UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

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LIFE STORIES: ETHNOGRAPHIC PORTRAITS OF MIGRANT WOMEN CHALLENGING GENDER BASED VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA (DURBAN)

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

(Human Sciences) in the College of Humanities, School of Arts

Department of Media and Cultural Studies

By

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DECLARATION

I **Venencia Paidamoyo Nyambuya,** certify that the work in this thesis entitled: "Life stories: Ethnographic portraits of migrant women challenging Gender Based Violence in South Africa (Durban)" has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research and it has been written by me. Any help and assistance that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself have been appropriately acknowledged.

In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used in the thesis are cited according to the requirements of the Harvard style of referencing.

Student: Venencia Paidamoyo Nyambuya (Student No: 215081152)

Sign…………………………….

Supervisor: Professor Jean Philippe Wade

Signature:…………………………..

June 2022

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated;

To my late father Nicholas Datsun Chrispen Nyambuya, my mother Setmore Nyambuya and siblings, this is our achievement; my son Cecil for understanding that I had to be away throughout my academic career.

And:

To migrant women living in Durban and those organisations/ structures and individuals that continue to work hard in ensuring that these women are helped despite their migrant status.

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ABSTRACT

Gender-based violence (GBV) is not a new problem –nor is it unique to South Africa. However, the problem is profound and widespread in South Africa, a violent society. South Africa is the regional economic powerhouse, a status that culminates in a huge influx of foreign nationals converging in a centripetal pattern from across the globe in search of the proverbial greener pastures. Multiple waves of violent xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals, coupled with intimate femicide, which is five times the global average, bear testimony to the prevalence of violence in South Africa. GBV is a prevalent phenomenon in societies characterised by a culture of violence, and normalised male dominance. Migrant women living in KwaZulu-Natal endure a double burden of being foreign nationals, which exacerbates their exposure to xenophobia and that of GBV in general. GBV is therefore systemic, and deeply engrained in social institutions, cultures and traditions that exist in contemporary society. Exploring the contours of GBV, this study provided nuanced reflections on the lived experiences of female migrants in Durban and how the women in this study challenged GBV. The study adopted a qualitative approach located within the interpretivist paradigm. Data were collected using in-depth interviews with 15 purposively selected participants. The researcher adopted Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis model to process the data into meaningful themes. Cultural Hegemony theory, Conflict theory, Social Ecological theory and Feminist theories served as the analytical lens for this study. The findings indicated that migrant women's experiences of GBV were mainly drawn from their experiences of xenophobia among other intricate variants to this cause. Migrant women experiences of GBV were identified to have a connection on the their quest for survival leading to them abusing their bodies. The study elicited three themes (n=3), which were presented in three sequential chapters of this doctoral thesis (Chapter 6-8).

Keywords: *gender-based violence, women, migrant, xenophobia, South Africa*

ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
GBV	Gender Based Violence
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
SV	Sexual Violence
GBV	Gender Based Violence
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
SUD	Substance Use Disorder
GAD	Generalised Anxiety Disorder
SDG(s)	Sustainable Development Goal(s)
STI(s)	Sexually Transmitted Infection(s)
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	United Nations Programme on HIV and AIDS
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Fund
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic Social Affairs
WHO	World Health Organization
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HIV	Human Immune Virus
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
KZN	KwaZulu- Natal
CBD	Central Business District

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This chapter informs the reader of the researcher's background and motivation for the present study on the lived experiences of gender-based violence in Durban (KwaZulu Natal). Following this information, the aim of the research study is clarified as a rational consequence of the background and motivation and a chapter outline of the present study is provided.

1.2 Background of the study

Inequalities have exacerbated cross-border migration in the last two decades, and the migration of most African nations to South Africa seeking better prospects has resulted in many injustices for African nationals. In most domains of socialisation and the workplace for this subaltern group, these injustices vary from xenophobic attacks to gender-based violence, among other injustices. Gender-based violence may be the cause, aggravating factor, or result of displacement and forced migration, facilitated by or contributing to displaced people's vulnerable situation. It may appear or be reinforced after displacement, during flight, travel, 'safety', or during the settlement process (Phillimore, et al., 2021; Turner, 2017). Being a foreign woman in a country where there is xenophobia and animosity of African migrants makes life difficult. Internationally condemned types of violence such as violence against foreigners and violence against women appear to be commonplace in South Africa, this is evidenced by the way South Africans interact with minorities and disadvantaged groups (Fuller, 2008; Sigsworth et al., 2008; Sigsworth, 2010).

Apt to note is that, African foreign women living in South Africa (Durban) are faced with "twin burdens" of injustice, making them vulnerable to gender-based violence. While migration and asylum laws purport to protect migrants from persecution based on their ethnicity, religion, country, or membership in a particular social group, the idea of persecution based on gender is frequently neglected. Because of the growing number of individuals relocating from one place to another, migration can now be regarded as complicated and extremely gendered, with an increasing number of women relocating in search for proverbial greener pastures (Gouws, 2010). To fully understand the realities of migrant women in South Africa, it is also necessary

to understand their encounters with gender-based violence. This is due to the fact that male and female migrant experiences differ (Boyd & Grieco, 2014; Collins & Low).

Migrant women's experiences are often identical and indicate vulnerabilities and challenges. Important to note is that migrants are clearly placed outside of their usual residences, away from their relatives, and in a region where they may not comprehend the language or culture (Ajlan, 2022). The majority of migrants that come to South Africa do so with high hopes of a better life; yet, there are various obstacles between their home country and their country of destination. Their socio-economic and political backgrounds have an impact on how they respond to issues they face in a transnational environment. Migrant women are robbed of their traditional community support systems and are thus vulnerable to circumstances such as gender-based violence, xenophobia and discrimination.

1.3 Rationale of the study/ problem statement

I am a Zimbabwean living in South Africa (both Johannesburg and now Durban), where I came across many African women who have been victims of gender-based violence; foreigners, including from my own country, who were traumatized victims, in a variety of ways. It was baffling – and shocking - that this was happening in a country that has been for years trying to curb violence against women hence the formal adoption of gender equality in 1996. The new constitution recognizes the rights of men and women to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres. It also guarantees the right to equal pay and voids all laws, customs, traditions and cultural practices that oppress women (Mdleleni et al., 2021).

The stories of the human scale of suffering and abuse I felt remained largely unheard in the media, since many of the women subjected to this violence were either of a tender age or uneducated, hence dependent on their male counterparts who either hailed from their home countries or of South African descent. Some were even educated but because of societal expectations and the quick dismissal of the change in gender roles by elders they were still located in the traditional and cultural ways of doing things. I wanted to enable their voices to be heard, and the best way to achieve this was to listen to their life-stories. Cultural Studies has since its beginnings placed a huge emphasis upon the subjective 'lived experience' of ordinary people (rather than 'detached' entirely theoretical studies), and in recent years this has also extended to 'life stories' of most usually marginalized people (in this case women). It seemed to me that this methodology of paying careful attention to the narratives of these victims of

gender-based violence– their understandings of their situation, their pain – would contribute meaningfully to the field of media, cultural studies and gender studies more so, giving a deeper understanding of the role culture plays in oppressing women.

Of all the academic texts that have influenced this project, Pierre Bourdieu's monumental collection of contemporary life-stories, The Weight of the World: Social Suffering in Contemporary Society (2000) was the most important guide. My study therefore focused on lived experiences of African women particularly African women living in South Africa and how their experiences of GBV have shaped their lives in general. While it will extensively address the various academic explanations for gender-based violence in South Africa the central focus of the thesis will be on the victims of this violent act.

This study is inspired by the quest to understand how women remain in increasingly violent and abusive relationships. The research is also a critical response to the way the media generally handles gender- based violence discourse; the researcher argues that the media is not doing enough to give a voice to the marginalised (migrant community) in South Africa. There is an increase in the number of cases reported on GBV, although accurate statistics are difficult to obtain for many reasons (including the fact that most incidents of GBV are not reported (Machisa et al., 2011), it is evident that South Africa has particularly a high rate of GBV among other crimes. Gender based violence seriously affects victims and dependants' health among other pertinent aspects of one's life. The lived experience focus of this study sought to highlight an understanding of the phenomenon in a broader sense paying attention to victims' life stories of GBV in a hostile xenophobic environment, with the quest to understand how these women remain resilient and overcome such hurdles given the twin burdens of GBV and xenophobia that they encounter.

1.4 Justification of the research

Violence and the abuse of women present an alarming challenge to development policy makers as it destabilizes and undermines the human rights agenda. In South Africa GBV pervades the political, economic and social structures of society and is driven by strongly patriarchal social norms and complex intersectional power inequalities including those of gender race, class and sexuality (Cornelius et al, 2014). While a number of studies on gender-based violence have been conducted in South Africa, very little has been done on *the lived experiences* of female migrant victims who are facing the twin burdens of being an African foreigner as well as a

woman. Thus, foreign African women have not only been subjected to abuse and violence but have not been given the platform to voice their experiences in public; rather the discussions are left in the four walls of counselling rooms if they even attend any. This is so because most (not all) of these women who form part of the study are illegal immigrants who fear the public eye because of their immigration status which adds to the already existing burdens of being foreign nationals, which exacerbates their exposure to xenophobia and GBV. This study is important especially in this epoch where we have witnessed gross human rights perpetrated against vulnerable groups, women and children in South Africa.

1.5 Philosophical underpinnings of the study

Noteworthy in any study is the need to locate and critically highlight the philosophical underpinnings of a study. The current study is located in the field of cultural studies with a focus of gender based violence in the migrant community in Durban, and as such, it is cognisant of the fact that GBV is an epidemic and a culturally accepted disease. According to the WHO (2013) gender-based violence is a global public health problem of epidemic proportions and a fundamental violation of human rights. As such the phenomenon is intricately related to various social, economic and cultural determinants among others. Importantly, from a cultural studies perspective the study sustains a keen commitment to addressing the issue of gender-based violence in its appropriate context paying attention to several factors (socio-religious, economic and cultural), either distal or causal, which effectively interact to influence the existence of the said phenomenon.

Most importantly, the study places human rights at the center of engaging with gender-based violence in South Africa, with a particular interest in the country's most traditionally preserved province - KwaZulu-Natal. This comes after the realization that most women who suffer this violence hail from places or societies that promote the subjugation and prejudice of women either local or foreign. Thus, the data collection process was informed by a social justice approach, which aimed at giving a voice to the marginalized in this case foreign women living in Durban- KwaZulu-Natal.

1.6 Aim of the study

The aim of this research was to pay particular attention to the 'lived experiences' of victims of this phenomenon from a number of African countries living in Durban South Africa. It is

critical that the researcher indicates that the study focused on GBV in the émigré community – women who have come from other parts of Africa to South Africa, and experienced GBV in South Africa, with BOTH local and fellow immigrant men. From these 'lived experiences' a number of interpreted themes emerged. This was achieved by engaging victims of this brutality in extended interviews which form the basis of focused 'life-stories', where they took the researcher through their journey from their country of origin to a violent space (KwaZulu Natal-Durban).

1.7 Research Questions

For this research topic a number of research questions are raised:

1. What is the understanding of GBV according to migrant women's experiences?

2. How does GBV manifest in South Africa?

3. What are the ethnographic life-stories/narratives of African female migrants?

4. How did African female migrant victims experience GBV?

1.8 Objectives of the study

1. To acquire an understanding of GBV from the experiences of migrant women

2. To explore the manifestation of GBV in South Africa

3. To capture the life stories/narratives of African female migrants

4. To explore/understand the experiences of GBV among African female migrants

1.9 Thesis Outline

The outline of the thesis is presented below.

Chapter 1: Introduction

As illustrated above, Chapter One is an introductory chapter which provides a background to the study, outlines study objectives, and explains the need for the study as well as the research questions the study sought to answer.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Chapter Two is an overview of the literature review pertaining to gender-based violence in South Africa. It focuses on studies that have been carried out in the field of gender issues; in so doing the researcher is able to locate the gap this study seeks to fill.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Explanations to the existence of gender-based violence

Chapter Three provides a general overview of the theoretical underpinnings to the existence of gender based violence in contemporary South Africa.

Chapter 4: Research methodology

The chapter describes the methodology employed in the study making use of qualitative ethnographic methods in order to make possible the gathering and analysis of data. Particular focus is given to 'life-story' research, central to Cultural Studies, where the subjective lived experiences of the researched is central. It describes the research setting, data collection instruments, data collection, and data analysis. It also describes in detail how issues of rigor and ethical considerations were addressed.

Chapter 5: Presentation of findings and participants' narratives

The chapter provides the reader an insight into the findings derived from the data set. A map of emergent themes is provided in tabular manner and the Chapter further captures the socio-demographic information of the participants before dwelling into their life stories. The stories of participants narrating their experiences from the time they left their home country, is drawn from the interviews with 15 African female foreigners. The interviews are constructed into narratives.

Chapter 6: Understanding GBV from a migrant's perspective

The chapter provides the reader with an understanding of GBV from a subaltern (migrant) perspective in South Africa drawing this understanding from participants' experiences of GBV and xenophobia in South Africa.

Chapter 7: Negotiation of Power and Survival via the body

The chapter provides the reader with an understanding of migrant women's survival strategies adopted in a xenophobic space like Durban, drawing from their migratory and xenophobic

experiences to the lack of authentic documentation and the quest to make ends meet despite the aforementioned difficulties faced by migrants in South Africa.

Chapter 8: Female migrants post their GBV experiences

This chapter provides a mirror into the lives of migrant women after their experiences of violence. It gives an outline of how they confronted GBV and managed to survive despite their ordeals.

Chapter 9: Integrative discussion

This chapter provides an integrated discussion of the study's key findings. Overall, it summarizes the findings reported on, in relation to the relevant and current literature. It provides proposals for policy and gender-based violence interventions not only in South Africa but those which can be applied to a broader scale. The chapter is concluded by highlighting the doctoral study's contribution to scholarship and providing suggestions for future research paths. Limitations of the study are also highlighted in this chapter.

1.12 Conclusion

This chapter's main objective was to provide background information for the study. It briefly explored the idea of gender-based violence before narrowing it down to the study's focus on the lived experiences of African migrant women in Durban. This chapter argues that migrant women are particularly exposed to gender-based violence because they are at the crossroads of groups in South Africa that are subject to exploitation and abuse. This chapter outlined the research questions and objectives that guided the study's focus, as well as a detailed summary of the entire thesis.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the reader with an in-depth understanding of gender-based violence in South Africa by first defining gender-based violence (GBV) from different scholarly points of view and then providing a review of gender studies that have been carried out in South Africa. The researcher is concerned with tracing the root causes of such brutality as well as outlining the local and historical development of the said phenomenon.

2.2 Defining gender based violence

GBV is violence against women based on women's subordinate status in society. It includes any act or threat by men or male dominated institutions that inflict physical, sexual, or psychological harm on a woman or girl because of their gender. It is indiscriminate, cutting across racial, ethnic, class, age, economic, religious and cultural divides (Johnson, 2004). While women, girls, men and boys can be victims of GBV, the main focus of this thesis is on violence against women (in particular immigrants to South Africa from the African continent). This is not to say that gender-based violence against men does not exist (Bloom 2008, 14).

GBV is a phenomenon used to describe violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women. Violence against women is understood as a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women and shall mean all acts of gender-based violence that result in, or are likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life. (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2019)

Meanwhile the World Health Organization (WHO) has described violence against women as "a global public health problem of epidemic proportion" (WHO, 2013:3). The burden of gender-based violence is distributed unequally, with women from low- to middle-income countries of the Global South more susceptible (Carrington et al., 2018; Miedema & Fulu, 2018; WHO, 2013). As summed up by UNFPA (2008-2011), the primary targets of GBV are women and adolescent girls, but not only are they at high risk of GBV, they also suffer

exacerbated consequences as compared with what men endure. As a result of gender discrimination and their lower socio-economic status, women have fewer options and less resources at their disposal to avoid or escape abusive situations and to seek justice. They also suffer consequences on their sexual and reproductive health, including forced and unwanted pregnancies, unsafe abortions and resulting deaths, traumatic fistula, and higher risks of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and HIV (UNFPA Strategy and Framework for Action to Addressing GBV, 2008-2011: 7).

In addition, GBV is defined in various ways by different researchers and organizations. Thus, it is the general "term used to capture violence that occurs as a result of the normative role-expectations associated with each gender, as well as the unequal power relationships between the genders within the context of a specific society" (Bloom 2008: 14). This definition helps in understanding the existence of this brutality in any context - in this case, the South African context. In most cultures, traditional beliefs, norms and social institutions legitimize and therefore perpetuate violence against women. Gender violence occurs in both the 'public' and 'private' spheres (Perrin, et al., 2019). Such violence not only occurs in the family and in the general community but is sometimes also perpetuated by the state through policies or the actions of agents of the state such as the police, military or immigration authorities. Gender-based violence happens in all societies, across all social classes, with women particularly at risk from men they know (Mashiri, 2013; Gordon & Collins, 2013; IRIN, 2007).

More so, 'gender-based violence' and 'violence against women' are terms that are often used interchangeably as most gender-based violence is inflicted by men on women and girls (Opanasenko et al., 2021; Linos, 2009). However, the researcher argues that it is important to retain the 'gender-based' aspect of the concept as this highlights the fact that violence against women is an expression of power inequalities between women and men. The terms are used interchangeably, as it is always understood that gender-based violence means violence against women and vice versa. Through this definition the researcher sought to understand these questions (i) why women? (ii) What is it that men need to oppress from this already subordinate group in society by further perpetuating violence either physical or emotional among other injustices faced by women?

Thus, violence against women is a persistent and universal problem occurring in every culture and social group. This violence against women has been called the most pervasive yet least recognized human rights abuse in the world (Carillo, 1992). Accordingly, the Second World

Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993 and the Fourth World Conference on women in 1994 gave priority to this issue, which jeopardizes women's lives, bodies, psychological integrity and freedom. The violence inherited from apartheid still resonates profoundly in today's South African society dominated by deeply entrenched patriarchal attitudes towards the role of women in society which makes violence against women and children an almost accepted social phenomenon.

2.3 Applied studies on gender based violence

Many Gender studies have of course been carried out in Africa, more particularly focused on the causes of this violent act (see for example; Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation (SLF) and Sonke Gender Justice Study on Gender based violence in South Africa (SLF&SGJ, 2015). However, the researcher noted that only a few address the traumatic experiences of the victims of this aggression. This creates a space for the life-stories of this thesis.

Contemporary research has revealed a complex interaction of contributing factors to violence against women. One of the most influential determinants of gender-based violence against women is the unequal distribution of resources and power between women and men in society (Agbo & Viashima, 2022; Abdullah, et al, 2022; Jewkes, et al., 2015). Individuals and communities who ascribe to these attitudes tend to consider men as superior to women and that the role of men in the family and in the community is to have the power to make decisions about their livelihoods and the ways in which the family functions (Granlund & Hochfeld, 2020).

Men typically have economic and social power and resources as they have the freedom to engage in employment and education and participate in the community. According to Foucault (1998: 63) "power is wielded by people or groups (men) by way of 'episodic' or 'sovereign' acts of domination or coercion, seeing it instead as dispersed and pervasive". He argues that "power is everywhere and comes from everywhere so in this sense it is neither an agency nor a structure" (Foucault, 1979:93).The researcher therefore argues that it is in these power struggles that society expects women to be docile and to subscribe to the expectations of their family and/or community thereby subjecting them to GBV. More so, access to education, health care, income and political representation are often curtailed for women in these circumstances (Soetan et al., 2022; World Health Organisation, 2010). With these notions in play it is apt to note that the emancipation of women in a society that bemoans the existence or

rather that looks at women as the 'other' needs to change this will aid in eradicating the social echelons that are traditionally and culturally endorsed with the belief that an external force (violence) should be put into play for men to remain more powerful.

In addition, South Africa has been labelled as a traditionally embedded community in Africa (Nyamnjoh, 2010). With such characteristics the South African society contains the notion of male dominance which manifests violence over females in society. Through this, a violent culture is brewed at grassroots levels through the process of nurturing a male child and this places women at risk of this aggression from men now and in the long run. The researcher argues that it is not only physical abuse: a lot of violence occurs to women in subtle non-physical ways. Physical abuse is of course only an aspect- however horrific. Some scholars argue that the media is often accused of exacerbating the situation with news coverage portraying women in negative stereotypes (Tran, 2022; Asmelash, Remmers & Tiffany, 2018) or being sensational and using words like *"Sma(e)ll house/ side dish or side chick/ makhwapeni"* or *"bitch"*. Even the images of women in adverts promote women's oppression (Rahman et al., 2022; Berberick, 2010). Through these communicative mediums women have not only been subjected to abuse by men but also reinforce the abuse by agreeing to appear in images that objectify them; hence, the domineering power of men in society has been extended by the women themselves.

Furthermore, many reasons for gender-based violence have been suggested. Women have been blamed for the ills of many failed marriages or households. It is apt to note that since the emancipation of women and challenges to patriarchal society many countries in Africa have men who have failed to cope with the change in gender roles, hence a rise in gender-based violence in a family setup or even beyond (Stark et al., 2022; WHO, 2009). The change in gender roles is seen as a challenge by most men resulting in the rise of this brutality more than ever in the 21st century. Although accurate statistics are difficult to obtain for many reasons including the fact that most incidents of GBV are not reported, it is evident that South Africa has particularly high rates of gender-based violence (Finchilescu et al., 2022). Population-based surveys show very high levels of intimate partner violence (IPV) and non-partner sexual violence (SV) in particular, with IPV being the most common form of violence against women. (Dartnall et al, 2012).

According to Western (2013); Nasir et al (2013); Amusseni (1995) most men believe there is a relationship between violence (of any nature) and discipline, hence the never ending debates

on the abuse of women globally. Western (2013) and Cho (2012) argue that women may be at an increased risk of violence when they do not have access to financial security to support themselves and their children or to make decisions about how they might live their lives. Additionally, women have fewer choices to leave or manage a violent domestic situation if they do not have access to independent financial support (Garcia-Cueller, 2022; Waldrop & Resick, 2004). With the growing insecurities that men have it is apt to note that the notion of gender equality has exacerbated the level of violence on women by men. Thus, men are not ready to let go of power hence the discourse on gender violence is still in motion even after the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing which marked a significant turning point for the global agenda for gender equality (The United Nations, 1995). The conference prioritized 12 areas of concern and was unanimously adopted by 189 UN member countries.

Western (2013) further argues that beliefs and adherence to rigidly defined gender roles and stereotypes for women and men may be expressed at individual, social, cultural, community and institutional levels. These may include beliefs that what happens within a family is that family's personal concern and responsibility (Western, 2013). The researcher argues that cultural attitudes may hold that violence is an acceptable means to resolve conflict and that the use of violence and control against women are acceptable actions to maintain social order. Therefore the issue of traditional and cultural notions inhibit women to remain in their subordinate positions.

Some scholars argue that community attitudes to gender equality and gender equity are more influential predictors of attitudes towards gender-based violence against women (Yang et al., 2021; Uthman et al., 2009). Attitudes within peer groups by organizations such as sporting clubs, religious institutions (UN, 2007) and social networks are persuasive in shaping attitudes towards gender equality. Cultural factors play a significant role in individual and community attitudes towards gender-based violence against women and these vary across cultures, ethnicities, races and religions (Alesina et al., 2021; Uthman et al., 2009). These variables cut across every aspect of women's lives.

2.4 Explanations to the existence of gender based violence

Drivers of GBV are the factors which lead to and perpetuate GBV (Mazanga, 2020) and these factors give an understanding of why it exists and how it emanates. GBV is more prevalent in societies where there is a culture of violence, and where male superiority is treated as the norm

(Hadi, 2017). A belief in male superiority can manifest in men feeling entitled to sex with women, strict reinforcement of gender roles and hierarchy (and punishment of transgressions), women having low social value and power, and associating masculinity with control of women (Namy et al., 2017). These factors interact with a number of drivers, such as social norms (which may be cultural or religious), low levels of women's empowerment, lack of social support, socio-economic inequality, and substance abuse (True, 2012; Jewkes, 2002).Through these factors it is apt to note that although measures have been set aside to protect women by many governments the existence of GBV has a social and cultural explanation to it and reaches a point where its non-existence is a fallacy given that most African communities are generally resistant to change.

2.4.1 Patriarchy

The concept of patriarchy has been central to many gender studies. The concept attempts to explain the stratification of power and privilege by gender that can be observed by many objective measures (Lenski, 2013). A patriarchy, from the ancient Greek *patriarchies*, was a society where power was held by and passed down through the elder males (Millet, 2016). When modern historians and sociologists describe a "patriarchal society," they mean that men hold the positions of power and have more privilege: head of the family unit, leaders of social groups, boss in the workplace, and heads of government (Shrestha, 2017). The researcher argues that patriarchy is a social construct coupled with cultural and traditional beliefs, where dominance in society lies in the male figure. Mukherjee (2013) argue that patriarchy describes a general structure in which men have power over women wherein the society consists of a male-dominated power structure throughout organized society and in individual relationships. It is in this society where power is related to privilege thus, men have some level of privilege to which women are not entitled to (Mlaba, 2020).

In many cultures, men's violence against women is considered acceptable within certain settings or situations. Jewkes (2002) argues that this social acceptability of violence makes it particularly challenging to address GBV effectively. In South Africa in particular, GBV pervades the political, economic and social structures of society and is driven by strongly patriarchal social norms and complex and intersectional power inequalities, including those of gender, race, class and sexuality (Cornelius, Shahrokh & Mills 2015).

Ultimately, gendered power inequality has its roots in patriarchy thus, it is considered the primary driver of GBV. More so, patriarchy is more rampant in societies where there is a

'culture of violence', and where 'male superiority' is treated as the norm (Jewkes 2002). Thus, South Africa is labelled as a country of general hostility with violence being the common denominator in males, cutting across any tribe or ethnic group. In the province of KZN, which still tries to safeguard its Zulu heritage, gender violence is at its peak compared to other provinces. (Harrison, 2008). In many cultures, particularly African culture, men's violence against women is considered acceptable within certain settings or situations thus social acceptability of violence makes it particularly challenging to address GBV effectively.

2.4.2 Economics

The economic imbalance that exists in the region has had a lot of repercussions when one looks at the issue of gender-based violence. With the economy at its knees in most parts of Southern Africa, it is apt to note that women have attracted frustrations from the male figure in their dwelling spaces, thus, they are a soft target for this violence. Lack of economic independence among women is a key driver of GBV (Gass et al. 2010; Ludsin & Vetten 2005 & Jewkes, 2002). It is thus difficult for women who are economically reliant on their male partners to leave abusive relationships. The studies cited above confirm that there is a strong link between poverty and GBV. However, other studies (e.g. Macline et al., 2022; Heise et al. 2002) argue that poverty is not the single factor driving GBV. The relationship between poverty and GBV is not linear and there are multiple other factors (deliberated on later) that also significantly contribute to GBV.

It is apt to note that changes in the economic status of women may help to reduce GBV; however, in some instances may increase it. Studies (e.g. Abdel-Salam et al., 2022; Christy et al., Kiss et al. 2012) have found that educated and financially independent women are less likely to be abused. This is because they are more poised about leaving such relationships or reporting the abuse to relevant authorities. One may argue that women's economic empowerment may be an abuse risk factor for women in relationships. For instance, since 1994, many South African women have become educated and have entered the labour market (Wakefield et al., 2022). Given the generic patriarchies that exist in South Africa with specific reference to the Zulu kingdom this represents a loss of power and authority.

Culturally, men have generally been ascribed the roles of head of household, protector and provider. The current South African social and economic conditions, including the impact of the global financial crisis, make it difficult for many men to achieve 'complete' masculinity, such as securing jobs, marrying, fathering children or establishing their own households

(Hunter 2006; Niehaus 2005). Unemployment in South Africa is high, many young men do not work, and some are solely dependent on women for survival (Sigsworth 2009; Reid & Walker 2005).Thus, some men feel that women have taken the roles that were previously allocated to men, thus a change in *gender roles*. This has led men into the general assumption of power having been usurped by the women resulting in uncertainty, insecurity and anxiety.

In this context, GBV becomes a prominent mechanism through which to reinforce male power and authority (Abrahams et al., 2009). In the crisis of male identity, violence is sometimes used as a tool to try to maintain patriarchal power (Moura et al., 2022; Hunnicutt, 2009). Some men become frustrated and angry when they can no longer live up to traditional forms of masculinity, such as providing materially and financially, which often leads to them reacting violently to their economically independent female partners (Dolan 2001; Sigsworth 2009). It is important that men are engaged in various interventions to deal with the problem of GBV. Evidence shows that effectively engaging men in gender-equality work can have benefits for women, children and the men themselves (Sathiparsad 2008).

Noteworthy, is that this violence has since extended to a normalised and accepted phenomenon of the famous 'blesser' discourse in South Africa. In the quest to be financially liberated, the female is seen to be at the mercy of the 'lion' (men).One may argue that this phenomenon is a contested terrain, as some scholars would argue that it is a form of employment; at the same time other scholars argue that it is exploitation of women given their financial incapacity which in turn makes women susceptible to risky sexual behaviour. Whilst the blesser and blessed relationships remain transactional in nature (Sprague et al., 2021; Moodley et al., 2019), it is situated within the "sex for improved social status" paradigm, which Stoebenau (2016) argues places women as sexual agents who engage in this form of transactional sex for lifestyle attainment (Mampane, 2018: Stoebeanu, 2016). Literature has however pointed out that despite these relationships being driven by aspiration as opposed to survival, women's agency remains compromised(Sprague et al., 2021), thereby potentially exposing women to risky sexual behaviour and increased HIV risk.

However, as a result of this brutality it is apt to conclude that gender based violence has substantial economic significances. The high rate of GBV places a heavy burden on the health and criminal justice systems, as well as rendering many survivors unable to work or otherwise move freely in society (Muller, 2014). A 2014 study by KPMG also estimated that GBV, and in particular violence against women, cost the South African economy a minimum of between

R28.4 billion and R42.4 billion, or between 0.9% and 1.3% of gross domestic product (GDP) in the year 2012/2013 (KPMG, 2014). These figures are an indication of the burden amassed by gender-based violence on the economy.

2.4.3 Tradition and Culture

Cultural identities contain the histories of a people that include traditions, struggles, achievements, and triumphs (Dabby, 2018). Cultures nourish pride, resilience, belonging, intersectional identities, and connection to the community (Njeze, et al., 2020). However, the researcher contends that in African communities culture is used to justify gender violence and inequality by evoking traditional beliefs and practices about how women and girls should be treated. If culture defines the spaces within which power is expressed and gender roles are enshrined, then the existence of this violence will forever exist (Njogu & Orchardson- Mazrui, 2013; Jackson 1991). Surprisingly this culture of 'gender-based violence' is used to justify the way men treat women. GBV is still a contested terrain given that women have been emancipated but women are still found at the mercy of this violence and the researcher believes that tradition and culture have a significant role that they play to exacerbate the situation.

The culture of gender-based violence and misogyny devalues women, normalizes abuse; claims GBV is accidental; ignores sexism; promotes aggressive or even toxic masculinity; and uses men's achievements to exonerate, excuse, and/or deny the impact of their behaviour (O'Connor et al., 2021; Hesford, 2021; Bickerton, 2015). Thus, cultures of ethnic and 'identity-specific communities' prescribe and maintain traditional, patriarchal gender norms and roles; define 'transgressions' from these norms; patrol the boundaries of what they deem is and is not culturally acceptable – enforcing compliance by violence, coercion, pressure, rejection, or, as one gay survivor put it, 'death by a thousand paper cuts' (Munro & Work , 2020; Huber, 2002).

In the context of immigrants in South Africa the researcher contends that the issue of otherness (foreign/ they do not belong to the subset of the Zulu culture given that the study was conducted in Durban) evades justice and deprives these women of other essential services that are only readily available to South African citizens but not easily accessible to foreign nationals. The researcher argues that it is this demarcation that makes it difficult for foreigners to report cases of violence and abuse. The researcher argues that culture influences how gender violence is viewed: minimized by society as an accidental problem, used as a convenient explanation by communities (the abuse of migrant women is used as an excuse that they do not belong in South Africa and their migrant status deprives them from what they can or cannot do) or linked to

stereotyping by the media and society (Warrier, 2008 & 2007). Thus, the blinkers society has on change of roles have a direct influence on how women are treated. Thus, a society with such a mind-set has women exposed to this violence on a daily basis hence the need to educate communities' on the change that has hit the continent and the world.

Moletsane et al. (2008:23) explain how the notion of 'our culture' is used to 'justify the oppression of girls and women by regulating what they may or may not do'. A constant 'invoking [of] the patriarchal content of Zulu culture' (Bhana, de Lange, & Mitchell, 2009:50) underpins the expectations for a Zulu woman to on the one hand uphold the culture, take her place in the kitchen, take care of the children, remain faithful to her husband, and so on, while on the other hand it also points to male '... anger, fear and hostilities around gender equality ... located in the context of women's increasing (political) autonomy'(Bhana, de Lange, and Mitchell, 2009, 49).

Warrier (2002) elaborates on traditional and contemporary views of culture, questioning who defines 'culture' and justifies its practices. He argues that people have come to understand culture as stable patterns of beliefs, thoughts, traditions, values, and practices that are handed down from one generation to the next to ensure the continuity of these systems (Warrier, 2002).The researcher argues that traditions actually shift and change under changing social and political landscapes. Thus culture does not reveal stable patterns, but dynamic ones where experiences and commonalities continually re-shape it (Warrier, 2002). Thus, with these changes in place it is apt to note that even the patterns of gender-based violence continue to be reshaped (changing) as a result of these underlying changes that are either social economic and or political. GBV patterns have been reshaped by the change in gender roles, through these changes it is apt to note that women are more susceptible to violence than ever before because a change in gender roles means a challenge posed on the macho tendencies that men inhabit.

2.4.4 Alcohol consumption and substance abuse

Alcohol plays an important role in perpetuation of gender violence and in coping with victimisation among women (Shiva, et al., 2021). It acts as a proximal factor along with distal factors like relationship problems in the perpetuation of gender-based violence. It appears that patriarchy and power imbalance in societies add to the risk. The effects of other substances like cannabis and stimulants used along with alcohol have an additive effect on GBV. The role of alcohol-related policies like decreasing alcohol outlet density, prohibition, and increasing the

minimum legal age for drinking have shown some evidence in reducing partner violence but cannot be generalised to all contexts (Shiva, et al., 2021).

Heavy alcohol consumption is often associated with masculinity and male camaraderie, where men are encouraged and even expected to drink excessively in order to satisfy male gendered expectations (Bloomfield et al., 2006). When men partake in typically masculine behaviours such as heavy drinking or risky sex, this can often lead to violence against their partners and families disproportionately impacting on women and girls. Research shows that intimate-partner violence (IPV) is five times higher in relationships where one or both partners abuse alcohol (Aguerreberre et al., 2021; Mootz et al., 2021; Gondolf, 1995). Alcohol abuse among men, as well as intimate-partner violence, is often a manifestation of an underlying need for power and control related to gender-based distortions and insecurities (Dipnarain, 2021)

The courage that alcohol provides men with can be closely linked to the phenomenon of gang culture that exists across Southern Africa (Joe-Laidler & Hunt, 2012; Walsh & Mitchell, 2006). Socio-economic factors such as unemployment, overcrowded living situations and domestic violence lead many youths to create new 'homes' and 'families' on the streets and with gangs. (Kahler, 2021; Walsh & Mitchell, 2006). Gang members are admired for their fighting prowess, success with women, and criminal daring, which often includes rape (Walsh & Mitchell, 2006). Apt to note is that drinking alcohol is used as a coping mechanism to enable and reward participation in these acts. For many gangs, new members are expected to go through an initiation or rite of passage that is designed to test the newcomer's toughness and masculinity (Hunt & Laidler, 2001). Often these initiations, of which alcohol is an integral part, can involve perpetrating violence and rape against women and girls (Hunt & Laidler, 2001). The links between alcohol, gangsterism and HIV are beginning to be examined and addressed in research and interventions but the impact of gangsterism on gender-based violence is rarely acknowledged.

The relationship between alcohol use and gender-based violence (GBV), including intimate partner violence (IPV), is well established (Leonard et al., 2017; Freeman et al., 2015). An international study on Gender, Alcohol, and Culture (GENACIS study) collected data from 38 countries across five continents and found that higher quantity of alcohol consumption is associated with an increased risk as well as the severity of partner violence. This association is consistent across different cultures, even in countries with low overall rates of drinking

(Wilsnack, 2012). However, the exact pathways of how both are linked are not yet clear. For example, what is known is that men who do not use alcohol can also perpetrate GBV while several men who drink are not violent towards their partners (Shiva, et al., 2021). In addition to this understanding, it is also essential to evaluate how this knowledge can be used in preventing violence and developing interventions for men in alcohol use programmes.

