FROM INDENTURESHIP TO TRANSNATIONALISM: PROFESSIONAL INDIAN WOMEN IN DURBAN, KWAZULU-NATAL

by

GERELENE JAGGANATH

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School of Anthropology, Gender and Historical Studies
Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences
University of KwaZulu-Natal

Supervisor: Professor Anand Singh

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DECLARATION

I, **Gerelene Jagganath** declare that this PhD dissertation entitled **From Indentureship to Transnationalism: Professional Indian Women in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal,** is my original and independent research. It has not been previously submitted for any degree, and is not being concurrently presented in candidature in any other University. All sources and literature have been duly acknowledged.

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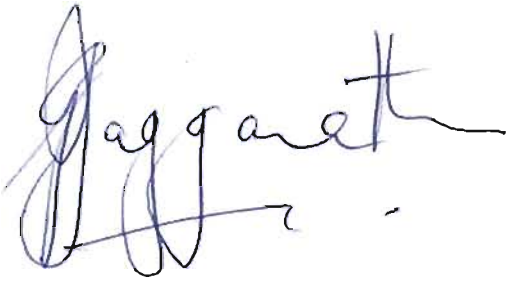

Date:

Supervisor: Professor Anand Singh

Signature:

Date:

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Faculty of Humanities, Development & Social Sciences
University of KwaZulu-Natal

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ABSTRACT

The study details the transnational migrations of a sample of professional Indian women from Durban, KwaZulu Natal within the context of their historical transition from indentureship to transnationalism, and their changing social identities. The study makes a contribution towards contemporary interest in the subject of gender and migration in the 21st century. As the Indian and Chinese diasporas expand in size through knowledge workers and investments their increased visibility in countries throughout the world has led to a commensurate level of interest in resettlement and identity building. This dissertation deals specifically with Indian women in the South African diaspora and their transnational links with first world nations, particularly the United Kingdom.

Chapter One is a brief history of Indian women in South Africa since their arrival as indentured labourers in 1860. It provides glimpses into their roles as mothers, wives and daughters in the patriarchal Indian household and their eventual transition into the professions. Chapter Two problematizes migration research in South Africa based on the inadequacy of national databases, specifically with regard to the invisibility of racial, gendered and occupational data pertinent to the context of international skills and professional migration. Chapters Three and Four deal with the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the fieldwork conducted as well as the research experiences and challenges of the anthropologist. Chapter Five, Six and Seven form the core ethnographic analysis of the women transnationals as single, married, divorced and widowed professionals.

The rising number of Indian women transnationals of varying professional backgrounds, marital statuses and age groups leaving Durban since 1994 has led to the rapid transformation of the conservative Indian household. Their migration to first world destinations overseas signifies the impact of globalizing forces on the demand for professional skills from developing nations such as South Africa, as well as the increasing desire of the women to seek security, career advancement and independence in social spaces that are less repressive and more financially rewarding. Chapter Eight concludes the study by showing how the women are agents in their own emancipation and how identities within the duality of transnational migration have become a fluctuating terrain of negotiation and reconfiguration in their personal relationships and social practices.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aims of the study

The aim of this study is twofold, namely, to provide an in-depth and detailed exploration of the transnational migrations of a sample of professional Indian[1] women in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal; and, to contextualize the changing identities of Indian women in South Africa, within the wider context of their historical transition from indentureship through to transnationalism.

Up to the end of the twentieth-century most literature on Indians in South Africa focused mainly on the history and socio-cultural processes of indenture and settlement. Bhana & Pachai (1984), and Desai & Vahed (2007) provide historical insight into Indian indentureship and settlement in Natal within the context of the political, social and economic forces that shaped their lives; Schoombee & Mantzaris (1985; 1986), Freund (1991), Chetty (1980) and Meer (1972; 1984) provide sociological accounts of the Indian family and customary practices; and anthropological literature by Kuper (1960), Jithoo (1975; 1978) and Singh (1996; 2006) reveal Indian social institutions, family formations and hierarchies within different historical junctures in South African history. While Freund (1991) and Meer (1972) have investigated Indian women workforce participation and their roles as mother and wife respectively, lacking empirical data and generalization undermines the agency of Indian women in transforming

[1] The word "Indian" is not used as a descriptive reference to people of Indian origin. It is used largely in terms of the classification of the four major groups during the Apartheid era under the Population Registration Act of 1950, namely, Whites, Coloureds, Blacks and Indians.

their own marginalized status. From indentureship to transnationalism, local studies have not focused specifically on Indian women and their own efforts at transcending the patriarchal restrictions of the household. Little is known of the relationship between their education and entry into the professions, and their subsequent emancipation within the household and workforce.

It is within the experiences of the sample of women and my experiences as the anthropologist researching migration that the problem statement/s for this study can be derived. The study problematizes the following key issues, namely: the dearth of national and sociological data on a historically disadvantaged minority of Indian women, emerging out of their marginalized status as agents in their own emancipation; the multi-dimensional process of the migration of Indian women in the region to overseas destinations and its' implications for social change; and the complexity of reconfiguring migrant identities in relation to overseas and local contexts. The study attempts to analyze data based on fieldwork, local and international anthropological studies, as well as recent literature on the subject of local Indian womanhood, migration and migrant identities. The historical background of Indians as an ethnic minority in South Africa, as well as the history of migration from South Africa is included in chapters one and two of the study. The chapters highlight the transition of the Indian women from their beginnings as exploited indentured labourers of colonial slave-masters to that of transnational professionals of a skilled global workforce, highly sought by first-world nations. Both chapters incorporate the literature review required for this study. The study focuses on the experiences of Indian women in various stages and statuses in their lives and includes chapters on single, unmarried women; married women; a divorced woman, as well as widows. The heterogeneous sample of Indian women from different religious backgrounds, linguistic groups, age-groups, professions and class statuses, presented complexities and variation in

both data and findings and are viewed within the larger theoretical framework of transnational migration theory and the reflexive lens of the post-colonial ethnographer.

This chapter constitutes three sections. The first section includes a brief history of Indian women in South Africa, the transforming local household and, migration and the local household. The second section consists of a brief introduction to the rising migration of Indian women professionals from Durban. Finally, the third section examines the relevance of transnational migration theory in conceptualizing the emergence of professional Indian women transnationals in Durban.

1.2 A brief history of Indian women in South Africa

The history of Indian women in South Africa began in 1860 when the first shiploads of indentured labourers set foot in the colony of Natal. Literature and indenture records reveal the violent and exploitative nature of their existence as companions and wives of the plantation workers. The women were subjected to exploitation and sexual abuse as they were outnumbered by Indian men on the sugar plantations. The compounds in which they lived, provided by the colonists, were not conducive for human occupancy and provided a breeding ground for the aggression and sexual exploitation of "promiscuous" wives and jealous husbands. In the early years, women were not considered valuable to plantation labour needs because they were not employable and so were relegated to the status of sexual consorts who were at the mercy of both Indian and White men (plantation supervisors), extreme poverty and the callous system of indenture. Gandhi (1960: 5) wrote of how miraculously Indian family life in the indentured community survived, as they "...broke through all these restraints which religion or morality imposes, or to be more accurate, how

these restraints gave way and the very distinction between a married woman and a concubine ceased to exist among these people".

Desai & Vahed also wrote of how Indian women shared the same status of a child until the laws changed some twenty years after their arrival on the plantations.

> Employers initially denied rations to women and children. The law as amended in 1866, entitled women and children under ten to half rations. Employers did not see the productive value of women and did not compel them to work. Sentiments changed by the 1880's and the law came to support the idea that women should be compelled to work unless they had a medical certificate to attest otherwise ... Women who were not given work, did not receive rations or wages (Desai & Vahed, 2007: 118).

Immorality, including the birth of illegitimate children who were the sole responsibility of the women, and wife murders on the plantations, have been attributed to the low male/female ratios and the inability of Indian men to maintain the dominant patriarchal expectations and norms they brought with them from India such as:

> ...acceptance of fate, glorification of motherhood and virginity, deference to male authority and, above all, worship of the husband", which were endorsed by religious scripture (Tusidas' *Ramcharitramanas*), gurus and sages, as well as the patriarchal structure of Indian agrarian society (Desai & Vahed, 2007: 201).

Meer's (1972) study entitled: "Women and the family in the Indian enclave in South Africa", provides a generalized though useful synopsis on the assimilation of the Indian immigrants, tracing the role of the Indian woman in the family since indentureship. She highlights the manipulation of scriptural laws and the reinforcement of patriarchal controls in shaping the conservative roles and traditional expectations of Indian women. She

asserts that Indian women too were responsible for their own subjugation through their submission to patriarchal dominance:

> ... the abnormal structure of the Indian family in South Africa, created by the low proportion of women and the restrictions of indenture, was rectified in the second decade of the twentieth century when Indian family life settled into traditional conservatism, and women assumed full responsibility for maintaining that conservatism (Meer, 1972: 37).

As repositories of the traditional culture, the distance between women and men increased over time and different expectations of female and male members of the family became the norm. Daughters were obliged to serve and please others in the family and it was the sole duty of her parents to get her married. This also became the young girl's sole concern – to not be overlooked and rejected by potential husbands and potential families-in-law. While sons were expected to cope with larger, more worldly issues such as paid employment, education and business, daughters and daughters-in-law were expected to epitomize purity and tradition under the scrutiny of mothers and mothers-in-law, the perpetuators of subservient behaviour. Chetty (1980: 34) wrote that "...The daughter-in-law is expected to be capable, obedient and respectable, exercising caution in her behaviour as well as her speech, mannerisms and dress. In short she must conform".

The value and identity of women in this patriarchal community was always in relation to men, making marriage and motherhood the ultimate goal. Hence, a single woman status was considered divergent of tradition and conformity, making divorce an absolute taboo and widowhood, a calamity to be borne with sufferance and ostracism.

> Marriage is the ultimate and the "natural" career for the Indian women in South Africa, and it is toward this end that the life of an Indian girl is geared. She is made aware of her sex from the moment that consciousness begins to develop... For a woman, widowhood is a tragedy and divorce a disgrace... Remarriage of a widow or divorcee was virtually impossible in the past and is still rare ... (Meer, 1972: 43).

Desai and Vahed (2007) affirm that the parochial Indian mentality of the workers concerning the role of the wife, was that her very existence was to serve and worship her husband. Hence, widowhood was considered the 'ultimate scourge of Hindu womanhood'.

> Without husbands, women were regarded as "invisible" in colonial India. The death of a husband was considered to have resulted in the woman's own 'moral, spiritual and in some cases, physical death'. Widowhood violated 'the *pativrata* or husband-worship ideal prescribed by Brahmanic codes of morality and social conformity'. While widowhood may have emancipated women from the "patriarchal contract" in which fathers, sons or husbands imposed moral control 'to safeguard the integrity of the Hindu household', it also made women vulnerable (Desai and Vahed, 2007: 47).

Singh (2007) points to the division of labour within the Indian household as a means of capitalizing on womens' unpaid labour, further subjugating women to the realm of domesticity and limited schooling in the 1950's and 1960's. He discusses the significance of marriage and changing attitudes towards school-educated girls as criteria for choosing marriage partners.

> In the 1950's marriages were based on caste, language background, level of education (at least a few years into the primary level), age and age differences of the potential marriage partners, occupation of the male, willingness of the bride-to-be to ensure a completely domesticated role as

> housewife and mother, and willingness to remain within the household of her husband after marriage. There was a common understanding based on a prevalent norm that the wedded couple would be unquestionably part of the extended household. The division of labour within the household during that historical juncture was distinctive – males were the breadwinners and females the housekeepers. The comparatively low levels of education of women were deliberate in most households "so that young girls would make good housewives" (Singh, 2007: 152).

It was only in the late 1960's that an educated girl was considered an asset to the young man and his family. Together with being of the preferred caste, her schooling was held in high esteem and she was easily chosen and accepted into families looking for suitable partners for their sons. Such criteria enhanced her status as a good match for a similarly educated man.

It was the gradual introduction of formal education to Indian girls in South Africa that showed a change in the thinking of Indian families at the time. But it was a slow process and even within the context of marriage, an educated woman was more an attribute that brought value to the marriage rather than recognition of her independent identity. Kuper (1956: 26) confirmed the shift in the education and the "professionalization" of Indian women in South Africa:

> Until some fifteen years ago, very few South African Indian girls went to school; in 1954 in Natal alone there were 240 registered Indian schools attended by girls. Though a large proportion still leave school round the age of puberty, an ever-increasing number are receiving high-school and university education. In Natal there are 384 Indian women teachers, 80 in full-time training, 6 qualified women doctors, 22 fully-qualified women nurses, 3 qualified social workers, and 2 women training as lawyers. When the women are educated and have considerable economic power, the emphasis on their essential feminine qualities is still maintained and respected.

The teaching profession was one of the most popular career choices for Indian women when they began to enter the professions in the late 1950's. Not only was it considered complimentary to the nurturing nature of a woman's character but also practical for a woman who would ultimately become a wife and mother. Freund (1991: 423) contextualizes Indian women teachers in the larger Indian workforce in the 1970's when "...of all employed Indian women, 43% were production workers as opposed to 16% employed in services, including domestics and housekeepers, 15% in sales, 8% in clerical jobs and 8% in professional and technical work (mainly teachers)".

The working hours of a teacher allowed the fulfillment of a woman's household duties such as cooking, cleaning and child-rearing. Singh (2007) elaborates the prestigious status conferred upon the teaching profession ...

> Being a teacher in South Africa up to the 1980's was prestigious, especially in view of the benefits such as housing allowances, medical aid, security in employment and comparatively good salaries that they had. It was not unusual for the state to accept teachers into the profession after completing the tenth grade/year (then standard eight) – without formal training – up to the late 1960's when tertiary education among Indians increasingly determined entry into the profession. Households that had teachers in them were alleged to enjoy a level of dignity and respect that was equivalent to the more prestigious contemporary professions such as in medicine, actuarial sciences and law (Singh, 2007)[2].

Even with the advent of Indian women into the professions, their traditional roles as daughter, wife, mother and mother-in-law were considered

[2] Singh (2007): paper awaiting publication in Journal of Comparative Family Studies, Canada.

integral to the obligations, duties and expectations of Indian womanhood set down by male elders in the past. However, the general conservatism regarding women and their roles has subsequently evolved through the education of women together with economic pressures, which have compelled the need for women to work. Singh (2006) confirms this trend from the 1960's onwards:

> It was only since the 1960's that Indians engaged more widely in education, boosting particularly the number of females. By the 1980's Indian female participation in education equaled males in most cases and surpassed them in a number of others (Singh, 1999). As educational levels and achievements increased since the 1960s the acquired professional and technical skills of Indians made them more appealing to the needs of the economies in developing countries (Singh, 2006: 67-8).

The onset of the migration of professional Indian women to countries overseas is unknown but their diminishing presence from within the professions in general, has been particularly noticeable in Durban[3] since the late 1990's, as the city is home to the largest concentration of Indians in South Africa as well as one of the oldest expatriate communities in the Indian diaspora.

The following two subsections attempt to introduce variables that pertain to local household dynamics and migration processes in the contemporary Indian household in Durban.

[3] Durban is situated on the east coast of South Africa and is the largest city in KwaZulu-Natal. It has a population of 9million people, 85% of which is Black (of African origin), 5% White, 8.5% of Indian origin and 1.5% are Coloured (mixed racial descent) (Pauw *et al, 2005: 2*).

1.2.1 The transforming local household

Historically and culturally, the obligation and duty of providing for, educating and marrying off children are the foremost responsibilities of the Indian household, as is the obligation of children to succeed in life, following an appropriate, socially acceptable path and reciprocating by caring for parents in their old-age. These obligations extend into the financial support of parents and the maintenance of the natal household when children reach maturity and begin earning an income. This does not appear to be the norm in the contemporary Indian household in Durban where parents attitudes to accepting money from their children tends to be more circumstantial. Those parents experiencing financial difficulties themselves may be more accepting of financial assistance from their children than those who are financially secure. However, the expectation and obligation upheld by the community in general, despite social change, to take responsibility for the caring of elders in the family is obvious. Singh (1996) affirms that despite poverty, individuals and families in working class areas in Durban, took a rotational responsibility over parents, which enabled them to live in each child's home for a few months every year.

> Despite financial constraints, affinity of closest kin to ageing parents and unemployed siblings is still a pronounced feature in kinship relations and is demonstrated by their expressed responsibility to accommodate them. Often this accommodation is shared by independent and geographically dispersed siblings. Whilst this is widely articulated as a normative pattern and cultural expectation, the oscillation of ageing parents between their offspring's houses is also borne out of the need to relieve the children financially and spatially (Singh, 1996: 475).

The continuation of this practice is evident in the responses of the sample of women and what they conceived as financial responsibilities towards their local households. While financial support has in the past been

considered the traditional duty of older sons, changing socio-economic realities and local household formations have prompted changing gender roles. It is becoming visible among educated women as either unmarried or married individuals, to take charge of their ageing parents.

Meer (1984) and Freund (1991) elaborate that rising living costs and the desire to educate their children, led to an increasing participation of Indian women in the labour force which impacted upon their traditional roles and responsibilities. Chetty (1983: 10) in a report entitled, ***"Job satisfaction of Indian married women in the clothing manufacturing industry in Durban and it's effects on their interpersonal family relationships"***, aptly comments on their changing economic role:

> Cultural factors were until recently of considerable importance in limiting the extent to which Indian females played an active economic role outside the home. Traditionally, the Indian woman's place was in the home, however, the adoption of western values have recently obviated traditional restrictions. This increasing emancipation of women, together with the displacement of agriculture as a primary source of employment and means of support, and the gradual elimination of the self employed man affecting the responsibility of women as family "home" worker or "away" worker, have all played their part.

1.2.2 Migration and the local household

The household and transnational processes are inextricably linked as gendered spaces of any study in migration, the one often informing the other in a myriad of ways based on dynamic networks and linkages. Whilst feminist research elaborates that decisions about migration are embedded in the household, discourse on the migration of highly skilled women is less clear as to whether such decisions are the outcome of "...career advancement of the individual ...or household members within

the context of wider social and economic processes" (Wills & Yeoh, 2000: 254). In the South African context, both these factors seem evident in the migration process and the way in which women negotiate their migrant identities abroad. The women of this sample were no exception and their sojourn overseas provided ample evidence of social continuity and change in this regard.

The advent of Indian women in Durban into tertiary education, the work-place and the professions, preceded their movement outside national boundaries. The challenge to the patriarchal mindset concerning the raising of daughters and the role of the wife and mother, has been the cause of anxiety and conflict within the contemporary local household despite the Indian woman's increasing autonomy and financial empowerment. Allowing an unmarried daughter or wife to work abroad in foreign countries, living with strangers and possibly males, with no family network or chaperone for protection and support, was not so long ago forbidden. The role of authority figures in matters of social significance, particularly with regard to marriage and finance, still appears to remain the domain of the elders who have had to struggle with the ambitions and venturing out of their daughters and wives involved in overseas migrations. The dynamic of a transient lifestyle has added new dimensions to social institutions and practices which challenge the conventional perceptions and expectations of the professional women. The role of parents and kin and the importance of socio-cultural institutions have continued to have an influential bearing on the way in which Indian women transnationals make migration-related decisions and re-create their lives abroad.

The transformation or continuation of local identities in these overseas contexts represents a complex interplay of what has come to be understood as values and ideals of Indian womanhood in South Africa,

with that of empowered career women competing at an international level of skills on par with the sophisticated work standards of developed nations. The interplay of local social practices with individualist career aspirations has led to the reconfiguration of once stereotyped gender roles, responsibilities and social positioning within the context of transnational socio-spatial relations. Such changes have been hastened by the increasing participation of migrant women in the global labour market. Global trends reveal changing patterns in conventional social practices and institutions such as marriage, household economics and gender identities. In a discussion of the gender regimes of globalization, Young (2001) points out that new forms of work are redefining gender identity. The woman who was not so long ago identified with the family and subordinated to the male, is now "individualized" in the global economy. Young maintains that globalization and the process of individualization (viz. social differentiation) are complementary processes which are restructuring both the private and public arenas. She makes the following claims about the transition of women in the workforce and emergent global trends:

> Globalization has eroded the material conditions for the male breadwinner and his dependent wife and family. The rise in the number of dual wage-earners since the 1970's is a product of this. One group of dual wage-earner families consists of relatively well off professionals who are part of the formal economy. A much larger group can be found in the medium and lower level of the economy, relying on the additional wages of women to maintain or improve the family's living standard. Another category that has occupied the space vacated by the Fordist male breadwinner model are single parents (mostly female), whose numbers have increased dramatically (Young, 2001: 317).

These processes are also visible among professional Indian women transnationals whose ventures are characteristic of the aforementioned

categories and the global demand for their skills. The geographical shift in living arrangements and mobility of the women has also led to a metaphysical shift in their consciousness. The transformation or continuity of social realities in transnational contexts has impacted upon their identity. The women's identity within the context of a less restrictive, globalized world refers to how they define themselves and thereby locate themselves socially as individuals in society. This has manifested in the complex articulation of their reconfigured roles, responsibilities and attitudes concerning Indian womanhood and their place in conventional household formations. Their roles and responsibilities have been redefined by their empowerment and aspirations through education, providing them with a latitude that demonstrates a new found and emergent course based on a growing self-awareness and independence. Such women show an increasing desire to live independently and in social spaces that are free of patriarchal domination.

1.3 Rising migration among Indian women professionals

Statistics South Africa indicates a steady increase in the number of professional women leaving South Africa, from about 25% of all skilled emigrants in the 1970's to just under 50% in the 1990's (Bailey, 2003: 243). The exact number of Indian women within this category is unknown but is nevertheless a noticeable trend within the Indian population in Durban. Being a part of this community, I have noted from an "insider perspective" (as a professional Indian woman living in Durban) that the growing trend of "going overseas to work", has found commonplace in the Indian mindset, unlike and opposed to the conventional expectation of the young adult to "get married and settle down." My observation of the Indian women in my midst who were traveling abroad for various reasons, aroused my interest and initiated this study.

While Durban's Indian population and specifically, Indian women, are by no means a homogenous group, their historical advancement in the professions has remained invisible in local literature and the record books, while their contribution to the economy is subverted by larger political issues. Their strides into the 21st Century overshadow the severity of the conditions upon which their forefathers and mothers first set foot upon South African soil in 1860. It took more than a hundred years for Indian women to make an extensive presence in secondary and tertiary education. But it took them less than thirty years to transcend the constraints of patriarchal control and limited opportunities in a country still mired in racial quotas for advancement. From indentureship to globalization, professional Indian women have made considerable progress in all the professions despite a history of struggle against colonialism, apartheid, poverty and patriarchal oppression. Today, the transnational professional represents the polar extreme of the illiterate, vulnerable and exploited indentured labourer of the sugar-plantations. However, a recent study of transnational teacher migration by Manik (2005) has likened the emigration of a sample of predominantly House of Delegates (HOD)[4] school teachers, as a new form of indentureship. A newspaper article entitled "The trials of teaching abroad" (Sunday Tribune, November 2006) refers to the study of experienced Indian teachers in her sample, who described their contracts abroad as indentured labourers, with recruitment agencies pledging their allegiance to the highest bidder (in this case the school that made the most lucrative offer). Manik's PhD research draws a distinction between migrant teachers as either goal achievers (who leave South Africa for a short time to save enough money

[4] In 1983, the Tricameral Parliament of the National Party government consisted of 3 chambers including: the House of Assembly (White representatives); the House of Representatives (Coloured representatives) and the House of Delegates (Indian representatives). This system was implemented to grant Coloureds and Indians a greater but powerless level of participation in the South African political system. The African majority was excluded from the process (www.sahistory.org.za)

to buy things back home); lifestyle immigrants (who began as goal achievers but are not satisfied with their local salaries and so leave with their families); or transients (who are constantly mobile, straddling two countries, with no allegiance to either). Regardless of their choices, all their experiences indicate the rising demand for high quality, hard working Indian and White South African teachers in the United Kingdom. The research presented crucial data on the alarming figures of teachers leaving South Africa in this period.

> "... local teachers had made such an impression on the principals of UK schools, that some teachers were sent back on an all expenses paid trip to recruit 'teachers like them'. In 2003 the UK needed 40 000 teachers and this figure, Manik said, was expected to double by next year. She said the UK was looking at recruiting most of these teachers from South Africa, because they knew the teachers were hardworking and made a positive difference in the quality of education" (Sunday Tribune, 26 November 2006).

It is ironic that the same segment of population in 1860, that was denied rations by their colonial masters, has risen to serve them in a welcoming way as qualified teachers. The very profession that allowed Indian women freedom from colonial strictures is the same profession that has the largest numbers of Indian women willingly leaving to work in paid employment, with rights that were un-imaginable in their humble beginnings in South Africa.

Singh's (2006) study of the emigration of Indians in post-apartheid South Africa represents the first exposé of the history and motivations behind recent Indian migration from South Africa. Based on 255 interviews, it is a singular and qualitatively in-depth account of how migration has become the reality among Indian families from working-class as well as professional backgrounds.

> The experiences of Indians since the 1994 election have created a situation in which they appear to be highly distressed and split between their loyalties to their children and to the country of their birth – South Africa. A new mood of emigration has set into motion and gained momentum in a manner that has suggested more confusion than otherwise about emigration. For Indians, living a settled life and building upon the property that one acquires is generally a hallmark of stability, discipline and success. Most recently, the situation on migration has changed drastically, though not willfully. Many have considered their continued existence in the country to be a risk to their personal and family safety (Singh, 2006: 68-9).

Just as migration discourse of skilled labour is associated with the movement of male-based skills at a macro-level, so too does migration decision-making imply the patriarch's acceptance or approval within the household. Singh's paper above affirms that decisions concerning migration of both male and female migrants in Durban are influenced by perceptions of key household authority figures. The final decision in migrating overseas may or may not have a direct bearing on the attitudes of their parents and larger family but professional Indian women are increasingly considering migration in their future plans, showing significant shifts in the generally conservative mindset of the patriarchal household and the trend of increasing female migration. The studies of Singh (2006) and Manik (2005) represent the only extensive research that has dealt with the migration of Indians from KwaZulu-Natal and the social implications of this sector of the workforce for the local economy. However, neither Singh nor Manik have specifically located their data within a migration theoretical framework. In this respect, transnational migration theory is useful in theorizing and contextualizing the movement of Indian women across international boundaries in search of more rewarding work, safer environments and the opportunity to redefine their identities.

1.4 Transnational Migration Theory

The use of transnational migration theory to contextualize and analyze the migratory experiences of the sample provided a wide-ranging perspective of the myriad and complex processes involved in the conceptualization of the Indian women. This included the emergence of a global, transnational sector of mobile Indian women professionals from a historically marginalized status, the formation of social networks of the women between countries, the transformation of gender relations within the local household, and the reconfiguration of migrant identities overseas.

Glick Schiller, Basch & Szanton Blanc (1995: 48) define transnational migration as "...the process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement".

The transnational perspective on migration emerged in the late 1980s largely as a way of understanding international migration by focusing on migrant integration into the host societies where migrants resettled, as well as their ties to the homelands that were resurrected and sustained even as they settled abroad. The aforementioned authors affirm that the recognition of a new process of migration attached emphasis on the continual and on-going ways in which contemporary immigrants build and reconstruct their simultaneous embedded-ness in more than one country. Mahler (2002: 6) further elaborates on the development of this perspective within anthropology and the social sciences:

> By the late 1990s transnational migration became an established phenomenon that no longer needed to prove its' worthiness (see, for example, Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt, 1999). Many see it as fertile ground for linking migration to broader social processes and literatures, particularly

> globalization (Ong, 1999; Sassen, 1996), transnational social movements, Cultural Studies and others ...there have been some beginning efforts to look at transnational migration less from a discrete event or activity orientation and more from a process perspective. The latter looks at how social relations inflect and are inflected by the fact that they are conducted across borders.

Earlier literature highlighted class (Ong, 1992; Rouse, 1992) followed by a focus on race and nationalism (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc, 1994; Fouron and Glick Schiller, 2001; Guarnizo, 1994; Guarnizo, Sánchez and Roach, 1999) and then shifted to gender (Goldring, 1996; Goldring, 2001; Mahler, 1999b; Mahler and Pessar 2001; Sorensen, 1998; Willis and Yeoh 2000; Yeoh and Willis, 2000; Yeoh and Willis, 1999).

Glick Schiller, Basch & Szanton Blanc (1995: 49-50) maintain that the recent reconfiguration of anthropological thinking is a reflection of the recent changes in time/space experience and representation, prompted by the transnational processes of globalization. They say:

> Anthropologists who work with migrants have much to contribute to our understanding of a new paradox: that the growth and intensification of global interconnection of economic processes, people, and ideas is accompanied by a resurgence in the politics of differentiation. When we study migration rather than abstract cultural flows or re-presentations, we see that transnational processes are located within the life experience of individuals and families, making up the warp and woof of daily activities, concerns, fears and achievements.

By abandoning what they term "methodological nationalism[1]" (Levitt & Nyberg Sorenson, 2004: 3) and understanding migrants within the environments they may or may not be embedded, through direct or indirect relations, moves such a perspective beyond the migrants as individual actors. Hence, the transnational migration experience incorporates "...those who actually migrate, those who stay behind but receive support from those who migrate, and those who do not migrate and have no sources of outside support" (Levitt & Nyberg Sorenson, 2004: 6).

The relationship between the women and the social networks fostered between and within home and abroad are particularly significant to this study. Boyd (1989), Massey (1993), and Vertovec (2000) are a few authors who espouse the relevance of understanding networks within the migration trajectory. Boyd (1989: 641) elaborates that migrant networks function to:

> ... connect migrants across time and space. Once begun, migration flows often become self-sustaining reflecting the establishment of networks of information, assistance and obligations which develop between migrants in the host society and friends and relatives in the sending area. These networks link populations in origin and receiving countries and ensure that movements are not necessarily limited in time, unidirectional or permanent.

Massey *et al* (1993: 448) provide an actor-oriented definition of migrant networks showing the intricacies of the social relations involved, as "...sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-

[1] In this context, "methodological nationalism" refers to certain deep-seated methodological traditions and analytical frameworks in the mainstream social sciences that conceal certain historical trends and forms of identity and therefore hinders research initiatives and newer approaches to data collection (see Chernilo, 2008).

migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin".

Vertovec (2000: 4) expands on the above explanations when he provides an apt discussion on the dynamism between migrant networks and global processes, which provides the basis for continuity or change in the social, economic and political interactions of migrants:

> Newer, cheaper and more efficient modes of communication and transportation allow migrants to maintain transnationally, their home based relationships and interests. Today, globally "stretched" patterns of activity affect a variety of migrants' social relations (including friendship, kinship and status hierarchies), modes of economic exchange, processes of political mobilization, practices of cultural reproduction (including religious practices, institutions like marriage, images and symbols affecting group identity), forms of information transfer and the nature of professional association.

In contextualizing the transnational sample of this study within the process perspective of transnational migration theory, it is integral to understand that the migration history of Indians in South Africa accords them the status of a **twice-migrant** community. Indians in South Africa first arrived as immigrants from India (indentured labourers in 1860) and the recent migration of South African Indians overseas (mainly post–1994), means that they are migrants who have a twice migration history. Unlike direct migrants who hail directly from the motherland, their migration experiences differ despite the enormous generational gap between migratory movements. Being twice-migrants, is questionable for the South African Indian who makes no claim to an Indian identity that is associated with sentimental attachment to India. Such a migrant would emphatically declare South Africa his homeland based on several generations of kin who have non-existent social or political affiliation with the Indian sub-continent. In this instance, it would be more correct to term professional

Indian women transnationals, **twice-migrants** of the Indian diaspora but **direct** migrants of the South African diaspora. Voight-Graf (2003) refers to the twice-migrant Indo-Fijian community as a "two-step migration history". Indo-Fijian families, like Indian South Africans, undertook two migrations, namely from India to Fiji as indentured labourers in 1879 and then a secondary migration to the developed countries of the Pacific Rim in the 1970's and in 2000.

