customs in central Malawi.

Cultural exchanges

The Zanzibari Community in Durban and the Yawo Connection: Religious and Cultural assimilation

Chapter 1 noted that the first recorded Yawo Muslims in South Africa were among the Zanzibaris who arrived in the 1870s and later immigrants who worked in the Kimberley and Witwatersrand mines.¹⁰⁵⁷ Thus, the first African Muslims to arrive were the so-called "Zanzibaris," who were relocated from Zanzibar to Natal between 1873 and 1880 to address a labour shortage.¹⁰⁵⁸ According to Vahed, just a small part of South Africa's Muslim population is of Zanzibari descent. Less than 2% of South Africa's populations of over 50 million are Muslims, who are diverse in terms of colour, class, ethnicity, and religious beliefs.¹⁰⁵⁹

The history of the Zanzibaris in Natal dates back to the 1870s, when a group of about 500 'liberated' slaves arrived in what was then the Colony of Natal. They moved to King's Rest on the Bluff once their indentured periods were fulfilled. The first freed slaves came from Northern Mozambique,

¹⁰⁵⁴ Suleman Dangor. *Africa's Islamic Heritage: Muslim Regimes in East and West Africa*. (Durban: Islamic Dawah Movement of Southern Africa, 2005) 15.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 28.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Brian Morris. "The Ivory Trade and Chiefdoms in Pre-colonial Malawi". *Society of Malawi Journal*. (2006, 59:2) 15.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Vahed and Desai. *Chatsworth: The Making of a South African Township* 84.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Yousuf Dadoo. "The Consolidation and Spread of Islam in South Africa". *American Journal of Islam and Society*. <https://www.ajis.org> › ajiss › article › (Accessed May 13, 2023).

¹⁰⁵⁹ Goolam Vahed. "Muslim women's identities in South Africa: A Zanzibari perspective in KwaZulu-Natal". *New Contree*, Special Edition (November 2014, 70) 110-11.

not Zanzibar, and were called Makhuwa. They were transported to Natal from the port of Zanzibar. This community grew over time to include indigenous Zulus with whom they had intermarried, Yawo-speaking Malawians, and a few Swahilis.¹⁰⁶⁰ Thus, the Zanzibari community in Durban is not from Zanzibar. They are the offspring of slaves and part of the Makhuwa people (from Mozambique and Malawi) who laboured on the Natal plantations.¹⁰⁶¹ On the other hand, Kaarsholm states that the original group of 508 previously enslaved people included a sizable minority whose native languages were Yawo and Ngindo rather than Makhuwa.¹⁰⁶² They were mainly Muslims.¹⁰⁶³ On one hand, Vahed asserts that this community evolved over time to include indigenous Zulus with whom they had intermarried, Yawo-speaking Malawians, and a few Swahilis.¹⁰⁶⁴ However, according to Dadoo, the Zanzibaris are believed to have originated in Malawi, the Comoros, Zanzibar, Tanzania, northern Mozambique, and even Somalia. When their indentured time expired, they moved to Durban neighbourhoods such as the Bluff, Berea, Umgeni, Verulam, and Pinetown. The local Indian Muslims welcomed them, prayed with them, and expressed a strong desire for them to settle down. The Indian Muslims who had already made Durban their home helped the inhabitants in Kings Rest erect a mosque. There was some intermarriage among this group of Muslims, who blended very well with the black South Africans. Such wives were invariably converted to Islam.¹⁰⁶⁵

All African Muslims have sometimes been referred to as Zanzibaris in certain settings.¹⁰⁶⁶ They were therefore African Muslims whose ancestors had been taken captive by Arab and French slave traders, apprehended by the British anti-slavery patrol, and "liberated" under contract in the

¹⁰⁶⁰ Vahed. "Muslim women's identities in South Africa: A Zanzibari perspective in KwaZulu-Natal" 110-11.

¹⁰⁶¹ Ali Abdulrahim, Thiam, Iba Der, Talib and Yusof A. Taleb (eds.). *The Different aspects of Islamic culture: Islam in the World today*, Volume 6. (Paris: UNESCO, 2016) 384.

¹⁰⁶² Preben Kaarsholm. "Zanzibaris or Amakhuwa? Sufi Networks in South Africa, Mozambique, and the Indian Ocean". *The Journal of African History* (2014, 55:2) 195.

¹⁰⁶³ Micheal Mumisa. "Islam and Proselytism in South Africa and Malawi". *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*. (22: 2) 280.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Vahed. "Muslim women's identities in South Africa: A Zanzibari perspective in KwaZulu-Natal" 110-11.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Dadoo. "The Consolidation and Spread of Islam in South Africa"

¹⁰⁶⁶ John Daniel, Roger Southall and Jessica Lutchman (eds). *State of the Nation: South Africa 2004-2005*. (Cape Town: HSRC, 2005) 263.

Durban area.¹⁰⁶⁷ These people are also considered the "lost tribe".¹⁰⁶⁸ They are the lost tribe from the Yawo, Makhuwa, and Ngindo people. Between 1873 and 1880, around 600 people were brought to Durban. In Durban, the "lost tribe" (Zanzibari) has developed close ties with the Indian Muslim community.¹⁰⁶⁹

As a result, Zanzibari Yawo attracted Chewa Muslims who were somewhat detribalised and generally Chiyawo-speaking in Durban. As Amina, a respondent noted, Chewa Muslims are considered Yawo. Thus, anyone from Malawi who bears an Arabic or Islamic name is considered Yawo, whether they are of the Chewa, Lhomwe or Ngonde ethnicities. In this case, a Chewa Muslim with the Islamic name of Maryam will be regarded as a Yawo. Since the Yawo were the first to convert to Islam in Malawi, any man or woman from this tribe or anyone who speaks the Chiyawo language is considered a Muslim by outsiders.¹⁰⁷⁰ Dehnert asserts that when we talk about Islam in Malawi, we are definitely talking about the Yawo tribe.¹⁰⁷¹ The Yawo are also known as a Muslim tribe.¹⁰⁷²

Amina also alluded to the close historic links between the Makhuwa, Chewa, and Yawo tribes are very long. For example, the Yawo began to adopt Chewa clan names such as Phiri, Amilanzi, and Mbewe.¹⁰⁷³ According to Kiyenze, the Amilanzi clan, as the Chewa calls it, is also found among the Makhuwa under the name of Amiransi, and Amilaasi among the Yawo.¹⁰⁷⁴ Amina adds that Chewa women are called Anamilanzi, while their Yawo counterparts are called Anamilaasi. Therefore, it is not easy to distinguish between the Makhuwa, Chewa and Yawo Muslims in Durban. In this case, being a Black Muslim in Durban is equivalent to being a Muslim from the Zanzibari community. Therefore, it is easier for the Chewa and Yawo immigrant women to

¹⁰⁶⁷ Karen Elizabeth Flint. *Healing Traditions: African Medicine, Cultural Exchange, and Competition in South Africa, 1820- 1948*. (Scottville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press) 200.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Surplus People Project (South Africa). "Forced Removals in South Africa: Natal" *Volume 4 of Forced Removals in South Africa: Volume 1[-5] of the Surplus People Project Report*. (Surplus People Project, 1983) 189.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Sindre Bangstad. *Global Flows, Local Appropriations: Facets of Secularisation and Re-Islamization Among Cotemporary Cape Muslims*. (Oslo: Amsterdam University Press, 2007) 76.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

¹⁰⁷¹ Dehnert. "Christian- Muslim Relations in Malawi, Africa 1860s- 2007".

¹⁰⁷² Africa South & East, Issues 26-38 (Africa (East: ASE Publications, 1992) 5.

¹⁰⁷³ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

¹⁰⁷⁴ Bernard K. S. Kiyenze. "The Transformation of Tanzanian Handicrafts Into Co-operatives and Rural Small-scale Industrialisation". *Jipeyo: Development and Culture Research*. Finnish Anthropology Society. (1985, 6:6) 36.

assimilate into the Zanzibari community of Durban than into the Zulu community of Umlazi or Kwamashu. The word "Amazizimbani," derived from "Zanzibaris," is often used to refer to the Chewa and Yawo when they integrate into the Zanzibari community. However, due to their unusual habits of eating, worshipping, and dressing, the locals have used the term "Amazizimbani" to identify them as "outsiders" throughout history. Furthermore, the Chewa and Yawo have a more harder time assimilating into the local Zulu population than the Zanzibaris.

Shahid Vawda is quoted in 2004 as saying that the 'Amazamzambane,' as Zulu speakers call them, could have had a more difficult time fitting in. "Black Muslims in KwaMashu and Inanda today are still considered outsiders, even though they are Zulu and speak the language."¹⁰⁷⁵ Even today, Chewa and Yawo Muslims are considered outsiders when they move in townships due to their distinct ways of life, including how they dress, what they wear, and how they do ablutions, which frequently involve the use of water.

It is important to note that the Yawo Muslims in Durban have a long history that begins in the 1870s with the arrival of a group of 'liberated' slaves in what was then the Colony of Natal. Over time, this community expanded to include indigenous Zulus they had intermarried with, Yawo-speaking Malawians, and a small number of Swahilis. A substantial fraction of the original 'liberated' slaves spoke Yawo and Ngindo as their mother tongues rather than Makhuwa. They were primarily Muslims with comparable clan names and cultural characteristics.

The Yawo immigrants and the Zanzibari communities have similar cultural traits. In this light, the migration of Chewa and Yawo Muslims to South Africa also links them to a group that share similar ethnic and religious origins despite being established in Chatsworth and existing for over 150 years. Hence, the Zanzibari population has historically interacted with the Yawo for many years. In this scenario, it will be incomplete to discuss the post-apartheid migration experiences of Yawo people in Durban without mentioning or including the Zanzibaris, who welcomed more Yawo from Malawi and Mozambique.

It is critical to swiftly examine how evangelising among black people in Inanda and Kwamashu began in order to comprehend how Malawian Yawo have been following their fellow Yawos known as the Zanzibaris at Bluf and then at Chatsworth. The irony of a Malawian conducting

¹⁰⁷⁵ Staff Reporter "Lost tribe' gets land back" *Mail and Guardian*. (South Africa), 1 October, 2004.

proselytising activities in South Africa when regional Muslim organisations, predominantly Indian, have failed, according to Vawda, is not new. The proselytising efforts of one Malawian Yawo immigrant, Sheikh Abbas Phiri, who arrived in KwaZulu-Natal in the 1940s to work in the coal mines, also reveal an early connection between Malawians and Islamic religious practices. Along with working on fishing trawlers, he also laboured on sugar plantations. Early in the 1970s, after quitting his formal job, he started proselytising in the Inanda Township, north of Durban.¹⁰⁷⁶

Phiri had a formal Islamic education in Malawi because his father forbade him from receiving a contemporary western education out of concern that he may lose his Islamic beliefs or, worse yet, convert to Christianity. When Phiri first came to South Africa, he married a local woman, but unlike the Zanzibaris with whom he briefly lived on the Bluff (close to King's Rest), he made his home in the peri-urban area of Inanda. He started his campaign to convert the local community to Islam from his home. Eventually Sheikh Phiri's son became the Imam (religious leader) of the small Black Muslim community in the nearby black township of KwaMashu.¹⁰⁷⁷

As previously stated, the preaching efforts of one Malawian Yawo immigrant, Sheikh Abbas Phiri, who arrived in KwaZulu-Natal in the 1940s, aided Islam's popularity among KwaMashu's Black people. It's critical to remember that when Phiri first arrived in South Africa, he lived among the Yawo, often known as Zanzibaris, and their cousins, the Makhuwa. He spent some time on the Bluff (near King's Rest). Despite Vahed's suggestion about the original freed slaves were Makhuwa from Northern Mozambique, Kaarsholm asserts that the original group of 508 previously enslaved people included a sizable proportion who spoke Yawo and Ngindo rather than Makhuwa.¹⁰⁷⁸ The Yawo-speaking Malawian in this instance followed the Yawo and Ngido across time. This made it simple for additional Yawo from Malawi to mix with the indigenous Yawos, also known as Zanzibaris.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Shahid Vawda. "Migration and Muslim Identities: Malawians and Senegalese Muslims in Durban, South Africa". UJ. Department of Sociology and the Department of Anthropology & Development Studies. Meeting no 4/2010. Wednesday, 17 February 2010, in the Anthropology & Development Studies Seminar Room, DRing 506, Kingsway campus 14-15.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Shahid Vawda. "Migration and Muslim Identities: Malawians and Senegalese Muslims in Durban, South Africa" 14-15.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Kaarsholm. "Zanzibaris or Amakhuwa?" 195.

Furthermore, the relationship between the Yawo and the Durban Zanzibari community, which has drawn Chewa and Yawo women since the 1990s, will be clear to grasp. Consequently, the Yawo have been drawn to the Zanzibari community for two reasons. They come from the same ethnic and religious backgrounds. The Yawo are that ethnic group, and in terms of religion, they are referred to as the *ummah*, which is the collective of Muslims worldwide. All Muslims are united by the idea of *ummah*, which transcends differences in race, nation, and class. Thus, the Yawo Muslims have been travelling to Durban to join the Islamic *ummah* that includes the Zanzibari and Indian Muslim populations.

The early extraction of gold and diamonds, as mentioned in Chapter 3, is the origin of the historical ties between Malawi and South Africa. Many immigrants found employment in different fields despite the strictly regulated migrant labour regime. Others travelled to Durban, the second-largest industrial city in South Africa with a significant Muslim population, where some Muslims from Malawi found refuge among the Zanzibari people (first in Kings Rest, later in Clairwood and Chatsworth, which were formerly Indian townships). Muslims were allowed to practice Islam since it was seen as an "Indian" religion.¹⁰⁷⁹

Malawians have been "free" to travel to South Africa as residents of SADC countries since 1994. Many Malawians entered the country under the guise of a visitor's visa to work on short-term contracts as fluctuation or target migrants. When structural adjustment measures permeated the Malawian economy, others became economic transnational migrants, sending commodities or cash back to Malawi to participate in business endeavours or to help their relatives.¹⁰⁸⁰

According to the preceding accounts, a number of Yawo have been traveling to Durban, a city with a strong Muslim population, where they have established among the Zanzibari people. As Kaarsholm points out, during the high apartheid period in the 1950s, when the regime's efforts to separate the population into racial categories peaked, Zanzibari distinctiveness emerged. Under the Population Registration Act, another key apartheid measure, Zanzibaris were classified as "Other Asiatics" in 1961. As a result, when the Bluff was designated a "white" area in 1962-1963, they were forcibly relocated under the Group Areas Act, but not to the African township of Umlazi

¹⁰⁷⁹ See Shahid Vawda. "Identities, Livelihoods and Transnational Migration: Muslim Malawians in Durban, South Africa". *South African Historical Journal*. (2009, 61:1).

¹⁰⁸⁰ See Vawda. "Identities, Livelihoods and Transnational Migration"

in Durban's southern suburbs, but to Bayview (Unit Two) in the adjacent Indian township of Chatsworth. Although the relocation meant losing access to Durban's major business sector, it confirmed Zanzibari claims to be 'non-native' and improved prospects for pursuing education and achieving respectability. African Muslims who came to Durban as sailors or migrant labourers from other countries had long been drawn to the Zanzibari community because of its relative autonomy and the power of its religious organisations. It served as a model for other African Muslim communities in the Durban metropolitan region, and starting in the 1930s, African Muslims, mostly from Malawi, started to create "Zanzibari" societies in places like Mariannhill and Amaoti. Members of the Zanzibari community also taught Arabic and acted as religious leaders in African townships during this time.¹⁰⁸¹ These waves of migration that have been occurring for a long time strengthened the link between the Makhuwa and Yawo Muslims of the Shafi order.

The Shafi order (Madhhab al-Shafi), is one of the four schools of Sunni spiritual law, based on the teachings of Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafi'ī (767-820), born in Gaza, Palestine. He was the originator of the science of *fiqh* (legal theory; procedures of explanation; sources of Islamic law) and developed the philosophy of *ijma'a* (consensus of opinion).¹⁰⁸² This is an Islamic school of thought pursued by the Yawo, Chewa, and Makhuwa in South Africa. The Shafi order is a significant part of the Makhuwa and Yawo identity. It adds to Makhuwa, and Yawo's sense of belonging in South Africa.

According to the sources cited above, the Yawo and Chewa Muslims have established themselves in Durban but have not adopted other Sufi organisations. They have maintained their Shafi order, which is still practiced in Malawi and northern Mozambique, since they maintain ties with their ancestors' original lands. Thus, the Yawo and Makhuwa have maintained contact with Malawi and Mozambique and their practices, beliefs, and traditions reflect this.¹⁰⁸³

¹⁰⁸¹ Kaarsholm. "Zanzibaris or Amakhuwa?" 195.

¹⁰⁸² Muhammad A. Vahed. *An Introduction to the Principles of Islamic Law* (with a brief comparison with Western Law). (Durban: Al-Noor Publishers, 2011) 95.

¹⁰⁸³ R. Michael Feener (ed.). *Islam in World Cultures: Comparative Perspective*. (Santa Barbara: ABC CLIO, 004) 259.

Respondents in this study state that they have retained the Qadriyya Tariqa-way (followers of the Sufi order named after Abdul Qadir Gilani (1077-1166) and tariqa Shādhilīyah (universal fraternity of Muslim mystics (Ṣūfīs) based on the doctrines of Abu al-Hasan ash-Shadhilī (d. 1258) in Alexandria) brand of Islam. For example, Amina notes, Yawo immigrant women in Malawi would perform *dhikr* (the believer is engrossed in the rhythmic reprise of Allah's name or his attributes/glorifying God and attaining holy supremacy in the form of religious hymns) on Thursday evenings in preparation for Friday prayers. No one was allowed to play loud music, drums or relate stories.¹⁰⁸⁴ Thus, in Malawi, the Qadriyya followers did a *dhikr* on Thursday. It was part of Yawo and Islamic culture. Similarly, Rippin states that the Zanzibari Makhuwa performed *dhikr* on Thursdays and Sundays.¹⁰⁸⁵ But in South Africa, the Yawo family has no time to sing together. Another good reason for the subtle change is the separation of the Yawo women. Some are in Clare Estate, Mariannhill, Overport, Malukazi, Parlock, Newland East, Central Durban and Ispingo. Occasionally, the Chewa and Yawo immigrant women meet on Eid after the Ramadan fast. However, most the Chewa and Yawo immigrant women do not attend Eid prayers, as many mosques in South Africa do not have separate sections for women like those in Malawi.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, there is an Islamic group in Durban (TIP) that offers the annual Eid prayer in North Beach. TIP encourages all Muslims, regardless of gender, to pray publicly. Amina says it is wonderful to see women from different countries praying together. Women are even encouraged to speak on this day. Sure, they talk behind the men, but anyone can hear a woman giving a speech on a particular topic.¹⁰⁸⁶ According to matrilineal traditions, women among the Makhuwa played a leading role in the community and girls (*nimwaris* in eMakhuwa language) and boys underwent extensive ritual initiations.¹⁰⁸⁷ Just like the Yawo, boys went through *jando* and girls (*wali* in Chiyawo language) underwent *msondo* as will be seen later. The religious practice of Zanzibari Makhuwa included some forms of the atonement of ancestors, such as leaving offerings at certain trees known as *msoro*.¹⁰⁸⁸ The Yawo also prayed at the *msoro* tree.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

¹⁰⁸⁵ Andrew Rippin. *World Islam: Critical Concepts in Islamic Studies*, Volume 3. (Routledge, 2008) 98.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

¹⁰⁸⁷ Kaarsholm. "Zanzibaris or Makhuwa?" 196.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Kaarsholm. "Zanzibaris or Makhuwa?" 196.

Regarding religion, before the advent of Islam and Christianity, the Yawo made offerings under the *msolo* tree. When the Yawos were still living near the Yawo hill in Mozambique, they used to offer and present flour and water under the *msolo* spirit tree. The Yawo in the old days also used to pray at *msoro* tree.¹⁰⁸⁹ As they prayed under the *msolo* tree, they rolled on the ground, clapped their hands, and offered atonement. In supplication they first mentioned what they had come to ask, then invoked those who had gone before, who had died and gone to God; eventually, they would turn directly to God. Because all Yawo accept that God is Lord of all and everything, and so they do not decline to turn to Him in Yawo prayer.¹⁰⁹⁰

What can be seen above is that the Yawo and their cousins Makhuwa made offerings under the *msoro* trees. When they settled in Durban in the 1870s, they both assimilated this culture into South Africa. However, it is rare for a Yawo or Makhuwa to make a sacrifice on the *msoro* tree in Durban, as these trees are not commonly found in the city. Also, the Islamic Sufism that prevails between the two tribes has made them lose old habits incompatible with Islam. Additionally, practices such as belief in spirits, ancestral worship, and grave visitation have been branded as cultural taints that need to be cleaned up in South Africa.¹⁰⁹¹

Respondents in this study believe that in many cases, black Muslims from other countries do not lose their culture because they now live in South Africa. For example, the Makhuwa have retained their language, slave history, and Sufi beliefs. They are Shafi'is and follow practices such as celebrating/honouring the Prophet's birthday.¹⁰⁹² In other words, the descendants of the slaves had to dwell in a group that practiced a different form of Islam than their Sufi ancestors, who followed a ritualistic branch of Islam with origins in ancient Persia.¹⁰⁹³ The Yawo and Makhuwa Zanzibaris have attempted to perpetuate rituals such as Mawlid al-Nabi, Mawlid al-Barzanji and Ratib al Haddat (celebrating the birth of the Prophet Muhammad), which have been characterised as cultural defilements by the reformist Muslims in South Africa.¹⁰⁹⁴ Amina also explains that when circumcised boys (*wali*) in Malawi, upon returning from the bush (*ndagala*), they were given new names, put on new clothes, and were sent back to their families in procession with sticks (*ndesa*).

¹⁰⁸⁹ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 22-23

¹⁰⁹⁰ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 21

¹⁰⁹¹ Kaarsholm. "Zanzibaris or Makhuwa?" 207.

¹⁰⁹² Dadoo. "The Consolidation and Spread of Islam in South Africa".

¹⁰⁹³ Staff Reporter "Lost tribe' gets land back" *Mail and Guardian*. (South Africa), 1 October, 2004.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Kaarsholm. "Zanzibaris or Makhuwa?" 207.