2.4.5 Colonisation and gender based violence

In African contexts, even where colonialism covered a relatively short period of time (such as in Nigeria and in Zimbabwe) it is critical to understand that colonialism involved gender and sexuality in ways which influence contemporary realities and they did so in different ways (Jiwani, 2011; Zantop, 1997). The histories of colonialism brought (mostly) European men with particular concepts of gender and particular ideas about women and men's sexual roles, about what constituted 'moral' forms of sexual behaviour, and about ideas which linked religious ideologies to notions of purity, through which all sexuality was thought of as dangerous, and only reproductive sex in non-polygamous marriage gained the blessing of the colonial gaze (Wollacott, 2006; Mort, 2002; Puri, 2002).

The resistance against colonialism, which took many forms, also deserves exploration in terms of how questions of gender and sexuality played out in the creation of strategies to undermine or attack colonial power (Bhabha, 2013). Apt to note is that forms of resistance included the formation of guerrilla armies, protests against particular laws or policies, and negotiation (Zunes, 1999). Scholars argue that where the formation of underground and/or guerrilla armies was involved, gender norms changed in some ways to allow the participation of women into guerrilla movements (such as in Uganda, and Zimbabwe), but retained notions of masculinity which put women combatants at risk of sexual assault (O'Gorman, 2011; Spencer, 2014; Hendricks & Sigsworth, 2018)

In addition, discourses of liberation movement resistance included encouragement of reproduction (as a way of combating settler efforts to 'control' population) and male guerrilla fighters' sexual prowess was expected as part and parcel of heroism (Kriger, 2003). More so, in colonial economies, families were broken up by the demands of struggles against colonialism, and this too, had impacts both on new options for sexual liaisons and marriages, new exposure to different climates and sexual norms (Chatterjee, 1989). It also had impacts on family lives in other ways - wives may have gone for years without seeing their husbands who

were in detention, underground, or in faraway army activity (Ndebele, 2003).The researcher likens this to the current situation in contemporary Africa where men are seen migrating from home countries to South Africa in search for proverbial greener pastures.

Some scholars argue that notions and strategies of colonial domination are used by patriarchy to continue male dominance over women (Kanuha, 2002; Sultana, 2010). While some scholars argue that there is need to counter claims that colonization led to violence against women, by pointing out that there is a tight connection between colonization and patriarchy (Kanuha, 2002). Some scholars argue that you could not have colonization without patriarchy thus institutions of colonization rely on political power, access to resources, strategies of oppression and mobility - all the things men seem to have (Prilleltensky, 2008; Dutt, 2002; Kanuha, 2002). From this argument the researcher argues that it is erroneous to scapegoat the colonisers for violence against women in our cultures. Patriarchy and colonization go hand in hand and it is this nexus that keeps the structures of gender violence so well entrenched (Kanuha, 2002).

Kanuha (2002) further strips away the claims that colonization is to blame for domestic violence and draws parallels between the strategies of colonizers and batterers. Most activists do not excuse male violence because of colonization; although the men in our communities use this argument in their own defence, they cannot, or will not, or feel threatened about, taking responsibility for their violence against women. Thus, men resort to blaming the white colonizers. The researcher argues that women must not allow that analysis to dominate and resist the ways our own communities force women to silence, hurt, oppression and disrespect the voices of women.

2.4.6 Gender based violence and religion

Over the centuries there has been attempts to define the phenomenon of religion. These attempts have come from various perspectives, ranging from the psychological, sociological and anthropological to the philosophical and theological (Momen,1999) and, most recently, they have come from a biological perspective (Hammer, 2005). Religion is thus, a shared collection of transcendental beliefs that have been passed on from believers to converts, that are held by adherents to be actively meaningful and serious and either based on (1) formally documented doctrine (organized religion) or (2) established cultural practices (folk religion). In both forms, there are religious professionals who embody formal aspects of the religion and who act in positions of leadership and governance, and there are certain rituals reserved for

them to carry out. The beliefs generate practical implications on how life should be lived (Mohanasundaram, 2018).

The discrimination against women has its roots from the creation account where a woman is believed to have been fashioned out of man's ribs (Shemesh, 2021; Ushe 2015; Casimir, 2014). Many scholars vehemently opposed the idea of women as having the same full human nature as men (Wamue- Ngare et al., 2021; Crawford, 2002; Walker, 1977). While some scholars upheld the equality of gender in the identical human nature of male and female created in the image of God, this however, poses the problem of sexual and gender based violence in African and American societies (Ushe, 2015; Gardiner, 2004). There are traditionalists who proposed gender inequality of women in African and American societies. In their view, women are subordinate to men because they were created out of men's ribs and as such they are property of the men (Ushe, 2015). This outmoded notion about women still exists in many African cultures. Apt to note is that some interpretations of religion also teaches women to stick to their husbands, to suffer in silence and to endure everything so as to save their families (Arisukwu et al., 2021; Ushe, 2015; Welter, 1966).

From the above argument it is apt to note that it is impossible to separate religion from economic, traditional and political motives in such a way that religious acts are innocent of violence (Geyzmala-Busse, 2016). Therefore, religion requires followers to behave in a certain way, thus communities are built on these premises of what religion requires and expects of them. The researcher argues that gender-based violence is premised along these expectations that are conjured by religion. It is in this vein that women are required and expected to be subordinate to men in a way that devalues them, with some religious denominations practising certain ceremonies and rites for women. For instance, female genital mutilation or labia enlargement, and virginity testing among others (Earp & Johnsdotter, 2021). Thus, religious programming binds women into accepting humiliation as if it is the same as the Christian virtue of humanity (Murphy, 1997). In addition, some studies revealed that condom use is not supported by some religions in a marriage setup; this is seen as violation of women because they are exposed to diseases because they cannot refuse sexual intercourse with an HIV infected husband (Gharachech, et al., 2020; Mugweni, Pearson & Omar, 2012; Machingura, 2012). The researcher argues that this is a result of religious ratifications on women, that they should respect their husbands.

Some religious organisations are active in addressing GBV (Truong, et al.,2020), noting that most religions are based on patriarchy where men are allowed to do certain things while women are not; for instance some doctrines do not allow women to take positions of priesthood (Togarasei, 2013). Important to note is that women are subjected to violence and confined to an abusive marriage in respect of the vows they recite when they get married ("For Better; For Worse"). Women take vows seriously and respect them, hence they are subjected to abuse in a marriage (Cott, 2002).

2.4.7 GBV and Education

Some scholars have reported links between education and GBV. Hassan et al. (2000) found less-educated women married to less-educated husbands to be three times more at risk of physical violence than highly-educated couples (Chowdhury et al., 2022; Odebode, 2022). Jewkes (2002) avers that "Education confers social empowerment via social networks, self-confidence, and an ability to use information and resources available in society" (p. 1425). In addition, Hadi (2005) found women less likely to experience violence if educated, and wrote "the learning process in school might have increased their spousal communication and, thus, raised their capacity to protect themselves from violence" (p. 187).

In a study by WHO (2003), it found that higher education among women was associated with less violence in many settings. In some settings (urban Brazil, Namibia, Peru, Thailand, and Tanzania), the protective effect of education appears to start only when women's education goes beyond secondary school. Previous research also suggests that education for women has a protective effect, even when controlling for income and age (Tjaden, 2000; Jones et al., 1999). It may be that women with higher education have a greater range of choice in partners and more ability to choose to marry or not, and are able to negotiate greater autonomy and control of resources within the marriage.

In a study by Abramsky et al (2011) the level of education indicated a reduction in IPV risk associated with secondary education for both the woman and her partner, but showed less consistent evidence of a protective effect of primary education. Apt to note is that achieving secondary level by either the woman or her partner was associated with decreased IPV, when compared to situations where neither the woman nor her partner completed the secondary level. Thus, most highly educated women are less likely to be susceptible to IPV compared to women who have not completed at least secondary level.

2.5 GBV and xenophobia

The challenge for South Africa is to design policies that take advantage of globalization's positive characteristics, such as the unprecedented movement of people with skills, experience, entrepreneurship, and capital, to aid the country's attempts at rehabilitation, development, and nation-building. (Republic of South Africa, White Paper on International Migration, 1996). Thus, in order for South Africa to successfully achieve its promises of human rights, tolerance, and prosperity, it must develop norms, laws, and practices that make the most of foreigners' presence in the country, thereby establishing a positive reputation abroad while safeguarding the rights, security, and livelihoods of all South Africans. In this context, the term "South African inhabitants" does not apply solely to South African nationals, but rather to everyone who lives in the country. While it appears to be a good plan on paper, "achieving democratic rights based on migration policy in South Africa is incredibly challenging," according to Landau (2005, 3).

This is because, according to Dodson (2002), South Africa is a xenophobic society that places little emphasis on the human rights of individuals who are not South African citizens. Nyamjoh (2006) argued that xenophobia is not only racist but also Africanized, citing the fact that black immigrants are at the centre of the violence as victims. Some researchers, such as Matsinhe (2011), Everatt (2011), and Mngxitama (2008), have coined the terms "negrophobia" and "afrophobia" to describe this type of racialized xenophobia. "Kwerekwere" is a pejorative phrase commonly used to refer to black African foreigners. The use of this word, according to Nyamjoh (2006), creates the migrant as the 'other.'

In South Africa, where GBV is endemic, xenophobia is considered by female migrants to be major concerns affecting their vulnerability (Busher, 2011). Migrant women are often targets of sexual violence and GBV was seen as the main threat to women and children during the 2008 xenophobic attacks (Vraalsen, 2008). This threat as argued by the researcher has since been witnessed in the waves of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The researcher notes that the threat of GBV can have major consequences for migrants' economic activities and household incomes. Women risk sexual harassment and violence every time they sell goods on the street or in flea markets, go to work, or take public transportation, and they have little recourse or protection from this violence (Buscher, 2011). They report the police are indifferent to their claims, and/or ask for bribes or sex in exchange for services (WRC, 2011).

The expectations of a better life and human security by many migrants especially women are challenged by their social experiences in South Africa. Migrant women face multiple forms of discrimination and violence that are constructed around structures like their identity as women, non-citizens, black Africans and poor (Mutambara & Maheshvari, 2019). In their study Mutambara and Maheshvari indicated that most women experienced gender-based violence and discrimination from the South African citizens (2019). Although the experiences of migrant and non-migrant women with regard to intimate partner violence appear to be similar, what increases the vulnerability of migrant women is their immigrant status. The status is shaped by different factors such as immigration policies that exclude migrants and limit their access to some basic services, and illegal migrant status which intensifies the women's dependency on the perpetrator and in most cases restrains the woman's options to respond to gender-based violence (Kiwanuka, 2010).

Von Kitzing (2017:8) argues that "the general misconceptions of migrants as the eternal other, criminal and undeserving of protection affects various migrants differently and vulnerable migrant women are mostly affected". The lack of agency, exacerbated by financial constraints and most of the times, structural factors like 'legality', position migrant women as victims of xenophobic gender-based attacks. In addition, some scholars contend that gender-based violence is not only influenced by possible xenophobic sentiments from a partner, but also from structures like hegemonic masculinity which have been traditionally shaped to influence male domination (Quam et al., 2020; Mutambara & Maheshavri, 2019; Ratele, 2013).

According to Von Kitzing (2017, 10), the moment migrant women engage in sex work, they give up their bodies, the embodiment of self-worth, to "become the space of control and domination of their perpetrators, on which to assert their power and oppression". The violence on the bodies of the women can be comprehended, not only as punishment against the women, but it deprives women of their self-worth rendering them even more vulnerable to male dominance and violence. Scholars like Pendleton *et al*. (2007, 41) declared that "most of the sentiments from local South Africans are shaped by the belief that migrant people are 'poor and desperate' and they will do anything for survival (crime or prostitution)". Scholars like Nyamjoh (2006) articulated that in the wake of xenophobic conflict, the conflict attitudes and perceptions are shaped around the misconception that migrant people are the ones who are responsible for the moral decay of the South African societies through the prevalence of crime, drug abuse and prostitution. These perceptions negatively influence the way some of the local citizens treat those who they identify as foreign. The perceptions shape and develop the

negative attitudes and actions that appear to be xenophobic and, in some instances, lead to gender-based violence.

Meanwhile some studies articulate that domestic tensions have emerged from a reversal of traditional patriarchal gender roles as female migrants have become heads of households, while men tend to domestic chores (Memela & Maharaj, 2018). This is argued to provide fertile ground for violence to erupt, leaving women susceptible to GBV. The former further articulate that female refugees or / migrants are afraid of using public spaces because they were subjected to physical attacks, verbal abuse and sexual harassment from local people, taxi drivers and conductors (Memela & Maharaj, 2018). The researcher notes that this is aggravated by the high levels of xenophobic violence in South Africa, tensions between local people and foreigners and the knowledge that police protection is limited.

Women have been caught in the crossfire of xenophobia and gender based violence for a long time. According to Kawar (2004), the rising feminization of migration means that women migrants are more vulnerable to exploitation, abuse, and prejudice. African women from all walks of life move to South Africa in search of better economic prospects and living conditions (Gouws, 2010; Muzvidziwa, 2015). Despite the potential for improving their lives and the lives of the family they leave behind in their native countries, women confront numerous obstacles and dangers when compared to men (Kawar, 2004; Sigsworth, 2010). While there are no clear cut boundaries as to who is affected by South Africa's widespread intolerance and hate of foreigners, experts such as Sigsworth, Pino, and Ngwane (2008) believe that xenophobia has a gendered dimension that is often disregarded.

As a result, according to Sigsworth (2010:2), "female migrants were unduly affected, not only because the violence was played out on the site of their bodies (via beatings and rape), but also because the violence was directed towards their homes (via burning and looting), which in many cases is symbolic of a woman's family and is perceived as a place of safety and security." According to Akinola (2014), xenophobia can present itself in both violent and nonviolent ways. As a result, research undertaken by the Centre for Study of Violence and Reconciliation before and after the May 2008 violent attacks found that foreign women in South Africa faced xenophobic attitudes encapsulated with gender based violence on a daily basis. The majority of women are exposed to this in public venues that they use on a daily basis, such as at work or on public transportation (Sigsworth et al., 2008).

The majority of scholarly research claims that migrant women face a number of problems as they try to make a living in South Africa. When they try to use public services, they usually run into complications (Bloch, 2010; Crush and Tawodzerwa, 2014; Scheinin, 2016). Migrants, for example, have frequently encountered medical xenophobia when attempting to access health-care services (Sigsworth et al., 2008; Moyo, 2010; Vearey, 2008; Vearey and Nunez, 2010; Crush and Tawodzerwa, 2014). Migrant women are frequently mistreated by public health providers in clinics and hospitals (Lefko-Everett, 2007). Medical xenophobia is a reality that migrant women in South Africa face on a daily basis, according to scholars such as Crush and Tawodzerwa (2017).

These kinds of incidents demonstrate how most migrant women's human security is jeopardized. Apart from medical xenophobia, Nyamnjoh (2006) claims that there is a harmful trend of nationalizing crime blamed on outsiders. Zimbabwean women are referred to as prostitutes; Nigerians are linked to drug trafficking; and Congolese are linked to passport fraud and diamond smuggling. Nyamnjoh (2006) further said that subtle phrases like 'illegal' or 'alien' intensify this criminalization. International researchers such as Conry (2015) have noted how migrant women are also victims of sexual and gender-based violence, reiterating the idea put forth by Sigsworth et al., (2008) of women being in double risk. Being a migrant is not the only factor that makes women vulnerable, but being a woman makes it worse. While there have been numerous reports of women being raped as a result of anti-foreign sentiments, Sigsworth (2010: 2) argued that in a country where sexual gender-based violence is widespread, it is difficult to determine whether rapes were motivated by xenophobic attitudes or simply by violent lawlessness. This obviously demonstrates migrant women's vulnerability (Fuller, 2008).

2.6 GBV and Migration in the African context

International migration has become a regular way of life, with the majority of individuals preferring to relocate from one country to another in order to improve their living conditions. According to Adepoju (2007), the African continent has a long history of people migrating between geographical regions, both internally and internationally. Most Africans have a history of migrating to Europe because they believe it offers greater chances; scholars such as Isike and Isike (2012, 93) coined the term "self-actualization" to describe this phenomenon. This indicates that the majority of Africans migrate to European countries in order to realize their full potential through the chances offered in those countries.

Due to labour shortages, economic and political instability in Africa, Europe and America are increasingly witnessing an influx of African migrants. Scholars such as Adepoju (2000, 5) have remarked that literature on international migration suggests that migration in Africa is becoming increasingly feminine, since a lot of women are now migrating across borders on their own in search of better livelihoods (see Peberdy and Crush, 1998; Gouws, 2010; Jamela, 2013; Crush et al., 2015).

Traditionally, the pattern of migration in Africa was male-dominated, long-term and usually long distance (Adepoju, 2004 and Crush, 2008). Males were more likely to migrate in quest of formal employment, but women's migration was limited or hampered by their reproductive obligations (Gouws, 2010, 2). According to Crush, during South Africa's apartheid era, black males from other African countries were recruited with temporary work contracts to fill labour shortages in the mining and commercial agriculture industries (Landau et al., 2004; Crush, 2012). Nowadays, however, migratory trends are characterized by the feminization of migration, with more women travelling independently of men (Adepoju, 2004, 68). The feminisation of migration, according to Gouws (2010), is frequently linked to the feminisation of poverty. She suggested that the rising number of underprivileged women and children in Sub-Saharan African emerging countries influences the amount of women who opt to move on their own. Since then, the number of African women fleeing their countries in pursuit of better prospects has risen. According to Phophiwa (2014), there has been an overall growth in the feminization of migration in Africa over the past few decades, as millions of women gradually become economic beings with a responsibility to contribute financially to their families.

Women continue to contribute to a considerable number of international migrants, according to the IOM, who estimates that half of the world's 1 billion migrants are women (Human Development Report, 2009). Adepoju (2004) claims that, more than ever before, women are travelling freely to meet their own economic requirements rather than joining their husbands and families. Women also initiate migration in search of better possibilities for themselves and their families. Van Heerden (2017) adds that, women also initiate migration in search of better prospects for themselves and their families.

Female migration is not confined by national borders, according to Adekanye (1996). Adekanye gave examples of professional women migrating during the millennium, most of whom left their spouses behind to care for the home and children. This change in migration corresponds to an evident shift in gender norms and social formation (Adepoju, 2004;

Muzenda, 2017). It raises new gender issues around women's duties as mothers and breadwinners, as well as how they can delegate family responsibilities to their male counterparts. Male and female migrants, according to Pophiwa (2014), migrate for economic reasons. "Migration is frequently performed in developing regions to enhance the family's economic conditions" (O'Neil et al., 2016). Van Heerden (2017) explored another notion, "feminization of poverty," in which he proposed that women frequently relocate in search of alternatives that can redress their living conditions of unemployment, poverty, and inequality. The rise in political and economic unrest in most African countries has prompted both single and married women to migrate on their own in search of jobs and income to support their families (Adepoju, 2004; Gouws, 2010). While some leave their native countries in pursuit of possibilities based on their educational qualifications, others arrive with no qualifications but the goal and aim of finding a way to survive in what they consider to be a more prosperous economy than their own.

Migration of humans in Africa is nothing new, with people travelling from place to place with their cattle and belongings in quest of better pastures and better living conditions (Afolayan, 2004, Isike and Isike, 2012). Isike and Isike (2012) went on to suggest that since then, the movement of people has been characterized by people fleeing places of economic insecurity and hardship in search of greater chances of survival and self-actualization.

According to Adepoju (2004), changes in the direction, pattern, composition, and dynamics of African migration have occurred as a result of deteriorating economic, social, political, and ecological situations across the continent. Though it has been on the receiving end of migration, post-independence South Africa has also been on the sending end, with an inflow of African migrants. These migrants come from all across the world, not just Southern Africa (Bloch, 2010; Isike and Isike, 2012). For example, while most African migrants come from within the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), authors like Ngwenya (2010) argue that a large percentage of African migrants come from outside the SADC. Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Somalia and Sudan are some of the notable examples out of SADC that have people migrating to South Africa.

According to Ngwenya (2010), one of the main reasons why people migrate to South Africa is the belief that the country has one of the strongest and most prosperous economies in Africa. One of South Africa's cities, Johannesburg, has been designated as a 'World Class City' by scholars such as Chinomona and Maziriri (2015); it is also known as the 'Golden Heartbeat of

Africa' and the 'World Class African City.' Many African migrants flock to South Africa, according to Adepoju (2004) and Khan (2007), because of the country's accommodating asylum and immigration rules. According to Khan (2007), the European Union's restrictive asylum procedures have led many migrants to see South Africa as their only option. Some researchers, on the other hand, think that Africans who intend to move to Europe in the future see South Africa as a desirable temporary transit country (Crisp & Kiragu, 2010; Isike & Isike, 2012).

2.7 The Impact of gender-based violence

GBV is a profound human rights violation with major social and developmental impacts for survivors of violence, as well as their families, communities and society more broadly (Mukhtar, 2021; Abramowitz & Moran, 2012). On an individual level, GBV leads to psychological trauma, and can have psychological, behavioural and physical consequences for survivors (Jewkes, 2002). In many parts of the country, there is poor access to formal psychosocial or even medical support, which means that many survivors are unable to access the help they need. Families and loved ones of survivors can also experience indirect trauma, and many do not know how to provide effective support.

GBV seriously affects all aspects of women's health- physical, sexual and reproductive, mental and behavioural health (Enaifoghe et al., 2021). Health consequences of GBV can be both, immediate and acute as well as long lasting and chronic (Amaya et al., 2016) thus, negative health consequences may persist long after the violence has stopped. The more severe the level of violence, the greater the impact will be on women's health. Furthermore, exposure to more than one type of violence (e.g. physical and sexual) and/or multiple incidents of violence over time tends to lead to more severe health consequences (WHO 2002; Johnson/Leone, 2005 both cited in WHO/PAHO 2012a).

2.7.1 The spread of HIV/AIDS

The link between gender-based violence (GBV) and HIV/AIDS is usually rooted in the power imbalance between men and women (Karim & Baxter, 2016). The interconnection between GBV and HIV/AIDS is a complex phenomenon which is not linear but cyclical. This implies that GBV against women does not by itself serve as a causative factor of HIV and AIDS, nor do HIV and AIDS by themselves cause GBV (Leburu, 2015). Ahikire and Mwiine (2012:9) see the cyclic link between HIV and GBV, particularly "violence against women, as

preconditioning factors of each scourge and as a result of the interplay between them, the scourge becomes self-reinforcing".

According to Amdie (2005:7), "GBV puts women and girls at a great risk of HIV infection and can also make women more vulnerable to HIV" through three main mechanisms:

(i)   the possibility of direct transmission through coerced sexual acts.

(ii)   the trauma associated with violent experiences can impact negatively on later sexual behaviour by increasing the women's HIV risk-taking behaviour.

(iii) violence or the threat thereof may limit women's ability to adopt safe and protective sexual practices within other on-going relationships and may hinder them from using HIV-related services such as treatment for sexually transmitted infections (STIs), voluntary counselling and testing, and prevention of mother to child transmission services.

Some scholars articulate that "gender norms over the years in South Africa have placed men in control of sexual relations" (Wechsberg et al., 2010:2). Such norms have allowed most men overtly and covertly to prescribe and dictate the circumstances and frequency of sex, whether a condom should be used or not, and to an extent culturally condoning marital rape and physical violence against women (Leburu & Phetlho-Thekisho, 2015). Thus, the situation in South Africa is unique and complicated in the sense that not only is GBV perpetrated by men against women who are not their intimate partners, but that IPV is common including rape with marriage (Dartnall & Jewkes, 2013; Leburu & Phetlho-Thekisho, 2015). To further complicate the situation the victims can be in some instances be innocent children (girl-children in particular) related to the perpetrators themselves through incest - a deliberate and malicious spread of the virus almost within the entire household (Leburu & Phetlho Thekisho, 2015).

Some studies argue that HIV infections in women could be prevented if women did not experience domestic violence from their partners (Wang & Rowley, 2007). Some scholars put forward that men who have been raped have a long-term increased risk of acquiring HIV and are at risk of alcohol abuse, depression and suicide (Jewkes et al., 2010; Vetten et al., 2008). Thus, such trauma is vindicated on women creating a recurring and cyclical system where violence against women is seen as a pandemic with no solution to it.

2.7.2 Health consequences of GBV

The extent of violence against women and girls across the world is alarming and is increasingly recognised not only as a grave human rights violation, but also as a public health problem that affects the lives of millions of women and girls globally. Rooted in gender inequality, violence against women and girls constitutes a major barrier to their sexual and reproductive health and rights (Heidari & Moreno, 2016).

Of all the human rights violations, gender-based violence is perhaps the most widespread and socially tolerated (Machisa, 2011). Any type of violence is traumatic for men or women, but gender-based violence is preponderantly inflicted by men on women and girls (Mishra, 2017). The cost to the survivor, her family, society and a country as a whole is vast (Paelemo et al., 2014). In a study by Smith et al (2018) statistics indicated that one in five women will be a victim of rape or attempted rape in their lifetime. One in three will have been beaten, coerced into sex or otherwise abused, usually by a family member or an acquaintance (Smith et al., 2018; Daigle et al., 2008; Garcia-Moreno et al., 2006). Gender based violence holds no frontiers but women in developing countries and nations in conflict are perhaps more prone to specific types of gender-based violence heightened by national poverty, violence caused by armed conflicts, instability of the state, physical insecurity, gender, class and race inequities, belonging to an ethic, religious or political group and inability to access fundamental human rights (ANHDR, 2004). Thus, the experiences by these immigrants will inform many of the topics raised with those women that will be interviewed for their life stories of this study.

Globally, gender-based violence kills and disables more women between the ages of 15-44 than does cancer (Yta et al., 2020). The toll on women's health surpasses that of traffic accidents and malaria combined (Machisa, 2011; http://www.ptinews.com). Noteworthy is that the consequences of gender-based violence on women's health are multiple. Survivors often experience as a direct consequence of violence, life-long emotional distress, mental health problems and poor reproductive health (Valadares et al., 2020). Abused women are also at higher risk of acquiring HIV and being infected by sexually transmitted infections (STIs) (Gonzalez-Guarda, 2021)

In addition, women who have been physically or sexually assaulted tend to be intensive long-term users of health services (Muller et al, 2014). The impact of violence may also extend to future generations: children who have witnessed abuse of their mothers are more likely to also be child victims of family violence, often suffer lasting psychological damage, and are more

likely to become victims and perpetrators of violence in adulthood (Abrahams et al 2013).The health of mothers is a major determining factor in the health of their children, which indirectly affects the formation of human capital (Jewkes, 2002).

Children who are orphaned at birth, an uncommon consequence of gender-based violence against mothers, are three to ten times more likely to die than those with mothers who survive (WHO, 2005). Mothers are normally the ones responsible for the health, nutrition and education of their children. A mother who does not have access to good health, nutrition and education is more likely to pass bad habits and poor general well-being onto her children. Poverty and gender discrimination affect the reproductive health of future generations and weaken their chances of a decent way of life (Muller et al., 2014). The underpinning of good health and a trouble-free reproductive health for the future begins at birth and clearly is influenced by the general health, level of poverty and the extent of discrimination that a mother faces. For instance, stunted growth in underfed girls increases the risks of obstructed labour later in life (WHO, 2005).

It is evident that high levels of maternal mortality are associated with gender inequality. The lack of access to the majority of women in developing nations to their basic fundamental rights directly impinges on their reproductive health decision making power. Spacing of children can dramatically reduce maternal and infant mortality; however, lack of information and the right to family planning, lack of access to services and traditional social norms exclude women from using proper contraceptive methods (Heise et al., 1999). Little or no education often leaves women with no understanding of childbearing risks, nutritional value and other health matters which could directly affect their own health or that of their children. This lack of information, together with their low social status extinguishes them from negotiating safe sex, exercising power over their own body in the face of control from both partners and in-laws and makes them vulnerable to sexual abuse and sexually transmitted diseases (Heise et al., 1999).

In the face of such problems, a first port of call for many women would be their local health centre. Many countries offer free health care, and it is therefore imperative to inform women and their families of these services (Ho et al., 2022). High hospital fees can further impoverish an already poor family and of course deter women and their families from seeking professional health services in the first place, endangering them and their children's health even further (WHO, 2005). Apt to note is that women who are victims of sexual abuse often find it difficult to approach health centres if a fee is involved and, in many cases, women are at risk of further

ostracism and contempt by untrained hospital staff that are too often unsympathetic to their immediate needs and are foreign for that matter (Sigsworth et al., 2008; Moyo, 2010; Vearey, 2008; Vearey and Nunez, 2010; Crush and Tawodzerwa, 2014).

Over a third of women who have been raped develop post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which if untreated persists in the long term and depression, suicidality and substance abuse are common (Weiler, 2022).Violence against women can cause long-term physical and mental health problems. Violence and abuse affect not just the women involved but also their children, families, and communities. These effects include harm to an individual's health, possibly long-term harm to children, and harm to communities such as lost work and homelessness (Yesufu, 2022).

While physical injuries are most visible and at times even fatal, often invisible and untreated are the long-term mental health consequences of GBV (Kovacevic et al., 2022). The psychological wounds of GBV negatively affect a woman's mental health. Additionally, women who suffer repeated GBV are more prone to stress-related injuries, isolation, substance use disorders (SUD) including increased use of drugs and alcohol, and mental illnesses including post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), anxiety, depression, eating disorders and suicidal tendencies. While the victims may appear to have recovered, they may develop severe symptoms, in response, years later (Conroy et al., 2022).

Violence and abuse often affect a women's relationship, her community connections, her financial stability and even her employment prospects (Le-Phuong et al., 2022). Flashbacks of traumatic events, once over, are triggered by images, sounds and memories, creating a fight, freeze or flight response, among its victims (Dooley, 2022). Lack of understanding and validation of the victim's experience of violence often contributes to the woman's trauma and isolates her from her friends, family and community, further contributing to the feelings of anxiety and depression (Riciardelli et al., 2021).

Studies associate GBV with higher rates of mental health disorders. According to an Australian research, women who underwent the four most common types of GBV, such as stalking, sexual assault, rape and intimate partner violence, were strongly associated with higher rates of mental health disorders, physical and mental disability and dysfunction, and impaired quality of life. Further, women who experienced one form of GBV were more likely to experience the other forms during their lifetimes. The research also associated GBV with the occurrence of three broad classes of lifetime mental health illnesses, including generalized

anxiety disorders (GAD), mood disorders and substance use disorders (SUD), with women with the greatest exposure to GBV experiencing the highest rates of these disorders (Rees et al., 2011). While health consequences of GBV are similar across low-, middle- and high-income countries, the nature or severity of the effects of such violence may vary according to context-specific factors, such as poverty; gender inequality; cultural or religious practices; access to health, legal and other support services; conflict or natural disaster; HIV prevalence; and legal and policy environments (WHO, PAHO 2012a).

2.8 Conclusion

In summary, gender based violence manifests as a result of a number of factors ranging from culture, tradition, religion, economic education among other factors. The high rate of GBV places a heavy burden on the health system, as well as rendering many survivors unable to work or otherwise move freely in society. Thus, the life stories of this study locate women as victims to this violence largely due to their dependence syndrome that underlies which is exacerbated by their position in society. The next chapter discusses theoretical explanations to this phenomenon.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS TO THE EXISTENCE OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

3.1 Introduction

A theory is a plausible or scientifically acceptable general principle or body of principles offered to explain phenomena (Smith, 2021). It is a belief, policy, or procedure proposed or followed as the basis of action. The researcher employed a socio- economic analysis of GBV in South Africa drawing from conflict theory, cultural hegemony, feminist theory and the ecological framework/perspective to give a better understanding of the said phenomenon.

3.2 Conflict theory

Conflict theory is developed by Karl Marx (1818-1883) and it claims that society is in a state of perpetual conflict due to competition for limited resources. He saw society as being made up of individuals in different social classes who must compete for social material among other resources. It argues that inequalities of economic power (between workers and capitalists) generate social conflicts which are structural rather than incidental, and which are managed by the ruling classes through both coercion (the State and its monopoly of violence) and ideology, which works semiotically to produce social conformity and consensus (Irving, 2007). Although classic Marxist theory focused on the (fundamentally economic) conflicts between social classes, the theory has been extended to analyse inequalities of power in a range of social spaces, including that of gender (Breckman 2013; Laclau & Mouffe 1985).

Social institutions such as governments, education and religion among others reflect this competition in their inherent inequalities and help maintain the unequal social structure (Tyler, 2020). Some individuals and organisations are able to obtain and keep more resources than others and these 'winners'(men) use their power and influence to maintain social institutions where women are subjugated. More so, several theorists suggested a variation on the basic theme. Polish -Austrian sociologist Ludwig Gumplowicz (1838-1909) expanded on Marx's ideas by arguing that war and conquest are the basis of civilisation. He believed that cultural and ethnic conflict led to states being identified and defined by a dominant group that had power over the other (Irving, 2007).Thus, culturally in an African society respect is accorded to the male figure as they have naturally acquired power over the women and this has led to male dominance in society.

In addition to this, German sociologist Max Weber agreed with Marx but also believed that in addition to economic inequalities, inequalities of political power and social structure cause conflicts. Weber noted that different groups were affected differently based on education, race and gender and that people's reactions to inequality were moderated by class differences and rates of social mobility as well as by the perceptions about legitimacy of those in power (Bendix, 1974).

Fig 3.1: Conflict theory used to explain the existence of gender- based violence
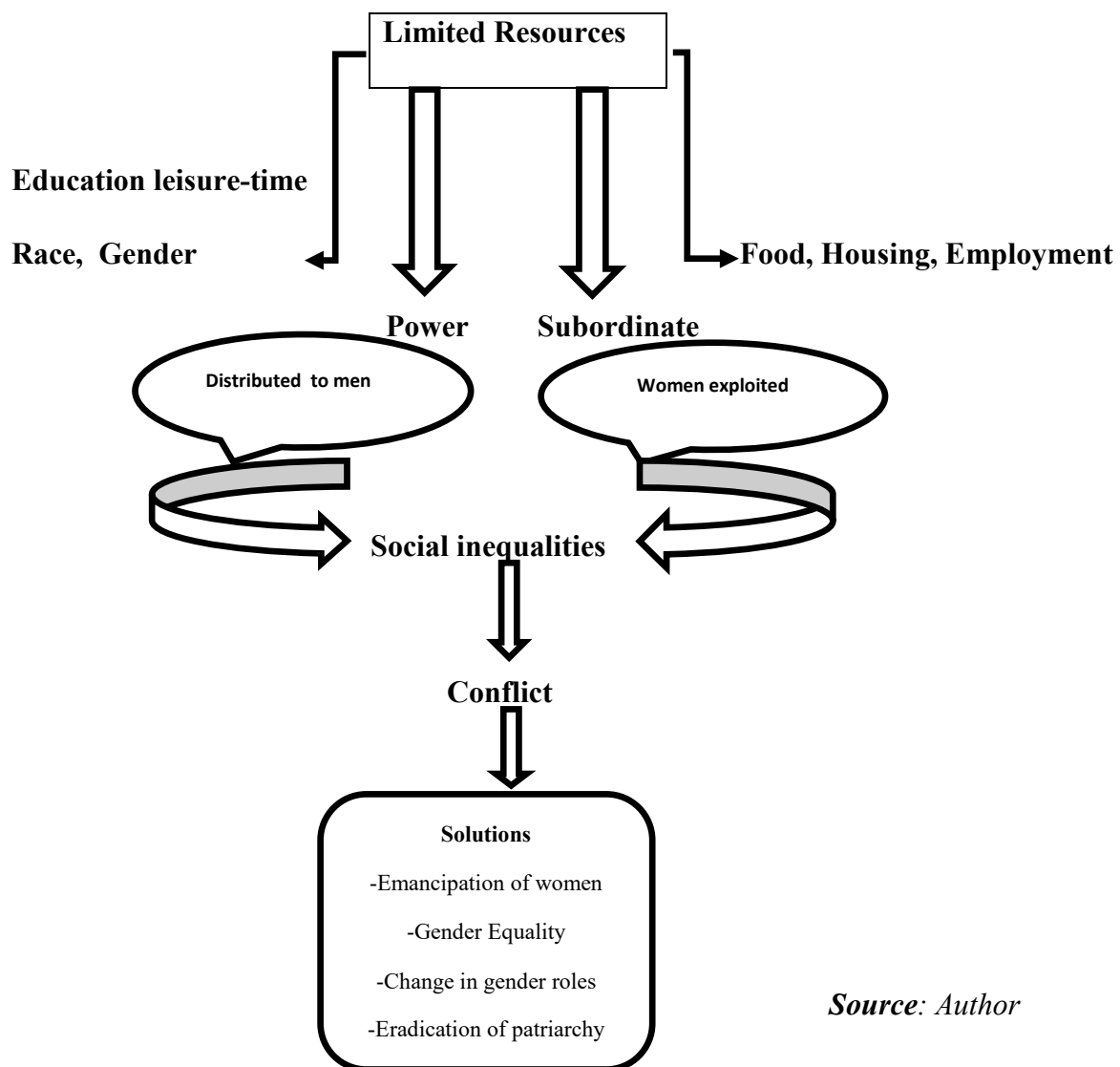
The diagram above is an illustration of the manifestation of gender-based violence in accordance to the explanation offered by the researcher above. South Africa is a country characterised by the influx of foreigners and as such there is bound to be a struggle or fight for resources which then become limited (jobs, health services, education among others). The

researcher notes that this shortage creates an inequality between men and women. Women have been liberated in many domains in South Africa, and as a result, women are often favoured in the workplace over men. As a result, male counterparts are subjected to a great deal of overthrow; as a result, males are unable to cope with this change, and in order to maintain their power, violence and force are used against women, leaving them vulnerable to men due to their physical and other traits of control.