Singh (2008) further relates the concept of twice-migrants to the notion of triple-identity which involves the triadic identity of migrants formed by political and emotional attachments to the ancestral country of origin, country of birth and country of relocation. He concludes that:

> ...people of Indian origin who have settled in foreign lands have renegotiated their regionally specific linguistic identities by adapting and spawning new images through the English language; that transnationalism is giving rise to triple identities with greater leverage for young graduates, including women to travel on their own; and that there is still an enduring tendency to identify with being of Indian origin. It is an identity that is associated with values that characterize family structures and associations, religious and customary practices that are peculiar to an in-groups formation, and a civilization that is deemed to have a proud history of orderliness and achievement (Singh, 2008: 15).

Despite these arguments, it would seem from anecdotal evidence in the sample that the diaspora has romanticized the Indian identity. This has invoked at the very least, an awareness of Indianness, and in other ways (as revealed by the sample), the cultural reproduction of symbols and religious practices that inform group identity. An Indian who did not consider himself/herself Indian prior to migration, becomes an Indian in the diaspora. Often however, it is only an Indian migrant's English dialect, occupational status or residential membership in the host country which

suggests regional, linguistic or geographic distinctiveness. For instance, in the South African migrant's case, the distinctly "Queen's English" (also known as received pronunciation)[5] dialect is considered the trademark indicator of a South African Indian.

International studies of transnational migration and transforming gender relations among Indian communities are few. Dannecker's (2005) study of Bangladeshi labour migrants reveals the genderedness of transnational spaces spanning Malaysia and Bangladesh. Her research of a direct-migrant community, is integral to my own as it represents a rare view of the agency of Bangladeshi women in establishing transnational networks based on loosely formed support systems that offer the resources of work and living alternatives to women who had little possibility of exploring the option of migration before. While the women belong to a different social status to my own sample, the study is pivotal in exploring notions of networks based on ethnicity and nationality, as well as the negotiation of gender relations that redefine local practices and meanings arising from "two life-worlds" (Dannecker, 2005: 667). Similarly, Sheel's (2005) study of the migrant population of Indian origin in Vancouver, Canada, provided insight into how migrant communities reconfigure and re-create specific practices, in this case dowry, in new contexts with new meanings that perpetuate gender inequalities and class hierarchies. Her study was integral to my own in terms of how local values and norms may not necessarily be abandoned but revived in overseas contexts. In the same way, Bachu's (1985) study of twice-migrant Indian women from Pakistan provided an interesting perspective from which to view my own sample. Her argument revolves around the ability of twice-migrants to settle quickly

[5] Received Pronunciation is a form of pronunciation of the English language (specifically British English) which has been long perceived as uniquely prestigious amongst British accents. It is known as the Queen's or King's English because it was known to be spoken by the monarch (www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/sounds).

and with little disruption in a new environment, based on attributes such as their proficient use of the English language, their self-reliant natures and the financial resources they brought with them to their new environments. These characteristics enabled fairly rapid adjustment and assimilation within the host society. Twice-migrants have little need for the social support of family and friends and were less likely to congregate into small communities to express their ethnic preferences and solidarity. These findings resonated with my sample and provided an alternate yet complementary framework from which to contextualize the emergence of transnational Indian women professionals in Durban.

1.5 Concluding remarks

The literature review on local studies of Indian women in Durban provided valuable insights into the transition of Indian women in the region, from tradition and conservatism through to a contemporary, globalized society. It is only through an understanding of these older works that the impact of transnational migration on the Indian household and the identity of the women can be contextualized. However, that local studies on the Indian woman migrant are rare due to the recent emergence of such a phenomenon, led to an increased reliance on international literature on Indian women in the Indian diaspora, for inspiration and guidance as to the course the study would take. It was for this reason that transnational migration theory, linking broader social processes took precedence over other theoretical frameworks. Such a perspective was far more revealing of the interplay between several processes simultaneously at work within the dynamics of transnational migration. These processes included the historical background of the women (namely indentureship and as twice-migrants), the impact of globalization on the local household and Indian womanhood, and the constantly transforming "space" of transnational migration as a continual, on-going experience.

The chapters to follow should be understood within the context of the reviewed literature on Indian women and the fieldwork that was determined by it. Chapter Two reveals the problematic nature of research concerning skills migration from South Africa. Sparse, unreliable or non-existent data on skills migration and emigration particularly among Indian South Africans problematizes any research effort in this area. An overview of such a migration history from South Africa is integral to the conceptualization of the recent emergence of the transnational migration of professional Indian women from Durban.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PROBLEM – SKILLS MIGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

Political turbulence in South Africa over the last two centuries often prompted the international migration of skilled South Africans, particularly among the privileged segments of South African society who felt threatened about their future. In doing so, they eroded the reservoir of capital and skills for which the middle and upper classes are well known. Recently the problem of migration has become more complex than political turbulence alone – crime and violence against civilians together with dubious official data and unreliable migration statistics show the multifaceted nature of overseas migration. Over the last two decades the proliferation of violence throughout South Africa in particular, began to serve as the new catalyst for migration.

Emigration and skills migration from South Africa requires an understanding of these processes from pre- to post-apartheid eras. Emigration revolved largely around political issues and was dependent upon several factors including race and the political milieu. The pre-apartheid and apartheid eras were periods of White domination which saw the entrenchment of White hegemony and virtual ownership of the country in ways that precluded equal participation in national issues by Coloureds, Indians and Africans. However, this did not deter Whites from emigrating during these periods, nor did it prevent other classified groups from engaging in similar movements. Van Rooyen (2000) provides a useful summary of the history of emigration in South Africa as "waves" of emigration during the following politically significant periods:

> The first wave of emigrants was in 1949-51 when the National Party came to power and began implementing apartheid policies; the second wave was in 1960-61, during a period of political unrest and the Sharpeville massacre, the proclamation of a state of emergency and South Africa's departure from the Commonwealth. The third wave was in 1976-79 when black unrest reached a crescendo with the Soweto uprising and further draconian measures by the state. This period coincided with the large-scale outflow of angry and frustrated black South Africans: thousands went into exile (including many members from ANC leadership) and thousands more, mostly Coloureds, settled permanently in Australia and Canada. The fourth wave in 1985-87 when the Botha regime clamped down on black resistance, a period which was characterized by states of emergency, the collapse of the rand and Botha's disastrous Rubicon speech. Between 1989 and 1992 there was a lull in emigration which corresponded with the first three years of FW de Klerk's rule, the unbanning of the ANC and the dismantling of apartheid. However, in 1993, one year before the democratic elections of 1994, emigration doubled and after that it remained close to 10 000 per year, according to official figures for the rest of the 1990s (Van Rooyen, 2000: 11).

Van Rooyen's description above permits a periodization of migration that allows a more in depth analysis of each segment of time. The following politically poignant eras have been demarcated for this study, and for further elaboration: viz, during the apartheid era, 1976–1994; post-apartheid South Africa, 1994 – 2000; and the dawn of a new democracy, 2000–2006.

The transnational migrations of professional Indian women is complex and includes all three categories of migration encompassed in the notion of "skills migration". It is essential at this point to provide a working definition of ***skills migration*** as being inclusive of the processes of emigration, transnational migration and return migration for the purposes of this study, as the terms are interconnected in their usage throughout the chapter. Taking cognizance of the emphasis transnational migration theorists Glick

Schiller, Basch & Szanton Blanc (1995) and Levitt & Nyberg Sorenson (2004) place on the diversity of social transactions informed by migration processes, the following broad working definitions were adopted. **Skills migration** from South Africa broadly encompasses: skilled or professional **transnational migrants** whose to-and-fro movements between national boundaries represent transient lifestyles; highly skilled (specialized qualifications or experience with or without tertiary-level qualifications), or professional (tertiary-level educated individuals with either a university degree or post-matriculation qualification/diploma) **emigrants** who leave the country permanently as individuals or with their families; as well as **return-migrants** whose work experiences may entail a once-off stint abroad before returning to South Africa, or whose random overseas ventures ultimately lead to a return to South Africa. It is the latter randomness of the return migrant's decision to work overseas yet again that blurs the distinction between the transnational migrant and the return(ing) migrant. Studies (see Amelie & Zimmerman, 2004; Farques, 2008; Vertovec, 2007) indicate the self-perpetuating nature of migration where migrants whose knowledge, experience and social linkages enhance opportunities for success and a **circular migration** of frequent movements becomes highly likely. While such repeat movements tend to dominate among unmarried men (Vertovec, 2007: 5) it is also becoming evident that unmarried women are increasingly following suit. It is within these conceptual parameters that the study and the data to follow should be understood. The following demarcated periods provide an overview of skills migration from South Africa, including the present exodus of skills commonly referred to as the "brain drain" crisis.

2.2 1976 – 1994: During the apartheid era

The 1970's was characterized by the overseas skills migration and emigration of predominantly White South Africans who held European

passports and had the option of dual citizenship. The pattern of skills migration then, could be largely attributed to a small number of mainly White South Africans who had business interests outside the country who were dissatisfied with South Africa's declining economy or, in the case of other classified groups, those who were living abroad in exile because of their anti-government political affiliations. Between 1980 and 1994 the numbers of Whites leaving the country peaked and was characterized as the "White flight" being based on mounting political tensions and the intensifying anti-apartheid struggle (particularly between 1980 and 1985), international economic sanctions and disinvestment[1]. During this volatile period huge amounts of money left the country. Fine and Rustomjee (1996), in Mohamed & Finnoff (2004: 11-12) estimate that:

> ... the average "capital flight"[2] from South Africa between 1970 and 1988 was 7% GDP per year and from 1980 to 1985 capital flight averaged 10.3% of GDP per year... The control by a few white-owned and controlled conglomerates that had power over the major financial institutions in the country and also deep ties with capital in advanced industrial countries provided an important reason for capital flight, as did the chosen destinations of those emigrating.

They discuss the South African dilemma, that those engaged in capital flight escaped the burden of contributing to investments (by way of tax evasion) that developed the country, and that the burden then became the onus of the people who had to keep their wealth in the country. Bailey (2003) reiterates this by indicating the overwhelmingly first-world choice of destinations preferred by those leaving South Africa at this time.

[1] Seven U.S companies left South Africa in 1984, 40 left in 1985, 49 left in 1986, 58 left in 1987, and almost 80 left in 1988 (Jenkins, 1990: 279).
[2] when wealth holders from developing countries move their wealth out of the country due to political and economic instability.

> Since 1970, almost half (45%) of all emigrating South African professionals have opted to emigrate to Europe. Of these, an overwhelming two-thirds (69%) have moved to the United Kingdom. Another quarter (24%) of the skilled emigrants have headed for Australasia, and almost four-fifths of these (78%) to Australia. The third largest group of professionals (14%) have emigrated to North America, and are fairly evenly spread between the United States and Canada... (Bailey, 2003: 244).

By 1987 the overseas migration of professionals from other race groups were steadily growing in number. It constituted those in search of a better quality of life and more stable socio-economic and political environments, greater personal and family safety and better future prospects for their children. These issues are directly linked to factors based on an anxiety concerning the future of South Africa's political economy and their place in it.

> In the periods 1988 to 1992 and 1994 to 2000, the greatest mobility of highly skilled people, both into and out of South Africa...were among those in education and humanities occupations, followed by engineers and architects, and the country's top legislative, executive and managerial personnel. Around one-third of all skilled emigrants were in occupations in education or the humanities... (Bailey, 2003: 245).

A study of the immigration policies of countries traditionally receiving South Africa's skilled people (Beine *et al*, 2003) further confirms this trend, showing for instance that,

> ...since 1984 Australia has welcomed anyone who could make a potential contribution to the economy, with preference being given to highly skilled immigrants. In 1997, Canada opened its doors to receive 50 000 professional specialists and entrepreneurs with 75 000 additional family members... (Waller, 2006: 9).

The motivations for skills migration prior to 1994 differed to the skills loss encountered in post-apartheid South Africa. The sections that follow provide a glimpse into migrations in two arbitrarily divided periods of six years each, viz. 1994 to 2000 and 2000 to 2006. The first period, 1994 to 2000 covers the period from the watershed elections of 1994 to the end of the twentieth century. The second six year period represents an entirely new era.

2.3 1994 – 2000: Post–apartheid South Africa

1994 represents an almost complete severance of White political hegemony in South Africa since 1652 when the first White settlers arrived in the Cape of Good Hope. However, White privilege and economic hegemony stills prevailed in South Africa, not withstanding the persistent fears of a total Black takeover or restrictive performance levels arising out of perceived incapacity of a Black majority government.

> From 1994 to 2000, capital flight in South Africa averaged 9.2% of GDP per year. The four percent increase in capital flight from earlier to later periods suggests that while wealthy South Africans (mainly White industrialist and business families) wanted to move their assets outside of South Africa's borders in the earlier period due to political instability, during the later period (post 1994) it seems to have occurred because wealthy South Africans were uncomfortable with the political and economic transition to democratic rule (Mohamed & Finnoff, 2004: 3-6).

As is evident in the above figures, political and economic change including the loss of faith in the declining South African currency were significant motivations for the emigration of White South Africans in post-apartheid South Africa. However, crime specifically, was and continued to be one of the most influential factors determining the migration of skilled South Africans and their families. Van Rooyen (2000: 74-75) argued that:

> In the nineties South Africa's own killing fields led to the non-political deaths of approximately 250 000 South Africans who were criminally murdered in their homes, in their cars, on the streets, on the sports-fields and even in places of worship. Of this number about 150 000 died during the six-year period of democracy between 1994 and 1999. The victims were predominantly ordinary men, women and children going about their day-to-day business who became prey to ruthless killers who robbed, abducted, raped, tortured and murdered them at a rate and with a level of impunity that is beyond comprehension... about 750 000 violent crimes are reported each year, or one every 17 seconds.

Van Rooyen continues to highlight how crimes such as car hijackings, house break-ins, attempted murder, serious assault, and rape in particular, have earned South Africa the reputation of a world leader in violent crime. He cites approximately 49 000 cases of rape in 1998 alone, which is equivalent to 134 per day, or one in every 10 minutes. While crime is considered as one of the primary motivations in the professional exodus from South Africa, migration abroad is also perceived by the general public as the preserve of the well-connected (for those who have family support and employment potential abroad) as well as the well-off (for those who can afford the high cost of migration), suggesting that any motivation for migration has to be supported by class status. Mohamed & Finnoff's (2004) study on capital flight and emigration of the wealthy is integral to understanding the overall skills migration being experienced in the country, as the nation's "wealthy" are mainly professionals who have the necessary resources for the high costs incurred by the migration process. Most potential emigrants, skilled migrants and transnational migrants are professional South Africans. This "professionalization" of migration has resulted in a serious loss of skills as well as financial and social capital from South Africa.

Emigration from South Africa accelerated since the first democratic elections in 1994 which also marked the end of its' international isolation. At this historical juncture, South Africa's skilled population of 1.6 million consisted of 72% Whites; 18% African; 8% Coloured and 3% Indian (All Media and Products Survey, 1998 *cited in Crush et al, 2000*), with the vast majority of skilled emigrants being from the most productive age-groups, 25 to 45 years.

> ...in the post-apartheid period, emigration appears to have more than trebled – particularly among those in the education/humanities and managerial occupations...32% between 1988 and 1992 and 38% between 1994 and 2000 in the managerial category specifically. Although professional emigrants in the natural sciences and medical professions made up the smallest proportion of all skilled emigration, the official statistics indicate that emigration in these fields almost trebled between 1994 and 2000 (Crush *et al*, 2000: 245).

Attempts to quantify this phenomenon, more commonly known as the "brain drain", is problematic as are official statistics which themselves claim discrepancies in the collection of data. Trend analysis of skills migration in South Africa over the past 35 years is based almost entirely on quantitative surveys and official statistics. Racial and gender breakdowns have been overlooked and are consequently almost non-existent in national records. Hence, such analyses can only be indicative of broad generalized patterns and trends with figures being cautiously viewed as an undercount of actual values.

The compilation of official data on the migration of people into and out of South Africa has been a joint effort between the Department of Home Affairs and Statistics South Africa (StatsSA). The Department records information about those who enter and exit the country. People leaving South Africa through the major airports in Johannesburg, Cape Town and

Durban are required by law to complete departure forms, from which emigration data is captured by StatsSA. Brown, Kaplan & Meyer (2001), cited in Bailey (2003: 237-8), indicate that the discrepancies and inaccuracies in South Africa's system for collating migration data, include:

- that the completion of departure forms is not always enforced and that those intending to emigrate may not indicate this decision (Stats SA, 2001) – hence figures refer to self-declared emigrants only;

- South Africans leaving the country to travel, work or study temporarily but who stay abroad permanently, are not captured in the system (it is difficult to track their sojourn outside the Republic and difficult to determine in what sector they are employed abroad).

- Whether or not they return home to contribute their enhanced skills and experience is likewise difficult to determine statistically (Waller, 2006: 12);

- an analysis of skilled labour (disaggregated occupational data) leaving and entering the country has only been captured from 1988;

- difficulty in formulating trend analyses as categories have changed over the years and official data has not provided a racial breakdown; and

- finally, that the data set is incomplete and figures for the year 1993 are non-existent due to the Department of Home Affairs introducing a new computerized system which did not make departure forms mandatory for South African residents.

Waller (2006: 11) amplifies this point by providing an in-depth account of the problematic nature of obtaining accurate statistics in terms of the Immigration Act:

- In terms of the Immigration Act, 2002 (Act No. 13 of 2002), citizens and residents are not required to complete a departure form when leaving the Republic. There is thus no departure form in an annexure to the current Immigration

Regulations. Section 9(2) of the Act provides for recording entrance only in the case of residents (thereby excluding citizens). Section 3(d) provides for the departure of a resident only to be recorded by an immigration officer.

- In terms of the Immigration Amendment Act, section 9 of the principal Act is amended in 9(2) to provide for recording the entrance of a citizen. Section 9(3)(d) explicitly provides that no person shall enter or depart from the Republic unless the entry or departure is recorded by an immigration officer. An additional subsection 9(3)(e) requires that citizens, residents and foreigners must be examined by an immigration officer as prescribed before entering or departing from the Republic.

- All persons must submit to the immigration officer a form containing the information which substantially corresponds to Form 5 contained in Annexure A of the form "if required to do so". Form 5 is a departure form "only to be completed by citizens and permanent residents". The wording "if required to do so" may refer to the status of the person. However it may allow for discretion on the part of the immigration officer which is unwelcome in view of trying to get accurate numbers. The Departure Form provides place to note emigration and occupation, but does not specify qualifications, skills or profession.

- The entry and departure of skilled migrants is likewise not clearly tracked. The Department of Home Affairs administers the Movement Control System (MCS) as a means of recording the entry and departure of permanent residents and foreigners through South Africa's ports of entry. In accordance with the current legislation, the entry and departure of citizens is not recorded on the MCS. It is recorded on magnetic tape. There is a backlog of several months in the capturing process at present. Immigration officials have access to the MCS, and the South African Police Service may view the system but not edit it.

- Figures on how many skilled South Africans are working abroad could be gathered from alumni associations, professional bodies, registers and diaspora associations in receiving countries. However, in the absence of self-declared emigration statistics, accurate figures on which skills we are losing, and in what quantity, remain elusive.

Waller however, does not provide statistics that demonstrate the losses incurred through emigration, especially over the past twenty years. In the first decade since 1987, Brown, Kaplan & Meyer (2000) provide us with an insight that illustrates a glaring inconsistency between official and unofficial figures on emigration. Their study of South African immigrants from the five major receiving countries (United Kingdom, United States of America, Canada, New Zealand and Australia) when compared with official statistics for the period 1987 – 1997, revealed that:

> For eleven years from 1987 to 1997 included, the country lost 233 609 emigrants as opposed to the 82 811 declared and registered by the South African statistics. This is 2.8 times higher than what official figures show... With regard to professionals, during the nine years from 1989 to 1997, the country lost 41 496 emigrants, which is 3.2 times more than the 12 949 declared (Brown, Kaplan & Meyer, 2000:12).

Accurate facts and figures on the range of skills as well as the race and gender representation of those leaving the country barely exist and are at best, vague estimations based on general trends and scant empirical data.

Unlike previous national studies, Dodson's (2002) policy paper, was one of the first to focus on gender as a key variable influencing potential emigration and was based on a sample of 725 skilled South African citizens in 1998.

> ... the various demographic variables of South Africa's skilled population act separately and in combination to influence emigration potential. This means that the relationship between gender and migration is neither direct nor simple. It is, however, fundamentally important. Gender difference has its own inherent significance in understanding migration behaviour; but gender is also a "lens" for illuminating the operation of other variables, such as age, occupation and marital status. Predicting emigration may well be an inexact

> science, but gender has to be included in the equation (Dodson, 2002: 11).

It was one of the earliest studies to show the influence of factors such as gender, occupation and migration as a household undertaking in skills migration, yet, as with previous national surveys, the sample was not representative of South Africa's racial composition. The study indicates that the samples of "Coloured" and "Indian" South Africans were too numerically insignificant for meaningful analysis. It focuses on the *possibilities* of specifically Black and White South African men and women emigrating. Two findings presented in this study were relevant for further research. These included, the gendered nature of migration and that women more than men constituted a *lower emigration potential;* and the recognition of the potential for transnational migrations among skilled South Africans.

> Over 40% of women said that they would want to stay in their most likely destination for two years or less, compared with just over 20% of men. Women also expressed a greater desire for more frequent return visits to South Africa should they emigrate, again suggesting the maintenance of strong ties with their country of origin and confirming women's lower emigration potential (Dodson, 2002: 19–20).

Her results reveal that while family ties are indeed the key to understanding women's lower expressed desire to emigrate, the study also highlights that the anticipated nature of skilled emigration from South Africa does not necessarily mean a permanent or complete severing of ties with the homeland. This finding challenges the conception of a one-way "brain drain", as opposed to various forms of to-and-fro international movement and the development of transnational lifestyles. While the lower emigration potential of women does not resonate with the findings of my study where the sample of Indian women migrants represented far

higher migration potential than Indian men (detailed later in the study), her acknowledgement of other forms of migration processes is crucial in making the shift towards conceptualizing the emergence of the transnational migrations of professional Indian women in South Africa. This study will demonstrate how their choices and lifestyles are increasingly changing Indian middle-class households especially into transnational formations.

2.4 2000 – 2006: A young democracy

The year 2000 represented more than a mere symbolic entry into another century, especially since the concept of globalization consolidated the position of the USA and its European allies. As the gap between the developed and developing nations widened, the demand for professional labour for developed countries has increased. What the twenty-first century has witnessed is the pilfering of professional labour from developing countries especially since opportunities here are too few and unrewarding when compared with the first world nations. To its embarrassment, South Africa has also become a major supplier of professional labour to the West, leading to officials attempting to deny the extent of emigration or a search for work overseas.

National statistics have reported a gross underestimation of figures of between 3 to 4 times the actual number of people leaving for the period 1989 – 2001, as this later report asserts:

> While 70 000 South Africans are thought to have left the country between 1989 and 1992, the estimated number ballooned to over 166 000 between 1998 and 2001. According to official statistics, over 16 000 highly-skilled South Africans emigrated between 1994 and 2001, but the real numbers are probably three to four times higher (The Economist, August 2005).

Reasons for emigration in this period indicated a combination of "push" factors, the most widely cited reason being crime; perceptions of high living costs and high levels of taxation, without a concomitant level of service; and the perceived decline in the standard of public services. The "pull" factors in recipient countries appear to be earning in a stronger currency, better career advancement opportunities and international work experience. The English speaking first world nations such as the United States, Australia, United Kingdom, Canada, and New Zealand as the most likely countries of destination, continued to dominate. By this time, the numbers of Black[3] professionals leaving the country were becoming noticeable as the following announcement indicates:

> At the beginning of 2004, the senior partner of South Africa's largest executive recruitment firm announced that the brain drain had started consuming skilled Black professionals. The move was attributed to a feeling of inferiority created by the qualifications and international experience of returned exiles. Black South Africans are presumably leaving to gain a competitive edge. The suggestion is that they will return to South Africa at some point. Both the heads of Business Unity SA and the South African Chamber of Business consider the trend extremely worrying and potentially disastrous for the economy (Waller, 2006: 10).

While this was a pertinent indication of the changing demographics of skills migration, yet again the percentage of Blacks, Indians and Coloureds remain unknown. The blanket categorization of the term "Black" has further exacerbated the problematic nature of accurately identifying trends in migration and the skills loss in South Africa. This not only presents a superficial index of the facts and figures of those involved in these complex processes but also serves to negate the impact of migration on Indians and Coloureds in particular. The inability of national government and

[3] Black in this context refers to the racial classification of people of African descent in terms of the Population Registration Act of 1950.

institutional structures to collaborate and collate the data at several levels has trivialized the extent of this "brain drain", thereby concealing the urgent nature of it's overall proportion and severity as a national crisis.

A survey conducted jointly by the Africa Institute of South Africa and the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) in 2002 (Waller, 2006: 2-4) made the following seminal, though generalized findings about the skilled South African "brain drain":

- That those who had given emigration at least some thought were more or less equally distributed across race groups.

- It was found that skilled Black South Africans had a greater desire to leave for less than two years, while more Whites desired to leave for longer than two years.

- The greatest causes of dissatisfaction among skilled Black South Africans were the level of taxation, the cost of living, concerns over personal safety and income levels; while skilled White South Africans bemoaned the upkeep of public amenities, levels of taxation, the cost of living and their families' safety.

- Among skilled Whites there was an overwhelming opposition to affirmative action, while 20% of skilled Blacks felt opposed to this programme. (Affirmative action has been quoted by the Company for Immigration, a non-governmental organization that assists immigrants' integration into South Africa, as a key obstacle to enticing expatriates back to South Africa).

- The majority of skilled South Africans believed that overseas destinations offered greater safety for themselves and their families. Most skilled Whites considered the upkeep of public amenities, customer service and the future of their children to be better overseas, while the majority of skilled Blacks felt that income levels are better overseas.

- The opinion of skilled Whites on conditions overseas inclined towards them being better overall. Skilled Blacks are less disposed to consider overseas conditions superior on every aspect surveyed. The only matter more Blacks than Whites

believed was better overseas was the ability to find the house they wanted.

- Among all skilled South Africans surveyed 7% traveled to Europe at least once a year, 3% to North America and 2% to Australia and New Zealand. First hand experience of these places, which are most frequently the destinations of migrating skilled South Africans, is therefore limited.

Again, the study shows up the most serious shortcoming of national surveys, that being, the all-encompassing racial category of "Black", which subsumes the racial classifications of Black, Coloured and Indian. Such a methodological oversight presents limitations in assessing the degree to which the different race groups are affected by South Africa's transition since 1994. As is evident in the above study, it also conceals the impact of South Africa's socio-economic position in a global economy as well as the effects of national policies implemented by the ANC led government, such as affirmative action, an increasingly controversial issue, particularly in the migration of minority groups and particular sectors of the civil workforce. A racial and gendered breakdown of skills loss is essential to ascertain a true, overall indication of skills loss as particular groups predominate particular sectors of the professions. For instance, teaching (Macmillan, 1961: 101) and nursing (Horwitz, 2007: 137) have traditionally been dominated by Black, Coloured and Indian women (Mathur-Helm, 2005) while careers in law, management (Mbembe, 2007: 6) and finance have been dominated by White males.

Waller (2006) comments that those professions in demand overseas reflect the areas of skills loss in South Africa's demography and has implications for any effort towards retaining South Africa's skilled labour force. He affirms this point in the following quote:

> The loss of skilled professionals is not merely a numbers issue, but also affects South Africa's skills mix. Certain professionals are more likely to remain, while others are more inclined to leave. Much depends on the working environment in South Africa and the demand and opportunities abroad. While those in the law profession may be more inclined to remain in South Africa, engineers, doctors, health care professionals, accountants, actuaries and natural scientists are more likely to leave. Some measurement of which professionals are leaving is essential if South Africa is to maintain the right skills mix (Waller, 2006: 6-7).

Similarly, in 2004 the HSRC (Human Science Research Council) published a study on the mobility of R&D (Research and Experimental Development) workers entitled "*Flight of the Flamingos*" which further showed up the inadequacy of available data and hence the lacking indication of the brain drain crises in South Africa.

> This study commissioned by the National Advisory Council on Innovation, was the first in South Africa to look at mobility of skilled workers as an area that is "fundamental to national competitiveness and that has important sectoral, regional, continental and international dimensions". Outside specific sectors, such as public health, the study concludes that evidence of a brain drain crises in South Africa is indeed lacking. It notes, however, that much needs to be done to strengthen R&D in South Africa if we are to retain and attract skilled workers (Waller, 2006: 9).

The skills shortages that has resulted in this loss has enticed the media to focus on skills migration and its costs on a regular basis. One newspaper for instance pointed out the enormity of these losses:

> Official figures show that more than 16 000 people emigrated in 2003 – nearly 50% up on the previous year and the highest number since South Africa's first democratic election in 1994, when 10 000 left the country... the exodus costs the country around R800-million in lost tax revenue each year.

> With an estimated 400 000 South Africans living abroad, emigration has already cost the country about R285 – billion (Independent Online, 23 April 2004).

It is evident that few studies on skills migration in the last decade have had accurate national data on which to assess the true extent of the skills exodus from South Africa to overseas countries, making any research in this area a complex and constrained effort. A report by Xaba & Phillips (2001), on the emigration of nurses from South Africa is insightful despite the absence of ethnic and gender differentiation within the sample. Although it relies on questionable statistics from the Department of Health and Department of Home Affairs, as well as the South African Nursing Council (SANC), interviews with nurses who had already emigrated were also conducted and questionnaires were administered in 100 institutions, from which the response rate was poor. The verification of nursing qualifications was used as a means of gauging the extent of emigration, as it was these nurses who needed such verification to work overseas. Their findings suggest that between the years 1991-2000 the verification of qualification applications increased by 458.9%. The reasons cited for emigration included, lack of competitive incentives in the public service, work pressures, lack of opportunities for professional advancement, lack of suitably resourced working environments, and escalating crime and the rise of HIV/Aids in South Africa. These findings are however highly problematic and the discrepancy between national figures and statistics from the British Government for instance, showed a significant contrast in the number of nurses who they employed from South Africa, indicating a gross local undercount. Similarly, Katere & Matowe (2003: 60) in an independent study of the effect of pharmacist emigration on pharmaceutical services in South Africa, indicate that in 2001, 1000 pharmacy students graduated, and that in the same year 600 pharmacists emigrated overseas. The numbers leaving suggest drastic proportions in skills loss that remain invisible or non-existent within national databases.

Countless media reports have dominated local news focusing on varying aspects of the migration of the skilled population, illustrated in the following newspaper articles:

> "Britain and Canada have come under heavy fire from South Africa for their attempts to recruit doctors, nurses and teachers...Officials estimate that about 1500 South African doctors are working in Canada...the direct cost to South Africa from the emigration of doctors and dentists over two years was about R80 million...Education Minister Kader Asmal described the imminent arrival of principals and education consultants as a "raid on the teaching profession". The consultants were from a teacher recruitment company, Timeplan, which has lured about 7000 teachers to Britain in the past ten years..." (Cape Times, 15 February, 2001).

> "More than 7400 South African graduates and professionals, most not even stopping to complete their airport departure forms, hit the runways for the pound seats in the first half of this year as the country's brain drain continued unabated...The latest migration figures released by Statistics South Africa, collated at the county's three international airports in the last half of the year, show no reversal of a skills diaspora that began fast-tracking in mid-2001...While the brakes appear to be put on departing doctors and nurses, the slump in the engineering industry is already sending scores of professionals overseas – while almost 2000 graduates and budding au pairs head out for work opportunities denied them at home." (Cape Times, 15 October, 2002).