They walked through the community. Likewise, studies by Rippin show that young initiates from Zanzibari community were led through the congregation after their initiation into circumcision at Bayview, Durban.¹⁰⁹⁵ However, an old woman from the Zanzibari community informed this researcher that the initiate parade is no longer practiced among the Makhuwa in Durban. Individualism killed the practice. In addition, reformist Muslims labelled it as an impurity ceremony.¹⁰⁹⁶

As we will see later, the Yawo introduced the Initiate Parade system to the Mariannhill community. Circumcised children of Zulu and Yawo Muslims are gathered in the community and parade. The children and their counselors received awards called *wupo*. An Islamic dance (*kaswida/madadi*) and feast mark the end of the ceremony. Thus, the practice is revived by the Yawo in Mariannhill. According to respondents, Mariannhill is now known as the centre of Yawo culture in Durban. This is what I call the "contemporary Zanzibari community" in South Africa. It's interesting that the Yawo and some Makhuwa ancestors made up the original Zanzibari community which was relocated from Zanzibar to Natal between 1873 and 1880 to address a labour shortage. They lived in Bluff before being forcibly removed by the Group Areas Act during the Apartheid era in 1960 and relocating to Chatsworth. Recent sources indicate that further Zanzibaris moved to Mariannhill, where the Yawo and Makhuwa cultures have still managed to meld to this day. This makes a Makhuwa and Yawo difficult to tell apart in Mariannhill.

To comprehend the argument that some Zanzibaris settled in Mariannhill, Nabeelah Shaikh wrote in 2021 that between 1873 and 1880, Zanzibari slaves, commonly known as the Makhuwa people, arrived in Durban from the Spice Islands. Babies, expectant women, and youngsters as young as three years old were among the 502 Zanzibaris who made the perilous trek and survived. They were recognised at the time as indentured servants, similar to the men and women who had immigrated from India before them. They were really emancipated northern Mozambican slaves brought into the nation by the British after intercepting illicit slave ships en route to Zanzibar. After arriving in Durban, they resided on the Bluff, on land known as Kings Rest. They were later removed under the Group Areas Act. The Zanzibaris were therefore forced to move in Chatsworth, an area designated for the Indian community. They established a life for themselves in Bayview.

¹⁰⁹⁵ See Paul Weinberg. *Moving Spirit: Spirituality in Southern Africa*. (Double Storey/Mets & Schilt uitgevers, 2006).

¹⁰⁹⁶ Interview with Fatima, Chatsworth Unit 2 (14 April, 2020).

They contributed significantly to the neighborhood's development. The Zanzibari community in South Africa has already greatly expanded and now has between 15 and 20 000 people spread out over the nation. While some of them have relocated to other places like Newlands, Marianhill, and Phoenix, the majority of them are still in Chatsworth. The Zanzibaris continue to be a close-knit community despite being one of South Africa's smallest minority communities. While completely integrating into a democratic South Africa, they have maintained their East African culture and their steadfast Islamic convictions.¹⁰⁹⁷

Overall, in 2021, Shaikh claims that the majority of Zanzibaris remain in Chatsworth, despite the fact that some have gone to Newlands, Marianhill, and Phoenix. Dadoo further mentioned that when their indentured stay ended, they went to Durban communities such as the Bluff, Berea, Umgeni, Verulam, and Pinetown.¹⁰⁹⁸

It is apparent that the Zanzibaris who lived in Mariannuhill mixed with many of the Yawos who were migrating from Malawi. Yawo Muslims had long been drawn to the Zanzibari community because of its strong religious institutions and relative autonomy. As already noted, in the 1930s, African Muslims, particularly from Malawi, began to build "Zanzibari" societies in localities such as Mariannhill and Amaoti, serving as a model for other African Muslim communities in the Durban metropolitan region.¹⁰⁹⁹ The 1940s saw the arrival in KwaZulu-Natal of Sheikh Abbas Phiri, a Yawo immigrant from Malawi. He became engaged to a local woman and spent a brief time living on the Bluff (close to King's Rest). Later, he made his home in Inanda's peri-urban region, where he started converting the locals to Islam. His son finally rose to the position of Imam (religious leader) for the small Black Muslim neighborhood in KwaMashu.¹¹⁰⁰

From the aforementioned accounts, it is clear that the Yawo have contributed to the integration of religious and cultural activities among the indigenous Zulu people. The Yawo from the "contemporary Zanzibari community" have given the Marainnhill neighbourhood access to the annual parade system. Muslims who are Zulu and Yawo are congregated in the neighbourhood to

¹⁰⁹⁷ Nabeelah Shaikh "Zanzibaris determined to protect legacy at King Rest Masjid and cemetery". *Al-Qalam* (South Africa), 13 December, 2021. <https://alqalam.co.za/zanzibaris-determined-to-protect-legacy-at-king-rest-masjid-and-cemetery/> (Accessed May 13, 2023).

¹⁰⁹⁸ Dadoo. "The Consolidation and Spread of Islam in South Africa"

¹⁰⁹⁹ Kaarsholm. "Zanzibaris or Makuwa?" 194.

¹¹⁰⁰ Vawda. "Migration and Muslim Identities: Malawians and Senegalese Muslims in Durban, South Africa" 14-15.

exhibit their circumcised youngsters. Awards known as *wupo* were given to the kids and their counselors. The ritual is concluded with a Muslim dance (*kaswida/madadi*) and feast.

Historically, the issue of the initiates' parade and award ceremony began in Iraq. According to Mez, the Caliph (Muslim ruler) Muqtadir of Iraq circumcised five of his sons at the same time, as well as a group of orphans whom he showered with rich gifts. He ordered that the sons of commanders and superintendents, even those of slaves, soldiers and the poor of Qairwan (in Morocco) and other towns be registered for circumcision and gifts.¹¹⁰¹ Thus, the Chewa and Yawo immigrant women integrated the oriental culture in South Africa. The practice of leading young initiates from the Zanzibari community (the Makhuwa and Yawo) which gradually died in Durban is being rejuvenated by the Chewa and Yawo Muslim women immigrants.

In general, black Muslims in Durban, whether they are Zulu, Chewa, Yawo, or Makhuwa, are referred to as Mazizimbani by non-Muslim Zulu. And there is a warm relationship between these people, called Mazizimbani by non-Muslim Zulus. The process of assimilation began when a small group of Malawian Muslims and Zulu converts arrived in Durban. As Ihemere said, they are strongly attached to their Islamic culture and way of life as they are mostly confined to Durban and coexist with the Indian community.¹¹⁰² Amina says more precisely:

During the funeral, Muslim women Makhuwa and Yawo communicate with each other and leave to comfort the family of the deceased. On the day of Eid and wedding anniversaries, they are seen in traditional clothing. A good example is that the Yawos of Chatsworth have now taught the Makhuwa how to give cash gifts to the bride and groom. In Chiyawo, it is called *kuwupa pandowa*. Nowadays, the Makhuwa have started giving out money on their wedding day. The money is a starter-up package for the bride and groom. During celebrations, they do not forget to wear the hijab (veil) on all occasions. It is part of their identity. Hijab is a symbol of black Muslims in Durban.

¹¹⁰¹ Adam Mez. *The Renaissance of Islam*, originally from a 1937 German manuscript translated into English and co-edited by Salahuddin Khuda Bakhs & D.S. Margoliouth. (Lahore: Adab Printers, 1937 reprinted by the Islamic Book Centre, Lahore, 1987) 428-29.

¹¹⁰² Kelechukwu U Ihemere (ed.). *Language Contact: A Multidimensional Perspective*. (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2013) 133.

There are a number of religious and cultural customs dating back to the Chewa and Yawo. Respondents indicated that they still maintain some traditions. For example, everyone agreed that on Eid day and during wedding ceremonies, they always composed and sang Islamic songs in their language known as *kaswida*. However, they pointed out that they no longer sing at the funeral or prepare food (known as *sadaka* in the Chichewa or Chiyawo languages) after a person's death, as did some members of Qadriyyah in Malawi.

Respondents' recollections show how Chewa and Yawo immigrant women negotiate their identities in multiple contexts: with other Malawians, other black African foreigners, primarily Indians, Muslims, and black South Africans, with whom they interact daily in different contexts. It highlights how they incorporate a specific Malawian culture into South African customs.

The Chewa Culture: its influence on Southern Africa

As Chewa and Yawo immigrant women negotiate their identities in Durban, they merge Malawian culture into South African customs; on the other side, we see a transformation of cultural and religious practices. Some of the Chewa culture, which was regarded as Malawi's fundamental culture and had integrated into the Yawo culture, is diminishing after settling in Durban.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Chewa makes up the majority of Malawi's population. The Chewa people and culture formed the core of modern Malawi as the oldest and least affected by colonialism, and the culture of Malawi would be considered identical to the Chewa culture.¹¹⁰³ The special authenticity of the Chewa culture and in particular of the Chewa language was emphasised.¹¹⁰⁴ Therefore, the nationalisation of Chichewa in 1968 was a broader plan that aimed to promote the notion that Chichewa culture was identical to Malawian culture.¹¹⁰⁵ In the southern region of Malawi, Chiyawo achieved regional supremacy within African cultures before

¹¹⁰³ Robert B. Kaplan and Richard B. Baldauf Jr (eds.). *Languages Planning in Malawi, Mozambique and the Philippines*. (Clarendon: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 1999) 51.

¹¹⁰⁴ McCracken. *A History of Malawi, 1859- 1966*, 449

¹¹⁰⁵ Kings M. Phiri and Kenneth R. Ross. *Democratization in Malawi A Stocktaking*. (Mzuzu: Luviri Press, 2020) 285.

colonialism.¹¹⁰⁶ Chiyawo became more common as a *lingua franca* in the nineteenth century until 1968, when the government made Chichewa the only and exclusive national language, mandatory in all government schools, with English as the state administrative language.¹¹⁰⁷ Amina, a respondent, says that growing up they believed the Yawo were Chewa because it was the Chichewa language they used in school and heard on the only national radio station. Thus, it was used, among other things, for communication in the media and in the education system. There was a time when many Yawo Muslims hid their language to avoid being mocked. Many Yawo assimilated into the Chewa culture because the language and culture were imposed on them.¹¹⁰⁸

Additionally, Amina says that even in Durban, many Yawo immigrant women use Chichewa instead of the Chiyawo language in many cases. Studies show that during the reign of Kamuzu Banda, (a Chewa), then President of Malawi, the “Chewaization” of Malawi was encouraged.¹¹⁰⁹ Chewo and Yawo societies are matriarchal, based on the primary kinship bond between sister and brother who ultimately becomes the maternal uncle of the sister's children. Thus, in a matriarchal culture, the Chewa and Yawo use a system of sisterhood groups called *mbumba*. The man leaves his village to live with his wife (*chikamwini*), so the villages are basically made up of groups of women linked to their husbands by a female line. But Banda stressed the unique cultural attributes of the Chewa more than the Yawo cultural traits.

Banda had consistently promoted Chewa's matrilineal traditions as Malawi's national traditional culture.¹¹¹⁰ He manipulated the culture and exploited the cultural values of Chewa to consolidate his political power.¹¹¹¹ Thus, other ethnic groups such as the Yawo adopted a state-imposed Chewa culture. Banda identified "Malawian" with Chewa-ness and portrayed the Chewa as the soul of the country, often going so far as to assert that many Yawo and Lhomwe were in fact Chewa who did not recognise this. In his years in Nyasaland after the 1958 campaign against the Federation, he

¹¹⁰⁶ Hermann Giliomee and Charles Simkins (eds.). *The Awkward Embrace: One-party Domination and Democracy*. (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1999) 212.

¹¹⁰⁷ George Shepperson. “The Background to Malawi”. *African Affairs*. (1967, 66:263) 152.

¹¹⁰⁸ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

¹¹⁰⁹ Vail. *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* 182.

¹¹¹⁰ Vail. *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* 182.

¹¹¹¹ Emma-Louise Anderson. *Gender, HIV and Risk: Navigation Structural Violence*. (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015) 35.

often condemned signs of "tribalism" in others, but he also often stressed that he was a Chewa himself.¹¹¹² Likewise, masked Chewa dancers known as *nyau* or *gule wamkulu* (great dances or big dance) were asked to perform for the president at the same meetings, bringing a Chewa cultural institution to prominence/fame on the national stage.¹¹¹³

Chewa *nyau* societies, and particularly their dances, have long been scorned by the educated as a symbol of the backwardness of the Chewa in the modern world. After the *nyau* societies demonstrated their allegiance to President Banda during the cabinet crisis of 1964 by vigorously intimidating Banda's rivals with physical threats, they may have become the core of what is presented as the national culture, although they are the hallmark of the Chewa culture and nothing more.¹¹¹⁴ Zione, a Chewa respondent, explains that *nyau wamkulu*, or *gule wamkulu*, has been portrayed as a "sect" or secret society of masked men called "*zirombo*", which are animals or ghosts/spirits. It is also deemed a religious band and makes an appearance at presidential meetings. The masked men also appear when a village chief declares a party or when one of its associates dies. In addition, Zione says, although the majority of the Chewa are Christians with few Muslims in Salima and Nkhhotakota districts, their *gule wamkulu* became something of a title for their traditional religious practice, which some Chewa Muslims still practice. For example, some Chewa Muslims in Dedza and Salima districts still feel entertained by *gule wamkulu*.

The Yawo have also assimilated some elements of the Chewa culture. Studies show that the Yawo people have gradually turned to the Nyanja (Chewa) culture through interaction with the Nyanja.¹¹¹⁵ For example, in *unyago wa jando* (circumcision initiation), the Yawo use *yinyago* instead of *gule wamkulu*.¹¹¹⁶ Lamba says that the Yawo had a variant of the *nyau* called *yinyago*, mainly for fun and with no significant religious function.¹¹¹⁷ The Yawo interviewed agree with Lamba that among the Yawo, the *yinyago* is only used for entertainment during circumcision

¹¹¹² Vail. *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* 182.

¹¹¹³ Ian Shapiro, Will Kymlicka (eds.), *Ethnicity and Group Rights: Nomos XXXIX* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 484.

¹¹¹⁴ Vail. *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* 182.

¹¹¹⁵ Richard B. Baldauf and Robert B. Kaplan Jr (eds.). *Languages Planning and Policy in Africa, Vol. 1 Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique and South African Malawi*. (Clvedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 1999) 89.

¹¹¹⁶ G. M. Sanderson. "Inyago: The Picture models of the Yao Initiation Ceremonies. *The Nyasaland Journal*. (1955, 8:2) 36- 57.

¹¹¹⁷ Lamba. *Contradictions in Post-war Education Policy Formulation and Application in Colonial Malawi 1945-1961*, 5.

ceremonies. *Yinyago* does not belong to any Yawo religion. But among the Chewa, the *gule wamkulu* is considered the traditional religion and the heart of the Chewa culture. However, Chewa Muslim immigrant women have noted that although they are part of the Chewa culture, they do not really believe in the *gule wamkulu*'s point of view. But they say that they are nostalgic for their culture and unable to integrate it into South Africa. So they failed to integrate *gule wamkulu* into this country.

The Yawo have failed to incorporate *yinyago* during circumcision procedures in places such as Mariannhill in Durban. When the Yawo and Chewa came in Durban, they saw a cultural shift. The Yawo no longer use the *yinyago*, which was utilised for entertainment during circumcision rites. Paradoxically, some of the Yawo and Chewa immigrant women cheered for the *gule wamkulu* or *yinyago* dances on several occasions. Yet, the religion of Islam does not allow them to do this. Studies show that the Chewa immigrants introduced and assimilated the *gule wamkulu / nyau (zvinyavu / zvigure)* dance to Zimbabwe's farms, mines, and industrial complexes.¹¹¹⁸ Furthermore, studies show that the *gule wamkulu* has also become a significant part of Yawo's identity in Zimbabwe, although the society is not widely associated with the Yawo ethnicity in Malawi.¹¹¹⁹ But the *gule wamkulu* or *nyau* institution was central to the Chewa identity in Zimbabwe. Another important and distinctive aspect of the Chewa people, central to the Chewa culture, is the belief that ancestors and spirits play an important role in contemporary society.¹¹²⁰ Although the Chewa have embraced Islam, respondents also believe that if you do good to others; this person pleases both God and the ancestors (*mizimu*). They believe there are good and bad spirits. However, respondents pointed out that they do not revere *misimu* or *akumasoka (spirits)* in the Chiyawo language.

Historically, as already mentioned, before Islam, the Yawo called the names of those who had gone before, who had died and gone to God; eventually, they would turn directly to God. Abdallah points out that since all Yawo agree that God is the Lord of all; they did not fail to invoke him in the Yawo prayer.¹¹²¹ In some cases, the Yawo used Bimbi's services to summon Chewa spirits so

¹¹¹⁸ Kirk Helliker, Patience Chadambuka and Joshua Matanzima. *Livelihoods of Ethnic Minorities in Rural Zimbabwe*. (Cham: Springer, 2022) 195.

¹¹¹⁹ Groves. *Malawian Migration to Zimbabwe* 108.

¹¹²⁰ Kim Chakanetsa. *Africana: An Encyclopedia of an Amazing Continent*. (Wide Eyed, 2022) 67.

¹¹²¹ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 21.

that God would answer their prayers in the newly acquired land in Malawi. Studies show that the Bimbi cult, although of primarily of Chewa origin, also included Yawo people.¹¹²² The respondents say that it has been said that before Islam and Christianity in Malawi, the traditional religion of Africa was a religion of the dead centred on the worship of ancestral spirits (*mizimu/misimu/akumasoka*). Contrary to common perception, Africans did not worship the spirits of the dead. The Yawo worshiped a single deity known as Ambuje Amanai (the greatest), Achipinga, or Mnungu, and the Chewa worshiped Namalenga (the Creator), or Mulungu. The Chewa and Yawo believed that living beings were created by God even before they embraced Islam. Amina says the difference between *mizimu* in Malawi and *amadlozi* in South Africa is that the Zulus believe that the *amadlozi* (ancestral spiritual figures) can be invoked for support and protection. In some cases, it mainly consists of the worship of ancestral spirits or *amadlozi*. *Amadlozi* are expected to be involved in nearly every aspect of individual life on earth. On the other hand, the Chewa and Yawo don't worship *mizimu*. According to Wane et al, the Nguni pray to the *amadlozi* (their ancestors who are outside the living realm as they understand it) to act as intermediaries with Unkulunkulu, the source of strength, health, rain, victory, and protection from plagues.¹¹²³

Respondents indicate that Zulu religious practices of praying to the *amadlozi* for health, rain, victory, and protection from disease are not permissible in Islam and incompatible with Islam. Also, when beer is used to seduce the *amadlozis*, respondents may not be fully absorbed into Zulu society. Drinking beer in any form is forbidden in Islam.¹¹²⁴ Studies show that Zulu traditionalists claim that *amadlozi* are drawn to brewing ceremonies by the presence of black clay vats (*ukhamba*) used to make and serve *utshwala*, the traditional sorghum beer. *Amadlozi* craves and prefers dark, and cool places; the shiny *ukhamba* with engraved motifs.¹¹²⁵ In this case, the Chewa and Yawo Muslim immigrant women are not present at the ancestral reconciliation ceremony performed by their Zulu neighbours. Amina says that Chewa and Yawo immigrant women, like the Nguni, believe there is no way to lead a normal life without thanking those who are alive and the elders

¹¹²² James Amanze. *African Traditional Religion in Malawi: The case of Bimbi Cult*. Zomba: Claim Kachere, 2002) 14.

¹¹²³ Njoki Wane, Arlo Kempf and Marlon Simmons (eds.). *The Politics of Cultural Knowledge*. (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2011) 73.

¹¹²⁴ Eaqub Ali and Nina Naquiah Ahmad Nizar (eds.). *Preparation and Processing of Religious and Cultural Foods*. (Woodhead: Duxford, Hampshire, 2018) 282.

¹¹²⁵ Grant Parker (ed.). *South Africa, Greece, Rome: Classical Confrontations*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). 477.

who preceded them. However, Yawo or Chewa Muslims do not slaughter animals such as goats, cows or chickens to appease *amadlozi*.¹¹²⁶

What can be seen above is that the Chewa and Yawo did not absorb their old practices such as *gule wamkulu* and *yinyago* in South Africa, but they did in Zimbabwe. It demonstrates that a cultural transition is taking place with the post-apartheid influx of women to Durban. The more there is a cultural shift, the more they are integrating some Zulu or Indian customs and propagating some Malawian culture among the Zulus.

Initiation Ceremonies: The Significance of Jando, Msondo, and Chinamwali in a transnational setting

In 1866 David Livingstone visited Yawo's chief. He received the kindness and generosity of Chief Mataka in Mozambique. While at Mataka headquarters between July 14 and July 28, Livingstone noticed Yawo's male circumcision (*jando*). He said: Men are huge, with strong bones and capable of enduring great weariness; they undergo a ritual that once distinguished Jews in adolescence and took on a new name for the occasion.¹¹²⁷ Many studies have criticised the Yawo for their protraction of *unyago* (circumcision initiation). The Yawo are thought to not like education because they were Muslims who enjoyed traditional customs like *unyago* and early marriages, which were meant to preserve their culture. Additionally, circumcision has been criticised for stating that boys are considered adults once they undergo circumcision and that they are told to have sex with any young woman once they return home. This is called *kutaya mafuta/ kwita mawuta* (oil spill).¹¹²⁸

Initiation rites among the Yawo include *jando* for boys, *nsondo* for girls and *litiwo* for pregnant women. The original ancient male initiation for boys or men among the Yawo was *Lupanda*. *Lupanda* is an initiation into semi-circumcision that everyone had to undergo. The word *lupanda* refers to a forked stick on which the sacrificial meal is poured. This stick was planted in the collection point, the *masakasa*. Circumcision (formerly only a half cut) was practiced and

¹¹²⁶ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

¹¹²⁷ Horace Weller. *The Last Journals of David Livingstone in Central Africa*. (New York, Franklin Square: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1875) 79.