3.3 Cultural Hegemony

Cultural Hegemony is a theory that was developed by the Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci out of Karl Marx's theory that the dominant ideology of society reflects the beliefs and interests of the ruling class (Gramsci, 1999; Femia, 1975). Gramsci argued that consent to the rule of the dominant group is achieved by the spread of ideologies—beliefs, assumptions, and values—through social institutions such as schools, churches, courts, and the media, among others (Jessop, 2018). These institutions do the work of socializing people into the norms, values, and beliefs of the dominant social group. As such, the group that controls these institutions controls the rest of society (Hall,1986).

Cultural hegemony is most strongly manifested when those ruled (women) by the dominant group (men) come to believe that the economic and social conditions of their society are natural and inevitable, rather than created by people with a vested interest in particular social, economic, and political orders (Cole, 2021; Artz & Murphy, 2000). Gramsci developed the concept of cultural hegemony in an effort to explain why the worker-led revolution that Marx predicted in the previous century had not come to pass (Cole, 2021; Gundongan, 2008). Central to Marx's theory of capitalism was the belief that the destruction of this economic system was built into the system itself since capitalism is premised on the exploitation of the working class (or, in our gendered other reading: women) by the ruling class (men) (Bloch, 2013). Marx reasoned that workers could only take so much economic exploitation before they would rise up and overthrow the ruling class. However, this revolution did not happen on a mass scale (Cole, 2021).

The researcher contends that this domination or rule by men is maintained through ideological or cultural means. It is usually achieved through social institutions such as the community, church, school, mass media, among other socialisation institutions, which allow those in power (men) to strongly influence the values, norms, ideas, expectations, worldview, and behaviour

of the rest of society. Cultural hegemony functions by framing the worldview of the ruling class (men), and the social and economic structures that embody it, as just, legitimate, and designed for the benefit of all, even though these structures may only benefit the ruling class. This kind of power is distinct from rule by force, as in a military dictatorship, because it allows the ruling class to exercise authority using the "peaceful" means of ideology and culture.

Fig 3.2: Cultural hegemony used to explain the existence of gender- based violence

Social factors

Base -Superstructure

WOMEN		**MEN**
existence of power		control, patriarchy, violence
failure to use it	**social matrix**	shift in gender roles

Gender-Violence erupts
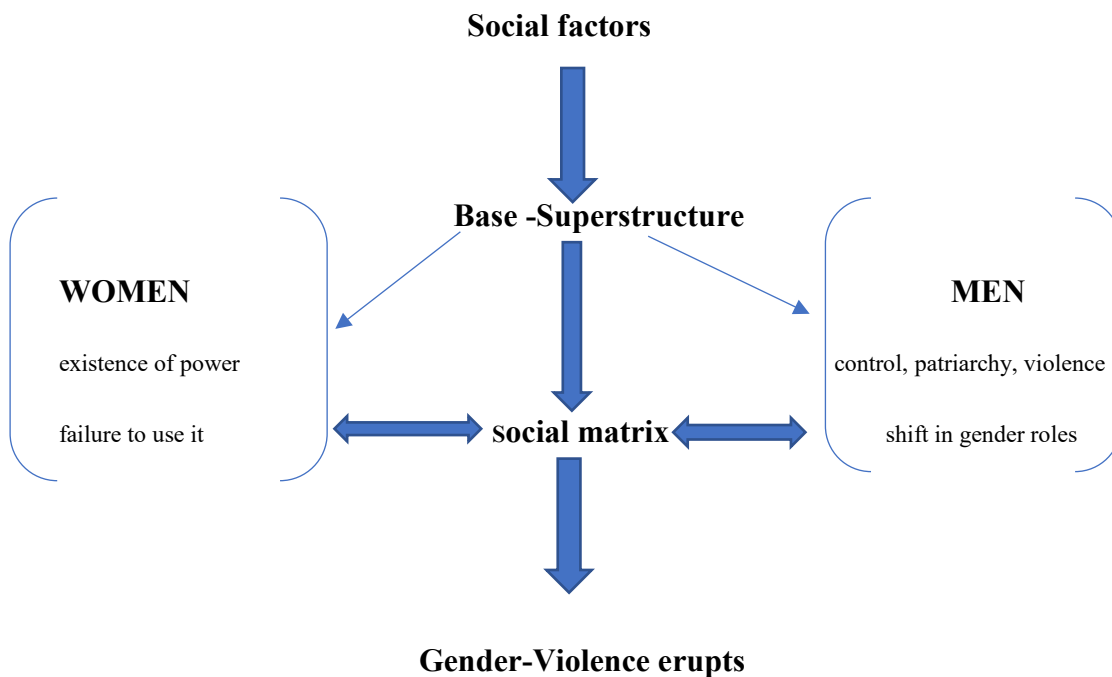
Source: Author

Hegemony is ideological domination, where people consent to the values of the dominant social forces and is achieved at the cultural level by incorporating many of the interests of social groups, while inflecting those values in conservative (or radical) directions (Bourdieu, 1979). Hegemonic discourses are therefore not singular, but made up of a range of voices, often subaltern ones (Barnett, 1997). Ruling social groups, especially in democracies, dominate not through the threat of violence but through consent (Duncombe, 2011). For Gramsci political transformation follows cultural transformation; as Laclau and Mouffe argue, it is only when citizens have the idea of what they call the 'democratic imaginary' (the discourse of equality) that inequalities of all kinds will be challenged (1985).

The researcher using this theory understands that hegemonic rule in a patriarchal society would be where men have incorporated some 'feminist' ideas into society, but still maintain domination over women. The value of hegemony theory is that it makes cultural domination more complicated: it is not only the singular voice of domination, but a complex mixture of

incorporating the ideas of the oppressed, but inflecting them ultimately to a discourse of domination, which, most importantly, the dominated consent to. Thus many women agree that men should be the dominant force in society, or that women should be second-class citizens (e.g. Saudi Arabia). Noteworthy is that women are unsure of what to do with the power they now have and through cultural norms and values they encourage each other to stay in abusive relationships because they fear deviating from what society and culture expects from them.

The concept of hegemony is capable not only of explaining how some women accept their secondary status, but also how they sometimes 'accept' male violence. Gramsci argued that churches, schools and so on are actually sites of ideological contestation. Hegemony is never absolutely assured. A social group has always to struggle to maintain its hegemony against other competing social forces (Gramsci,1971). Of importance to note is that this theory helps in the understanding of the origins of this violence and how it remains a reality around the world. Thus, the Marxist school of thought explains gender-based violence in a helpful way, where inequality is experienced which leads to conflict and when there is conflict ideology is engaged to maintain the status quo by encouraging conformity and consent to dominant values.

Inequality→ Conflict → Ideology (Hegemony)

Hegemony is therefore the domination of a culturally diverse society by the ruling class (in our case, men) who manipulate the culture of that society- the beliefs, explanations, perceptions, values and mores- so their ruling class world view becomes the accepted cultural norm, the universally valid dominant ideology which justifies the social, political and economic status quo as a natural and inevitable, perpetual and beneficial for everyone, rather than as artificial social constructs that benefit only the ruling class (Bullock et al,1994).

Gender oppression can be understood within the twin responses of violence (GBV and xenophobia) in South Africa and patriarchal ideologies, which are fostered through cultural hegemony, where women are encouraged to consent to their subordination. The cultural hegemony theory informs the study as it explains and describes the advent and existence of GBV in contemporary South Africa.

3.4 Feminist theories

Feminism is a "philosophy that agitates for equality between men and women, and undermines both the beliefs and actions that differentiate people on the basis of biology and gender" (Kirst-Ashman, 2007, 76). The theory usually necessitates providing education and advocacy on

behalf of women. It considers the diversity and personal accomplishments of women in relation to their male counterparts (Lazar, 2005). The rationale for the usage of this theory in this study is that a feminist perspective challenges the idea that the potential of both women and men is limited by gender. Rather, the theory proposes that "women are not in opposition to men, but that they should be empowered to develop their abilities and capabilities in order to achieve optimal wellbeing" (Abbott, Wallace & Tailor, 2005, 267). Yet it must be borne in mind that women do not constitute a homogeneous category, but are different in their individual and collective struggles (Maynard,1994). There are a variety of feminist theories, but for the purpose of this study liberal, radical and socialist feminism are used to interrogate and understand the situation of migrant women experiencing GBV in Durban- South Africa.

3.4.1 Liberal feminism

Liberal feminism is characterised by its focus on equality. It is based on the belief that men and women have the same rational capacities and capabilities (Webb, 1997; Gerson, 2022). The argument is that men and women should be treated equally, which does not in any way suggest "sameness". If women are provided with the same educational, occupational and political opportunities, the argument goes, they will realise their true potential and no longer be subordinate to men (Abbott et al., 2005:267). Furthermore, liberal feminism places high premium on rationality, autonomy and choice; they view reason as an important characteristic that is fundamental for moral and political autonomy. Proponents of this theory such as Rwalsian, Baehr and Camber argue that "women's exclusion from the public sphere may inhibit their full capacity to develop and exercise their rationality" (McLaren, 2002:5). Therefore, they advocate for full participation and legal equality for women.

This theoretical framework also advocates women with men working together within existing legal, political and economic institutions. Ideas such as "rights, freedom, justice and equality are seen as objectives to achieve parity for women" (McLaren, 2002, 5-6). Liberal feminists believe that men and women are essentially the same species of humanity, though biologically different, because the capacity to reason is the defining characteristic in all human beings. Consequently, liberal feminism argues that relations between the two are not and ought not to be gendered. Therefore, the gender differences in such areas as physical capacities ought not to be seen as important and should not be the basis for determining access to resources and opportunities (Abbott et al., 2005). Payne (2005) alludes to an additional factor of liberal feminism in that it also seeks equality between men and women not only in caring

responsibilities, but also in workplaces, which until recently had been dominated by men in most countries in the world including South Africa. The answer is to promote equal opportunities by legislation, and altering the socialisation processes so that children do not grow up accepting their gender inequalities as the norm. Contextualising this liberal theory within the South Africa situation, it is clear that after the onset of democracy in 1994 South Africa became known internationally for good performance in terms of how gender equality has received prominence. Starting with the country's most progressive Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) and its strong provisions in respect of equality, this to an extent laid the basis for its apparently strong commitment to the discourse of gender equality (RSA MDG, 2013).

South Africa introduced a variety of policies and pieces of legislation since 1994 that have directly addressed gender disparities (RSA MDG, 2013). The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2012, as cited in the RSA MDG, 2013:5) states that "on paper South Africa has made sterling progress". It is ranked 4th out of 87 countries in the 2012 index and was the top-ranked country in Africa, in terms of its commitment to gender issues (women's issues in particular). As an example, South Africa's success in bringing about gender equality has been most visible in the area of politics.

The government of South Africa has consistently supported gender equality; efforts to achieve women's equality have yet to make noticeable difference in the lives of ordinary women, particularly rural black women and migrant women. By implication, policy changes advocating for equality between men and women seem not accompanied by behavioural changes (bearing in mind that behaviour cannot be legislated). For instance, most women still seem to constitute the "reserve army of labour" – where they are the last to be hired and the first to be fired in the South African situation (South African Communist Party Central Committee Report, 2014:1). This situation has possibilities for further entrenching the economic dependence of most women on abusive and violent partners, predisposing them in turn to sexual abuse. As an illustration, the unemployment rate of women in South Africa remains higher than that of men and the national average.

The conclusion is that equality on paper between men and women should be accompanied by structural changes, and a commitment by all to ensuring the implementation of what is legally constituted on paper.

3.4.2 Radical feminism

Radical feminism focuses on one aspect of culture namely, patriarchy. Attempts are made to highlight how patriarchy is bred through the socialisation process, which begins in the family, and how patriarchy infiltrates into other sectors of society like religion, education, the economy and politics. The main argument put forth by radical feminism is that "patriarchy leads to gender inequality and subordination of women to the extent that females do not have control over their sexuality" (Kambarami, 2006:1). Additionally, radical feminists define patriarchy as a social system in which men appropriate all social roles and keep women in subordinate positions. They further state that "this social system has managed to survive for so long because its chief psychological weapon is its universality as well as its longevity" (Kambarami, 2006:1-2). Leclerc-Madlala (2000:15) refers to some "African cultures which allow the husband to marry as many wives as he wants as an expression of a culture of polygamy, and can even have extra-marital affairs as a bonus". When such a situation obtains, it is the wife who is blamed for failing to satisfy her husband, or for failing to curb his desire.

However, should the married woman engage in an extramarital affair, she is labelled as "loose" and this can even be regarded as legitimate grounds for divorce. In addition, married women are expected to be sexually passive and submissive to their husbands, for, after all, men are the initiators of sex and also set the conditions for the sexual encounter. On the same note, women are expected to satisfy the sexual desires of their husbands and partners. As a result, when a husband wants sex, the wife should comply because that is part of the marriage contract. This scenario has seen HIV and AIDS spreading, because most women have become unable to insist on safer sex measures in such situations of infidelity. Based on the above accounts of how patriarchy is sustained and entrenched, the suggestion would be making "the private" sphere of the home "public" and therefore open to scrutiny and intervention. At the same time, there is a need, especially in the 21st century, to move away from traditional gender roles that are prescriptive and define women solely in reproductive terms. Emphasis needs to be placed on strategic gender roles that consider people's differences, including recognition of the productive capacities in women as well.

3.4.3 Socialist feminism

Socialist feminists argue that in capitalist systems material and economic factors underlie women's subservience to men, because patriarchy has its roots in private property (Eisenstein, 1979). Capitalism intensifies patriarchy by concentrating wealth and power in the hands of a

small number of men as wage earners as well as possessors and inheritors of property (Hobson, 2013). Secondly, for a capitalist economy to succeed, it must define women as consumers, persuading them that their needs will be met through their increasing consumption of goods (McLaren, 2002). Capitalism relies on women to offer labour for free in homes by caring and cleaning. Socialist feminists have called for a restructuring of family, the end of slavery and the introduction of collective means for carrying out child-rearing, caring and household maintenance at a cost (Giddens, 2006:470). Social feminists view the sexual and gender division of labour as helping to create and maintain gender differences and gender discrimination (Reichelt et al., 2021).

The sexual division of labour takes places within the home and in the public sphere. In the domestic sphere the sexual division of labour includes reproductive work such as bearing and rearing children as well as other household tasks such as shopping, cooking and cleaning. In the public sphere the sexual division of labour includes divisions along traditional gender lines such as more men in manual jobs that require heavy lifting and more women in the service sector and secretarial office work. The sexual division of labour perpetuates and reinforces the gender differences which are evident in multiple social relations (heterosexual marriage, traditional family arrangements including women as primary caretakers of children, women's economic dependence on men and the state). Thus, Socialist feminists call for a change in the sexual division of labour and the social relations supported by such a division (McLaren, 2002).This theory helps one to understand how gender based violence may erupt in social institution and how women remain susceptible to violence and abuse.

3.5 Social Ecological theory

The ecological practice perspective is used to understand the coping patterns of people and their environment so that a better match can be attained between a person's needs and the characteristics of his or her environment (Gitterman, 2009) This perspective gives attention to both internal and external factors of the person's physical and social environment. It does not view people as passive reactors to their environments, but rather as being involved in dynamic and reciprocal interactions with them (Zastrow, 2009:49). This perspective is used to understand the interdependence and interrelationship between women and their environment. Payne (2005:150) further explains that the ecological perspective focuses on the interrelational transactions between systems and stresses that all existing elements within an ecosystem play an equal role in maintaining balance of the whole. The ecological approach can be best

understood as looking at persons, families, cultures, communities and policies to identify strengths and weaknesses in the transactional processes between these and their environment, and intervene where necessary: they are "people in an environment". The relationship between them and their environment is reciprocal: each influences the other over time.

A focus on the person-in-environment assists people to address problems, needs and aspirations that are associated with obstacles that impede successful accomplishment of transitional and environmental tasks. People generally experience problems when there is a poor fit between needs and wants and the resources available in their environments (Compton, Galaway & Cournoyer, 2005). There are various environments (factors) within which people can be understood. For the purpose of this study the different environments within which women can be understood are examined in the terms provided by Swanepoel and De Beer (2006), including the viewpoints (Chirimuuta, 2006):

(i)   The psychological environment

This is the attitude that people have regarding the world around them. The majority of women in South Africa live their lives in their own distinct ways, which distinguishes them from one another. As a result, they are unable to refer to their common difficulties. Various aspects of their GBV and HIV/AIDS difficulties should be highlighted.

(ii)   The social environment

This includes primary institutions such as the family and secondary institutions such as school and church, as well as clubs and interest groups that have an impact on people's lives. Some institutions, such as cultural clubs in some towns, for example, emphasize women's subordination. To their husbands, women are trained to be humble and subservient. This can also be evident in children, with boys believing that they have more power and control over girls as they grow older - a form of gender segregation of resources and opportunity.

(iii)   The political environment

This entails different power structures, either traditional, coercive or democratic. Political systems and parties, policies, legislative and state institutions are also examples of the political environment. These types of environments are about gaining access to resources in order to satisfy needs;

(iv)   The cultural environment

The cultural environment consists of the values and mores of a society. These values and mores are often spoken of as constituents of the traditions of a people. Culture creates and contains taboos and provides a framework according to which people act and react to daily life;

(v)   The economic environment

This refers to the rate of employment, presence and activity of commerce and industry, and the presence and scope of informal economic activities. The society is also economically layered so that very poor people and those who are better off are found in distinct groups (Chirimuuta, 2006; Swanepoel & De Beer, 2006). In an attempt to understand the risk factors associated with GBV against women, Ellsberg and Heise (2005:2) suggests that "there may not be one single factor, but rather a whole range of variables which can increase or reduce a woman's risk for experiencing GBV". It must be recognised that risk factors are not causes, but they are complex and occur at four different levels that are embedded in concentric circles (see Figure 3.3).

Fig 3.3: The Ecological Practice Perspective

Source: https://www.cdc.gov/

 Individual level - The first level examines biological and personal history characteristics that raise one's chances of becoming a GBV victim or perpetrator. Age, education, income, alcohol consumption, and a history of abuse are some of these factors (WHO, 2002). In South Africa, for example, alcohol misuse is widespread. The interplay between alcohol misuse and GBV is that the euphoria associated with drinking alcohol is blamed and, in most circumstances, serves as circumstantial proof, rather than the offenders claiming responsibility.

South Africa has one of the highest rates of alcohol consumption in Africa, with an average adult per capita consumption of 9.5 litres per year (Van Walbeek & Chelwa, 2021). Furthermore, alcohol is seen as a major cause of violence and the second-largest contributor to disease burden after HIV/AIDS (Peltzer & Pengpid, 2013). The problem of male alcohol misuse, as well as the increased prevalence of GBV against women, is a worldwide issue.

According to a Nigerian cross-sectional survey, male partners' history of alcohol intake was strongly linked to reports of physical aggression towards their intimate female partners (Balogun, Owoaje & Fawole, 2012).

In one American study, participants were asked to describe experiences that comprise various categories of sexual assault against women. The data revealed that male perpetrators' alcohol use was linearly connected to their violence toward women (Smyth, 2013). Peltzer and Pengpid (2013) showed that perpetrating violence against women was linked to a higher risk of problematic drug and alcohol misuse by the male perpetrator in a survey of men in South Africa. According to the study, drinking enhances sexual aggression as well as the urge to engage in violent sexual behaviours, and some men drink as an excuse to engage in non-consensual behaviour.

Relationship level - The second level includes factors that increase the risk of GBV against women because of relationships with peers, intimate partners and family members. A person's closest social circle – peers, partners and family members – can influence their behaviour and contributes to their violent behaviour. Learning about violence within a family constitutes a form of orientation and internalising nascent violent dispositions from the relational aspect.

As found in a study conducted in South Africa by Khumalo, Msimanga and Bollach (2013), GBV has a significant effect on children, whether those children are also direct victims of abuse or witnesses to the violence itself. The researcher argues that witnessing family violence in childhood is highly associated with a greater likelihood that the children become either perpetrators or victims of violence later on in their lives. The study further found that with most men, their history of violence started in childhood when they witnessed violence between parents. McDonald, et al. (2008) equally showed that children in families characterised by men's severe violence are more likely to externalise and internalise violence problems than children in families with no violence.

Community level-The third level explores the settings, such as schools, workplaces and neighbourhoods, in which social relationships occur and seeks to identify the characteristics of these settings that are associated with becoming victims or perpetrators of GBV. Unemployment is a factor experienced in most settings. The frustrations of unemployment and irregular employment have been linked to violence in general in South Africa. A case in point is the notorious and brutal xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in 2008, 2015 and anti-immigrant riots between 2016 and 2019 which have been blamed on the high rate of

unemployment in South Africa; such attacks have become a regular phenomenon in recent years (Neocosmos, 2010). Also the high levels of violence in South Africa could be attributed to the violent legacy of apartheid, which have left the high rates of unemployment involving gross economic and political inequality. Despite its impressive Constitution, South Africa still has highest levels of inequalities between affluence and poverty existing side by side (Mcube & Harber, 2013). Over two thirds of women who have ever experienced domestic violence had difficulty finding or keeping a job (Krishnan, et al. 2010).The implication is that with most men unemployed, and therefore unable to support their families financially, GBV against their women partners is used to exert their apparently lost authority.

Societal level- The fourth level views broad societal aspects that help create a climate in which GBV is promoted. These aspects can include the health, economic, educational and social policies and factors that help to maintain economic or social inequalities within a society. A study by Mutambara (2018) found that migrant women in South Africa engaged in sexual relations for material gain. Transactional sex was also more likely to be indulged in by women who also reported having experienced violence by intimate male partners (Dunklea et al., 2004). In other words, poverty acts as a preconditioning factor for violence against women in instances where women compromise their actions and behaviour for material gain and survival. It can be concluded from the discussion on the ecological practice perspective that a holistic view of the position of women is possible through understanding them in relation to their reciprocal and adaptive transactions with their environment.

3.6 Conclusion

The chapter discussed theoretical approaches to the existence of gender-based violence in society. These discussed theories and approaches help in deriving the root causes of the said phenomenon giving the reader a better understanding of the underlying causes of such brutality. The following chapter is a methodology chapter which informs the reader on how data was collected for the purposes of this study.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The chapter consists of a detailed outline as well as an explanation of the present study's life narrative research strategy and methods. According to Terre Blanche and Durrheim (2006, p.6), "methodology defines how researchers might go about practically researching anything they believe can be discovered." The methods and techniques used in the study are described succinctly to provide a clear picture of how data is collected, and the researcher employed what she refers to as the "journey motif" to precisely, rationally, and tersely describe the research setting as well as provide a rationale and justification for the research design considered ideal for this study.

The descriptions of the various steps taken, as well as the justifications provided for each step and decision, echo Mouton and Muller's (1998) definition of methodology as "a systematic approach to research that involves a clear preference for certain methods and techniques within the framework of specific epistemological and ontological assumptions" (p.2). This term tries to underline that social investigation should not be performed haphazardly.

4.2 Outline of the chapter

This research chapter is premised under the headings summarised in the figure below:

Fig 4.1: Outline of Methodology

- **Introduction**
- **Study Context-Durban**
- **Outline of the chapter**
- **Research Design & Approach**
- **Research paradigm**
- **Entry into the field**
- **Selection of participants**
- **Research Instruments**
- **Data collection & Procedure**
- **Data Analysis**
- **Trustworthiness of the study**
- **Ethical considerations**
- **Conclusion**
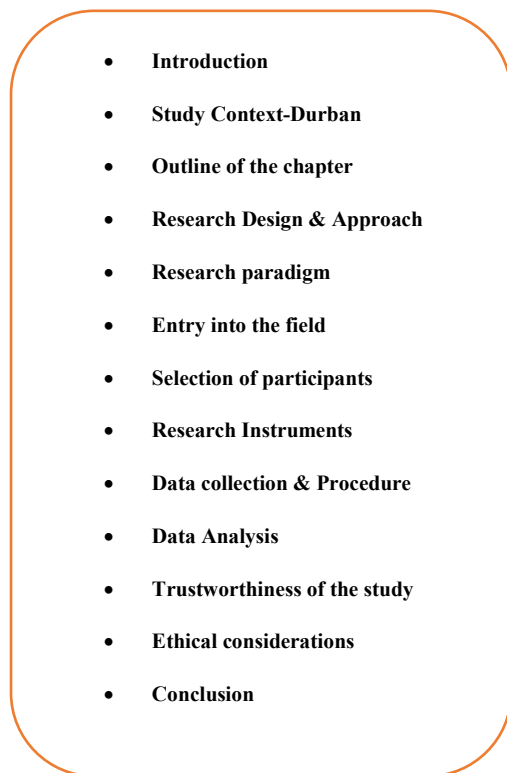
Source: Author

4.3 Aim of the study

The main aim or objective of this research is to capture the subjective lived experiences of the victims of gender-based violence in Durban (South Africa) by recording and helping to construct their narratives or 'life stories'– of their subjective and interpreted experiences, and thereby add to the knowledge base of cultural studies. Thus, the methodology employed in this study is for the purposes of satisfying/fulfilling this aim.

4.4 Study Context-Durban

Durban is located in the Kwa-Zulu Natal Province, which was formerly known as the Natal Colony and was formerly the Zulu ruler, Shaka's, domain. Durban, well renowned for its warmer climate, is located along the wide Kwa-Zulu Natal coastline and is Africa's busiest port (SAHO, 2011). Thousands of Irish immigrants and Indian labourers swelled Durban's population substantially throughout the middle years of the nineteenth century. In 1860, the city's first railway opened. After gold was discovered nearby, both the railway and the port became very busy. The gold rush of the nineteenth century may have been brief, but the city

never ceased booming. The city's tourism business, which began more than a century ago when passengers boarded trains across the Transvaal to see Durban's beaches, is likewise expanding at a strong rate (SAHO 2011). As a result, the province and city have come into contact with foreigners looking for greener pastures. More specifically, the region is noted for its rich history and heritage, which many view as an oppressive culture against women (Mkhize, 2011; Zondi, 2007). The setting becomes an intriguing location for the research in twenty-first-century South Africa, where government laws are in place to promote women in all aspects of life, but women who hail and reside in the province are regarded to be victims of patriarchy.

4.5 Research Design & Approach

The study used a qualitative research design. According to Neuman (2014), a research design is a road map that illustrates the path that connects the research questions to the study's practical implementation. Scholars like Durrheim refer to this as a "architectural blueprint" (2006). Apt to note is that a rigorous and well-thought-out approach is required to create a dynamic research design, hence the phrase "architectural blueprint." On the other hand, viewing the research design as a blueprint indicates a positivist perspective that looks to follow a predefined path and applies deductive reasoning.

In qualitative research, a non-linear approach and inductive reasoning are largely assumed (Neuman, 2014). As a result, realistic considerations were taken in light of the circumstances. The type of questions the study should address, namely, gaining a comprehensive understanding of the lived experiences of African migrant women who had experienced gender-based violence, led to the use of a qualitative research approach. According to Carter and Little (2007), research aims, questions, and study design shape and are shaped by methodology. Furthermore, they believe that the researcher's epistemological and ontological assumptions play a significant effect in the research design selection.

Apt to note is that qualitative studies provide a detailed description and analyses of the quality or substance of human experience (Marvasti, 2004). Denzin and Lincoln (1994) found that qualitative research emphasizes processes and meanings that are not rigorously examined and measured in terms of quantity, intensity or frequency. Qualitative researchers are rather interested in insight, discovery, and interpretation rather than hypothesis testing. One disadvantage of qualitative research is that it can be very time consuming and thus often also costly (de Vos, Strydom, Fouche, & Delport, 2005). The researcher aimed to provide an

accurate representation of the lived experiences of the fifteen research participants involved in the present study without generalizing their stories to other cases but instead relating them to existing theories.

In support of a qualitative approach, Poovey (1995) noted, "there are limits to what the rationalizing knowledge epitomized by statistics can do. No matter how precise, quantification cannot inspire action, especially in a society whose bonds are forged by sympathy, not mere calculation" (p.84). Poovey (1995) can be interpreted as simply emphasizing that some research questions can be best explored and understood using a qualitative approach since it seeks meaning and not generalisation. Generalisation is normative in, and synonymous with quantitative inquiry (Neuman, 2014). In this instance, the researcher wanted the opportunity to pose questions that would elicit responses in participants own words relating to their lived experiences and this was important to fostering deeper understanding of the phenomenon.

The nature of the study also called for a qualitative enquiry. Gender based violence is a global phenomenon and a discourse that seeks to be addressed in international forums and as such an in-depth understanding of the lived experiences attracted such an inquiry. A qualitative design therefore, offers participants the opportunity to bring forth diverse, relevant dimensions and in-depth thick descriptions of a lived experience the researcher might have not envisaged, something which is not possible in a quantitative study. To this end, in-depth interviews were used. The nature of in-depth interviews employs a semi-structured form thus, it triggers a "naturally occurring conversation" (Spicer, 2012:482).

4.6 Research Paradigm

Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999) articulates that a research paradigm is an all-encompassing system of interrelated practice and thinking that defines the nature of enquiry along three dimensions: ontology, epistemology and methodology. The term has its origins from the Greek word *paradeigma* which means *pattern* and was first used by Thomas Kuhn (1962) to denote a conceptual framework shared by a community of scientists which provided them with a convenient model for examining problems and finding solutions. Kuhn defines a paradigm as: "an integrated cluster of substantive concepts, variables and problems attached with corresponding methodological approaches and tools" (p.36). The term paradigm refers to a research culture with a set of beliefs, values, and assumptions that a community of researchers has in common regarding the nature and conduct of research (Kuhn, 1977). A paradigm thus,

implies "a pattern, structure and framework or system of scientific and academic ideas, values and assumptions" (Olsen, Lodwick, and Dunlop, 1992:16).

The interpretivist paradigm's key tenets are relevant to the current research. The adopted research paradigm aligns with the study's topic and research objectives because interpretivism takes an emic or insider approach to research, which means approaching social reality from the standpoint of the participants or individuals involved. Interpretivism's philosophical roots are thus employed as a lens through which to examine reality as it is experienced, formed, and understood by the participants. Participants are the ones who experience the world and come up with subjective meanings. The perspectives and opinions of the participants are crucial in answering the study questions. O'Connor (2015) asserts that, any researchable problem is better understood as a constitutive element of the social world largely explained from the vantage point of participants as social actor.

Interpretive researchers argue that reality is made up of people's subjective perceptions of the outside world; as a result, they may subscribe to an inter-subjective epistemology and the ontological idea that reality is socially produced. Interpretivists, according to Willis (1995), are anti-foundationalists who believe there is no single proper path or approach to knowledge. Walsham (1993) claims that there are no 'right' or 'incorrect' hypotheses in the interpretive tradition. Instead, they should be rated on how 'interesting' they are to the researcher and others working in similar fields. They try to draw their constructs from the field by studying the topic of interest in depth.

Additionally, Gephart (1999) argues that interpretivists assume that knowledge and meaning are acts of interpretation, hence there is no objective knowledge which is independent of thinking, reasoning humans. Myers (2009) argues that the premise of interpretive researchers is that access to reality (whether given or socially constructed) is only through social constructions such as language, consciousness and shared meanings. Therefore, the interpretive paradigm is underpinned by observation and interpretation, thus to observe is to collect information about events, while to interpret is to make meaning of that information by drawing inferences or by judging the match between the information and some abstract pattern (Aikenhead, 1997). Thus, it attempts to understand phenomena through the meanings that people assign to them (Deetz, 1996).

Reeves and Hedberg (2003: 32) note that the "interpretivist paradigm stresses the need to put analysis in context". The interpretive paradigm is concerned with understanding the world as it is from the subjective experiences of individuals. They use meaning (versus measurement) oriented methodologies, such as interviewing or participant observation, that rely on a subjective relationship between the researcher and subjects. Interpretive research does not predefine dependent and independent variables, but focuses on the full complexity of human sense making as the situation emerges (Kaplan & Maxwell, 1994). The interpretive approach aims to explain the subjective reasons and meanings that lie behind social action.

The research further employs the *constructivist interpretive* method which grew out of the philosophy of Edmund Husserl's phenomenology and Wilhem Dilthey's and other German philosophers' study of interpretive understanding called hermeneutics (Mertens 2005, citing Eichelberger, 1989). This paradigm approach to research has "the intention of understanding the world of human experience" (Cohen & Manion 1994:36), suggesting that "reality is socially constructed" (Mertens 2005:12). The interpretivist or constructivist researcher tends to rely upon the "participants' views of the situation being studied" (Creswell, 2008: 8) and recognises the impact on the research of their own background and experiences.

Qualitative interpretations are constructed. The researcher first creates a field text consisting of field notes and documents from the field, what Roger Sanjek (1990:386) calls "indexing" and David Plath (1990:374) calls "filework". The writer-as interpreter moves from this text to a research text: notes and interpretations based on the field text. This text is then re-created as a working interpretive document that contains the writer's initial attempts to make sense of what he or she has learned. Finally, the writer produces the public text that comes to the reader. This final tale from the field may assume several forms: confessional, realist, impressionistic, critical, formal, literary, analytic, grounded theory, and so on (Van Maanen, 1988). It is thus apt to note that there are multiple criteria for evaluating qualitative research, and those that are emphasized stress the situated, relational, and textual structures of the ethnographic experience. There is no single interpretive truth; there are numerous interpretive communities as indicated above, each with its own criteria for evaluating interpretations.

The researcher also centrally employed the use of life stories' research. A life story according to Duranti (1986) represents the social world. It tells us about the communities in which we live, our shared values and beliefs, and it tells us something about our common understanding of social, political, and economic lives. It tells us a lot about the society and culture in which

that person lived, about good and evil, and about humanity's greatest—and worst—moments (Sacks:1972).

The 'narrative turn' in the social sciences from the 1980s, was motivated epistemologically by a renewed academic interest in the importance of narrative and 'narrative rationality' in the production of human knowledge (Barthes 1977; Bruner 1986; Fisher 1987; MacIntyre 1984; Polkinghome 1988), and politically by progressive academics, including feminists (see for example Reinharz & Chase, 2002), determined to give a 'voice' to marginalized social groups (Gray, 2003; Plummer, 2001). It manifested itself in a renewed interest in the stories of the researched, whether biographies or auto-ethnographies (Finnegan, 1992; Hinchman & Hinchman, 1997; Mishler, 1995; Riessman, 1993).

Susan Chase's seminal article (2005) on the qualitative ethnographic approach to 'narrative inquiry' is a central influence on this thesis's methodology. For Chase a 'life history' or 'personal narrative' can be – as it is for this thesis - 'an extended story about a significant aspect of one's life such as…a trauma' (2005: 652). Crucially, the researcher did not use the interview to unearth objective historical or sociological data about past events or social structures, but instead was concerned with the development of a narrative whose focus is on the *subjective* insiders' view of 'the meanings that events hold for those who lived through them' (2005: 652).

Chase identifies five 'analytic lenses' to understand the role of narrative in social science research:

> 1. It is 'retrospective meaning making – the shaping and ordering of past experience', which necessarily involves points of view and interpretations (2005: 656).

> 2. It is a performing of the 'self, experience and reality' (2005: 657) through the creative voice of the narrator, rather than some unmediated 'reflection' of events and people in the 'real world'. This must also include Gray's argument regarding the specific use of narrative structures in the ordering of that experience: 'it is important to insist that the life story is not a direct expression of one's life – this is an impossibility. It will always be a tale told, that is, it will be constructed, it will have a narrative form and pattern'. (Gray, 2003: 116; see also Faber, 2000). Similarly, for Plummer, life stories cannot simply be 'told', but are 'composed': 'the stories of our lives are indeed constructed, fabricated, invented, made up' (Plummer, 2001: 238).

3. The stories are 'both enabled and constrained by a range of social resources and circumstances' such as the discursive repertoires available to the story-teller (2005: 657), which is also to say that the narrative's construction is always mediated by socio-cultural discourses and ideologies.

4. The narratives are 'socially situated interactive performances…a joint production of narrator and listener' (2005: 657). This alerts us to the active supportive role of the interviewer in helping to construct, and not just to collect, biographical information from interviewees ((Hollway & Jefferson, 2000; Holstein & Gubrium, 1995; Maynard, 1994). The key helpful text here is Atkinson's *The Life Story Interview*, which argues: `In a life story interview, the interviewee is a storyteller, the narrator of the story being told, whereas the interviewer is a guide, or director, in this process. The two together are collaborators, composing, constructing a story the teller can be pleased with' (1998: 9).