> "Despite an agreement to stop active recruitment for the national health service in the United Kingdom, South Africa was still haemorrhaging healthcare professionals as the agreement precluded the private sector whose recruitment agencies continued to troll large academic hospitals for staff...Although the national health service of the United Kingdom – which takes in the largest number of health care professionals from South Africa out of all receiving countries – could no longer actively recruit here, the United Sates, Canada, Australia and New Zealand were where an increasing number of South African health care workers were

> heading. The Emirates states rely solely on health care workers from other countries..." (Pretoria News, 12 December 2005).

The use of emotive language and wording such as "raid", "hit the runways" and "haemorrhaging" in the media underscore one of the overwhelming global challenges faced by a newly-formed democracy of a developing country. Presenting the actual state of affairs concerning the migration of professionals in particular remains problematic due to scant official data. What does emerge is the lacking resources of local infrastructure and expertise necessary to collate such data. Also called into question is the efficacy of the South African government's drive to successfully meet national quotas on education and employment, more than a decade after independence. Public opinion is based largely on social encounters with people and families traveling abroad and journalistic interpretation founded on scarce statistical evidence.

2.5 Rising migration among Indian women professionals

Statistics South Africa indicates a steady increase in the number of professional women leaving South Africa "...from about 25% of all skilled emigrants in the 1970's to just under 50% in the 1990's" (Crush *et al*, 2000: 12). The exact number of Indian women within this category is unknown yet increasing numbers of single and married Indian women of diverse class, religious, linguistic, generational and professional backgrounds are pursuing migration despite the social and economic challenges posed by such an exercise.

The issue of migrating women professionals, particularly Indian women professionals, has limited interest in South Africa and the absence of publications in the area proved to be a serious constraint in developing a conceptual framework for this study.

The visible exodus of this sector of the population and its impact on household and gender perceptions and relations, is in need of anthropological scrutiny and ethnographic detail. Low and Lawrence-Zuniga (2003: 8) relate how anthropologists are rethinking and re-conceptualizing their understandings of culture in spatialized terms and that new ideas about transnational spaces have increased in importance. The idea of the Indian woman transnational is relatively recent but is becoming increasingly relevant The dynamic of the transient lifestyle of the women adds new dimensions to social institutions and practices which challenge conventional perceptions and expectations. This is a community that is in the throes of adaptation in order to meet the challenges of a global society but is nonetheless fraught with contradictions with regard to the way in which women are perceived, particularly in the more conservative household. Today, the transnational professional represents the polar extreme of the illiterate, vulnerable and exploited indentured labourer of the sugar-plantations. Notably, the role of parents and family and the importance of socio-cultural institutions have continued to have an influential bearing on the way in which Indian women transnationals "re-create" their lives abroad, aspects which this study aims to detail and explore.

2.6 Concluding remarks

The overview of skills migration from 1976 to the present illustrates how the changing political climate, a weakening currency due to global economics and the negative impact of crime and violence has influenced the migratory movements of skilled labour and professionals from South Africa. It also indicates the losses in financial revenue and social capital incurred by the state by skilled migrants who prefer the lure of the higher-paying, safer environments of the first-world countries (particularly the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States of

America). This combination of factors has also led to the formation of a migratory movement characteristic of global processes, namely, transnational migration. Such a migration pattern has been noted in post-apartheid South Africa specifically, however, scant or dubious evidence exists to verify such a trend. This is the unfortunate truth of migration monitoring, official records and statistics in South Africa – as this thesis has problematized. The national figures, statistics and databases that do exist, collated from mainly telephonic surveys, represents biased data that does not provide adequate race and gender representation of the larger South African population. Hence, it is not possible to gauge with accuracy the changing demographics of skills migration since the 1970's. It is only possible through conjecture to assume that the recent exodus of skilled labour and professionals (including professional Indian women) began in earnest in post-apartheid South Africa after 1994. Rising criminal activity that accompanied this political juncture and the implementation of an affirmative action policy by the new formed ANC government directly impacted upon the minority ethnic groups (particularly Whites and Indians). They felt sidelined in employment and prejudiced in career advancement opportunities. This issue together with the daily threat of violent crime provided the impetus for the transnational migrations of professional Indian women whose ongoing movements between South Africa and overseas countries has contributed towards an emergent global, mobile workforce.

Their move into professional employment and working overseas required a shift away from the conventional methodological practice of interviewing the Indian woman in her life of insulated domestication. Her busy schedule at work and an almost part-time interest in her home, made contact with them as a researcher more difficult and time consuming. Contact with the professional Indian woman, for the purposes of eliciting information about their personal lifestyles as well as their migratory experiences, required a radical departure from the traditional methods of participant observation,

as the chapter that follows demonstrates. While participant observation constituted a part of my overall methods and techniques, there was also a need for creative applications of interviews, observations and questionnaires.

CHAPTER THREE

FIELDWORK 1
QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 Introduction

This section on fieldwork has been allocated two chapters, due to the extensive nature of the material. This chapter in particular focuses on the qualitative research methods used in the fieldwork, namely, in-depth interviews and participant observation, while chapter four focuses on the complimentary quantitative research methods used in the study as secondary data sources, namely, surveys, questionnaires and cyber-ethnography – to reinforce the former approach.

In this chapter, together with the qualitative research methods used in the study, my experiences and challenges as an "insider" ethnographer studying women who belong to the same ethnic, class, gender and professional occupational category as myself, are also included. Although I was very much the "insider" anthropologist, the women were yet "the different other" because of their relative freedom to commute between their country of birth and their country of work. This study, involving transnational processes, required a combination of research methods, both qualitative and quantitative, that both traversed and transcended conventional anthropological discourse. Khagram and Levitt (2005) aptly elaborate the level of innovative efforts necessary in researching transnationalism. They argue that:

> "Methodological transnationalism" involves at a minimum, reclassifying existing data, evidence, historical and ethnographic accounts that are based on bounded or bordered units so that underlying or novel transnational forms and processes are revealed. Even more so, it requires creating and implementing novel research designs and methodologies that produce new types of data, evidence and observations that more accurately and rigorously capture transnational realities. This often requires utilizing multiple kinds and combinations of evidence, methods, units of inquiry, levels of analysis, and time frames (Khagram & Levitt, 2005: 5).

The authors' use of "methodological transnationalism" as opposed to "methodological nationalism" calls for the acknowledgement and recognition of the breaking down of social science concepts that are no more adequate in dealing with a globalized reality.

3.2 The study

Professional Indian women who migrate to work overseas for varying periods of time or live a transnational lifestyle, represent the epitomy of South African Indian women who have furthered their career aspirations into the international skills arena to trade their labour as "knowledge workers[1]". Some work for long periods, return "home" i.e. South Africa and then return once again to their "new found homes" in their newly adopted countries. This study is based on fieldwork carried out between mid-2005 and 2007 for this PhD thesis in Anthropology. The qualitative research methods used were primary data sources and included fifty in-depth interviews among professional Indian women in the Durban region of varying professional backgrounds; nine informal interviews with a range of acquaintances of the women; and participant observation which included casual conversations, group discussions and observations (including unplanned and unintentional

[1] *The knowledge worker includes those in the Information technology fields such as programmers,* systems analysts, technical writers, academic professionals, researchers and so forth. The term is also frequently used to include people outside of Information Technology such as lawyers, teachers, scientists of all kinds and also students of all kinds (www.serchcrm.techtarget.com/definitions).

eavesdropping) of Indian women in a variety of settings such as religious and cultural ceremonies, as well as more informal settings such as shopping centres, dinner parties and ladies get-togethers. Some of the "get-togethers" were unintended yet extremely valuable sources of data which made it difficult to draw a distinction between formal research and the value of such observations that touch upon enquiry. Hence, the use of a multiplicity of methods and evidence for the study were not only in keeping with Khagram & Levitt's "methodological transnationalism" but was also inevitable given the constraints of researching transnational women.

3.3 The sample

The sample of 50 women constituted fourth and fifth generation Indian women whose ancestral background as indentured or passenger Indians was neither known nor presented as significant in the articulation of their life-histories. The women were aware of their historical background more through the media and school education than family histories passed down over a period of time. They were in general, far removed from identifying with the Indian women outside of their mother's generation. It was for this reason that their historical legacy did not feature as a prominent aspect of defining the group despite the aim of showing the transition of Indian women up to present time.

Research on such a target group began from the very groups that repeatedly appraised their circles of daughters, mothers and friends who travel and work overseas - through a networking process of referrals. The 50 women who constitute the core of this project were return migrants who had already worked overseas and had returned to South Africa for varying reasons. In depth interviews (lasting between 1 and 4 hours) with them were augmented by follow up meetings or telephone calls for verification of details, and represented the primary option for collecting data. The interviews were carried out in several environments that were most convenient for the women

including their homes, workplace, and at coffee-shops or restaurants. In this core sample, only 13 women permitted a second interview, while the rest of the sample preferred telephonic "follow ups" or email communication. 15 women were not available in the follow-up to being interviewed because they were either traveling locally or had left the country again. The remaining 22 women agreed to communicate through emails, but more than half this number did not respond more than once after the initial interview was done. Spending time with my informants posed the greatest challenge in my fieldwork and required unconventional efforts to compensate the lacking anthropological methodology generally characterized by long periods of fieldwork or "going native". My evolving methodology was shaped by the restrictions of accessibility and mobility of the informants.

It became apparent that I would also need data from other groups of Indian women to substantiate my research efforts and primary target group. Compensating the limitations of my research methodology required me to expand the scope of my research sample. I began to interview family members of the women, particularly their mothers and siblings who played a significant supportive role in the lives of their daughters and sisters respectively. They were also more amenable to a female interviewer than were fathers and spouses who were generally disinterested in the interview. Social boundaries regarding interaction with the opposite sex were not obvious but still seemed to govern the thinking of the older generation of men. Five mothers in the sample availed themselves to my study at the time. On two such occasions of speaking to the mothers of professional women I chanced on speaking to younger members of the family (a younger brother, and a sister who was a university student) who also shared their views on going overseas. I realized that future endeavors at widening the sample and including aspects that I had not considered previously such as generational attitudes to migration, were contingent on the views of other family members.

It was evident that the Indian family was becoming my primary network of informants with referrals via colleagues and friends being a subsidiary or secondary source. This would ultimately allow me to gauge the extent and rate at which transnational families were emerging in the Indian community. What was intended to be a snowballing technique relying on broader social networks within Durban, had shifted towards a more specific network of family members. Referrals between family members were far easier to access than referrals between colleagues and friends. The Indian family subsequently took on the additional function of being both the area of analysis as well as the network upon which my research methodology developed.

The sub-sections to follow elaborate the research methods used throughout the study, that is, during the process of fieldwork as well as during the analysis of data (post-fieldwork analysis). These methods included the primary source of data collection, namely, in-depth interviews, and participant observation which was based on my observations, conversations and presence in varied informal social situations as well as formal cultural activities and ceremonies within Durban.

3.4 Research methods: Formal and informal interviews

3.4.1 Formal interviews

The 50 formal, in-depth interviews which lasted between one and four hours were based on structured, open-ended questioning and formed the primary source of data collection in this study. The sample comprised 25 single, unmarried women and 25 married women. The latter consisted of 21 legally/ traditionally (by religious rite) married women, 1 divorcee and 3 widows. It was from this sample that case-studies are presented throughout the study that included brief textual analysis, which entailed the inclusion of partial conversations and statements of key informants.

Interviews with other women (not included in the main sample) included 11 family members (mothers, siblings and cousins) of the interviewees; and 14 professional Indian women based in Durban and Gauteng who had not been overseas to work (non-migrants) but who were contemplating the possibility of overseas migration.

While interviews themselves are not considered a conventional or primary method of anthropological data collection, the limitations of fieldwork when studying migration and its processes poses critical challenges to being "in the field". The field itself takes on new meanings and pushes the boundaries of what more conventional anthropological research entails, particularly with regard to spending long periods of time observing the "other" in their surroundings. The notion of "field" in this study was constantly in flux and my reliance on the interview, particularly as an "insider", engaged the interview process as a field in its own right. Kleinman and Copp (1993) and later Hoffman (2007) argue for the interview process to be regarded as a "field" of power dynamics connected with emotional labour, a notion coined by Hochschild (1983: 7) in the sociology of emotions in various work settings as "...the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display".

By making the interview a "field" of shifting power relations between the interviewer and respondent, they argue for the significance of the researcher's awareness and understanding of subtle nuances in the data, not made obvious in older models of the interview and its association with rationality and objectivity as opposed to sensitivity and emotionality. Emotional labour is understood in this context to be the self-awareness of the researcher's emotional involvement in the power-play of the interview where for instance in open-ended interviews, questions have the potential to develop into areas not anticipated by the researcher, requiring influence, empathy or submission as

the means of eliciting information from the subject. In this case, finding information within a short space of time from the interviewee whose responses are unpredictable yet critical, the insider anthropologist is susceptible to empathizing with respondents, either intentionally or unintentionally but is equipped to elicit rich detail as well as underlying aspects, based on emotional sensitivity and inherent knowledge of the researched. The emotional labour in such anthropological fieldwork involving interviews is evident in the innate ability of the anthropologist to extricate detailed data in a relatively short period of time through adopting the roles of "student and/or teacher" (Hofffman, 2007), "confidant" (Becker, 1997), "therapist" (Ellis, 1999; Gardner & Lehmann, 2002), "expert and/or confessor" (Rubin, 1992). Kleinman and Copp (1993: viii) relate the interview process as "...central to the trade (of the researcher)... we might be made somewhat more comfortable...if more of our efforts were directed to the understanding, expression and reporting of our emotions".

In other words, power and emotions cannot afford to be downplayed in the interview as either a process or field in shaping and negotiating data collection. In lieu of this, the insider anthropologist whose familiarity with his subject is inherent, can be considered a repository of enriching data based on the emotional "intimacy" or social embedded-ness shared between himself and the similar "other".

Hoffman (2007) refers to Blee (1998: 383; 398) and Lively (2000: 40) to emphasize the complexity of emotional processes and skill required to ascertain data in the interview.

> Open-ended interviews demand especially challenging emotional labour, since the interview is not constrained to a narrow set of questions but often develops into areas that the researcher did not anticipate. Fieldwork is less routinized and so is more difficult in... sites of daily life interactions to apply

> established 'feeling rules' to guide the emotional dynamics between researcher and respondent... The solitary nature of interviews means that interviewers cannot turn to nearby coworkers for help with the deflection, shaping and eventual transformation of inappropriate emotions. Indeed, emotional dynamics in fieldwork often requires continual negotiation and renegotiation (Hoffman, 2007: 323).

In this study, the interviews with the women are given a voice in the presentation of case-studies which included their thoughts and statements. The depth of knowledge of the "insider" interviewer as an active agent in the interview field itself, has enabled extricating a wealth of data and insights not originally given recognition or engaged with, in previous studies of Indian women in Durban. Blee (1998: 383) writes of this sensitivity and awareness in interviews as "...an aspect of reflexivity in qualitative research that is often erased from written accounts, giving new insight into how the social interaction between scholars and those they study shapes knowledge and interpretation".

It was from these interviews that the following tabulated data (and the entire study) was obtained. The tables are presented within the context of providing a portrait of the women and an overview of their lives.

Tables 3.1 to 3.6 of this chapter highlights the sample of women and their backgrounds such as their professions, age-groups, marital status, family history of migration and religious affiliation. Tables 3.7 and 3.8 illustrate details of the women in the overseas context specifically, such as their religious practice and accommodation arrangements abroad. This data is meant to provide an overview of the essential characteristics of the women and their experiences so as to form the basis for further detail and analysis later in this presentation.

The table below indicates the diversity of professions of the fifty women who were interviewed.

Table 3.1: Professions of the women interviewed

No.	List of professions	No. Interviewed
1.	Administration (Banking)	2
2.	Attorney	3
3.	Beautician/Cosmetologist	8
4.	Businesswomen	3
5.	Lecturer	2
6.	Medical doctor (GP)	6
7.	Nurse	5
8.	Pharmacist	1
9.	Optometrist	3
10.	Researcher	2
11.	Skills developer/training	2
12.	Specialist doctor	2
13.	Speech & Hearing therapist	6
14.	Teacher	5
	Total	**50**

The table above shows a cross-section of women from diverse areas of professional expertise. However, some of the most obvious professions known to be occupied by such women, including that of accountants and engineers, are not part of the sample. Also the numbers of teachers and nurses in the sample are not proportional to the large numbers leaving South Africa at the time of the study. Hence the sample cannot be construed to

provide generalizations about Indian women transnationals at large and must be viewed within the context of the study itself.

As women who worked overseas was the priority for this study, age was not a consideration in my search for such respondents. The task of finding professional individuals took precedence. However, as the study progressed it became noticeable that the respondent's ages spanned over a forty-year time period. Table 3.2 below illustrates the numbers of women interviewed within the different age-groups of the sample.

Table 3.2: Age-groups of women in the sample

No.	Age-groups of women	No. interviewed
1.	20 - 30 years	15
2.	30-40 years	22
3	40-50 years	9
4.	50-60 years	2
5.	60 and above	2
	Total	**50**

Table 3.2 shows that the majority (44%) of women in the sample were in the age-group 30 to 40 years, followed by the 20 to 30 years (30%) category. It was significant that 18% of the women were in the 40 to 50 year age grouping and a further 8% of those in the age-groups below, suggestive of the heterogeneity of transnational migrant women and the diverse character of migration in a globalized economy. As with their age, their marital statuses differed equally, producing a diversity of reasons that prompted their search for work overseas.

Table 3.3 below illustrates the marital status of the fifty women interviewed, as mentioned in the introduction.

Table 3.3: Marital status of the women interviewed

	Marital status of the women	**No. Interviewed**
1.	Single / unmarried	25
2.	Married	21
3.	Divorced	1
4.	Widowed	3
	Total	**50**

This table indicates the prevalence of single/unmarried women in the sample but also shows that married women migrants almost equal this number. The numbers of widows and divorcees are marginal yet very significant and insightful to the overall trajectory of migration, forming an entire chapter in this study with their exceptional experiences.

Table 3.4 below shows the obvious preference of the women towards European migration. The advanced, first-world nations were most noticeable in their choice of destinations.

Table 3.4: Overseas destinations of the sample

Overseas destination		No. of women
1. Europe	United Kingdom	40
	Germany	1
	Portugal	1
2. United States		1
3. Canada		1
4. Australia		3
5. New Zealand		3
Total		**50**

Most of the women (40 of them) had selected the United Kingdom as their preferred destination while a few women in the sample had worked in Australia (3 women), New Zealand (3 women), the United States (1 woman) and Canada (1 woman). The women attributed their preference for European migration to the ease of geographical access and more importantly, the value of earning in a stronger European currency as opposed to other currencies. It is also plausible that being English speaking, and with England being an ex-colonizer of South Africa, that people tend to feel a sense of attachment towards the United Kingdom. Its economic and political stability and its attraction of foreign workers into its labour force are sources of great inspiration to adventurous female professionals or those contemplating relocating as emigrants. While most of the women were pioneers in their families as migrants, some were part of a trend that had already entrenched itself in the process of migration.

Table 3.5 below further details the women's migration background by examining their family history of migration, which highlights the extent to which their families were exposed to international migration, or not.

Table 3.5: Family history[2] of migration in sample

	Background	No. of women
1.	First generation to work overseas	33
2.	Second generation	10
3.	Families emigrated	7
	Total	**50**

Interestingly, table 3.5 shows that 66% (33 women) were the first members of both their immediate and extended families to leave South Africa to work overseas. Smaller numbers of women, 20% (10 of them) were second generation migrants and 14% (7 of them) had a longer history of international migration in their extended families. The category of first generation women therefore represents a pioneering cohort of Indian women to migrate overseas since 1994.

All the women belonged to several religious backgrounds, representative of the dominant religions in the local Indian population in Durban. Table 3.6 below indicates the affiliations of the sample and the number of women in them.

[2]Family history is meant to ascertain whether or not the women were pioneering members in their immediate and extended families, to work overseas. If not, then they were either a second generation of transnationals or belonged to extended families where members had emigrated.

Table 3.6: Religious affiliation of sample

Religious affiliation		No. of women
1. Hindu		36
2. Christian		8
3. Muslim		4
4. Other	Buddist	1
	Atheist	1
Total		**50**

Table 3.6 indicates that the women were primarily of a Hindu (72%) religious background with a few Christian, Muslim, a single Buddhist and an atheist woman respectively. This table is further expanded and more elaborately detailed in Table 3.7 below, which provides data on the religious membership and practice of the women in the overseas context.

Table 3.7: Religious membership and practice overseas

Religion	Membership	Practice	No. of Women
1. Hindu	Ramakrishna Mission	Ashram (prayer/lectures)	7
	Art of living	Centres	3
	Brahma Kumari Spiritual University	Meditation centre and retreat	1
	Sai group	Daily mediation	1
		Centres	3
	Personal[3]	Vegetarianism	4
		Daily prayer/ritual	6
		Specific prayer/ritual	2
		Abstinence/fasting (vegetarian or salt fast)	4
		Celebration festivals/holy days	3
2. Muslim	Mosque	Womens group	1
	Personal	Daily prayer/ritual	2
		Specific prayer/ritual	1
		Fasting (abstinence)	0
		Celebration of festivals/holy days	2
3. Christian	Church	Teaching Sunday school	2
		Bible Studies	1
	Personal	Daily prayer/ritual	3
		Specific prayer/ritual	1
		Celebration of festivals/holy days	3

[3] Personal: refers to those women who had no particular affiliation to any religious organization/ movement or institution and whose practice of religion was personal, based on rituals/practices learned from their parental home in South Africa. Many of these practices were also prevalent among those belonging to religious/spiritual bodies hence an overlap of categories is evident.

The total number of women in the table is not indicated for two reasons, firstly, that the numbers do not reflect the total sample due to a small number of women who did not practice their religion (non-practicing), and secondly, the overlap of categories specifically in the practice of religious activities. The religious practices that the women engaged in included various forms of prayer, meditation, ritual, learning and spiritual instruction, and celebration which was conducted on a daily, weekly, seasonal or annual basis. Table 3.7 provides some insight into the ways in which the women continued, reconfigured or resurrected local religious practice and identity overseas. Religious practice took on the personal form of daily prayer, ceremonies, rituals, fasting and abstinence, as well as activities associated with the religious centres and places of worship such as attending lectures, religious studies, meditation and community gatherings for the purposes of prayer and celebration.

Their religious practices and observances had to be determined by the circumstances under which they lived. This is one of the reasons why most of the interviewees preferred to live with individuals who shared their beliefs, or failing which, chose to live on their own. Table 3.8 below illustrates the living arrangements of the women in the sample based on two differing circumstances, namely, accommodation during the most recent working stint overseas for those who were first time working transnationals, and the most common accommodation options of those who were making regular trips abroad.

Table 3.8: Accommodation arrangements of the sample overseas

	Accommodation overseas		No. of women
1.	Relatives		6
2.	Bed and breakfast		1
3.	Rented houses		14
4.	Flats	a. Shared rented single/double bedroom	6
		b. Privately rented (non-sharing)	8
5.	Cruiseliner		8
6.	Other	a. Hospital residence	3
		b. Student/youth hostel	2
		c. Room with local family	1
		d. Private apartment	1
	Total		**50**

Table 3.8 above indicates that the most common accommodation option in the sample is evident in the numbers of rented houses and rented flats (categories 3 and 4). Rented houses accommodating up to eight people were popular among "first timers" who were new to a foreign country and who sought the comfort of living with either siblings or friends predominantly from South Africa. The shared rented flats (category 4a) were the most affordable option and accommodated a maximum of 3 people, most of whom were fellow South Africans. There were only a few instances of women sharing with strangers from other countries, in which case, all of whom were females. These "flatmates" developed into strong friendships for the women concerned, suggestive of the women's willingness to integrate and settle into the foreign culture. Categories 3 (rented houses) showed a strong indication of social continuity and the re-creation of a local cultural identity in the overseas context. The rented houses were the preferred choice of women in the sample who wanted to live with other Indian South Africans. One woman

in this category chose to live with fellow vegetarians in particular, as she felt that sharing a common religious and cultural background was important to settling into a foreign country. Categories 4a, 6a, 6b and 6c (mainly students and women who had recently migrated overseas) on the other hand, were suggestive of women who were more open to change and/or whose financial restrictions presented them with fewer options in terms of accommodation. Rent was often the most expensive commitment from the migrant women's income. It was particularly in this regard that the women indicated their lack of judgement of daily living costs and affordable living space. Most of the flats (category 4b) were rented by the women as individuals for want of privacy. It was also in this category that half the number of women had indicated moving on two other occasions. Generally, this seemed to be within proximity of friends and social networks. While Bachu (1985) proposed that the adaptability of twice-migrants is inherent in their resourcefulness to assimilate in foreign environments, Nowicka (2007) elaborates that feeling "at home" for mobile individuals is based on their widened perspective of the multiple meanings of home:

> Under circumstances of extensive mobility, the practices of mobile individuals are geographically dissolute and constantly interrupted. The frequent resettlements force individuals to constitute home afresh in a new place of residence yet it does not seem to be a problem. It is because home is being established around particular relationships to people and objects. Further, achieving a feeling of familiarity is offered by social networks or known infrastructure. Thus, the feeling of home is achieved in broader contexts and home is not limited to a particular, single place (Nowicka, 2007: 81).

The 6 women who lived with relatives (category 1) perceived this arrangement as a temporary option associated with the settling in process and were all seeking more self-sufficiency and independence from kinship reliance in their future migrations. The "rent-free" cruise-liner (category 5) was an attractive career option for traveling beauticians as it enabled them to

put their efforts into saving money instead of incurring the expenses of their land bound colleagues. The same could be said for those young graduates who found the student/youth hostels (category 6b) inexpensive and socially supportive. Hospital residences (category 6a) were mainly the options of nurses and medical doctors who preferred not to add traveling expenses into their daily costs. The single woman who rented a room with a family (category 6c) paid the family in "cash and kind". The elderly Irish couple enjoyed her spicy Indian cooking and so by doing all the cooking on the weekend, she felt she was partially earning her keep and repaying the debt in kindness. A health care professional preferred staying at a bed and breakfast (category 2) within walking distance to her place of work and returned to the same accommodation every four months. She was fortunate to have this expense paid for by her employers. Category 6d highlights a woman transnational who owned an apartment overseas. She shared this accommodation with other partners of a professional syndicate to which she belonged. Each colleague spent a few months every year at this apartment in their rotational biannual system of medical practice overseas.

The tables presented in this chapter provided the framework from which an in-depth analysis of the women was later conducted to complete this study. The intensive questioning and open-ended nature of the interview together with the strong rapport established with the women culminated in each interview being a unique experience in the process of the research.

3.4.2 Informal Interviews

Nine informal conversations/interviews with first-time acquaintances encountered in various social environments formed the informal interview component of the research. Such instances included 2 conversations struck up with complete strangers in a department store whom I heard conversing about working overseas; 4 impromptu interviews with professional Indian

women who I had been introduced to in the company of close friends at different social gatherings; 2 women and their husbands (who were friends of family friends) and whose own families were "transnational-families in transition", whom I met while attending a commercial inauguration and the other while attending a birthday dinner; and 1 woman who I met while standing in a queue in a shopping mall. These interviews are not presented as case-studies but are alluded to in varying degrees throughout the study, that is, where formal interviews were not arranged between myself and the women concerned. Only one woman permitted a formal interview after our initial informal meeting.

3.4.3 Participant Observation

The most unlikely of environments and settings became research sites with the potential to provide data on an array of issues concerning the migration of professional Indian women. One such site was a ladies room at a university in Scotland in 2007 where I encountered 2 female academics chatting about colleagues who had migrated to Africa. One of the women was an academic of Indian origin who had migrated from America to the United Kingdom. Once making her acquaintance, I was able to learn about her many South African friends and their perceptions of professional life in Europe. These experiences were crucial aspects of participant observation and served to later enhance the quality of my understanding of migration processes.

My position in the research as the "insider" also privileged me to easier access to some women with whom I could spend longer periods of time based on friendship and family ties. For instance, socializing with family members and a few close friends in social settings such as parties, weddings, funerals, and religious ceremonies (such as *jhunda* or flag installation prayers; *Naamkaran-Sanskar*, the naming-ceremonies of children; the puberty ceremony performed as the rite of passage of the Tamil girl-child to

womanhood, and during *Diwali* festivities)[4] where women are prone to congregate and catch up on the latest news, allowed me more intimate knowledge of their social interactions than with other unknown participants. These instances were infrequent but stood in contrast to those women with whom only a once-off interview was permitted. Within social gatherings and family interactions there are ongoing references to daughters as well as young mothers leaving to work overseas. Once a taboo subject among Indian women, overseas employment is now beginning to shift from a novelty towards a status symbol in career building. And what was once a point of gossip for want of stricter control over women's movements is now being converted to wide approval and communal sanction. It was being party to such conversations among friends and family, colleagues and relatives that my observations were initiated.

3.5 Research experiences and challenges

3.5.1 The "Inside(r)" Story

The insider/outsider debate is certainly not new in social science research and it was inevitable that my status as cultural "insider" would raise a number of issues regarding my "place" in these interactions. "Insider" ethnographers conducting fieldwork are generally perceived as being well equipped to understand the subtle nuances of that society's norms, values and expectations as well as having less restricted access to a community with which they are familiar. My own experiences both confirm and refute these claims. I did have a degree of easier access to some women in the community but experienced considerable resistance from those women who were concerned about how other participants in the study may connect their life-histories with their professional status (on publication of findings) thereby

[4] *Jundha* prayers refers to the hoisting of a red flag in commemoration of the Epic hero, Hanuman, who is widely talked about in the Ramayan (religious text); *Naamkaran-sanskar* is a Vedic ceremony performed mainly by Hindi-speaking Indians in the naming of newborn children with Sanskrit names; *Diwali* is the festival of lights (light over darkness) practiced by Hindus and is referred to in the Ramayan as the auspicious time when Ram and Sita returned to Ayodhya after 14 years of exile.

recognizing their personal as well as family identities. Their fears were well-founded as the Indian community in Durban, a racial minority group in KwaZulu-Natal (and South Africa), is a small, patriarchal, generally conservative-thinking community divided along class and religious lines. Jain (1993) refers to this as "cultural persistence" or the ability of expatriate Indian communities to retain, reconstitute and revitalize their culture in an overseas setting (in this case, South Africa) by allowing cultural differences of race, language, religion and fellowship to persist. Within the 3 main religious groups in Durban (Hindu, Muslim and Christian) there is also linguistic differentiation. Hence confidentiality and the codification of names and places in the research did not exempt crucial aspects such as these inherent divisions, in the recognition of individuals.

Women anthropologists and fieldworkers (Zinn, 1979; Oakley, 1982; Zavella, 1993) have grappled with the political responsibility inherent in researching communities similar to those of the ethnographer and ultimately the sharing of the knowledge generated with them. Feminist "insiders" in particular have been cognizant of the fact that despite this "insiderness" and familiarity of the subject and setting, differences exist between the researcher and participants. My study is among professional Indian women like myself, yet we are different in our backgrounds and life experiences, making me an insider and outsider simultaneously. Lal (1996: 200) writes that the post-colonial intellectual's position should transcend "...national, racial and gendered boundaries in the articulation of politically responsible representations". She calls for a post-colonial methodology that shifts the anthropological gaze away from identity based categories to "...an examination of our politics and accountability, in questioning where and how we are located...on to a more productive engagement with the nature of our relationships with those whom we study and represent".

Lal recognizes the merit of reflexivity in anthropological research involving women "insiders". She underscores ethical considerations such as the need to share findings with our informants as well as giving them a voice in the writing up process, as critical considerations for the post-colonial intellectual. Research in South Africa however, given its legacy of apartheid, is problematic for the "insider" who belongs to a previously "disadvantaged" group, which in the post-apartheid context is still having to deal with racial and gendered contexts.

It is pertinent at this stage to qualify that my intention is not to present the Indian community in Durban as a static, unchanging one nor myself as an authority on Indian women or the Indian community. Moore (1997: 5) aptly writes that "...The debate on the politics of representation in mainstream anthropology all too often proceeds as if identities were essentialist and as if *differences existed only between anthropologists rather than within each* anthropologist".