¹¹²⁸ Malawi Human Rights Commission (MHRC). "Cultural Practices and their Impact on the Enjoyment of Human Rights, Particularly the Rights of Women and Children in Malawi". (Lilongwe, Malawi) 42.

initiates remained at the bush school, *ndagala* for about one or two months. The Yawo rite of *jando* circumcision is said not to have been introduced by the Arabs.¹¹²⁹ On the other hand, the original Yawo initiation for girls was known as *chiputu*. It took place before puberty. According to Abdallah, the *msondo* was recently introduced from the east coast; it is not one of the ancient rites.¹¹³⁰ *Msondo*, like *jando*, was an Islamic form and an adaptation of the initiation ritual for girls who had reached puberty. In today's world, instructors place great emphasis on good behaviour and observance of taboos in society. Good manners, hard work and respect for the elders are highly valued by the Yawo at *msondo*.¹¹³¹ There is also an initiation known as *litiwo*. This was educational for girls who got pregnant for the first time. When this ritual is in progress, the young men and women flee to the plains to dance *likwata* or play at home and return in the evening.¹¹³² So when a young woman noticed the acceleration of the fetus during her first pregnancy, the mothers of the community held a ceremony in the village. Older women were called *mtelesi / atelezi*, which derive from *ku-teleka* (to put on fire). The term *litiwo* comes from *ku - tiwa* (braids). It meant the twisted or intertwined rope that is placed around the neck of the woman being initiated.¹¹³³

Zione, a respondent states Chewa girls go through a ritual called *chinamwali*, a traditional initiation ceremony for girls. This is done after the girl has grown up. They lock the girl up for 7 days and she is guided by an old woman (*anamkungwi*) to prepare for adulthood. The counsellor advises the *anamwali* (an initiate) on a variety of issues to become an adult. According to another respondent, Alinafe, topics covered by *chinamwali* counsellors include, doing household chores, being kind and modest after marriage, avoiding sexual activity, menstrual hygiene, courtesy, respect for elders, and staying away from parents' bedrooms. Zione also believes that it is very important to preserve the Chewa culture, but managing *chinamwali* in Durban is not easy. However, the Chewa immigrant women integrate *chinamwali* with *umhlonyane*. Among the Zulu, there are also rituals performed after a girl reaches puberty (*umkhlonyane* in isiZulu). The girls are confined for 7 days in a round hut (*uqonka* in Isizulu). The girls gather at night and sing all night before the ceremony. Like the Chewa counsellors, Zulu elders teach *umhlonyane* girls how to

¹¹²⁹ Mary Tew. *The People of the Lake Region*. (London, 1950) 19

¹¹³⁰ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 17.

¹¹³¹ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 13.

¹¹³² Abdallah. *The Yaos* 17.

¹¹³³ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

behave during menstruation, do housework, be kind, avoid sexual activity, maintain menstrual hygiene, and respect elders. In this case, Chewa and Zulu parents, who have daughters entering puberty, confine their daughters in the same house for 7 days. In this way, Chewa's children are fully immersed in South African culture that rivals that of their parents. They live as mediators between the two cultures. Amina also reflected on the importance of Yawo rites in transforming her into a woman, which would be difficult in a new environment. She says that in South Africa she misses the *msondo* and the celebrations that take place after the Yawo children are introduced to this culture. They have been trained in many facets of life. They had learned to respect the elderly and the principles of "politeness", to persevere in life and to respect people from all walks of life. *Msondo* and *litiwo* disappear with the Yawo in Durban. According to Heckel, these initiations (*unyago*) were the most important part of Yawo culture. Their celebration represented a real source of life; not celebrating would mean the extinction of the tribe.¹¹³⁴

Additionally, Amina suggests that the Yawo preserved *jando* in South Africa. While some South African tribes such as the Xhosa (*ulwaluko*) or the Zulu (*ukusoka*) circumcise their children in the bush, as most Yawo in Malawi did, the Yawo living in Durban never took their children to the bush. The Yawo prefer to take their children to a doctor who has experience with the operation. They also don't feast on beer at the end of the *jando*. For example, *umqombothi* (African beer) is used to commemorate the return of young men known as *abakwetha* in the Xhosa culture after circumcision (*ulwaluko*). Amina adds that the Yawo people have adopted the custom of parading initiates into the community after their wounds have healed after circumcision. This parade ceremony took place at Mariannhill. Children receive prizes called *wupo* in the Chiyawo language. The celebrations marked the end of the ceremony. In this case, the Yawo and Zulu children come together for prizes. Consequently, the Yawo assimilated *wupo* into the Zulu culture.

Food

Our daily lives are influenced by the food we eat. Different societal hierarchies are represented by the food we eat. Based on what they prepare and consume, people can assume that others are less than them. Food has the power to bring people together, tear them apart, and even discriminate against some people based on their race. Various sorts of food are consumed by both the employer

¹¹³⁴ Benno Heckel. *The Yao Tribe: Their Culture and Education*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1935) 19.

and the employee. A process of cultural fusion between several ethnic groups may also be involved. Therefore, certain Indian cuisine has been adopted by Yawo and Chewa women as *biryan*, while they have also introduced the Zulu to the practice of eating tilapia fish instead of hakes or tinned fish. In addition, as will be seen later, the Chewa and Yawo women offer several kinds of vegetables and cloths in Durban.

According to Okoth, Swahili-Arab's effect became very persistent among the Yawo. Most of them became Muslims. In terms of the kind of architecture and clothing, in terms of cuisine, and food, the influence of Muslims was omnipresent. Yawo rulers often hired Swahili secretaries to facilitate trade and diplomatic communications with the East.¹¹³⁵ When the Yawo converted to Islam, they integrated architecture, clothing, cuisine, and food. In the years that followed, Islam influenced the dietary habits of the Yawo. Fieldhouse argues that the food we choose reflects a variety of social, political, economic, and cultural influences, as well as ethical norms and personal preferences. Religion has this effect, and the dietary habits of believers around the world are shaped by the doctrines of their chosen faith. Food is a moral way of life for believers because it can be seen as an ethical entity.¹¹³⁶ Furthermore, studies show that in many cultures, food is considered pathogenic because of its role in hot and cold belief systems such as spoiled, dirty or raw food; by combining the wrong foods.¹¹³⁷ Therefore, each culture defines what is edible and what is not and there is a spectrum between what is defined as "food" and what is considered acceptable.

In some cultures, food also determines a person's social status.¹¹³⁸ For example, respondents indicate that in Malawi, a variety of food is served on different occasions. Beef or lamb and rice are sometimes served at weddings, parties, or religious festivals. Foods such as beans are not served at important ceremonies. In this case, only the low-status families would be expected to provide pap (*nsima/ugali*) on the mentioned occasions. Thus, the cultural importance of food goes

¹¹³⁵ Okoth. *A History of Africa: African Societies and the Establishment of Colonial Rule 1800- 1915*, 29.

¹¹³⁶ Paul Fieldhouse. *Food, Feasts, and Faith: An Encyclopedia of Food Culture in World Religions*, Volume 1: A-K. (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO), 2017) XXII.

¹¹³⁷ Susan C. Scrimshaw, Sandra D. Lane and Robert A. Rubinstein (eds.). *The SAGE Handbook of Social Studies in Health and Medicine*, Second Edition. (London: Sage, 2021/22) 167.

¹¹³⁸ Sarah Lawson Welsh. *Food, Text and Culture in the Anglophone Caribbean*. (London: Rowman and Littlefield International, 2019) 211.

beyond survival. It is not a question of an individual's choice. Basically, it is the culture or religion that determines what is considered food and what is not.

Studies show that food indeed defines a person's social class. For example, because the colonised people were considered second class by settlers who came from far away, the food was also considered inferior. So the food was also second class or poor quality.¹¹³⁹ There is a link between race and food. For instance, respondents noted that some people would not eat food prepared by immigrant Chewa or Yawo women based on overlapping identities such as immigrant, race, religion, or status. Even the utensils used by them will not be used by another person of another race. They will regard the Chewa and Yawo immigrant women as second class and their food were also second class or of inferior quality. Tikhale, a respondent who works as a maid in Chatsworth, says it is strange to see her bosses come to visit her in her little room in their yard; they don't eat the food she has prepared. Paradoxically, they eat the food Tikhale cooks for them in their house. Amale, another housemaid from Sherwood says she was surprised to see her boss screaming at her after having dinner with her boss's daughter. Her boss's daughter likes chicken *tandoori* (chicken covered with yoghurt and herbs and grilled), *dahl* (a dish made with poached lentils, peas, and beans, often served with rice or bread or rice) and *roti/chapati* (bread thin / focaccia cooked on a flat baking sheet). It turned out that the *tandoori* her boss had given her had been in the fridge for a long time. It was old spoiled food and her boss didn't want her daughter to eat that spoiled *tandoori*. So it was better for a servant to eat spoiled food and for the girl to be spared from stale food.

On the one hand, food divides people based on race and wealth. The rich and powerful will not eat the food prepared by the poor. However, the poor will eat the food that comes from the rich. Food, on the other hand, connects people and builds relationships. For example, Amina, a respondent, who once settled in Chatsworth, says that the Zanzibari eat rice and pap (*exima* in eMakhuwa language). Rice is still their main food. Much of the type of clothing that Makhuwa wears and the type of food they eat also resemble that of the Indians, with the exception of *ugali* (a stiff, doughy mass made from maize-meal/mealie meal) which Indians often do not eat but like to eat *biryani* rice. When Yawo immigrant women settle in the area, they adapt to their environment and become part of the Zanzibari community. Zanzibari beliefs, customs, and

¹¹³⁹ Welsh. *Food, Text and Culture in the Anglophone Caribbean* 211.

traditions are in harmony with the Yawo culture. For instance, after the Eid prayer, Chewa and Yawo immigrants celebrate Eid with Makhuwa and Zulu Muslims. They share Malawian food prepared for the occasion. Nowadays, it is easy to find Malawi rice, dried fish, brown beans, peanuts, sweet potatoes, and cassava. A number of Yawo women bring all the types of food mentioned. They sell them on the streets and at Sunday flea markets in Durban.¹¹⁴⁰

The respondents' memories illuminate the fact that on this great day of Eid they invite non-Muslim South African friends and enjoy eating traditional Malawian food. They like to eat *ugali* in Chiyawo, *nsima* in Chichewa and *exima* in the eMakhuwa. It is very soft compared to the South African *phuthu* of crumbly cooked small dry granulate. Most respondents to this study come from the shores of Lake Malawi, where fish is an important source of dietary protein. Respondents also noted that Chewa and Yawo introduced a fish type called tilapia- *makumba* (black bream) to their Zulu neighbours. Zulu women have learned to eat different types of fish that are considered food for Indian or White men. In particular, Zulus can have a hake with fried chips rather than mackerel, redfish, angelfish, dory, sea catfish, and tilapia. The Chewa and Yawo women, on the other hand, learned from their Zulu neighbours that women do not always cook for their families. In South Africa, men can cook. In Malawi, women usually cook *nsima/ugali*, and in many tribes, women and girls ate separately from men. But in South Africa, families eat together at the table. Among the Yawo, men used to eat with other men (*kunganya*) and women with other women (*kumatuli*).

According to respondents, they do not embrace all elements of Zulu culture but absorb some aspects. The existence of Chewa and Yawo women in Durban led to the introduction of *ugali* among South Africans who used to eat *uphuthu*. They have also introduced some vegetables. The indigenous people in South Africa knew only a few types of vegetables. For example, the Zulu ate red herbs, cabbage, spinach, beans leaves, *imifino*- greens, vegetables (such as wild spinach- *imbuya/ugobolo*(in the isiZulu language), and pumpkin leaves. Vegetables such as rapeseed, mustard, okra, sweet potato leaves, and cassava leaves were introduced by foreign women and women from Maputaland in South Africa and Mozambique. Cassava is mainly brought o Durban by women from Maputaland. Hence, some Zulus may eat okra, which was once considered part of the Indian diet.

¹¹⁴⁰ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

As mentioned above, some Chewa and Yawo foods are similar to foods eaten by the Zulu, so Chewa and Yawo can be easily integrated into Zulu culture, but they differ in their beliefs, customs, and skills in which the society operates. However, according to respondents, Zulus are known to eat meat and drink African beer. Eating meat and drinking beer are deemed the most significant Zulu culture. The problem is that their food is not always *halaal* (which is allowed in Islam). Many Zulus do not eat *halaal* food. For example, the slaughter of animals in various rituals is incompatible with Islamic culture. Many Chewa and Yawo women do not participate in Zulu rites and rituals that are considered *haram* (forbidden in Islam). However, their socialisation process is reciprocal. There is a lot of transfer between Zulu, Chewa and Yawo women. On the one hand, immigrant Chewa and Yawo women enjoy good relations with other population groups such as Indians, Whites and indigenous peoples. On the other hand, the relationship is not conducive; they are discriminated against because of their ethnicity, class, race, socio-economic status or physical appearance which shapes their migration experience.

Clothing

Historically, the Yawo were the people who brought clothing to northern Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia before Europeans started to bring their goods to the interior. In 1898, Johnston wrote that Yawo caravans brought large quantities of cloth from the east coast before Europeans introduced cloth. These people, like others in Central and Southern Africa, wore bark clothes, except in the remote valleys of Yawoland.¹¹⁴¹ Mchiwinja Mchilwa (Kilwa Kivinje) was the most advantageous area on the Yawo coast. It was where they obtained calico and sold tobacco, hoes, and hides.¹¹⁴² Abdallah says the Yawo went to the coast and got everything they wanted: guns, salt, beads and colourful clothes.¹¹⁴³ They brought clothes such as *Masikati, Chilewani, Sasali, Ulaja, Mkoiko/Subaila, Chitambi, Subaila, Ndeule, Mleso wa Ulungu, Chiwa mbepo (kwasa kwasa), Matamba, Chikungulu, Lilamba, Likapa, Chikungulu, Mlekano, Mleso wamba,*

¹¹⁴¹ Harry Halmiton Johnston. *British Central Africa: An Attempt to Give Some Accounts of a Portion of The Territories Under British Influence North of the Zambezi*, second edition. (London: Methuen and Compony, 1898) 419.

¹¹⁴² Abdallah. *The Yaos* 27.

¹¹⁴³ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 30.

Chinyong'onyo, Mlangali, Chigwena, and Mbalasati.¹¹⁴⁴ As Pike pointed out, the Arabs of the region remained primarily clients of the Yao chiefs, not competitors or overloads. The Arabs learned about the interior of Africa from the Yawo and bought ivory, tobacco, copper, iron and a few slaves in exchange for beads, cloth, guns, and gunpowder.¹¹⁴⁵

As mentioned in Chapter 2, in 1766 some Yawo merchants appeared in Zumbo, Mozambique, selling cloth more profitably than the Portuguese. They even crossed the Zambezi into Rozwi country (Zimbabwe), where they temporarily met and challenged the Portuguese, the main trading partners of the Rozwi.¹¹⁴⁶ Nyirenda argues that the Balowoka immigrants appeared like Arabs in northern Malawi in 1780, though they were not Arabs.¹¹⁴⁷ They were black Africans who had adopted the Arab robes (*mikanjo*) and turban (*chilemba*). The Balawoka Yawo brought with them hoes and axes to exchange with ivory. To convince the Tumbuka, the Yawo also brought the calico. In central Malawi, the Yawo sold fashionable clothing such as red *mlangali* to Chewa buyers.¹¹⁴⁸ It can be seen above that the Yawo introduced different types of clothing wherever they went. It will be seen later that they also introduced some types of material in Durban. Research in 1903 showed that the Wayawo were particularly fond of clothing, and near places like Zomba and Blantyre, many of them walked the streets dressed in robes.¹¹⁴⁹ Similarly, Ransford, describing the Yawo in 1966, wrote: Even today, in their long white *khanzu* (robes/*mikanjo*) and red fezzes (*misuli*) or elaborately embroidered headdress/ skull-caps (*zikofiya* or *topi*), the Yawo stand out from the other people of the lake region. They have preserved a remarkable dignity; their Bantu brown eyes are a little lit by the wisdom of the Orient and a touch of arrogance remains in their demeanor. At the height of their power, they had to look even more striking. All of the early missionaries speak of their superior intelligence and physique. Yawo women were adept at dealing with the superman because they were tall, fleshy, and sensual to the last degree.¹¹⁵⁰ The description

¹¹⁴⁴ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 32. Also see Richard Gray (ed.). *The Cambridge History of Africa*, Vol. 4: C.1600- C. 1790, 1st Edition. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974/75) 11.

¹¹⁴⁵ John G. Pike. *Malawi: A Political and Economic History*. (London: Paul-Mall, 1958) 59.

¹¹⁴⁶ Roberts, *A History of Zambia* 110.

¹¹⁴⁷ Saulos Nyirenda. "History of the Tumbuka- Henga People". *Bantu Studies* (1931, 5:1). University of Witwatersrand 6.

¹¹⁴⁸ Ian Linden. "Mponda Mission Diary, 1889-1891: Daily Life in a Machinga Village". *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*. (1974, 7:2) 274; Also see Abdallah. *The Yaos* 30.

¹¹⁴⁹ H. L. Duff. *Nyasaland Under the Foreign Office*, 1st Edition. (London: George Bell and sons, 1903) 214.

¹¹⁵⁰ Oliver Ransford. *Livingstone's Lake: The Drama of Nyasa*. (London, 1966) 41.

of the Yawo in this way does not end there. Another comment Johnston made in 1898 about Yawo women at the time was this:

Johnston observed that not only is it exceptionally rare to see a Yawo uncovered, but both males and females have the greatest aversion to exposing themselves, even to a doctor's inspections. Yawo men now wear a cloth around their waist that reaches almost everywhere up to the knee.¹¹⁵¹

Recent reports from 2020 still show that many Yawo women do not feel comfortable being treated by a male gynecologist.¹¹⁵² Duff in 1903 also observed that Yawo women generally cover the upper part of their bodies down to the parting between the breasts.¹¹⁵³ Overall, Yawo men wore Muslim robes, while women wore bright decorated cotton robes or long wraparound dresses (*chirundu*).¹¹⁵⁴ Although it was noted that the Yawo wore clothing and resembled Arabs before the arrival of Europeans in the 1860s, an assumption emerges that between 1994 and 2004 was the period when Muslim clothing became more prevalent. It is alleged that from 1994 to 2004 when Bakili Muluzi, of the Yawo tribe, became president, then all of a sudden saw the building of the so numerous mosques even in areas where a mosque was not necessary and certainly his Yawo tribe and the Muslim clothing became more predominant.¹¹⁵⁵ However, studies suggest that wealthy and important Yawo kingdoms in the region arose in the 15th century when people engaged in the Arab trade, trading slaves and ivory for guns and clothing on the Southern African coast. Due to their trade links with the Arabs, Islam took root and spread among the Yawo. Natural fibre clothing rapidly gave way to Occidental-style clothing, and square houses replaced round huts.¹¹⁵⁶ Thus, the Yawo were the first to introduce cloth to Malawi, when the indigenous people wore animal skins, bark cloths, or nearly naked. This was after the Yawo started travelling from the eastern side of Lake Malawi to the Indian Ocean, as already mentioned above. Later cotton

¹¹⁵¹ Johnston, *British Central Africa* 419.

¹¹⁵² Mike Van Kamande. "Aisha Katita: Became doctor to beat the odds". In Editors Pick. The Big Interview. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 1 Novemebr, 2020.

¹¹⁵³ Duff. *Nyasaland Under the Foreign Office* 215.

¹¹⁵⁴ Harold D. Nelson et al. *Area Handbook for Malawi*. (Washington: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1975) 109.

¹¹⁵⁵ Nyasa times Reporter. "Lomwe becomes buzz word for Malawi's employment, business, 0/08/2009 <https://www.nyasatimes.com/lomwe-becomes-buzz-word-for-malawis-employment-business/> (Accessed August 3, 2022).

¹¹⁵⁶ See Steven L. Danver. *Native Peoples of the World: An Encyclopedia of Groups, Cultures and Contemporary Issues*. (Routledge, 2012).

fabrics were also produced in smaller quantities by Chewa artisans in the Mchinji-Kasungu districts and by Mambwe immigrants from the Lake Malawi-Tanganyika crossing, who settled in the Rukuru valley from the middle of the 19th century settled under the protection of the Ngoni.¹¹⁵⁷ Although Chewa cotton fabrics from the mid-nineteenth century began to be produced in the Mchinji-Kasungu region, Yawo merchants continued to supply and sell clothing around Bunda in Lilongwe, Mkanda in Mchinji, and Mwase Kasungu of Kasungu district. They went also to the Bisa and the Lunda of Mwata Kazembe in Zambia.¹¹⁵⁸

It was once the Yawo men who introduced different types of clothing everywhere. Since the 1990s, Yawo women have introduced the material known as *chitenje* to Durban. A *chitenje* is a one-and-a-half meter long, multifunctional piece of African print cotton fabric used for everything, from a baby carrier, pads or rags covering wounds. In general, most women in Malawi still wear traditional clothing. Along with western clothing such as skirts, blouses, dresses and trousers, Malawian women wrap their *chitenje* around their waists to hide their skirts or petticoats. Studies show that women in Malawi, under the Banda government (1964-1994), were forbidden to wear a dress that left their knees exposed, it was also illegal to wear a wig, trousers (short or long) and tight-fitting clothes. If they did not have appropriate clothes to wear, they were given the traditional *chitenje* for purchase.¹¹⁵⁹

Respondents indicate that by examining the material culture, Yawo women introduced the *chitenje*, a piece of cotton cloth that wraps around the waist, and create designs they call "African attire". They started selling *chitenje* in South Africa in the 1990s until now before other foreigners started bringing the materials from their country. Later, in the 2000s, the Chinese also started bringing their counterfeit *chitenje* to South Africa. Furthermore, the respondents observed that in years past, it was not common to see Zulu women wearing *chitenje* or dressing in African attire, apart from the fact that Zulu women only wore western clothing and traditional clothing called *isigege* (short skirts decorated with Zulu beads along the pleats). In the past, married women, in particular, wore a long black animal fur skirt called *isidwaba/isikhakaha*. The *isicholo* hat is a

¹¹⁵⁷ MacCracken. *A History of Malawi* 16.

¹¹⁵⁸ Roberts. *A History of Zambia* 110.

¹¹⁵⁹ David Kamtima Mzembe. *I Will Try: A Long Walk to Globalization: A true story of virtue, vision, courage, and perseverance*. (Xlibris, 2013) 233.

courteous status identification of a Zulu married woman.¹¹⁶⁰ Jameela, a respondent, says Zulu women have started wearing *chitenje* instead of what they used to wear, known as *ibhayi* in isiZulu. The Makhuwa of Chatsworth calls it *kisambi*. For Zulu women, African clothing is sewn by foreign nationals. Jameela adds, “It’s nice to see different cultures assimilate in Durban. That’s what we want, warm and friendly relations between us.” However, Jameelah points out that full assimilation into Zulu culture is difficult. She points out that there was indeed a law that prohibited women from wearing trousers or miniskirts in Malawi before the 1990s. Nowadays there is no national decree against panties and miniskirts, but religious and cultural expectations dictate that women wear long skirts. Most Malawian women always wear long skirts that cover their knees. But in South Africa, most women are used to short skirts or tight dresses and trouser.