5. The researchers themselves are interpretive narrators as analysts. This can for example materialize in a further thematic analysis chapter, as is here is the case.

4.7 Entry into the research site

Initial access to the research site was made through a participant who during my master's studies became a close friend. During my master's studies I carried out research on the lived experiences of the 2015 xenophobic attacks among foreign nationals in Durban. It was through this research that I came across a lot of women whom were not only subjected to the experiences of xenophobia, but their experiences were coupled with abuse. Foreign communities are formed on social media (WhatsApp Groups & Facebook pages) which made it easy to locate or access the research participants for this study. The researcher had the opportunity to engage with some women from her previous study at master's level who referred her to other women who were living through the same trajectory.

4.7.1 Selection of participants

As alluded earlier in the chapter, methodology was largely influenced by an interpretivist approach. To collect qualitative data, the researcher ought to engage with people "who have directly experienced the phenomenon of interest" (Patton, 2002: 104). Those interviewed in the research were chosen using purposive sampling or what other scholars refer to as non-

probability sampling. Here samples are chosen that "will yield the most relevant and plentiful data" (Yin 2011: 88), and from whom the research will "obtain the broadest range of information and perspectives on the subject of study" (Kuzel, 1992: 37). Purposive sampling refers to a procedure in which one cannot specify the probability that any member of the population will be included in the sample (Cozby, 2007). Neuman (2003) stated that in purposive sampling, the researcher uses his own judgment to select the research participants in order for them to be able to correspond with the research aims.

Although participants were spread over a large geographical area, the existence of foreign communities on social media (Facebook Pages and WhatsApp Groups) made it possible for the researcher to locate and interview them. Some potential participants were, however, not interviewed due to time and resource constraints. The impact of this on the credibility of the study was compensated by reaching saturation on the data obtained from available participants. All the participants were identified using the snow-ball, or chain referral technique which is used to locate participants by asking others to identify persons or groups with special understanding of a given topic (Ulin, Robinson, Tolley & McNeill, 2002). Prior to that, a priori sampling had been used to identify participants. This technique entails the definition of characteristics, and structure of selection criteria in advance (Ulin et al., 2005).

More so, a large pool of possible participants was established prior to the interviews to increase opportunity for selecting few information-rich cases, since in qualitative research, detail and depth take precedence over numerical accuracy (Durrheim, 1999). Unlike in quantitative research, participants for a qualitative study are not selected based on being statistically representative, but because they can provide information that is 'rich' and 'thick' and that fulfils an investigative purpose (Polkinghorne, 2005). Information-rich participants are, "those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research" (Polkinghorne, 2005:140). Therefore, the list of participants was thus left open in order to enhance the dependability of findings by way of sampling to redundancy (Durrheim, 1999). This technique is important in that it is exhaustive, since interviewing continues until views are repeated. While the findings of this study cannot be generalised, this technique allows for making inferences about gender-based violence.

 More so, research participants were included according to characteristics such as specific knowledge or experience relating to the goals of the study. An advantage of this sampling method is that it provides the researcher with the opportunity to select research participants that

have direct knowledge of the phenomenon being studied, so that they can provide directly relevant perceptions and opinions relating to the study (Henning, van Renburg, & Smit, 2004). Cozby (2007) stated that this sampling technique affords the researcher the opportunity to deal with participants who have actively been involved with or affected by the phenomenon being studied and as such can provide specific and relevant information. Neuman (2003) also stated that an advantage of purposive sampling is that the researcher becomes able to select unique cases that are particularly informative and relevant.

A further benefit of this sampling method is that it is inexpensive and convenient to make contact with prospective participants whilst an obvious disadvantage of purposive sampling is that it can increase the risk of selection bias, which may result in difficulties related to the generalization of results to the population (Cozby, 1997; Neuman, 2003); while another disadvantage is that it does not allow representation of the entire population to be a part of the study as they may not have any experience with the phenomenon being assessed. Thus, non-probability sampling does not lend itself well to generalising the results to the population as a whole as it does not generate a group of participants that can be said to be representative of the population (Cozby, 2007). As previously mentioned, it should be noted that the researcher did not attempt to make any form of generalization from the specific cases to the population but only aimed to relate the research participants' lived experiences to existing theories.

For the selection of research participants, the following inclusion criteria were employed in order to select suitable participants:

(i)   The participants were black, African foreigners,

(ii)   the participants were women aged between 18 and 50 years old

(iii)   The participants lived in Durban

(iv)   The participants had a good command of English language as means of communication and

(v)   The participants experienced gender-based violence

(vi)   Had stayed in South Africa for at least five years

The researcher therefore, selected (n=15) female migrants who met the above criteria

4.9 Data collection methods and procedures

Data was gathered from the selected sample using semi-structured interviews. This type of interview, according to Yin, has three advantageous characteristics:

(1) there is no tightly-scripted questionnaire: "The researcher will have a mental framework of study questions, but the specifically verbalized questions as posed to any given participant will differ according to the context and setting of the interview";

(2) avoiding any 'uniform behaviour' for all interviews by relying upon a 'conversational mode', the interview "will lead to a social relationship of sorts, with the quality of the relationship individualized to every participant"; and

(3) the interviewer uses "open rather than closed-ended questions" to elicit in-depth answers (Yin 2011: 134-135).

As Meyer importantly points out, "within this framework research participants are seen as active meaning makers rather than passive information providers, and interviews offer a unique opportunity to study these processes of meaning production directly" (2008: 70). The interviews were aimed at building the 'life stories' of African migrant women who experienced gender-based violence.

Data for the study was obtained by having the participants complete a biographical questionnaire. The biographical questionnaire included demographic data on the participants' age, nationality, and trade/profession. Participants were aged between 18-50 years and hailed from Tanzania, Burundi, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Lesotho, Botswana and Kenya and they had spent more than five years in South Africa. This information served to confirm that the research participants were suitable for inclusion in the study (see Appendix C). Subsequent to this, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted individually with each of the participants; these interviews were basically 30-45 minutes long. All interviews were audio-recorded in accordance with the permission granted by the research participants when they signed the informed consent form. There was no specific venue for the interviews; this was done to create a comfortable atmosphere for the participants.

Semi-structured interviews were beneficial both for the researcher and the research participants as they are flexible. This flexibility provides the researcher with the opportunity to follow up particularly interesting aspects that may arise during the interview. For the participants, this

form of interview allows the participant to provide a more comprehensive description of the phenomenon being studied by allowing additional information to be gathered during the interview process (de Vos et al., 2005). It is apt to note that with this form of data collection the participants are given some control in terms of the direction that the interview takes and have the opportunity to introduce a topic that the researcher had not considered (de Vos et al., 2005). Semi-structured interviews make use of a set of predetermined questions on an interview schedule and are guided, rather than dictated, by the schedule.

The interview schedule (see Appendix B) used open-ended questions which allowed the participants to provide as much or as little information as they chose (Breakwell, Fife-Schaw, Smith & Hammond, 2006). The semi-structured format meant that questions are set out before the interviews and the interviewer asks the participants these questions and then follows up, explores and probes the answers given by the participants as required. The participants were debriefed verbally by the researcher after the interviews in order to ensure that the interviewees were comfortable and to answer any questions they may have had regarding the interviews. According to Struwig and Stead (2001) debriefing with the interviewees after the interviews is of vital importance.

4.8 Research instruments

This section focuses on the study's research instruments, namely the researcher(s) and the interview guide. Questions on the interview guide were generated after a thorough review of relevant literature and scrutiny of the research problem, research questions and study objectives.

4.8.1 Researcher as key instrument

The researcher in qualitative research is the key instrument (Patton, 1990). Thus, the researcher is inseparable from the research (Jackson, 1990); this has wider implications. For instance, the credibility of the researcher is pertinent in qualitative research, because he/she is the main instrument in both data collection and analysis (Fusch & Ness, 2015; Patton, 1990; Shenton, 2004). The researcher in this study was at the vanguard of data collection. The researcher was intricately aware that amid other factors, the quality of data is reliant on the researcher's competence, therefore adequate time and resources were dedicated to researcher training and preparation for quality data collection.

4.8.2 Interview schedule/guide

Interviewing is dependable with an interpretive approach which "aims to explain the subjective reasons and meanings that lie behind social action" (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 2006:7). The researcher used an interview schedule as a data collection tool in this study. It was used to gather data that was relevant to answering the key research questions. The structure and order of the questions contained in the interview guide was not concrete but rather fluid as they could always be adjusted depending on how the conversation would unfold. The key areas of exploration included: the experiences of gender-based violence in a foreign land and the coping strategies in an abusive/violent space. Krueger (1998), identifies a typology of opening, introductory, key, and ending questions. Similar issues were explored in these interviews.

4.10 Data analysis

The recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim into written form by the researcher. Important to note is that verbatim transcripts are considered both loyal and authentic, because they can be true to the intentions of the participant (Kvale, 1996). With the help of two independent moderators, the researcher meticulously made all efforts possible to reduce the effects of distortions and bias.

Large quantities of data are common in qualitative research, which some researchers believe is due to unfocused interviewing (Kvale, 1996). It is argued that the generation of massive amounts of data is unavoidable, and that the development of computer programming made data analysis more efficient. Computer-based programs, on the other hand, are designed to aid with data analysis. The data was organized and managed using the Nvivo (QSR International, Melbourne, Australia) software application by identifying categories (codes), themes, and domains. Such computer-based qualitative data software, on the other hand, are merely instruments in the qualitative data analysis toolbox, and they definitely cannot replace human involvement in contemplating the data and reaching a conclusion (Atherton & Elsmore, 2007; Morison & Moir, 1998).

Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis model was adopted to further analyse the data in order to "give a rich and detailed, yet complex, description of data." The steps of the model that the researcher followed were as follows:

The researcher's review of the generated transcripts defined the first level of data analysis. Ulin et al. (2005), on the other hand, suggest that in qualitative research, analysis is an ongoing process that occurs informally well before the formal stage of data analysis. Each recorded audio interview clip was listened to before the next interview was done in this study. Lindlof (1995) supports this method, arguing that transcribing should be done promptly after the interview to assist frame the following session because it can reveal concerns that need to be followed up on, dropped, or added. The researcher attempted to generate the most data by following Lindlof's (1995) advice. Lindlof's (1995) approach improved the quality of the data collected in general. Following a thorough perusal, the researcher became "immersed" in the data, resulting in a greater understanding of the data set depth and breadth. Fourie (2007) compares immersing oneself in data to 'deep-drilling,' a word that emphasizes the importance of acquiring a comprehensive grasp of underlying difficulties in a study.

The data's interesting features were methodically coded in the second phase. Each code was combined with relevant data. Thirdly, the codes were grouped into possible themes. At this point, all data relating to each theme was categorized. As a result, some codes could become primary themes, subthemes, or even be discarded. Themes were essentially blended, improved, divided, or abandoned. The fourth process involved going over the themes and making sure they corresponded to the coded extracts, resulting in a thematic map of the analysis. At stage four, there were two levels of theme reviewing and refinement and these were: reading each collated extract within individual themes and reading through the whole data set.

This was followed by defining and naming of the themes and finally relating the analysis to both the research and literature. Constant perusal of the data set for the researcher to be closely acquainted with the findings, a process described as 'immersion' culminated into the identification of three broad themes. A theme is defined as the main, recurrent idea. In simple terms, a theme captures some level of patterned experiences and views relevant to the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The findings were shared with study participants to avoid the 'smash and grab' approach to research that scholars like Holdaway (2000) caution against. This served a twofold purpose: one, it improved data validation, and second, it was an ethical consideration in which the researcher tried to establish accountability for any unintended repercussions resulting from their participation in the study.

4.11 Trustworthiness of the study

This study followed the tenets of the 'new ethnography', and thus its validity was guided by Paula Saukko's notion of 'dialogic validity', which evaluates research "in terms of how well it manages to capture the lived realities of others" (2003: 19). The goal of new ethnographic research is to develop modes of study and writing that enable the scholar to be truer to the lived realities of other people.

Thus, 'new ethnographic' practice is often characterized by various strategies, such as collaboration, that aim to increase the participant's say on the way in which the study is conducted, and their lives reported. Another characteristic feature of new ethnography is self-reflexivity, which aims to enhance the scholar's awareness of the social and cultural tropes that mediate her/his understanding of worlds that may be radically different from hers/his. Furthermore, 'poly-vocality' draws attention to the fact that lived realities are many, and in order to do them justice one may need to listen to multiple voices or perspectives (Saukko 2003: 72-73).

In addition to this, it thus apt to note that those interviewed were able to read the narratives that guided the thesis for their comments before examination/publication; the researcher foregrounded her own theoretical and political interests, and a range of views on the central issues were courted. The qualitative method focuses on individual characteristics and experiences of human beings; hence it was selected for the present study that concentrated on the experiences of fifteen individual's stories that were the guide of this study. The narrative approach was selected as it provided a suitable research design in which to give an account of a subject's experience in accordance with the research, in this case the lived experience of gender based violence (de Vos et al., 2005). The researcher aimed to provide an accurate representation of the lived experiences of the research participants involved in the present study without generalizing their stories to other cases but instead relating them to existing theories.

4.12 Ethical considerations

When conducting research, a researcher will invariably be met with and forced to make decisions regarding ethical considerations. It is imperative that the ethical aspect of research is handled in a professional manner. According to Vorster (2002), ethical guidelines provide a foundation for the researcher to evaluate her own conduct. In the present study, the researcher consistently strived towards maintaining proper ethical practice and a level of professionalism

and accountability that one would expect from a study at a tertiary institution involving human beings and potentially sensitive issues such as gender-based violence. Thus, the approval of the Faculty's Research Committee as well as the Ethics Committee of the university was sought and achieved before commencing the study.

 It was foremost in the mind of the researcher that a variety of factors must be considered when dealing with people from different cultural contexts. First and foremost was the issue of confidentiality to keep all details of the research participants' private and to not disclose any details to third parties, hence pseudonyms were used to ensure anonymity. The respondents were informed that their data would remain confidential and that their data would not be used for any other purpose than that described in the study and this was in accordance with what transpired during the research. The data recorded from the participants were coded so as to ensure the anonymity of the participants, and the data has remained confidential.

The strict measures that were taken to ensure confidentiality included storing the audio-recordings safely during the study and after the research has been completed the audio-recording would eventually be destroyed and all identifying information relating to the research participants will be deleted or disguised in the findings of the research. Voluntary, informed consent was obtained from all participants in writing before they participated in the research. This was done to protect both the participants, researcher and the research itself (de Vos et al., 2005). It should also be mentioned that the participation in the present study was on a voluntary basis with no remuneration or incentives offered to the participants.

Permission to conduct the study was gained from the University of KwaZulu Natal after the research protocol was reviewed by the Research Ethics Committee (Protocol number: HSS/1085/018D. Thereafter the research participants were selected through referrals from fellow citizens from the researcher's country of birth (Zimbabwe) and other countries in Africa who had suffered the turmoil. A letter of recruitment (see Appendix D) was given to the research participants and informed consent was obtained from them in writing (see Appendix B).

4.13 Conclusion

The methodology of this study was discussed in this chapter of the thesis. The present chapter presented the research methodologies and procedures employed in participant selection, data collection and processing, and analysis. The chapter came to a close with a discussion of how

the study's credibility was ensured. The findings of this study are presented in chapters 5–8 of this thesis.

CHAPTER 5

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS & PARTICIPANTS' NARRATIVES

5.1 Introduction

Several themes were derived from the data set generated through the in-depth interviews and the findings are presented below in a tabular manner. The researcher made effort to capture the nuances and subtleties of the lived experiences in which the life stories (interviews) were conducted. This was done to bring out an understanding of the experiences of this brutality. As such, the themes are adequately nuanced using relevant direct quotes from the study of participants.

'Immersion' culminated into the identification of three broad themes. This is a process of continuous examination of the data set for the researcher to be closely acquainted with the findings. A theme is defined as the main, recurrent idea. In simple terms, a theme captures, "something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set" (Braun & Clarke 2006:82).

5.2 Emergent Themes

The themes offered below are accessible as independent chapters in the order they adopt in this preliminary chapter.

Table 5.1: A map of the findings chapters in their sequence

Chapter Title	Themes & Sub-themes
Chapter 6: Understanding GBV from an Immigrants Perspective in Contemporary South Africa	**1.Knowledge and comprehension of GBV** **GBV: Causes of GBV** (i)Education (ii)Age (iii)Economic & political status in South Africa (iv)Change in gender roles (v)Patriarchy
	2.Effects of GBV (i)Family disorientation (ii)Low self-esteem (iii)Mental instability (iv)Fears of being in a relationship

	(v)New Gender preferences
Chapter 7: A negotiation of power and survival through the body	**1.Reasons for leaving home country** (i)Lack of basic resources (ii)Political, civil unrest &violence (iii)Lack of health care & medication (iv)Keeping family ties
	2.Experiences of exploitation & coercion (i)Engaging in sex for survival (ii)Marriage for convenience (iii)Fear to be in contact with the law because of migrant status (iv) Low wages for survival
Chapter 8: Female migrants post their GBV experiences	**1.Incessant flares of migratory experiences** **2.Myths: an African phenomenon** **3.Self sustainability** **4.Accessible counselling structures**

Source: Author

The themes presented above center on the most prominent issues in this study and they are however not mutually exclusive. As a result, the researcher does not believe that these constitute a sufficient overview of the significant difficulties regarding gender-based violence among African immigrants; rather, they are the study's pinnacle. Noteworthy is that in each findings chapter, the findings and discussion sections are separately presented. The findings are a synopsis of the data analysis process while the discussion and interpretation are a rational attempt to neatly link the findings with relevant literature. To tie the loose ends, the final chapter comprehensively summarizes all the three chapters, illuminating all the outstanding findings collectively.

5.3 Socio-demographic data for the study sample

The study participants were within the range of ages 18 to 50 years. Notable is that participants were drawn from different parts of KwaZulu-Natal with Durban being the central point. The availability of participants in different areas extended the period in which data was being collected (February 2019-early Sept 2019). The total number of participants was 15. No participant was of South African descent. In terms of marital status participants were not required to be married to participate in the study rather it was open to any woman who had

experienced GBV and was of African descent and foreign in South Africa. A summary of the participants' socio-demographic characteristics is tabulated below (*Table 5.2*).

Table 5.2 Participants socio-demographic characteristics

Pseudonym	Country of Origin	Age	Profession/Trade
Sheila	Zambia	23	Housewife
Ludo	Tanzania	25	Student
Mpho	Zimbabwe	32	Engineer
Thoko	Zimbabwe	40	Domestic worker
Nkombwe	Zambia	30	Student
Nawanda	Kenya	34	Housewife
Betty	Tanzania	36	Vendor
Fano	Tanzania	20	Domestic worker
Felicia	Burundi	22	Hairdresser
Alt	Zambia	35	Hairdresser
Mau	Lesotho	42	Student
Viny	Kenya	41	Student
May	Botswana	37	Till operator
Bella	Zimbabwe	38	Accountant
Fifi	Burundi	37	Domestic worker

Source: Author

5.4 Participants' Narratives

This section gives a brief description of the participants' narratives of their journey from their country of origin to South Africa. In these narratives participants' background and migratory conduits are told briefly. Czarniawska (2004) articulates that a narrative is a story which is referred to as an account of events, experiences, and details. A narrative immediately invites your audience into your world and offers them a chance to participate in the story you are telling (Newlands, 2021; McCracken, 2021). It is also a style that invites discussion and participation. Narratives may be easy to come by, but not everything is worth narrating. Narratives

are especially good for representing contingency and accounting for contingent outcomes (Beatty, 2016).

5.4.1 Sheila- Zambia

Sheila (23) is a Zambian woman who currently resides in Durban's dusty Umlazi neighbourhood. The 23-year-old married soon after finishing her matriculation, and her road has not been easy because she married at such a young age. Her thoughts regarding GBV are centred upon the notion that, it is perpetuated by patriarchal culture which views women as sexual and child-bearing machines. During the interview she relates her experiences and shares her story of coming from Zambia and getting married in South Africa. As she recounts her ordeal, her voice is filled with anguish, despair, and a sense of hopelessness. Her spouse feels that a woman's place in the world is in the kitchen, as he doesn't allow her to work. Sheila is a young mother of two, and her efforts of seeking employment and put her matric qualifications to good use have been rejected by her husband, who believes that women should stay at home and care for their children.

Sheila arrived in South Africa when she was 15-years-old. Her parents moved in pursuit of greener pastures, and she completed her Primary and Secondary education in Durban, where she met her husband while studying for her matriculation. She became pregnant during this time, and happily, she was virtually finished with her studies, as she was sitting for her final two exams. She explained that in Zambian society, when a woman gets pregnant, she is expected to stay with her spouse, therefore she was transported to her then boyfriend's home now-husband's under customary law. Her Zulu in-laws were unfamiliar with this custom because they expected things to be done differently. When Sheila arrived at her boyfriend's house, she was mistreated. The family felt that their customs were being trampled on. The researcher couldn't help but cry as she described her experience, tears streaming down her cheeks and her eyes filled with hurt and dismay. She attributed her marriage's problems on cultural norms.

Despite the violence, Sheila remains married to her husband since he is her only means of survival. She expressed her worry of fleeing the marriage and eventually being unable to find work in the province—and later, a country that valued black South Africans. Given the difficulties she has encountered, she has stated that she is unprepared to leave South Africa. She wants her children to know both of their parents as they grow up, and this has caused her to overlook her husband's violence. Sheila is hopeful that the abuse will cease or at the very

least receive counselling one day. She has attempted to get help from her faith and family. According to her, the church had sessions with her on women grooming because they thought she was missing something that caused her husband to mistreat her. Her family, on the other hand, was of little assistance to her. They urged her to stay and examine the financial benefits that her husband provides to the family.

5.4.2 Ludo-Tanzania

Ludo (25) is a student at KwaZulu-Natal University. She relocated from Tanzania to South Africa after receiving a scholarship to study, which she eventually lost. After her scholarship period had expired, the institution withdrew finances, leaving her to fend for herself in a foreign place. She was obliged to stay in violent relationships because she needed to survive in such a tough environment. She has no means of supporting herself, and her luxuries were once paid for by an abusive partner from KZN's South.

The two met in a grocery shop, when the man volunteered to pay her food bill while she was with her companions at the pay station. She claimed that it was this gesture that drew her to the man in question, and that they began dating a few weeks after meeting in the supermarket. Ludo's abuse was triggered by the boyfriend's provision of luxury, which he was responsible for, among other things, her upkeep and accommodation. Ludo became pregnant during their relationship, and things only got worse for her after that. Ludo felt powerless in the face of emotional and physical violence because her life was now dependent on her partner, who was unable to bend in order to satisfy Ludo's cultural beliefs about the pregnancy.

She indicated that people from various cultural origins should not date and then marry each other based on her own experience. Their ideas clashed, escalating their fights, which occasionally turned violent while she was pregnant. Ludo's pain was palpable in her voice as she described her ordeal. She believes that women must be self-sufficient in order to avoid being abused by men. She gave in to the abuse because she required the man's support for herself and the unborn child.

During a quarrel with her boyfriend in the seventh month of her pregnancy, she miscarried her baby. Things have never been the same since that day, and she continuously blames herself for the child's death. Women's hardship is aggravated by the requirement to pay black tax. Ludo bemoans this occurrence in African households, because most women are compelled to send

remittances back home. This forces women to remain in violent marriages in order to benefit financially and maintain their families at home.

5.4.3 Mpho- Zimbabwe

Mpho, (32) is a Zimbabwean engineer who arrived in South Africa three years after her spouse. The situation in Zimbabwe forced her to move to South Africa in search of work, but the main motive for her relocation was to be closer to her husband, who had already relocated to South Africa. Mpho is from a traditional family that values close family ties, which is why she moved to South Africa. She is overwhelmed with hurt as she recounts her experience, mentioning that her husband received all of the assistance he could from her family, who were already in South Africa when he arrived.

However, after settling in and getting a job, the husband ceased contacting her. Mpho and her children had a rough time in Zimbabwe, and they often went to bed hungry. She chose to team up with her mother, who worked in the poultry industry, and it was via this effort that her parents urged her to earn funds for a trip to South Africa. Her parents insisted that she join her spouse because the distance was too much for a young couple establishing a family. For nearly three years, the husband had been unable to communicate with Mpho and the children. She planned to move to South Africa six months after she discovered her new love of poultry and had saved enough money.

Her arrival in South Africa was marred by the discovery that her spouse had moved home with another woman. She felt betrayed and hurt, and suicidal ideas entered her mind on multiple occasions. Mpho is grateful to her relatives in South Africa, who helped her cope with the stress and to find work while she was residing with them. She eventually relocated from Johannesburg to Durban, where she found work, and she claims that her relocation to Durban was the beginning of her husband's violence. At this point, the husband understood that her move to Durban could spell the end of their marriage, so he quit his job as a restaurant manager and followed her to Durban to start again.

Mpho believes it was difficult to move past her husband's betrayal, but she had to hold on for the sake of her children. She made the decision to mend fences with her husband, and the two were now living together in Durban. She, on the other hand, claims that she has never known peace since that time since they are constantly arguing, resulting in her being beaten up. She also claims that she is constantly reminded of how blessed she is to still have him because he

was on the point of leaving him for another woman. Mpho was continually warned that she must obey him or else he was going to forsake her for another woman, and she was terrified of being abandoned, she bemoaned social customs that bind her to her spouse.

5.4.4 Thoko- Zimbabwe

Following Zimbabwe's 2008 economic catastrophe, Thoko a 40-year-old Zimbabwean woman arrived in Durban in search of greener pastures. When the first xenophobic attacks occurred in South Africa, Thoko was working as a vendor at the Bree taxi rank in Johannesburg and was dating a man from Zimbabwe who was beaten to a pulp at the taxi rank and eventually died from his injuries. This was a devastating period for her, because they were so much in love with hopes of getting married one day.

 A few months later she moved to Durban which was reported to be a safe haven for most foreigners at that time. The wave of xenophobic attacks had died in Johannesburg but for Thoko being in Johannesburg brought her traumatic experiences of the 2008 xenophobic attacks and she decided to move to Durban. The police in Durban were believed to be more lenient compared to police in Johannesburg because they never asked for proof of identity from foreigners who were largely found in the central business area. Thoko was sitting on a wooden chair, taking a break from her domestic chores at an Indian family where she worked as a helper, when she narrated her tale. It was clear that her experiences had brought tears to her eyes and she was filled with hurt. Thoko described how difficult it was to denounce abuse in South Africa due to one's legal standing and language.

Thoko was not ready to be known as a foreigner, because she feared that doing so would only create enemies for her in a xenophobic environment like the one she stayed and worked in. She stated that she had been abused not only by her husband, (whom she got married to soon after relocating to Durban) but also by her co-workers at her place of employment. Thoko was compelled to have an affair with her bosses' spouse, who made frequent advances toward her. She considered the situation, because she was offered more money on top of her income, she agreed to the relationship. The boss's spouse requested sexual practices that Thoko felt uncomfortable with, but she was forced to partake because she needed the money. On the other hand, Thoko's husband was abusive, and she was physically and emotionally abused by him; this prompted her to start something new.

She further claimed that her husband abused her emotionally since he was two years younger than her, reminding her of how old and feeble she was and how fortunate she was to have a man his age settle for an older woman. She stated that she was occasionally obliged to donate all of her wages to her husband, who would then spend the money on alcohol and other women in the neighbourhood with whom he was having extramarital encounters. All of this was taking place right in front of her eyes, and Thoko was hesitant to intervene and confront these women in question due to her migrant status and the fact that she was a foreigner.

Thoko took me back to her migratory days as she described how border patrol officials were crooked and brutal to women in her predicament who were in transit to make a living in South Africa. She explained how she had to engage in transactional sex in order to be allowed to stay in South Africa for 90 days. Because she desperately needed to make a living, she indicated that she had no choice but to comply with the request because she lacked the funds required by these border patrol officers.

5.4.5 Nkombwe -Zambia

Nkombwe is a Zambian woman in her 30s who travelled to South Africa to further her education. She is a Master's student at a local university in Durban. Due to the costs of education that she was unable to meet when her scholarship ran out, she found herself at the mercy of wealthy men who provided her with a luxurious lifestyle. It was through this lifestyle she had chosen that she was able to support her siblings at home and herself. She stated that she was not prepared to marry while studying, but that she accepted getting married (to a local South African man) since her partner pushed for it and it seemed convenient for her at the time. This was the start of many years of abuse from her husband, who later realised that Nkombwe did not love her and was only in the marriage for convenience.

Nkombwe said she was sometimes kept in the house for an entire weekend without food or a phone to ask for help. Not only had she been physically abused, but she had also been emotionally abused. Nkombwe's husband forbade her from mingling with some of her acquaintances, believing that they were harmful to her health. I learned from our talk that Nkombwe did not perceive anything wrong with the limits her husband imposed on her until the day she was placed under lock and key. Nkombwe's husband began having relationships with various of Nkombwe's acquaintances, which severely harmed her emotionally. After a long period of suffering at the hands of her husband, from whom she tried unsuccessfully to flee multiple times, she realized she was being abused. Nkombwe struggled to make ends meet,

and she was obliged to stay in that marriage in order to return home with her degree. Nkombwe has remained in the marriage since then, although she continues to be abused on a regular basis.

With no other option but to stay, Nkombwe intends to return home to see her parents under the pretence that they are ill, but she will never return to South Africa. She stated that if her plan succeeds, she will never return to her husband and instead plans to start a new life in another country. She is, nevertheless, determined to get her degree because she understands how much her family relies on her to improve their lives, and she knows that earning a degree would open many doors for her in the future.

5.4.6 Nawanda-Kenya

Nawanda a 34-year-old Kenyan woman describes her ordeal of abuse from men she has had sexual contacts with both in South Africa and abroad, despite the fact that she has exhibited fortitude towards GBV in the face of xenophobic turbulence in South Africa. Nawanda is from a small Kenyan hamlet, and her family relies on her to make ends meet. With a father who is in diapers due to HIV/AIDS and a mother who quit her job to care for her father, Nawanda felt compelled to come to South Africa in quest of a job that will earn her money to aid her siblings and parents. Tears streamed down her cheeks as she told her story, however emphasizing on how determined she was to use all of her resources to provide for her family back home.

Her journey to South Africa was fraught with scepticism. Nawanda heard about the stories of women being abused in exchange for entry into South Africa or documents by border patrol officers and the police. She yearned to get in the country and obtain documents that would allow her to stay legally. Nawanda was deceived before and after she came into South Africa by people who claimed to organize her documents. She recounts an event in which she attempted to reclaim her funds from a man who had promised to organize some documents for her. Her meeting with the man placed her in the hands of criminals, who threatened her not to call him again and stole her phone and money.

Nawanda arrived in Durban at the age of 30 and has been trying to get a suitable job ever since. However, she keeps finding herself in the hands of the wrong men with the wrong intentions, which has led to her being abused because she sometimes needs to repay the favour by performing sexual favours. Nawanda expresses how this affects her morals, but because of the severe circumstances at home, she is forced to comply with the demands of those who offer her money.

In 2016, while working at a salon, she fell in love with the salon owner and became pregnant. She later stated that the pregnancy was a mistake because it was never her intention to fall in love or become pregnant. Instead, her goal was to find a man who could take care of her and her family's needs, and this man happened to tick all the boxes. She kept the pregnancy a secret from her boyfriend for two months, after which he found out and beat her up.

Nawanda lost her baby as a result of the incident, and she has not fully recovered. Despite the fact that she had lost the only thing that could have kept them together, she continued to stay with her lover. The lover who had been battering her since he found out about the pregnancy, over trivial things like waking up when the sun had risen; the norm in most African cultures was that women should wake up before dawn and perform their household chores. She indicated that she was treated like a slave and that there was no love in their relationship anymore. However, she was obliged to stay because she had no other option until she got a job.

Her partner forbade the 34-year-old from working at the salon or take any other job for that matter because he believed it would expose her to other men. She became a stay-at-home wife with no ways of earning money until one day, while her partner was at work, she decided to do domestic chores for people in her neighbourhood. Nawanda saved enough money to last a month or two and then packed her belongings and left the man. The lover attempted to locate her and made threats to her life on several occasions. She relocated to the CBD and began working in a salon, but stated that the wages were insufficient to support her and her family in Kenya. As a result, she was obliged to engage in sex for the sake of survival with some men who came to the salon, and she recounts how the favours she received allowed her to maintain her lifestyle and provide for her family as well.

5.4.7 Betty- Tanzania

Betty is a 36-year-old teacher from Tanzania who moved to South Africa to keep family ties. Betty arrived in Durban in 2016, two years after her husband arrived in 2014. Betty left her children behind in Tanzania with the hope that when they have settled in well with the husband they will then make means for their children to join them. Her arrival in South Africa was met with a lot of difficulties in securing a job in her profession. However, she was hopeful that she would get a job in the long run. Betty tried by all means to secure the necessary and relevant documents to legalise her stay in Durban but all those efforts came to a halt when the 90 days which granted her a legal stay in South Africa lapsed.

Betty decided not to go back home but stayed with her husband with the hope that she will secure fake documents from a friend who had connections with some Home Affairs officials. All efforts for Betty to have documents that will at least allow her to look for a job as a teacher were not fruitful. She wanted a job so badly because she had left her job in Tanzania and as a woman who was used to earning a decent salary back home she couldn't stand not going to work so she had to improvise because going back to Tanzania was no longer an option and she had to make a living in Durban.

Coupled with the stress of a husband who was now promiscuous and cared less about his family back home she was forced to engage her entrepreneurial skills that she adopted from her mother who took her through to tertiary level to practice as a teacher by selling beaded goods s in the streets of Mwanza in Tanzania. Betty started her beading work and got a few rands from the sales, she indicated that the money was not enough so she had to subsidise her earnings from bead work with vending. She got a vending stall at the market where she was selling for an old man whom she narrated that the stall was his wife's but when the wife died he tried to run it himself but due to old age he needed some help.

Betty would carry her beaded wares to the vending stall at Victoria market every weekend and the man paid her on commission to work in the stall while selling her own beads on the side. She indicated that it was not a bad start at all because she was able to make enough money to send home to her children. Betty took this job because the husband failed to provide for her and as such she eventually moved out of their rented room in Berea to a small apartment in the CBD.The decision to leave her husband was contested by family and friends who believed Betty had to be patient with the husbands' promiscuity as it is was a behaviour mostly associated with men in African culture. Betty had her reasons to do so but she failed to contest their advice and was forced to go back to her husband. It was at this time that Betty was faced with a lot of physical abuse ranging from being beaten to sustaining burns from an iron thrown by the husband, "he threw a hot iron on my lap… because I had told him I had made no money at the vending stall that weekend".

Betty's husband engaged in sexual relationships with some women which she identified as 'salon bitches'. The husband worked as a local truck driver and he would make money but the money never made it home to Betty or to the children back in Tanzania. Betty learnt not to ask for any financial help in the house and continued with her job at the market over the weekend while during the week she got busy with beading in preparation for her vending job which

allowed her to sell her wares on the side. She made a substantial amount of money from this and managed to send her children money for school fees and food back home. In 2019 Betty got sick and because of her migrant status she was scared to make use of the hospital; it was only when she got worse that her friends from church took her to a private clinic where she was told that she was HIV positive.

Betty blamed her friends and family for this ordeal because when she had decided to leave her husband they encouraged her stay. She however got help from the doctor by putting her on Antiretroviral therapy for a short period of time while she made plans to register for therapy in her home country because she feared her migrant status would jeopardise the chances of her getting medical assistance. She indicated how her health deteriorated and affected her physically and emotionally. Despite the hurdles she faced in her marriage, Betty faced a lot of problems in her work space because she was a foreigner. She laments the derogatory words that were used on her by people who also sold wares in the same building, both men and woman of local descent. Her experiences as a woman and foreigner have shaped her resilience against the two ordeals faced by foreign nationals legal or illegal.

5.4.8 Fano-Tanzania

Working as a domestic worker and occasionally as a sex worker was not her ideal job, but she didn't have a choice. Fano, a 20-year-old girl with a promising future, found herself in South Africa to make ends meet because there were no chances in her own country. Fano's parents died while she was a child, leaving her to fend for herself and her younger siblings, prompting her to relocate to South Africa (Durban). Because of her circumstances, Fano married at an early age. She has worked as a domestic worker since she was a child, and she has been able to support her family at home. Her spouse, who had migrated to South Africa in quest of greener pastures, was irritated by her transfer to Durban.

Her desire was to be with her husband and start a family with him, but he had already moved on and was having affairs in South Africa. As a result, Fano was obliged to indulge in sex in order to survive in a new place. As tears stream down her cheeks, she tells her story. I noticed she was in so much suffering because she signalled in Fano's eyes that the life she was living at the time was not the life she had expected. Fano had a strong desire to continue her studies since she was a child, but she saw her ambition being dashed due to the circumstances that had befallen her.