There is a tendency in local scholarship to essentialize Indianness as having a history and cultural foundation that is considered as unchanging determinants in Indian identity. South African literature is generally lacking in depicting the agency of Indian women in particular and the ways in which they engage local and global processes. Moving away from this kind of timeless, singular representation is crucial to any contemporary analysis particularly of transnational Indian women. The heterogeneity of social experiences of these women subvert generalizations regarding the traditional roles of Indian women and the perceived constructs of Indian womanhood. It is evident that the Indian community in Durban straddles both traditional as well as modern worlds in adapting to a newly democratic political environment as well as the forces of globalization. This is particularly evident in the numbers of unmarried professional Indian women who are migrating overseas to mobilize themselves within global markets and the delay in marriageable age of the

women who place their careers before marriage. The Indian family has come under enormous pressure to adopt a more liberal view towards daughters pursuing a transnational lifestyle as a means of furthering their careers. Many parents see this as an obvious choice in a country where they believe future generations have little scope and security. Parents are of the opinion that crime, affirmative action and co-existing with poverty, gives them little choice but to be supportive of their children's decision to move or work abroad. Some parents even plan to join them at a later stage. A few parents had intentions of relocating all their children first before finally leaving South Africa themselves (over a 5-10 year period because of the costs involved).

3.5.2 Studying "sideways"

The position of the insider in fieldwork has raised other pertinent issues that have dominated recent debates. Belonging to the same class as the women and not being involved in conventionally subaltern studies over a long period of time in a single site made me question the exact nature of such anthropological research and how I could "define" it. I could not claim to be "studying up" in terms of Nader's, (1972) and Beaverstock's (2005) advocacies, but in studying the same gender and class as myself was rather involved in studying "sideways". Hannerz (1998: 109) coined this notion in reference to a method for academic ethnographers to consider in "...studying journalists, lawyers or other salaried professionals... studying up or sideways requires that we rethink the basic premises of the ethnographic encounter".

Pedelty (2005: 347) comments that Hannerz's work is a revealing indication of both the pros and cons of monitoring cultural phenomena of global span. He maintains that Hannerz' method of following people along established professional networks "fits the matter" and that he "... presents insights into the changing scope of "career" as professions become more global in scope." Pedelty supports the possibility of learning from journalists, their well-

established methods and modes for dealing with global issues. He refers to this sharing of sister disciplines (in this case, academic journalists, sociologists and others) as "parachuting" whereby global networkers and for instance, anthropologists, join forces in a "team ethnography". Given the limitations and restrictions of my target group, a team relationship of this nature could provide me with the kind of assistance necessary to consolidate my fieldwork efforts. It was certainly something to consider if a multi-site study was not possible.

Hannerz's multi-sited ethnographic encounter involving "off-site" travels of journalists and international correspondents in global news and news-work demonstrates new ways in which to pursue research in time and space. The implications of such a study in my own research highlights the constraints of the ethnographer in pursuing long-term fieldwork among transnational professionals. "Going native" within communities that gives rise to the "thick" ethnography of anthropologists who live for lengthy periods of time among their informants, is increasingly challenged in contemporary fieldwork situations such as my own on two fronts, namely, on the basis of accessibility and mobility of both individuals and communities which move between multiple-locales as well as the practicality of funding such research. Ideally, fieldwork among professional Indian women in Durban as well as among a sample of South African Indian women in the United Kingdom for instance would provide me with a far more detailed and enriching expose of the transnational lifestyle of the professionals. This was not an option available to me due to the limitations of being junior research staff in academe and the incumbent lack of resources and funding characteristic of such scholarly status in a South African university.

3.6 Concluding remarks

This chapter on the qualitative research component of my fieldwork details the methods involved in ascertaining data from the core sample of fifty women. The interview process consisted of both formal and informal interviews and the voices of the women are presented as case-studies throughout the thesis. Their narratives include several transcribed words and statements used by the women themselves to convey their experiences, emotions and social meanings in a way that enhances their agency in the migration process.

The evolution of the networks relied upon as a primary source of data collection showed the difficulty of accessing a group of mobile informants for the study. Informal interviews and participant observation in this process provided valuable anthropological feedback in unlikely settings and at unusual moments. However, such evidence was not always easily definable as reduced units of analysis but served to capture certain realities not obvious in the formal interviews. Tables 3.1 to 3.5 illustrate the demographics of the sample outlaying their professions, age-groups, marital status, overseas destinations and family history of migration. The tables indicate a heterogenous sample of women from differing class, religious, marital status and generational backgrounds but whose commonalities included their gender, ethnic classification and professional status. Tables 3.6 and 3.7 show the religious backgrounds and religious membership and practice of the women overseas, respectively. These tables were revealing about the resurrection and retention of religious practices and activities of the women particularly with regard to the cultural reproduction of identity in their engagement with rituals, prayer and the celebration of religious festivals similar to those practiced in Durban. Table 3.8 on the accommodation arrangements of the women overseas is insightful about two issues, namely: the degree to which the women were able to assimilate and integrate into a

foreign society, and how the social meanings associated with "home" manifested itself in the overseas context (detailed later in the study).

The chapter also highlights key issues arising out of my research experiences and challenges, including: the limitations of researching a multi-sited context from a single-site perspective, the trials and tribulations of the "insider" anthropologist experience, the need for a "re-invention" of traditional anthropological methods of enquiry and doing fieldwork as a post-colonial ethnographer.

The restrictions of conducting multi-sited fieldwork and the limitations of accessibility to women transnationals presented the challenge of finding other means of supplementing my existing data. The use of quantitative methods of interview-based surveys was another option of supporting the qualitative research methods. Two surveys and twelve e-questionnaires enabled a general perspective of the perceptions of non-migrants and emigrants concerning the process of migration. Chapter Four, to follow, presents the data collated from these investigations.

CHAPTER FOUR

FIELDWORK 2
QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH METHODS

4.1 Introduction

Quantitative research methods conducted for this study served as secondary data sources and included, a residential survey based on structured interviews of 150 informants in four "Indian"[1] suburbs; an under-graduate survey based on structured interviews of 100 Indian female students across 3 campuses at the University of KwaZulu-Natal; and e-questionnaires sent to 12 professional Indian women overseas. The supplementary methods of data collection were conducted mainly in the post-fieldwork phase of the study, from November 2006 to December 2007. These unconventional methods provided a different type of data that could not have been ascertained from the interviews but which, when used in conjunction with the former, produced sound evidence of the impact overseas migration had made on the consciousness of the local Indian community.

4.2 Research methods

4.2.1 Surveys

Two surveys based on structured interviews were conducted with the assistance of 5 post-graduate students from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2 of whom were from the Department of Anthropology. The surveys investigated the migration potential and symbolic value of migration within 2 samples, namely Indian households across 4 Indian suburbs in Durban, and

[1] "Indian" areas allocated according to the Group Areas Act of 1950, forced physical separation between races by creating different residential areas for different races (www.africanhistory.about.com).

an under-graduate population of Indian female students, respectively. These are elaborated upon below.

4.2.1.1 Residential survey (secondary data source)

The residential survey was carried out with the assistance of 5 post-graduate students, under the guidance of my supervisor and myself. We entered the field with little knowledge of what our reception in the randomly chosen households of the four Indian suburbs would be. Four streets were earmarked in each of the suburbs and those households where adults were present at the time were approached for interviews. Fortunately, two research assistants resided in two of these areas and with their familiarity of the neighbourhoods they became the gatekeepers to particular households and key informants. It was from these key households that further inroads and introductions to other households in the area were made possible. 150 interviews were carried out over a period of 3 months through this process of networking. The purpose of the survey was to investigate the general attitude of Indian households towards migration and the symbolic value of migration across age and gender variables in these Indian communities. The following insert indicates the main question/s asked to find out the relevant information.

Survey of 4 Indian communities in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal: From November 2006 to January 2007 – Areas: Clare Estate, Reservoir Hills, Shallcross and Verulam	
Question: Would you like to work overseas? What are your plans for the near future?	
1. Yes	What are your reasons for wanting to migrate?
2. No	What are your reasons for not migrating?
3. Uncertain	Do you know of others (friends, neighbours, family) who have gone overseas?

Table 4.1 below indicates the number of people in the households of the different suburbs, for each of the response categories.

Table 4.1: Responses of people interviewed in the 4 residential areas

			Responses		
	Residential areas	**Total interviewed**	**Yes**	**No**	**Uncertain**
1.	Clare Estate & Reservoir Hills	50	18	24	8
2.	Shallcross	50	22	19	8
3.	Verulam	50	23	27	1
	Total	**150**	**63**	**70**	**17**

Two residential areas in category 1 of the table above (Clare Estate and Reservoir Hills) were grouped together due to the smaller number of interviews conducted in both areas.

The dominant response, 46 % (70 responses) to working overseas across 3 of the 4 residential suburbs was "no" to overseas migration. The main reason for people wanting to remain in South Africa was wanting to be with their families. The "yes" response rate was very close numerically with 40% (63 responses) of the respondents showing a genuine interest in working abroad. Their motivations revolved around three issues in order of importance, namely: new social experiences and independence; economic instability and unemployment brought about largely by affirmative action policies in South Africa; and the high crime rate. 14% (17 responses) of the residents were uncertain or dubious about working overseas based on several factors including: the prerequisites for entering foreign job markets, finding a job locally as a first priority, and age as a constraint for migration.

While the predominant response to working overseas was in the negative (3 of the 4 residential suburbs), the following table provides a breakdown of the different age-groups interviewed and their responses accordingly. Table 4.2 gives a more detailed indication of their responses across the different age-groups in each area and helps contextualize the motivations in the responses of the previous table.

Table 4.2: Dominant age groups per residential area

Residential Area		**Age groups**	**Yes**	**No**	**Uncertain**
1.	Clare Estate and Reservoir Hills	16 – 26 years	17	11	5
		27 – 37 years	1	3	1
		38 – 49 years		5	1
		50 – 60 years		4	
		61 – 70 years		2	
		71+ years			
	Total		**18**	**25**	**7**
2.	Shallcross	16 – 26 years	13	3	1
		27 – 37 years	6	4	3
		38 – 49 years	3	3	5
		50 – 60 years		6	
		61 – 70 years		2	
		71 + years		1	
	Total		**22**	**19**	**9**
3.	Verulam	16 – 26 years	11	4	1
		27 – 37 years	8	7	
		38 – 49 years	2	8	
		50 – 60 years	2	5	
		61 – 70 years		2	
		71 + years			
	Total		**23**	**26**	**1**

Table 4.2 shows the predominance of affirmative responses to working overseas, in 3 of the 4 residential areas, in the 16 to 26 year age group. While the age-group 27 to 37 years most strongly featured in the "no" response to migration, a significant number in this group also articulated a desire to migrate. These categories must be considered within the constraints of the numbers of interviews conducted per age-grouping. However, the numbers of respondents most attracted to migration is clearly evident in the 2 younger age groupings across the suburbs, indicating the lure of working overseas particularly in respondents completing school, as well as under-graduates and those entering the job market. Respondents in the 27 to 37 year age-group were motivated more by low income and poor professional opportunities in South Africa, the high incidence of crime, and with affirmative action. It was interesting to note that the small number of people in the 38 to 48 year and 49 to 59 age groups (and older) considered migration within the context of emigration. A few of these respondents were hopeful that once their children moved overseas they would have this option also. Across all age-groups a general awareness of overseas migration with regard to personal knowledge of the process, approximate costs, documentation and legal requirements was evident.

The following table shows the response rate of the residents in the designated age-groups, according to gender.

Table 4.3: Gender breakdown of "yes" response in the different age-groups of the residential areas

Residential Area		Age groups	Female	Male	Total Interviewed
1.	Clare Estate & Reservoir Hills	16-26 years	9	8	
		27-37 years	1	0	
		38-49 years	0	0	
		50-60 years	0	0	
		61-70 years	0	0	
		71+ years	0	0	**18**
2.	Shallcross	16 – 26 years	10	3	
		27 – 37 years	3	3	
		38 – 49 years	3	0	
		50 – 60 years	0	0	
		61 – 70 years	0	0	
		71 + years	0	0	**22**
3.	Verulam	16 – 26 years	6	5	
		27 – 37 years	5	2	
		38 – 49 years	1	1	
		50 – 60 years	0	2	
		61 – 70 years	0	0	
		71 + years	0	0	**22**

Table 4.3 above shows the prevalence of an affirmative female response rate in the 16 to 26 year age-group, across all four suburbs. Even in the numerically fewer 27 to 37 year age-group, women surpassed men in the idea of working overseas. This is suggestive of the gendered character of migration motivations ascertained within the survey and the influence of tertiary education in prompting women in the local household to seek career and employment opportunities outside South Africa.

Overall, the residential survey indicated that across all age groups, migration was a consideration for almost half the sample and was viewed as a viable option in the future planning of the informants. While it was not considered a sensible choice to those who wished to remain in the country, thoughts of migration had at the very least permeated the household on some level. All respondents knew of family, friends or neighbours who had migrated overseas to work or who had emigrated in the past five years. The high affirmative response rate from the younger generation of Indian women is supportive of the trend of migrating professional Indian women in the main sample.

4.2.1.2 Under-graduate survey (secondary data source)

A survey of 100 Indian female under-graduates was conducted between May and September 2007 at the Howard College, the Durban-Westville, and Nelson Mandela Medical School campuses of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), with the help of 2 post-graduate assistants from the Department of Anthropology at UKZN.

The student sample was approached at random in several areas of the campuses including the libraries, student cafés and outside lecture venues. They were asked whether or not they were interested in going overseas to work or study on completion of their degrees. The undergraduate, Indian female students were all in their final year of study and were between the ages of 20 and 29 years. Table 4.4 shows the academic disciplines included in the survey and the number of females interviewed in each, across the 3 campuses.

Table 4.4: Academic fields covered by survey

	Academic fields	No. of women
1.	Social Sciences	50
2.	Nursing	2
3.	Law	26
4.	Commerce	4
5.	Medicine	9
6.	Engineering	5
7.	Pure Sciences	4
	Total	**100**

The predominance of social science and law students are obvious in the sample and indicate sample bias based on student numbers and accessibility of the students across the disciplines. However, that the sample included students across 7 academic disciplines shows the heterogeneity of the under-graduates despite ethnic homogeneity.

Table 4.5 below indicates the overseas destinations of choice in the sample.

Table 4.5: Destination of choice of final year student sample

	Destinations	No. of women
1.	Europe	3
2.	United Kingdom	6
3.	London	23
4.	United States	6
5.	Canada	3
6.	Australia	1
7.	New Zealand	1
8.	Utd Arab Emirates	7
9.	India	2
10.	Uncertain	6
	Total	**67**

Table 4.5 shows the strong appeal for European destinations among the students and points to the lure of a strong currency, first-world standards and resources and the ease of geographic access from Africa. However, at least half the sample had not travelled overseas before and showed a romanticized attitude towards the cosmopolitanism of London as a destination in particular. It was also the destination where most of their family and friends had migrated in search of better jobs and opportunities.

Table 4.6 below, illustrates the general migration potential of the Indian female student sample at UKZN. Thereafter, Tables 4.7, 4.8(a) and 4.8(b) further detail certain aspects of their migration potential.

Table 4.6: Under-graduate student survey of Indian female migration potential

	Migration Potential	**No. of women**
1.	High	58 (to work overseas)
		9 (to study overseas)
2.	Low (uncertain)	18
3.	None (no migration potential)	15
	Total	**100**

The table illustrates that 58% of the undergraduates were giving serious consideration to migrating overseas, many to the extent that they had begun researching the idea; fact-finding from family members and colleagues about what the process entailed; and to a lesser extent had begun attending seminars and making enquiries with recruitment agencies. An additional 9% of this category were pursuing post-graduate or further studies abroad. In this group of students 2 females showed a sound understanding of how their post-graduate qualifications would act to promote them as future economic migrants who needed admissibility criteria to be fulfilled in order to gain access to entry into particular countries. 36% of the sample were uncertain of their future and were only contemplating migration, which they did not consider as a priority in their immediate planning. 30% of the sample showed no migration potential and seemed certain they would not be migrating, based on their commitment to employment offers they had accepted, and/or to relationships, specifically marriage. The student who was planning to get married after graduation (refer to table 4.8a) stated that this was how she had planned her life (viz. school, then university, followed by marriage and children) and felt that she was at an appropriate age to be married. Her perception hinted at the social expectation of young women to marry in their early twenties.

Table 4.7 below illustrates those respondents who were uncertain of their future plans and the reasons for their low migration potential in the sample.

Table 4.7: Low migration potential – Uncertain response

	Uncertain response	No. of women
1.	Continue studying	3
2	Find employment	3
3.	Starting employment	3
4.	Uncertain	2
5.	1 & 2	5

Most of these students were negotiating further studies in South Africa, should employment not be possible. Studying further (post-graduate qualifications), finding employment and beginning employment were the main factors or combination of factors influencing the low migration potential of the students who were uncertain of how and when migration overseas would feature in their lives.

Tables 4.8 (a) and 4.8 (b) to follow, show the reasons for students choosing to remain in South Africa (no migration potential) in relation to their academic backgrounds. This table is an attempt to ascertain whether or not a relationship between the two factors exists.

Table 4.8(a): No migration potential - Reasons for remaining in South Africa

	Reasons for remaining in SA	No. of women
1.	Continuation of studies	2
2.	Studying & working	3
3.	Finding employment	6
4.	Starting employment	3
5.	Marriage	1
	Total	**15**

Table 4.8(a) shows that this part of the student sample prioritized finding employment above all else. The dominant response placed this necessity before considerations of studying and marriage. Such a priority was suggestive of a sample of students facing financial difficulty, or having the responsibility of paying off student loans and bursaries, or those who were contributing towards household expenses.

Table 4.8(b) highlights the predominance of the no migration potential sample in the fields of social sciences, law, medicine and commerce.

Table 4.8(b): Academic fields of no migration potential sample

	Academic fields	Nos.
1.	Law	5
2.	Medicine	2
3.	Social Sciences	7
4.	Commerce	1
	Total	**15**

No conclusive relationship could be obtained from this data, nor any inferences made about the "no" migration potential of students in the above academic fields. The students were generally of the opinion that there was no value in leaving their families and country to "start all over again" without any support or familiarity of culture. They maintained that pursuing livelihoods in South Africa despite the rampant crime and weakening currency, was a more financially and socially feasible option than working or living overseas. However, those students studying law were aware of the limitations of pursuing a legal career in the United Kingdom where a South African degree in law was not recognized.

A South African Migration Project (SAMP) survey was conducted in 2003 of 10 000 final-year students at training institutions across the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region in six Southern African countries, including South Africa. In the South African sample 4.7% of the students were categorized Indian/Asian. Their findings resonated with my own findings of the Indian residential survey. The SAMP survey found that overall, as many as 79% of the students have thought about moving to another country. Two issues in particular were striking:

> ...less than 25% of all students felt that the cost of living, job availability, prospects for economic advancement and level of taxation would get much better in the future...and that salaries, cost of living, ability to find the job wanted and prospects for professional advancement were considered better in their preferred destinations (Crush, Pendleton & Tevera, 2005: 1-2).

Although the sample size, demographic profile and ethnic representation of both surveys were vastly different, they both reveal the impact of globalizing economic forces in shaping the tendency for migration of graduates and consequently skills from within the African continent.

The residential and under-graduate surveys conducted for this study complemented my fieldwork among professional Indian women and showed the changing dynamics of the Indian household and the emergence of women transnationals. The residential survey was an informative signifier of the value that Indian households placed on the issue of overseas migration and the degree to which the various generations assigned social and cultural relevance to the notion. The under-graduate survey of female Indian students demonstrated the extent to which the students had factored overseas migration into their future plans. Both surveys provided indications of the overseas migration potential of non-migrants and the significance of such an exercise in their future.

4.3 e-questionnaires and cyber-ethnography

The 'virtual' dimension of e-questionnaires as a method of data collection was out of necessity rather than intention. It redefined my field of research to include the overseas destinations to which I had no access. The women were professionals like myself and so there appeared to be no tangible power differentials. Yet one difference between these professionals and myself signified a crucial imbalance in our positions – I had not experienced the trajectory of the migration process. Although the focus of the research is the phenomenon of transnational women, the field remained a single-site. I began the study among return migrants in Durban but with the inclusion of e-questionnaires the idea of this "field" and the scope of my ethnography changed. Kuntsman (2004: 1) critically approaches and explores belonging on-line when he writes:

> Cyberspace as a new field site demands rethinking concepts of culture and location. In the past decade it has become a site of growing interest for sociologists, anthropologists, linguists and other social scientists. More and more scholars attempt to contextualize it in terms of space, location and geography...But

> cyberspace also demands re-examining the very idea of 'the field' in virtual - or what is also called cyber-ethnography.

Circumstances imposed upon me the need to recognize the notion of "cyberspace" and "cyber-ethnography" which had to be applied for practical reasons. Some of the women participants in the study knew other professional Indian women working overseas at that point in time and were able to help me compile a list of potential email candidates for an e-questionnaire. Such an exercise presented an opportunity to collect data on a marginal target group of Indian women that would certainly facilitate greater insight into the duality of their lives. Twelve e-questionnaires were sent out but only five women responded. One such respondent happened to be a distant relative who had settled permanently in Canada. Determining the correct number of women interviewees and email participants in the sample became incumbent on access as opposed to representative-ness of the larger transnational community. Anthropological data collection and production presented itself in several guises and being creative, reflexive and innovative in extricating new possibilities certainly put my fieldwork knowledge to task.

Surfing both intellectual/scientific diaspora networks on the internet (SANSA: The South African Network of Skills Abroad – www.sansa.nrf.ac.za; and TOTKEN:Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals)– www.unops.org, as well as social cultural websites (*www.shaadi.com; www.IndianMatrimonials.com;www.homecomingrevolution.com, www.migrationinformation.org*), enabled me to navigate to a degree the limitations of data collection in this study. The virtual field was the closest I could venture to the experience of the overseas destinations of my transnational sample. It facilitated a monitoring of social trends within the expatriate communities relating to the challenges of adapting and integrating in new environments; the practical problems associated with relocating such as finding employment and accommodation, information on socio-cultural

matters. It provided a forum for the sharing of views on matters such as marriage and the choice of suitable marriageable partners (*www.pickledpolitics.com*) as well as how global issues such as homosexuality and Aids, multiculturalism overseas and gender issues (*www.passtheroti.com*) as well as current political events (*www.chapatimystery.com; www.italiandesi.wordpress.com*) impact on the Indian diaspora. Andersson's (2007: 2) study on ICT (Information & Communications Technologies) technologies in the creation, formation and maintenance of a diaspora identity, elaborates "...on line interaction and Diaspora websites become arenas where life in the Diaspora is explored, reflected upon and the notion of belonging and identity is debated".

It was on one of these websites that I learnt from a male response pertaining to issues concerning choice of marriage partners that some South African Indian men (as well as other Indian men in the diaspora) preferred marrying women from India because they were considered "more homely and had better moral values" while their South African (or local) counterparts were perceived as females who were too westernized and "lived in the fast-lane and were generally career-driven" (*www.Indian desi.com*).

4.4 Concluding remarks

My methods of quantitative data collection revolved around local surveys and e-questionnaires sent overseas. The discussions above underscore the limitations experienced in this regard as well as the overall challenges facing research on transnational Indian women. Surveys and questionnaires are not conventional anthropological methods of data collection yet in situations that are not conducive to long-term fieldwork, such methods (used in tandem with qualitative techniques) as "going on-line" and exploring perceptions of social processes on diasporic websites, watching films or reading novels produced by expatriates about their experiences in new socio-cultural environments, or

networking with other disciplines such as journalists in a joint effort involving multi-sited ethnography, highlight the need to rethink methodologies to "fit the matter". My experiences and reflections highlight those issues affecting contemporary research involving fieldwork in multiple locations. The debates and issues addressed in this chapter elaborate some of the methodological constraints confronting the post-colonial ethnographer and changing trends in anthropological research.

Researching migration, transnationalism and identity requires that the ethnographer constantly adapt to the changing boundaries of the "field". Processes and systems of migration require both an historicized analysis of socially embedded meanings as well as comparative insights into global networks. This is not possible if the boundaries within which the contemporary ethnographer works is constrained by context-bound forms of ethnographic enquiry. More debate and more methodological experiences of the anthropologist in a network society need to be shared in order to find ways of addressing these concerns. Traditional methodologies need to be reformulated and conventional practices revisited so as to develop new ways of researching social systems and global interconnectedness.

The chapters to follow, namely, chapters five, six and seven form the core ethnographic data gathered and supported by the aforementioned methods of data collection. The chapters are an intensive examination of the sample of fifty women interviewed - as single, unmarried professional Indian women (chapter five), married professional Indian women (chapter six) and widowed & divorced professional Indian women (chapter seven), respectively.

CHAPTER FIVE

SINGLE PROFESSIONAL INDIAN WOMEN

5.1 Introduction

The next three chapters represent an intensive exploration of the fifty qualitative interviews conducted among the core sample. The task of presenting a discernable structure for this dissertation was a complex one. Options of dealing with the sample through one of various categorizations presented a challenge that was not always convincing to me as an anthropological exercise. For instance, dealing with the sample through relocation by countries such as Australia and New Zealand, United States of America and Canada, and Europe was one such option. The alternative was to deal with the women by grouping their professions, which would become too extensive given the variety of work that was recorded. Hence, the choice of categorizing the women into single, married, and divorced and widowed, appealed to me as the best possible categorization from which to elicit anthropological data necessary for a project of this nature. Each category is characterized by conventions and expectations that have some anthropological relevance to it.

Single women, for instance, as convention dictates, are expected to marry by twenty-one years of age, whereas married women would be expected to be more domesticated, while divorcees and widows would be expected not to remarry nor travel as freely as unmarried women. However, single Indian women today are using their tertiary education and work experience as a platform for further emancipation, thereby challenging conventional expectations.

Single, unmarried women comprised fifty percent of the total sample of women interviewed. This chapter focuses on their experiences abroad as well as on those issues that affect them as single women within a transnational workforce. Their motivations for leaving the country and parental support in migration decision-making are examined, as is their socialization overseas. Tables[1] and case-studies are used to detail or amplify issues considered particular to their experiences.

The following table gives an indication of those professions occupied by this group of women.

Table 5.1: Professions of single women interviewed

	Profession	**No. of women**
1.	Attorneys	3
2.	Banking & Administration	2
3.	Beauticians	6
4.	Medical doctors	4
5.	Skills developer/Training	1
6.	Speech & Hearing therapists	4
7.	Specialist medical doctors	2
8.	Teachers	2
9.	Nurses	1
	Total	25

The ongoing demand for trained beauticians/cosmetologists (category 3) aboard cruise-liners is evident in this being the category with the largest number in the sample. This entailed a contract renewable after an eight months stint, which the women perceived as an opportunity to (in one

[1] Tables in this study (eg. Attitudes towards affirmative action; Family migration history; Support in migration decision-making, etc) also appear in the following 3 chapters to show consistency in argument and formatting.

respondent's words) "*see the world rent free and carefree*". So too, the predominance of migrating health science (category 6) and medical professionals (category 4 and 7) in the table above, puts into perspective the global demand for certain skills at the time. However, the small sample size and the extent to which it represents the national population of migrating Indian women professionals per se is by no means obvious and is intentioned to inform the parameters of this study only. For instance, the significantly large numbers of teachers and nurses migrating at this time is not evident within this sample.

5.2 Motivations for overseas migrations

The motivations of the women for wanting to migrate and work overseas revolved around several factors. The table below serves to illustrate these motivations in order of their significance for the single women professionals.

Table 5.2: Motivations for leaving South Africa

	Motivations	**No. of women**
1.	Affirmative action/low salaries/high taxation	6
2.	Poor professional opportunities	5
3.	Crime & family safety	4
4.	Family & cultural pressures	4
5.	Overseas work experience	4
6.	Considering emigration	2
	Total	**25**

The high rate of taxation imposed on South African professionals combined with affirmative action favouring Blacks[2] and its' impact on work opportunities and career advancement for minority ethnic groups such as Indians, was the primary motivation for leaving South Africa. Economic and political stability of the developed countries and the lure of earning in a stronger currency were crucial elements in the motivations of the single professionals in the sample. The vast difference in value between South African and first-world currencies such as Europe, America and Australasia meant that salaries earned overseas, were up to four to six times higher for certain professions.

5.2.1 Affirmative Action

The following table further elaborates category 1 of Table 5.2 regarding the sample's views towards affirmative action.

Table 5.3: Views of sample concerning affirmative action

	Views of the women	**No. of women**
1.	Against	19
2.	Impartial	1
3.	In favour	5
	Total	**25**

Table 5.3 shows that the sample was strongly opposed to affirmative action. 76% (19 of the women) expressed dissatisfaction with the implementation of this policy saying that it further marginalized minority populations such as Indians. Comments such as *"...there is no point in applying for a job, if you are not black enough you won't get shortlisted..."; "the classifieds* (advertisements in local newspapers) *state the position is for historically*

[2] The racial category Black refers to South Africans of African origin.

disadvantaged candidates which according to the constitution includes Indians but we don't stand a chance...there is no equal opportunity and no non-discrimination...its the old system all over again..."; "... this is our homeland but their is no incentive to stay when the cost of daily living is expensive and life is cheap – here, you can be killed for your shoes..." and *"...why should I pay high taxes so that corrupt politicians can wine and dine their cronies while the man in the street is starving and dying of HIV/Aids[3]?"* Only 20% (5 women) of the sample believed that affirmative action addressed historical injustices of the past although they felt disillusioned by the poor earning potential of certain professions and the high levels of taxation imposed on professionals.

5.2.2 Crime

Also a significant motivation for migration was the effect of crime on the personal safety of individuals as well as families. The levels of violent crime in South Africa has reached alarming proportions affecting the daily lives of a cross-section of the population. Within this sector of women, the perception of being "soft targets" for crimes involving car hijackings and rape were expressed. A persistent concern among some health professionals and medical practitioners in terms of occupational risk were the high levels of exposure to HIV/Aids in clinical settings, given the high rate of treating HIV/Aids patients on a daily basis. The following newspaper article reveals the severity of the situation:

> Statistics released by the South African Institute of Race Relations paint a grim picture of KwaZulu-Natal's public health sector, with the worst indicators of the nine provinces and the highest HIV/Aids infection rate in the country (The Mercury, 25 April 2008).

[3] HIV means Human Immunodeficiency Virus (www.qudh.org); Aids refers to Auto-Immune-Deficiency-Syndrome (www.jls.gov/sepcialsections), a debilitating virus that has severely impacted upon the South African population, with the highest infection rate emanating from KwaZulu-Natal.

5.2.3 Family pressures and overseas work experience

The pressures of family and socio-cultural expectations (category 4 of Table 5.2) were also relevant to the migration of single Indian women for whom the resilience of certain traditional stereotypes continued, particularly within the institution of marriage. In addition to this data, general conversations held with at least five unmarried women (including students who wished to work overseas), at weddings, as well as in more casual environments such as shopping malls and restaurants during the course of my fieldwork, affirmed this enthusiasm for independence and a willingness to experience another way of life before marriage.

Among those women for whom overseas work experience was the primary motivation, an interview with **Ayesha** provided insight into the perceptions of the women with regard to the value of first world exposure. Ayesha, was 23 years old when she qualified as a speech and hearing therapist in 1998. She left for London and worked for two years in various hospitals before returning to South Africa, with "*new methods under my belt*". However, finding employment in several work environments in Durban proved futile, despite her work experience in the UK. This she said was a rude awakening as to the reality of the limited options and scope for advancement within the profession available to her in South Africa. Similarly, the other women in this category believed that international exposure was more beneficial in terms of personal growth rather than giving professionals a competitive edge, or placing them one step ahead of the rest, as originally understood.