Chewa and Yawo parents who enrol their children in public schools find it difficult to wear short skirts, which is common in South Africa. Muslim parents may want their daughters to be modestly dressed and fully covered. During the process of acculturation, Muslim girls employ various strategies to maintain their ethnic and religious identity and adopt the expectations of South African schools. Muslim girls are allowed to cover their hair and wear long clothes. Studies in Norway show that Muslim immigrant girls from Asia and the Middle East are adopting the anticipations of Norwegian schools. One ingenious resolution is for a girl to dress in a sports suit over a sari to suit the family and school.¹¹⁶¹

Additionally, young Zulu women show their breasts during the reed dance ceremony, which is contrary to Yawo culture. The Yawo do not like to show their breasts.¹¹⁶² Studies show that at the Reed Dance Festival young bare-breasted maidens dance before the Zulu King.¹¹⁶³ Even in the lake or the river, the Chewa and Yawo women cover the whole body. They generally do not swim in tight swimming costumes, but they wrap their bodies with *chitenje* while swimming in the river or on the lake. However, Jameelah says some Yawo women breach their skin and wear tight clothing in order to be adopted and assimilated into South African society. These women have

¹¹⁶⁰ Gregory Mthembu-Salter. *Wanted Dead and Alive: The Case for South Africa's Cattle*. (Cape Town: Face2 Face, 2019) 30.

¹¹⁶¹ Leonore Loeb Adler, Uwe Peter Gielen (eds.). *Migration: Immigrant and Emigration in International Perspective*. (Wesport: Praeger, 2003) 213.

¹¹⁶² Duff. *Nyasaland Under the Foreign Office* 215.

¹¹⁶³ Merril D. Smith. *Cultural Encyclopedia of the Breast*. (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014) 8.

stopped wearing the hijab. They can be seen parading around the city without showing any Islamic identity. In this case, some believe that breaching their skin and wearing tight-fitting clothing is a way to negotiate their identity and belonging to South Africa. American studies also indicate that immigrant women who came to the United States have gradually adopted American attire. This shows the acclimatisation of culture that comes from religious belief or acculturation.¹¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, Jameelah says that some Yawo immigrant women don't even respond to an Islamic greeting *Asalam Alaykum* but instead use expressions like *bho* (a word derived from *bom* (good) in Portuguese). But most Chewa women maintain an Islamic culture by wearing the hijab. The difference between the two ethnic groups in Malawi is that Yawo women consider Islam as the religion of their tribe. Therefore, Islam in Malawi is equated with the Yawo people and any Yawo person with a Yawo name, such as the name Sigele (the remnant) or Angala (the crab), is identified as Muslim by the other ethnic groups in Malawi. While the Chewa, a Muslim minority in Malawi, adhere to the teachings of Islam to show that Islam is not just for the Yawo people but rather is a universal religion.

The accounts above show that the food we eat has an impact on our daily lives just like the types of clothes we wear. The food we eat represents many societal strata. People may believe that others are inferior to them based on what they prepare and consume. Food has the ability to unite people, divide them, and even discriminate against some people based on their race. Cultural fusion between various ethnic groups may also be engaged. Cultural identity can be forged through clothing, cultural associations, and food. This process is in play here. Thus, food and clothing reflect on the Chewa and Yawo cultural identity on the migration process. As a result, the Yawo and Chewa women have introduced the Zulu to the practice of eating tilapia fish instead of hakes or tinned fish. On the one other hand, they have been introduced to a non-material culture which includes the isiZulu language and morals. However, they have failed to assimilate fully into the Zulu way of life due to Islamic teachings which prescribe that women should be fully clothed and the whole body should be washed with pure water and not only wiped off as will be seen below. On the other hand, the Chewa and Yawo immigrants are far too few in number to establish cultural

¹¹⁶⁴ Baker Ahmad Alserhan, Veland Ramadani and Jusuf Zeqiri (eds.). *Strategic Islamic marketing: A Roadmap for Engaging Muslim Consumers*. (Cham: Springer, 2022) 261.

exclusivity. They are unable to properly impose their culture on the majority. Thus, they are unable to properly integrate their culture with the majority.

Housing

According to Djajić, the areas where immigrants live and the quality of housing often differ significantly from the ordinary citizen of the host country. Several rationales can be attributed to this. Disparities in income and wealth between indigenous and immigrant peoples mean different choices.¹¹⁶⁵ Due to housing shortages, some Chewa and Yawo immigrant women rent rooms in informal settlements (*mijondolo*). They have adopted *mijondolo*, although they are generally exposed to xenophobic sentiments on a daily basis. As Djajić pointed out, immigrants usually focus on the geographic position of the host country, where they can take advantage of established ethnic networks. On the other hand, the housing choices of immigrants may be influenced by the discriminatory tendencies of indigenous peoples.¹¹⁶⁶ In many cases, Chewa and Yawo women are also fleeing their rented accommodation in the townships such as Kwamashu or Umlazi due to discrimination. For example, if they rent a house under the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), some locals perceive it as foreigners buying RDP houses in South Africa. Some indigenous people will attack anyone who is renting an RDP house and try to occupy it. After being attacked in the mentioned townships, they move to the slums (*mijondolo*) of Burnwood, Kennedy, Kenville, Sparks, Foreman and other informal settlements around Durban. Here they cannot fully adapt to the new environment, which lacks sanitation. There are also no proper toilets in *mijondolo*. A person has to urinate in a bucket. Thus, there are no appropriate spaces for ablution. The space in *mijondolo* is narrow. People wipe their bodies instead of bathing (clean or dry the body by wiping with a cloth-*indwangu yokusula umzimba* in isiZulu language). Some Zulu women cleanse their bodies in front of their children, regardless of age and gender.

Amina, a respondent, says that immigrant women from Malawi are not used to wiping their bodies and washing themselves in the presence of their children. Culturally, it is taboo for children to see their parents naked. In Malawi, a child after puberty is not allowed to enter his/her parent's room,

¹¹⁶⁵ Slobodan Djajić. "Assimilation of Immigrants: Implications for Human Capital Accumulation of the Second Generation". *Journal of Population Economics*. (Nov., 2003, 16: 4) 837.

¹¹⁶⁶ Djajić. "Assimilation of Immigrants" 837.

and in Yawo areas children use separate bathrooms and toilets. Additionally, Amina says that islamically, the whole body should receive enough water to show that one has taken a *ghusl* (a ritual bathing of the entire body after sexy, erotic dreams, delivery, and menses, as decreed by Islamic law, should be done in preparing for worship/ reverence and supplication). *Mijondolos* are marked by an absence of basic services, inadequate garbage management, congestion, and contamination. These features adversely affect the atmosphere and threaten the lives of its residents. Consequently, poor personal hygiene and contaminated ditches are common in most *mijondolo*.

Another respondent, Ambulule, concurs with Amina and states:

Adopting the Zulu lifestyle is difficult because Chewa and Yawo women are not used to bathing in a small room with a bucket of 2 or 3 litres of water. Most Zulu women living in slums or in the countryside clean their bodies with small items of clothing (*indwangu yokusula/yokugeza* in the isiZulu language). Islam states that a Muslim must completely wash her whole body (*ghusl*) in ritually clean water and not dry it as some Zulu women do.¹¹⁶⁷

Djajić argues that housing choice influences not only the quality and quantity of housing accessible to immigrant families, but also opportunities for trade, schooling, consumption, and leisure, as well as opportunities to interact with local residents.¹¹⁶⁸ Therefore, in some cases, Chewa and Yawo women choose to live in areas of Islamic culture in order to have opportunities to socialise with other Muslims. However, respondents indicate that renting houses in these areas is not easy. Small rooms are charged at high prices in Indian places. Sometimes a room of 3.5 meters by 4.5 meters costs from R1500 to R2500. And landlords increase rent every four months. Strict rules are shown to the tenant that impinges the rights of immigrant women who rent small rooms. For example, no visitors are allowed, a guest who visits during the day must pay R20 and if the visitor spends a night in the room, R50 must be paid to the landlord. The clothes should be washed twice a month. And the blankets should be washed four times a year. The gate closes at 7 pm. In this way, adapting to the Indian culture may prove to be a difficult task, since in many cases the

¹¹⁶⁷ Interview with Ambulele, Savannah Park (9 August, 2020).

¹¹⁶⁸ Djajić. "Assimilation of Immigrants" 837.

relationship is between an employee and an employer who display discriminatory tendencies, irrespective of whether or not both of the parties are of the same religion.

The participant's recollections above show that, like the food we eat, houses are an integral component of culture and have emotional importance that transcends the confines of any particular home. The way a house is built and furnished says something about the culture of the ethnic group who lives there; it may be a secluded, cozy location or erected in an unhealthy environment as an outpost of the neighbourhood. It may feel solitary or warm. It may demonstrate the wealth and character of others. People who live in *mijondolos* are frequently seen as being less fortunate and less important than those who reside in suburbs. Even worse service delivery can be found in the suburbs than in the slums. Housing patterns can reveal racial inequality and bias. For example, a property manager may charge immigrants a higher security deposit or rent than natives or people of other races. In rare circumstances, a female immigrant and her family risk eviction from their house because she refused the landlord's solicitations for sexual favours while he was stalking her. The landlord refuses to rent the house to the immigrant since she is not wanted in the country. In this scenario, the house is a cultural unit of space; it is a dwelling that reflects cultural beliefs and customs in its shape and spatial layout, reflecting cultural assimilations among individuals who live close to one another. At the same time, Chewa and Yawo *mijondolo* residences are only a "survival mechanism" for fleeing abusive landlords and pricey homes in the Townships and suburbs. *Mijondolo* houses, on the other hand, are frequently unclean and hazardous. Because a person's happiness and suffering are affected by their home throughout their lives, South Africa's high housing demand is a source of resentment toward foreigners who rent RDP homes.

The Chewa and Yawo women who are unable to adopt the Zulu practice of "body wiping" are saddened by the rental of *mijondolo* with subpar health. Additionally, the poor levels of hygienic standards and high levels of insecurity in the slums make them miserable rather than happy. Due to the high rents in the nearby townships and the city, it may appear that the Chewa and Yawo women are merely using *mijondolo* as a "survival mechanism," but it is important to realize that 'material culture' such as photographs, cash, books, tools, jewelry, toothbrushes, utensils, clothing, weapons, art, machines, and ornaments can be found in the homes. Cultures have an impact on where we live. Clothing, cultural associations, housing, and cuisine all have a role in the

establishment of cultural identity. A good home provides safety. Violence and sexual abuse are less likely to adversely affect women and children living in a good setting with good housing than *mijondolo*. When creating their living spaces, people from many cultures change and adapt to their sociocultural needs. The more dangerous the environment in terms of security, dwelling types, and costs, the more difficult it is for Chewa and Yawo women immigrants to adapt to South African black township cultures.

Therefore, as mentioned above, the sense of belonging to Indian places, black townships and slums are not always easy. In all of these spaces, Chewa and Yawo women face assimilation challenges because they are not really welcomed. Surviving in the diaspora is always difficult and requires survival strategies of changing locations from time to time once faced with problems in a particular area.

Solidarity

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Malawi is often referred to as the "Warm Heart of Africa" due to its people's friendliness and warmth.¹¹⁶⁹ Malawians generally live with their extended families in houses or huts clustered in villages. For example, the Yawo live in small villages built along roads or paths.¹¹⁷⁰ Studies show that there are two types of Yawo villages: large, persistent villages with outer sections (*musi*) and smaller, segmented villages (*kamusi*).¹¹⁷¹ Mitchel observed that a village in Changali was marked with 217 huts.¹¹⁷² And also in other villages, there was a large concentration of more than 500 huts.¹¹⁷³ Chewa villages range in size from around 40 to over 200 huts, with an average village of around 60 huts.¹¹⁷⁴

¹¹⁶⁹ Ajay Mittal. Malawi: "The Warm Heart of Arica" in Crisis: An economic development report" (2008) 3; See also Gloria Caldwell. *The Warm Heart of Africa: A Volunteer's Journal*. (Pittsburgh: Dorrance, 2019).

¹¹⁷⁰ Max Gluckman (ed). *The Allocation of Responsibility*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1927) 32.

¹¹⁷¹ Gluckman, *The Allocation of Responsibility* 32.

¹¹⁷² James Clyde Mitchell. *The Yao Village: A study in the Social structure of A Nyasaland Tribe*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956/1966) 40.

¹¹⁷³ Mitchell. *The Yao Village* 110.

¹¹⁷⁴ Frederick M. Okatcha. "Modern Psychology and Cultural Adaptation: Proceedings of the Second Pan-African Conference on Psychology". December 29th, 1975-January 2nd, 197. (Swahili Language Consultants and Publishers, 1977) 185.

Most of the Yawo villages are linear settlements. The four square or rectangular houses are well built and clean. The Yawo were the first people to introduce square or elongated houses in Malawi. Bell in 1894, observed that in Yawo villages many of the houses are square or oblong in shape, reflecting the coastal influence. However, the Mang'anja (Chewa) builds softer huts and all are round houses.¹¹⁷⁵ Until now, most Chewa houses are round with a few rectangular houses. Both the Chewa and the Yawo live under the direction of traditional village headmen (*mfumu ya mudzi/ mwenye*), who are also subordinate to a traditional authority (*mfumu ya mzinda/asyene chilambo*). Village headmen, like chiefs, follow a matrilineal process, with the office of the incoming chief generally going to the eldest son of the eldest sister. When H. L. Duff asked the Yawo people in the colonial period, why successors to the main throne were chosen or selected and appointed only from among the children of their own sisters, the answer he received was: "The distinguished sons of a man," they argue, "may not really be his children at all; but his sister's descendants must surely have some of the family blood in their veins."¹¹⁷⁶ Thus, a child in a family may have been conceived by someone else known only to her and remains her secret, not revealed to others if she so wishes.

What can be seen above is that both Chewa and Yawo live in villages under a chieftain. Respondents state that the culture of having a leader is integrated in South Africa. Most of the respondents live together in rented houses. In those houses, they choose a leader who resolves disputes between Malawians. Despite religious tensions and conflicts that occasionally exist in Malawi, Muslim and Christian Malawians in South Africa transcend their differences to build a pan-Malawian identity under the guidance of a specific leader. They may seek counsel from a religious leader on family and spiritual concerns on occasion. Consider what Vawda stated in 2010: Those Malawians who live in Mariannahill are all Muslims, mostly Yawo. They are all Malawian Muslims who live in the same area and have their own Sheikh, mosque, and madressa, or Quranic School. Residents in the neighborhood, known collectively as the Greyvillea Muslim Association, feel a sense of responsibility and cooperation for the community's welcoming of Malawian

¹¹⁷⁵ John Bell. *British Central Africa Gazette*. (May 23, 1894, 1:7) 1.

¹¹⁷⁶ Duff. *Nyasaland Under the Foreign Office* 324-25.

immigration. However, the onus of providing shelter, first sustenance, and directing immigrants to those who can help them find work ultimately falls on the immigrant and his or her hosts.¹¹⁷⁷

During parties, weddings and funerals, it is the Malawian Sheikh or the brock leader who plans and organizes the function. The leader will also inform the Zulu neighbours of his role in the Malawi community. For example, Chewa or Yawo brock leaders will explain to Zulu neighbours that most husbands and wives in Malawi do not hold hands, kiss, or hug in public. Contrary to South African culture, it is absolutely tolerable for men and women to hold hands or touch each other in public. Amina, a respondent says, married couples are rarely seen holding or kissing in public in Malawi. But in South Africa, Chewa and Yawo women have adopted the culture of holding hands as they walk the streets of Durban.

A collaborative spirit that prevailed as family members in Malawi, where they shared both labour and resources, is somehow fading in South Africa. For example, Asawilunda spoke of the family unit and how the members cared about each other:

The spirit of *umundu* (human care and kindness) was fundamental in sharing what one possessed. The idea that a person is a person through other people is very important in our culture. We further say that *chindu chala* literally means that a person will never know a new direction unless someone stands up and shows him the way by pointing his finger. This is an African philosophy that teaches us a spirit of sharing. Humanity towards others is essential in generosity, community life, health systems, and compassion. People worked together for the good of all in our community (*chidyerano / chipelegani / hijawo*). We are now poor because we have lost the spirit of *umundu*. It seems that capitalism has taken centre stage and we have lost our culture of *umundu*. With the spirit of *umundu*, no one can sleep on an empty stomach and we cannot have orphanages in our countries. The orphans are cared for by their uncles and brothers. Something is missing in our human kindness. The bond of sharing between Africans that unites humanity is losing ground. This African philosophy is very old in our tribe.¹¹⁷⁸

¹¹⁷⁷ Vawda. "Migration and Muslim Identities: Malawians and Senegalese Muslims in Durban, South Africa" 14.

¹¹⁷⁸ Interview with Asawilunda, Newlands West (12 August, 2020).

Respondents have reflections on how women used to eat together (*kumatuli*) and males eat together (*kunganya*). There was nothing comparable to the lower or upper class of the population. All these things are on the decline among the Yawo and Chewa people in Malawi and South Africa. They treated neighbours with respect. The culture of violence is less in Malawi. Additionally, the respondents also noted that Chewa or Yawo men are not united. For example, during the colonial period up to the 1990s, Malawian men immigrated in large numbers. But due to a disagreement, they were unable to open businesses in Durban. Had they been united and remained united like women, Malawian men would have been the first foreigners in Durban to open large businesses. What is known as Stokvel in South Africa was then known as *Chidyerano* or *Chipelegani* in Malawi. *Chidyerano* among Malawians declined due to division and capitalism. Today there are many Somalis and Ethiopians who have recently come to Durban, but they have many shops in the streets of Durban because they utilize *Chidyerano*. Therefore, Somalis and Ethiopians are more united than Malawian immigrants.

Amina remembers eating together as a family, especially *ugali* with fish and vegetables mixed with peanut flour. Fruits such as papayas, and mangoes were not being sold to travellers or visitors at that time. They were distributed for free in their villages and their parents placed a clay pot full of cold water along the path for thirsty travellers to drink. They ate together in a large family; sisters, brothers, nephews, nieces, uncles, and cousins. Nowadays families in Malawi eat separately, now they are westernized. In Durban, a number of Chewa and Yawo women are always clustered together, but they don't eat collectively. It is only during Muslim gatherings, weddings, and Eid when they get together and eat jointly.

Abdallah in 1919 argued that Yawo traditions still speak of these times of peace. When foreigners came to a village, did they have to pay for food? No, it was given to them for free. Immediately, on learning that a stranger was standing at his door, a man rejoiced and said, Truly, I have at my door the plant of hospitality which brings visitors.¹¹⁷⁹ Mandala's study shows that members of Malawi's matrilineal societies no longer appear to eat jointly, regardless of age group or gender.

¹¹⁷⁹ Basil Davidson. *The Growth of African Civilisation East Central Africa to the Nineteenth Century*. (Singapore: Longman, 1973) 188.

He illustrates it as the "end of *chidyerano*" (eating collectively).¹¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, studies show that *chidyerano*, the village's communal meal, has disappeared. In some regions in Malawi, it has been 20, 30, and sometimes 40 years since this custom was no longer practiced.¹¹⁸¹

Respondents argue that their parents growing up in those days were better than living today. They knew good manners from a tender age. They did not have cellphones, televisions, or the internet which has contributed to moral decline. Some children born in South Africa do not respect their parents because they think they know everything about this world. Besides, that fact some children born in South Africa do not respect their parents, Zione, a respondent, says that respect and courtesy are also highly valued by the Chewa and Yawo, who are taught in each generation during the initiation process (*chinamwali/unyago*). Manners and respect are very important to Chewa and Yawo and are taught to children from an early age. In addition, Amina says greetings are important, many children in Malawi have learned to kneel out of respect when greeting adults. Therefore, children often kneel or bow to show respect. But a parent living in South Africa cannot expect their children to bow or kneel to greet their parents or strangers. Chewa and Yawo women immigrants have adopted a South African culture that allows them to speak with their parents while standing. But even in South Africa, children used to bow or kneel when greeting the elderly. But today South Africans have also adopted the Western culture of not bowing or kneeling.

When Swahili culture was fully embraced; the Yawo bowed before greeting the elders by saying *mashikamu*. This form of address applied to very important people and for less important people the form of address was *subaheri*. In response, the elders said *marahab* to the former and *lakheri* to the latter. This was also in progress in the rural parts of Malawi where the Yawo live. Amina further points out, that according to appropriate cultural habits; a regular greeting from Malawi would be a good handshake. In many cases among the Chewa and Yawo, the host is the one who starts the compliments. Visitors, therefore, expect the host to begin with greetings and dialogue. After the opening greeting, a more formal and thorough greeting is interchanged. The host requests information about the guest's travel, health, family, and last undertakings. Males sometimes bow

¹¹⁸⁰ See Elias Coutinho Mandala. *The End of Chidyerano: A History of Food and Everyday Life in Malawi, 1860-2004*. (ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2005).

¹¹⁸¹ See Matthias Rompel and Reimer Gronemeyer (eds.). *Malawi: Economy, Society and Political Affairs*. (London: Zed Books, 2020).

moderately when greeting each other and females commonly bow slightly or occasionally kneel when greeting a seated person. While it is a proper cultural custom to greet someone with the right handshake, Muslim women are not allowed to shake the hand of a male stranger who is not related to them.

Respondents also indicated that they have adopted a culture of informing the host of the planned visit. This goes against their culture of unexpected or unanticipated visits, which is particularly regular in Malawi, and it is also common for the guest to bring a small gift (*mphatso*) to the host. Sharing gifts also strengthened the bond between Chewa and Yawo Muslims. They have assimilated the culture of the stokvel where women constantly contribute an approved amount and acquire a lump sum. Through Islamic women's groups, stokvel members have the opportunity to mingle or socialise with friends and deliberate other issues, such as how to deal with domestic violence and open small-scale businesses. Hence, Stokvel offers women the chance to go out with friends and discuss a range of issues related to their life in South Africa. It offers a sense of belonging to South Africa. Amina says, instead of sharing a common savings goal, like buying groceries, weddings, assisting a child to pay lobola, taking vacations, furniture, tombstones, cultural rituals, or investing in real estate as South African women do in their stokvel, Chewa immigrant women can band together and save in a stokvel so that they can buy land to cultivate in their country. On the other hand, Yawo immigrant women in Stokvel can save money to buy corrugated sheets for their rectangular houses at home.