Further her experiences with men for transactional sex ranged from being beaten to not being compensated for the services she provided at times. She stated that the majority of her clientele, particularly those of South African origin, took advantage of her nationality. Local clientele treated her badly, with some threatening to report her to the police and have her deported back to her home country. Fano was terrified of the law and didn't want anything to do with it because of her legal position in South Africa, so she didn't report any of the incidents.

Despite the challenges she experienced, she remained committed to her Tanzanian siblings. Fano has no plans to leave South Africa because she will be unable to support herself in Tanzania. She describes how, as a domestic servant, she was mistreated by the people she worked for because she is a foreigner. She was given too much work at times and forced to work on an empty stomach at others. She persevered in the face of adversity because she needed to make ends meet.

5.5.9 Felicia- Burundi

Felicia works as a hairstylist in Durban's central business district. She is a 22-year-old Burundi national who fled the instability in her own country to seek asylum in South Africa. Her arrival in Durban granted her refugee status, and now utilizes an asylum seeker permit for legal purposes. When she arrived in Durban, she was not prepared for what she encountered. Felicia imagined South Africa as a place of limitless possibilities, and that obtaining legal status would provide her with numerous chances.

With all of these aspirations, the 22-year-old had a disappointing experience and ended up working as a hairdresser in a salon. Unfortunately, her earnings from the salon were insufficient, and she had to turn to other sources of income. Felicia recounts how she met the man with whom she was staying with, the man was a local South African. The man was a regular customer in the barber part of the salon, and whenever he came in for a haircut, he would ask Felicia for a hair wash and leave a large tip. The man asked for her contact details one day, and the romance began. Felicia's first few months in the relationship were the greatest for her, and he understood that she needed to work in order to support herself and her brothers back home. Felicia's boyfriend was extremely supportive, and when he asked for her hand in marriage, she readily agreed and the two of them moved in together.

She however, observed a change in her fiancé's behaviour. She investigated her fiancé's behaviour after he lost his job. It became her duty from the little she received from the salon

that she takes care of him as well. The money she was earning was insufficient, and it was from this money that her fiancé requested money to have a nice time at the pub, and it became customary for her to give all of her earnings for the day to her fiancé or risk being beaten every day she returned from work. This continued for a year, and Felicia was afraid to leave him, despite making two attempts to end the relationship. The fiancé would go out of his way to find her or track her down to the salon. She decided to shift occupations and leave the Berea area (in Durban) where she had been living to another area around Durban and it was then that she met another woman who took her in and helped her settle. This woman referred her to a LGBTQI pressure group that primarily assisted women who had been in abusive relationships. Felicia was introduced to this group and acquired an interest in same-sex relationships. She later stated that it was preferable to being in a relationship with another man because they were able to give each other some respect. Her argument was that women know what they want and would never let each other down in a relationship. Felicia continues to work as a hairdresser and has never dated a man since then.

5.4.10 Alt-Zambia

A 35-year-old woman from Zambia narrates her ordeal to me while doing may hair in a salon in the central business district of Durban. Usually it takes about 30- 40 minutes to plait cornrows but on this day I had to sit in the salon for close to an hour and a half because Alt had a lot to share with me. She left Zambia to look for a job in South Africa as a maid and her first port of call was Johannesburg. She stayed in Johannesburg for four months working as a maid for a woman from her home country. Let's call this woman Brenna. It was in Johannesburg that she first was abused because of her nationality. Brenna was married to a Pedi man and he used Alt's vulnerability of being illegal in South Africa to have sex with her in the absence of his wife who would be at work during that time. It was after the fifth time that she decided to run away from Brenna's house who arrived home from work and Alt was not there. Alt ran away to Durban where she had arranged a place to stay with a friend.

Upon her arrival in Durban the friend was nowhere to be found. She was left stranded at the bus station with nowhere to go and a security guard approached her and offered her a place to stay for the night. The security guard made means to accompany Alt to his one roomed apartment close to the station and Alt was grateful she had a place to sleep for the night. The security guard bought her food at a nearby garage and showed her where to sleep before he returned to work and promised her that he will be back before 7am the following morning.

Alt was happy at the gesture by the good Samaritan who came to her rescue but wondered what she would do the following day since her friend was not answering her phone. To cut the long story short the help Alt got from the good Samaritan turned out to be that of a lifetime. The two decided to stay together and for her the first two years were the best times of her life because she was being well taken care of. Alt had nowhere to go, no job, no food on the table and this security guard happened to be the answer to her prayers. Their relationship grew into a family blessed with two children in the four years that they were together and this was when all the abuse began.

Alt narrated to me how her husband began having extra marital relationships and would not come home after getting paid. Her children suffered in the process because sometimes she would go to bed without food and make porridge for the children before they went to bed. Her experiences of abuse from the husband were noted when he came home drunk maybe after a few days and he would demand that she sleep with him without protection. When she refused Alt would be beaten to a pulp and sometimes she would end up consenting to the sex because she would be reminded that she was not a local citizen and that she had no right to complain. All she ever wanted was that her children never witness her being beaten up and she said there was a lady from Nigeria who stayed in the flat next to theirs who would quickly notice that there was some violence going on and would come quickly and grab her kids out. She is grateful to this woman because she protected her children from witnessing violence.

Years went by and Alt was still stuck in this marriage where abuse was her daily bread. One day she decided to walk the streets of Durban and look for a job in hair salons and after hours of walking the streets with her children one Nigerian woman decided to hire her but asked her not to bring her children to work. She had no one to care for her children while she was working and a certain lady in the salon told her of a day care centre run by a Zimbabwean woman in her flat close to the salon that took in kids at a price per day and she inquired about it and decided it was conducive for her because of proximity to her work place. On this day things changed for her and it was at that moment that she decided she was going to leave her husband for good.

Because the husband had a tendency of spending days away from their rented room it was fortunate for her because she was now aware of his routine. She packed her bags one day and left him. Although this seemed like a solution to her problems Alt was receiving messages from the husband threatening that she should never think of leaving the country with his kids because he would kill her. Alt had no intentions of doing so but she was living in fear that the husband

would discover where her children are during the day and he would take them away from her so she was never at ease.

Also because the salon was not giving her much income, Alt started selling her body to some men who came to the salon and developed a liking for her. This she did to subsidise her income so she could be able to take care of her children and her family back home. She indicated that she was not proud of her behaviour but she had no choice but to make ways to survive against all odds and that going back home was no longer an option for her. Sometimes the man she engaged sex with would promise to give money later and some would not pay the moment they heard from her accent that she was not local. She indicated that her identity was a stumbling block to a lot of things in her life and wished she could speak isiZulu fluently. She however grew fond of one man though married and their relationship is purely sexual, however with financial benefits. Alt indicated that in the future the man will buy her a car.

5.4.11 Mau-Lesotho

Mau is a 42 year old student in one university in Durban. She works as a nurse back in her home country (Lesotho) and came to Durban to further her studies with the hope to get a promotion at work. The estimated time of finishing her studies lapsed because of an abusive boyfriend who when she visits home she is forced to stay with and not return back to South Africa for her studies at the prescribed time. She indicated that the abusive nature of her boyfriend was a stumbling block to achieving her goals on time and she would be reminded that even if she were to take more years pursuing her studies it was his money that was going to waste. Mau had no choice but stay in the relationship because at the end of the day she needed to upgrade her qualifications for a better paying job back in Lesotho. She was however fortunate that before she finished her studies she got a job at the university and decided to relocate; this decision was contested by her boyfriend who threatened to set her on fire.

Mau was positive about the bold decision she had made and relocated with her child. After a few months the boyfriend moved to Durban and she indicated that when he did all he could do was apologise and regretted all the threats and abuse he had imposed on her. Mau's boyfriend promised her that he would never treat her in that manner again and blamed jealousy and love for his behaviour. Charmed by his apology Mau agreed that they stay together and raise their daughter as a proper family. The boyfriend got a job in Durban as a merchandiser at a local shop and given the nature of Mau's profession it was apparent that the boyfriend was obviously getting less than Mau was getting paid. This posed a challenge in their relationship and the

violence resumed and this time the psychosocial effects of this was not spared on the child. The child feared his father because of the physical abuse she witnessed being imposed on her mother. Mau's daughter lived in fear of her father and when he was in the house she hid away in the bedroom.

The violence lasted for a prolonged period and Mau decided to leave the boyfriend for good because she realised the effects of her experiences with him. Mau feared reporting him to the police because the boyfriend was illegally in South Africa. Apart from the boyfriend's migrant status most foreign nationals just like Mau developed an attitude with using police services in South Africa because of their language which was foreign in Durban, and also because most foreigners believed the police service had xenophobic tendencies that made them not attend to their issues with urgency.

Their separation brought Mau to a life filled with freedom prompting her to date and fall in love again. This time around to a local Zulu man who was nothing short of amazing to her. The man was a widower looking for love and he met Mau. The two had a relationship that was beautiful in the eyes of many until Mau discovered that the man had another woman in his life. This discovery by Mau was traumatic for her, since after 2 years of knowing each other the man had paid for her studies as he became responsible for her tuition and even her upkeep even though Mau was working. Also, the newly found love did not mean that she was free from her ex- boyfriend's stalking tendencies. The discovery of another woman prompted the end to their relationship and the newly found love left her for the other woman. She became depressed and Mau began to believe that she was unlucky in love or that she was bewitched.

Months later she discovered she was pregnant and HIV positive at the same time. Of all heartbreaks that she ever experienced this was the last straw for her. Mau was devastated and at first was not keen on taking medication to prevent the unborn child and also for herself. She was in disbelief of the news and it took her time to process the news and aborting the child was top of her options. She sought counselling on the issue and she ended up keeping the child and also taking medication. He experiences of GBV have shaped the woman that she has become.

5.4.12 Viny-Kenya

After a series of abuse from men that she had dated and the husband she was married to, the 41-year-old from Kenya discovered that she preferred dating women instead. Her journey to South Africa to pursue her postgraduate studies was met with hurdles that she never anticipated.

Viny was subjected to abuse from men she dated during her undergraduate studies. She narrated that she was subjected to the abuse because she had no option at the time because she needed to put food on the table. Her anticipation of what South Africa was, did not measure up to the reality on the ground. She was hoping to get a job while studying and when she pitched the idea of pursuing her studies in S.A to her parents the idea was completely sold because everyone back home thought she would get a job upon arrival.

She however, arrived in Durban and could not get a job as anticipated and she could not report back home that the plan did not work out so she had to scout for rich boyfriends who could cater for her needs during her undergraduate studies. She narrated to me about two men she dated while doing her undergraduate studies and how her experiences of abuse manifested. Viny was made to perform sexual activities that were unacceptable such as group sex and other sexual fetishes that she was requested to perform during that time. The other boyfriend demanded her time even during classes and this had a strain on her academic performance. Sometimes she was beaten up because she failed to pick up his calls and sometimes she was accused of being in a relationship with someone and all these accusations warranted a beating. These assaults from her boyfriend impacted the way she viewed herself. There are times she thought maybe she deserved the abuse because she was not good enough.

Years went by and Viny had to put up with the abuse. When she returned for her postgraduate studies Viny decided to get a boyfriend who will not mistreat her but for the 41-year-old it seemed she was never lucky in love. Viny decided to date another man from Zimbabwe who worked as a petrol attendant. She said all her friends used to talk about how good Zimbabwean men were and decided to go for it. The first few years were bliss for her until they decided to tie the knot and she lamented that this was when everything started going wrong in their relationship. Viny worked part-time as a research assistant and had access to bursary opportunities from the university and this posed as a challenge for the fuel attendant husband. There were comparisons between the two and she indicated that her husband always felt challenged because of salary margins. The husband believed it was the man who was supposed to earn more so that the wife would not disrespect him. This ideology was challenged on a daily basis by Viny because she felt building a family needed her input as well. Their marriage failed because of monetary squabbles which sometimes culminated into fights that sometimes were resolved by church members.

One day Viny thought to herself that she could not take it anymore and walked away from the marriage. It was not an easy decision that she had to make but because all means to accommodate her husband's complaints were futile. It was on a lazy Sunday that she decided to take a break from work and school and hang out at a local pub where she met a lady who she began a conversation with and from their conversation about experiences in Durban and school the two ladies just got along. From that day Viny and this lady clicked and one thing led to another and she found herself in a same sex relationship and regrets nothing about it *'I don't regret anything, it is by far the most beautiful relationship I have had in a long time'*.

It has been a good three years for Viny with another woman and she indicated that she will never at any point in her life date men. When asked how these feelings came about she indicated that the sexual fetishes from her boyfriend while doing her undergraduate studies exposed her to sexual activities with other women and she may have developed feelings back then.

5.4.13 May-Botswana

Being a Setswana speaking individual made the 37-year-old believe that she 'belonged' because Setswana is an official language in South Africa. May was shocked at the reception of her language in Durban where the dominant local language used by its inhabitants is mostly isiZulu. However, because of the city's proximity to areas such as Port Edward, Bizana and Kokstad among others isiXhosa is a language sometimes used in Durban. Durban being a city that prides itself in their culture and language it was ambitious of May to believe she would belong because she spoke Setswana.

May moved to South Africa (Durban) to pursue job opportunities and a change in environment after losing her son and husband in a car accident on his way from school. May needed a place where she could start afresh and begin a new life without being constantly reminded of her past. Her arrival in Durban was met with a disappointment to what she had in mind. Finding a job was not easy for May. She however quickly aligned herself to a church close to where she stayed and it was at this church that one of the worshippers organised a till operating job for her at a local shop. She found it difficult to integrate with other co-workers because of her language. She described the Zulu community as one that is adamant and not open to welcoming the other because even when she tried to communicate with them in English they would ignore her.

Her experiences at work compelled her to learn a bit of isiZulu so that she could fit in and belong. It took May a few months to adapt and learn and she eventually got the drill. Her love life had previously been a bed of roses but after losing her family in an accident back in Botswana she thought she would never move on. However, because she needed to start over it meant she was open to finding love again. May fell in love with a local Zulu man who was a regular customer at the local shop where she worked. May's beauty caught his eye and persuaded her to date him.

Their relationship started on a very good note and the two after a year of dating decided to get married. May jumped at the opportunity because she needed documents that will make her stay legally in South Africa. She indicated that she was tired of having to stamp in and out on her passport on a quarterly basis every year. So she was happy that she was getting married and hoped that from this marriage her dreams would come true. May worked on perfecting her Zulu language because she was looking forward to marrying a Zulu now. Some co-workers of hers heard the news and began ill-treating her accusing her of coming to South Africa and taking their men. Her workplace became toxic but she was not prepared to quit her job because she needed the money.

A few months after the wedding May indicated that her husband changed and she suspected he was having an affair. Her husband worked at a local university and her first suspicions was it was an affair with a student or a co-worker. Her zeal to find out what was going on in their marriage was met with a lot of hurtful words from the husband who would remind her that she was only a till operator who did not deserve a husband with a large salary. The emotional abuse continued for months and it reminded her of her late husband and blamed herself for probably moving on quite early.

Because of her experiences of emotional abuse from her husband tried to walk away from the marriage but could not because she needed the documents to secure a future in South Africa. She indicated that some days were better than others but her stay in the marriage was no longer love oriented but for convenience purposes.

5.4.14 Bella-Zimbabwe

Hailing from a country that has been economically crippled for more than a decade, 50 year old Bella indicated that it was not an easy decision to migrate to South Africa or be still found in a country that is intolerant of other races and black Africans for that matter. Her experiences

of abuse are narrated while sipping a glass of wine in her spacious patio. One could tell that the woman was living the best of her life and content with her success. She worked as an Accountant for one of the biggest accounting firms in South Africa. The economic situation prompted Bella's husband to move to South Africa in search for better opportunities in 2010. Bella remained in Zimbabwe with her two children until her husband settled down, whereupon she could follow.

She indicated that growing up she has always yearned for a family setup like she grew up in, a family that stays together. With that in mind Bella was set to leave for South Africa (Durban) the following year. Her husband had got a job as a nurse because he studied nursing back in Zimbabwe. This was a great start to her envisioned lifestyle as a young girl and upon her arrival with all the necessary documents, settling in was easy for her. A year later Bella got a job and became financially independent of her husband. She was happy: she could help contribute towards building their house back home and buy a house in South Africa.

Her enthusiasm to achieve a lot of things she wasn't able to achieve while working in Zimbabwe was revived and she began planning. Her husband was against the idea but Betty could not wait for any approval, after all she was doing this for them as a family. Betty would send money home and with the help of her sister back home the house they were building was close to being finished. This posed a challenge in their marriage and the husband started accusing her of having an affair because he could not understand how she was able to do all the things without his help.

The salary margins of the two caused a rift in their marriage and the husband became physically abusive to her especially when she reported any progress with developments back home. Bella was adamant that she would not stop developing herself and improving their lives and this warranted violence from her husband. She however could not take it anymore and decided she had enough from her husband and they divorced. She indicated that she was at some point suspicious that the violence inflicted on her was caused by her husband wanting her to file for divorce and probably get to share the proceeds of their properties in Zimbabwe. Filing for divorce was the best option for her at the time; though hurtful she was hopeful that one day she would restore all she had worked for. She has since acquired properties back home and one in South Africa and she indicated that her happiness was not defined by being married but her children were her source of happiness.

5.4.15 Fifi-Burundi

For her abuse was something she thought one could see with a naked eye; evidenced by bruises and blue eyes. The 37 year old woman from Burundi worked as a domestic worker doing laundry, cleaning, washing dishes among other domestic chores for R150 per day. She indicated that her migratory journey to South Africa was prompted by civil wars back in Burundi and a lack of opportunities there. Being uneducated Fifi came to South Africa with no hopes of a higher paying job than that of being a maid.

She however, did not anticipate that the community in which she would work for mostly (Indian Community) would underpay her and enslave her. Due to the situation back in her country Fifi was prepared to work for peanuts because it made a difference for her. She settled in a hostel close to the CBD where most foreigners took refuge because it was cheaper to stay in. This enabled her to save money and send home a few rands for her mother who lost her leg during the civil wars.

Among other things that drove her to stay and be resilient to all the hatred surrounding the migrant community in South Africa was her migrant status. She was hopeful that she would acquire asylum and it has been a nightmare for her. She does not have any travel documents to use. Her illegal migrant status also prohibited her from reporting underpayment from her Indian clients and she wondered if there were any services of that sort in Durban that catered for migrants who were being enslaved.

Like any other human being Fifi fell in love with a man from her home country and they got along so well until one time she narrated to her client why she was in a skirt when it was cold on the day. Fifi indicated that her husband was traditional in the sense that she believed what a woman wears defined her and therefore wearing trousers was not something he approved of. The client alerted her that the husband was abusing her and Fifi did not understand why and how because to her the husband was being protective of her well-being. Fifi's husband believed trousers would expose her to rapists in Durban as the city was believed to be a hotspot for rape cases in the country.

She has however tried to contest her husband's choice in dressing and that was met with disapproval to the point where the husband would choose for her what to wear. She wishes she could dress like women her age but because of her husband she could not. What was baffling was that Fifi was not aware that what she was going through with her husband when it came to dressing was actually abuse. She indicated that given her age she yearns for a child and has

fears that she will fail to conceive because every time she gets pregnant her husband asks her to abort because he was not ready to have a child. Foolishly she would do so and when narrating this part for me she cried very much and as a woman I could feel her pain.

Despite all her encounters of emotional abuse Fifi still stays with her husband because she says she loves him because he helps her take care of her family back home. I could not help but think Fifi was hypnotised by this man who was taking advantage of her circumstances of being an illegal migrant in a place that has no tolerance for the foreign community. The researcher asked her to take precautionary measures to safeguard her womanhood and visit organisations that would help her deal with her situation but Fifi was adamant that she loved her husband.

Her experiences of abuse and the denial and determination not to leave the man were seen as ways to cushion herself in a foreign land, at the same time receiving help that is extended to her siblings by her husband who would send remittances back home.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter captured the life stories of the participants of this study in brief. The aim of this chapter was to introduce the participants to the reader before delving into the analysis section of this thesis. The following three chapters in this thesis presents the data, analyses it and then a discussion is provided at the end of each chapter.

UNDERSTANDING GENDER BASED VIOLENCE FROM A MIGRANTS' PERSPECTIVE IN CONTEMPORARY SOUTH AFRICA

6.1 Introduction

Gender-based violence (GBV) is a profound and widespread problem in South Africa, impacting on almost every aspect of life. GBV excessively affects women and girls and it is systemic, and deeply entrenched in institutions, cultures and traditions that exist in South Africa, (Sexual Violence Research Initiative and the Joint Gender Fund, (2014) cited in Saferspaces.org, 2014). In March of 2019, President Cyril Ramaphosa labelled gender-based violence as a national crisis and it is apt to note that migrant women are no exception. More importantly, it is a more prevalent phenomenon in societies where there is a culture of violence, and where male superiority is treated as the norm, and South Africa is regarded a violent country given its history of violent attacks on foreigners (Jewkes, 2002).

Apposite to note is that societies free of GBV do not exist, and South Africa is no exception (Dartnall & Jewkes, 2012). According to Machisa, Jewkes, Morna and Rama (2011) accurate statistics although difficult to obtain for many reasons including the fact that most incidents of GBV are not reported, it is evident that South Africa has particularly high rates of GBV with population-based surveys showing a very high level of intimate partner violence (IPV) and non-partner sexual violence (SV), with intimate partner violence (IPV) being the most common form of violence against women in South Africa (Dartnall and Jewkes, 2012).

Of importance is that the number of African women migrating to South Africa is growing substantially (Mbiyozo, 2019) and these women face 'triple' discrimination with xenophobia, racism and misogyny – factors which overlap. The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) estimates that the number of woman migrants in 2017 (1.8 million) had more than quadrupled since 2001 and women now comprise 44% of the total migrant population in South Africa (Mbiyozo, 2019). However, reports and media coverage on xenophobia cite statistics related to death, displacement, looting and destruction of property, but make scant mention of sexual or gender-based violence (ISS, 2018). In a 2018 Institute for Security Studies (ISS) report on migrant women in South Africa, most women mentioned gender-based or sexual violence as one of their top threats thus women's migration conduits

and experiences are distinctive from those of men and involve greater exposure to violence (ISS, 2018).

6.2 The nexus between GBV and xenophobia: A migrant perspective

There are power imbalances intrinsic in any male-female relationship and these are embellished in situations where women are more vulnerable - in this case, African migrant women are particularly vulnerable as foreign females in an unfamiliar country known for its xenophobic attitudes and behaviours. This results in women being vulnerable not only to abuse from South African men, but also from their own. One participant said:

> *The abuse is not only from locals but even our own men have learnt this behaviour which I believe has something to do with staying in a violent space where this behaviour is learnt and fostered*. Bella

Some participants explained the belief that men are bequeathed with 'natural' authority and women with little or no rights. On the other hand, in their country-of-origin women are protected by cultural laws–men can't have openly adulterous relationships because the family or community is there to chastise him. Some participant said:

> *It is difficult to confront men about issues of infidelity while in S.A because we are used to having these issues addressed by elders back home. Once you do here you get beaten up and accused of challenging him.* Viny

Entry into the job market by migrant women in South Africa for the first time was seen as a pathway to freedom by most participants. Findings indicate that they begin to exercise their rights, which their husbands or partners find threatening. Often, men seek to feed their ego by dominating the woman by way of controlling finances because they are often the ones who go to work. One participant said,

> *I do not ask him for money or anything and I do almost everything using my own money and am constantly abused that I have an affair. One time he beat me up for buying our son a PlayStation as a birthday present and accused me of infidelity...we eventually went our separate ways.* Bella

There is a lack of community or family protection for migrant women in South Africa coupled with the inaccessibility of the police (because of xenophobic attitudes and practices by the police); there is no system to report violence against women by their husbands, making them vulnerable to ongoing intimate partner violence. One participant said:

> *Our foreignness apart from our migrant status in South Africa makes it difficult to report issues of domestic violence. The moment you approach the police you are met with an attitude this is discouraging to say the least. We do not have indigenous structures like those we have back home, the community and elders who believe they are tasked to reprimand young couples when things go wrong. It's a disaster for us so we suffer in silence.* Thoko

Participants indicated that some women are abandoned by their husbands and partners upon their arrival on arrival in South Africa. Inadvertently, they are left to shoulder the economic burden of familial responsibility and xenophobic innuendos in the community by themselves, with no-one to stand up for them. One participant said:

> *When I decided to follow him here, I discovered he was now staying with another woman and at that time I had found a job working as an engineer for a local company in Johannesburg …. I later moved to Durban that is when all the abuse started. I basically am the man and woman; I provide and protect my family.* Mpho

Some participants seemed to have had some difficulties in accepting what they saw as a permissive and promiscuous sexual culture among both men and women in South Africa. Some participants said South African women are willing to have sex in exchange for a can of cider, whereas foreign women would demand a lot more than that if they ever engaged in transactional sex. One participant narrated a story about how her husband's female clients would ask for sex in return for helping him.

> *There is an immoral culture of sex in South Africa in general. The women here are loose…my husbands' clients would offer sex in exchange for a mere savannah…foreign women can never do that. So, it is these cheap women who make our husbands engage in promiscuous behaviour and you cannot even confront him even if you know about it because you fear victimisation.* Sheila

6.3 Knowledge and understanding of GBV

Gender based violence is a term that is widely used to describe any type of violence against women. This could either be physical, emotional or mental. GBV victims are at a risk of capitulating to violence for a long period without being aware of their experiences as being abusive or violent. It was thus, pertinent that the researcher established participants' knowledge about GBV as a common point of departure across all interviews, using a probe question: In your experience what is your understanding of gender-based violence? The responses are cited below:

> *Gender based violence is any form of abuse likely to be effected on women by the opposite sex. It is the type of abuse that may affect children in the long run. In our situation it is abuse which comes with perks of being foreign.* Bella

> *It is any form of violence inflicted on women and children by man who believe they own you and because you are foreign you cannot do anything about the violence. Viny*

> *It is any form of violence on women by men but in most cases, it comes in the form of physical abuse. Local men especially.* Mau

From the above statements it is notable that violence is perceived as being largely ingrained in the male species and participants understand GBV to be any violence that affects females, both adults and children. Most participants were well informed about what GBV entails, although some participants were not sure if their encounters of violence were indeed gender based violence, or it was a simple gesture of a partner who was jealously in love. The researcher argues that domestic violence and love are close together when a relationship is based on power and control. The abuse can be physical, verbal, emotional, or sexual: these help to firmly establish a pattern of intimidation and control in the relationship.

Some participants understood the treatment they received from their partners to be abuse although their partners claimed the alleged abuse were acts of love and a request of submission to male authority. Women are generally nurtured to submit to men especially in a marriage and as such they follow suite. Some participants averred that:

*My husband refuses that I wear trousers and I don't think that is abuse. He is trying to protect me from rapists. There are a lot of rape cases in South Africa…..*Fifi

There are some friends my husband doesn't want me to associate with. He says they are bad for me because they are South African, and they drink. I think he wants me safe, there are a lot of things that we hear about South Africa that are bad. As long as my husband doesn't beat me up, I don't think he would have abused me. Nkombwe

From the above, the researcher notes, there is a need to fully engage women in programs that drive awareness on the phenomenon of gender-based violence from grass roots level. Nkombwe was adamant that the control her husband has over who she sees or associates with is an act of love. Her realigning with this ideology proves beyond reasonable doubt that what she considers abuse should be physical not emotional. The researcher therefore problematizes the way women are nurtured. The traditional ways of raising a woman are seen to normalize male superiority thereby exacerbating GBV.

6.4 Gender based violence: Causes & effects

Gender based violence is intricately understood by most participants as any form of violence on a woman. The researcher further went on to probe what causes GBV and what are its effects. Responses to this are given below and it is important to note that these are drawn from the relationships or marriages that these participants are currently in or those which they fled from. Participants had a satisfactory grasp of the different types of GBV, causes and effects. In this regard, level of education, age, economic status in South Africa, patriarchy among others were identified as the dominant causes of GBV, and this is clearly encapsulated below.

6.4.1 Causes of Gender Based Violence

6.4.1.1 Lack of formal education

Education is a basic [human] right and an essential tool for achieving the goals of equality, development and peace (Mojekeh, 2013). Non-discriminatory education benefits both girls and boys, and thus ultimately contributes to more equal relationships between women and men. Women literacy is seen as an important key to improving health, nutrition and education in the family and to empowering women to participate in decision-making in society. The researcher

notes that this poses a threat to men and as such prepares fertile ground for violence as men feel less powerful. One participant said:

> *I feel like my partner is threatened by the fact that I am an accountant and half the time I do not depend on him for anything.* Bella

More so, education is the single most important means for empowerment and sustained improvement in all well-being (Mojekeh, 2013); this leads to financial independence which in many cases encourages abuse towards women. The general rhetoric from participants in the study was that when a woman becomes more educated than a man it is highly likely that the woman faces abuse from their partner. Apt to note is that with the belief instilled in men from a tender age that they have power over women, men generally believe they are privileged in a relationship thus their ego is bruised when a woman is independent of their financial support. One participant indicated that:

> *I do not ask him for money or anything and I do almost everything using my own money and am constantly abused that I have an affair. One time he beat me up for buying our son a PlayStation as a birthday present and accused me of infidelity.* Bella

Abusive relationships always involve an imbalance of power and control. An abuser uses intimidating, hurtful words and behaviors to control his or her partner. The 21st century has seen men and women pooling resources together for survival. From the research it was noted that dependency on a man was a cause of violence in relationships and marriages as men tend to be attracted not only to beauty but to what the woman also brings financially to the relationship. Some participants said:

> *I do not go to work and I am not educated …so am always at home and this makes my husband beat me and sometimes accuse me of being a maggot in his house who only knows how to squander his cash…*Sheila

> *My husband has an affair with another woman and upon asking him why he was cheating on me I was told that I am not his class and I do not have the right to question him on such issues and that if I was really hurt by it I should leave his house…. He is*

having an affair with a student at a local university doing her PhD and that she was his class and type of woman not a mere till operator in a local store. May

6.4.1.2 Age

Age poses as another factor and is fertile ground for men to abuse women in subtle ways. Partner age difference can be a source of aggression in a relationship (Volpe, Hardie, Cerulli, Sommers and Morrison-Beedy, 2013). Many women have succumbed to this in their relationships and is evidenced by the following excerpts:

My husband was 2 years younger than me, and I think this made him very violent whenever I tried to correct him where he is wrong. He felt so challenged and belittled. Thoko

Am constantly reminded that I am way too old for him whenever we get into an argument. This makes me feel unloved and not good enough for him. Mpho

There is a general assumption or social construct that men mature later than women and scientists at Newcastle University in the U.K. discovered that girls tend to optimize brain connections earlier than boys. This may explain why females generally mature faster in certain cognitive and emotional areas than males during childhood and adolescence (Bergland, 2013). This is often given as an excuse for abusive or untoward behavior by men. Some participants indicated that:

Sometimes when you discuss your relationship problems friends will encourage you to stay….and that men generally mature at a later stage in life… Thoko

My family has discouraged me to leave the marriage…. They say he is going to change and generally men are like children they realize their mistake when it's a bit late in life… so I have to endure… Sheila

6.4.1.3 Economic status in South Africa

The current economic hardships faced globally have had negative implications on immigrant women living in South Africa. Findings suggests that partners were faced with a lot of pressure to provide and the very failure to do so as traditionally and culturally expected has encouraged abuse towards these women. One participant said:

> *.....when he arrived here he struggled to get a job and as time went on he stopped calling home and we never heard from him in 3 years....When I decided to follow him here I discovered he was now staying with another woman and at that time I had found a job working as an engineer for a local company in Johannesburg .... I later moved to Durban that is when all the abuse started.* Mpho

The arrival of their male partners in South Africa without their families was met with the trouble and difficulties of finding a job. South Africa's Unemployment Rate is forecasted to be 35.5 % in the first quarter of 2022 as reported by (Statistics S.A, 2022).With such high levels of unemployment it becomes difficult for foreign nationals to get a job and men are faced with a lot of pressure to provide for their families and to survive. One participant said,

> *My husband found a girlfriend when he arrived here, and they moved in together while I was working back in Limpopo as a maid so that we could make ends meet. When I finally decided to come and stay with him in Durban it was a different story, he started being arrogant and blocked my number on WhatsApp and on calls. ...One day his girlfriend called me telling me to stop calling his boyfriend when I told her he was married, and I was his wife she was shocked. She narrated how she has been taking care of him all this while and how disappointed she was to learn that he was a married person.* Fano

The generality of women indicated that the economic situation in South Africa played a major role in the behavior of men recently. Findings suggests that participants' partners would turn to a relationship with a local woman so they can be taken care of financially in the process hurting them and their families. Some women said:

*The problems back home and the stress here has turned our men into cheaters and liars, and all this make them abusive towards us…*Bella

*The situation in this country (South Africa) is unapologetically crude and as such our men find themselves in the hands of women with money so that they could make a living and provide for their families… to me cheating is gender-based violence!!!*Nawanda

6.4.1.4 Change in Gender Roles

Many participants pointed out that the changes in family patterns in Africa has contributed to gender-based violence. Men are generally assumed the role of a provider in an African family and women generally assumed the role of bearing children. The shift to women's emancipation and equal rights has exposed women to abuse from their male counterparts. Some participants averred that:

The fact that I earn more than my husband and provide for this family has my husband sometimes beating me up and accusing me of being too big headed when I try to contribute to issues in the family… sometimes I am told to shut up or am silenced by a clap and told that being an engineer doesn't make me the man of the house. Mpho

It's not easy being married to a man who is constantly in comparison with you… sometimes it becomes scary even commenting on anything in the house because you end up fearing that you will be beaten…My husband belittled me of my career endeavors. He was a petrol attendant, and I was a student doing my PhD with DUT so I got bursaries and part time jobs and I made a living out of it. Sometimes I would be so disturbed because we fought at times as I left for the office it was difficult and not easy. Viny

Some participants articulated that the broken family setup that is mainly characterized by single parent headed families has exposed women to violence and abuse from their counterparts. Men struggle to accept that once separated women are entitled to a life that is free from their interference. Some participants indicated that:

We separated with the father of my child and I have never asked him for a single cent. One day we met at the mall while shopping at the mall with my daughter and accused me of taking care of his child using money acquired from other men…We failed to understand each other, and we separated and as such he never provides for the daughter, I don't know what he wants me to do. Mau

I was heartbroken and learnt to move on with three of my kids. I make a living as a hairdresser and it's not much, but I am able to send my kids to school and never took him to maintenance court he is local and I am a foreigner and am bound to lose anyway, because I am illegal here. Sometimes he just calls to threaten me that he will take his kids he won't have another men raise his kids... Alt

6.4.1.5 Patriarchy

Patriarchy plays a pivotal role in perpetuating the abuse of women, this is despite the fact that women have been legally emancipated in many countries. Some participants enunciated that they experienced abuse because it is in their nature as women to undergo abuse as tradition abides to such violence. One participant said:

Women are expected to respect their husbands and no matter what they do we have no choice but to obey. Even if he beats me up and tells my family I am reminded that it is part of marriage and part of his nature as a man... Sheila

Largely societal expectations around the issue of marriage has patriarchal foundations which are seen to expose women to abuse in the name of marriage and perseverance. With the aid of older women in society the notion of women abuse is endorsed, and most women are encouraged to persevere in the overly abusive relationships. One participant said:

My mother reminds me that it is what we go through as women and even my friends say the same so I have stayed in the marriage despite his rowdy behavior which I think is not right for a man currently… but what can we do. Betty

The power exerted by men is seen as a site of struggle for the true emancipation of women in Africa in general. Some participants articulated that men have much power and women cannot

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take that away from them. Instead, they are left to surrender to the violence that comes with the power exerted on them. One participant said:

> *After he beat me… he demanded that I afford him his conjugal rights, it's like he has no emotions at all… how do you demand unprotected sex from someone you just beat up and is in pain? … I asked him to use a condom and he told me that he will never do that under the sun because he paid money to have sex with me whenever he pleases.* Alt

The findings point out that men commodify female bodies and as such expect a sexual transaction for every favor rendered to a woman. The woman's body becomes a site of contestation as the alienation from their own desires, and the concomitant lack of control in sexual encounters, places them at particular risk in relation to HIV infection among other variables related to sexual health. One participant said:

> *As we left the salon, he offered me a ride home; before we arrived, he started caressing me and asked that I give him sex or at least something to make him feel good. I refused and he forcefully grabbed my hands to his privates… he was just abusive…*Felicia

Patriarchy in the 21ˢᵗ century is a relegated phenomenon and many women refuse to accept abuse attributed to this misogyny. While some women are still caught up into respecting tradition, others were quick to disentangle themselves from the assumed power men believe they have over a woman. Some participants averred the need to truly emancipate themselves from the incarceration of women in the name of tradition. One said:

> *He tried to practice his Zulu tradition of abuse on me, and I just didn't succumb to it. I am a university graduate and I know when someone is trying to exert power on me. I walked away and never looked back.* Viny

The findings indicate that some women were enlightened enough to know when to put a stop to abuse from men and do away with what used to be the norm. One woman said,

> *It is not easy to walk away from an abusive and traditional man…Mine was the worst but the day I said enough is enough I learnt that I can be who I want to be and be with*

who I want as long as I do not allow tradition and culture to throw me in the pit of abuse. Bella

6.5 Effects of Gender based Violence

GBV has major social and developmental effects on survivors of violence, as well as their families, communities and society more broadly. Domestic violence tears the very fabric of a community by dismantling family units and causing a ripple effect of consequences that are felt for many years. It is argued that one of the most lasting consequences of domestic violence is the harm it does to family bonds (Kennedy, 2015). Individually, GBV leads to psychological trauma, and has psychological, behavioral and physical consequences for survivors (Jewkes 2002).