The four women in the sample experiencing family pressures (category 4 of table 5.2) were "escaping" the parental or family expectations of getting married. This issue was specific to the single women professionals and played itself out in several ways as the following case-study will highlight. **Priya**, a 29 year old beauty therapist who had returned from working aboard a

cruise-liner, was leaving South Africa yet again. She had decided to emigrate to Wales. She had found permanent employment managing a health and beauty clinic and was finally leaving for good to avoid the pressures of being unmarried, particularly from her father.

Case study 1

> *Priya had worked on several overseas stints aboard cruise-liners in the Mediterranean and Caribbean between the period 2001 and 2006 before deciding to leave for a permanent position in Wales, against the wishes of her parents. She had already confirmed most of her arrangements and was going to tell her parents "at the last moment" so that they had no choice but to accept her decision. She said her father was embarrassed that she was 29 years old and was still unmarried. He believed that nobody would marry her now because she was too old for child-bearing and saw this as a poor reflection on the family name. Priya supports her parents by sending one third of her income home every month. She stated that it was not in her interests to remain in Durban where she was constantly reminded of her "misfortune" by family members who made her feel as if "something is wrong with me for not being married". She had already been introduced to several "suitable boys", none of whom made a favourable impression on her, as she explained "they were Hindu, Hindi-speaking boys who lived with their parents and all in need of a personality..."*

Priya had strong Hindu beliefs and her Indian-ness was evident in her outward appearance for instance, she chose to wear traditional clothes particularly *punjabis* and *kurti* tops[4] more often than western clothing. She

[4] Punjabis or *salwar khameez* is one of many traditional forms of dress worn by Indian women that consists essentially of a dress worn over long pants, accompanied by a *duppatta* (long scarf) usually two metres long draped over the shoulder or used as a shawl across the shoulders; *kurti* tops are generally the dress part of the Punjabi that is worn over jeans or in suits creating a fusion of eastern and

was also more interested in the applications of eastern beauty techniques and Ayurvedic treatments within her profession, areas in which she specialized. She explained that she had no problem marrying someone outside her linguistic and caste background, as long as he was Hindu. She claimed that in Durban, even socializing with males outside of these boundaries was considered problematic for young women like herself, who came from "*conservative-thinking families*". Such attitudes towards women seem to persist from previous decades in certain families and Priya's situation indicated how such conservatism was retained despite social change. Social practices such as the raising of daughters and the marriage of women, continued to be integral to the social status of the family within community hierarchies. Kuper's (1956) study of the South African Indian family in the 1950's says the following about the significance of marriage in relation to maintaining good social standing:

> It is not only a contract between two individuals but an alliance between their respective kin... Marriage is generally regarded as both a natural and a necessary stage in the growth of men and women... Marriage itself is regarded as a cure for young people showing signs of emotional or moral weakness (Kuper, 1956: 23).

The men Priya had been introduced to were all bound to their families because they were either working within the family business or living with parents in a joint family system. This meant that she would have little independence as a wife and daughter-in-law and the possibility of emigrating would be minimal. Priya's concerns echoed Chetty's (1980: 34) sentiments of the expectations of the newly wed bride who:

> ... if married into an extended or joint family, is under the constant surveillance of the vigilant eyes of the mother-in-law

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western style dress although *kurti* tops are being sold recently as distinctly different items to the Punjabi and are often more western in style.

> who plays a bogey-man type of role to ensure that her newly acquired daughter-in-law is kept in check and refrains from activities which are "subversive" and might disrupt the running of the household.

She claimed she would prefer a spouse who was a professional person with financial independence and a progressive outlook on life, like herself. Being unmarried and deciding to emigrate was "*painful*" for Priya, as both choices went against the wishes of her parents. Not having their emotional support and "*blessings*" had caused her much unhappiness but she had the support of other significant family members such as her sister and brother, who had encouraged her to pursue her dreams of traveling overseas and emigrating.

Only 2 women in the sample of single professionals considered emigration as the primary motivation for wanting to work overseas (category 6 of Table 5.2). This low number could have been an indication of the uncertainty experienced by the women as to the eventual outcomes of their transnational endeavours.

5.2.4 Parental support

Priya's case-study underscores the significance of parental support as an integral prerequisite for migration decision-making in the sample but not to the extent that it could override the ambitious and adventurous spirit of the women, further elaborated in the table and case-study presented below.

Table 5.4: Parental support in migration decision-making

1.	Full support	13
2.	Moderate support	7
3.	No support	5
	Total	**25**

Those women who had the support of both their parents and family (category 1) displayed an overall appreciation often expressing the extent to which their parents wanted a better quality of life for them and future generations. It emerged in the interviews that parents' views ranged from sheer desperation of wanting their daughters to live in a safer environment (particularly in those families where members were directly affected as victims of crime), to those for whom the idea of the economic upliftment and/or the relocation of the household held value, to those who simply did not want to deter their daughter's ambitions and desires. The social virtues of being supportive parents was also informed by the possibility of the progressive economic growth of the local household and class aspiration. A few wealthier parents (mostly of professional status) viewed transnational movement and emigration as future socio-economic assurance of family prosperity, as opposed to those parents who perceived it as a threat to family coherence and social standing. The former view characterized those parents giving full support and to a lesser extent moderate support to the women, indicated in categories 1 and 2 of Table 5.4.

Those parents who were not supportive of their daughters' decision (category 3), were grounded in the belief that it was against family and religious values for an unmarried woman to travel and live outside the household, let alone outside the country. Some were of the opinion that being so far away from family meant that any harm that befell a young woman in particular, was not

worth the risk involved. Fathers in this group in particular, stated emphatically that "*the grass was not greener on the other side*" and that the social cost in family life should not take precedence over the higher earning potential of women overseas. "*What can you get there that you cannot get in South Africa*" was a common expression heard by the women. An obvious fear revolved around the perception that young women on their own for the first time "*would get carried away with their freedom*" and possibly tarnish the family name, showing the association between social standing in the community and the expectations of woman within the household. A young doctor said that her father's parting comment at the airport was "*don't go single and come back double*" - meaning do not return pregnant. This group of parents would have preferred that their daughters get married before leaving the country. These concerns highlighted how marriage is greatly considered a socially acceptable prerequisite for a single woman's aspirations such as migration. It would ensure safety of the daughter's reputation and protection of the family name in the local community.

Hence, marriage is generally considered a "remedy" for migrating daughters among parents interviewed in the study and continues to remain the mechanism through which some form of patriarchal control can be ensured for the local household, reminiscent of early twentieth century family norms in colonial Durban.

Unlike their position in earlier history, Indian women today are not only being allowed to venture outside of national boundaries by their families but are also choosing to work overseas on their own regardless of approval from key authority figures. The personal and economically motivated decision to prioritize financial independence over and above marriage has subsequently led to a delay in the "appropriate" marriageable ages of the women. Indian women are now marrying later on in life and place completion of further tertiary qualifications and economic empowerment before marriage and

family. Kuper (1956) elaborated that while the marriage of girls and boys under the age of 16 was prohibited under the Marriage Law Amendment Act of 1935, girls younger than this age were known to be married in Durban in the 1950's. "In urban areas the most popular age for marriage is 16 to 20 years for girls, and 19 to 24 for boys" (Kuper, 1956: 24).

However, more recent evidence for instance, from the 1996 Population Census in South Africa reveals that almost sixty years later, Indian women per se are generally marrying between the ages of 24 and 35 years (Udjo, 2001: 6).

Parents continue to fear their daughter's overstepping social boundaries that would jeopardize their reputations and the family name. Two sets of parents who suspected that their daughters' boyfriends would at some stage be joining them abroad were particularly opposed to their plans, causing tensions in the household, sometimes leading to conflict between parents. However, Roshnee was not prepared *"to marry for the sake of it"* and believed that marrying to please her mother only would be the wrong reason to get married.

Roshnee, a 26 year old attorney, was one such case, who experienced animosity in her relationship with her mother over her decision to work overseas. Her mother, a devout Christian, was completely opposed to Roshnee's ambition to work overseas in the company of her boyfriend of eight years, who was well known to the family as they had attended school and university together. This led to numerous clashes between mother and daughter and further heightened her determination to leave and follow her dreams. Roshnee's volatile relationship with her mother can be highlighted by Kuper's (1956) reference to the tension between generational differences among conservative Indian parents and children of that milieu:

> Conservatives both regret and condemn the refusal by the younger generation to conform to standards of the kutum (extended patrilineal family) living but the 'modern' generation regards this non-conformity as a progressive step towards westernization (Kuper, 1956: 30).

Migration is considered subversive to conventional norms governing female children in particular because of its associations with freedoms that transgress cultural boundaries considered taboo. This mother-daughter tension and the rearing of daughters has been detailed in earlier works such as Meer (1972) who described the anxiety of the Indian mother in preserving family honour by controlling daughters within the confines of the household:

> Theoretically, they could not go astray, since they were protected within the home and shielded from outside influences; thus any shortcomings on their part were inexplicable and inexcusable and the mother was held wholly to blame. The mother's anxiety to preserve her daughters' virtue was such that she could rarely afford to be relaxed, warm and friendly towards them and often assumed a cold, authoritarian air in resorting to both verbal and physical abuse to bend them into traditional form (Meer, 1972: 39-40).

While Roshnee's relationship with her mother was not as extreme, the changing roles of women in the household over the generations are becoming evident.

Case study 2

> *Roshnee's motivation for working overseas was originally international work exposure and earning in pounds, but in the time she spent preparing to make the journey she realized that she also needed to leave behind the years of chauvinist restrictions imposed on her by family and society. She stated that she had to take the step towards independence or she would "end up pleasing everyone else but*

myself". Her only regret was the further deterioration of her relationship with her mother despite the financial contribution she made towards improving their failing family business and towards the subsidizing of her sister's university education. Her parents had struggled to educate Roshnee through university and she completed her studies with assistance from the church. She did not want the same for her siblings. On returning to South Africa after two years of working in London, she married her boyfriend and relocated to Cape Town to work for a company of attorneys with whom she had maintained professional ties while working in England. She would have preferred to marry later but being away from home made her realize that she wanted the blessings of her family also. Her future plans involved buying property in Cape Town and financing two more new trucks for her father's business before returning to the United Kingdom. She would not return to Durban, saying she felt very "claustrophobic around my mother and family".

Both case studies of Priya and Roshnee exemplify the pressures of social conformity as well as social change. Young women venturing outside the household and living on their own or together with their boyfriends was not so long ago forbidden with drastic consequences for both the reputation of the woman and the family. While the Indian women in Durban are now far better educated and empowered than their predecessors, the pressures of fulfilling cultural and social expectations weighs heavily on their minds. Roshnee's determination to advance in her career and not submit to traditional and religious expectations shows a significant shift away from the submissiveness of Indian women who would not contemplate challenging existent patriarchal norms, a few decades ago.

The transnational connection of the women with family and homeland articulates itself in the ways in which decisions in relation to local household

lore is re-created, reconfigured or abandoned overseas. Within this context, it is interesting that overseas work for some young women was also used as a mechanism by which to find a wealthy husband outside their own community and country. In an interview with another travelling beautician, **Mira**, she related how a close friend and colleague from South Africa married a Saudi Arabian business tycoon after meeting him on the cruise-liner where they were stationed. Although this particular instance was related through Mira, it was not exceptional as several similar references of such situations were also related to me during the process of interviewing. This made me realize the significance of including the case of Sarika in Mira's narrative presented below.

Case study 3

> *Mira, was 24 years old and became a beautician as she wanted to join her mother's expanding health and beauty business. She wanted the cruise-liner experience because of the additional exposure to international training that was inclusive in the contract. Her friend, Sarika, who qualified at the same time decided to join her so they could accompany each other and gain the experience together. However, Sarika's hasty decision to marry the Saudi changed their plans and her life forever. Being from different religious backgrounds, Sarika's parents rejected the union and she left to live in his palatial home in Dubai. She is one of several wives and according to her emails is "treated like a queen and has everything her heart desires". Mira often thinks of her friend as her emails have now discontinued. She says that several young South African Indian women she encountered within her family circle as well as in her profession have romanticized notions of overseas travel and work and often see the opportunity as an escapism from parental control rather than an opportunity from which to build a secure future for themselves. Mira claimed that young girls*

straight out of high school who wanted to travel before starting university were particularly impressionable, as were young women who had out-dated restrictions imposed on them by their families. She said that this attitude among single women from other nationalities, was also not uncommon. "If the girls don't have maturity and a good head on their shoulders they can allow themselves to be used and taken for a ride by every rich man they see as a potential husband. They are running away from their mother's choice and are bored out of their minds by the ways of their parents. They are desperate for something new and want to be rescued from their lives by a knight in shining armour".

Mira's observations and personal experience was an exception and served to highlight an integral aspect of some of the women's perceptions of the freedoms associated with a mobile, transnational workforce. The consideration of individual choice and individual decision-making, within the larger framework of migratory experiences of South African Indian women professionals is also brought to the fore and raises questions such as:

- "Are all the decisions affecting transnational migrant women in the sample informed by local social and household norms?" and
- "To what extent does individual transnational experience deviate from that of the collective (sample) and how does this influence individual and collective migrant identities?"

5.2.5 Family history of migration

Table 5.5 below illustrates the family history of migration of the sample. This data indicates whether or not the women are the first transnational migrants in their families.

Table 5.5: Family history[5] of migration

	Background	No. of women
1.	First generation to work overseas	19
2.	Second generation	4
3.	Families emigrated	2
	Total	**25**

Table 5.5 illustrates that 76% (19 women) in the sample were pioneering migrants in their families, indicating the agency of the women in pursuing different social paths and career options. This significantly large number confirms two trends in the scale of global migration, namely, that there are increasing flows of international migration among women professionals, and that the experiences of the women within these processes are gendered in character. These findings also confirm the increasing number of Indian women leaving South Africa since 1994. Categories 2 and 3 represent family members who had left the country mainly in the late 1980s.

5.3 Social networks

The socialization and integration of the single women is also a significant aspect of their social experience in an overseas country, as it is an indicator of the extent to which adaptation and assimilation into the new environment occurs, or not. The following table illustrates the basis of their social networks and support systems within the host country.

[5]Family history is meant to ascertain whether the women were pioneering members in their immediate and extended families or not, to work overseas. If not, then they were either a second generation of transnationals or belonged to extended families where members had emigrated.

Table 5.6: Social networks of single women overseas

	Social networks		No. of women
1.	Mainly family		4
2.	Mainly friends	South African	16
		Other	4
3.	Mainly colleagues		0
4.	Other[6]		1
	Total		**25**

Table 5.6 indicates that most of the women relied mainly on friendships with other South Africans for social and emotional support, shown in category 2(a). Family and colleagues represented a far less significant resource in terms of the personal and emotional well-being of the sample. The social networks and support systems were perceived of in terms of the amount of time spent in social settings with friends and/or family, the extent to which they could be relied upon for emotional (and other) support, and the degree to which they felt a sense of affinity and "belonging" (to a group or an individual) over a period of time. Among friendships in particular, the women associated going out and socializing in varied environments over frequent/regular intervals; frequent telephone calls, emailing and visiting each others homes, being able to share social experiences such as travelling, and providing assistance in times of need, as indicators of their support systems overseas. This extended occasionally into the work arena if, for instance, assistance with finding employment or temporary accommodation was necessary.

Social networks based on South African friendships appeared to provide the familiarity that was necessary in a foreign country. The tendency to socialize

[6]Other (category 4) refers to a nurse whose only social interactions were with her patients and their families in the time they spent in her care.

and interact with other South African Indians was indicative of the degree to which the sample relied upon support networks based on ethnic and national allegiance. One of the women aptly said "*...experiences in South Africa are often compared with overseas experiences...my friends and I are always converting Euros to Rands and it is nice when someone understands where you are coming from.*" Another woman claimed that "*.... somehow South Africans stick together and help each other out because of the indifference we experience in the workplace, we are not often appreciated and never completely accepted even when we deliver a superior service....*" Those women in category 2b (who were based in the United Kingdom and New Zealand specifically) maintained friendships with other nationalities including a cross-section of Indian nationals, other Indian expatriates (such as Anglo-Indians and Indians from the Pacific rim), as well as Europeans and Americans working in the United Kingdom. These women believed that long-lasting friendships with non-South Africans were more prevalent among migrants who had spent longer periods of time working overseas than migrants who were unsure of their future plans or were newcomers to transnational migrations – these women in particular were uncertain if and where they would move to next.

The findings of preliminary fieldwork conducted among a smaller sample of transnational Indian women professionals (both married and unmarried) elaborate the categories in the above table and reveal the differing levels at which social networks are formed and maintained, either continuing to exist, or disbanding and re-forming at another time.

> Social networks based mainly on friendship characterized the support systems of the women while they were abroad. Those who had family ties tended to keep their reliance to a minimum once their initial "settling–in" had taken place. While some of the respondents justified this position as being circumstantial, based purely on time constraints and traveling schedules, others rationalized their decreasing reliance on such family networks to

> increasing responsibilities, job movement (being placed or choosing to work in different areas) and independence...Several of the women commented that their fellow South Africans were "too busy working"; were "generally independent"; and one woman said "mostly aloof"...A single informant in the sample said that her life "revolved around her South African friends" who had moved before her to the UK. She had expanded her network with people of other backgrounds through her South African friends. She adapted easily to her new environment and felt very comfortable in her new home because of this pre-existing support network. Her brother who left South Africa a year later had moved into the same house as herself and 5 co-inhabitants, all of whom were of Indian descent. She was one of the 3 women in the sample with siblings in the same country (Pattundeen, 2007: 29).

Constant movement between countries for work and travel reasons made firm friendships and relationships challenging, with some networks being equally, if not more, "virtual" than "real-life". E-mailing provided the foundation upon which communications were valued especially when physical contact was not possible.

A personal friend **Usha**, amplified the role of technology in the lives of migrants and their families (non-migrants). Her sister, who had been working in London for four years as a health practitioner, sent her an email which was actually a suicide note. After much expense, as well as desperate emailing and sending a multitude of sms's[7], Usha was able to contact her sister's South African friends, purchase herself an air-ticket online, then leave for London a few days later. The benefits of advanced communication technologies provide access to people across national borders as never before. In this case, it shows the extent to which human lives are dependent on global communication access. Usha's rapid response helped to save her sister's life which would not have been possible a few years ago when such communication was not so advanced. Prior to the internet, writing letters,

[7] SMS means small message service (www.ceqna.com/mobile). A cost effective means of sending rapid messages via cellphone technology.

making occasional long-distance phone calls and sending postcards to those who lived overseas were the only forms of communication between families since the second world war. Social networks within foreign countries and between the homeland and overseas countries, are largely sustained and enhanced by cellphones, internet access and email. These "*globally stretched patterns of activity*" (Vertovec, 2000: 4) facilitated by technological advancements are characteristic of the transnational migrant connections sustained by the single women in the sample.

The case-study of **Reena**, a 26 year old skills development professional who worked in the West London council's grant unit, shared her experiences of living with two single South African friends while on a two year working visa in the United Kingdom. One of the friends was a professional unmarried woman like herself and the other was an economic migrant[8].

Case study 4

> *Reena lived with two South African Indian female friends, one was a teacher and the other a non-professional who could not find a job in South Africa. Reena said their sole purpose was to earn and save pounds. "Psychologically, they had never left South Africa and were not keen to live differently. They were not interested in expanding their social circle outside of a small group of fellow South African Indians who they invited over all the time, nor could they see any reason to work at this ...they would complain about the UK way of life, expensive products and weather and were only there for the pounds... When I came back to South Africa for a short while, they asked me to buy them deodorants and toiletries which they could not find in UK stores – I could not understand why they could not use a different brand which*

[8] Economic migrants, broadly defined, leave their country or place of residence because they want to seek a better life (www.unhrc.org). In this case it refers to someone who was an unskilled migrant who could not afford to return home without first finding employment in the UK .

served the same purpose...how much were they saving by getting me to buy these things in South Africa! One girl was engaged to a South African Indian guy who joined her after five months and the other girl's boyfriend lived in digs[9] with other South Africans... they are escaping to an extent by living here the way they cannot live back home. Our reasons for being overseas were very different... I went to travel and work and have a different cultural experience...They maintained their Indian-ness in their cooking and had a miniature Hindu shrine in one of the rooms where they performed daily prayers and offerings... I had my own lamp which I bought in Southall, which I kept in my room and lit on a daily basis".

The case study presented above revealed a range of issues concerning the dynamics of migrant identity and adaptation in a foreign environment. While Reena showed a willingness to settle - in and become self-reliant as soon as possible, her friends coped differently. They held on to their South African Indian identities and found it difficult to reconfigure their way of life and adjust accordingly. They found it easier to re-create their homeland within the host country even to the extent to which they socialized. However, the social freedoms they pursued overseas particularly with regards to their boyfriends was practiced far more freely compared to the cultural constraints imposed by the local household in South Africa. Hence, individual choice also informed the migrant identities of the women and the constant negotiation of these identities in varied contexts depended on the combination of complex motivations and influences.

Category 4 in Table 5.6, namely "other" social networks, represented a single example of a nurse who lived between South Africa and the United Kingdom over a period of thirty years, working in both public hospitals and for private

[9] Digs is a colloquial term that refers to rented accommodation shared by many people, mainly students. (www.apartmentlistingdirectory.com)

clients. However, it was her kinship network in South Africa that was the support system she valued most. **Grace** lived a predominantly solitary life overseas and lived on her own at the hospital residences. Her time and efforts were spent on caring for the sick in hospital settings and caring for mostly elderly and terminally ill patients in their homes. The latter was undertaken to supplement her income and eventually enabled her to travel, as she would take leave to provide frail-care for those clients going on holiday and who paid for her to join them. These patients and their families became temporary fictive kin in the short period of time she spent with them. However, no enduring friendships were established working in hospitals nor among her private clients, as many passed away. Her life revolved around work, church occasionally and travelling when possible. Now, a 66 year old retired spinster, she lives on her own in Durban independently of her siblings and their children who continue to form part of her support system. Grace said that it was always her wish to spend her retirement years amongst family in South Africa, as they provided the only support system she knew despite spending most of her life overseas. Occasional visits and letters from her nephews and nieces and their children had enriched her life. She said she was very fortunate to be paid her pension in pounds by the British Health Service.

None of the single women professionals cited colleagues as part of their social network, although it is possible that colleagues who once shared the same working environment became friends at a later stage when one or the other moved jobs or location.

5.4 Remittances

Remittances[10] sent home to parents and the natal household featured significantly among the sample of single women. 14 women, more than half the sample, were making financial contributions towards their parents or their local household which included siblings and sometimes, other family members. The table below details the financial commitments upheld by the women to provide financial support to their families back home.

Table 5.7: Remittances/financial contributions made by unmarried women

	Remittances	**No. of women**
1.	Supporting parents	5
2	Contributing towards natal household	8
3	Sole breadwinners	1
	Total	**14**

Table 5.7 indicates that although the single women sent money home for different purposes (to parents specifically as well as the larger household) and in differing capacities (as daughter, sister, grand-daughter, breadwinner), their main reason was to assist with daily expenses of the natal household in their absence (category 2). Their remittances were used in several ways including: general household maintenance, school/university fees of siblings, and savings towards larger expenses incurred in the future (e.g. household renovations and medical expenses). One of the mothers interviewed indicated

[10] In this study, remittances refers to financial contributions of transnational migrants sent to non-migrants, mainly family, in the place of origin. The IMF and the World Bank have only recently (2005) hammered out a common definition of "remittances" to be used by central banks around the world. Worker remittances are current transfers by migrants who are resident and employed in foreign countries (www.esiweb.org).

that without her daughter's financial contributions[11] their living standard in South Africa would be considerably lower as her husband was the only other salaried member of the household. She herself, had always been a housewife and said that it made her very proud to have a daughter who was financially independent and able to help her parents and siblings. This interview amplified the nexus between those who migrated (migrants) and those who stayed behind (non-migrants) and the realities facing local households reliant on remittances in a globalized economy.

Sharon, a twenty-five year old school teacher, supported her widowed mother. Being the only child she decided to make inroads into emigrating, with the hope that her mother would eventually join her. She was the sole breadwinner and sent home half her earnings every month. Although she was awaiting a permanent teaching placement, she had held other part-time jobs such as an assistant aide in a pre-school as well as temping[12] as a receptionist. Sharon was aware of several other teachers from both South Africa and other countries who were "moonlighting"[13] to survive. *"...it is not uncommon for teachers especially, to have two or more jobs...our salaries are inadequate when there are other financial commitments...we earn more than in South Africa but the living costs in the UK are high...my obligations back home, my daily expenses and savings are only possible in this way...it is a good thing because you develop other skills and this adds to your confidence and marketability in the workforce..."*

The following case-study demonstrates the uniqueness of migrants' experiences and adds to some of the issues discussed in this chapter with

[11] She related how her husband was able to renovate their dilapidated home in a short space of time – after living in meagre conditions for many years.
[12] Temping refers to short-term jobs obtained through an employment agency; it could also mean job-hopping or job-shopping (trying out new jobs over short or relatively longer periods of time) www.employmentspot.com.
[13] Moonlighting refers to having a second job in addition to one's primary source of income (www.inspirewomen.com)

regard to single women professionals. **Shivani's** migration experiences epitomized that of an innovative women whose transnational lifestyle had become an established and lucrative pattern of work. Her pursuit of professional advancement despite the challenges displayed a spirit of courage and ambition for global career options not available in any one single country.

Case study 5

Shivani is a 42 year old medical specialist who belongs to a partnership of 20 specialists based in Durban. Together with her colleagues she travels to New Zealand every six months on a rotational basis. Shivani financially supports her family which includes two nieces and her mother. Shivani attributes her career achievements to her single status although she is the guardian of two teenagers. She has relatives living in New Zealand who she visits occasionally (every two years). Her transnational lifestyle has allowed her the best of both worlds in her area of specialization, that is, private practice (locally) as well as in government institutions (overseas). She has a strong support system in her mother who takes care of her nieces in her absence.

Shivani maintained that she was quick to adjust to her mobile, transnational lifestyle and felt at ease in both countries. She associated South Africa with her roots and New Zealand as part of her professional growth – both of which were equally important to her. Shivani's successful transnational career as a single-woman challenges an increasing body of literature on Indian communities in first-world countries that point to the use of marriage and citizenship mechanisms to facilitate family emigration (Mooney, 2006; Sheel, 2005; Palriwala & Uberoi, 2008). Her own success was accomplished on her efforts as an individual, with no assistance from kin networks or any form of

ethnic/national allegiance overseas. This is also the case with other professional Indian women transnationals in the main sample, where as role models with enterprising attitudes, they have managed to successfully advance in their careers and fulfill their obligations and responsibilities to the local household.

5.5 Concluding remarks

The diversity in this sample of single women, not only in professional background but also in migration experiences, showed a heterogenous group of women despite a shared ethnicity and nationality. Their motivations for transnational migration abroad hinged mainly on their aversion to affirmative policies concerning employment and poor professional opportunities in South Africa. Crime, family/cultural pressures and international work experience were secondary motivations, although only slightly less significant issues. Hence, one can conclude that the single women were migrating overseas for mainly economic reasons and that other social factors were less influential in their decision-making. While the tabulations portray this in the figures, the interview process and the narratives of the women reveal an interface between all of these variables. In many instances, the distinction between economic need and personal need became non-existent. What was insightful, was that although the women sought parental approval for the decision to migrate, a number of women left anyway, despite disapproval. While, this displayed a level of "rebellion" to conventional norms on one level, the remittances they sent home showed a retention of kin responsibility to the local household, on another. So too, with marriage and the social expectations of unmarried single women. While migration provided an escapism from cultural values, it also meant increasing persistence from some families to conform and protect family honour and status.

The case-studies of the women indicate an overseas lifestyle that diverged from that of the local household in varying degrees. Some women retained or re-created their local activities and practices while others reconfigured or abandoned certain norms and values in the new context. Different individuals responded in different ways to different situations. The complexity with which the women's migratory experiences unfolded is aptly captured by Khagram & Levitt's (2005) position on studying transnationalism, that such an effort involves reclassifying existing data so as to elicit underlying or novel transnational forms. The novel transnational forms in this sample pointed to the contradictions in the consciousness of the women and the duality of their existence in two worlds.

The significance of the migration of the sample of single women is complemented by the residential and student surveys presented in chapter four. A clear indication of the higher Indian female response rate (higher than Indian males) for wanting to work abroad, in both surveys, particularly between the ages 16 to 26 years, was evident. This outcome was revealing of the gendered and generational migration potential that exists within local Indian households. The data also strongly correlates with the age groups of the main sample of single women (see Chapter four, page 77, Table 4.3) where a significant 30% of the women interviewed were between 20 and 30 years of age. Hence, one can conclude that single Indian women professionals are increasingly seeking transnational migration as an opportunity through which to pursue less restrictive, more meaningful and financially rewarding lifestyles.

CHAPTER SIX

MARRIED PROFESSIONAL INDIAN WOMEN

6.1 Introduction

Married women transnationals form an integral though overlooked part of the "professionalization" of migration that characterizes the flow of skilled labour to first world countries. Several scenarios represent the movement of married women overseas in migration discourse including: married women who accompany their spouses/families overseas, married women who reunite with their spouses on his settlement overseas, married women who travel on their own overseas and facilitate family migration thereafter, and married women who migrate for varying periods of time before returning to their families in the country of origin thereby maintaining on-going links between two countries simultaneously. While it is difficult to say which of these itineraries *professional* married women migrants will pursue, it is the latter which this chapter addresses, that is, the *transnational* migration of married professional Indian women from Durban.

Twenty-five of the fifty women interviewed were married professionals. The chapter details those issues affecting these married women transnationals specifically.

Table 6.1 below lists the number of married women interviewed within the various professions.

Table 6.1: Married women professionals interviewed

	List of professions	No. interviewed
1.	Administration (banking)	0
2.	Attorney	0
3.	Beautician/cosmetologist	2
4.	Businesswomen	3
5.	Lecturer	2
6.	Medical doctor (GP)	2
7.	Nurse	4
8.	Pharmacist	1
9.	Optometrist	3
10.	Researcher	2
11.	Skills developer/training	1
12.	Specialist doctor	0
13.	Speech & Hearing therapist	2
14.	Teacher	3
	Total	**25**

Table 6.1 indicates that nurses, followed by school teachers, business-women (a fashion consultant, a property investor and a marketing consultant) and optometrists were the leading professionals within this sample to leave South Africa. These ratios may not be construed as representative of the general flight of professionals leaving the country. Sample bias is evident in the sample size of the study (namely 25 married, professional women). Also the table does not indicate, for instance, the significant numbers of Indian women accountants leaving South Africa to work in overseas headquarters or offices of the same corporation (nor is this profession listed within this sample).

Hence, the table is limited in its capacity to make inferences about provincial and national statistics concerning professional Indian women transnationals with regard to specific types of professions. It also demonstrates the limitations of the snowballing and networks methods of data gathering – which in this instance has not been successful in linking up with professional women in finance, accountancy[1] and acturial sciences.

This half of the core sample constituted married/remarried women, divorcees and widows. Although the divorced and widowed women in the sample will be dealt with separately in the next chapter, they have been included in the figures used throughout this chapter for the sake of statistical analyses. The following table illustrates the numbers of married/remarried, divorced and widowed women in the sample. Given the variation of statuses within the category "married" all tables will henceforth be referred to as "the sample".

Table 6.2: Sample of women interviewed

Marital status of women	No. interviewed	No. of women with children
1. Married/remarried	21	5
2. Divorced	1	1
3. Widowed	3	3
Total	**25**	**9**

The issues of children and childcare in the lives of this sample of professional Indian women presents specific complexities not evident among the lifestyles of the sample of single women professionals.

[1] I pursued interviewing a chartered accountant for six months, even visiting the gym to which we were both members at the times I knew she would attend, until she finally refused. This was the reality of interviewees whose transient lifestyles made them difficult to access and commit to the research.