The respondents' recollections show that the Chewa and Yawo villagers worked the land or fetched water for their families (*chipelegani/chidyerano*). But that culture is dead now. On the other hand, some Malawians still maintain the tradition of hospitality. Furthermore, the interviewees affirm that the tradition of hospitality, friendship and courtesy permeates the country and justifies the affirmation of the "warm heart of Africa". In general, Malawians are considered to be friendly, polite and hardworking. However, some Chewa and Yawo immigrants in South Africa do not appreciate kindness, courtesy and hospitality. They are arrogant just because they are in South Africa. These memories are important, although we must remember that memories are often nostalgic and the past usually feels much brighter than it certainly was. As Ritchie points out, discontent or displeasure with the current environment makes the past so much better, and people's

mere survival can convince them that troubled times weren't all that bad.¹¹⁸² Respondents in this study so far are aware of the negative aspects of their society and desire order, respect for the elderly, unity, continuity, and tight-knit communities that follow the *ubuntu* philosophy (*umuntu/umundu*).

Name Change

Traditionally when babies are born, their grandparents, parents or relatives often name them after the emotions the parents experience after birth, so many children named Zione "had problems/had seen it" and Alinafe "He is with us", Madalitso "blessings ", Sigele "the remnant". ', Asawilunda "the wisdom of the witch" and a few with names like Akwete ligongo "they have reasons".

Before Chewa and Yawo embraced Islam in the 19th century, they retained proper Chewa and Yawo names. After converting to Islam, they took Islamic and Arabic names. Later, when Christian missionaries arrived in the 1860s, Muslims who wished to attend Christian schools chose to change their name to be admitted to that particular school. With this in mind, some Chewa and Yawo immigrant women may adopt a particular coping strategy. These strategies include renaming names, especially adopting Christian names when the original name indicates a Muslim origin. The reason for this strategy is that they want to work in a Christian environment. This was particularly noticed among many women working in White suburbs in Durban. Maryam's original Islamic name will be Mary. This renaming strategy has also been noted among Malawian Christian women in South Africa working for Muslim families. They changed their Christian names to Islamic names, for example, Mary became Maryam, and dress codes also changed to suit an Islamic environment.

Studies in Europe show that Muslim immigrant women use name-changing strategies, particularly by adopting Christian names whereas the original shows a Muslim origin.¹¹⁸³ Some of the Chewa and Yawo immigrant women say that in some cases they give their children Zulu names. For example, Amina said that the name Thokozani (rejoice) is a Zulu name that is also common among the Chewa of Malawi.

¹¹⁸² Ritchie. *Doing Oral History* 19.

¹¹⁸³ Tuomas Martikainen, José Mapril and Adil Hussain Khan (ed.). *Muslims at the Margins of Europe: Finland, Greece, Ireland and Portugal*. (Leiden: Brill, 2019) 205.

Furthermore, the Chewa and Yawo, who have children in South Africa, impose a South African way of life on their parents in order to acquire a certain social recognition and ensure certain integration, which is not easy for the elderly parents. Unlike their parents, children born and raised in South Africa have completely internalised the South African language and culture, which may impact their transnational practices as they attempt to fully integrate into their home country (although they do not have a birth certificate or recognised citizenship), indeed they live as mediators between two cultures. Other Chewa and Yawo parents also want to maintain their Malawian cultural standards by leaving their young children with other Malawian immigrant women. Studies also show that Pakistani women who immigrated to the United States also want to keep their cultural customs from Pakistan. They bring up their offspring with other Pakistani migrant families for the reason that they worry that their children will embrace the Western moral code.¹¹⁸⁴

Assimilation and Survival

With the gradual increase in the number of immigrant women in South Africa, jobs are also becoming scarce. As mentioned in Chapter 4, unemployment is another major barrier to immigration for Chewa and Yawo Muslim immigrant women. Jameela, 50 years old from Mangochi is a vendor. When she arrived in 2009, she faced many obstacles to find a job because she did not speak Isizulu. Eventually, she started going to Malawi, taking agricultural products such as white rice, brown beans and bits of cloth (*zitenje*) with her. The difficulty of finding a job taught Jameelah new strategies for earning money. She says that when she was doing nothing, it was her husband who did everything for her, which means she was dependent on him financially and emotionally. However, things changed after she adopted the isiZulu language. After adopting IsiZulu, she became fluent and communicated well with Zulu customers. She became self-employed. Her husband now depends on her. She now has a voice.

¹¹⁸⁴ Dula F. Pacquiao and Marilyn "Marty" Douglas (ed.s). *Social Pathways to Health Vulnerability: Implications for Health Professionals*. (Cham: Springer, 2019) 87.

To meet the challenge of unemployment, many Chewa and Yawo immigrants have a survival strategy. They cook Malawi white rice porridge (*wuji*) and pap (*ugali*) with tilapia (*makumba*) in order to earn money. Some other women prepare *utobwa* (non-alcoholic liquid maize flour porridge) for sale, also known as *mahewu*. They employ Zulu women who sell *mahewu* to Malawians and the local people. By engaging in this type of business, the Chewa and Yawo women feel part of the community. Through cordial relationships with their Zulu workers, these Malawian women readily adopt isiZulu and speak it fluently than most Malawian men who fail to express themselves well in isiZulu.

A respondent was arrested during the sale of *utobwa*. She remembers someone calling the police because she thought she was selling traditional Zulu beer called *umqombothi*, but when the police found out it wasn't beer she was released. Other Chewa and Yawo women fry and sell *magwinya* (African fat cakes) on the streets of Durban early in the morning. However, they are chased by the city police. They also compete for places with the locals, who are now learning to sell various products on the streets. Jameelah states that some Chewa and Yawo women employ Zulu women to sell vegetables such as rape (*ndiwo za masamba a repu*), bean leaves (*kwanya/liponda lya mbwanda*), cassava (*chinangwa/yinangwa*) and cassava leaves (*chigwada/chisambula*), and sweet potato leaves (*kolowa/mtolilo*) They also sell products from Malawi, such as brown beans (*nyemba / mbwanda*), peanuts (*mtedza / mtesa*), dried small sardine-like fish (*usipa*), and *milamba* (catfish). Zulu employees sell the aforementioned products to foreigners and also to some Zulu who have adapted to Malawian food. Others employ Zulu women to sell new and used clothes in their townships. Reports also indicate that Malawian women sell second-hand goods at the Diepsloot market in Johannesburg.¹¹⁸⁵

Additionally, Amina says, she hired former homeless people known as *phara* (a word derived from parasites) to deliver food to Malawian and South African customers. She feels part of the Zulu community after rescuing the two women who slept on the streets of Durban. It is a way to create jobs and help the most disadvantaged. She goes on to say that if more foreigners can follow her example, the number of homeless women wandering the streets of Durban will decrease. Dealing with the poor homeless, Amina feels at home in the community as she assimilates into South

¹¹⁸⁵ Yufei Gao. "Analysis of Immigrant Employment in South Africa". *Theoretical Economics Letters*. (April, 12:2). <https://www.scirp.org/journal/paperinformation.aspx?paperid=116577> (Accessed July 21, 2022).

African culture. She further states that she has learned a lot from her workers.¹¹⁸⁶ In contrast, Chewa Muslim women have to some extent completed high school compared to many Yawo Muslim women who have dropped out of school. Although illiterate, Yawo women strive to work hard in Durban. Some are independent tailors who employ other Malawians and South Africans.

The memories of Amina and other women illuminate that on the one hand, the Chewa and Yawo immigrant women are always thought to be victims of abuse, racism, xenophobia, stigmatisation, victimisation, and exploitation in the immigration process; on the other hand, the respondents in this study presented the idea of having freedom of choice. Despite the difficulties they face, they somehow manage to use their circumstances to survive and integrate into their new environment. Sometimes they survive by creating jobs and helping the local population, which helps them learn languages easily and become more aware of the looming xenophobic violence. For example, if good South African women inform them of impending xenophobic attacks, they will immediately leave the unstable township and settle somewhere until the situation stabilizes. In the new settlement, they start selling various goods and agricultural products such as clothes, vegetables, and cassavas to earn a living. Therefore, the Chewa and Yawo immigrant women are not only victims; they also have strategic advantages over the local population. They adapt easily to situations. A kind of class interbreeds between the Chewa and Yawo women immigrants in South Africa are evident because they lead two changeable social lives. They have a low social status in the host country, whereas in Malawi they are valued because they have moved to South Africa. This is the case of Tikhale who works as a maid in Durban but once back in Malawi her position will become a landlord since she will, in turn, be able to hire other people to work on her farm. Additionally, Jameelah, who sells various goods on the streets of Durban, in Malawi, is a mistress who hires men to driver her two minibuses. Migration improves the social status of migrant women because they live between two cultures in a transnational environment.

Organizations

Chewa and Yawo interviewed in this study proved to be well organized. This is what one might call a Malawian diaspora identity. The 30 respondents indicated that they do not really know how many women live in Durban, but noted that there are quite a few Malawians living in this city.

¹¹⁸⁶ Phara: A term used to describe an addict who is often a threat to society through criminal activity. This expression is mostly used in the Zulu and Xhosa communities.

They keep in touch with other Malawians through Dawa outreach (preaching/ the proselytising of Islam). Amina pointed out: There are lessons on the recitation of the Holy Quran that take place during Islamic meetings. The purpose of our programs is to remind each other of the basic principles of Islam. They also teach each other about the dangers of HIV/AIDS and how to help those infected and affected. During the funeral, they communicate with each other and leave to comfort the family of the deceased. In Stokvel groups they serve money.

When they serve money in Stokvel groups, they later send the money home after amassing a sizable sum. Amina explains:

I think about my family back home; they are all unemployed and rely on me since they are aware that I am in South Africa, where Malawians amass wealth. To support my parents and my siblings, I must put in a lot of effort at work and send remittances of money. All I want is to put in a lot of effort so I can send some money home. The elderly parents look after my kids. Even in remote areas, people need money to purchase items like fertilizer, seeds, pesticides, bags for storing maize, clinic fees, transportation costs, school fees, just to name a few. Actually, it's difficult to say how much I send home. It is dependent on the nature of the work. For example, a self-employed lady will send more money than a domestic worker. A domestic worker's wage typically ranges between R1800 and R2000. Some women live in an informal settlement and must pay *mjondolo* rent of R500 or R600. If you do the math correctly, a lady who receives R2000 and pays R500 in rent will have R1500 left over. Consider the cost of transportation to and from work, as well as the monthly cost. What about food? It is clear from the remainder that some send R400 or R300 per month. I send R500 since I augment my income by selling vegetables and tomatoes at the place I rent. Some women send home R1000 each month, while others send R20, 000 after six months of earning Stokvels payments. My father, mother, two brothers, two cousins, and my two children all rely on me.

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Habiba explains:

We labour in order to give money to our relatives back home. Our meager salaries allow us to meet our fundamental demands. We do not buy food or goods to send home. We occasionally purchase construction supplies and transfer them to Malawi. Modern iron-sheeted dwellings are proliferating in Malawi these days. A handful of people are no longer sleeping in grass thatched dwellings. Malawian women are constructing rectangular dwellings out of iron sheets. Remittances from

¹¹⁸⁷ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

South Africa have aided Malawi's development. It is one of the financial inflows to Malawi. The Chewa and Yawo women are becoming increasingly important in the economies of South Africa and Malawi. They help Malawi's economy and the lives of their family. Families in Malawi can now afford to pay for school, excellent housing, water, power, and other amenities. In a local context, this indicates that women are not docile in the process of building Malawi. They send more monthly remittances than men while earning less. Men do a variety of things with their money. They urge each other not to waste their wages on frivolous items, and this encouragement is bolstered by a number of women Islamic organisations that they have founded in Durban. Some women do not send money via established remittance routes. Others believe that sending money through the post office, banks, or money transfer services is a waste of time because the fees are costly and it takes a long time to come home. In today's world, where people travel between countries on a daily basis, women prefer remittances to be made informally through border traders or family and friends. The drivers of the daily buses are also used to transfer money that will be delivered within two days. Using a variety of Forex Bureaus, that money is changed to Malawi Kwacha. That is, drivers and conductors are the ones who act as a channel for remittances. *Laughs...* A number of women do not keep their money in a bank. They prefer to send it home in cash via relatives, friends, and truck and bus drivers. Many of us do not have access to formal banking or other prominent banking services. To create a bank account, one must provide proof of residency as well as a 13-digit South African Identity green book or a passport with a valid visa. You are aware that some women rent rooms in Durban's slums without having a proper address. Other landowners refuse to let us use their addresses, and it is difficult to get a bank account in South Africa given the constraints described above.¹¹⁸⁸

Amina, on the other hand, disagrees with some of Habiba's assertions. Unlike Habiba, Amina claims:

We cannot open a bank account since we earn little income. We would have saved some of the money if we hadn't been given peanuts. Being an undocumented migrant has a detrimental impact on income, salaries, working conditions, and labour stability. We are paid extremely little, and some bosses tell us explicitly that we are undocumented immigrants whose labour is very cheap in comparison to South African labour. Surviving on low wages is not a simple case. Low salaries in South Africa make it difficult for women to save enough money to send home to their relatives. We do our best, however, to keep some money from the salaries.

¹¹⁸⁸ Interview with Habiba, Pinetown (10 Sept, 2020).

Although we do not have bank accounts, and only a few women have their own bank accounts, sending money through transporters, bus drivers, or conductors is becoming less common. Refrigerators, mattresses, music gadgets, blankets, phones, chairs, tables, TVs, Cup boards, utensils, stoves, ironsheets, iron doors, frames, iron window bars, and bags of clothes are among the items we ship with truck drivers or busses. Refrigerators are employed for commercial purposes in many metropolitan families; some are used to sell or store things such as cold beverages, plastic-wrapped water, ice rolls, and pops (fizzes) that are then sold to clients. Women occasionally build or rent homes that are used to broadcast live international sporting events, such as soccer or wrestling, or to screen films. Furthermore, instead of using clay pots to deliver water to their dwellings, 20-litre plastic buckets are used. Moreover, it is now possible to send money through legal methods, where Malawians with passports can register to make remittances. In Durban, for example, there are Mukuru or Hello Paissa agencies that offer options to send money to Malawi. Though the prices for sending money are slightly higher than on the black market, it is extremely safe to send money through them because the money is delivered within hours or days. Those ladies who continue to pay money through truck drivers, bus drivers, or conductors demonstrate that they are unaware of the services provided by Mukuru or Hellopaisa in Durban.¹¹⁸⁹

Participants' memories suggest that total remittances have an economic influence on the Malawian economy. According to 2022 research, 83 percent of Malawi's remittances originated from South Africa in 2018. Nyirongo is mentioned in the 2022 research. He stated the following: "There was never a war in Malawi, so most Malawian migrants enter South Africa illegally because the government refuses to grant refugee status," he explained. "The government has [also] refused to acknowledge that Malawians do experience hunger, even though there have been many periods of hunger in the country. So, without refugee status, most Malawians who go to South Africa work illegally. But now [with the decline in remittances] Malawi is badly affected. It is running out of foreign exchange. People cannot send money home [to Malawi]."¹¹⁹⁰

There was a decrease in remittances to Malawi between 2018 and 2020. The COVID 19 outbreak exacerbated this issue because many Malawians employed in South Africa lost their employment and were unable to make rent payments or transfer money home. However, by 2021, *The Daily Times* of Malawi stated that: As the world economy began to open up, the World Bank had

¹¹⁸⁹ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

¹¹⁹⁰ See Ron Nerio and Jean Halley. *The Roads to Hillbrow: Making Life in South African's Community of Migrants*. (Fordham University Pres, 2022)

claimed, remittances from Malawians in the diaspora increased by 55 percent in the first nine months of 2021 as compared to the same time in 2020. Remittances occur when migrants send a portion of their earnings to their families in the form of money or products. In its 14th Malawi Economic Monitor (Mem), issued that month, the bank reported that remittances totaled \$217 million between January 2020 and September 2020. "On an annual basis, this could amount to 2.4% of GDP, enough to cover 20% of the trade deficit or 10% of total imports." "South Africa is the main source of remittances," according to the Mem, "with economic growth expected to reach 5% in 2021."¹¹⁹¹

Although remittances have grown dramatically in recent years and are now the main source of foreign income for many developing economies, as mentioned above, the largest source of remittances is South Africa, and women use various ways to send money to Malawi. However, some study participants claimed that it is costly to send money through registered or money transfer agents since their rates are higher than the rates on the black market. In this scenario, some women employ the services of others to transport money to Malawi. It was discovered that the cost of sending remittances to African countries, particularly Malawi, is one of the highest in the world. People who send \$200 (about K164, 000) to Sub-Saharan African countries pay an estimated 8.9 percent of the transaction value, or roughly \$18 (approximately K15, 000).¹¹⁹²

According to World Bank data, the flow of remittances to low and middle-income countries, including Malawi, has climbed by 4.9 percent to \$626 billion (approximately K750 trillion) in 2022. According to the most recent World Bank Migration and Development Brief, this is an increase from \$595 million (about K618 billion) in 2021. The announcement follows on the heels of a Reserve Bank of Malawi study released earlier in 2022, which revealed that remittances to Malawi are increasing, climbing to \$97 million (about K100 billion) between January and April 2022. Over the same time period in 2021, remittances were anticipated to total \$88 million (about K91 billion). In 2021, remittance inflows averaged \$25 million (approximately K26 billion) per month, a new high. Malawi is receiving significant sums of remittances for the first time, with a monthly average of \$13 million (or K13.4 billion) in 2021. This pattern continued in the first four

¹¹⁹¹ Taonga Sabola. "Remittances up 55 percent in 2021". Times Reporter. *The Daily Times*. (Malawi), 23 December, 2021.

¹¹⁹² Sabola. "Remittances up 55 percent in 2021"

months of 2022, with monthly inflows of \$21 million (or roughly K22 billion) offset by outflows of \$16 million (or roughly K16.5 billion).¹¹⁹³

The above-mentioned participant experiences, studies, and reports show that further deportations of Malawians or restrictions on their ability to work in South Africa will have an impact on Malawi's economy, as the country will run out of foreign currency. Although tobacco firms, donor inflows, foreign direct investments, foreign exchange bureaus and the sale of tea, sugar, and pulses, fish exports are the main sources of foreign cash in Malawi, remittances continue to play a part in the country's foreign currency influx. Tourism, manufacturing, and mining are still not being used to their full potential and only produced a small amount of foreign currency. Because remittances have a financial impact on the Malawian economy, African governments, particularly Malawian governments, must assist immigrants and their families by developing policies that make it easier for them to send and receive remittances (money) from expatriates or members of diaspora communities back to their home countries.¹¹⁹⁴

The Data on remittances from the Reserve Bank of Malawi reveal that \$214.1 million (or about K166.6 billion) in personal remittances were sent to Malawi in 2020, down from the \$265.7 million (or about K158.9 billion) received in 2019.¹¹⁹⁵ Thus, remittances have a significant total economic influence on the Malawian economy, and Chewa and Yawo women immigrants support Malawi's development.

The Chewa and Yawo send money to Malawi on a regular basis, depending on the type of work they do, but some of the money they save is used to sustain them during religious or cultural holidays. Chewa and Yawo wear in traditional clothes during Eid and wedding days. They also cook for themselves as well as their Zulu neighbors. As previously stated, the Chatsworth Makhuwa people's recent learning to offer newlyweds with money gifts is a perfect example.

Dawa outreach initiatives therefore give them a forum to talk about a variety of pertinent issues pertaining to their life in South Africa and how to adapt Malawian culture into South African

¹¹⁹³ Sabola. "Remittances up 55 percent in 2021"

¹¹⁹⁴ Sabola. "Remittances up 55 percent in 2021"

¹¹⁹⁵ Sabola. "Remittances up 55 percent in 2021"

customs in various ways. The fact that they lead "bifocal" lives—living both here and there—has led to cross-border interactions between people residing in various national communities. This will be discussed further below. They create and maintain a range of cross-border connections, including those that are familial, business-related, organisational, religious, and political. They take part in behaviours, decisions, fears, identity formation, and connections to two or more societies simultaneously through social networks that either serve to maintain certain ideas, beliefs, and cultures or cause them to disappear.

In general, migration activities always result in the creation of cross-border social contacts between groups living in different national communities. Transnational social relationships and spaces involve the exchange of resources, such as sending money or other items, in addition to frequent phone calls, sending movies, or sharing social media spaces on Facebook or Instagram. As a result, rather than being concentrated in a single location, daily life is dispersed over multiple locations and international borders.¹¹⁹⁶

Living "bifocal" Lives: Here in South Africa and there in Malawi

Chewa and Yawo women immigrants are "bifocal" immigrants, creating unique experiences through transnationalism, a process of creating social networks between their origin and new country of residence.¹¹⁹⁷ Transmigrants form cross-border relationships, engage in behaviours, choices, and identities through social networks, connecting to multiple societies.¹¹⁹⁸ Bifocality refers to migrants observing the world through multiple perspectives, experiencing a sense of belonging in both their home and host countries, blurring the line between familiar and foreign.¹¹⁹⁹

Chewa and Yawo women immigrants face language barriers, employment challenges, housing, medical services, cultural differences, and xenophobia, but assimilate into South Africa society

¹¹⁹⁶ Ludger Pries. "Transnationalism". In Peter Scholten (ed). *Introduction to Migrant Studies: An Interactive Guide to the Literatures of Migration and Diversity*. (Springer, 2022) 243.

¹¹⁹⁷ See Camilla Stevens. *Aqui and Alla: Transnational Dominican Theater*. (Pittsburg: University of Pittisburgh Press, 2019).

¹¹⁹⁸ See Camilla Stevens. *Aqui and Alla: Transnational Dominican Theater*. (Pittsburg: University of Pittisburgh Press, 2019).

¹¹⁹⁹ Anna Amelina, Kneth Horvath, and Bruno Meeurs (eds). *Anthropology of Migration and Social Transformation: European Perspectives*. (Cham: Springer, 2016) 238.

while remembering their home country. They live a 'bifocal' life, living in South Africa and Malawi, with some considering returning home, while their children were born in South Africa. Women visit Malawi annually or for years without returning to South Africa, depending on transportation funds. Old Malawian immigrants and newcomers form connections, fostering belonging and fresh perspectives in both countries, preserving their roots. Malawian newcomers discuss tribalism, nepotism, corruption, and undevelopment in the country, bringing new textile fabrics. They miss their elders, *chambo* (tilapia shirana) fish, and worry about having children with elderly relatives.