6.5.1 Family disorientation

Participants articulated that GBV had significantly affected their families and family ties were broken. The idea of a family is lost and unknown to many children and there are growing fears that if it continues it could be a life setup for generations to come. One woman said:

The constant questions that keep coming from my children are disturbing… mama where is our dad? Is he going to come back and live with us? Alt

Children witnessing violence committed against their parent can find it difficult to trust adults in the future. Thus, the idea of a perfect family that is created in them at an early age becomes an impossible reality thereby creating a space where some children are bullied in school because of their situations back home. One woman said:

My child says, other children at school tease her because she never gets picked up by her father at school like other children….and whenever the father requests to see her you can see that she is scared to be with him because she doesn't trust him not to do the same to her. Mau

Some women do not believe in having a family because of the abusive encounters they have had with men before. Apt to note is that most immigrants in Durban had adopted the *Uma wengane* norm in Durban *(commonly known as baby mama)*. This is a commonly used setup

by men in KwaZulu-Natal to describe the type of relationship they have with the mother of their children out of wedlock. Some participants preferred the Uma wengane situation with their partners as it was less stressful because children are not exposed to their fathers' violent ways on a daily basis. One woman said:

I am comfortable with the idea of raising my children away from him as long as my children are not exposed to his violence… he can call me whatever he likes (Uma wengane) it is ok l am not the first woman to raise children on her own without the help of their fathers. Alt

Findings suggest that women tend to associate violence with the role of being a wife. Most participants seemed unwilling to get married because of the experiences they had in their previous marriages and therefore associate abuse with marriage. One woman said:

I suffered in the hands of that guy I will never go back there or be involved with men in a set up where I am supposed to take the role of a wife, I would rather be Uma wengane than raise my children under the same roof with a man. They are toxic and they are all the same. Ludo

6.5.2 Low self esteem

It emerged from the research that most women were subjected to either physical or emotional abuse and this resulted in low self-esteem. The participants articulated that their experiences made them feel less of women and not worthy to be loved. One participant said:

I don't think there is a man out there who can look at me twice. I am destroyed physically and emotionally, and I do not think I am even attractive anymore. Thoko

The abuse that women are exposed to brews in them a lack of confidence and self-love. Some women are not decisive about what is good or bad for their own bodies and rely on the decision or suggestions made on behalf of them by their partners. One woman said:

… I have lost confidence in myself … I doubt myself a lot and most of the times I need someone's approval that what I am wearing is ok or not. I don't know if that is an effect of the abuse, I faced… Fifi

It emerged from the findings that women revealed a link between lower self-esteem and greater involvement in HIV risk behaviour. Some women were honest about their HIV status and blamed their partners who had multiple sexual partners and later transmitted the virus to them. This made most women in the study to feel unloved and less attractive. One participant said:

I am sick now, before I was very beautiful with a nice figure not anymore though. I am now on Anti- Retroviral drugs (ARVs), and this kills me had I known of his infidelity earlier would have left him a long time ago. Betty

Despite the issue of having contracted HIV from their partners, women in this study indicated that their partners left them for other women. This left them wondering if they will ever find a man who would love them with the baggage of the virus. Some of the participants said:

Ever since he left me for another woman, I discovered that I was HIV positive I tried to be in relationships, but they all leave when I tell them that I am HIV positive… I feel worthless. Mau

6.5.3 Mental instability

Violence in general has side effects either long term or short term. From the findings it emerged that gender-based violence drove many women to seek counselling at some point in their lives at community-based institutions such as the church as witnessed by some participants in the study. One said:

I had to attend counselling sessions at church because I think I was mentally unstable. My world had crumbled, and I had no one to share my problems with until the pastor's wife noticed that something was not ok with me and started counselling sessions. Mau

The effects of GBV are sometimes taken for granted because of the beliefs that shape the society. The black community is shaped by beliefs that counselling or psychiatric institutions are for the white people and associate psychiatric behavior to witchcraft. One woman said:

I was having anger issues and I think I was not ok. It took time for me and people around me to accept that I was not being bewitched. A friend advised that I seek counselling services which somehow helped but I ended up in a psychiatric hospital for

*some reason and two years of my life were stolen. If I was attended to earlier maybe I wouldn't have experienced what I did. Psychiatric issues are real and are not only for the whites. We need those services too as black people it is not all the time that one is bewitched…*Thoko

Mental health in women who have experienced GBV is common, and most women suffer mental health issues without the realization of what they are experiencing to be mental disorders. From the findings it emerged that some women had suffered mental health disorders without the realization of this to be so which affected their children in the long run. Some women said:

I was depressed for a long time and when you are depressed you can barely do anything. I would spend the whole day sleeping and crying and this affected my mental state. I could not even cook for my children, and I would ease my tempers on them. Alt

I distanced myself from people and sometimes I would talk to myself swearing at my ex and it was not good at all. It was all caused by the heart break I had from this man. Fano

6.5.4 Growing fears of intimate partner relationships and new gender preferences

Experiences of violence from men can be traumatizing and this creates fecund ground to fear close contact with the opposite sex as alluded by some participants in the study. Their experiences with man have created fears of being in a relationship. One participant said:

I was abused all my life and when l finally left him, I felt like a bird in the sky. I was finally free and now I fear being in a relationship I do not know when I will recover. Mau

The findings indicate that women feared trying to find love and this was shaped by the abusive experiences they had before. Most women preferred being single to engaged or married as this brought traumatic memories to them. One participant said:

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When you are thoroughly abused you don't even think of trying out again…You just want to keep to yourself and enjoy the freedom that comes with being single than married… yet you are someone's punching bag. Thoko

It emerged from the findings that many women who were in same sex relationships had at some point experienced abuse from men and were generally scared to go back. Some participants articulated that they were in same sex relationships because they lost hope of finding love from men. One participant said:

I vowed I will never fall in love or be involved with a man sexually. That gender is toxic and does not know how to love. I am now involved with women and ever since I left men and started dating women, I have never experienced abuse. Felicia

The findings indicate that women are of the notion that another woman better understands their struggles and having a male figure to appreciate and love them is not to be taken for granted. Given that they have suffered in the hands of men, there is a widespread preference to date or marry the same gender among migrant women. One woman said:

As women, we understand each other, and it is better to fall in love with someone who understands how you also feel than to try to convince another gender that you are worth of their love they will never do that… they keep on hurting you so it is pointless I tell you …date your own!!!! Viny

On the one hand, the shift from heterosexuality to homosexuality is met with a lot of cynicism by many foreign nationals in South Africa. Some participants attributed their shift from heterosexual relationships to homosexual relationships for money making purposes. One participant said:

I engaged in same sex relationships because I wanted to make a living. My husband was a drunkard and barely brought food on the table… so I had to make a plan and joined a local lesbian society, which I will not mention …and I got some few cents. Felicia

6.6 Discussion

This chapter focused on how gender-based violence (GBV) is understood from a migrants' perspective shaped by their experience in contemporary South Africa. There was a generic understanding of GBV as any violence perpetuated by men against women. According to the participants, the violence is further propagated onto children. Literature confirms this finding and demonstrates that children from families where GBV is prominent, may learn this behaviour through acculturation and they themselves become perpetrators of this violence (Chitsamatanga & Rembe, 2020; Modiba, 2018; Ragavan, Fikre, Millner & Bair-Merritt, 2018).

More importantly, patriarchal structures dominate in many societies in which male leadership is seen as the norm, and men hold most of the power. Patriarchy is a social and political system that treats men as superior to women -where women cannot protect their bodies, meet their basic needs, participate fully in society and men perpetrate violence against women with impunity (Sultana 2011). Women in this study articulated that most forms of GBV encountered were understood as ways of expressing love by their male counterparts. They defended this position and it seemed welcome to them. The researcher argues that there was a strong recognition in the experiences shared by participants in the study that traditional gender roles of male dominance and a limited sphere for women are still influential in exacerbating gender-based violence in traditional spaces like KwaZulu-Natal. Thus, the rich Zulu heritage in KwaZulu-Natal is assumed to automatically assimilate men living in the province into traditionalists who abuse women in subtle and violent ways.

In addition, some participants in the study were subjected to GBV for reasons deeply entrenched in tradition and/or culture. Some scholars argue that lobola is used by men to perpetuate the abuse of women (Moono, 2019; Montle & Mogoboya 2018). There was a general belief that the paying of lobola by men gave men the right to control and subject women to violence of any form. Some participants reported that their partners abused them sexually or physically because they had married them or because they were providing a roof over their heads or putting food on the table. The researcher argues that the discourse of lobola in Africa in general has seen women being treated like property by their partners. However, for migrant women the abuse is exacerbated by the mere fact that they are in a foreign country and mostly dependent on the men. Therefore, the researcher contends that the concept of cultural

hegemony is capable not only of explaining how some women accept their secondary status, but also how they sometimes 'accept' male violence.

GBV for migrant women is seen as a 'socially structured silence', which is a norm where the avoidance of a topic (GBV) is established through a variety of cues, and as such people are afraid to violate this social norm. Thus, silence on the topic is upheld and most women stay in abusive relationships for the sake of appeasing their families back home (Bannister& Moyi, 2019; Barnett, Maticka-Tyndale & Kenya, 2016). The patriarchal culture establishes a hierarchy that invades all areas of society: it embodies and represents a powerful structure, based upon both the macho/sexist ideology and violence (Saffioti, et al 2004). This relationship may also be seen in family relationships, reaffirming gender-based violence. Notable, the abuse of women is impelled by peers and family who advocate for one to stay in an abusive relationship or marriage despite the odds as indicated in the findings. The search for greener pastures for migrant women has imperiled women to violence, as they need to send remittances back home. The researcher argues that despite the general discourse in African families that one should exercise patience in abusive relationships, migrant women face 'the twin burdens' of being a woman subjugated to abuse and a foreigner in a xenophobic space like KwaZulu-Natal.

However, some participants agreed that traditional gender roles were being challenged and this is thought to contribute to increased power for women, and correspondingly growing disempowerment among men (Strebel, et al., 2006). Some participants argued that the continued abuse they faced made them leave their marriages or provide for their children without having to beg for support from their male counterparts. The researcher argues that the gradual loss of power by men in society and its seizure by a once disparaged figure is fertile ground to spark gender based violence in South Africa hence the conflict theory helps one understand the existence of this abuse. This study further found that GBV resulted in the disorientation of the families; broken ties between families and the male partner preferring to distance themselves from the women and identifying her merely as the mother of the child.

Apposite to note is that the use of legal mechanisms by women to protect themselves against men and assert their rights has led to a change in gender roles (Gqola, 2007). The most significant changes in gender roles described by participants included: the employment of women compared to men, financial freedom leading to a shift in domestic power; the contemporary prominence of gender equality and subsequent legal and constitutional change,

which has empowered women and unintentionally marginalized and/or disempowered men to some extent. Thus, both men and women seem to experience significant vagueness with regards to current gender roles in their communities. They are familiar with traditional gender positionings but are also aware of shifting power dynamics between men and women, especially given women's expanded role in the workforce. Many men are uneasy about these changes, and often blame women for the perceived harm that comes with shifts in gender relations.

Significantly, shifts in power between men and women do not appear to be represented at the level of sexual negotiation in any consistent way, so that there appear to be many hurdles undermining safe and equitable sexual negotiation, as has been found in other local studies (Shefer, Strebel & Foster, 2000). It emerged that some participants in the study were forced to engage in unprotected sex by their male counterparts despite several attempts to refuse. The belief that a man should be awarded their conjugal rights and failure to conform to this requirement as a woman may be presumed to be a sign of infidelity by the male partner was still prevalent. The researcher argues that power relations between the men and women is contested given the physical build of men, leading to women being rendered powerless. Thus, the macho tendencies that men exert are used to perpetuate violence against women in South Africa.

More so, African tradition has encultured women into a 'dependency syndrome' on men and as such, some participants articulated that the issue of provision or dependency on men subjected them to abuse and violence in their relationships. This presents evidence that GBV in South Africa remains persistent based on the common factors that have been reported various times in research; primarily economic dependency (Bannister, & Moyi, 2019; Chandhok, 2019). The researcher therefore argues that women remain vulnerable to GBV because of factors such as their lack of formal education, GBV also occurs when the women is earning more than the man. However, this study further found that GBV resulted in the disorientation of the families; broken ties between the families and the male partner preferring to distance themselves from the women and identifying her as only the mother of the child.

Findings from this study suggest new ways to understand the relationship between formal education and GBV. It is a common trend that mostly men access formal education and are more educated than women. According to Hoffmann (2020) and Rwezaula (2018) men believe

that they belong to a class above that of their wife or partner and as such in many instances the woman is deprived of the right to question a men's sexual behavior and co-existing sexual relationship(s) outside marriage. However, the new understanding in this study is that an acquisition of higher qualifications and a better salary by women in a marriage or a relationship was a recipe for abuse and violence from their partner; this is rooted in the patriarchal positioning of men as more powerful than women (Wood, 2019). The researcher argues that the reasons for abuse in this study is driven by the power struggles that exist in contemporary South Africa where men are struggling to cope with a change in gender roles. Thus, an argument conjectured by the researcher is that an acquisition of better qualifications by women can subject women to abuse and violence from men.

The study unpacks an uncommon finding where the relationship between age and GBV is expounded in the study. A common trend in Africa and as indicated in research is that in marriages or relationships men are usually older than women (Wood, 2019). Some participants in the study cited this as a factor exposing them to violence caused by men feeling inferior and losing the grip of power in the relationship. The researcher contends that the theory of cultural hegemony adopted in this study gives one a better understanding of gender-based violence in the African context. The researcher argues that power is believed to be an inborn trait in men and the moment this trait is threatened, or usurped men become aggressive.

However, as indicated by some scholars it is apt to note that this power inequity is further reinforced by age and economic disproportionateness, which emphasize women's economic limitations and their dependency on male sexual partners for material survival (Jewkes & Morrell 2010; Dunkle et al., 2004; Pettifor et al., 2004). Yet, relationship power inequity is rarely measured in studies investigating Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) among women in South Africa Pettifor et al., 2004). The few studies that have measured it suggest that high relationship power inequity is significantly associated with more frequent experiences of IPV (Dunkle et al., 2004), low condom use (Jewkes, et al., 2006) and HIV infection (Pettifor et al., 2004).

This study confirmed some of the known effects of GBV such as low self-esteem on women (Sánchez-Herrero et al., 2017). Apt to note is that some women's experiences of abuse led to the acquirement of sexually transmitted diseases, and this brewed a low self-esteem for women. Some women reported loss of self-esteem and perceived themselves not worthy of any intimate relationship given their experience. However, notable is that for this reason many victims fled

relationships from the opposite sex leading them to a new preference in partners of the same sex. The researcher argues that this new preference comes as a result of women having been violated by men and the only gender that would relate to and understand a woman is the female thus the number of same sex relationships is rife in South Africa among women.

More so, women exposed to gender-based violence experience a high rate of common mental disorders and suicidal behavior (Rees, et al., 2011). Marginalized women face worse outcomes of GBV due to multiple stressors related to their position in society (Derose,et al., 2007). For instance, immigrant women's stress comes from multiple sources of vulnerability such as undocumented status and reluctance to seek care because of concerns about mistreatment (Berry, et al., 1987). The study confirmed that some victims of this brutality experienced mental instabilities. The incessant exposure to violence of women in the study led to some women attempting suicide and some mental instability. However, women in this study sought help, from different social groups which helped them heal, a practice that is uncommon from previous studies. In this respect, the support by religious organizations, family, friends, and Non-Governmental Organizations represents the social support network for women under violent situations. These are important elements to confront marital violence, as they provide emotional, spiritual, and material support, and information (Gomez et al, 2016). The researcher argues that seeking help made the women courageous and challenged gender-based violence by accepting that a relationship or marriage has failed and there was a need for them to move on and start a new life away from their violent partners.

In recent decades there have been recurrent suggestions in the media that domestic violence increases with unemployment (Anderberg, et al., 2015). The findings suggest that the economic situation in South Africa plays a pivotal role in exacerbating the rate of GBV cases with men fleeing their partners for a better life with local women and some getting married for convenience. Women in this study narrated their ordeal of having to be away from their partners in search of greener pastures only to find their men married or staying with another women. The researcher argues that most men or women who come to South Africa in search of greener pastures find themselves desperate and at the mercy of a local man or local woman. Notable is that most of them get into a relationship with either at the expense of their marriages and as such this is good ground for conflict to erupt, thus the conflict theory adopted in the study to explain the existence of gender-based violence.

In conclusion migrant women living in KwaZulu-Natal are faced with the twin burdens of xenophobia and GBV. Their experiences of gender-based violence are not documented in the media; rather prominence is given to their experiences of xenophobia.

CHAPTER 7

A NEGOTIATION OF POWER AND SURVIVAL VIA THE BODY

7.1 Introduction

This chapter pursues an understanding of women's bodies as negotiated in the private, as well as in public, sphere. Through this chapter the researcher aims to provide an insight into the complex realities of everyday life faced by female migrants in Durban. The experiences women have of their bodies, the interpretations they make and the knowledge they acquire in their everyday lives constitute the basis for how they view themselves in comparison to the male figure in society. Apt to note is that the body is subject to social, cultural, economic and political definitions and the negotiation of power is based on these perceptions. Relatively large mobile populations move between Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Tanzania, Zambia as well as Zimbabwe to South Africa (Global Trends, 2012). The study expounds that insecurity, lack of economic livelihood, drought and crop failure are some of the push factors that motivate migrants seeking better opportunities to undertake risky migratory routes. Scholars such as Rajan & Kumar (2020); Castles & Davidson (2020); Nail (2020) argue that labour migration remains one of the dominant forms of population movement and this is the case in the Southern African region.

7.2 Reasons for coming to South Africa

The Southern African region continues to experience a substantial rise in varied and uneven migration flows (Schmidt, et al., 2019). These flows originate mostly from the Horn of Africa, particularly Ethiopia and Somalia, and consist of refugees, asylum-seekers, economic migrants, and victims of trafficking, including women and children (Marchand, et al., 2017). Most of these migrants attempt to reach their destinations through established smuggling and trafficking networks (Davy, 2017).

Maher (2019) asserts that at least 20,000 migrants travel through the Great Lakes and Southern African Development Community (SADC) regions in a bid to reach South Africa each year. Therefore, throughout the course of this trajectory, migrants encounter a range of diverse social actors and environments that may catalyse processes of transformation and adaptation (Wurtz, 2020). It is argued that it is during these migration conduits that human rights violations and

the lack of protection of migrants, including extortion, abandonment, physical, and sexual violence continue to be a harsh reality for these mobile populations (Latham, et al., 2019).

7.2.1 Lack of basic resources

Poverty is the lack of basic human needs, such as clean water, nutrition, health care, education, clothing, and shelter; because of the inability to afford them human dignity is at stake (Shaikh et al., 2019). The researcher contends this to be a lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society. Some participants in this study resorted to migrating to South Africa in search of better living standards. A haven for opportunities and a home away from home, a rainbow nation, a country for all; the promised land as some participants said:

> *Back home things are tough, so the best option there ever was, was to come to South Africa the promised land and try your luck at life. The belief is that once you make it to South Africa your fortunes are multiplied, and opportunities are vast here… So, I came to South Africa and here I am.* Sheila

More so, a lack of good and affordable education prompted many foreigners to make their way to South Africa for an affordable education with better living standards as a student. Most participants believed that back in their home countries education was elitist in nature and not everyone had access to it. One participant said:

> *Education is expensive back home especially tertiary and the fees back in South Africa seemed affordable…and besides most companies back home would prefer a graduate from a university abroad like South African University graduates to their local graduates and this makes it difficult to get a job, so I opted to come here instead.* Ludo

In addition, a quest for affordable education meant that one stood a chance to access student part-time jobs, hence the pursuit of education in South Africa for most. More so, the promise of job opportunities for those who had acquired an education in South Africa after the completion of their studies was a pull factor for most. One participant said:

> *I wasn't going to let go of the opportunity for me to acquire an affordable education which promised part-time jobs as a student and getting a job after my degree, so I thought why not try it instead of staying at home.* Nkombwe

Unemployment is a major setback for most people who migrate to South Africa. Some participants in the study indicated that their reasons to move to South Africa were basically to

find employment opportunities. Given their level of education finding a job in their home countries was a hurdle and moving to South Africa was their only hope. One participant said;

> *In Zimbabwe with your qualifications, you still cannot find a decent paying job so the next thing you do is look for better opportunities and I was lucky I got something closer to home.* Mpho.

Inadequate access to basic public services greatly increases the amount of time poor households spend on unpaid care tasks such as fetching water, collecting wood, and caring for the sick in the absence of good medical care near to their home. Participants in this study articulate that because of such frustrations highlighted above, they had to find means to better their lives in a country where their qualifications and opportunities prevailed more and South Africa happened to offer that platform. One participant said:

> *I would be assigned duties to take care of my late grandmother and grandfather who were sick at that time. I would do all the house chores with no salary to better my life and this was frustrating. My friend advised that I go to S.A even if it meant getting a job as a maid it was better because I will be getting a salary.* Fifi

7.2.2 Political, civil unrest and violence

Conflict affects many aspects of one's life that may in turn tempt migration, such as income loss, the breakdown of social relations and institutional failure. Apt to note is that political conflict, civil unrest or violence are some of the causes of displacement. Some participants highlighted their reasons for migrating to South Africa (Durban) as a response to the civil wars in their home countries. One woman said:

> *The civil wars back home pushed me to seek refuge in South Africa. I came here when I lost my family in a civil war. I had no one to fend for me so I had to grow up and find something to do and because everyone was coming to South Africa I decided to join them.* Felicia

Civil wars prompt migration and most participants were traumatised victims of civil wars, political and economic quandary in their home countries which led them to migrate in search of proverbial greener pastures in South Africa. The loss of family and friends, the inability to live a basic lifestyle prompted some participants to relocate to South Africa illegally. One participant averred that:

I cannot begin to explain the situation back home when I came here, I fled the civil wars like most of my countrymen. You know people died my own family included my mom lost her leg and we were left with no one to look after the family, so I was forced to come and make a living here as this was the only option despite having to take the illegal route. Fifi

A lack of political liberties in some countries steers the political environment to be hostile, thus the economic situation is likely to be poor. Notable is that this triggers migration for political and economic reasons. From the findings it is evident that some migrants left their home countries for a democratic country like South Africa where they can pursue better careers, education and freedom among other liberties. Some participants highlighted that:

As old as I am I should be back home but as we all read in the news; the political situation is not friendly in Zimbabwe also given the recent coup things back home are bad and we are forced to stay here and succumb to all the harsh conditions here to at least fend for our extended family back home... Bella

For most migrants, South Africa is a better migration destination because of the availability of opportunities and easy immigration procedures. A visa to enter South Africa is not a requirement for Southern African countries. One participant said:

...There is a lot of political violence and discontentment in Zimbabwe, and this has created ground for poverty to rise and migration is on the rise!! Especially to South Africa because coming to S.A is not as difficult as trying to go to the UK because a lot of paperwork is involved... also the country has better opportunities in the region Mpho

7.2.3 Keeping family ties

The solid effect of migration on households and family structures is the splitting of a family into several types of households and geographically dispersed between country of origin and host countries (Wahyuni, 2005). Migration has left many children at a very young age having to live with either one of the parents or extended family as parents are in search for greener pastures. Some participants aver that:

I was already being pressured to join my husband in South Africa, then we had just engaged before he left so it was this pressure from family that saw me here... Our African families believe that to keep your husband away from infidelity you have to be present, be close to him hence I moved to South Africa. Sheila

Some women are forced into marriages by their families who hold strong and steadfast beliefs that abuse is a 'package' in any marriage and as such a woman must succumb to the abuse since it is a phase one must overcome in any marriage or relationship. One participant said:

At one point I thought of leaving the marriage and go back home but you know the African belief of trying to patch a marriage even when they see that it's not working, I just had to stay because of family pressure. Bella

In a bid to raise children under a standardised family set up, many women are forced to uphold the belief of an ideal family setup by joining their partners in South Africa together with their children. One woman said:

We believe that a family is not complete if one person is on the other side of the globe and one on the other. This is the belief we all grow up with so the moment he left for S.A I knew I had to come with the children here and be a family that we have always known as we were growing up….we grew up with our parents under the same roof and as such should our children so I had to follow him here. Bella

7.3 Experiences of exploitation and coercion

There is a general debate drawn from economics that a market economy is characterized by the exploitation of the poor by the rich, of labour by capital and of the powerless by the powerful. In addition, in a market economy, many people's choices are so limited that they are effectively coerced into undertaking undesirable, soul-destroying or hazardous work (Meadowcroft, 2005). Apposite to note is that the same principles are seen emerging in social contexts where there is a growing number of an exchange of sex for luxuries between men and women for survival purposes; migrant women are exploited and coerced into sex for survival. Thus, undesirable behaviour is exercised leaving women exposed and vulnerable to gender-based violence practices.

7.3.1 Engaging in Sex for Survival

Sex for survival is understood to be the exchange of sex for material support. From the findings it is evident that there is a larger complication in the intimate relationships being undertaken by migrant women experiencing abuse. Some participants said:

He doesn't give me much for child support and as you can see the situation in this country one is pushed to the limits to engage in sex as a benefit in return. No job opportunities for

the foreigners and life basically requires you to be financially capable to be able to provide for the child and if sex can benefit me so be it. Felicia

Prostitution, commercial sex acts, and survival sex are deeply entrenched on one another, they are however argued to be strongly associated with running away from home at an early age (Miriani, 2014). Contrary to the norm this study articulates that migrant women engage in survival sex after several attempts to acquire a decent job but are not successful because the system gives preference to local citizens compared to foreign nationals.

I raise my kids in a way that I am not proud of sometimes. Basically, I get money and other luxuries from men in exchange for sexual intercourse. These relationships emerge in the salons where our clients become overly friendly and lure you into a relationship where benefits such as money and groceries among other things are promised. Alt

Unlike commercial sex, survival sex is not a financial transaction as many would assume. Findings from this study suggest that survival sex is simply an exchange of one's body for basic subsistence needs, including clothing, food, and shelter. Once in a foreign land migrant women realise that putting food on the table and a shelter over their head is a hurdle and is far from guaranteed. Without any money or the ability to get a job, many are forced to rely on their bodies as the only means of survival. Some participants said:

I have suffered in the hands of that men, and I thought what I lose if I were to start a relationship on the side. I know what I am doing is wrong, but I have no choice, for survival I must give sex in exchange for bread and butter. Fano

Sex is commercialised for several reasons and as such women are subject to abuse from men because of the need to send remittances back home, paying fees, putting food on one's table. Some participants indicated that:

The abuse I suffered from that guy was too much, he expected me to perform wife duties on a girlfriend contract. On top of that he would not do much for me. So basically, I resorted to finding myself a blesser at least it's consistent I don't change men. I get money to pay my accommodation, fees and put food on the table and even send some home. Ludo

On the contrary, the general assumption that women who engage in sex for survival are only in these relationships transitorily is cast-off by findings from this study. These findings suggest that this modus operandi by most foreign nationals is not only for survival but women

also stand to benefit and experience a different love life away from their previously abusive relationships. Some participants said:

It's not all the time that when one engages in this activity, they are doing it with different men. I prefer having one man that is dedicated to meeting my financial needs and in return give them not only sex but companionship. It's a win-win situation. Felicia

The findings suggest that women find themselves enjoying the relationships they have with married men although it is for survival, they tend to feel loved as both have interests, they seek to protect. The married men seek to protect his marriage while the migrant woman seeks to maintain the relationship so as not to lose out on the good that comes with such a relationship such as money and love. One said:

It is not only survival that I seek from this. I get to unwind and forget about the abuse I experienced before. The man is married, and I prefer it that way because he gets to respect my space and so do I. Alt

7.3.2 Marriage/relationships for convenience

There has been an outbreak of relationships and marriages for convenience in South Africa as most foreigners are seen engaging in these more often for various reasons. Young women are often victims of these undesirable marriages, enticed with money. One of the participants said:

When l left him, the situation forced me to jump to the next man I met but this time I had to make sure that the man was in a position to take care of me a house, a car I mean that is so convenient for anyone, so we got married .... Yes, he was better than my first, but this does not mean he was not abusive. Nkombwe

Young women who need money for their nails, hair and cell phones are usually caught up in marriages or relationships for convenience. Some of the girls do it knowingly that they are not committed to the relationship. They do it anyway knowing that they will just do away with the relationship in the long-run. This is seen as fertile grounds for domestic violence to erupt as indicated by some participants who averred that:

When he discovered I was in the relationship for convenience he did not leave me, but he made sure I paid him back in a so many unimaginable ways. He would beat me up sometimes lock me in the house the whole weekend while he went to have fun with his

friends mind you, he would have left me with nothing to eat. That guy really abused me (starts crying) ...Nkombwe

There are fraudulent activities that are mostly associated with Nigerian men where most attain residency or citizenship through fraudulent marriages. Findings in this study indicate that not only Nigerian men engage in these fraudulent activities; even women are seen manipulating men into marriages of convenience. Some participants argued that their marriages with men in South Africa were not merely for love but convenience to attain residence status. One participant said:

I got myself a local South African man although this was out of love it turned to be very convenient for me because now, I have South African papers... I can't leave him for this reason and sometimes I feel he is aggressive to me because he felt like he did me a favour. He always reminds me that if it wasn't for him, I wouldn't be where I am. May

From the finding's 'perseverance' is noted as some women in the study admit that they were not willing to let go of a man who is able to provide and meet their needs until such a time their agenda is fulfilled. Some women were of the notion that if they left their marriages, it would mean them losing out on properties among other material things from their marriages. Some participants said:

He pays for my studies and because of what I have been through I await the day I finish my studies and leave him ....it is only convenient that I be with him for now because I won't be able to pay my fees among other things. Mau

Despite the abuse faced by women some women are not prepared to let go some of their relationships. Findings confirm that some women are not bothered by the abuse as they are still very much dependent on a man to put food on the table. Some participants are of the notion that:

...It's convenient for me now because at least I get to have my family taken care of. Fifi

7.3.3 Low wages for survival

Most foreign nationals in South Africa are known to sign up for jobs with low wages just so they make ends meet. Women working in salons among other outlets are exploited and receive low wages despite the time spent in their workplaces. Some of the participants articulate that:

> *Life in general in this country is tough. It is however worse if you are a foreigner, I mean people like us suffer the most. We are exploited in these salons, and we accept anything really.* Felicia

From the findings it is evident that women engaging in domestic labour are mostly exploited. Some participants shared their experiences in domestic work and mostly the Indian community in Durban was seen as exploitative compared to other communities in the province. Some participants said:

> *'ema kitchen' as they commonly say is a place where the exploitation is too much. It is worse when you work for an Indian. Those people will make you do all house chores and give you stale food from their fridge for lunch and to take some home and a mere R150.* Fifi

It is evident in the findings that most people looking for domestic workers preferred to employ foreign nationals compared to their local people. Foreign nationals are known to be hard working and it was easy for local South Africans to exploit them and use the illegal status of the foreigners to lure them to stay on the job. One participant said:

> *All the people I have worked for ema kitchen were exploitative and most of them knew I was foreign and illegal and so they kept referring each other to me for domestic work at a low price. one of the women I worked for once said she wasn't going to pay me and if I wanted, I can go report her and indicated that even if I wanted I wasn't going to because I am a foreigner and illegal in South Africa.*

Some women confessed that they engaged in extra marital affairs with the husbands of their bosses in the workplaces. This was a move either initiated by the husbands or themselves. The move was a way of making extra cash for themselves as they were given little for the job they did. One participant said:

> *I ended up having an affair with my madam's husband. He realised that his wife was giving me peanuts after a day's work, and he offered me more on the side in exchange that I keep it to myself.* Thoko

The foreign community is seen engaging in all kinds of jobs just so they can put food on their table as well as be able to send remittances back home. Most participants are seen taking extra jobs over the weekends to subsidize their salaries which are already low. One woman said:

I work for this man on weekends at his vending stall and the money he gives me for the weekend sales cannot last me a week. It is better than nothing though. Betty

7.3.4 Fear to be in contact with the law (migrant status)

The findings indicate that South Africa harbours a lot of undocumented foreign nationals and apt to note is that most women who experience GBV are not legal in South Africa and reporting such cases is met with fear to be in contact with the law. Some participants said:

Reporting these injustices is not ideal because the moment I get into the police station they will start questioning my identity the next thing they need an ID. ...I am illegal here I can't. Fano

An attempt to report a case of GBV in South Africa is met with a lot of doubt from the foreign community. Findings indicate that most women believe that local men have their way out of this since they relate to the police and easily offer bribes. Some participant said:

You really cannot report because he has his ways with the police a simple bribe lays the abuse to rest so it's pointless. Sheila

Apart from the illegal status, that frightens most women to face the law, there is general belief that foreigners are not welcome in South Africa. This has seen many women reluctant to report their experiences of abuse because of their xenophobic experiences. Some participants said:

The police are not who we think they are instead of protecting us they help these injustices to prevail because we are not welcome here. I fear that police station!!!! I don't want to be sent packing in that 'gumba'. I am illegal in South Africa. Alt

The sexual vilifications encountered by female migrants to South Africa exposes women to GBV from government officials. Apt to note is these include police officers, border patrol officers and immigration officials at different border entries in South Africa. One woman said:

I was asked if I wanted more days at the border by a police officer and I said yes, he took my passport and went and stamped it for me. He then asked for money for cold drink, and I gave him R50, and he refused to take the R50 and asked me to wait for him till his shift ended at 6am so we can go and discuss how I will thank him instead....it was clear he wanted sex in return... How do I report such to the very official who abused me at the border? Thoko

The interplay of language in KwaZulu Natal plays a significant role in the communication process between Zulu and a non-Zulu speakers. Some participants from their experience with Zulu speaking people believe they are in no position to be proffered help because of their language as this is one of the yardsticks used to 'distinguish' foreigners from locals in many encounters. Some participants said:

> *How do I even report this at a police station… language is a sell out that I am foreign and am illegal here. If I report I am afraid they will have me sent back to my country. So instead of selling myself using broken isiZulu I chose to stay and not report him with the hope that one day it will end.* Thoko

7.4 Discussion

Migrant women's conduits to South Africa are identified with human rights violations and sexual violence and these continue to be a harsh reality for women in search for greener pastures (Boyd, 2011). The researcher notes that in a country where xenophobia is rife there is a likelihood of women encountering GBV during xenophobic attacks. As indicated by some participants in the study, some women failed to delineate their xenophobic experiences to those of GBV. In tandem with some studies, women are seen as soft targets of sexual violation (Lee-Ko, 2011) with some scholars arguing that this violation occurs either during the migration process or when women have settled in their country of destination (Waiganjo, 2018).

Findings indicate that a lack of affordable education, and unemployment in migrants' home countries have exposed women migrants to precarious sexual conducts for survival. The researcher argues that the 'proverbial greener pastures' in this context is contested because South Africa is faced with an unemployment rate of 34.4% (Stats SA, 2021). Hlatshwayo (2019) in his study indicates that women who emigrate from Zimbabwe understand precariousness as leaving Zimbabwe for South Africa in search of jobs that expose them to sexual violence, rape, xenophobia and low wages. It is evident in the study that with high levels of unemployment in South Africa migrant women are forced to engage in sex for survival thereby exposing themselves to GBV in the process.

More so, lack of employment opportunities with no financial bases compels migrant women to find other means of survival. Findings indicate that migrant women find blessers or men who assist in meeting their basic human needs. In order to obtain those things, they engage in sexual relationships with men or blessers who are willing to meet their material needs. This finding

concurs with Motyl (2013) who mentions that young girls enter into a relationship with older men in order to receive financial assistance in the form of a prepaid credit card, a credit card, cash, or a Paypal transaction. The researcher however argues that this financial support helps the refugee girls to avoid a financial crisis and be more independent but brews grounds for GBV to manifest because these needs are met at an abusive cost.

From the findings it is evident that some women remain in abusive relationships as a way of ensuring that they have access to basic goods, shelter, clothing and food among other necessities. Literature confirms this finding where Mavhandu- Mudzusi (2019) articulates in their study that blessers provide refuge for refugee girls through meeting their basic needs such as food, shelter, clothes and means of communication. The researcher argues that migrant women's relationships with both foreign and local men are influenced by their need to depend on someone who they feel can provide and take care of them hence relationships and marriages for convenience are evidenced in migrant communities. Thus, once the women's needs are taken care of it therefore shapes women's beliefs and perceptions around the idea that intimate partner violence is normal and tolerable. (Mutambara 2018).