Table 6.2 details that of the twenty one married women interviewed, five had children and that the sample of three widows and a divorcee, had four children between them. Overall, nine women in the sample had children and sixteen did not. The sample comprised more women **without** children. 64% of the sample were without children when working overseas and 36% of the sample had children who had remained in South Africa whilst they worked abroad. In the smaller group of women with children, the average age of the children left behind was 16 years of age suggesting that the women were more likely to leave older, more self-sufficient children in the care of others.

6.2 Childcare and family support

All the children of the women were left in the primary care of spouses, maternal siblings, grandparents and to a lesser extent, extended family members (including aunts and cousins). The mothers in the sample depended extensively on the assistance of family domestic helpers for various tasks, particularly the cooking of meals and household management. They were generally of the opinion that their children coped better in their absence than did their spouses. They also maintained that marital tension was as challenging as the maternal guilt they experienced when away from home.

The following table indicates the extent to which the women had support from family members including parents, spouses and their children with regard to making the decision to work overseas.

Table 6.3: Family support for migration decision

	Support	Family	Spouses	Children
1.	Full	20	12	7
2.	Moderate	5	9	2
3.	None	0	0	0
	Total women	**25 women interviewed**	**21 women with spouses**	**9 women with children**

The categories 1, 2 and 3 (full/moderate and none) explain the degree to which the women were supported by family members in their immediate family, including parents, spouses and children. Unlike the sample of single, unmarried women in the last chapter, married women professionals had far more kinship support with regard to migration. Generally, the social acceptance and support for this decision appeared to be based on their marital status, the pursuit of more money for the local household, and the possibility of emigration for the family at a later stage.

It was interesting to note that despite 9 women having only moderate support from their husbands, they nevertheless took the decision to work abroad. In two such instances, women confided that their marriages were deteriorating and that the possibility of "starting anew" in a different environment offered an opportunity to escape the social and cultural pressures facing them. Phizacklea (2000) supports the premise that while migration provides an economic escape route, it also provides a social escape route. She refers to two studies by Morokvasic (1983) and Gray (1996) on Irish and Yugoslav women migrants, and claims that:

> ...migration was not always an enforced response to economic hardship but also a calculated move on the part of individual gendered actors who could see that migration also served as an escape route from a society where patriarchy was an institutionalized and repressive force (Phizacklea, 2000: 108).

Children in general viewed their mother's decision to work overseas as an "adventure" or as "exciting" because it offered them the possibility of future overseas holidays and gifts. The reality of this however, was that it was often the mothers who returned to visit in South Africa due to the costs of family members travelling abroad. Only two mothers said that their children experienced great difficulty in their absence. Ironically, both cases were of adult children over 21 years of age. The following case-study provides some insight into the pressures facing married women transnationals with children.

Case study 5

Sheela is a specialized paediatric nurse who wanted to work several stints overseas so that she could settle her personal debts. She had calculated that four nine-month visits overseas (the United Kingdom and Dubai) over a few years, would have secured her enough funds to settle her debts and improve her overall financial situation. At the age of 56 years and with three adult children, ages 23 (twins) and 24 years, she believed that her husband and domestic helper would manage her household efficiently. However, her husband grew increasingly hostile in the time she worked overseas and her children often complained of her absence. Both husband and children said that it was her duty to be at home and take care of their needs. Although she would have liked to remain overseas she claimed that her responsibilities as a mother and the guilt she felt while she was away from her children, made her decide to return. She attributed her children's dependency on her to

their upbringing in which she says she spoilt them by not allowing them to fend for themselves. "I did everything for them and they never lifted a finger... they are not self-sufficient... my boys are very dependent on me... overall I had no support from my husband and children."

Sheela's experiences show the expectations and obligations associated with the roles of wife and mother and the difficulty women face in challenging household lore in patriarchal communities. Meer (1972: 36) reiterates this of traditional Indian womanhood "...The good woman is the virtuous woman, patient, suffering, venerating the tradition of the past and sacrificing her entire being to her husband, her child and family".

Although Sheela's intentions were for the common good of the household, the shift beyond set boundaries continues to be a difficult process for the men who have been left behind. Martin (2004: 29) elaborates that marital tension is often exacerbated when women migrate. She asserts that "...Men often feel neglected and disappointed which sometimes brings out patriarchal habits and efforts to re-establish traditional roles".

Geeta, on the other hand, a married professional with no children highlights the relative freedom of fulfilling career aspirations when unconstrained by the obligations and responsibilities of parenting and childcare.

Case study 6

Geeta is a 31 year old optometrist and is married to a medical doctor. The couple have no children yet due to their career goals which include emigrating to the United Kingdom. At the time of the interview she had already done 8 working stints of 8 weeks duration each in England – where she established a good working relationship with a private

company. She has continued to work in the UK to avoid losing her work permit. Her husband is very supportive of her work overseas and thus far they have been able to pay off loans in half the time it would have taken them had she worked in South Africa only. Her parents were worried about her absences impacting on her marriage but they realized that she had the full support of her husband. However, his family have not been supportive of the idea at all and the couple has had to distance themselves to a certain extent from certain relatives. Geeta would like to emigrate and start a family overseas once her husband has completed his specialist medical exams. She said that most of these aspirations would not have been accomplished had she had the responsibilities of motherhood.

All the women interviewed were of the opinion that those women without children experienced far less restrictions on their time and movement in their transnational migrations. Regardless, parental and marital pressures for conformity were evident in the case studies of both Sheela and Geeta. Martin (2004: 28) sums up that international migration impacts in conflicting ways on the role of women in households and communities, "...In many respects, migration enhances the autonomy and power of women... in other respects, migration can serve to reinforce traditional roles".

6.3 Motivations for leaving South Africa

The motivations of married women to work overseas differed significantly to the sample of single women discussed in the previous chapter.

Table 6.4: Motivations for leaving South Africa

	Motivations	No. of women
1.	Crime & family safety	8
2.	Affirmative action/low salaries/high taxation	7
3.	Considering emigration	6
4.	Poor professional opportunities	4
5.	Family/cultural pressures	0
6.	Overseas work experience	0
	Total	**25**

The above table was also used in the previous chapter to indicate the motivations of single women in the sample who were leaving South Africa. While this table bears the same categories and serves the same purpose as the former, the categories are ordered according to the relevance of the motivations for this particular sample of married women. While the motivations above have been isolated in terms of significance for the sample, they were often found to overlap when respondents spoke freely about their broader concerns and experiences.

6.3.1 Crime

Crime and family safety in Table 6.4 (category 1) featured as the main motivations for this sample and was particularly emphasized among those women who had personal experiences of violent crime including car hijackings and armed burglaries as highlighted in the case-study to follow.

Case study 7

Jessi is a 39 year old beautician with a 13 year old daughter. Her interview for this study was conducted between cruise-liner contracts with a company based in London. She had completed an eight month working stint in the Caribbean and was having a break before resuming her next stint in a few months. Jessi had recently remarried and was deciding whether she wanted to remain in South Africa or move to the United Kingdom. Her motivations for leaving included her fears for her second husband who was a taxi[2]-owner and her daughter who had been in the care of her sister and present husband for the past four years. She maintained that the taxi industry was "getting from bad to worse and taxi wars between rival owners was on the increase..." She also feared for her marriage because "... young girls throw themselves at taxi owners and drivers and my husband is often sexually harassed by these youngsters high on drugs..." Jessi's other fear was for her daughter's safety within this rough environment and the fact that as a teenager she needed to have more access to her mother. "It has not been easy for her to grow up without me in the past few years but being a single-mother then, I had to support my child, a mentally challenged brother and my father...someone had to pay the bills..." Jessi's home had been burgled several times in the past few years and her husband's taxis had been held up on numerous occasions. She believed that they could lead a far more "normal" life overseas than in South Africa. "If my husband takes a while to find a job and I need the extra income, I can also do some au pair work. I did this in the past whenever I needed extra cash..."

[2] Taxis are 8 to 22 seater mini-buses or smaller commuter vehicles that are the most popular form of public transport in South Africa (www.compcom.co.za/resources).

Comments heard during fieldwork (in social gatherings of families and interviews with family members) particularly among the older generation, indicated a general eagerness and sometimes desperation for the younger generations to live safer lives in more secure environments. Those who were not supportive of South Africans leaving the country were nonetheless anxious about the consequences of crime on family life.

In general, fears with regard to loss of life, physical injury including rape and the accessibility of drugs to school children appeared to be more pressing concerns within the sample than theft of material possessions and political violence. Many mothers expressed a loss of faith in the public education system, based on the spiralling violence and substance abuse problems encountered particularly among pre-pubescent children. They cited problems in public schools ranging from racial tension and conflict, lowered standards of education and teaching, over-crowded classrooms, school violence and inadequate school security, and the infiltration of drugs into schools as the primary concerns for parents. Those women whose children attended private schools had more concerns about their safety outside the school setting. For instance, their security at universities (particularly at residences) as well as malls and places of entertainment (recent occurrences of drug-induced physical assault as well as date rape[3] had been prevalent at several night clubs in Durban at the time of the interviews). Comments such as: "*Where is a child safe these days? If children are not safe at schools what hope is there...*"; "*Crime is everywhere but Indians are soft targets...just look at the crimes in the Indian areas...our shops and farms have been targeted...our*

[3]Date rape, also referred to as "drug-facilitated sexual assault" is forceful sexual contact with an unwilling partner, usually preceded by social interaction and foreplay (www.4woman.gov/rohypnol). It is non-consensual sexual activity between people who are generally known to each other but in Durban it includes strangers who spike the drinks of targeted individuals while they are distracted eg. while dancing or socializing and who leave their drinks unattended in nightclubs and bars).

children have no future here..."; "*Other countries have crime too but people do not get killed for a cellphone and babies do not get raped...*" and "*Are we going to wait for someone in the family to become the next statistic before we make a move...*?" were not uncommon in the course of interviews and at social gatherings.

Crime also impacted on the lives of professional women who had practices based in or near to the city centres and in bustling suburbs. For instance, **Priti**, a newly married doctor, had started a private practice in an "Indian" suburb, a short distance away from Durban's central business district. This was where her family had their beginnings in the medical profession and she thought it was the ideal setting for clients in the community who were well acquainted with the family name and history. But her surgery has been the target of several burglaries and hold-ups. She had to resort to a sophisticated monitoring system, a permanent armed security guard at her practice and an armed response security company in order to retain a "safe" practice.

Similarly, **Yogi**, a primary school teacher, was hijacked in the school parking grounds and held at gunpoint until she managed to escape her attackers. The incident left her traumatized and house-bound for six months before she began venturing out on her own. Her car has not been recovered by police but she considers herself fortunate, unlike her cousin who was taken by hijackers on a joyride[4] and abused and abandoned four hours away from home. Yogi loves South Africa but says that teachers work under threat from criminal elements as well as delinquent children who are substance-abusers at an early age, particularly in the poorer areas. All the women in the sample

[4] Joyride is the expression used for driving around in a stolen car with no particular goal (www.wordnet.princeton.edu). In the South African context, hijackers commonly do this to evade the police, intimidate their victims, and sometimes in the case of female victims, contemplate kidnapping with the intention of rape.

had either had first hand experience or had knowledge of family, friends and colleagues who experienced crime in their working environments.

6.3.2 Affirmative action

The second most significant motivation for migrating professional women in the sample was threefold and related to the issues of the government's affirmative action policy, low salaries of professionals particularly in the civil service and the high levels of taxation paid by those in the professions. The 7 women in this category of Table 6.4 felt that Indians as a minority population group were disadvantaged by affirmative action because of its preference for African candidates in the workforce. This was particularly experienced by professionals who did not have their own practices or businesses. The professions most affected appeared to be nurses, teachers, and certain administrative and commercial sectors whose grievances included the low salaries earned and high taxes paid as professionals in South Africa. They commented that overseas they could command salaries worth up to four times the rates they earned locally. They also expressed discontent with the high levels of taxation in the country and the poor service delivery by the government.

But often responses to discussions turned into comparative racial descriptions about how politics in the country operate. One of the responses capture much of what people were saying in part or almost in similar terms:

"Belonging to a relatively prosperous ethnic minority it seems we are targeted for our lifestyle choices which further marginalizes Indians in this country... as taxpayers we are contributing to the upliftment of the masses yet we are targeted by both criminals as soft targets and the police alike... speed traps are found in the Indian areas more than anywhere else... when we want to

buy property the prices double... yet the presence of Indians in South Africa is almost invisible in the media and our achievements continue to represent a threat to other race group..."; "...what's the point of working so hard for so little and then paying almost 40% of what's left towards state coffers?"

However, 10 of the women stated that affirmative action was the only redress for economic empowerment of the historically disadvantaged masses of South Africa and accepted the policy as part of the economic upliftment and development of the country. The remaining 8 women were impartial or "neutral" and claimed that while the policy had had no direct bearing on their own careers, they were aware of many friends and family members who were strongly influenced to relocate to Gauteng[5] where there were more job opportunities and better salaries. While this was not their primary motivation for migration, affirmative action, poor pay and high taxation were realities facing many professionals in South Africa and certainly featured as secondary motivating factors at the very least, with personal and family safety being placed as the main determining motivation.

The following table details the overall perceptions of the sample.

Table 6.5: Views of sample concerning affirmative action

	Views of the women	**No. of women**
1.	Against	7
2.	Impartial	8
3.	In favour	10
	Total	**25**

[5] Gauteng is one of the nine provinces in South Africa. Known as the "place of gold", it is has the country's strongest economy, making it the wealthiest province. (www.gauteng.net)

Table 6.5 details the category of women not in favour/against affirmative action, as well as the views of the women for whom affirmative action was not the main motivation for migration. Understood within this context, many of the women considered affirmative action as having a significant bearing (although not necessarily their primary motivation) on their decision to migrate. Three women from category 2 in the sample commented that the policy needed to be reviewed in terms of the duration of its implementation, suggesting that after a certain period the policy be phased out so as to embrace the minority population groups which it affected the most.

Four women from category 3 expressed great confidence in the government's socio-economic policies and said that Indians should see themselves more as South Africans and less as a minority. Comments included, *"... we have made wonderful progress as a nation and unlike the rest of Africa we have had peaceful change"; "...we are no longer a minority, there are other minorities now* (referring to immigrants from the rest of Africa)"; *"Indians have unrealistic expectations, democracy is not meant to improve the lives of all...we are definitely on the right track, we have achieved so much in a short space of time ..."; "we live in an amazing country with so much potential, the faster we work towards unity through tolerance the better our lives will be... other countries are no better..."*

On the other hand, almost half the women (7 women from category 1 and 4 from category 2 i.e. 44%) alluded that affirmative action was racism in reverse – "*... then we were not white enough, now we are not black enough...*" Other comments displaying a general disillusionment with the impact of post-apartheid politics on the Indian population included: *"... we fought among those who struggled against apartheid but there are no benefits for us now..."; "the Indian language is not an official language... we take care of our own now, state subsidies are biased..."; "our students get the top results year in*

and year out but they cannot get into medical school... if the government does not look after its skilled and professional workforce the best will leave and the country will go down the drain..."; "we are the filling in the sandwich, we are caught in-between and not recognized for our economic and social contributions..."

6.4 Emigration

The third most influential motivation for migration overseas in Table 6.4, namely, emigration, revolved around several factors. These included a combination of categories 1, 2, 4 and 5 as well as other individual reasons. The case study of Layla amplifies several of the issues discussed thus far.

Case study 8

> *Layla, a 24 year old newly married business woman, wanted to live in another country because she felt that South Africa was too far behind with regard to the progress she wished to experience. She maintained that it would take a long time before we could compete with first-world resources and opportunities. She also wanted to start a family in an environment where "... you can live without fear of harm and children can live as children, not live dysfunctional lives as we do with daily crime and the deep class divisions in South Africa... in South Africa a child understands at an early age that there is a difference between the domestic helper and the rest of the family..." Layla was also motivated to live overseas as she had several family members already settled in the United Kingdom and Canada. Many in her extended family as well as her parents and siblings were professionals and had actively encouraged her to emigrate. She said that she had as many family members living abroad as she had family living in South Africa.*

Those who wished to migrate with the intention of emigration differed from others in the sample because this choice was made even before factors such as crime and affirmative action served to affirm their decision. For these 6 women, emigration was a decision made well beforehand and was the outcome after all planning had been finalized. Four of these women had decided to emigrate for the following reasons: three were emigrating because their husbands' had found better career opportunities overseas, with the one spouse being promoted to another headquarters of a multinational company, and one women was emigrating as part of a ten year plan where other siblings had already settled and established themselves and could now facilitate her move overseas. The remaining two women were leaving for a combination of work related and personal issues including a lack of confidence in the South African government.

The following case studies represent 2 married emigrants who responded to the e-questionnaire sent to them by email as part of the study's methodology. Their decision to remain overseas represented the ultimate aim of many transnational professionals in the sample who were at various junctures in the migration trajectory. **Romy,** a teacher residing in Canada for 8 years, was also interviewed while visiting South Africa, and **Risha** was a pharmacist who had been living in Ireland for almost 4 years. Their permanency abroad provided a complimentary angle to the migratory lens of the married women sample and also prompted the possibility of further research into the potential for transnational family migrations within the Indian community.

Case study 9

Romy is a 45 year old mother of 2 adult daughters, who left for Canada when her husband secured a well-paying job. She decided to leave

the teaching profession and took on an administrative job in Vancouver. After being retrenched and falling ill with chronic fatigue syndrome she pursued courses in alternative healing which she herself began to teach. Teaching Yoga, Reiki and Ayurvedic nutrition, she is able to support herself with an adequate income. Romy travels widely and returns to South Africa to visit family and friends every four years. On her last visit, she explained in the interview, how she feared for her ailing mother's safety in "crime infested Durban". She would have liked to take her mother to Canada but this was not possible due to her poor health and the fact that she refused to leave South Africa anyway. Romy said that she could not return to live in South Africa because she felt the lifestyle too restrictive "... the mindset about work and life in general is so different there (Canada)... and it is so stressful here, living like prisoners behind locked doors, high walls and razor wire..." Romy believed that while she may have had the financial security of a profession and consistent income in South Africa, she would not have had the qualitatively better lifestyle she has today in Canada. "When I see what teachers have to endure in the system and how volatile the school environment has become, I have no regrets. I have raised 2 children without the stresses of crime and drugs in a peaceful environment where their future progress is ensured..."

Her comments were not particular to expatriates visiting South Africa but also to their local family members. Speaking to the families of emigrants confirmed similar patterns of migratory experiences and perceptions of living overseas.

Generally, parents and siblings of both migrants and emigrants felt they had better chances of working and settling abroad than did those with no family overseas. This further consolidates the integral role of sustaining relations and social networks across national borders, a dominant theme in

transnational migration discourse. The value of such connections and linkages are also understood by non-migrants showing the interface between migration and household dynamism.

Also significant in Romy's narrative was her affection for her mother which made her want to take her to Canada as well. This affection goes beyond the parent-child bond in that the notion of caring for the elderly within the extended/joint family continued to persist within the belief system of someone who was so progressive and liberal in her worldviews.

6.5 Family history of migration

Family history of migration is meant to ascertain whether the women were pioneering members in their immediate and extended families or not, to work overseas. If not, then they were either a second generation of transnationals/migrants or belonged to extended families where members had emigrated.

The following table shows to the contrary, how the family history of migration of the women had no major influence within this sample.

Table 6.6: Family history of migration

	Background	**No. of women**
1.	First generation to work overseas	13
2.	Second generation	6
3.	Families emigrated	6
	Total	**25**

Table 6.6 shows that the majority of women were first generation transnationals. The high number of women in this category is suggestive of the spirit of determination and ambition of the pioneering women. The number of second generation transnationals/migrants and those women with families who had emigrated, were substantially lower. As in the single women sample (chapter Five), the table illustrates the predominance of the post-apartheid migration of Indian women overseas. Categories 2 and 3 represented family migrations in the 1970's and the 1980's.

Most of the women were not influenced by past family migrations when deciding to work overseas. The following case-study further amplifies this point and also highlights how migration disperses and affects different families.

Case study 10

Risha married an Irish national and emigrated to settle in his homeland. She is 32 years old, has one child and practises as a pharmacist near her home. Having adapted to the climate and her Irish family, she ensures contact with her own family from South Africa by having her parents over for 1 month every 12 to 18 months. Although she misses the South African sunshine, she is satisfied with her new life. If she did move elsewhere, it would still be within the European continent. She has a sister in Australia who she visits every 2 years and 2 brothers who have remained in South Africa who visit her annually. She believes that her decision to leave South Africa was well timed given the recent restructuring of pharmaceutical by-laws introduced by the new government. She did not leave the country for professional reasons and maintains that her life in Ireland is far less

complicated than the South African exposure to crime, high taxation and the lack of professional alternatives available to working mothers. In Ireland her simple yet effective working arrangements allow her the flexibility she requires to spend time with her 8 month old child and still earn a reasonable income. Child care was costly but she said it counteracted the anxieties faced by women in South Africa, especially with the high levels of hijacking and rape experienced by women and children on a daily basis. She believed that the South African government was in denial about Aids and crime.

Both women had provided assistance and accommodation to several family members travelling and seeking work overseas, reinforcing the notion of transnational kin networks and the relocation of the local household. They often advised family and friends on decisions concerning migrating and were familiar with many South Africans of different race groups in their work and social environments in their newly adopted countries. They still considered South Africa as their real home however, constantly keeping in touch with day-to-day events in the news and hoping that in time improvements will be made towards the safety of families and the strengthening of the currency.

The women emigrants believed that as Indian women their lives overseas allowed them more freedoms than in South Africa, which revolved around the freedom from living within cultural expectations of a role-conscious society which attached too much importance to materialism and social status; some women also maintained that while their ethnic identities were even more developed abroad, they had the freedom of not having to confine their thinking into "*narrow, racialized boxes*" as they did in South Africa. Also, they expressed a sense of freedom from chauvinist practices of the patriarchal household which confined women to housework, cooking and child-rearing despite their working status. Men on the other hand were still associated with

the working environment, which freed them from household duties and child-care responsibilities, coveted by mothers-in-law and other females in the local household who perpetuated gender inequality. Emigration, they maintained, had helped to shift these perceptions and practices in some ways as men did not have the support of female kin overseas nor did they have the luxury of domestic helpers to alleviate household responsibilities which now had to be shared.

The women were also aware of numerous South African Indian professionals who had returned to South Africa, citing a range of reasons. *"It is not easy to build a life and support system in a strange environment... we are very spoilt in South Africa with our close family ties, we have maids and gardeners and a pleasant climate...it is not easy adjusting to unfriendly foreigners and different ways of living, particularly if you have unrealistic or inflated expectations... it can get very lonely..."*

Category 4 of Table 6.4 was the least significant of the samples' main motivations for leaving the country. Category 4, namely poor professional opportunities, was cited by 4 women as a key motivating factor for migration but was cited by almost all in the sample as one of a number of motivating factors influencing their decision. These women were primarily health practitioners who stated that South Africa did not have the necessary resources suitable for progress in their fields and that primary health care overseas was far superior offering health professionals new and varied opportunities not available locally.

6.6 Social networks

The women understood social networks as forms of support systems that were based on friendship, socializing, and reciprocal relationships of reliance

Figure 4.12 illustrates that the road is frequently in use, day or night and serves an essential function to the community members to link them to other areas. Respondents indicated that they use the road when there is a need for them to travel to the main city/ town to purchase household requirements and to look for employment opportunities. The main road connects the rural community to the markets, educational facilities, and hospitals as well as facilitating social interaction with neighbouring communities.

Table 4.8: Type(s) of vehicles that use the main road: Multiple Responses

Type(s) of vehicle(s)	Participants (n=50)		Non-Participants (n=50)	
	f	%	*f*	%
Bicycle	48	86	24	48
Car	48	86	49	98
Bus	41	82	50	100
Mini bus taxi	44	88	50	100
Heavy vehicles e.g. trailers/ trucks	34	68	41	82
Animal drawn vehicles e.g. carts	-	-	17	34

Eighty-eight percent of Zibambele participants indicated that the road is used frequently by bicycles, 86% indicated road use by cars, 82% observed the use of buses on the road, 88% said that taxis make use of the road and 68% of participants noticed heavy vehicles and trucks using the road. Forty-eight percent of non-participants indicated that the road is used frequently by bicycles, 98% indicated that the road is used by cars, all non-participants observed the use of buses on the road and all non-participants said that taxis make use of the road, while 82% of respondents have noticed heavy vehicles and trucks that use the road.

A relatively significant number of women also had non-South African friendships which were formed while abroad. Socializing was less frequent for this sample than that of single women as they met with friends and family on an average of once a month at or outside each others homes. They also tended to spend as much time with colleagues because of daily working environment interactions hence forming friendships as well as personal networks based on professional ties. The professional networks formed among friends and colleagues served as a form of input and feedback on the work-related opportunities in their area of expertise. While these networks were loosely formed, the women drew on this support at differing points in their migration experience.

For instance, **Yashna** a 34 year old lecturer, kept in contact with several colleagues who were her source of information concerning training workshops, conferences and employment opportunities in several countries. Although she had not pursued any of these to date, she felt this was invaluable information for someone in her profession because of the limited scope for academics globally. She commented *"... it is always useful to know people in the right places in your profession... you never know when they could help you or your family out...my husband found a job in this way too..."*

Similarly, **Vanessa** a 40 year old teacher, relied on family, friends as well as colleagues from South Africa who were settled abroad, to secure herself a post in the United Kingdom. As with single professional women, this sample also relied on phone calls, sms-ing and emails to keep in touch with family, friends and colleagues overseas. A few women had access to a view-cam (image transmitted phone calls) which enabled them to "see" their children at least once a week while speaking to them. Other mothers telephoned their

children daily, sending sms's, mms's[6] and emails intermittently. *"This is a great advantage in maintaining the link at home... my children feel as if they are part of my experiences and I am still part of their lives..."*

The most recent technology in transnational family communication however, known as IM or instant messaging, is proving ever popular in South Africa as a recent local newspaper article entitled "*SA families living apart bond digitally*", reveals:

> "A worldwide survey, conducted by Microsoft, found that instant messaging (IM) – which allows web users to connect with others in real time – is so popular in South Africa that parents, siblings and even grandparents are using IM over e-mail, social networking posts, letters and text messages. The study shows that while IM is a phenomenon among the younger generation, a growing number of digital mums, dads and grandparents regularly use the service to keep a watchful eye on their kids...According to the study, more than a third of South Africans polled admitted to spending over 10 hours a week on IM" (Sunday Times, 6 July 2008).

The technological advances characteristic of globalization has hastened and enhanced communication between individuals, families and communities, aiding and abetting complex social linkages and sophisticated systems of communication and exchange. Remittances are one such form of monetary exchange.

[6] Mms refers to multimedia-messaging-service, sending pictures, music, videos via cellphone technology (www.answers.yahoo.com).

6.7 Remittances

Remittances sent home by this sample showed that married women made financial contributions on a regular basis towards the maintenance of the local natal household, parents and/or marital household. The following table illustrates the number of women in the sample who made contributions and the type of financial contributions they made towards those in South Africa.

Table 6.8: Remittances/financial contributions of the sample

	Remittances	**No. of women**
1.	Supporting parents	3
2.	Contributing towards natal household	5
3.	Sole breadwinners	1
	Total	**9**

Table 6.8 above indicates that 3 women in the sample were sending regular amounts of money to their parents who were either too old to support themselves or were instrumental in the daily care of children left behind. Five women were contributing towards their natal household which included parents, siblings and in some instances, ailing grandparents.

The sole breadwinner in the sample, **Suraya**, was supporting her family by sending home pounds and alleviating previous financial difficulties. Suraya, a newly married, 27 year old speech and hearing therapist had to maintain two jobs in order to supplement her personal expenses in the UK which she said she had underestimated. This reality in an overseas context showed up the

difficulties of being a breadwinner as well as upholding familial obligations of the natal household. She worked at a hospital during the day and worked as a tele-salesperson at night. Her husband was to leave South Africa to join her a few months later.

The women in the sample claimed to be sending home substantial amounts when they did, which enabled parents and spouses to maintain the household and even save towards other future expenses such as school/university fees (for siblings and children), family holidays, home improvements (including renovations and home security systems) and medical expenses particularly for ailing and elderly parents and even grandparents with no medical aid. Their financial contributions underscore the social networks formed between homeland and "host-land" in transnational activities and the nexus formed between those who migrate and those who remain behind.

6.8 Concluding remarks

This chapter focuses on the migratory experiences of married women whose decision to work overseas and leave their families behind, has subverted conventional thinking and household norms concerning the roles of daughter, wife and mother. Their deviation from local perceptions of Indian womanhood in their quest for the economic betterment of the household together with personal aspirations, has culminated in a pioneering group of women whose efforts both transcend and perpetuate patriarchal control. Their kin responsibilities to both the natal and marital households and the concern for the future security of their children, indicated the inextricable kinship obligations in both local (for childcare) and overseas contexts (for social networks of support).

Their main motivations for migrating were based on concerns around crime and family security. Affirmative action, high levels of taxation and low salaries were only marginally more influential than the third most significant motivation, namely emigration – again related to the well being of the local household and future generations. Affirmative action figures for this sample showed an approval response of 40% of the married women, unlike the single women sample. This was perhaps suggestive of the maturity of the married sample and the likelihood that they were more involved in the history and experiences of that political milieu.

Another issue that emerges out of this chapter on the experiences of married professional Indian women is their constantly shifting engagement with local roles and their overseas migrant identities. Their *simultaneity* (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004) in these divergent contexts may exist at any one of the following points in their experience: that is, being at perpetual odds or in sync with their aims and ambitions, or evolving to produce reconfigured ways of "being and doing". These fluctuating landscapes had both positive and negative outcomes, as Willis & Yeoh (2002: 2) espouse that "...Migration can lead to a renegotiation of gender identities in a positive way... however, migration can also lead to a reinforcement or negative reconfiguration of gender identities".

While international migration strengthened the women's sense of personal independence and financial autonomy, it also led to the persistence and preservation of certain patriarchal practices. This was evident in kinship obligations such as remittances and kinship reliance which led to the continuation of gender inequalities. In this regard, some women had to either compromise their career ambitions (as in the case study of Sheela) or juggle multiple roles across national boundaries to avoid marital conflict.

While advanced technologies enable the sustaining of strong kinship ties and transnational parenting, so too does it serve to attenuate dominant hierarchies and patriarchal controls that place additional pressure on the women transnationals to provide ongoing support for the local household. The women may perceive these obligations as duties which are honorable but the realities of fulfilling these expectations manifest in different ways, including the need for women to hold more than one job or by meeting household demands at the expense of their own needs. Those who emerge the better off (those who are able to fulfill multiple local and global responsibilities) due to their diligence, opportunism and professional expertise are agents in their own emancipation and play a vital role in encouraging and facilitating the migrations of other family members and friends.

The following chapter details the experiences of a divorcee and the widowed women professionals in the sample.

CHAPTER SEVEN

WIDOWS AND DIVORCEES

7.1 Introduction

This chapter is specifically positioned around the lives of four women professionals. They consist of a divorcee and 3 widows, all of whom are also single mothers. The sample represents two recent social trends characteristic of globalization processes. Ypeij (2005: 1) elaborates:

> As migrants and single mothers, the women's experiences can be placed in the context of two social trends that occur at a global scale and that are indications of the gendered character of globalization processes. The first trend is that worldwide, during the last decades, the number of single-mother households has risen considerably (Chant, 1997 & Moore, 1994). The second trend concerns increasing flows of international migration, especially female migration.

In view of the above, the personal lives and migratory trajectories of these women are dealt with separately in order to highlight their experiences and the perceptions of larger socio-cultural expectations and norms within the Indian community in Durban.

The table below provides details of the women's background.

Table 7.1: Marital status, professions and number of children in sample

	Marital Status	No. of women interviewed	Profession	No. of children
1.	Divorced	1	Speech & Hearing Therapist	2
2.	Widowed	3	Doctor	1
			Nurse	3
			Researcher	2
	Total	**4**		**8**

Table 7.1 details that all four women had children, eight in total, and that their professional backgrounds were diverse. This small sample made up a significant 8% of the total sample in the entire study.