Respondents' memories reveal host reception is crucial for immigrants' absorption, as they become accustomed and similar over time, influencing both newcomers and locals in their new country.¹²⁰⁰ According to American studies, several areas of the country are rapidly shifting toward a majority-minority population. Native-born populations witness neighbourhood change brought about by immigrants and these experiences have an impact on how they deal with and make sense of the immigrant presence in their town.¹²⁰¹

Modern immigrants frequently cross borders, demonstrating their ability to engage in their countries of origin's social life after relocating. Both sending and receiving sites remain important in migrants' lives, with significant impacts on receiving communities through local groups, financial contributions, remittances, and political connections.

Chewa and Yawo experienced significant structural transformation, transitioning from poverty to affluence, employing Malawians and South Africans. Participants claimed Zulu women were hired in Durban for food sales, while in Malawi; they hired men for farm work and taxi driving. These memories reveal that structuralist paradigm views migration as a "flight from misery" due to corruption, nepotism, and poor governance in Malawi, which drove many individuals to flee the country and seek opportunities in South Africa and other countries.

¹²⁰⁰ George Ritzer and Wendy Wiedenhof Murphy (eds). *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Sociology*, Second Edition. (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell, 2020) 345.

¹²⁰¹ Ritzer. *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Sociology* 345.

As seen above, transnational practice highlights the impact of sending countries on immigrant-receiving communities, affecting beliefs, norms, and behaviour. Transnationalism challenges traditional assimilationist perspectives by promoting transnational relationships and activities, fostering dual identities among migrants oscillating between societies and cultures.¹²⁰²

Yawo and Chewa women's 'bifocal' lives impact international family life, influencing gender roles and family breadwinner roles. One of the respondents, Zione asserts that some women immigrated after divorce, leaving their children with ex-husbands, resulting in fathers taking responsibility for upbringing and aging parents also taking care of their children. Some women made the decision to relocate their kids to Durban to live with their mothers. These are the children that don't go to school because they lack the South African birth certificate that is required to enrol a child in a public school. Similarly to this, children born in South Africa to parents who are Malawians are not acknowledged as citizens of South Africa, and the government does not issue them a birth certificate proving that they were born in this nation.¹²⁰³ As a result, transmigrants face a number of migration-related challenges, such as a lack of job possibilities in their home countries, limited access to healthcare and education, and a desire to reunite with family members who have relocated elsewhere. These problems arise as a result of both choices and limitations. Furthermore, families face challenges in gaining access to healthcare and public schools for their children in the receiving country.

Habiba, a respondent, discusses the 'bifocal' lives of Yawo and Chewa women, affecting transnational family life. She claims not seeing her mother in Malawi for a number of years. The family structures and consumption patterns promote transnational activities and allegiances, encouraging remittances or investment in the country of origin. Habiba plans to return home when she is old or has a substantial amount of money¹²⁰⁴

Habiba's memories reveal the bifocal identity of transmigrants and the oscillation between their presence in two countries and cultures. She enjoys the rich culture of Durban, which includes

¹²⁰² Ritzer. *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Sociology* 345.

¹²⁰³ Interview with Zione, Mawelewele (2 July, 2020).

¹²⁰⁴ Interview with Habiba, Pinetown (10 Sept, 2020).

interactions with Chewa, Malawian Christians, Indians, African women, and Zulus, which allows her to learn and grow. Studying isiZulu is beneficial as it contains vocabularies similar to Chiyawo. Durban's weather is warm, similar to Mangochi, her hometown. She recalls her childhood in Malawi, using clay pots to collect water and grind grain, and cooking *ugali* (thick porridge) over firewood.

However, today, women transport water from the lake or river using plastic buckets (*yigubu*) purchased in South Africa. Despite the high rates of crime, GBV, and violence in South Africa, Habiba would rather go back home for a few years but would have the choice of migrating to South Africa again. South Africa is the only place in Africa where a poor Malawian can turn from poverty to wealth. In the past, fathers travelled to Zambia and Zimbabwe to amass fortune, but now South Africa is the region's economic powerhouse, things have changed.¹²⁰⁵

Habiba's memories reveal annual visits to Malawi by Malawian women, shaping identities and critical thinking on remittance usage.

Furthermore, studies in the US reveal frequent movement shapes individuals' identities, making it difficult to identify their "home" in New York or Trinidad, and their societies of origin. This phenomenon is known as "bifocality," which refers to the ability to see the world through different lenses, blurring the line between nearby and distant. Mobile transmigrants structure their lives in situations where their lives are both "here" and "there," resulting in a fluid, nonlocalized ethnographic quality.¹²⁰⁶

Additionally, research shows global epoch marks increased movement of people, goods, capital, and ideas. Globalisation, led by multinational corporations and transnational capitalism, challenges understanding how people generate meaning and adapt to migration, expanding our understanding of cultural change.¹²⁰⁷ Migration has evolved from bipolar to bifocal, with new transnational migrants having multiple ties and support systems. They maintain connections to

¹²⁰⁵ Interview with Habiba, Pinetown (10 Sept, 2020).

¹²⁰⁶ See Michael Peter Smith and Luis Eduardo Guarnizo. *Transnationalism from Below*. Vol 6 Comparative Urban and Community Research. (New York: Routledge, 1998).

¹²⁰⁷ Janice E. Stockard and Evelyn Blackwood. *Cultural Anthropology: Mapping Cultures Across Space and Time*. (Boston: Cengage Learning, 2018) 518.

their home countries and form identities influenced by their home and host cultures, as well as their social roles.¹²⁰⁸ Transnational migrants are reclassified into the racial and ethnic classification systems and hierarchies of those countries as they migrate across borders and between different localities.

Migration trends vary by gender, with women predominantly working in prosperous regions and low-wage international enterprises, while men dominate construction tasks.¹²⁰⁹ Additionally, in a global age, cultural processes might be thought of as disjointed, dispersed, and uneven global flows or scapes. The foundation of the current era of globalization is made up of these scapes, which reflect the various real and imagined worlds that people live in. Local and global meanings interact; creating a reconstituted form of being that encompasses both. Mass media allows people to travel vast distances, conveying extensive information and meanings beyond a single location.¹²¹⁰

As previously noted, transmigrants' political affiliation is influenced by dual citizenship and nationality, allowing them to engage in political, social, and familial issues in both their home and receiving countries. For example, mass media allows audiences to travel long distances without actually doing so. The information and meanings offered by the media vastly outnumber the information found in any single source. In this example, study participants said they felt a connection to any problem occurring in Malawi. For instance, Chewa and Yawo women listen to online radio stations and also use social media to stay informed about Malawi's human rights issues, with prominent advocates like Bon Kalindo, Charles Longwe, Salo Piyasi, and Sandrus Juma criticizing nepotistic, tribalistic, and corrupt practices. They also engage in political activism through WhatsApp groups.

Amina states that women in Malawi discuss issues like loadshedding, currency shortages, maize shortages, passports, driver's licenses, nepotism, and other issues. They also discuss tribalism, fuel shortages, and lack of medicines in public hospitals, fertilizer, starvation, cholera, floods, and corruption in Malawian politics. Malawian politicians have lost their way. They have failed to lead Malawi's government. They are thieves and liars. Since 2020, President Lazarus Chakwera's administration has been rife with nepotism and favoritism in the hiring process.¹²¹¹

¹²⁰⁸ Stockard. *Cultural Anthropology* 518.

¹²⁰⁹ Stockard. *Cultural Anthropology* 518.

¹²¹⁰ Blackwood. *Cultural Anthropology* 518.

¹²¹¹ Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

Amina also highlights the impact of "bifocal" lives on political identification and transnational family life. In South Africa, they cannot vote due to lack of smart ID or green South African ID book. They can support any party but cannot cast ballots due to the requirement for ID registration. Moreover, Malawi lacks a statute allowing diaspora voters to vote, preventing them from casting ballots while they are in South Africa. No Malawian outside the country has cast a ballot since 1994. Malawian government lacks legislation for diaspora community to cast ballots, impacting political identification due to dual nationalities.¹²¹²

Furthermore, in today's transnational setting, national identity becomes ambiguous and fluid due to active connections across international boundaries. People divide time, energy, and identity among multiple communities, making full-time commitment to one nation and culture uncertain. Citizenship and political activity become bi-focal in some exporting countries. As a result, a person's identity is shaped by their networks, both within and outside their community, influenced by diaspora and transnationalism. Diaspora consciousness highlights diverse attachments to one's imagined community, implying dual senses of home and away and transnational identity, involving displaced migrants' cultural practices and daily activities.¹²¹³

Overall, in the process of creating a new life in South Africa, Chewa and Yawo women contribute significantly to the South African and Malawian economies (through job creation with their small businesses) and participate in the civic life of their community, and are pushing for a change in the image of Islam as an "Indian" religion in KwaZulu-Natal. As Ummati points out, "Islam remained, with notable exceptions, the preserve of Indian Muslims in the north and east of the country. The exception was the Malawian muezzin of every mosque and the tiny Zanzibari community of Durban. It was hardly a relationship of equals. So the perception became ingrained that Islam is an Indian religion. This concentric circle we have created is now serving to harm more than serve the interests of the Ummah as a whole. It breeds resentment and mistrust. It serves to alienate rather than bond. It gives credence to the perception, as one brother put it, that there is an "Indian agenda, not a Muslim agenda."¹²¹⁴ In the same way, Khan stated in 2020 that she wanted to challenge the Ummah to adopt the values of unity and inclusivity seriously. Despite the strong

¹²¹² Interview with Amina, Overport (22 July, 2020).

¹²¹³ See Anna Pechurina. *Material Cultures, Migrations, and Identities: What the Eye Cannot See*. (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

¹²¹⁴ N. Ummati. *House of Ummah: In Quest of Leadership in empowering the Ummah*. (Durban, 2013) 212.

spiritual imperative found in Islam to fight injustice, South African Muslims are plagued with patriarchal interpretations, attitudes of racial superiority, and queer-antagonism.¹²¹⁵

In conclusion, this chapter has focused on some aspects of Chewa and Yawo culture and how they are remembered with nostalgia. They are receptive to new cultures in South Africa and their identities may change, especially with regard to values and attitudes, religion, language, consumption, housing, social customs, and rituals. This leads to a sense of belonging to the immigrant that shapes the gender experiences of Chewa and Yawo Muslim women in the migration process. Immigration has affected their national identity as these women position their identity against various others, considering themselves African, Muslim, Malawian, Chewa, Yawo, or foreign. No matter how long they have lived in South Africa, the locals constantly remind them that they are foreigners and that South Africa is not their country. Therefore, they are unable to fully integrate into the different cultures of South Africa due to discrimination, stigma, and xenophobia. There are also customs that are not consistent with the Islamic norms practiced by some indigenous peoples. However, these women negotiate their ethnic and national identity in the context of migration through clothing, food, norms, ideas, languages, customs, beliefs, songs, dances, and initiations. So the way they dress and eat shows a new variety. Their habits help them cope better with every day worries. Some norms develop and disappear when they mix and blend into the culture of the other. They adapted their traditions and customs to the local environment. The next chapter will be the conclusion of the thesis with its results and recommendations.

¹²¹⁵ Leila Khan (South Africa). “Black Consciousness and Intersectionality: Toward Social Justice and Spiritual Growth”. In Sa’diyya Shaikh and Fatima Seedat (eds). *The Women’s Khutbah Book: Contemporary Sermons on Spirituality and Justice from around the world*. (Yale University, 2022) 150.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Overview of the Study

In this final chapter, I provide an overview of the study as well as the key themes and trends that emerged from the discussion. As part of the analytical approach of the study, primary sources (oral interviews) with secondary sources, including books, journal articles, reports, newspapers, and thesis or dissertations published and unpublished were utilized. However, the research methodology was not without challenges. Accessing archival documents was difficult. Documents relating to the immigration of Chewa and Yawo Muslim women between 1994 and 2007 are not available in South Africa and Malawi as a result of archival legislation that imposes a 20 year public ban on access. Thus oral interviews have provided most of the narratives of Chewa and Yawo Muslim immigrant women. They in contrast, provide a more comprehensive understanding of Chewa and Yawo Muslim immigrant women's narratives. Thus this study has highlighted the relevance and significance of oral sources in addressing the nuanced narratives of Chewa and Yawo Muslim women immigrants to South Africa. In addition, secondary sources showed that although men and women from Malawi have been coming to South Africa for more than a century, the historiography is still largely from a male perspective. Immigrant women from Malawi and experiences as immigrants have not been fully documented. Nevertheless, multiple sources utilised in this thesis have provided a greater understanding of the post-1990 period with regard to Malawian women immigrants. This thesis will contribute to new understanding of how we perceive and document female migration from Malawi to South Africa.

Findings and Recommendations: Results and Suggestions

As part of this study, the results of the research interviews are presented in this section. Various approaches are examined to address participants' concerns. Several possible interventions were discussed during the in-depth interviews among the Chewa and Yawo respondents. It is in this section that we discuss a few solutions to the respondents' problems.

First, the study's findings showed how gender dynamics play a big role in migration patterns, especially in terms of how men and women experience migration. As a result, Chewa and Yawo

women are more likely to be abused and exploited than men. It was reported that many female respondents had either been subjected to discrimination or abuse at work or at home. The prevalence of violence against women has been attributed to men's sense of superiority over women, according to some Chewa and Yawo Muslim women immigrants. In the case of women who immigrate independently, they're more likely to be socially isolated and married to abusers. By applying gender and intersectionality, this study shows how an unequal power relation is in transnational migration. There are myriad ways in which people may be marginalised due to their gender, race, class, religion, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity.¹²¹⁶

In addition, male immigrants earn higher wages than their female counterparts, but female immigrants remit more money at home. Chewa and Yawo Muslim immigrant women are disproportionately affected at the hands of the wage gap based on their immigration status, their race, ethnicity, and nationality when compared with other women. In the same working environment, Chewa and Yawo Muslim immigrant women were said to be paid less than Indian or black South African Muslim women. Workers will get different salaries depending on their skin tone, immigration status, language, and country of origin. As a result of these factors, it is evident that immigrant women in South Africa experience various types of discrimination based on their gender, race, ethnicity, gender identity, and class. Discrimination against women "intersects" with other forms of discrimination to make a complex web of causes and effects that make women even more marginalised. Participants in the study held these views, and they also reported an increase in domestic violence, prejudice at work, and underpayment as a direct result of their status as Muslim immigrant women who live and work in South Africa. For undocumented immigrants, discrimination and marginalisation are pretty much a given.¹²¹⁷

¹²¹⁶ Thanh-Dam Truong, Des Gasper, Jeff Handmaker and Sylvia I. Bergh (eds). *Migration, Gender and Social Justice: Perspectives on Human Insecurity*. (Cham: Springer, 2014) 218; See also Pauline Stoltz. *Gender, Resistance and Transnational Memories of Violent Conflicts*. (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, Springer, 2020) 15.

¹²¹⁷ Marie L. Miville and Angela D. Ferguson. *Handbook of Race-Ethnicity and Gender in Psychology*. (New York: Springer, 2014) 93; See also Cliff Roberson (ed.). *Routledge Handbook on Victims' Issues in Criminal Justice* (New York: Routledge, 2017) 184; Hurlbert, Emma Liu "Undocumented Women domestic Workers in South Africa: An Intersectional look at Marginalization and Inequality). *Security Distillery*.

The study also highlights women's agency among Chewa and Yawo women immigrants. The study found that Chewa and Yawo Muslim women are not always helpless victims of their circumstances, but can instead use their own power to escape. The respondents to this study reported struggling to make ends meet. The women claim they make money through domestic work, sewing clothes, and informal trade on the streets of Durban in order to send money to their families so that they can purchase land for farming, especially for the Chewa women, since the Chewa women earn most money through domestic work. On the other hand, Yawo women send money home each year to buy corrugated iron sheets so that they can construct their houses. There is no doubt that this is a powerful example of how Chewa and Yawo immigrant women can exercise agency in their host countries and rise from poverty to wealth, which often provokes jealousy among traditional hosts. Often, this leads to xenophobic attacks being perpetrated against foreigners.

Recent trends in immigration to South Africa have led to profound changes in both socioeconomic and cultural dynamics. According to these trends, Chewa and Yawo immigrants should be valued and treated equally to male immigrants, as they also hire some locals who are unemployed.¹²¹⁸ Therefore, Chewa and Yawo Muslim women should have the opportunity to integrate into the communities of their host country and combat exploitation and other forms of gender inequity.

The study also highlights that more Yawo women abandon school before completing high school than Chewa women. In most cases, they are more concerned about immigrating to a new country than pursuing further education in the country they are in. As a result, the Chewa are better educated than the Yawo. Divorce rates among Yawo women were higher than those among Chewa women. Additionally, the Yawo districts have very few government boarding schools. In Mangochi, Chiladzulu, Balaka, Zomba, and Machinga, which have a high Muslim population, these facilities aren't available. The lack of adequate boarding facilities for female students forces

¹²¹⁸ See OECD. International Labour Organization. "How Immigrants Contribute to South Africa's Economy". (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2018); World Bank. "New Study Finds Immigrants in South Africa Generates Jobs for Locals". Pretoria, 13 November, 2018. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/southafrica/publication/new-study-finds-immigrants-in-south-africa-generate-jobs-for-locals> (Accessed October, 2022).

many to self-board in nearby localities. In order to obtain financial support, some of these women are coerced into engaging in sexual activities and marriages.

Suggestions for the Malawian Government's Policymakers

In spite of the fact that a number of policies have been implemented since 1964 to the present day, in Malawi there has been limited socio-economic development and poverty remains a big worry. In addition to corruption, patronage politics, favouritism, and nepotism, poor economic policies play a big part. Aside from this, the negative impacts of climate change are also having a detrimental effect on the lives of ordinary Malawians in the rural areas of the country. Poor living conditions in rural Malawi prevent many girls from completing school. This study recommends that the Malawian government work to end poverty, fight corruption, and place a high priority on educating girls, especially Muslim Chewa and Yawo women. In the Chewa and Yawo Muslim territories of Malawi, the government should build more technical and boarding schools, as well as make education mandatory in these areas, so that these communities are able to get a better education. Those parents who do not send their children to school may be disciplined or penalised by their local chief or headman. Education is a right that every child is entitled to, and making education mandatory in the Yawo area will not be considered a violation of that right. Thus, mandatory education in the Yawo area will not violate the right to an education for every child.¹²¹⁹

Historically, it won't be the first time the Yawo rulers have made education compulsory for all children in their chiefdoms in Malawi's history. Northern Malawi's Tumbuka have a rich education history. Chikulamayembe John Chilongozi Hardy Ziwange Gondwe (1932-1977) was the first (and until now the only) chief of Nyasaland to introduce compulsory education for all children. In a broad context, a Yawo ruler making education mandatory for all children in his chiefdom would not be the first time in Malawi's history. The education history of the Tumbuka in northern Malawi can teach them this. Tumbuka paramount chief Chikulamayembe introduced compulsory education for all kids in his territory. After six years, a district official could declare that compulsory education had no longer been an experiment on Chikulamayembe land, but was actually a reality on its own.¹²²⁰ Malawi is known for having the most educated people in this part

¹²¹⁹ See Constitution of the Republic of Malawi under Chapter III: Fundamental Principles.

¹²²⁰ Vail. *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* 159.

of the world, as the result of compulsory education among the Tumbuka people. Due to this, the Tumbuka of Rumphi district in the northern region are the most educated people in Malawi, while the Yawo of central and southern Malawi are the least educated.

Also, chiefs should encourage girls to go back to school after leaving early due to early marriages and pregnancies. Learning new skills is important for women who didn't finish high school. More role models with higher education credentials would be beneficial to the Chewa and Yawo Muslim communities. Thus, young Chewa and Yawo Muslim women would benefit from having more role models with higher education. ¹²²¹

As long as the Muslim women of the Chewa and Yawo tribes in Malawi continue to refrain from sending their girls to school, Malawi will be left with the historical record of role models who always went to South Africa and returned back home, and therefore Malawi will still lack Chewa and Yawo women with good educational backgrounds. A cohort of returnees from South Africa will share their experiences with xenophobia, racism, and other injustices. Additionally, the Malawian government needs to create more job opportunities for young women. Child marriage is growing because there aren't enough job opportunities. There is a growing body of evidence that suggests that child marriage is very common in Malawi because there are no opportunities for girls to get a better education and employment in the rural areas. A decline in the influx of women to South Africa may be slow to occur if the government becomes more proactive in creating more employment opportunities for young Chewa and Yawo women. The feminisation of migration in Malawi must be improved in order for people to see a real improvement in the education and skills of women who are migrating. Therefore, the improvement in the feminisation of migration in Malawi can only be achieved if we can note a significant improvement in the skills and education of the women who are migrating.

Fourthly, the Malawian government should take a similar, comprehensive stance against child marriage. It is argued in this study that Chewa and Yawo girls should not be disowned or kicked out of their homes because they refused to marry. Forcibly married girls should be given

¹²²¹ See Karen Jones, Arta Ante, Karen A. Longman, and Robyn Remke (eds.). *Perspectives on Women's Higher Education Leadership from around the World*. (Basel: MDPI, 2018) 2.

the right to refuse such marriages. Children should be protected from sexual harassment and child marriage should be addressed through legislative reforms and programmatic initiatives that address the causes and consequences of child marriage. Malawi needs urgent reforms to mitigate child marriage's negative effects on its future development.¹²²²

Malawi should establish a minimum age of 18 at the time of matrimony, as well as a legal framework addressing child and forced marriages in humanitarian settings. The Malawian government should consult Muslim leaders, Chewa and Yawo tribal leaders, and members of the Chewa cultural organization (Chewa Heritage Foundation (CHEFO) and Chiwanja Cha Ayawo (the Yawo cultural organisation) when making decisions. Having Chiwanja Cha Ayawo as part of the Yawo territories will help to reduce the incidence of early marriage amongst the Yawo people as it focuses on the way of life of the Yawo people and promotes the upholding and promotion of their inclusive cultural values and customs. Currently, Yawo people in Mangochi, Machinga, Zomba, Blantyre, Mulanje, Dedza, Salima, and Balaka marry young, leave school, and move to South Africa. Hence, Yawo people today get married at very young ages, which is strange. Ancient Yawo married late, not in a hurry; youths of that time waited in bachelor quarters for years before getting married. Women also waited until their breasts had reached full development before getting married, and then they tied the knot when they began to sag.¹²²³ Traditionally, Chewa women generally married as soon as they reached puberty (between the ages of 12 and 14).¹²²⁴ Child marriage should be ended by Muslim leaders and organisations as their religion stipulates that when two people decide to get married, the average male will be close to the age of 20 and the average female around the age of 17.¹²²⁵ As per Islamic law, women cannot be forced into marriage without their consent.¹²²⁶ In light of this, a young girl's parents or guardians cannot coerce her into getting married. A girl can accept or reject marriage proposals as she wishes. According to the Prophet Muhammad, only the woman can sign a marriage contract. An "arranged marriage" can be dissolved or rescinded by the woman if it was done against her will.¹²²⁷ In spite of the fact that

¹²²² See Agnes Odhiambo. "I've Never Experience Happiness": Child Marriages in Malawi. (Human Rights Watch, 2014) 4.