A new finding exposed in this study is that some women were not only involved in sexual relationships momentarily and for monetary purposes. Findings suggests that women felt loved and experienced a different love life which came with the perks of being exposed to a good lifestyle by men or blessers. Contrary to this finding most studies revealed that (migrant) women and (refugee) girls were involved in relationships for monetary gains (Zawu, 2020; Mampane, 2018; Thobejane et al., 2017). The researcher therefore argues that abused women from an impoverished relationship will feel loved and appreciated once showered with gifts in a new relationship which was not previously a norm from their past.

In addition, migrant women in the study were involved in relationships or marriages of convenience. The researcher argues this to be a coping and survival mechanism in a country faced with unemployment and less opportunities that favour foreign nationals. Petkou (2014:16) avers that "migrants in Johannesburg engaged into marriages of convenience beyond the margins of the law for survival." This survival mechanism is seen being practised in many countries by many foreign nationals as means to challenge the system which does not offer opportunities to a disparaged group in society (Tarisayi & Manik, 2021; Zonca, 2017). Apt to note is that once men discover that they are being used as safety nets it manifests in them being brutal to the women. Thus, the economic quandary in South Africa has exposed migrant women

to unprecedented violence which forces women to forge ways to survive in a *not so green pasture* they had dreamt of before their arrival in South Africa.

Findings suggests that a woman's family to a certain extent plays a pivotal role in exposing her to GBV. Of importance to note is that the environment in which a woman is raised and lives contributes to her vulnerability. Some scholars argue that this vulnerability is further intensified not only by the nature of her links with her partner's family, but also by the way in which her own family of origin reacts to the violence she suffers (Agoff et al., 2007; Maundeni, 2002). In general, a strong pressure on the woman to remain in abusive relationships was expressed in the study. The researcher argues that women remain in these relationships because of the pressure they receive from their families because on the one hand they fear judgement from the community and on the other hand enjoy remittances sent by the in-laws.

From the findings it is evident that violence that manifests because of keeping family ties fostered mainly by the woman's family makes it clear that family ties are not necessarily a source of support nor ideal once the partner migrates in search of greener pastures. Findings suggest that family ties on the contrary, generate situations of vulnerability for women. Agoff et al., (2007:10) indicates that the "members of the woman's family do not condemn spouse abuse; rather, they understand it as a legitimate sanction applied for noncompliance with certain expectations regarding the female role". Some scholars argue that this violence is seen as a "deserved" punishment, or at least a fate that has to be accepted (Nwaomah & Min, 2019; Maundeni, 2002). The researcher therefore argues that the ideal family setup for families that have been separated for migration purposes for a certain period culminates into abuse in the long run. Thus, women are deprived of resources, power, and liberty as a result of economic, generational, and gender inequalities, all of which create an environment of considerable vulnerability for women (Kelkar & Krishnaraj, 2020; Tandrayen-Ragoobur, 2020). It is in such contexts that violence assumes its particular meaning.

Findings indicates that women put up with violence for reasons deeply entrenched in their migrant status. Thus, migrant women fear contact with the law which they believe mostly favours women of South African descent. Findings indicate that women fear reporting cases of violence occurring during and after their migratory routes. Studies articulate that perpetrators are not only other migrants or local men or migration agents assisting them with their journey (Kwakwa et al., 2021). The study indicates that state officials such as the police and

immigration officers also sexually exploit female migrants, and this makes it difficult to report cases of GBV.

Factors such as language and culture can influence the reporting of SGBV cases. Language as medium of instruction can be an enabler or barrier to effective reporting of GBV cases (Gangoli et al., 2018; Abdi, 2016). The findings suggests that women migrants found it difficult to approach local police stations to report cases of GBV because of the failure to communicate in their local language. Mukumbang et al. (2020) articulates that language difficulties were among other disparities which can cause distress and anxiety to the foreign-born migrants. The current study argues that apart from language being a barrier to communication the study explicates that language was seen by most as an identification tool. Undocumented migrants feared being sent back home once they exposed themselves to local authorities. The researcher argues that it is this fear that limits the chances of GBV cases to be reported by migrant women in Durban.

In conclusion, women's bodies are a site of contestation as these mobile bodies are exposed to all kinds of violations during and after their migratory conduits to South Africa. Evident in the study is that women are seen as sexual objects and have come to accept that stereotype because they are a disparaged and vulnerable group in society.

CHAPTER 8

FEMALE MIGRANTS POST THEIR GBV EXPERIENCES

8.1 Introduction

This chapter is aimed at unearthing the pathways in which survivors of GBV took post their experiences of gender based violence in Durban. Apt to note is that, it is estimated that one in three women will experience some form of GBV in their lifetime (United Nations, 2006; Garcia-Moreno et al., 2006). This threatens their quality of life and overall wellbeing as they navigate healing and recovery after these experiences (Walsh et al., 2015; Heise et al., 2002). This chapter explores how women after their GBV experiences overcame physical and emotional distress caused by GBV (i.e., intimate partner violence, sexual violence, harassment, stalking among others) and how these impacted survivors long after their perpetrator was out of their life.

GBV poses a significant threat to the physical health of all survivors, but the specifics vary by race (Hargrove, 2021); in the context of this study variations are noted according to nationality. Women with a history of IPV, experience violations of their reproductive rights such as pregnancy coercion, birth control sabotage, and unintended pregnancy (Miller et al., 2010). In the context of this study African migrant women were victimized and sexual victimization placed African migrant women at a higher risk of being physically abused and participating in prostitution (Lang et al., 2011). While these effects are substantial, they do not paint the full picture of the impact of GBV for African migrant women.

8.2 Incessant flares of migratory experiences

Despite having escaped or challenged GBV some women suffer flares of their abusive experiences when they first arrived in South Africa. Some participants indicated that they were reminded that whatever they were facing as a foreigner in South at the moment was better compared to what they witnessed when they first arrived in South Africa. Their arrival was witnessed by disappointment from the ones they loved and a feeling of betrayal and belittlement from those they loved. One participant said:

> *We may be suffering now but it's nothing compared to coming to South Africa and find out that your husband has re-married… that is not easy to stomach as a woman. That*

experience is heart-breaking and never leaves my mind all the time. I had nowhere to go and I knew no one…can you imagine sister!! At least now I know my way around the city and have made friends so it's better. Mpho

Some participants indicate that the never ending xenophobic attacks in Durban are a constant reminder that they are not welcome in South Africa. For them xenophobia is experienced way before they settle in the country. The violence experienced at the border posts and sexual assault are flares that are incessant every time a xenophobic attack emanates in Durban. One participant said:

There is no other way you can convince yourself that you belong here. Whenever we experience these xenophobic attacks I am reminded that I was never welcome in South Africa from the day I set foot at the border post. I was sexually assaulted and robbed because I was foreign…They could tell because I could not speak their language. Sheila

Durban is a city known for violent marches that are witnessed in the CBD and surrounding areas of the city. Participants liken these violent marches to an alarm that wakes them they feel comfortable being in the city. Some participants said:

These violent marches in Durban are a wakeup call to us foreigners… They remind us of how much we are not welcome in the city and that should the worst come to the worst we can be attacked and thrown away the same way we have been victimised sexually by men in this province. Nawanda

News reports on missing girls and brutal murders of women in Durban is a reminder for most migrant women that their safety is not guaranteed in South Africa. The failure by the government of South Africa to protect their own women is a clear indication for most; that surviving and challenging GBV in a foreign land with no one to protect migrant women is a victory on its own. One participant said:

We are not safe in South Africa we may have ran away from our countries in search for greener pastures but we are not safe here. Everyday women are killed or missing and this is scary. Having survived abuse is better than completely going missing and most of these reports are women from South Africa. I wonder what would happen to foreigners if they were missing will anyone care, will the South African government do anything? if they are failing to contain the situation with their own. Bella

8.3 Myths: An African phenomenon

Some women indicated that they had problems with conceiving for years after losing their babies to physical abuse. Due to the African traditional beliefs some women were convinced that the failure to conceive was a traditional matter which needed to be addressed in traditional forms. One participant said:

> *I lost my baby during a fight with my then boyfriend because of the different beliefs we had pertaining that pregnancy…Since then I have been pregnant twice and have failed to carry a baby to full term… I am made to believe it's a curse my then boyfriend put on me and I have to be cleansed.* Ludo

Women's' experiences of physical abuse during pregnancy are traumatic and as such most women failed to seek counselling. Most African families believe the failure to conceive is a problem that emanates from the woman or the woman is believed to be bewitched from their previous relationship or marriage. One woman said:

> *I have had three miscarriages in my current marriage and I have been to several witchdoctors some from my country and I was told I have to look for my son's father and fix things he is the one who tightened my uterus…it is only then I can have babies.*Fano.

Some participants believed that their failure to conceive was caused by the abortions they had carried out. Sex for survival led to women being impregnated and in the process they decided to abort because they had no relationship with the father. One woman said:

> *I think I have had many abortions and probably I do not get pregnant because of that …I regret though because it is my dream to have a child at least.* Fifi

While some participants believed that getting counselling would not solve their traumatic experiences of their abuse, some believed pregnancy was not going to thrive well in a body that was suffering depression and trauma. Thus some participants saw the need to engage counselling. One participant said:

> *I don't want to lie people can call it elitist'but we do need counselling… pregnancy cannot survive in a body that is troubled. We act all fine but deep inside we are more than stressed. We just have a lot going on.* Mpho

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A belief in God's punishment for the bad deeds that women engaged in during migration was prominent among participants. Some participants indicated that they sold their bodies in order to cross the border to South Africa. They further indicated how this transaction cost them their uterus and their partners whom they were coming for to South Africa. One participant indicated that:

> *…Because I so badly wanted to come and see for myself why he no longer sends money for his children I agreed to sex with umalayitsha whom I didn't know in exchange to crossing the border to South Africa…Not getting pregnant is Karma's payback for the wrong I did and what hurts is I did all this for nothing… he was staying with another woman and they still together and after years of trying to move on I finally do and pregnancy is nowhere to be found… What do you call this sisi wami (my sister)?* Mpho

8.4 Self sustainability

Most participants indicated that their experiences of abuse were exacerbated by dependence on men. Financial dependence was among the most prevalent cause of ill treatment mentioned by most women in the study. One woman said:

> *When I finally left him I was quick to find something to do because I realised I was being abused because he was fighting the position of being a provider …I didn't want to experience the same thing if I decided to date again. So I totally disengaged from the idea of relying on a man for anything.* Bella

Low levels of education can increase the risk of experiencing or perpetrating violence. In contrast, higher levels of education can reduce such risks, and result in changes in attitudes and behaviours that may lead to abuse. Most participants made sure they advanced their education because they believed it was a source of empowerment they could use to fight domestic abuse. One participant said:

> *I decided to further my education and find a course to enhance my skills so I can be able to provide for myself. If you are not educated it is difficult to leave your marriage you stay because you have no choice. I believe whatever I went through in that relationship was because I am uneducated… the emotional abuse in that relationship was too much I decided enough is enough I will better myself through education and I have since enrolled in a course in baking at a professional level and soon I will be able to fend for myself and not depend on a man for anything… it is painful sister!!!*Alt

For some participants finding new ways of making a living was a response they initiated after they had faced the wrath of abuse from their male counterparts. Some women in the study started vending as a means to make money as this helped them cope. One woman said:

> *I totally believe sometimes the over reliance we have on men makes us succumb to abuse. I learnt the hard way and now I am a vendor. This helped me in away because I realised from the time I stopped or let me say I stopped asking for money from him his frustrations towards me are low. So it was a way to manage the fights at home with my husband.* Betty

8.5 Accessibility to counselling structures

For several of the participants, access to professional counselling structures was a barrier, so they sought help from family and friends. Some participants stated that having family and friends at their side helped them go through the abuse period. As one participant put it:

> *I am grateful for family and friends as these were there during my struggles with my husband. They stood by me and offered me all the support I needed until I overcame… I wasn't going to afford counselling services given that I wasn't working and it's basically not a part of our culture to talk about your marriage with everyone out there so this was the only structure I had.* Nkombwe

Participants believed that to be associated with a church one needed to be pure of wrong doings in the church, which is viewed as a place of worship. Given their experiences, several women felt they didn't belong in the church, which made them hesitant to seek help there. For most, the church was viewed as an institution that provided both support and healing. One participant said:

> *I didn't think I will be acceptable in the house of the Lord. I was not clean in my eyes. I was hesitant to go face the church in my situation. … people around me encouraged that I seek help there and I did. I was not only helped financially but spiritually and this helped me heal.* Fano

Some participants indicate that the church provided support during their difficult times as they offered food and shelter as well as counselling that helped shape them into what they are today. One woman said:

I don't know what I would be without the Church. That church offered me more than I had asked and it is through this help that I am the person I am today. Through this church my children are back in school, I have a job and there is no day l went to bed without food. Betty

In addition, social media originated as a way to interact with friends and family. The power of social media is the ability to connect and share information with anyone in the world or with many people simultaneously. Some participants indicated that social media platforms such as Facebook and WhatsApp were therapeutic structures that helped them overcome and challenge GBV. One participant said:

I found so much courage to fight abuse through Facebook… there are groups on Facebook even WhatsApp that women in similar situations like mine would engage in, share their experiences and as women offer each other support to overcome abuse. It has helped me a lot and I am very thankful I decided to interact with other women in similar situations and I was rendered the help and courage to fight and challenge my situation and here I am today. Ludo

8.6 Discussion

Findings indicate that migratory conduits undertaken by women in this study evoked violent and sometimes incessant traumatic flares. These flares were reminders of their journey to South Africa which was met with a lot of abuse and violence for a troubled group in a country that is intolerant of difference (other). Some scholars argue that migration prompts a hybrid of memories and traumas arising from horrendous events as well as border crossing illustrating the consequences of forced migration to a country assumed to offer better living conditions (Franca, 2018; Aranda et al., 2015; Jain, 2014).

More so, the findings suggest that xenophobic attacks in South Africa are characterised by violence and this inflates trauma on migrants who happen to be victims of GBV. Studies indicate that many migrants have experienced hardships of persecution, war, and social isolation, GBV among others, each a significant source of trauma in its own right (Suleman et al., 2018; Silove et al., 2017; Kira et al., 2014). Some scholars argue that xenophobia appears to perpetuate trauma in the host country, and may exacerbate the impact of pre-existing traumatic events (Suleman et al., 2018) for migrants in South Africa. The findings of this study indicate that the constant attacks on foreigners evoke memories of participants' migratory

conduits which are synonymous with abuse and violence resulting in traumatic flares for most migrants. It is apt to note that when xenophobic attacks occur most women remain susceptible to violence from local citizens (Khoza et al., 2021). The researcher argues that this creates a sense of triviality in women who are already subjected to GBV.

There is a myriad of stories of missing children and reported kidnappings, abductions and the killing of women and children in Durban (Mabundza & Seepamore, 2021); these brutal killings of women and children spark flares of migratory abuse and violence. The researcher argues that migrants live in fear of their lives from the people they love and people who resent them (South African citizens) thereby creating a space that is 'uninhabitable' and 'intolerant Other'.

The findings imply that when a woman fails to conceive in a marriage, she is subjected to societal and cultural stereotypes. Studies by a number of experts concur with these findings, indicating that superstitious beliefs, myths, conventions, ceremonies, attitudes, local traditions, and religion are all manifestations of African customary law and socio-religious mythology (Ojilere et al., 2021). Infertile and childless women are considered a disgrace and a "curse or bad luck" to their families in Africa (Cohen-Mor, 2005). While some societies dismiss them as "women who eat without producing fruit" (Lock & Kaufert, 1998), others regard them as sexually dysfunctional (Gannon et al., 2004), physically dysfunctional (Miall, 1986), or assumed by traditional religionists to have been made barren by the gods due to their own "wickedness" (Johansson & Berg, 2005). A woman's barrenness is thought to be the outcome of a succession of 'abortions' she committed in some African societies (Ugwu, 2012). These facts and others show that African customary law and socio-religious myths violate the right to human dignity of vulnerable women who are likely in need of health-supporting structures during and after GBV.

Some scholars disagree with the myth of infertility in African societies, claiming that difficulties linked to pregnancy and childbirth are the most common GBV consequences among women in underdeveloped nations (Ashley et al., 2021; Jain 2021). More than 48 million couples worldwide (Garcia-Gimenez et al., 2021; Inhorn & Patrizio, 2015) are unable to conceive or sustain a viable pregnancy, with 10 million living in Sub-Saharan Africa. Infertility affects 15 to 20% of the population in South Africa, or one out of every six couples (Botes & Fourie, 2017).

The prevalence of infertility is much higher in developing countries than in the developed world (Ombelet et al, 2008). This is due to a number of factors, including poor access to assisted

reproductive techniques and proper health care (Ezeome et al,. 2021). Apt to note is that GBV manifests in various ways and as such the effects of this abuse also vary accordingly. Depression is the most prevalent mental disorder in pregnancy and may have consequences on both the pregnant woman and her offspring (Miguez & Vazquez, 2021). The researcher argues that GBV experiences by women are a contributing factor to infertility in South Africa and there is need to provide health care structures for women who have experienced GBV for improved antenatal care.

The findings showed that women are abused because of the dependence they have on a man to provide in the house. This makes women vulnerable to abuse because they have limited or no access to financial resources. Other studies articulate that women subjected to GBV often suffer from economic hardship and financial abuse (Eriksson & Ulmestig, 2021). It is apt to note that men engage tactics to exercise power and gain control over their partners (Adams et al., 2012). Experiences of financial abuse make it difficult for women to leave an abusive partner and become self-sufficient. Women in the study described how men's abuse affected them financially, causing poverty and affecting their ability to have reasonable economic liberty. However, some women challenged their situations and became self sustainable by engaging in vending and improving their education as they believed it to be a step closer to being independent of abuse.

Findings indicate that the immediate structures available for women who had experienced GBV is the church and family. Given most participants' illegal immigration status in South Africa most found it difficult to approach government facilities for help as this would jeopardize their stay in South Africa with some fearing xenophobic utterances. Some studies articulate that for the SGBV survivors, reporting acts of sexual violence to the authorities is arduous and stressful under any circumstances (Filmer, 2019; Phillimore, et al., 2021; Marsh, 2006). Thus, feelings of shame, embarrassment or fear of reprisals can discourage the victim from reporting (Filmer, 2019); in this context the fear of migrant status took precedence for most participants. An interesting finding of this study was the virtual spaces of support which women found useful in their journey. Most women in the study made use of social media platforms as sites for support and healing and this helped in overcoming the abuse. Dawit (2021) argues that GBV survivors can make use social media platforms such as Facebook and WhatsApp to share events, security strategies for overcoming physical abuse among other nuances related to their experiences. Thus, the researcher argues that virtual spaces or platforms in the digital age

provide cutting edge psychosocial support for those who cannot afford nor access professional facilities.

In conclusion, survivors of GBV in the study were resilient in challenging GBV, with most lacking the resources to untie themselves from the abuse because of a number of factors such as financial dependence, lack of education and the accessibility of support structures in the community.

CHAPTER 9

INTEGRATIVE DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS & CONCLUSIONS

9.1 Introduction

This chapter begins by meditating on the thesis title below to refresh the reader's mind and also dwells on the relevance of theories adopted in this study. The important findings from each of the findings chapters are briefly discussed in this chapter. It describes the limitations of the study and explores the contribution that the study makes to the body of knowledge. Finally, recommendations, and conclusion are presented.

9.2 Title of the thesis

Life stories: Ethnographic portraits of migrant women challenging Gender Based Violence in South Africa (Durban) is the title of the thesis. The title is heavily influenced by the 2015 xenophobic violence in Durban and fits solidly within the realm of cultural studies. Since its inception, Cultural Studies has placed a strong emphasis on ordinary people's subjective 'lived experience' (rather than 'detached' wholly academic studies), and in recent years, this has also extended to 'life tales' of those who are typically marginalized (in this case women). This methodology of paying close attention to the narratives of these victims of gender-based violence – their understandings of their situation, their pain – seemed to me to make a significant contribution to the field of cultural studies. In order to do this, the thesis' title took on a social justice tinge by emphasizing African migrant women as essential participants, a population segment that is underrepresented in both policy development and most social research endeavours in South Africa. Given the two burdens they face in a xenophobic and violent space, African migrant women, regardless of their migratory status, deserve to be heard, according to the researcher.

9.3 Theory relevance: ways to understand the prevalence of GBV

The use of the narrative approach was crucial for this study since the researcher wanted to understand migrant women's issues in South Africa given their xenophobic experiences. The researcher was able to collect their life stories in an appropriate manner with the use of a methodological technique that used a thematic analysis methodology. The researcher discovered that their migration experiences included violent and abusive features for some.

These experiences throughout their migratory journey were investigated further when they had established in Durban, and how they had shaped them as a vulnerable group. It's worth noting that what they were expecting in South Africa was not what they encountered when they arrived. The study used their remarks as a starting point for exploring the numerous subjective and objective aspects that impacted my interpretation of their experiences. Interviews were used to obtain data for this study, which gave a contextual and deeper knowledge of migrant women's experiences with gender-based violence.

In addition, purposive sampling was employed in the study to choose the 15 participants who were interviewed using semi-structured questions from the interview guide. The selection process was primarily aimed at women of foreign heritage who had encountered GBV. The majority of the women interviewed for this study were from the informal sector. The researcher notes that the prevalence of GBV was mostly identified with women with low paying jobs in a sector where a decent life is not guaranteed. Using conflict theory, one can better understand how society is made up of people from various social classes competing for resources. As a result, there is a rise in economic power disparities, which leads to the emergence of structural conflict. This theory although focused on the fundamental conflicts between social classes, was adopted for the purposes of this study to analyse inequalities of power in the lines of gender. According to the literature, economic inequalities such as unemployment make migrant women vulnerable to GBV, which is constructed in the contours of culture and tradition, with the shift in gender roles serving as a trigger for this madness.

The study used the Social Ecological Model, which is a complement to conflict theory, to further investigate the prevalence of violence against women. From the perspective of gender-based violence, the model allows one to comprehend the various socio-economic elements that influence the existence of violence against migrant women. The study also used the cultural hegemony theory to determine the prevalence of GBV, where hegemony is defined as an ideological dominance in which people acquiesce to the prevailing social forces' ideals which are attained through consent. According to the literature, social and cultural standards encourage women to accept male superiority, exposing them to male dominance, which frequently involves violence to maintain the status quo.

However, in order to better comprehend how migrant women confronted GBV, the researcher turned to feminist theories, which are based on the principle of equality between men and women. The theory refutes the notion that gender limits both men and women's potential.

Despite the violent experiences that women face, the findings show that there are systems in society that help to elevate women and help combat GBV.

9.4 Integrative discussion of study findings

Several scholars have written about the encounters that migrant women face in South Africa (Gounder & Maharaj, 2022; Tshishonga, 2022; Dlamini et al., 2022); few have addressed the lived experiences of migrant women who have faced gender-based violence in the face of xenophobic hatred in South Africa. The goal of this research was to employ cultural hegemony theory, conflict theory, feminist theories, and an ecological framework to better understand the lived experiences of African migrant women who have faced and challenged gender-based violence despite having to capitulate to xenophobia.

The study unearthed that the majority of the women escaped from political and economic insecurities in their native countries only to be confronted by a variety of dynamic insecurities in South Africa. Embarking on this study entailed more than merely telling the women's stories, describing the victimization they confront, or depicting them as resilient survivors, but also gave an account of how they challenged GBV amidst the hatred they are already faced with in a xenophobic country. Findings indicated that the development of their many identities was at the heart of their daily lives. Although their experiences were uniquely linked to their identity as migrants, it was impossible to deny that some of their experiences, were similar to those of other women in general. As a result, the experiences of migrant women educate or inform us about the broader experience of being a woman in South Africa who is vulnerable and from a marginalized group.

The literature that was reviewed revealed that much has been written to explain why women are likely to experience GBV and the drivers for this abuse were explored. There are a number of reasons that explain the drivers of migration to South Africa, however exploring the socio-political background of female migrants from different countries identifies some of the unique patterns of migration across nations. While some find it easy to escape to South Africa because of its easy passage from countries like Zimbabwe and Botswana because there is no transit border, some escaped to South Africa because it was the only country at the time welcoming foreigners who easily attained asylum.

South Africa has historically been a major migrant-receiving country, and most people who arrived in the early 2000s saw it as a chance to get out of poverty (Black et al., 2006). According

to the researcher, the causes of migration are closely linked to the prevalence of economic challenges, poverty, and political instability in the countries of origin. According to research, this puts people's wellbeing and economic security at jeopardy, because most migrants have struggled to make ends meet, prompting them to move in search of greener pastures (Dzingirai et al., 2014).

Today the migration of people in Southern Africa and the world over is prompted by political and economic hurdles in native countries. It is worth noting that migration in Southern Africa was affected by men seeking work in mines (Mutambara, 2018), whereas today it is influenced by the yearning for political liberation, with individuals departing their countries of origin due to continuous conflict and economic issues that threaten their livelihoods and personal security. According to the study, migrant women's experiences are primarily focused on their social backgrounds and their relationship with their socioeconomic background, which in most cases renders them susceptible to gender based violence as they try to make a living and support their families back in their home counties. Their fears are influenced by patriarchy, structural poverty, and economic difficulties in their home countries, which appear to be prolonged and exacerbated in South Africa due to the presence of both xenophobia and gender-based violence.

According to the study, the majority of women moved to South Africa for economic and political reasons. Mutambara (2018) argues in her study that women migrated to South Africa because they were unable to care for themselves and their families back home. The researcher in this study argues that some women were forced to join their spouses for a perfect family arrangement. As a result of the economic problems, they were thrown into poverty, making it incredibly difficult for them to make a living. It is apt to note that most women who came to South Africa left their country with a failing economy characterised by unemployment, hyperinflation, the prevalence of human rights violations, and the persecution of political opponents (Bloch, 2010).

The individuals' encounters with GBV had a long-term influence on them, with several of them seeking psychosocial counselling as a result of their ordeals. It's vital to note that GBV has a long-term influence on children and can have long-term ramifications. Many studies have warned about the short- and long-term detrimental effects of domestic abuse on children (Verlien and Holt, 2019). Children show fear, anguish, and loneliness as a result of a long-term experience that results in losses and hurdles in their familial bonds (Noble-Carr et al., 2020). Individual growth, wellbeing, and relationship abilities may be jeopardized by post-traumatic

stress disorder, depression, self-depreciation, difficulties at school and with concentration on studies, low self-esteem, drug or alcohol misuse (in the long term), and other effects. (Kitzmann et al., 2003; Moylan et al., 2010; Save the Children, 2011; Stanley, 2011; Tsavoussis et al., 2014). The mother–child bond is influenced in violent situations (see Katz 2019), and it also increases the chance of youngsters articulating their feelings by engaging in violent behaviour. Because children adopt their parents' behaviours, GBV becomes cyclical. As a result, the researcher believes that unless GBV is handled at the grassroots level, children would likely engage in the same behaviour as adults, resulting in GBV being endemic.

9.5 A pandemic during another pandemic: GBV in the era of COVID-19

Data used in this study was collected before the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, however the researcher felt compelled to discuss GBV and migrants in the era of COVID-19 drawing from studies that have been carried out since 2020 to date. The researcher believes the issue of GBV among this subaltern group though studied needs attention in global spaces and therefore there is a need to devise frameworks that cater for this marginalised group in South Africa.

Violence has generally been found to increase in the face of pandemics (Mittal, 2020). Pandemics frequently result in the breakdown of social infrastructures, exacerbating already existing weaknesses and conflicts in society (UNFPA, 2020). As a result, the pandemic situation exacerbates existing gender inequalities. Consequently, women and children bear the brunt of harassment and sexual violence. For example, the outbreak of COVID-19 in South Africa did not spare women although anecdotal evidence suggests that there was an increase in the number of GBV cases in South Africa (Mlamla, Dlamini, & Shumba, 2021).

The COVID-19 pandemic confined victims and perpetrators of GBV in the same spaces for a prolonged period, thereby making women and children susceptible to the violence that was ignited by frustrations associated with the pandemic. For example, economic dependence is a cause for domestic violence (Arthur & Clark, 2009). During the quarantine, as more women worked in informal jobs and were laid off in their jobs and this prompted them to be dependent on their partners and confined them in a space where violence had a possibility to erupt. Apt to note is that this led to them into becoming economically dependent on their male counterparts. According to Titan et al. (2020), women outnumber men in telecommutable jobs, making it difficult for men to adapt to changing circumstances. This increased economic dependence not

only increased their risk of gender-based violence but also made it difficult to leave their perpetrators.

Mittal and Singh (2020) argued that when women are quarantined, they are in close proximity to the male members and have little to no freedom to leave the house, which leads to an increase in gender violence at home. Pandemics also exacerbate economic vulnerabilities by increasing unemployment or the risk of unemployment. Several studies have found a link between economic insecurity and increased gender-based violence. Economic insecurity has been linked to the use of poor coping strategies, including substance abuse (Mulia et al., 2013; Brenner,1987; Brenner, 1975). These, in turn, have been linked to various forms of gender-based violence (Renzetti, 2009).

According to the Human Rights Watch (2021; 2020), the COVID-19 pandemic had a significant impact on gender-based violence shelters. The shelters offer refuge from violence and include safe houses that offer temporary accommodation (Mittal & Singh, 2020). As a result, shelters differed in whom they accepted as victims. Undocumented migrants, LGBT people, and women with older male children were sometimes excluded, for reasons that ranged from lack of private family facilities to fear of violating immigration laws, or the incapability to pay for expenses that the government would not reimburse for non-nationals. Many facilities lacked the resources to provide specialised health or services, such as personal care and other support services to people with disabilities, including older women, drug users, and women with severe illnesses.

COVID-19 appears to be similar to previous pandemics in that it has also resulted in an increase in cases of domestic violence. According to Bradbury-Jones and Isham (2020), the COVID-19 induced lockdown gave abusers more freedom. Several media reports indicate an increase in domestic violence cases in various countries, South Africa included. GBV has been described as "second pandemic" after the coronavirus by the South African president, Cyril Ramaphosa (Ellis, 2020). More than 120 000 cases of gender-based violence were recorded by the government-run Gender-Based Violence (GBV) Command Centre in the first three weeks of the national lockdown (SA News, 2021). Apt to note is that statistics, including police reports, are concerning but insufficient, due to data collection issues and victims' failure to report abuse. Despite the lack of accurate statistics, the rates are high for both women and LGBT people (Ellis, 2020).

From this discussion it is apposite to note that GBV has a significant impact on migrant women which also comes with xenophobic tendencies where in the midst of pandemics most centres that offer help prioritised the local community to migrant communities.

9.6 Study contributions to academic knowledge

In summary, this study offers specifically the following three contributions:

9.6.1 Migrant women's GBV experiences in a xenophobic environment

This study demonstrates how migrant women's lives are borderless; even when they settle in a new country, they retain features that link them to their home country. Migrant women's experiences of GBV are shaped by their identities in a xenophobic environment and interactions with their social environments that extend beyond borders. While the women's voices were suppressed in public because they were afraid of being recognized as foreign, they found it liberating to be surrounded by other migrant women, especially in the salons and faith-based organizations which they frequented. It's also worth noting that the poor conditions some of the women encountered are similar to the poverty they were in prior to leaving their home countries. Despite this apt to note is that they were not prepared to leave South Africa because they believed it had more job or money making opportunities than back home. They often felt compelled to labour in the sex industry for a living, putting their bodies at risk of gender-based abuse and xenophobia.

9.6.2 The link between GBV and xenophobia

The majority of the available literature on xenophobia does not examine the phenomena from a gender viewpoint (Chinomona & Maziriri, 2015; Tshishonga, 2015; Crush et al., 2017). The majority of the research focuses on the causes and usually offers a broad analysis based on a mixed sample of males and females. This research focused on the experiences of GBV, highlighting the various manifestations of gender based violence that have an impact on women's lives. It demonstrates how migrant women's identities have a significant role in exposing them to gender-based violence and xenophobia (see Sigsworth et al., 2008; Fuller, 2010; Mutopo, 2010; Nkeelah, 2011). Piper (2006) argues that migrant women are more likely to argue for their rights, which are based on legal provisions and human rights by the state, rather than as citizens. As a result, this study demonstrates that migrant women negotiate for

more than just their daily personal concerns. They play a vital role in drawing attention to gender-based violence as well as xenophobic and patriarchal practices that need to be addressed more comprehensively in communities.

9.6.3 The link between xenophobia and GBV

Much of the literature that has been published on the concept GBV and the effects thereof (Stone, 2009; Dzimiri, 2012; Christie, 2010). Little has been published on the link between GBV and xenophobia. Gender-based violence and xenophobia imply that human security is primarily concerned with avoiding bodily harm. This study, on the other hand, found that human security is often more psychological. Migrant women are always aware of their safety, even alert, and seek to fit into society. However, their experiences of xenophobia keep them agitated and in fear of the worst that could befall them making migrant women susceptible to gender based violence. They also appear to be concerned about the safety of their loved ones at all times thus there are experiences of GBV that can be translated to how their children are nurtured. This indicates that the women are not mentally secure. The study also indicated that migrant women are vulnerable given their traumatic experiences of xenophobic attacks and their migrant status make them more susceptible to GBV from local South African men as well as men from their home countries as they fear to be in contact with the law. Some of the women in this study developed a new sexual preference as a result of their experiences, since they regarded it as a way to escape male superiority. The findings revealed that some women's dread of being in heterosexual relationships, along with their poverty, compelled them to engage in same-sex partnerships, with certain organizations welcoming and assisting lesbians in society. This demonstrates their need to fit in and survive (resilience) in a violent space and sustain their livelihoods both in South Africa and back home.

9.7 Limitations of the study

The researcher is the most important tool for gathering data in qualitative research (Kvale, 1996; Neuman, 2014). As a result, the limitations I'd want to highlight are methodological issues and their larger implications for the conclusions stated in my PhD thesis. As previously said, the researcher plays an important role in qualitative research; therefore, before visiting the research location, I made an attempt to defocus. Defocusing is the process of removing one's own preconceptions in order to approach the field with a clear mind, free of past assumptions and biases (Neuman, 2014).

In keeping with the researcher's role as a vital instrument, I must state that my participation in the study cannot be overlooked. "An implicit aspect of ethical practice thus entails the acknowledgement and location of the researcher within the research process," (Davies and Dodd 2002: 281). Throughout the investigation, I maintained a reflexive approach, aware of my own shortcomings, in order to achieve the goal of producing informative findings. This, too, is subjective, but it cannot be overlooked because its impact on the quality of the results may be difficult to predict.

The second limitation is that of positionality. Positionality is concerned with the power relationship between the researcher and the study participants in social research (Harding, 2013). The researcher worked hard to build rapport as a means to an end, which was to improve the study findings' authenticity, confirmability, and trustworthiness. Participants with good rapport are more likely to provide nuanced pieces of their experiences, feelings, ideas, and thoughts about the topic at hand. The researcher did everything she could to assure rigor.

Finally, given the small sample size of this study's participants, it's probable that their lived experiences and perspectives on GBV are not representative of all migrant women in Durban or South Africa. However, it's feasible that the findings of this study will be used to advocate for migrant women who have experienced gender based violence in South Africa in general.

9.8 Recommendations

- This study has established that there is a need for training workshops on gender for men and women at community level. Both men and women need to be educated on the impacts of GBV and what GBV entails as these have prolonged effects on children.
- This study recommends that women empowerment programmes should be fostered and not only benefit local citizens but the migrant community as well despite their legal status in South Africa. This will reduce the cases of GBV in the country and women become self sustained without the need to engage in sex for survival which exposes them to GBV.
- The researcher suggests that a community or neighbourhood human rights and health committee be formed to prevent gender-based violence in the community. This will assist illegal migrants in approaching appropriate authorities, who will offer assistance based on the circumstances. The mission of these groups would be to keep an eye out for Gender-Based Violence in the community, support victims in getting justice, and

help survivors reintegrate back into society (Godwin et al., 2015). To accomplish this mission, they must collaborate with their community's security, health facilities, and courts, as well as its community leaders.

- There is need for policy reviews that seek to align policies and guidelines with formative research.

The researcher drew a practice framework that can be adopted at community level (see Table 9.1). This framework explores three components that is: (i) Practice (ii) Response (iii) Support. Under these three (i, ii and iii), solutions are suggested and anticipated end goals offered at each level by the researcher (see below).

Table 9.1: Practice framework at community level

PREVENTION	RESPONSE	SUPPORT
1.Create jobs in the community	1.Access to community engagement forums	1.Online support services
2.Engange men & women in social group/ workshops	2.Free community counselling services & health care facilities	2.Neighbourhood/Community support services
3. Legalise commercial sex	3.Neighbourhood/Community policing (taking shifts)	3.Community judiciary system
ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES		
1.Emancipate women from the dependency on men	1. These will provide GBV related services to all in the community.	1. Online and community support services will allow for victims to come out in the open anonymously. Some people fear contact with the law, some fear stereotyping so online services will curb these.
2.Educate men & women on the effects of GBV	2. These response forums /services will serve the community at grassroots level with the hope to reduce risk factors in a way that is manageable	2. Community support structures such as the church and action groups will provide not only aid in terms of food or clothing but also these are anticipated to provide counselling services
3.Create options to seek sexual pleasure without inciting violence or force	3. As most GBV crimes take place at night the availability of neighbourhood watch or police is anticipated to service women who in the middle of the night are scared to walk a distance to go and report a crime.	3. Allows the community to borrow from the traditional system of justice where chiefs and herdsmen would preside over community related matters.