Single-motherhood and migration are aspects that are considered divergent from more traditional local thinking governing the roles of women in the household. Hence, the women in the sample exemplify a group of culturally marginalized women rising above the social restrictions and gender hierarchies imposed upon them for many generations. As transnational migrants and single-mothers, it would appear that the eventual goal of the sample was emigration.

7.2 *Family support for migration decision*

Family support for the women's decision to leave South Africa was divided in the sample. The divorcee for instance, had little encouragement from family members to leave the country and the widowed nurse had no support at all in this regard. The remaining two women however, who were both widows, had the full support of their families. The latter's support revolved around the idea that family members understood this to be a positive way of "*making a new start in life and leaving the past behind*".

The following table shows the extent to which family members (including parents, siblings and children) were supportive of this decision.

Table 7.2: Sample showing degree of local family support for migration

	Support	Family	Children
1.	Full	2	5
2.	Moderate	0	0
3.	None	2	3
	Total	**4 women**	**8 children**

Table 7.2 indicates that most support for the migration decision-making of the women came from their children. While all the women displayed strong attachment to their families in South Africa, there was equal sentiment towards the need for beginning a new life away from local cultural pressures. Two of the women claimed that they had more encouragement from their relatives overseas than in South Africa.

Ultimately, the women made the decision to leave of their own accord, mentioning the lack of childcare and strong family support system as the disadvantages to this choice. While these factors were considered a limitation it did not appear to pose a deterrent to the women's overall migratory plans.

Financial considerations were also significant in enabling such a decision. Two of the women (Speech & Hearing therapist and doctor) were able to afford the expense of migration and resettlement (at the time of interviews) whilst the other two women (nurse and researcher) did not have the financial means to execute their plans in the near future. It was however, a future aspiration. The lack of options based on the financial constraints facing single-mothers in this sample was evident though not obvious. Their financial

empowerment as professionals made options such as migration and emigration realizable though not unproblematic, unlike semi-skilled and unskilled women migrants whose migration experiences were constantly fraught with such difficulties.

7.3 Motivations for leaving South Africa

The motivations of the sample of women to leave South Africa varied from the single and married women samples. It would appear that their personal circumstances combined with the motivations listed below played a significant role in their decision to migrate and seek newer social and work locations. Table 7.3 illustrates the primary concerns of the women that were also factored into their final decision-making to migrate.

Table 7.3: Motivations for leaving South Africa

	Motivations	**No. of women**
1.	Crime & family safety	4
2.	Affirmative action/low salaries/ high taxation	4
3.	Considering emigration	4
4.	Poor professional opportunities	0
5.	Family/cultural pressures	3
6.	Overseas work experience	0

The motivations of this sample for leaving South Africa to work overseas showed some similarities to the married sample of professional women in the previous chapter, particularly with regard to categories one (crime and family safety), two (affirmative action/low salaries/high taxation) and three (considering emigration).

To further amplify category one and illustrate the enormity of crime in the daily life of one particular woman, the following case of Jolene is significant.

Jolene is a 36 year old widow with two children who works in the research unit of a local hospital. She says:

> *"I feel betrayed as a contributing member of South African society...I have lost my husband to violent crime, my home has been burgled and I have been mugged and hijacked on my way to work...I have had three cars stolen from my yard and on the street...I would leave the country if I could afford to..."*

Suri, a 47 year old speech and hearing therapist, was particularly disillusioned about the issues in category two concerning taxation and affirmative action.

> *"There is very little hope for this country... being a professional or working class means that you support not only the poor but also the corrupt politicians who pocket everything...being a single-mother is even more difficult both socially and financially...there is no support for the skills in this country which is why we are leaving...affirmative action does not mean empowerment for Indian women, we are still the wrong colour...how different is this from apartheid?"*

Leaving South Africa meant new beginnings for Suri and her children. She expressed sadness at leaving her extended family behind. The teenagers were looking forward to the move and were excited by the prospect of joining their cousins overseas.

All four women in the sample expressed the desire to emigrate as either a short-term or long-term goal, as indicated in category three.

7.3.1 Cultural pressures

Despite the highly personal reasons for leaving the country which were specific to this sample, other motivating factors were equally evident. Category four (family/cultural pressures) was a commonality this sample shared with the single women professionals in chapter five. This indicated the persistence of traditional stereotypes concerning single women per se. The family/cultural pressures experienced by the single mothers included attitudes of alienation, stigmatization and ostracism. The women attributed this negativity to the value and identity placed upon women within the local community based on their marital status, and conformity to what was considered socially "appropriate" in terms of gender and generational attributes. The following two case-studies highlight the experiences of Shreya and Sheela.

Case study 1

> *Shreya is a 31 year old medical doctor. She is a widowed single-mother with one child. "In South Africa, the social pressures imposed on women are overwhelming". She believed that as a young widow all her actions within the community and wider family network are unduly scrutinized. She said that she had been criticized for "not behaving like a widow, because I chose not to withdraw from society in mourning and tried to continue my life with as much normality as possible – wearing makeup and trying to look good did not mean that I was not grieving...locally, us Indians sweat the small stuff...". She felt that she was constantly being judged by her family by both men and women alike.*

While Shreya's personal circumstances were exceptional within the sample, her grievances provided some insight into prevailing attitudes within the local community. Being young and widowed in the Indian community can be more socially taxing than being unmarried and unattached. Living up to social conventions often translate into the ways in which young widows conduct themselves, for instance, the way in which they dress and the type of company they keep. Any deviation from normative expectations can easily form negative perceptions or lead to the disapproval of others, easily earning them the status of social misfits.

Sheela, a 56 year old paediatric nurse, whose case-study also appears in the previous chapter and which elaborates the challenges of children in transnational migrations, experienced negative attitudes from her own children and spouse. Her husband died a year after she returned from working in England.

Case study 2

> *Sheela related that being a widow "trapped" her even more within societal norms because of the additional responsibilities and perceptions regarding widows and older women. Since her spouse's demise she took on the obligation of caring for her ailing father and fulfilling the wishes of her adult children who wanted her to remain in South Africa. "Now I have to wind up the estate which will take a while and before you know it I will be considered too old to be moving around...I think I am young, able and independent but society sees me as someone who should slow down and 'act their age'. I will probably continue to work in South Africa even after I retire but I will encourage my children to move overseas and broaden their careers and minds..."*

The testimonies of Shreya, Jolene, Suri and Sheela elaborate the relationship between the migration of the single-mothers and the imposing local cultural meanings associated with their marital status.

7.3.2 Affirmative Action

The following table elaborates category 2 of Table 7.3, indicating the perceptions of the women concerning the implementation of affirmative action.

Table 7.4: Views of sample concerning affirmative action

	Views of the women	No. of women
1.	Against	2
2.	Impartial	0
3.	In favour	2
	Total	**4**

The women were equally divided in their views on affirmative action. Those opposed to affirmative action did so for two main reasons, namely, that Indians are not considered *"a previously disadvantaged population who had uplifted themselves"*, and that affirmative action had led to *"tokenism, nepotism and corruption instead of empowerment due to lack of skills and expertise"*.

The other half of the sample, believed that this policy was meant to redress past inequalities and foster a more representative workforce. Comments made by the women in favour of the policy included *"this is about levelling the playing fields and changing our mindset"*, *"it is addressing historically disadvantaged people and empowering the oppressed...how else does the*

government balance the injustices experienced for so long?" and "*it creates opportunities where there were none...*". None of the women in the sample had adopted an impartial/neutral view of affirmative action.

7.4 Family history of migration

It was apparent that 3 of the 4 women in the sample had family members living overseas permanently. The history of family migration within the sample suggests that this may have been an additional impetus for the single mothers in deciding to leave the country.

Table 7.5: Family history of migration

	Background	**No. of women**
1.	First generation to work overseas	1 (Sheela)
2.	Second generation	1 (Shreya)
3.	Families emigrated	2 (Jolene; Suri)
	Total	**4**

Table 7.5 places the women within the context of their family migration history. These figures show the differing levels of family member engagement with migration and settlement. Sheela (nurse) was the only woman in the sample (category 1) who had no family members living overseas. She was the first known member of her family to leave South Africa. She proudly remarked that "*...I coped very well and made the Irish family I lived with my own family...*" Shreya (doctor) was the second generation (category 2) in her family to work overseas and had an elder, married sister in London with whom she had lived during holidays and while pursuing further studies. Suri and Jolene had relatives who were living overseas for five years and more (category 3). Suri (Speech & Hearing Therapist) had two sisters'-in-law living

in New Zealand where she would be emigrating. She also had cousins who she had visited during her transnational migrations between South Africa and the United Kingdom. Jolene (researcher) had cousins and aunts in the United States and Australia, with whom she lived during her transnational stays abroad. She commented *"...having family to go to is special because you feel less homesick, but being dependent for accommodation and other things could easily lead to bad relations which should be avoided at all costs..."*

7.5 Social networks of the women overseas

One of the women's main incentives for migration was social marginalization (family/cultural pressures) yet their support system overseas were kin relations. This indication of the changeable, variable and sometimes surprising nature of social networks affirmed the dynamism inherent in the migration process.

The table below indicates the dominance of family members in the overseas social networks of the women.

Table 7.6: Social networks of women overseas

Social networks		**No. of women**
1. Mainly family		3
2. Mainly friends	a. South African	0
	b. Other	1
3. Mainly colleagues		0
4. Other		0
Total		**4**

The predominance of kin in transnational networks is suggestive of the need for a safety net of practical and emotional support for the women, particularly as single-mothers. Two women were closer to their maternal family ties overseas, such as aunts and cousins, while one woman had maintained exceptional ties with her ex-husband's sisters. It would seem that female family members in particular felt responsible for providing emotional, and to an extent, material support to these working single-mothers in the settling-in process. The kin networks of these 2 women in particular had the resemblance of a matrifocal extended family structure that formed and disbanded when the need arose. The same two women had always stayed with family members or friends of family during the course of their transnational migrations.

The narratives of Shreya and Suri displayed the significance of kin support networks in offering single-mothers the opportunity to migrate and reconstruct their family life abroad.

Shreya (doctor) had the support of her sister (also a doctor) overseas with regards to accommodation and emotional support. However, she was completely reliant on her mother for childcare since the birth of her young child in South Africa. She decided that when she returned to the United Kingdom she would have to take her mother with her because childcare in the United Kingdom was at a premium and she was not prepared to leave her child with a child-minder. Her mother was eager to emigrate as this would enable her to live with her daughters and only grandchild. This implied that the family would eventually relocate overseas to ensure the maintenance and integrity of the household structure and it's future growth.

Suri (Speech & Hearing Therapist) would be relying on her sister -in-law's hospitality which included income generation in the months she would be without employment. *"My back – up plan is to work with my sister-in-law in*

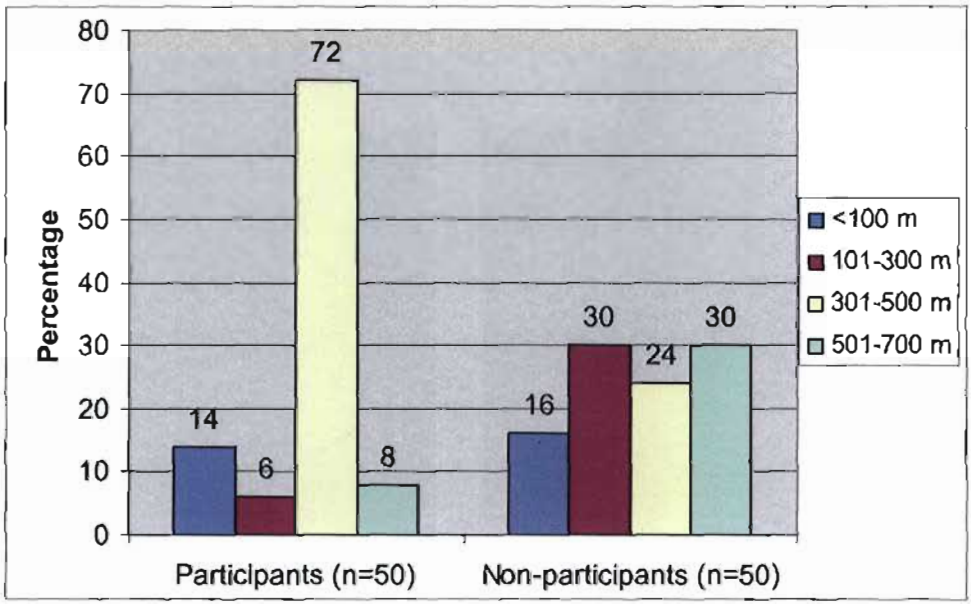
Image 4.2: Maintained Rural Road in Umbumbulu (D991)

Evidence from the literature review show that rural roads extend over all aspects of development of rural communities including demand for and access to health, education, information, etc. Rural Roads provide the connectivity to communities so that the needs of the people are satisfied and daily activities can be carried out efficiently. The provision of a road link to an area increases its accessibility and further helps in catalysing its development (Agha and Siddiqui, 1995).

It is imperative to understand that critical to addressing low rural productivity and low off-form employment is the improvement of rural roads (Du, 2005). A good transportation system is essential at production stage in carrying the raw materials such as seeds, coals, minerals, manure, and cotton as well as to transport commodities/ goods to marketing centres. Roads in rural areas offer improved access to much needed employment opportunities and also contribute to the development of skills. Songo (2002) conducted a field survey in two provinces of the central highlands region in Vietnam to assess how poor household perceived benefits from upgrading low grade roads to year

round access. Benefits were numerous in the price of goods and in the removal of health hazards from dusty roads.

Figure 4.16: Distance of household from the closest length of road that is being maintained



Seventy-two percent of the Zibambele participants live 301-500m in distance away from the closest road being maintained, 8% indicated a distance of 501-700m, 14% illustrated a distance of less than 100m and 6% said that they live 101-300m away from the maintained road (Figure 4.17). Thirty-one percent of the non-participants live a distance of 101-300m away from the maintained road, 24% of respondents live 301-500m in distance away from the closest road being maintained, 30% indicated a distance of 501-700m, 15% of the non-participants illustrate the distance of the household as being less than 100m away from the maintained road.

Figure 4.16 illustrates that most Zibambele participants live much closer to the rural maintained roads than the non-participants. A key feature of the lengthmen system is that lengthmen must generally reside adjacent to or close to the road being maintained and therefore does not require government accommodation or transport (Taylor, 1993). The

Zibambele programme can, therefore, be seen as being in keeping with the objectives of the lengthmen system.

Figure 4.17: Frequency of use of the maintained road

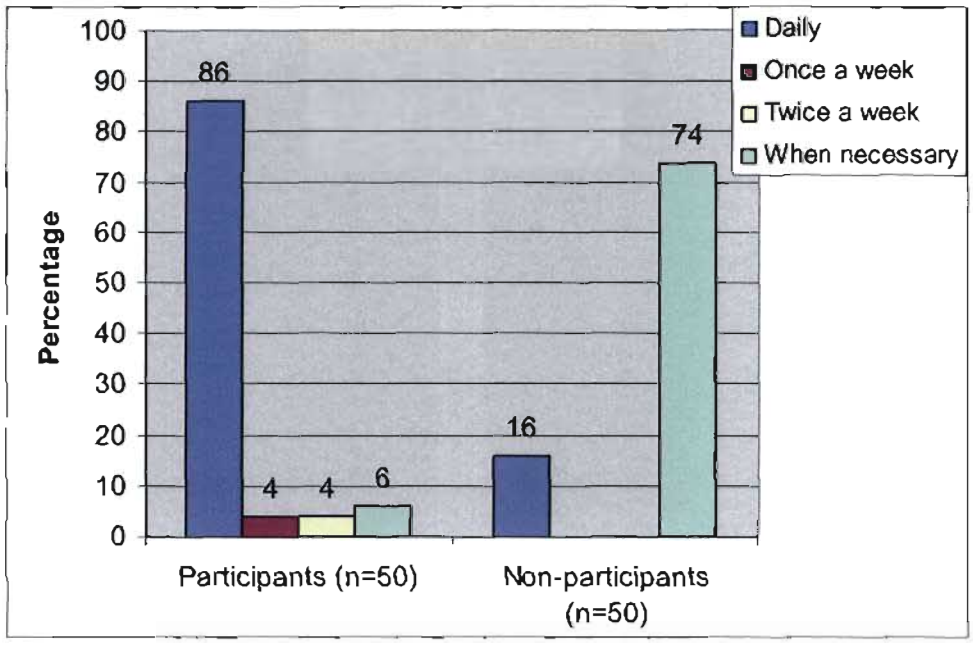


Figure 4.17 demonstrates the frequency of use of the maintained road by the households. Eighty six percent of Zibambele participants use the road on a daily basis, 4% use the road once a week, a further 4% use the road twice a week and 6% of respondents indicated that they use the road when it is necessary. Seventy-four percent of the non-participant respondents indicated that they use the road when it is necessary and 16% of the respondents indicated that they use the road on a daily basis.

All responses from surveyed households indicated that an increase has been noted in the number of vehicles that use the road after the implementation of the Zibambele rural road maintenance programme. This could be due to the improvement in the condition of the road.

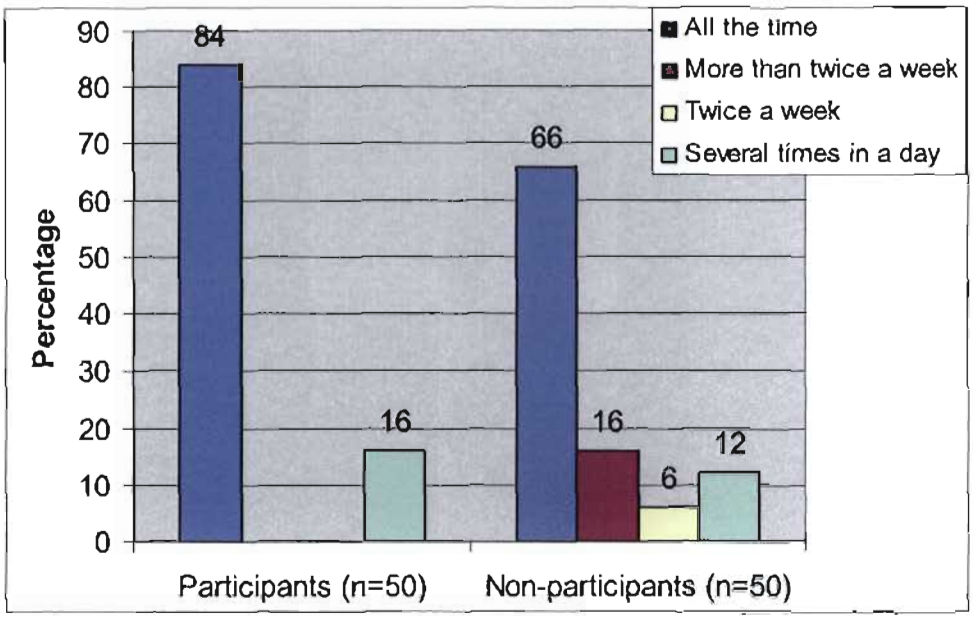
Table 4.22: Type(s) of vehicles that use the maintained road: Multiple Responses (Participants)

Type(s) of vehicle(s)	Participants (n=50)	
	f	%
Bicycle	17	34
Car	45	90
Bus	26	52
Mini bus taxi	6	12
Heavy vehicles e.g. trailers/ trucks	44	88
Animal drawn vehicles e.g. carts	26	52

Thirty-four percent of the Zibambele participant respondents stated that bicycles make use of the maintained road, 90% have noticed cars on the road, 52% indicate that the road is a bus route and 12% have observed taxis on the road (Table 4.22). The vast majority of respondents (88%) indicate that heavy vehicles are frequently using the maintained road, while 52% pointed out the use of animal drawn vehicles such as carts on the maintained road.

The results indicate that cars and heavy vehicles frequently use the maintained rural roads. This could be due to the carrying of agricultural goods, mainly sugar cane from the rural area to the markets. Intermediate transport is most frequently used by the poor in rural areas, and includes walking, bicycles, handcarts, wheelbarrows and animal drawn carts (ITDG, 2005). The results in the table 4.22 indicate that the maintained road is frequently used by intermediate transport such as bicycles, and animal drawn vehicles such as carts. This is probably because alternative means of transport are more feasible than motorised vehicles.

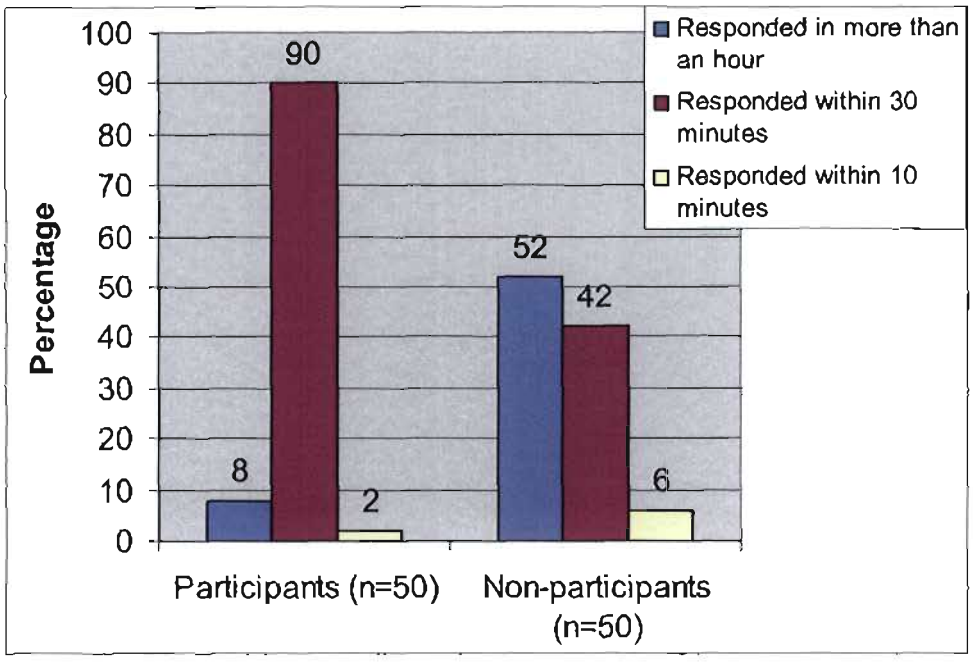
Figure 4.18: Frequency of maintained road use by vehicles



Eighty-four percent of Zibambele participants said that the vehicles that were identified in Table 4.22 use the maintained road all the time, while 15% said that the vehicles make use of the road several times in a day (Figure 4.18). Sixty-six percent of Zibambele non-participants said that the vehicles use the maintained road all the time, while 12% said that the vehicles make use of the road several times in a day. Sixteen percent of the non-participants indicated that the vehicles make use of the maintained roads more than twice a week and 6% indicated that they use the maintained road twice a week.

These results indicate the importance of the road to be maintained continuously since vehicles require the use of the road at all times. With vehicles making frequent use of the maintained road, travel would be more common and will impact on the socio-economic status of rural communities. Vehicles using the maintained road are mainly to access educational and employment opportunities, health facilities, markets, and friends and relatives that exist outside the rural community. Motorised public and private transport services concentrate on main routes from communities to market towns and from towns to cities, where there is greater demand and better infrastructure (Starkey, 2002). Improved interconnecting routes will also promote the establishment of rural markets.

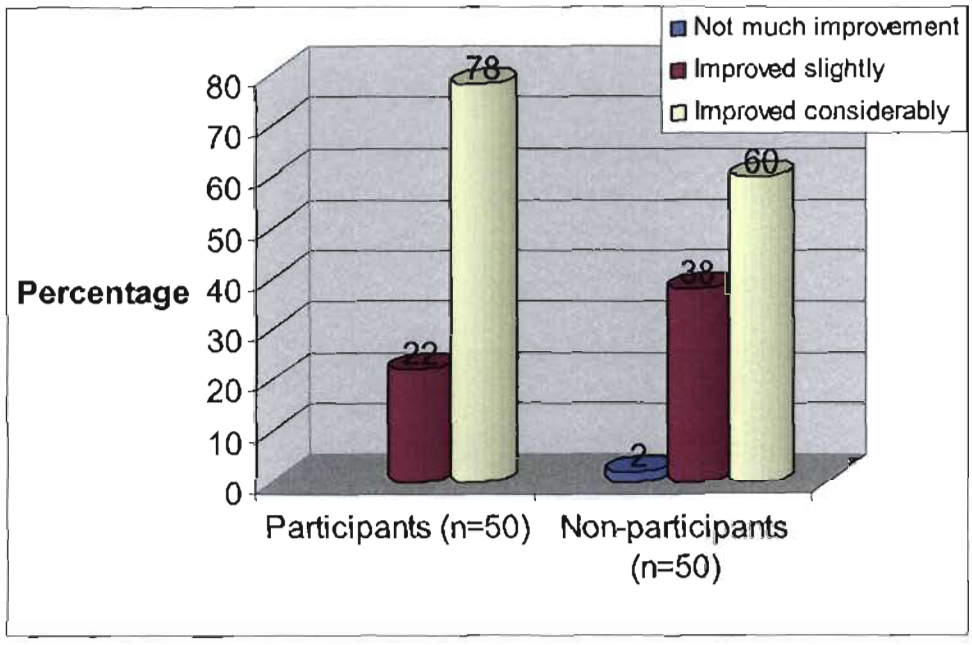
Figure 4.19: Response of Emergency Vehicles such as ambulance and police services to current location before the road could be maintained



The response of emergency vehicles before the road could be maintained is shown in Figure 4.19 above. Ninety percent of Zibambele participants indicated that emergency vehicles such as the ambulance and police responded within 30 minutes before the road could be maintained. Eight percent of participant responses indicated that emergency vehicles took more than an hour to respond, and one participant said that emergency vehicles responded within 10 minutes. Fifty-two percent of non-participants indicated that emergency vehicles took more than an hour to respond before the road could be maintained, 42% indicated that emergency vehicles such as the ambulance and police responded within 30 minutes before the road could be maintained and a small percentage of non-participant responses (6%) were that emergency vehicles responded within 10 minutes. These results depend on the access and location of the emergency services. The reasons given for the response of emergency vehicles before the road could be maintained was that the road was in a deteriorating condition before the Zibambele programme could be implemented. Respondents indicated that the road consisted of potholes and ruts. Additionally, uneven slopes and large bushes on the sides of the roads

hindered the use by vehicles and therefore delayed emergency vehicles accessing the households.

Figure 4.20: Rating of the response from emergency vehicles to your current location after road has been reconstructed and maintained



Seventy-eight percent of respondents point out that the response from emergency vehicles has improved considerably after the implementation of the road maintenance programme (Figure 4.20). Twenty percent said that the response of emergency vehicles has improved slightly. Sixty percent of non-participants indicated that the response from emergency vehicles has improved considerably after the implementation of the road maintenance programme. Thirty-eight percent of the non-participants said that the response of emergency vehicles has improved slightly. The reasons forwarded by the respondents (participants and non-participants) for the increase in response rate of the emergency vehicles were that the road was difficult to access before road maintenance could be implemented and consisted of potholes and ruts that were not repaired. Many respondents indicated that the road condition was deteriorating rapidly before the implementation of the Zibambele programme. Furthermore, respondents believed that the clearing of vegetation from road sides, repairing of potholes and ruts, and the reshaping of the road structure made access to their locations less difficult and less time-consuming.

Image 4.3 below illustrates a rural access road that has been reshaped and maintained to improve access to farm households. One non-participant indicated that there has not been much improvement in the response of emergency vehicles although the road is being maintained and felt that participants were not maintaining the road properly.

Image 4.3: Umbumbulu access road that has been reshaped and maintained

Table 4.23: Impact of rainy weather on the use of the road before the road could be maintained (Non-Participants)

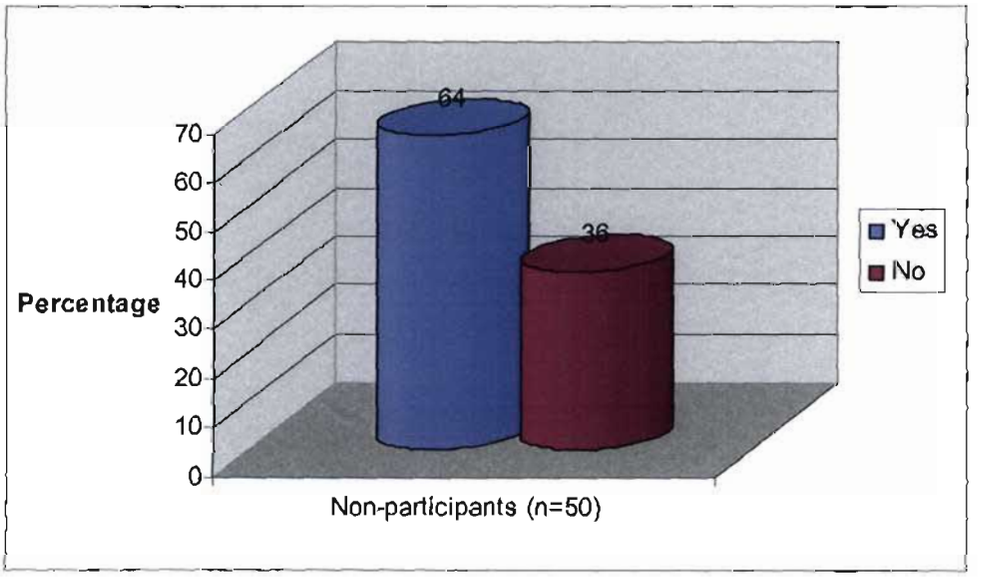
Response	Non-Participants (n=50)	
	f	%
Yes	33	66
No	17	34

According to all Zibambele participants' surveyed, rainy weather impacted on the road negatively before the road could be maintained. This is because the road was deteriorating; there was significant amount of soil erosion and water runoff; and potholes used to accumulate with water thereby making it difficult for vehicles to use the road. All participants further agreed that road maintenance has had a positive impact on the use of the road during rainy weather because drainage systems are now kept clear to facilitate the water runoff, potholes have been fixed and the road is in a good condition to use even when it rains.

Sixty-six percent of the non-participants that were interviewed indicated that the road was unusable as a result of rainy weather. The reasons forwarded by the non-participants for the impact of rainy weather on the road use was that the road consisted of potholes and ruts that accumulated water during the rainy weather, and the side drains were not cleared for the flow of runoff. This situation created soil erosion and made the roads muddy and inaccessible. Thirty-four percent of the non-participants that were interviewed said that rainy weather did not have a significant impact on the use of the road and that roads were still inaccessible after the implementation of the road maintenance programme.

4.2.5 Zibambele Participants Perceptions on the Zibambele Programme and Poverty Alleviation Programme

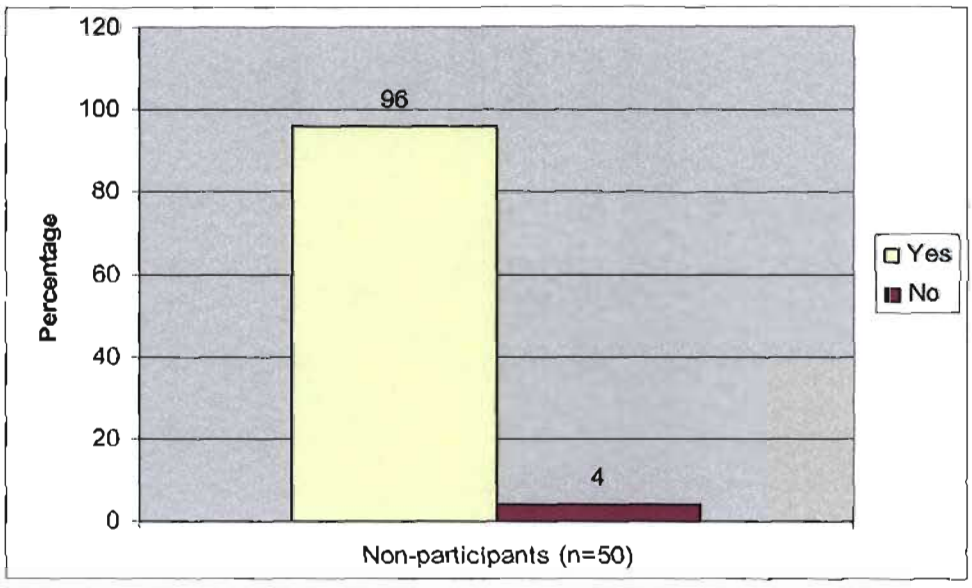
Figure 4.21: Respondents satisfaction with the Zibambele road maintenance programme (Non-participants)



All Zibambele participants indicated that they are satisfied with the programme since it enables them to receive an income and it keeps the road in good condition simultaneously. The programme has created opportunities for the participants to receive an income and thereby provide the participants with some basic needs such as food, shelter, clothing, school fees and medical treatment. Income generated from the programme helps the participants pay for other expenses such as sources of fuel, water and building materials. Furthermore, the programme has enabled participants to access services and markets in other areas during rainy weather because roads are repaired and continually being maintained.