¹²²³ Abdallah. *The Yaos* 25.

¹²²⁴ Phiri "Some Changes in the Matrilineal Family System among the Chewa of Malawi since the Nineteenth Century" 260.

¹²²⁵ Moulana Zahier Ahmed Ragie. *Kitaabun Nikah*. (Azaadville: Madrasa Arabia Islamia) 14.

¹²²⁶ Badawi. *Status of Woman in Islam* 17.

¹²²⁷ Badawi. *Gender Equity in Islam* 23.

Islamic law forbids forceful marriages, there are still some societies outside of Islam that still practice the age-old practice of setting up marriages for their children and then exerting pressure on the adults in those marriages in order to put them into effect.¹²²⁸

The study found that early marriages are crucial to end among Chewa and Yawo Muslims. It is due to the fact that early marriages are associated with higher divorce rates in many countries.¹²²⁹ Many marriages in Malawi occur at a young age, so divorce rates are high.¹²³⁰ There is a high rate of dropout among the children of divorced parents. The students always fail in school.¹²³¹

As a further consequence, divorced parents have a lower percentage of children who graduate from primary and secondary schools.¹²³² It is unfortunate to say that the phenomenon of female migration is exacerbating the problem of a generation of young Malawian women who have dropped out of school and moved as quickly as possible to South Africa to make money. As women migrate internationally at this rate, Malawi's Chewa and Yawo will have a limited number of educated women. It is widely recognised that the more young women drop out of school, the larger the illiterate community and the more disempowered the women become.¹²³³ The Yawo women of Malawi are illiterate, as noted above. It is estimated that most Muslim Yawo women who immigrated to South Africa did not complete their primary or secondary education. Feminising migration in Malawi has one negative aspect, and that's young women abandoning their education as they migrate. For this reason, Malawi citizens and government officials should make girls' education a top priority in their country. It was pointed out by respondents that educating a woman means educating a nation as a whole. It's a problem that Chewa and Yawo Muslim girls don't know what their religious rights are. Leaders of the Muslim community should educate their followers about women's rights. Muslim women, for example, have the right to refuse any marriage proposal made to them, and they also have the right to end their marriage if their husband mistreats them in any way. There is an option for them to choose education over forced partnership instead of accepting forced unions. It is not uncommon for

¹²²⁸ D'Oyen. *Islam: A Brief Tour* 42.

¹²²⁹ Palamuleni. "Socioeconomic determinants of age at marriage in Malawi" 225.

¹²³⁰ Laurens Cherchye, Bram De Rock, Selma Telalagic and Walther Frederic Vermeulen. "Where Did It Go Wrong? Marriage and Divorce in Malawi". Discussion Paper No. 9843. (Bonn: IZA, 2016) 14.

¹²³¹ Shelley Clark and Sarah Brauner. "Divorce in sub-Saharan Africa: Are Unions Becoming Less Stable?". *Population and Development Review* (December 2015, 41:4) 585.

¹²³² Clark. "Divorce in sub-Saharan Africa 585.

¹²³³ Precious Kumbani. "Covid ripping girls' futures". *Development. The Nation*. (Malawi), 14/09/2020.

Muslims to accept arranged marriages, but this is one of the reasons some Muslims are divorced so frequently. In order to get married, many young Muslim women left school early. It is the same young Muslim girls who continue to move to South Africa in large numbers. Malawi's widespread practice of child marriage and divorce can be partially attributed to the economic development of South Africa. Often, divorced women want to have the ambition to achieve economic independence, immigrate to South Africa, and establish themselves there.

The findings of this study show that Muslim Chewa and Yawo communities should end child marriage. This will encourage girls to pursue an education prior to entering into marriages that are often unsustainable. Child marriage is, in part, driven by gender inequality and the belief that a girl child is inferior. In addition to the above, these young mothers are also the ones who travel far to South Africa looking for new career opportunities once they get divorced or separate from their spouses. The Chewa and Yawo religious leaders in Malawi should address the issues of illiteracy among Muslims and a high divorce rate.

Additionally, the large-scale immigration of persons to South Africa places a burden on the government of the country. The majority of politicians and ordinary people believe that an influx of immigrants is unnecessary due to the fact that they share the same resources available for the citizens as well. With the increase in immigration of foreign nationals to this country, xenophobic sentiments will always be heard.

As an African nation, Malawi's government, along with the governments of other African nations, must understand the importance of stabilising their economies and putting an end to the wars that are raging in the countries of West Africa and the Horn of Africa and work together to achieve these goals. It has been said by former Malawian President Joyce Banda, "Some African leaders are more focused on possessing leadership roles than serving their populations."¹²³⁴ Their focus is on leadership rather than serving their citizens. Most of their citizens live in abject poverty, despite the country's wealth. Banda was responding to what Limpopo Health MEC, Dr. Phophi Ramathuba said in a video clip that went viral on August 24, 2022.

¹²³⁴ SABC News. SAFm, 8.00am News, 26 August, 2022.

Ramathuba told a Shona immigrant from Zimbabwe that Zimbabweans were straining the health system of his country. Furthermore, Limpopo's hospitals are not charitable organizations that offer free services. According to Ramathuba, the patient should tell Emmerson Mnangagwa, the president of Zimbabwe, to take care of the country and make it a better place. Many people reacted differently after hearing these sentiments; some applauded Ramatuba while others claimed that she had anti-foreigner sentiments. According to the study, undocumented immigrants face discrimination in public medical facilities and mistreatment by health workers.¹²³⁵

Fifth, the study revealed that feminisation of international migration is reshaping occupational niches and improving gender equality, leading to positive effects for economies of sending as well as receiving countries. Conversely, it fuels Malawi's high divorce rate. As women are exposed to fresh perspectives and acquired skills from South Africa, they are also developing their own independent economic stability, which is contributing to the economic stability of their families. Their skills will be used to motivate and inspire other women in Malawi when they return in the near future. Due to feminisation, cultural and economic exchange has increased in southern Africa. As well as providing economic empowerment for women, it certifies their expertise and proficiency in the field of immigration.

The South African experience has led to many Chewa and Yawo Muslim women gaining independence and autonomy in their lives, as well as creating a market for their labour. Gender perspectives are shaped by Chewa and Yawo immigrant women. Their role is to help develop agency, confidence, worth, image, dignity, respect, and assurance. Confidence boosts men's and women's interactions, leading to positive changes. In reality, Chewa and Yawo Muslim women migrants are becoming more independent, autonomous, and liberated from male-dominated decision-making. They are building new gender relationships as well as positive gender empowerment practices. Due to women's increasing independence, traditional views of women as dependent on their spouses and other family members are changing.¹²³⁶ Taking this background into account, respondents argued that Malawi should lobby South Africa to provide special work

¹²³⁵ Staff Reporter. "A sick system abuses its refugees". *Mail and Guardian*. (South Africa), 16 May 2012.

¹²³⁶ Rohit Barot, Harriet Bradley and Steven Fenton (eds). *Ethnicity, Gender and Social Change*. (London: Macmillan Press, 1999) 29.

permits for Malawian women; because migrants to South Africa have contributed strategies that have helped increase their visibility and significance as economic and social change agents.

Despite the fact that female immigration has been associated with women's dependence and their role as primary income producers, there has been little recognition of an increase in females from Malawi migrating alone after divorcing. The Malawian men in this case are now taking care of the children while the mother is working in South Africa. Some respondents suggested that the Malawi government undertake steps to educate young women on the importance of mothers taking care of their children themselves, as opposed to leaving them in the care of elderly relatives or husbands' relatives. In addition, policy makers should be aware that feminisation of migration is also contributing to a high divorce rate among women.

Another significant factor is Malawi's high birth rate and inadequate contraception programs cause the population to grow every year. The unemployed Malawians without farmland will continue to migrate to South Africa. This means that the Malawian government (program of land reform (*kuzigulira Malo*) should stop acquiring land in predominantly Muslim areas, which exacerbates the land shortage in Mangochi and Machinga's Yawo areas. The study reveals that many people in both districts do not possess land on which to farm. They live off subsistence farming. As a result, poor living conditions in rural communities are also associated with inadequate land and land grabs. Generally, women depend on agricultural land for their livelihood, while their husbands live in cities. In order for the Yawo women to continue to cultivate crops on their ancestral small plots of land, the government of Malawi should stop taking land from Yawo territories under its land reform program. As more and more land is grabbed by the government or relatives for the use of farming, many poor women are forced to leave their villages and to migrate to South Africa in order to survive.

In addition to above mentioned findings, the study found that a plethora of issues, including rampant corruption, favouritism, poor service provision and infrastructure, and tribal indoctrination, had a significant impact on Chewa and Yawo women who had to migrate to South Africa in search of better livelihoods. The staggering poverty rate in Malawi is largely a result of corruption. A 59-year-old independent Malawi is one of the most corrupt and poor countries in the SADC region. In Malawi, corruption keeps the country poor. The abject poverty and poor governance in their country force people to leave for greener pastures in southern Africa and

elsewhere. There, they find satisfaction in cleaning houses, bathing sick people, keeping the streets clean, molding bricks, and caring for livestock. The government has implemented policies that are unfair and serve only the interests of the people in power, which is causing many Malawians to leave their country. Kumwenda asserts that the fact that Malawi's government does not pay its teachers, doctors, or engineers well is one of the reasons that young people don't take education seriously and want to work in South Africa rather than in Malawi. It has led to youth laziness and xenophobia in South Africa. As reported in the media and on social media, some Malawians have openly stated that it would be better to be victims of xenophobia in South Africa than to face poverty in their own country. It shows how bad Malawi's economy is. There is more to being angry about xenophobia than just angry at it; Malawians should also understand that this is also indicative of the mental health of their countries. In order for them to fix their nation, they must turn their anger into ideas and deeds that will lead to the healing of the nation. The xenophobia of Malawi's citizens must inspire an outpouring of patriotism and selflessness in order to turn the country into a land flowing with milk and honey.¹²³⁷ Similarly, Mtonga pointed out that the Malawian government should take steps to improve the socioeconomic conditions of its citizens as a result of the recent xenophobic attacks perpetrated by a few bloodthirsty South Africans, and he insisted that the government should consider ways to improve these conditions. There will still be people who take risks to pursue a better life even if this does not occur. Those who have returned may already be heading south again.¹²³⁸

Based on the findings of this study, it is evident that rampant corruption, favouritism, poor service provision, high divorce rates, high illiteracy, poor infrastructure, natural disasters, and hunger force Chewa and Yawo women to migrate to South Africa and other countries seeking a better life. Governance needs to be improved to decrease inequality in Malawi. In addition, future research should use these factors. It is fully possible for Malawi to eradicate the level of abject poverty it is experiencing through the creation of wealth and the development of infrastructure, which are key factors in the reduction of poverty. Respondents in this study blamed politicians who enrich themselves at the expense of the poor. In order for the country to prosper, it should transition from an economy based on imports and consumption to one based on industry and

¹²³⁷ Dennis Kumwenda. "Message from Xenophobia". In My turn. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 29/04/2015.

¹²³⁸ Lowani Mtonga. "Can Xenophobia be eradicated? In Lowani Mtonga. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 26/04/2015.

exports. Also, the government can make good policies about democratic governance, economic governance, agriculture, health, food, land, population, rural development, energy, mining, tourism, water development, transportation, natural resource management, and environmental protection. Investing in science, technology, information and communication, private sector development, industry, and trade are all important to eradicate poverty. Wildlife and culture, child development, child protection, youth empowerment, disaster risk management, social support, housing, urban development, gender, capacity building, HIV/AIDS management, justice, and education are all part of the solution.

Also, the government should encourage the development of microfinance institutions and programs, improve marketing systems by exporting more products and importing less, and promote economic and institutional reforms with a view to encouraging inclusive economic growth. The political system in Malawi is riddled with high-level corruption, petty corruption, tribalism, clientelism, and nepotism, which exacerbates disparities, discrimination, unfairness, and deprivation. Therefore, Malawi's development is hindered by corruption. Malawi's progress has been adversely affected by corruption, which has greatly hampered its progress. Our interpretation of the Chewa and Yawo Muslim immigrant women in South Africa who are escaping corruption and nepotism will be deeper and more nuanced.

Findings and Recommendations to the South African Government

First, a study on xenophobia showed that no nation has ever consistently been better than another based on political and economic history. Britain was the first country to industrialise, then Germany, and finally the US. Perhaps China, India, and Japan will dominate the 21st century instead of the west. Therefore, the leaders of South Africa should take action to make sure that those who harass and kill their fellow Africans in such a manner are warned that the people who have been expelled will be able to organise boycotts against South African exports, such as what took place in Blantyre and Lilongwe on Friday, April 24, 2015. At the time, boycotts were used to protest apartheid; now, they can be used to protest anti-immigrant sentiment. The products that other nations import from South Africa may also be imported from other countries. In this scenario, South Africa's economic problems could get worse. Male and female vendors from Malawi travel almost every week to South Africa to buy goods to resell in Malawi rather than carry more wares from home. They are a major contributor to Malawi's growing trade deficit with South Africa. As a result, these people hurt Malawi's trade balance. There is no difference between the shopping in

Dar es Salaam and Johannesburg. It is unreasonable to help a country that treats Africans like the Nazis treated Jews. Thus, there are the same things Malawians can buy in Johannesburg as they can in Dar es Salaam. So it will be unwise to assist a country that treats Africans as the Nazis treated the Jews.¹²³⁹

In addition, the study suggests that the South African government should make history mandatory at all levels of schooling. Societies evolve over time and space, making history the study of their evolution. By studying history, we gain insight into how human behaviour from the past has influenced both the present and future. Those who benefit from history contribute positively to society and advance democracy by making informed decisions. Through it, future citizens are prepared for local, regional, national, continental, and global citizenship while promoting human rights, peace, and democracy. In the context of human rights, history is a vehicle that allows people to explore and understand prejudices such as race, class, gender, ethnicity, and xenophobia, which still exist in our society and need to be addressed and challenged; therefore, history promotes non-discrimination, raises debates, confronts issues, and builds the capacity of individuals to deal with issues that are currently affecting society and the environment. The history of mankind encompasses all aspects of human experience.

A history requirement would have the effect of making South Africans use the knowledge and skills of historians as a result of the people taking the history subject. Sources and evidence would be examined, different interpretations would be compared, and different voices would be heard. The result will be that they learn how to think carefully and critically about the world around them. Through looking at the history of the people of southern Africa, one can come to understand how they are connected to one another. As well as interpreting and constructing historical knowledge, they will understand the origins of local people, particularly the Nguni who found the Khoisan already established. During Shaka Zulu's wars, the Nguni from South Africa fled to Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Malawi, and Tanzania. There is a people who speak a language almost identical to Zulu in southern Zimbabwe, near the city of Bulawayo. Their name is Ndebele, and they are the indigenous people of Zimbabwe now. In Northern Malawi, there are towns with Zulu names. Mthwalo Mabilabe is one of the Zulu names of the chiefs of Mzimba and Mzuzu. A large number of people of South African descent live in southern Zimbabwe and Northern Malawi,

¹²³⁹ Phiri. "Economic consequences of SA xenophobia".

whose ancestors lived in what is now KwaZulu-Natal. They were Ngoni, like the Zulus, and their ancestor Shaka drove them out. It is possible that some people who consider KwaZulu-Natal home could be forced to leave the country again in the future due to political upheavals. Is it possible to accommodate them? Xenophobic victims or their children will often be heard saying, "You chased us, what do you want in our countries?" In spite of expelling foreigners, South Africa might not be able to provide opportunities for everyone. There may be civil wars like those sparked by Shaka.¹²⁴⁰

There are many Nguni in South Africa who consciously forget or do not know that their ancestors, like the Sotho-Tswana, lived in East Africa before migrating south.¹²⁴¹ Nguni ancestors arrived in South Africa from the north of Africa. There is a school of thought that believes that the civilisation was most likely born in the southern region of Egypt, where ancient civilisations began to develop. As they descended along the Western Rift Valley, they established their communities in the areas around Central Africa and the Congo Basin, and stayed for many years. Eventually, the group divided into two, with one travelling west, and the other south. A westward group moved and a southward group reached South Africa.¹²⁴²

It is due to this history that South Africans ought to be aware that at least a part of their ancestors lived in countries in central and eastern Africa at some point in time. Because of this, many words in the isiZulu language share the same root meaning as words in Kiswahili, which is the language of central and eastern Africa and is regarded as a *lingua franca*. There is therefore a need for the government of South Africa to implement long-term strategies to eliminate xenophobia from the country. It is possible to make great strides toward reconciliation between indigenous South Africans and foreigners through community discussions and widespread education about xenophobia's root causes.¹²⁴³ Second, the study finds that it is also important that the South African government promotes intercultural harmony and social harmony in the

¹²⁴⁰ Phiri. "Economic consequences of SA xenophobia".

¹²⁴¹ Peter Mitchell and Paul Lane (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of African Archaeology*, First Edition. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) 933.

¹²⁴² See Abisai Temba. *Three Hundred Years On Kilimanjaro Mountain Area* Vol 1. (Chennai Notion Press, 2016).

¹²⁴³ Lowani Mtonga. "Can Xenophobia be eradicated?" In Lowani Mtonga. *The Nation*. (Malawi), 26/04/2015.

country.¹²⁴⁴ The strategy should aim of promoting social cohesion as well as cross-cultural integration as a result. A significant proportion of the South African population was not integrated (fully incorporated) with the rest of the continent. In many cases, they have never ventured beyond the borders of their states or regions, which is the case for the vast majority of them. Also, there is a possibility that they may not have been exposed to the type of history in school that would have taught them to understand and support the Pan-African brotherhood of nations.¹²⁴⁵ The result of this is that some South Africans are unaware of the driving reasons behind the migration of black Africans to this country.

Third, the government of South Africa should also be aware of the impact that the local media has on the opinions of the general public.¹²⁴⁶ In addition, there are many newspaper articles that perpetuate racial and national stereotypes regarding African immigrants.¹²⁴⁷ Sensational media headlines like South Africa has been "invaded" by a flood of "illegal aliens" fuel anti-immigrant sentiment.¹²⁴⁸ Aside from newspapers supporting negative views of black immigrants, in South Africa, some radio stations have also produced hostile programs describing immigrants as a drain on the country's resources. It is often conducive to stoking hostility towards immigrants with this kind of discourse. As a result of the use of figures of foreign nationals that cannot be relied upon, violence against black African immigrants can be provoked or sparked.¹²⁴⁹ Politicians are also responsible for fostering xenophobic sentiment, along with newspapers and radio stations.¹²⁵⁰ The government should censor newspapers, radio stations, and politicians that foment xenophobia.

¹²⁴⁴ Sabella Ogbobode Abidde and Emmanuel Kasonde Matambo (eds). *Xenophobia, Nativism and Pan-Africanism in 21st Century Africa: History, Concepts, Practice and Case study*. (Cham: Springer, 2021), 259; See also Matt Moge kwu. "African Union: Xenophobia as Poor Intercultural Information". *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*. (2005, 26:1) 5-20.

¹²⁴⁵ Phiri. "Economic consequences of SA xenophobia"

¹²⁴⁶ Ransford Danso and David A. McDonald. *Writing Xenophobia: Immigration and the press in post-apartheid South Africa*. Southern African Migration Project (SAMP). (CapeTown: Idasa, 2000) 1

¹²⁴⁷ Danso. *Writing Xenophobia: Immigration and the press in post-apartheid South Africa* 1

¹²⁴⁸ ILO. "Labour Migration to Southern Africa in the 1990s". Policy Paper Series No.4. (International Labour Office, Southern Africa Multidisciplinary Advisory Team, Harare, Zimbabwe 15-16.

¹²⁴⁹ Interview with Amina, Overport, 22 July, 2020.

¹²⁵⁰ Nyale. "Malawians displaced in xenophobic attacks".

A few Suggestions for Further Research

A study of immigrant women in South Africa showed that the group of immigrants was not homogeneous, but that some of the women came from outside of southern Africa, making it impossible for the results of my study to be generalised to other immigrant groups in South Africa. By extending this study to other women immigrants, we may be able to uncover their experiences. Hence, in order to obtain a better understanding of immigrant women in South Africa, it might be useful to expand the scope of this study to provide a more holistic view of the situation. Hence, there are gaps in the current study that need to be filled. I limited my research to Chewa and Yawo female Muslim immigrants. The results of my research mostly reflect the experiences of two Muslim ethnic groups in Malawi, which may not represent the experiences of other ethnic groups or other African Muslim women living in South Africa. Moreover, researchers need to compare and contrast the experiences of Malawian Christian immigrant women living in South Africa with those of Muslim immigrant women in order to demonstrate how the identities of these two groups of immigrants overlap.

The experience of Chewa and Yawo immigrant women living in other South African cities is beyond my scope of research since it is restricted to Durban. Other South African cities may have different realities for Chewa and Yawo immigrants. The possibilities exist that some interviewees may have had unrealistic expectations or were unaware of the actual situation in and around Durban. Thus, having only interviewed women in Durban, I cannot speak to the real -life experiences of Chewa and Yawo immigrants in other cities. Hopefully, researchers will be able to study Malawian women living in other South African cities in the future.

Overall, this study will help us understand how gender affects migration experiences, which is getting increasingly important in global studies. Most of the research has been on Muslim immigrant men. In order to honour Muslim women's stories about their origin countries and current locations, this study sought to collect their stories. It has been common for Muslim women to be called men followers during the immigration process, and their agency has frequently been concealed in academic writings. As a result of writing about and analysing the experiences of Chewa and Yawo Muslim immigrant women in the immigration process, we have been able to address the omission of Malawian women from South African and African history, and counter the negative portrayals of Muslim immigrant women in the immigration process. In this study,

Chewa and Yawo immigrant women have been given a fresh perspective on their experiences as a result of the findings of this study.