Source: Author

9.9 Conclusion

Migrant women suffer from several identity signifiers relating to their gender, ethnicity, class, race and migratory background. As a result, being a low-income black migrant woman exposes them to structural and societal barriers as well as violence. After demonstrating how migrant women's vulnerability is formed, the study explored how women manage and negotiate oppression and barriers using their productive system through the narration of migrant women's GBV experiences. Although migrant women's lived realities and experiences reveal that they face multiple levels of oppression, including "gender, legal status, harsh urban lived experiences, and abusive relationships," the study found that they also 'exploit their victimhood' to guarantee their survival. Migrant women have been known to submit to domestic violence perpetrated by their local intimate partners in order to gain legal status. Others engage in relationships as a means of surviving. Because of their vulnerable position, some of their intimate partners deceive, exploit, and abuse them.

Violence, particularly gender-based violence, is prevalent in the lives of vulnerable migrant women in their own homes, and it is embedded in social and learned behaviours as well as cultural practices in African cultures such as patriarchy. Women's mobility appears to be hampered by a variety of structural, physical, bureaucratic, and interpersonal barriers. The study found that as South Africa's immigration policies become more restricted, most migrant women become increasingly insecure, particularly when it comes to public resources like health care. The women's vulnerability stemming from their status as non-South African citizens makes them more exposed and more susceptible to violence thereby jeopardizing their human security.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Ethical Clearance

UNIVERSITY OF ™
KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

5 October 2018

Ms Venencia Nyambuya 215081152
School of Arts
Howard College Campus

Dear Ms Nyambuya

Protocol reference number: HSS/1085/018D
Project title: Life- stories: Ethnographic portraits of Migrant African women challenging Gender Based Violence in South Africa (Durban).

Full Approval – Full Committee Reviewed Protocol

In response to your application received 6 June 2018, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application 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.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

....../...
Professor Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

cc Supervisor: Prof JP Wade
cc Academic Leader Research: Prof Jochen Zeller
cc School Administrator: Mr Christopher Eley

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: ximbep@ukzn.ac.za /snymanm@ukzn.ac.za /mohunp@ukzn.ac.za
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Appendix B: Interview Guide

Interview Structure

1. Introduction and welcome.

2. Explanatory Preamble – background and reason for study.

This study was developed because of the recurring discourse in the media of women being abused because of gender in recent years amongst local South Africans and African immigrants. This study aims to understand and describe the lived experiences of gender based violence of African immigrant women. With your permission, the interview will be audio-recorded. Your responses during the interview will be strictly confidential, and individual responses will not be shared with any outsiders. The tape recording will also be coded and your name will not be visible. The tape will be stored in a locked facility at the university. After the research has been completed the audio-recording will be destroyed and all identifying information relating to your participation will be deleted or disguised in any findings of the research. You will also have the right to withdraw from the research project at any time and your decision to be part of this research study is completely voluntary.

3. Interview Questions:

1. Kindly fill out the biographical questionnaire.
2. How do you earn a living in South Africa?
3. What challenges have you faced before, during and after the violence?
4. What challenges do you face as a migrant?
5. How do you value social capital?
6. What is gender based violence in your understanding?
7. During the violence where did you seek for safety?
8. Can you briefly relate how the attacks sprouted in your relationship/ marriage? What was your reaction?
9. In your own view how did you feel about the violence at first?
10. After the attacks how have integrated back into your marriage /relationship?
11. What were your reasons for migration (the pull factor to South Africa and the push factor from you home country).
12. What was it like for you when you first arrived here?
13. Why South Africa and not any other country
14. Can you tell me about your gender based violence experiences?
15. What has been the experience of living in South Africa been like?
16. Please explain to me, how it affected you and what you felt?
17. How do you relate with your spouse especially now after the violence?
18. How do you feel about this brutality of gender based violence?
19. During the violence how did you manage to survive the attacks?
20. What has made you stay regardless of what you went through during the attacks?

Appendix C: Biographical Questionnaire

Biographical Questionnaire

Age	
Sex	
Nationality	
Home Language	
Residence	
Migrant Status	
Occupation	
Marital Status	
Race	
Duration of stay in South Africa	

Appendix D: Letter of Recruitment

Dear Prospective Participant

My name is Venencia Nyambuya a PhD student with the University of KwaZulu-Natal. I am kindly requesting your participation in my study which focuses on African migrant women who live in Durban and have experienced gender based violence. This study is of interest to me because during my Masters study I came across women who when they narrated their experiences of xenophobia also narrated their GBV experiences. It is from these participants that my research interest in this topic grew.

Your participation in this study is voluntary and I hope that sharing your experiences will bring about change to the policy framework in South Africa as well as women in the same situations will draw lessons and learn from you.

If you have any questions regarding this study please don't hesitate to contact me on 063 3076880 or email me on paidanyasha11@gmail.com

I look forward to a favourable response from you.

Yours Faithfully
Venencia Nyambuya

Appendix E: Informed Consent Form

Participant

I...have been informed about the study
entitled..|
I understand the purpose and procedures of the study (add these again if appropriate).

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers
to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at
any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

I have been informed about any available compensation or medical treatment if injury occurs
to me as a result of study-related procedures.
If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may
contact the researcher on
....
If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am
concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
PrivateBagX54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview / focus group discussion YES / NO
Video-record my interview / focus group discussion YES / NO
Use of my photographs for research purposes   YES / NO

_____   _____
Signature of Participant   Date

_____   _____
Signature of Witness   Date
(Where applicable)

Appendix F: Letter of Editing

07 June 2022

To Whom It May Concern,

Re: Editor's Letter

LIFE STORIES: ETHNOGRAPHIC POTRAITS OF MIGRANT WOMEN CHALLENGING GENDER BASED VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA (DURBAN)

Below is the scope considered during editing of the above titled MS:

- Grammar check
- Sentence construction
- Spelling check
- Punctuation
- In-text referencing
- Reference checking
- Formatting/document layout

As a professional editor, I pledge that the above aspects of the thesis were, to the best of my knowledge, meticulously and correctly done at the time the work was sent to the student. However, I am not responsible for any corrections that were made after the editing process.

Yours faithfully,

Kemist Shumba (PhD)

Cell: +27 78 315 6186 Email: info@mufasarc.co.za   Web: www.mufasarc.co.za
Address: 7 Chartham House, 180 Brand Road, Glenwood 4001, Durban, South Africa

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Appendix G: Turnitin Report

Turnitin Originality Report

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Appendix H: Article Acceptance Letter

01 July, 2022

Venencia Paidamoyo Nyambuy
School of Arts, Department of Media & Cultural Studies,
University of KwaZulu-Natal,
Howard College Campus,
Durban,
South Africa.

Dear Dr. Venencia,

PROVISIONAL LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE

This is to inform you that your paper titled **Shouldering a double burden: A phenomenological exploration of gender-based violence among migrant women in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa** which was submitted to us for possible publication in **African Journal of Gender, Society and Development (AJGSD)** has been assessed and accepted to be published.

The editor is satisfied that the corrections recommended by the reviewers have been satisfactorily effected. Your paper will therefore be included in the journal subject to the payment of the stipulated publication fee.

Note: This acceptance letter is not a guarantee that the paper will be published. If payment is to be made on behalf of an author, we require a letter from such an institution, on its letterhead, guaranteeing that they will make the said payment on behalf of the author.

Kind regards,

Onyekachi Isaac
Editorial Office,
Adonis & Abbey Publishers Ltd.
(African Journal of Gender, Society and Development (AJGSD)) www.adonis-abbey.com

Appendix I: Accepted Article

Shouldering a double burden: A phenomenological exploration of gender-based violence among Black African migrant women in Durban, South Africa

Abstract

Gender-based violence is not a new problem – nor is it unique to Africa. However, it is profound and widespread in South Africa, a highly hostile society with a culture of violence, often exacerbated by normalised male dominance. Exploring the contours of gender-based violence, through qualitative in-depth interviews, the study provided nuanced reflections on the lived experiences of 15 purposively selected female migrants. The study is located within the interpretivist paradigm. Cultural hegemony theory served as the analytical lens. Thematic analysis, inspired by Braun and Clarke (2006) was used to analyse the data. Four themes which are, experiential knowledge about gender-based violence, the nexus between gender-based violence and xenophobia, change in gender roles, and growing fears of heterosexual relationships and new gender preferences emerged. We recommend that awareness campaigns should be scaled up at the community level to promote gender equity. Further, empowerment programmes should target both local citizens and the migrant community.

Keywords: *intimate femicide, cultural hegemony, women, migrants, South Africa*

Introduction

Gender-based violence (GBV) is so rife in South Africa that the country is dubbed the 'destination of femicide', with more than 2 700 women murdered in GBV-related cases since 2000 (Minisini, 2021). The abuse against women and adolescent girls carry regional variations, with the prevalence being higher in Africa and South-East Asia with 37% and 38%, compared to Europe and America with 25% and 30%, respectively (Peterman et al., 2020). Currently, intimate femicide in South Africa is five times the global average (Gouws, 2021). GBV is an acute and prevalent problem in South Africa, and it impacts on almost every facet of life. South African Police Service (SAPS) statistics for reported rape cases for 2019/2020 are 42 289 and 7 749 sexual assault cases, amid fears of huge under-reporting of rape (Department of Police, 2020). Globally, a large number of trafficking victims are women, and they are at a heightened risk of sexual violence, exploitation, forced labour, abuse and health vulnerabilities (Latham-Sprinkle et al., 2019). Women migrate to South Africa in search for asylum, work opportunities, better education, or the opportunity to live in a country with relatively high gender equality (Mbiyozo, 2019).

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Despite the various initiatives by grassroot organisations in South Africa to end the scourge of GBV, many women continue to suffer abuse. In South Africa, migrant women, particularly refugees and asylum seekers are a neglected and ever-growing population of vulnerable people (Landau, 2006). This population is faced with acute difficulties in seeking to access their rights to safety, security, health, and dignity due to widespread xenophobia (Miller et al., 2007). Similarly, Calderon-Jaramillo et al. (2020) argue that during migration and within humanitarian settings, migrant women and girls are exposed to different forms of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), and they are faced with higher vulnerabilities than their male counterparts (Roupetz et al., 2020). Survivors of SGBV face a plethora of challenges in accessing health care for reasons that not only include legal status, language barriers, discrimination, and misinformation on the availability of health care services, but also the growing spread of conservative views regarding sexual and reproductive health, which poses a considerable threat to human rights (Calderon- Jaramillo et al., 2020). This gap created the impetus for this study to obtain an understanding of GBV from a migrant's perspective.

Marginalised women, in this case migrant women in South Africa, face worse outcomes of GBV due to multiple aggravations related to their position in society (Medin Doce, 2018). On the one hand, migrant women are exposed to incessant xenophobic attacks in South Africa (Akinola, 2017). On the other hand, they experience GBV, particularly as a result of intimate partner violence, which affects their reproductive health, and can lead to psychological disorders, unwanted pregnancy, premature labour and birth, as well as sexually transmitted infections including HIV/AIDS (Larsen et al., 2014; Kelly et al., 2018). Migrant women's aggravations emanate from multiple sources of vulnerabilities such as an undocumented status, reluctance to seek care because of fear of mistreatment, the fear of being in contact with the law, language barriers, and discrimination (Derose et al., 2007).

Further, cultural acclimatisation is an additional variable, which contributes to prodromes such as poor mental health and identity confusion by migrant women (Sabri & Granger, 2018). The marginalisation of migrant women and their intersecting identities may palliate aggravations related to GBV and enhance adverse effects thereby shouldering a double burden of being subjected to xenophobia and GBV. Some scholars argue that to prevent and respond to sexual and gender-based violence effectively, power relations between men and women must be analysed and understood (Chauke, 2021; Ayinla & Amenaghawon, 2021; Heber, 2017).

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Men have identified violence as a significant way to exhibit power and to confirm their masculinity (Shai et al., 2012). For example, among South African youth, it is common for males to control females in intimate relationships because it is considered essential to affirm masculinity (Mathews et al., 2015). The links between toxic masculinity and GBV have been discussed by many as being caused by the male's need to demonstrate power, exercise control, dominance, and misogyny by punishing women for emasculating them, among other reasons (Mlamla et al., 2021; Ndhlovu & Tanga, 2021; October, 2018).

While much is said about local South African women and GBV, less is said about African migrant women in South Africa. On the one hand, there is a dearth of literature on migrant women's experiences of GBV and xenophobic experiences, which is growing substantially (Mbiyozo, 2019). Media reports and coverage on African female migrants and xenophobia cite statistics related to death, displacement, looting and destruction of property, but scantly mention either sexual or gender-based violence (Institute of Security Studies, 2018). Women's migration conduits and experiences are distinctive from those of men, and they face 'a double' burden with xenophobia and misogyny (Mbiyozo, 2019). These factors overlap, hence, it is important to gain an in-depth understanding of GBV from a migrant perspective and the role that masculinity plays in creating violent societies that are inhabitable for migrant women in South Africa.

Theoretical framework

This study adopted Cultural hegemony theory as the theoretical framework. The theory was developed by Antonio Gramsci (1971). Gramsci was concerned with how power works, how it is wielded by those in power, and how it is won by those who want to change the system (Duncombe & Tremblay, 2011). The concept of cultural hegemony can only be understood within a variety of historical and intellectual contexts. To give Gramsci his due, we initially need to recognise that the concept of hegemony has little meaning unless paired with the notion of domination. For Gramsci, consent and force nearly always coexist, although one or the other predominates (Katz, 2006).

The Cultural hegemony theory cannot only be used to explain how some women accept their secondary status, but also how they sometimes 'accept' male violence in subtle ways. This very

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struggle can generate in the case of 'gender-based violence' a hyperbolic retro-masculinity, re-affirming 'traditional' values, thus heightening gender aggression (Hong, 2000). Theory can be used to explain GBV and how it remains a reality in most societies around the world. We used the concept of cultural hegemony because it helps one to understand inequality, which in this case manifests between males and females. An understanding of how inequality is experienced, leading to conflict, which manifests in GBV is important. Apt to note is that when there are conflicts, ideologies (force, violence and domination) are fostered to maintain the status quo by encouraging conformity and consent to dominant values of men in society.

Gender oppression can be understood within the twin responses of violence (GBV and xenophobia) in South Africa and patriarchal ideologies, which are fostered through cultural hegemony, where women are encouraged to consent to their subordination. The Cultural hegemony theory informs the study as it explains and describes the advent and existence of GBV in contemporary South Africa.

Methods

Research approach and design

This study adopted a qualitative approach, located within the contours of the interpretative paradigm to understand the subjective world of human experience (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). A case study design was adopted to explore migrant women's understanding of GBV. When researchers seek to gain an understanding of a group of people, a case study design is the best choice (Yin, 2013). Further, a case study design constitutes the best choice because it offers a plethora of advantages that include obtaining a deeper understanding of the subject (Gustafsson, 2017).

Selection of participants

Study participants were purposively selected in accordance with the study's inclusion criteria, (i) foreign nationals of African (Black) descent based in Durban, South Africa, (ii) women aged between 18 and 50 years (iii) competent English language speaking, and (v) having experienced GBV. A total of 15, both legal and illegal migrants was purposively sampled participants were recruited and interviewed. The sample size was determined through the

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principle of data saturation. In a homogenous sample, data saturation is achieved during the 12th interview (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006). We argue that data saturation cannot be achieved at a pre-determined, specific number, hence, 15 interviews were conducted to ascertain that no new data was left out.

Data collection and analysis

The study was cleared by the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (Protocol number: HSS/1085/018D). All ethical protocols were observed, and pseudonyms were used to promote anonymity (Neuman, 2014). Data were collected using the interview method. The data collection tool was a semi-structured interview guide. The interview guide was generated after a thorough literature search was conducted to establish a gap in the body of knowledge. For example, the experiences of migrant women are sorely missing in extant literature. This study sought to close the gap by reflecting on the experiences of Black migrant women in Durban.

Interview questions centred on understanding the dynamics of navigating the terrain of GBV on the backdrop of being a foreign national. We extracted responses that were succinct and relevant to the study's four objectives to gain an understanding of GBV from the experiences of Black African migrant women. These responses were coded and thematically analysed by VPN and KS using Braun and Clarke's (2006) six step model of data analysis. The analysis process yielded four major themes. NDG and JPW reviewed the coding process and its outcomes. No key digressions were noted. When coding is done by different researchers, it is important to ensure inter-coder reliability (Nyambuya et al., 2020).

This paper was extracted from a PhD thesis titled *Life Stories: Ethnographic portraits of migrant African women challenging gender-based violence in South Africa (Durban)* by VPN.

Findings

In presenting the findings, the participants' demographic details are provided below (Table 1). These details are used in the analysis of findings in relation to the focus of the study.

Table 1: Demographic details of the participants

Pseudonym	Country of origin	Age	Profession/ Occupation

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Sheila	Zambia	23	Housewife
Ludo	Tanzania	25	Student
Mpho	Zimbabwe	32	Engineer
Thoko	Zimbabwe	40	Domestic worker
Nkombwe	Zambia	30	Student
Nawanda	Kenya	34	Housewife
Betty	Tanzania	36	Vendor
Fano	Tanzania	20	Domestic worker
Felicia	Burundi	22	Hairdresser
Alt	Zambia	35	Hairdresser
Mau	Lesotho	42	Student
Viny	Kenya	41	Student
May	Botswana	37	Till operator
Bella	Zimbabwe	38	Accountant
Fifi	Burundi	37	Domestic worker

Source: PhD thesis

In this section, we present findings that emanated from an analysis of 15 participants' reflections on their experiences and understanding of GBV. It is through these reflections that major themes were generated. These are: (i) knowledge and experiences of GBV, (ii) the nexus between GBV and xenophobia: a migrant's perspective, (iii) change in gender roles and GBV and (iv) the growing fears of intimate partner relationships and new gender preferences. The demographic details help the reader to understand how different individuals experienced the phenomena of interest. For example, the experiences of Black migrant women with well-paying jobs and a legal migrant status in South Africa were different from those of individuals with low paying jobs and an illegal migrant status.

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(i)   Knowledge and experiences of gender-based violence

Victims of GBV are at an elevated risk of submitting to violence for a long period without the knowledge of their experiences to be acts of GBV perpetrated by their partners. In this study, researchers established participants' knowledge about GBV as a common point of departure across all interviews. Some participants believed that their experiences of GBV were inseparable from those of xenophobic attacks in Durban. One participant said,

> *It [GBV] is any form of abuse likely to be achieved on women by men. It is the type of abuse that may affect children in the long run. In my situation, it is abuse which comes with perks of being foreign and having a local partner worsens everything given their hate towards foreigners (Bella).*

Violence was perceived as being largely ingrained in the male species and participants understood GBV to be any form of violence that affects females, both adults and children. Some women understood GBV to be acts of violence where women are equated to property. One participant said,

> *It is any form of violence inflicted on foreign women and children by men who believe they own you because they paid lobola or took you in when you had nowhere to go, and because you are foreign you cannot do anything about the violence because they are South African (Viny).*

Most participants were well informed in terms of what GBV entails. However, some participants were not sure if their encounters of violence were simple gestures of love from the 'other gender'. For example, the restrictions women received from men on their dress codes were interpreted as acts of love from their partners.

> *My husband doesn't allow me to wear trousers. He says he is trying to protect me from rapists. What I know is that if a man is excessively jealous, it culminates in abuse somehow...people interpret this differently because of our cultures, which are different (Fifi).*

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Some participants understood the treatment they received from their partners to constitute abuse although their partners claimed the alleged abuse were acts of love and an expression of desire for submission to male authority. Women are generally nurtured to submit to men especially in matrimony. Some participants averred that,

> *There are some friends that my husband doesn't want me to associate with. He claims that they are bad for me because they drink alcohol, and I am obliged to submit to what he says about my friends because he is the man of the house* (Nkombwe).

(ii)   **The nexus between GBV and xenophobia: A migrant's perspective**

There are power imbalances intrinsic to any male-female relationship and these are embellished in situations where women are more vulnerable. In this case, Black African migrant women are particularly vulnerable as females in a country known for the prevalence of xenophobic attitudes and behaviours that are largely anti-migrant. This results in women being vulnerable not only to abuse from South African men, but also from those who hail from either their countries of origin or other African countries. One participant said,

> *The abuse is not only from locals but even our own men have learnt this behaviour, which I believe has something to do with staying in a violent space where this behaviour is learnt and fostered* (Bella).

Some participants explained that on the one hand, men are bequeathed with 'natural' authority while on the other hand, women are entitled to little or no rights at all. Participants indicated that in their countries of origin, women were protected by some cultural laws that disregarded clandestine relationships. Participants indicated that the family or community were actively involved in such matters, and these family and community structures were there to chastise the man One participant said,

> *It is difficult to confront men about issues of infidelity while in South Africa because we are used to having these issues addressed by elders back home. Once you do that here, you are beaten and accused of challenging him, yet back home, the family and community is there to discipline* (Viny).

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Entry into the job market by migrant women in South Africa for the first time was seen as a pathway to freedom by most participants. Findings indicated that most women begin to exercise their rights, which their husbands or partners find threatening. Often, men seek to feed their ego by dominating women by way of controlling finances because they are often the ones who go to work. One participant said,

> I never used to ask him for money or anything. I did almost everything using my own money and I was abused and accused that I had an affair. He once beat me up for buying our son a PlayStation as a birthday present and accused me of infidelity...we eventually went our separate ways (Bella).

There is a lack of social support for migrant women in South Africa. This is exacerbated by of the chasm that between the police and migrants due to the rampant xenophobic attitudes and practices among members of the police. There is no system to report violence against migrant women by their partners. This makes women vulnerable to intimate partner violence. One participant said,

> Because one is a foreigner.... apart from our migrant status in South Africa, it is difficult to report issues of domestic violence. The moment you approach the police; you are met with an attitude; this is discouraging to say the least. We don't have indigenous structures like those we have back home, the community and elders who believe they are tasked to reprimand young couples when things go wrong. It's a disaster for us, so we suffer in silence (Thoko).

Participants indicated that some women were abandoned by their husbands and partners on arrival in South Africa. Inadvertently, they were left to shoulder the economic burden of familial responsibility and xenophobic innuendos in the community by themselves, with no-one to stand up for them. One participant said,

> When I decided to follow him here, I discovered he was now staying with another woman. I had secured a job as an engineer for a local company in Johannesburg... I later moved to Durban, and that is when all the abuse started. Basically, I am the man and woman of the house; I provide and protect my family (Mpho).

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Some participants seemingly had some difficulties in accepting what they saw as a permissive and promiscuous sexual culture among both men and women in South Africa. For example, South African women were allegedly willing to offer sex in exchange for such trivialities as a can of cider. Apt to note is that their counterparts of foreign nationality would demand a lot more than that if ever they were to engage in transactional sex. One participant narrated a story about how her husband's female clients would offer sex when they could not meet the costs of services that her husband was providing as an electrician.

> *Generally, there is an immoral culture of sex in South Africa. The women here are loose...my husband's clients would offer sex in exchange for a mere savannah...foreign women can never do that! So, it is these cheap women who make our husbands engage in promiscuous behaviour and you cannot even confront him even if you know about it because you fear victimisation* (Sheila).

(iii)   Change in gender roles and GBV among migrant women

Many participants indicated that changes in family patterns particularly in Africa have contributed to GBV. These include a change in gender roles where women have become either contributors to household income or sole providers. On the one hand, men assume the role of providers and on the other women generally assume the role of bearing children in an African family set-up (Roy & Allen, 2022; Montgomery et al., 2006). Developments in women's emancipation and the equal rights mantra has exposed women to abuse by their male counterparts. One participant said,

> *I earn more than my husband, and I provide for this family. Sometimes my husband beats me and accuses me of being too 'forward' whenever I try to contribute to family issues ... sometimes I am told to shut up or am silenced by a clap and told that being an engineer doesn't make me the man of the house*(Mpho).

Participants indicated that there was a shift in gender roles. Given that many women are now formally employed, are breadwinners, and sometimes they serve as heads of households (single mothers), men have lost their traditional power base, with women becoming powerful in the home setup by means of being financially independent. This shift in gender roles is exacerbated

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by high rates of unemployment among men and the subsequent loss of their traditional status as breadwinners (Reichelt et al., 2021). One participant said,

> *Things are changing a bit, but it is this change that has made us to suffer in the hands of men. Women are starting to challenge the normative. There are more female household leaders than men…women are the breadwinners these days* (Thoko).

Some participants mentioned that a difference in salary margins and career choices between men and women were pathways for abuse in relationships. This was often experienced by women that were earning more than their male partners. One participant said,

> *It's not easy being married to a man who is constantly competing with you… sometimes it becomes scary even commenting on anything in the house because you fear that you will be beaten…My husband belittled my career endeavours. He was a petrol attendant, and I was a student doing my PhD at Durban University of Technology, so I got bursaries and part time jobs, and I made a living out of it. Sometimes I would be disturbed because we used to fight when I left for the office, it was difficult and not easy* (Viny).

Some participants articulated that the broken family setup that is mainly characterised by single parent headed families has exposed women to violence and abuse by their male counterparts. Men struggle to accept that once separated, women are entitled to a life that is free from their interference. One participant said,

> *We separated with the father of my child, and I have never asked him for a single cent. One day we met at the mall, I was shopping at the mall with my daughter, and he accused me of taking care of his child using money acquired from other men…We failed to understand each other, and we separated and as such he never provides for the daughter, I don't know what he wants me to do* (Mau).

(iv) **Growing fears of intimate partner violence and new gender preferences among migrant women**

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Experiences of violence from men can be traumatising and this creates fecund ground to fea[r]
close contact with the opposite sex as alluded by some participants in the study. Women'[s]
experiences with men have created fears of being in an intimate relationship. One participa[nt]
said,

> I was abused all my life, and when I finally left him, I felt like a bird in the sky. I wa[s]
> finally free, and now I fear being in a relationship; I do not know when I wi[ll]
> recover(Mau).

Some participants indicated that their experiences from past engagements with men made the[m]
to fear men. They indicated that they feared being in any social set up with men where the[ir]
vulnerability was compromised. One participant said,

> When you are grossly abused, you don't even think of trying out again...You just wa[nt]
> to keep to yourself and enjoy the freedom that comes with being single than married,
> can't be someone's punching bag (Viny).

It emerged from the findings that some women were in same sex relationships because of the[ir]
previous experiences with men. The women were generally scared to return to heterosexu[al]
relationships. Some participants articulated that they were in same sex relationships becaus[e]
they had lost the hope of finding love in men. One participant said,

> I vowed that I will never fall in love or be involved with a man. That gender is toxic an[d]
> does not know how to love. I am now involved with women and ever since I left me[n]
> and started dating women, I have never experienced any form of abuse (Felicia).

Most participants were of the notion that another woman better understands their struggles an[d]
having a male figure to appreciate and love them is not to be taken for granted. One participa[nt]
said,

> It's not easy to find a man these days; a man who will appreciate and love you as yo[u]
> are. I don't blame women who date one another, I have come to the realisation th[at]
> sometimes our struggles overlap, and we need someone in our lives that we can shar[e]
> our lives with, and it mustn't necessarily be a male... you can share your life wi[th]
> anyone (Thoko).

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Given that most women have suffered in the hands of the opposite sex, there is a widespread preference to date or marry the same sex in South Africa (Epprecht, 2021; Adeagbo, 2016). Study participants explained that in as much as they had experienced a lot of misogyny, the one thing that South Africa offered them was a choice to become what they wanted. For example, they could express their sexual preferences freely, without any prejudice. One participant said,

> With all the hate we have experienced as women during xenophobia and GBV, South Africa has offered me the chance to be who I want to be without the fear of being judged. As women, we understand each other, and it is better to be with someone who understands you, and for me I now prefer other women (Viny).

The shift from heterosexuality to homosexuality is met with a lot of cynicism by many in Southern Africa (Epprechet, 2013). Some participants attributed their shift from heterosexual relationships to homosexual relationships for money making purposes. One participant said,

> I engaged in same sex relationships because I wanted to make a living. My husband was a drunkard and barely brought food on the table. So, I had to plan and joined a local lesbian society, which I will not mention, and I got some few cents (Felicia).

Discussion

This study focused on how GBV is understood from migrants' perspectives, shaped by their experiences of xenophobia in contemporary South Africa. From the study, there was a generic understanding of GBV as any form of violence perpetuated by men against women. This violence was understood to be further transferred to children. Extant literature confirms this finding and demonstrates that children from families where GBV is prevalent may learn this behaviour through socialisation, and they may become perpetrators of this type of violence (Chitsamatanga & Rembe, 2020; Modiba, 2018; Ragavan et al., 2018).

Further, researchers argue that GBV is a phenomenon likely to have an explanation drawn from socialisation (Mlamla et al., 2021; Maphosa, 2018; Castro & Mara, 2014; Mashiri, 2013). It is important to note that women are subjected to GBV for reasons deeply entrenched in tradition and/or culture, which some scholars refer to as structural violence (Wanjiru, 2021; Dabby &

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Yoshihama; Garbe & Struck-Garbe, 2018). From the findings, it emerged that another form of structural violence was rooted in societal belief that payment of *lobola* (bride prize) by men gave them the right to control and subject women to violence. In tandem with this finding, some scholars argue that *lobola* is used by men to perpetuate the abuse of women (Moono, 2019; Montle, 2018). We argue that the practice of paying *lobola* in African settings is misunderstood as women are likened to property, and treated as such. We further argue that many women through cultural practices such as payment of *lobola* agree to men being a dominant force in society as they are seen encouraging each other to stay in abusive relationships because of either their migrant status, a manifestation of the dependence syndrome or cultural norms.

Furthermore, we argue that migrant women's experiences of GBV in South Africa are exacerbated by the mere fact that they are the 'outcasts of society' whose suffering can be traced back to xenophobia (Mutambara, 2019; Akinola, 2017). The study indicated that most women suffered GBV from local men who are also perpetrators of xenophobic attacks. The widespread acceptance of violence as a means of problem-solving or as an act of revenge concurs with findings from a study by Garbe and Struck-Garbe (2018). Violence can be argued to be a behaviour not only limited to issues of political and economic magnitude but overlaps to domestic issues (Garbe & Struck-Garbe, 2018).

We contend that the concept of cultural hegemony is capable of not only explaining how the secondary status of women is shaped, but also how women sometimes 'accept' male violence, given their vulnerability (Semahegn & Mengistie, 2015). Some experiences of GBV by women in this study are understood as ways of expressing love by their male counterparts as women often accept gifts, which they pay subtly in return through sex. In tandem with Zembe et al. (2015), notable is that the exchange of money or gifts placed women at risk of intimate partner violence where the implicit understanding of men was that sex would follow the material or monetary exchange.

More so, from the study, we argue that African tradition has encultured women into a 'dependency syndrome' characterised by reliance on men. As such, the findings articulated that the issue of provision or dependency on men exacerbated women's risk of being abused in their sexual relationships. This presents evidence that GBV in South Africa remains persistent based on common factors that have been reported various times in research; primarily economic dependency (Bannister & Moyi, 2019; Chandhok, 2019). Some scholars argued that women

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remain vulnerable to GBV because of factors such as their lack of economic independence (Chirongoma & Zvingowanisei, 2022; Chauke, 2021; Shamu et al., 2013). Hence, we argue that economic emancipation be attained through formal education, which is believed to be the first step to emancipate women from male oppression and domination.

In addition, GBV is likely mediated by relationship power inequity, which refers to the degree to which decision-making power is unequally and unfairly distributed between sexual partners (Zembe et al., 2015). The shift in gender roles has exposed women to gender GBV with men believing that women have usurped power from men and thereby claim it by use of violence is a new finding. This type of power inequity is sustained through patriarchal social belief systems that support power discrepancies between men and women (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Jewkes et al., 2010; Dunkle et al., 2004;).

The change in gender roles is thought to contribute to increased power for women, and correspondingly growing disempowerment among men (Spence & Helmreich, 2021; Croft et al., 2021; Strebel et al., 2006). Findings indicate that the continued abuse faced by women drives them to leave their marriages or become breadwinners for their families without any support from their male counterparts. We argue that the gradual loss of power by men in society and its seizure by a once disparaged figure, is fertile ground to spark GBV. The theory adopted for the purposes of this study thus helps to explain the prevalence of GBV and reflects on how it manifests as indicated in the findings.

There are growing fears of being involved in heterosexual relationships by women who have been subjected to GBV for a long time. Some studies suggested that women are not passive victims of GBV, rather what may be interpreted as inaction is calculated assessment of how to escape and protect their children (Dawit, 2021; Matic, 2021; Heise et al., 1999). The study found that abused women eventually leave toxic relationships, however with a new preference in sexual orientation, which is met with a lot of cynicism as this is considered as a survival strategy because some participants believed the enrolment into same sex relationships attracts a stipend from LGBTQI+ organisations in South Africa. However, some scholars have argued that sexual orientation is not a matter of choice or preference, and it cannot be altered at will (Cook, 2021; Van Bavel, 2021; Diamond & Rosky, 2016).

A pandemic during another pandemic: GBV in the era of COVID-19

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Violence has generally been found to increase in the face of pandemics (Mittal, 2020). Pandemics frequently result in the breakdown of social infrastructures, exacerbating already existing weaknesses and conflicts in society (UNFPA, 2020). As a result, pandemic situations exacerbate existing gender inequalities. Consequently, women and children bear the brunt of harassment and sexual violence. For example, the outbreak of COVID-19 did not spare women. Anecdotal evidence suggests that there was an increase in the number of GBV cases in South Africa (Mlamla et al., 2021).

The COVID-19 pandemic confined victims and perpetrators of GBV in the same spaces for a prolonged period, thereby making women and children susceptible to the violence that was ignited by frustrations associated with the pandemic. For example, economic dependence is a cause for domestic violence (Arthur & Clark, 2009). During the quarantine, more women worked in informal jobs and were laid off in their jobs. Apt to note is that this compelled them to become economically dependent on their male counterparts. According to Titan et al. (2020), women outnumber men in telecommutable jobs, making it difficult for them to adapt to changing circumstances. This increased economic dependence not only increased their risk of GBV but also made it difficult to leave their perpetrators.

Mittal and Singh (2020) argued that when women are quarantined, they are in close proximity to the male members and have little to no freedom to leave the house, which leads to an increase in GBV at home. Pandemics also exacerbate economic vulnerabilities by increasing the risk of unemployment. Several studies have found a link between economic insecurity and increased GBV. Economic insecurity has been linked to the use of poor coping strategies, including substance abuse (Mulia et al., 2013; Brenner,1987; Brenner, 1975). These, in turn, have been linked to various forms of GBV (Renzetti, 2009).

According to the Human Rights Watch (2021; 2020), the COVID-19 pandemic had a significant impact on GBV shelters. The shelters offer refuge from violence and include safe houses that offer temporary accommodation (Mittal & Singh, 2020). As a result, shelters differed in terms of whom they accepted as victims. Undocumented migrants, LGBT people, and women with older male children were sometimes excluded, for reasons that ranged from lack of private family facilities to the fear of violating immigration laws, or the incapability to pay for expenses that the government would not reimburse for non-nationals. Many facilities lacked the resources to provide specialised health or services, such as personal care and other

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support services to people with disabilities, including older women, drug users, and women with severe illnesses.

COVID-19 appears to be similar to previous pandemics in that it has also resulted in an increase in cases of domestic violence. According to Bradbury-Jones and Isham (2020), the COVID-19 induced lockdown gave abusers more freedom. Several media reports indicated an increase in domestic violence cases in various countries, including South Africa. GBV has been described as the "second pandemic" by South Africa's President, Cyril Ramaphosa, after COVID-19 (Ellis, 2020). More than 120 000 cases of GBV were recorded by the government-run *Gender-Based Violence (GBV) Command Centre* in the first three weeks of the national lockdown (SA News, 2021). Apt to note is that statistics, including police reports, are concerning but insufficient, due to data collection issues and victims' failure to report abuse. Despite the lack of accurate statistics, the rates are high for both women and LGBT people (Ellis, 2020).

Conclusion

In conclusion, Black African migrant women living in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal are faced with the twin burdens of xenophobia and GBV. Their experiences of GBV are not documented in the media, rather prominence is given to their experiences of xenophobia. It is these experiences of xenophobia which sometimes culminate to GBV experiences.

Recommendations

We recommend that GBV awareness campaigns should be scaled up at the community level to promote gender equity. These campaigns should target both males and females to increase the understanding of GBV and its implications for health. Further, empowerment programmes should target both local citizens and the migrant community.

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