This study is therefore important for the study of African oral history, memory, and gender. It will be possible to expand on my preliminary findings in future studies. Women immigrants are relevant to writing about gender and women's history. In this way, historical studies of the immigration of women enable historians to see women as more than just footnotes to history.¹²⁵¹

¹²⁵¹ Sydney Stahl Weinberg, Donna Gabaccia, Hasia R. Diner and Maxine Schwartz Seller. "The Treatment of women in Immigration History: A Call for Change [with Comments and Response]". *Journal of American Ethnic History*. (Summer, 1992, 11: 4) 29.

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Appendix 1: Interview guide

Student No. 215068614
PhD History

Joseph Y. Mbalaka

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Project title

“Gender, Religion and Migration: A study of Malawian Chewa and Yawo Muslim women in Durban, 1994- 2017”

Location of this study (where will the study be conducted)

Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. Interviews will be conducted in Durban

Interview Schedule for 30 Chewa and Yawo Muslim Women

Name	Date
Zione	2 July 2020
Alinafe	2 July 2020
Madalitso	3 July 2020
Ndiwuza	3 July 2020
Tikhale	5 July 2020
Yankho	5 July 2020
Mwandida	7 July 2020
Ulemu	7 July 2020
Talandira	9 July 2020
Takondwa	10 July 2020
Thokozani	15 July 2020
Thita	15 July 2020
Hawa Tadala	17 July 2020

Halima Kondwani	18 July 2020
Anisah	18 July 2020
Amatullah	20 July 2020
Amina	22 July 2020
Jameelah	22 July 2020
Hamidah	24 July 2020
Khadijah	24 July 2020
Hanifa	26 July 2020
Sakina	28 July 2020
Ruqaiyah	2 August 2020
Zainab	3 August 2020
Ngonji	4 August 2020
Asawusyeje	5 August 2020
Amale	6 August 2020
Chelaje	7 August 2020
Ambulule	9 August 2020
Asawilunda	12 August 2020

Appendix 2: Questions for an Interview: A Guide to the Questions

Title: “Gender, Religion and Migration: A study of Malawian Chewa and Yawo Muslim women in Durban, 1994- 2017”

Student Name: Joseph Yusufu Mbalaka

215068614

Discipline: History

Section 1: Personal Data: An overview of the participants’s personal information

Name: Could you please state your names and spell them for me?

Date of Birth: Where and when were you born?

Marital Status: Can you tell me about your marital status?

Educational Background: I would like to ask you how far you have accomplished in your education.

Occupation: What are you doing now?

What is the name of your parents?

In what capacity did they work? Or can you tell me what their occupation is or was?

What's their educational background?

What is your family size?

What is their occupation? Where do they live?

Can you please tell me about your childhood in your country of origin, and how it was like growing up there?

In your country of origin, what did you experience?

When it came to race, religion, or class, how did you get along with other groups?

Section 2: Migratory patterns and establishment of Malawian communities in South Africa

What motivated you to come here?

I was wondering why you chose South Africa over other African countries. Could you explain your decision?

Was it you who suggested or someone suggested it?

In terms of time, how long did it take for that decision to be made?

During your migration to South Africa, what method of transport did you use?

Did someone pay for the transport? Who funded the transport?

What was your migration process to South Africa? Did you immigrate as a family or did you come on your own?

Is there a possibility that you would have fallen sick during your period of migration or that you would have become pregnant during your journey?

In South Africa, what was your port of entry?

When you first arrived, who was there to welcome you? Did your husband, brother, nephew, niece, uncle, or friends do it?

When you first got here, where did you settle?

Is it possible for you to describe the financial resources you had when you arrived in South Africa?

Was it easy for you to find an apartment/house to rent or did it take you a long time to find one?

What's your neighbourhood like?

Would you mind telling me how you got along with your neighbours?

Upon arriving in South Africa, how long did you stay in the first house you occupied?
What made you leave that first home in the first place?
In what time frame did you become employed?
Have you been assisted in finding a job?
Did you enjoy your job?
In the event that you found it difficult to find a job, how did you cope?
What did the other family members do?
What's your relationship like with your family?
Can you explain how your real-life experiences differ from men's?

Section 3: Factors related to identity, religion, and ethnicity: nationality, language, and future plans

Would you say you belong to the Chewa or Yawo ethnic groups?
What's your close friend's ethnicity? Which ethnicity is your immediate circle?
How did you communicate with locals when you got here?
Did you experience any discrimination based on your race, colour, nationality or religion? Please describe how, when, and where this occurred.
Do you have any experience interacting with other groups, such as Whites, Indians, indigenous people, Christians, Muslims, Hindus, and African Traditional Religions?
Is there a way that you have interacted with other immigrants and developed a network?
What do you do to connect and cooperate with Malawian immigrants?
What are your social or professional organisations?
What types of customs, norms, habits, and systems did you maintain?
Why do you keep these traditions and customs alive?
Can you tell me which of those traditions or customs you have chosen to alter or stop following?
Do you hold any values or norms that you would like to pass on to your children?
Do your kids follow any traditions?
In your opinion, what is your "identity" and how do you define it? Like, do you think of yourself as a Malawian, South African, or African?
Can you tell me what your impression would be if your children were to get married outside of their ethnicity, (Chewa or Yawo) or religion?
Do you remember the first time you encountered xenophobia?
Do you have any personal experience with Islamophobia?
In what way did you encounter xenophobia or Islamophobia?
How did it turn out? What was the impact of xenophobia or Islamophobia on you?
What obstacles and challenges do you face as a migrant Muslim woman living in Durban?
In terms of your religion and cultural identity, how do you cope with challenges?
Where do you see your "space or place" in this country?
Can you tell me what your perceptions of this country were or are at the moment?
Are those perceptions different now that you're here?
What was the most important /crucial / substantial / worthwhile experience or episode that you have experienced?
Can you think of a time in your life when you were cheerful/ lively/ thrilled?
Can you describe what you think/imagine/perceive about your future in SA?
Are there any additional comments you would like to make to this interview?
If you have any additional comments or questions, please let me know.

This oral history project wouldn't have been possible without you

Please accept my sincere thanks for taking part in this oral history project. Thanks for taking part in this oral history project and taking the time to tell your story.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: A GUIDE IN CHICHEWA

MAFUNSO OTHANDIZIRA

Mutu: *“Jenda, Chipembedzo ndi Kusamuka: Kafukufuku wa Amalawi achiziamai achisilamu a Chewa ndi a Yawo mu Durban, kyambira m’chaka cha 1994 mpakana 2017”*

Gawo 1: Mafunso wofuna kukudziwani inuyo

Dzina: Kodi mungatchuleko mayina anu ndikundilemba maina wo?

Tsiku lobadwa: Munabadwira kuti ndipo liti?

Zaukwati: Kodi ndinu munthu wokwatiwa?

Mbiri yamaphunziro: Ndikufuna ndikufunsi kuti mwakwanitsa bwanji maphunziro anu.

Ntchito: Mukupanga chiyani tsopano?

Dzina la makolo anu ndi ndani?

Kodi ankagwira ntchito yotani? Kapena mungandiuze ntchito yawo, inali chiyani?

Kodi maphunziro awo ndi otani?

Kodi banja lanu ndi lalikulu bwanji?

Kodi ntchito yawo ndi yotani? Kodi amakhala kuti?

Kodi mungandiuzeke za ubwana wanu m’dziko limene munachokera, ndi mmene zinalili nthawi yomwe inu mumakhala?

Kodi m’dziko lanu munakumana ndi zotani?

Pankhani ya fuko, chipembedzo, kapena tinene kuti inu mmene muliri, mumakhala bwanji ndi magulu ena a anthu?

Gawo 2: Njira zakusamuka ndi kukhazikitsidwa kwa Amalawi ku South Africa

N’chiyani chinakulimbikitsani kubwera kuno?

Tandiwuzani chifukwa chimene munasankhira dziko la South Africa kuposa mayiko ena a mu Africa. Kodi mungafotokoze zomwe zinakupangitsani kutsankha dziko lino?

Kodi ndi inu nokha amene munaganiza lingaliro lobwera kuno kapena winawake anapereka maganizo?

Pankhani ya nthawi, zidatenga nthawi yayitali bwanji kuti chisankhocho chipangidwe?

Paulendo wanu wopita ku South Africa, mudagwiritsa ntchito njira yanji ya mayendedwe?

Ndani adalipira transport? Ndani adapereka ndalama zoyendera?

Kodi munasamuka ngati banja kapena munabwera nokha?

Kodi pali kuthekera kuti munadwala panthawi yomwe mukusamuka kapena kuti munakhala ndi pakati paulendo wanu?

Polowa muSouth Africa, munalowera kumalire ati?

Mutangofika kumene, ndani anakulandirani? Kodi mwamuna wanu, mchimwene wanu, mphwanu, mchemwali wanu, amalume anu, kapena anzanu anadzakulandirani?

Mutangofika kuno munakazikikha kuti?

Kodi ndizotheka kufotokoza ndalama zomwe munali nazo mutafika ku South Africa?

Kodi zinali zophweka kuti mupeze nyumba kapena zinakutengerani nthawi yaitali kuti muyipeze nyumbayo?

Kodi dera lanu lili bwanji? Kodi mungandiuze momwe mumakhalira ndi anthu oyandikana nyumba yanu?

Mutafika ku South Africa, munakhala nthawi yayitali bwanji m'nyumba yoyamba imene munakhalamo?

Kodi n'chiyani chinakuchititsani kuchoka panyumba yoyamba ija?

Kodi mudagwira ntchito nthawi yanji?

Kodi munathandizidwa kuti mupeze ntchito?

Kodi munasangalala ndi ntchito yanu?

Kodi zinakuvutani bwanji kupeza ntchito? Kodi achibale enawo anathanizapo?

Kodi ubale wanu ndi banja lanu ndi wotani?

Kodi mungafotokoze mmene zochitika zenizeni pamoyo wanu zimasiyanirana ndi za amuna?

Gawo 3: Zokhudzana ndi umzika, chipembedzo, ndi fuko: dziko, chilankhulo, ndi mapulani amtsogolo

Kodi munganene kuti ndinu amtundu wa Chewa kapena wa a Yawo?

Kodi mnzanu wapamtima ndi wamtundu wanji? Ndi fuko liti lomwe muli nalo pafupi?

Munalumikizana bwanji ndi anthu amdziko lino mutafika kuno?

Kodi munakuzidwapo ndi tsankho lokudza mtundu wamunthu, mtundu wa khungu lamunthu, dziko kapena chipembedzo chanu? Chonde fotokozani momwe izi zidachitikira, liti, ndi kuti.

Kodi mumakumana ndi zokumana nazo zolumikizana ndi magulu ena, monga Azungu, Amwenye, anthu akuda amu South Africa, Akhristu, Asilamu, Ahindu, ndi Zipembedzo Zachikhalidwe Zachi Africa?

Kodi pali njira yomwe mudalumikizana ndi anthu ena ochokera maiko ena ndipo anasamukira kuno?

Mumatani kuti mulumikizane ndikuthandizana ndi a Malawi omwe anasamukira kuno?

Kodi mabungwe anu ndi ati?

Ndi miyambo yanji, zikhalidwe, zizolowezi, ndi machitidwe omwe mudasunga?

N'chifukwa chiyani mumasunga miyambo imeneyi?

Kodi mungandiuzeke miyambo iti yomwe mwasankha kusintha kapena kusiya kutsatira?

Kodi muli ndi makhalidwe kapena miyambo yiriyonse yomwe mungafune kusiyira ana anu?

Kodi ana anu amatsatira miyambo ina iliyonse?

M'malingaliro anu, "chidziwitso" chanu ndi chiyani ndipo mumachitanthauzira bwanji? Monga, mumadziona ngati Mmalawi, mzika ya South Africa, kapena ndi munthu wa mu Africa

Kodi mungandiuze kuti maganizo anu angakhale otani ngati ana anu adzakwatiwa kunja kwa fuko lawo, (la a Chewa kapena la a Yawo) kapena chipembedzo?

Kodi mukukumbukira nthawi yoyamba yomwe munakumana ndi zipolowe zodana ndi anthu amayiko ena (xenophobia)?

Kodi mudakumanapo ndi anthu wodana ndi Chisilamu (Islamophobia)? Kodi mudakumana ndi xenophobia kapena Islamophobia?

Kodi zinakhala bwanji? Kodi xenophobia kapena Islamophobia idakukhudzani bwanji?

Ndi zopinga ndi zovuta ziti zomwe mumakumana nazo monga mayi wachisilamu wosamukira ku Durban?

Pankhani ya chipembedzo chanu komanso chikhalidwe chanu, mumalimbana bwanji mukamuna ndi mavuto kapena zipinjo zokhoma?

Kodi mumaziwona kuti muli ndi malo mu m'dziko lino?

Kodi mungandiuze kuti malingaliro anu a dziko lino anali otani kapena muli pati pakali pano?

Kodi malingaliro amenewo ndi osiyana tsopano ndi mmene analiri kale kapena ali bwanji panopa?

Kodi chofunikira kwambiri chimene mwapezana nacho ndi chiyani kapena gawo lomwe mwakumana nalo pa moyo wanu?

Kodi mungandifotokozere nthawi ya moyo wanu yomwe munali okondwa kwambiri pamoyo wanu?

Kodi mungafotokoze zomwe mukuganiza kapena mukuwona za tsogolo lanu ku South Africa?

Kodi pali ndemanga zina zomwe mungafune kuti mupereke pa zokambiranazi? Ngati muli ndi ndemanga zina kapena mafunso, chonde ndidziwitseni.

Ntchito ya mbiri yakaleyi sibwenzi ikutheka popanda inu

Chonde landirani kuthokoza kwanga kochokera pansi pamtima chifukwa chotenga nawo gawo pantchitoyi yolembe mbiri yakale. Zikomo potenga nawo gawo mu projekitiyi ya mbiri yakale komanso kutenga nthawi kuti mufotokoze nkhani yanu.

Social Sciences, College of Humanities,
University of KwaZulu-Natal,
Howard Campus,

Informed Consent Document

Dear Participant,

My name is Joseph Yusufu Mbalaka (student no- 215068614). I am a PhD Candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus. The title of my research is **Gender, Religion and Migration: A study of Malawian Chewa and Yawo Muslim women in Durban, 1994- 2017**. This study seeks to analyse the experiences of Chewa and Yawo Muslim migrants from Malawi who settled in Durban between 1994 and 2017. It is particularly interested in the opportunities and constraints they experienced in the context of their gender and religious identities which is absent in the current literature. The non-existence or lack of the Chewa and Yawo Muslim women in international migration literature is now challenged in this investigation. This study is significant as it highlights women's agency in the context of migration, with particular reference to Chewa and Yawo women. The study also allocates the importance of documenting history from "below", a theoretical approach that identify or locate common people (Chewa and Yawo Muslim women) as its subjects.

I am interested in interviewing you because my study attempts to de-masculinise migration historiography by incorporating the silent voices of women.

Please note that:

- Your confidentiality is guaranteed as your inputs will not be attributed to you in person, but reported only as a population member opinion.
- The interview may last for about 60- 90 minutes and may be split depending on your preference.
- Any information given by you cannot be used against you, and the collected data will be used for purposes of this research only.
- Data will be stored in secure storage and destroyed after 5 years.
- You have a choice to participate, not participate or stop participating in the research. You will not be penalised for taking such an action.
- The research aims at knowing the challenges of your community relating to resource scarcity, peoples' movement, and effects on peace.
- Your involvement is purely for academic purposes only, and there are no financial benefits involved.

I can be contacted at: School of Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, and Durban. Email: 215068614@stu.ukzn.ac.za or ndapeuli@gmail.com Cell: 0783924114

My supervisor is Professor Kalpana Hiralal who is located at the School of Social Sciences, Howard College Campus, Durban of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Contact details: Email: hiralalk@ukzn.ac.za Phone number: +27 31 260 7536.

You may also contact the Research Office through:

**HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS
ADMINISTRATION**

Research Office, Westville Campus GovanMbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001 Durban

4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you for your contribution to this research.

Appendix 4: Ethical Clearance



27 August 2020

**Mr Joseph Yusufu Mbalaka (215068614) School Of Social Sciences
Howard College Dear Mr Mbalaka,**

Protocol reference number: HSSREC/00001557/2020

Project title: Gender, Religion and Migration: A study of Malawian Chewa and Yawo Muslim women in Durban, 1994- 2017

Degree: PhD

Approval Notification – Expedited Application

This letter serves to notify you that your application received on 18 May 2020 in connection with the above, was reviewed by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

This approval is valid until 27 August 2021.

To ensure uninterrupted approval of this study beyond the approval expiry date, a progress report must be submitted to the Research Office on the appropriate form 2 - 3 months before the expiry date. A close-out report to be submitted when study is finished.

All research conducted during the COVID-19 period must adhere to the national and UKZN guidelines. HSSREC is registered with the South African National Research Ethics Council (REC-040414-040).

Yours sincerely,



Professor Dipane Hlalele (Chair)



/dd

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
UKZN Research Ethics Office Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000

Tel: +27 31 260 8350 / 4557 / 3587

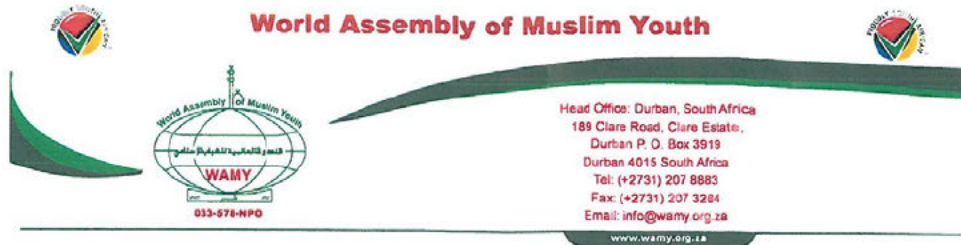
Website: <http://research.ukzn.ac.za/Research-Ethics/>

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Founding Campuses:  Edgewood  Howard College  Medical School  Pietermaritzburg  Westville

INSPIRING GREATNESS

Appendix 5: Gatekeeper's Letter



6th August 2019

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
HOWARD COLLEGE
ETHICAL CLEARANCE (HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS
COMMITTEE)

PERMISSION TO RECRUIT AND CONDUCT INTERVIEWS

This letter serves to confirm that Mr. Joseph Y. Mbalaka has been granted permission by **World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY)** to conduct interviews among the Chewa and Yawo Muslim women in Durban. The title of his research is '*Gender, Religion and Migration: A Study of Malawian Chewa and Yawo Muslim Women in Durban, 1994-2017*'. This study seeks to analyse the experiences of Chewa and Yawo Muslim migrants from Malawi who settled in Durban between 1994 and 2017. It is particularly interested in the opportunities and constraints they experienced in the context of their gender and religious identities.

Mr. Mbalaka seeks, for his PhD, to do a comparative analysis of the migration experiences of the Chewa and Yawo Muslim women. It is argued that little research has been done on the migration experiences of Malawi women (other than the candidate's own research), so this research aims to expand what he has already done to help fill a gap in the literature.

WAMY is a non-governmental organization with the mission statement of enhancing the livelihood, capability and participation of communities through provision of support- systems, programmes and resource to develop the skills and capacity of youth and provide them access to information, education and services. Our vision is to become a leader in youth development with tangible and durable impact on the sustainable development of communities in Southern Africa.

With the support of WAMY, Mr. Mbalaka will not find obstacles in recruiting and conducting interviews.

For further information do not hesitate to contact us .

Sh. Saleem Abu Shareef Banda
WAMY- Director

Appendix 6: Names, Age, Occupation and Marital status of the Respondents.

NAME	A G E	THE RESPON DENT'S ARRIVAL YEAR	OCCUPATION	MARITAL STATUS	PLACE OF RESIDENCE	INTERVIEW DATE
Zione	50	2006	Hawker	Married	Mawelewele	2 July, 2020
Alinafe	42	2010	Saloon (hair dresser)	Married	Sydenham	2 July, 2020
Madalitso	45	2012	Saloon (hairdresser)	Divorced	Savannah Park	3 July, 2020
Ndiwuzza	49	2010	Saloon (hair dresser)	Divorced	Durban CBD	3 July, 2020
Tikhale	46	2014	Domestic worker	Divorced	Chatsworth	3 July, 2020
Yankho	30	2014	Hawker	Single	Mayville	5 July, 2020
Mwandida	22	2017	Domestic worker	Single	Clare Estate	7 July, 2020
Ulemu	23	2017	Domestic worker	Single	Clare Estate	7 July, 2020
Talandira	50	2010	Hawker	Married	Durban CBD	9 July, 2020
Takondwa	26	2017	Hawker	Divorced	Durban CBD	10 July, 2020
Thokozani	30	2015	Domestic worker	Divorced	Mawelewele	15 July, 2020
Thita	38	2014	Domestic worker	Divorced	Mawelewele	15 July, 2020
Hawa Tadala	24	2017	Hawker	Single	Lindelani	17 July, 2020
Halima Kondwani	25	2017	Domestic worker	Single	Lindelani	18 July, 2020
Anisah	49	2016	Hawker	Divorced	Durban CBD	18 July, 2020
Amatullah	30	2010	Domestic worker	Single	Sydenham	20 July, 2020
Amina	48	2008	Hawker	Married	Overport	22 July, 2020
Jameelah	50	2009	Hawker	Married	Burnwood	22 July, 2020
Hamidah	24	2016	Hawker	Single	Isipingo	24 July, 2022
Khadijah	26	2017	Saloon (hair dresser)	Divorced	Progress	21 July, 2020
Hanifa	22	2017	Domestic worker	Single	Village	26 July, 2020
Sakina	20	2017	Domestic worker	Single	Clare Estae	28 July, 2020
Ruqaiyah	28	2017	Hawker	Divorced	Mariannahill	2 August, 2020
Zainab	35	2015	Hawker	Divorced	Clare Estate	3 August, 2020
Ngonji	48	2008	Tailoress	Married	Mariannahill	4 August, 2020
Asawusyeje	22	2016	Hawker	Single	Malukadzi	5 august, 2020
Amale	45	2013	Domestic worker	Divorced	Sherwood	6 August, 2020
Che Laje	43	2013	Tailoress	Divorced	Fourteen	7 August, 2020
Ambulale	40	2014	Tailoress	Divorced	Savannah Park	9 August, 2020
Asawilunda	53	2014	Hawker	Married	Newlands	12 Aug, 2020
Asimanye	30	2015	Domestic worker	Single	Esihlahleni	12 Aug, 2020

Habiba	55	1994		Married	Pinetown	10 Sept, 2020
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