Figure 4.21 indicates that 64% of the non-participants that were interviewed said that they were satisfied with the Zibambele labour-based rural road maintenance programme because it provided the poorest community members with employment and maintained the roads at the same time. However, 36% of the non-participants were dissatisfied and felt that Zibambele participants were not carrying out their maintenance tasks properly. The results obtained from the participants and non-participants indicate that the Zibambele labour-based rural road maintenance programme has produced results in targeting poverty in the area and has further provided opportunities for those members that were normally excluded because of their lack of education and poverty status. Although 36% of the non-participants indicated that they were dissatisfied with the programme because they felt that the participants were not maintaining the road properly, this dissatisfaction did not appear to be widespread in the community.

Figure 4.22: Respondents and household members consulted about the Zibambele programme/ project (Non-participants)



All participants indicated they were consulted about the programme before it could be implemented. The consultation process is of significant importance to the determination of people's attitudes, feelings and views about the implementation of the programme as well as the benefits the programme could provide to the community members. The Zibambele consultation process will be discussed further in the figures that follow.

Figure 4.22 indicates that 90% of the non-participants that were surveyed indicated that they were consulted about the Zibambele programme, while 4% said that they were not consulted by anyone about the programme. The ninety percent of non-participants that indicated that they were consulted about the Zibambele programme indicated that they were invited to attend a roadside meeting that was held by the Zibambele area manager and the community members. The two non-participants that indicated that they were not consulted about the programme were not present in the community when the programme was implemented because they were away undertaking migrant work.

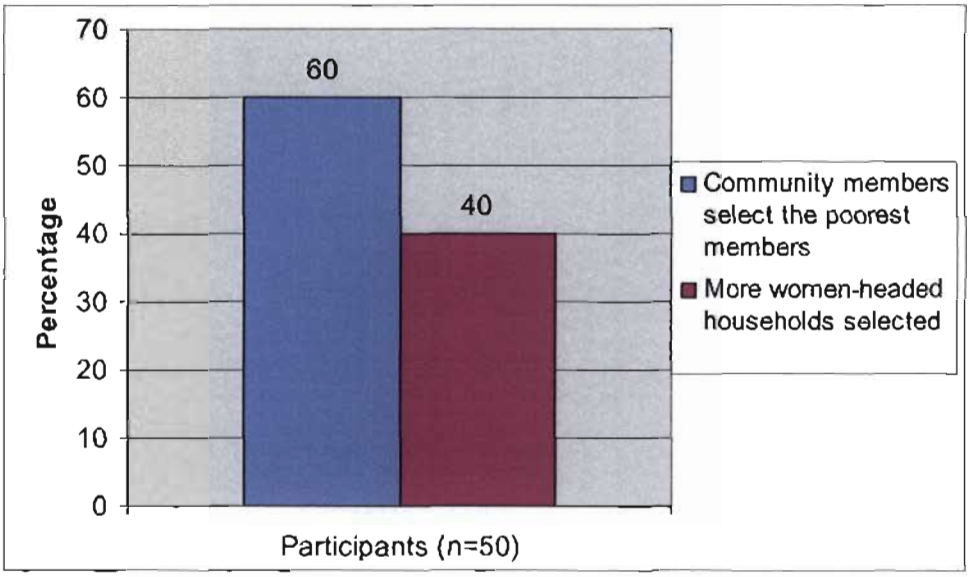
Table 4.24: Method used to inform respondents and household members about the road maintenance programme: Multiple Responses

Way Informed	Participants (n=50)		Non-participants (n=50)	
	f	%	*f*	%
Through government authorities	34	68	3	6
Traditional authorities	46	92	45	90
Local district councillors	7	14	18	36
Word of mouth from family/ friends	-	-	19	38

Ninety-two percent of participants said that they were consulted by the traditional authorities and indunas of the community on the Zibambele programme, while 68% indicated that government authorities were also involved in the consultation process with the Zibambele participants. Fourteen percent of participants indicated that they were consulted by local district councillors.

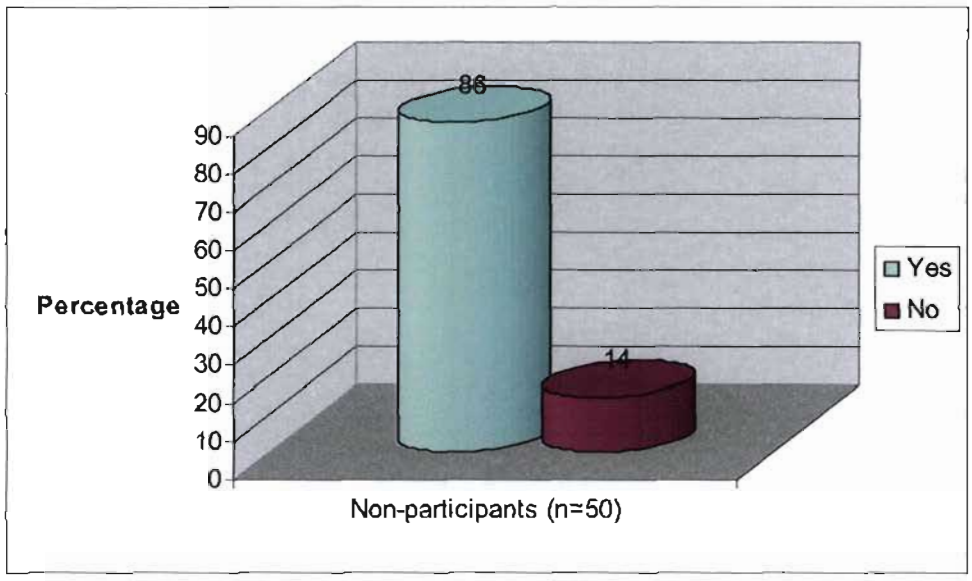
Ninety percent of non-participants said that they were consulted by the traditional authorities and indunas of the community on the Zibambele programme, while 6% indicated that government authorities were also involved in the consultation process with the community members. Thirty-six percent of respondents indicated that they were consulted by local district councillors and 38% of respondents indicated that they were also told about the programme by word of mouth from family and friends. These statistics are considerably pleasing to note, since the community was consulted in one way or another about the programme and was not excluded from the process.

Figure 4.23: Method used for household selection and awarded Zibambele contracts (Participants)



Sixty percent of participants surveyed indicated that households were selected by members of the community, while 40% of the participants indicated that more women-headed households were selected to be awarded road maintenance contracts. During the focus group discussion Zibambele participants indicated that candidate roads were first identified by a Zibambele area manager from the Department of Transport, who then informed the local induna of the area about the programme objectives. The local induna then extended an invitation to all community members to attend a roadside meeting that was held by the Department of Transport officials. At the meeting, community members were asked to identify the poorest households in the community that are in need of employment. The community members selected households that were the most poor and required employment, especially women headed households and contracts were allocated to the houses at a separate meeting.

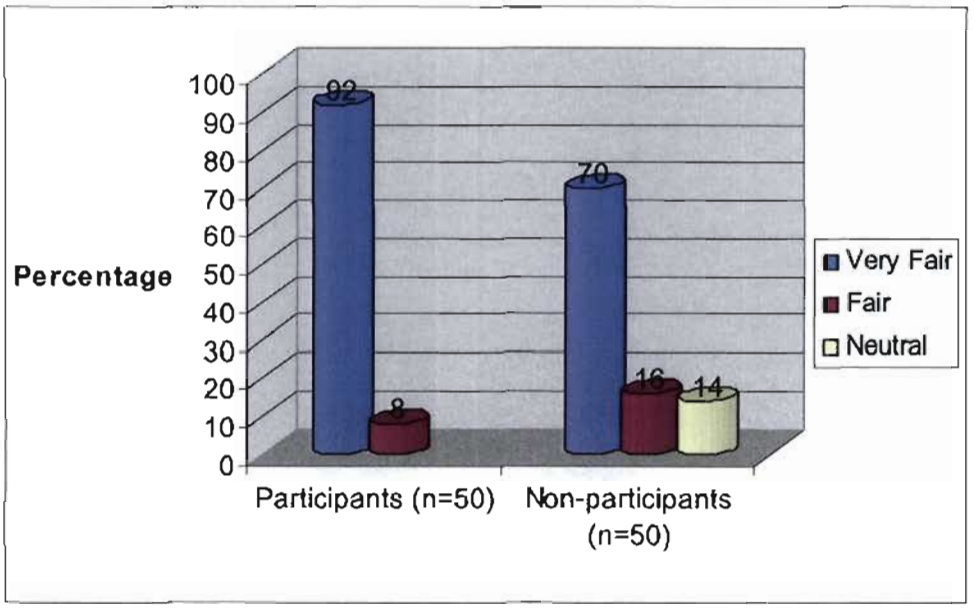
Figure 4.24: Respondents satisfaction with the selection process



All participants that were interviewed indicated that they were pleased with the selection process because the programme allowed for a community-driven process and the community members were responsible for choosing the households and not the government. The participants indicated that all the members of the community were given the chance to identify those households that were poorer than the rest and then contracts are awarded to those households that were most deserving.

Eighty-six percent of the non-participants that were interviewed indicated that they were satisfied with the selection process because the programme focused on facilitating poverty reduction and allowed for a community-driven process whereby the community members were responsible for choosing the households that were most deserving of a maintenance contract and not the government. However, 14% of the non-participants were not satisfied with the selection process because they felt that they were excluded and were also in need of a Zibambele maintenance contract.

Figure 4.25: Respondents rating of the selection process



Ninety-two percent of respondents rated the selection process as being very fair since it was a community-driven process, however, 8% of respondents felt the process was fair. Seventy percent of non-participants rated the selection process as being very fair since it was a community-driven process and contracts were awarded to the poorest households in the community. Eight percent of respondents felt the process was fair since it was members of the community that identified the most deserving households. Fourteen percent of non-participants were neutral to rating the selection process.

Table 4.25: The impact of Zibambele road maintenance programme on various aspects (Participants)

Aspects	Participants (n=50)					
	Better		Unchanged		N/A	
	f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Collection of firewood/ water	47	94	1	2	2	4
School attendance	49	98	-	-	1	2
Church	26	52	23	46	1	2
Local clinics	12	24	37	74	1	2
Mobile clinics	1	2	48	96	1	2
Community centres	48	96	1	2	1	2
Neighbouring communities	48	96	1	2	1	2
Travel to main town/ city	48	96	1	2	1	2
Visiting other residents	48	96	1	2	1	2

Table 4.26: The impact of Zibambele road maintenance programme on various aspects (Non-participants)

Aspects	Non-participants (n=50)					
	Better		Unchanged		N/A	
	f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Collection of firewood/ water	38	76	3	6	9	18
School attendance	41	82	-	-	9	18
Church	40	80	1	2	9	18
Local clinics	30	60	11	22	9	18
Mobile clinics	-	-	41	82	9	18
Community centres	20	40	29	38	11	22
Neighbouring communities	32	64	7	14	11	22
Travel to main town/ city	35	70	6	12	9	18
Visiting other residents	32	64	9	18	9	18

It was clear in the literature review that poor transport and communication infrastructure impact negatively on rural women. Peters (2002) indicated that women have continued to be used as transporters of heavy loads such as firewood, water and other products, which they carry on their heads and backs. This has a negative impact on their well-being.

According to Peters (2002), an improved rural transport infrastructure has a positive impact on the livelihoods of rural women. It was further stipulated by Lungu and Price (not dated) that improved rural roads can improve women's health, and generally their social welfare will also improve. Tables 4.25 and 4.26 illustrate the impact of the Zibambele programme on various aspects. Ninety-four percent of the participants felt that the collection of firewood is better now after the start of the road maintenance programme, one participant felt that collection of firewood remains unchanged and two participants did not respond. With regards to the non-participants, 76% of the non-participants felt that the collection of firewood was better now after the start of the road maintenance programme. This is because roads are well maintained and bushes are cleared making it safe for community members to collect firewood in the forests. Six percent of respondents felt that collection of firewood remains unchanged and 18% of non-participants did not respond.

Ninety-eight percent of Zibambele participants indicated that school attendance was significantly better now because they are able to pay school fees and transport costs, while one participant did not respond. Eighty percent of non-participants indicated that school attendance was significantly better now because roads are more accessible, while 18% of non-participants did not respond.

With regards to church attendance, 52% of Zibambele participants said that it was better because they now have money for bus fares. Forty-six percent of respondents indicated that attendance to church was unchanged, while one participant did not respond. Eighty percent of non-participants said that church attendance is better, 2% of respondents indicated that church attendance is unchanged, while 18% of non-participants did not respond.

Twenty-four percent of the participants indicated access to local clinics as being better because they have access to transport. However, 74% of participants indicated that access to clinics has not changed. One participant did not respond. Sixty percent of non-participants indicated access to local clinics as being better because they have access to

transport, however, 22% indicate that access to clinics have not changed. Eighteen percent of the non-participants did not respond.

One participant surveyed indicated that access to mobile clinics are better, while 96% of participants and 82% of the non-participants were of the opinion that access to mobile clinics remain unchanged because mobile clinics continue to come once a week and not more often. One participant did not respond. Eighteen percent of non-participants did not respond.

Ninety-six percent of Zibambele participants agreed that access to community centres is better because the road maintenance programme affords them transport fares when there is a community meeting or function. One participant indicated that access to community centres remains unchanged, while a further participant did not respond. Forty percent of non-participants agreed that access to community centres is better, 38% of responses were that access to community centres remains unchanged, while 22% of the non-participants did not respond.

In relation to travel to the main town/ city, 96% of respondents indicated that it is better because they have money to pay for their transport costs and purchase the items they require such as food. One participant felt that access to the main town/city had not changed for them because the money earned is too little. One participant did not respond. In regard to non-participants, 70% indicated that it is better, while 12% of non-participants stated that access to the main town/ city has not changed for them. Twenty-two percent of non-participants did not respond.

Ninety-six percent of Zibambele participants said that visiting other households and neighbouring communities are better now because the roads are in a good condition, while one respondent said that access to visiting other households and neighbouring communities remain unchanged. One participant did not respond. Sixty-four percent of non-participants said that visiting other households and neighbouring communities are better now because the roads are in a good condition, while 14% said that access to

visiting other households and neighbouring communities remain unchanged. Twenty-two percent of non-participants did not respond.

Sixty-four percent of non-participants indicated that it is now better to visit other residents in the community because roads are clear of dirt and obstructions and looks aesthetically pleasing, while 18% of respondents felt that there has been no change. Eighteen percent of the non-participants did not respond.

The literature review gives evidence that improved accessibility through rehabilitation and maintenance of the road infrastructure encourages the formation of self-help committees along the improved roads which has a positive impact on the livelihood of the community (Lungu and Price, not dated). The maintenance of rural roads is viewed as enhancing socio-economic status of the community as well as that of the country. Lungu and Price (not dated) further assert in the literature review that the ease of mobility has the ability to effectively improve communication with other communities in neighbouring areas, thereby setting a forum for exchange of ideas and social integration. It also will enable access to social services.

It is evident in Tables 4.25 and 4.26 that the maintained rural roads have impacted positively on the lives of the respondents (participants and non-participants). The majority of respondents indicated that access to the specified areas has improved for the better. The reasons forwarded by the respondents were that the maintained roads are now repaired and bushes and dense vegetation are cleared making it easy to walk on the roads. Respondents also indicated that they are able to use the road during rainy weather since potholes and ruts that accumulate water and cause erosion and runoff have been repaired. Many respondents also felt that the maintenance of the rural roads made the road far more evenly textured, less muddy and less slippery. Therefore, access during the rainy weather has improved. Many women respondents also indicated that they feel a sense of safety to travel on the maintained road. It was indicated during the focus group discussion that bushes and dense vegetation made them easy targets for crime and violence. Furthermore, before the road could be maintained the criminals used the bushes and dense vegetation to hide and escape. Although there were a few respondents that

indicated that access to the specified areas have not changed, their feelings and views are not widespread.

Table 4.27: The benefits that Zibambele provides to the community members: Multiple Responses

Benefits	Participants (n=50)		Non-Participants (n=50)	
	F	%	*f*	%
An income to the household	50	100	50	100
Savings clubs	50	100	50	100
Skills/ training	50	100	50	100
Social gathering	38	76	50	100

All respondents (participants and non-participants) indicated that Zibambele has provided community members with an income, has introduced community members to saving clubs, and has provided community members with skills and training. Seventy-six percent of participants indicated that Zibambele has facilitated the emergence of social gatherings. All non-participants agreed that the programme provides community members with an opportunity to access savings clubs, provides skills and training, and facilitates social gatherings. According to the Construction Industry Development Board (2004), the following issues should be addressed in labour-based projects: promote community development and promote community involvement; impart technical skills to the unskilled and semi-skilled members of the community; transfer administrative, commercial and management skills to the community; retain funds expended on the project within the community; and develop contractors from within the community in which roads are to be constructed. Clearly, respondents feel that some of the issues raised are being addressed by the Zibambele programme.

With regards to the Zibambele rural road maintenance programme, the use of labour-based technologies addresses a broad array of other problems such as the creation of employment opportunities for those least able to compete on the job market; placing emphasis strongly on local labour, local expertise and locally available resources; and the training of participants on the technical aspects of road construction and maintenance, as

well as the administrative aspects of the project management is provided (Zibambele, 2005). Again, the results indicate that the respondents generally perceive that the Zibambele programme is having several positive impacts and achieving intended broader objectives.

Table 4.28: Benefits of the maintenance contract of a length of road for the household (Participants)

Benefits	Participants (n=50)	
	f	%
Zibambele has provided me with a sense of independence	40	80
I am now able to provide for my children's needs	33	66
I do not have to rely on the male members	36	72
I can now afford to buy things for my house	30	60

Table 4.28 illustrates the benefits that the maintenance contract has for the participants. Eighty percent of the participants indicated that the Zibambele programme has provided them with a sense of independence, 66% felt that Zibambele has enabled them to provide for their children's needs, 72% said that they do not have to rely on the male members of the household and 60% indicated that they can now afford to buy things required for their homes. It is evident from the results presented in the Table 4.27 that participants feel much more empowered after being awarded a maintenance contract. This is due to the income they receive, which enables them to provide and cater for their needs without having to rely on male members of the household.

All Zibambele participants responded that there are no disadvantages of Zibambele and there are only advantages to the programme such as employment generation and road improvements. Zibambele has enabled the participants to put food on their tables and has afforded them the opportunity to make-decisions regarding their households. Other benefits that have been accrued through Zibambele relate to shelter, clothing, school fees, and medical treatment. Zibambele has also assisted participants with the opening of saving accounts that enables participants to save for the implementation of other income generating projects. It is also worth noting that several respondents, especially women

indicated that participating in the programme benefited them at a personal level by providing them with a sense of independence.

Table 4.29: Participants level of satisfaction with the following statements

STATEMENT	Participant (n=50)							
	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree	
	f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Zibambele has changed my life for the better	50	100	2	4	-	-	-	-
Zibambele makes me feel proud to be part of the community	48	96	12	24	-	-	-	-
Being selected as part of Zibambele has given me a new hope in life	37	74	12	24	-	-	1	2
I've acquired skills and knowledge through Zibambele	38	76	3	6	-	-	-	-
I am now independent and can stand up for my own needs	40	80	2	4	7	14	-	-
Working for Zibambele gives me a chance to voice my opinions on road construction and development	35	70	4	8	10	20	3	6
Zibambele has provided me with access to credit institutions	44	88	11	22	2	4	-	-
I can now save for starting my own business	36	72	4	8	3	6	-	-
Zibambele has put food and other living essentials on my table	46	92	13	26			-	-
Through Zibambele, roads are improved and access to markets, school, clinics, etc. are quicker and efficient.	37	74	4	8	-	-	-	
Zibambele provides economic as well as social upliftment	38	76	12	24	8	16	-	
Zibambele centres around the strengthening of women headed households	38	76	5	10	-	-	-	-
My children can now afford to attend school and pay for fees.	45	90	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 4.29 indicates the respondents' level of satisfaction with the Zibambele rural road maintenance programme. All participants strongly agree that Zibambele has changed

their lives for the better. Ninety-six percent of respondents felt that they strongly agree that the programme makes them feel proud to be part of the community, while 4% agree that Zibambele makes them feel proud to be part of the community.

Seventy-four percent of participants indicated that they strongly agree that being selected as part of the community has given them hope for a new life, while 24% agree with the statement, while one participant disagreed. Seventy-six percent of participants indicated that they strongly agree that they have acquired skills and knowledge through Zibambele and 24% indicated agreement. Eighty percent of respondents strongly agree that they are now independent and can stand up for their own needs, 6 agree with the statement and 14% were neutral.

According to the table, 70% of participants surveyed indicated that they strongly agree that Zibambele gives them a chance to voice out their own opinions on road maintenance and development, 4% agree, 20% remain neutral and 6% disagree with the statement. Eighty-eight percent of respondents strongly agreed that Zibambele has provided them with access to credit institutions, 8% agree with the statement, and 4% remained neutral. Seventy-two percent of the participants strongly agreed that they can now start saving for their own businesses, 22% agreed with the statement, while 6% of the responses were neutral.

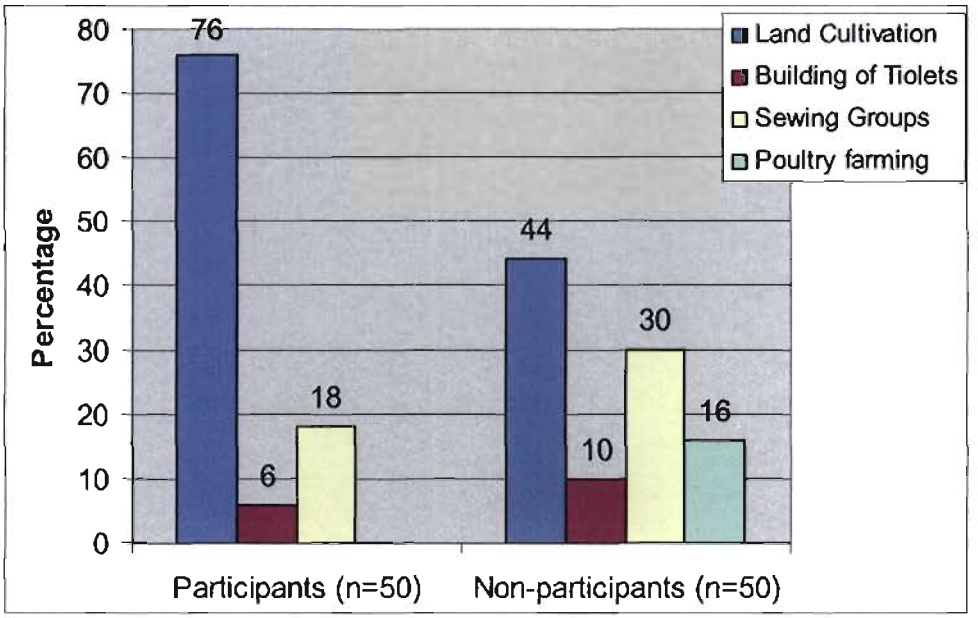
With regards to the statement that Zibambele has put food and other living essentials on the participant's table, 92% strongly agreed, while 8 percent agreed. Seventy-four percent of respondents strongly agreed that through Zibambele access to markets, schools, clinics, etc. are quicker and more efficient. Twenty-six percent of respondents agreed to the statement. Seventy-six percent of respondents strongly agreed that Zibambele provides social as well as economic upliftment, 8% agreed and 16% were neutral to the statement. Seventy-six percent of respondents strongly agreed that Zibambele revolves around the strengthening of women-headed households and 24% of respondents agreed. Ninety percent of the participants surveyed strongly agreed that through Zibambele their children

can now afford to go to school and pay school fees. Ten percent of respondents agree that it is true that their children can now afford to go to school and pay school fees.

Table 4.29 indicates a wide range of linked benefits for the Zibambele participants that are economic, social and personal in nature. Many respondents indicated that the Zibambele programme emphasises the strengthening of women-headed households and therefore has provided them with new hopes and dreams for a better quality of live. Respondents indicated that the Zibambele programme has enabled them to receive an income, which is used for a variety of households needs, such as food, clothing, school fees, etc. The programme has also facilitated participants' access to credit institutions. Thus, participants indicted that they are now able to start saving for starting their own income generating projects. It was further indicated by the participants that the programme has assisted them with the provision of skills and knowledge. This creates a feeling of independence and confidence for participants to make decisions concerning them and to voice their opinions regarding their households and their needs. Furthermore, participants indicated that the Zibambele programme has improved the condition of the rural roads, which in turn has improved access to schools, markets, clinics, neighbouring communities, etc. Participants indicated that access to the specific areas is safer, quicker and more efficient.

All responses (participants and non-participants) indicated that the Zibambele programme will help improve the development of the area by encouraging other labour-based programmes to take place in the community as well as facilitating the upgrade of infrastructure in the community. This aspect is examined in greater detail below.

Figure 4.26: Projects that have started in the area



Seventy-six percent of participants indicated that land cultivation projects have started in the area, 18% pointed out that sewing group projects have recently started and 6% said that a project that builds toilet facilities has also started in the community. A total of 44% of the non-participants indicated that land cultivation has started in the area following the implementation of the Zibambele rural road maintenance programme. Thirty percent of the non-participants indicated the development of sewing groups in the area, 16% noticed the inception of poultry farming and 10% are aware of the project that has begun to build toilets in the area. All respondents (participants and non-participants) indicated that there should be more government initiated labour-based programmes in the area.

Table 4.30: Problems generally facing the community: Multiple Responses

Problems facing the community	Participants (n=50)		Non-Participants (n=50)	
	f	%	*f*	%
Unemployment and Poverty	50	100	50	100
Lack of facilities such as clinics and libraries	50	100	46	92
Lack of skills training	49	98	42	84
HIV/AIDS	43	86	50	100
Tuberculosis	41	82	30	60
Lack of sports centres and grounds	41	82	36	72

With regards to the problems generally facing the community, all respondents (participants and non-participants) indicated that the community suffers from high levels of unemployment and poverty. All the Zibambele participants and 92% of the non-participants indicated that the community lacks facilities such as clinics and libraries. Ninety-eight percent of Zibambele participants and 84% of the non-participants responded that the community members lack skills training. Eighty-six percent of Zibambele participants and all non-participants found HIV/AIDS to be a major problem in the area. Eighty-two percent of participants and 60% of non-participants identified tuberculosis (TB). A further 82% of participants and 72% of non-participants indicated that the community lacked sport centres and a proper sports ground. These results demonstrate the urgent need for interventions aimed at alleviating the high unemployment levels that exist in the community as well the necessity and urgency for the provision of infrastructure services such as clinics and libraries, skills training centres and sporting facilities.

4.3.1 Direct Observation

Direct observation was conducted in the Umbumbulu community during several field visits. The following observations were made:

- It was observed that rural roads in the area are currently being maintained from Mondays to Thursdays and appear to be in a good condition for the daily utilisation by mobile vehicles and people.

- It was found that many households in the area have access to piped water and electricity, however, it was observed by the researcher that a few members of the community (women and children) still collected water from the nearby rivers and streams for their domestic uses, and fuel sources such as wood from the nearby bushes and forest areas for domestic cooking, heating and lighting.
- It was evident that taxis and buses were available to the community, however these services were observed to be accessible only on the provincial and main roads and to a limited extent on the rural roads. The taxis and buses were not observed to enter the rural dirt and gravel roads that led to households in the community.
- The researcher further observed the presence of primary and secondary schools in the area, which were located far (5 km) from several communities in the Umbumbulu area.
- Women in the area were observed while working on sugar cane fields and small patches of maize and other vegetable gardens.
- It was clear that most homesteads in the area were scattered and therefore access to community facilities such as schools and clinic were difficult for some households.

4.3.2 Ranking Exercise

The community members that were present at the focus group meeting raised several concerns about issues prevalent in the Umbumbulu community. The concerns were first identified and noted on paper and then the community was asked to rank the issues in order of the most disturbing and difficult to overcome to the least troublesome issues. The tables below illustrate the communities concerns (Table 4.31) and ranks them in order of importance (Table 4.32).

Table 4.31: Problem Ranking Matrix

Problems	(EO)	(ED)	(C)	H/A	(C/V)	(L)	(AG)	(T)
Employment opportunities (EO)	☐	EO	H/ A	C	EO	ED	EO	ED
Education (ED)	☐	☐	T	H/ A	EO	EO	EO	EO
Clinic (C)	☐	☐	☐	T	ED	ED	T	ED
HIV/ AIDS (H/ A)	☐	☐	☐	☐	EO	ED	ED	C
Crime/ Violence (C/V)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	ED	EO	EO
Libraries (L)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	ED	EM
Agricultural land. (AG)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	EO
Transport (T)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Table 4.32: Community Problems

Problem	Scoring	Rank
1. Employment opportunities	11	1
2. Education	9	2
3. Clinics	2	4
4. HIV/AIDS	2	4
5. Crime	0	6
6. Libraries	0	6
7. Agricultural Land	0	6
8. Transportation	3	3

Matrix ranking is a grid which represents relative value or preferences that is achieved by creating hierarchies of activities or items (Wilde and Mattila, 1996). The ranking exercise results presented in Table 4.32 indicates that the major problem in the Umbumbulu area, according to the community members, is the lack of employment opportunities. The lack of employment opportunities is seen by the community members as a major factor contributing to their poverty status. Education was ranked as the second important

problem in the area. Community members said that the schools are located a far distance away from the households and that most schools are in a poor condition. Community members felt that there is an urgent need for more schools in the sub-wards. Transportation was ranked as a third concern by the community members. The community found it difficult to access taxis and buses on the main road to travel to the main town frequently. HIV/AIDS and the absence of clinics were ranked fourth during the ranking exercise. Respondents indicated that the local clinic is situated far from the households and that HIV/AIDS is a major concern in the community since many people are infected and are not receiving proper medical treatment.

It was further indicated that a mobile clinic comes once a week to the area. Respondents felt that the mobile clinic should come more frequently. Many community members are infected in the area and are not undergoing treatment. Crime, libraries and agricultural land were ranked last as problems of concern by the community members. However, respondents indicated that there is a lack of enough land for community members to engage in crop production. According to the respondents, crime is a rife in the area and community members are afraid of being attacked. Furthermore, there is a lack of library services in the area.

It is important to understand that transportation has a direct influence on other problems that were identified and ranked by the respondents. Well maintained rural transportation infrastructure has proven to link poor communities to employment sectors and facilitate the provision of services such as mobile clinics and libraries as well as link communities to education faculties such as schools and awareness workshops.

4.3.3 Venn Diagram

The Umbumbulu community members were asked to illustrate the control of power and organisational issues in their community. This was done in the form of drawing circles ranging from a big circle to the smallest circle. The following structure (presented in Figure 4.27) demonstrates how the different levels of authorities are perceived by the community members to be of importance in the community.

Figure 4.28: Organisational Structure of the Umbumbulu Community

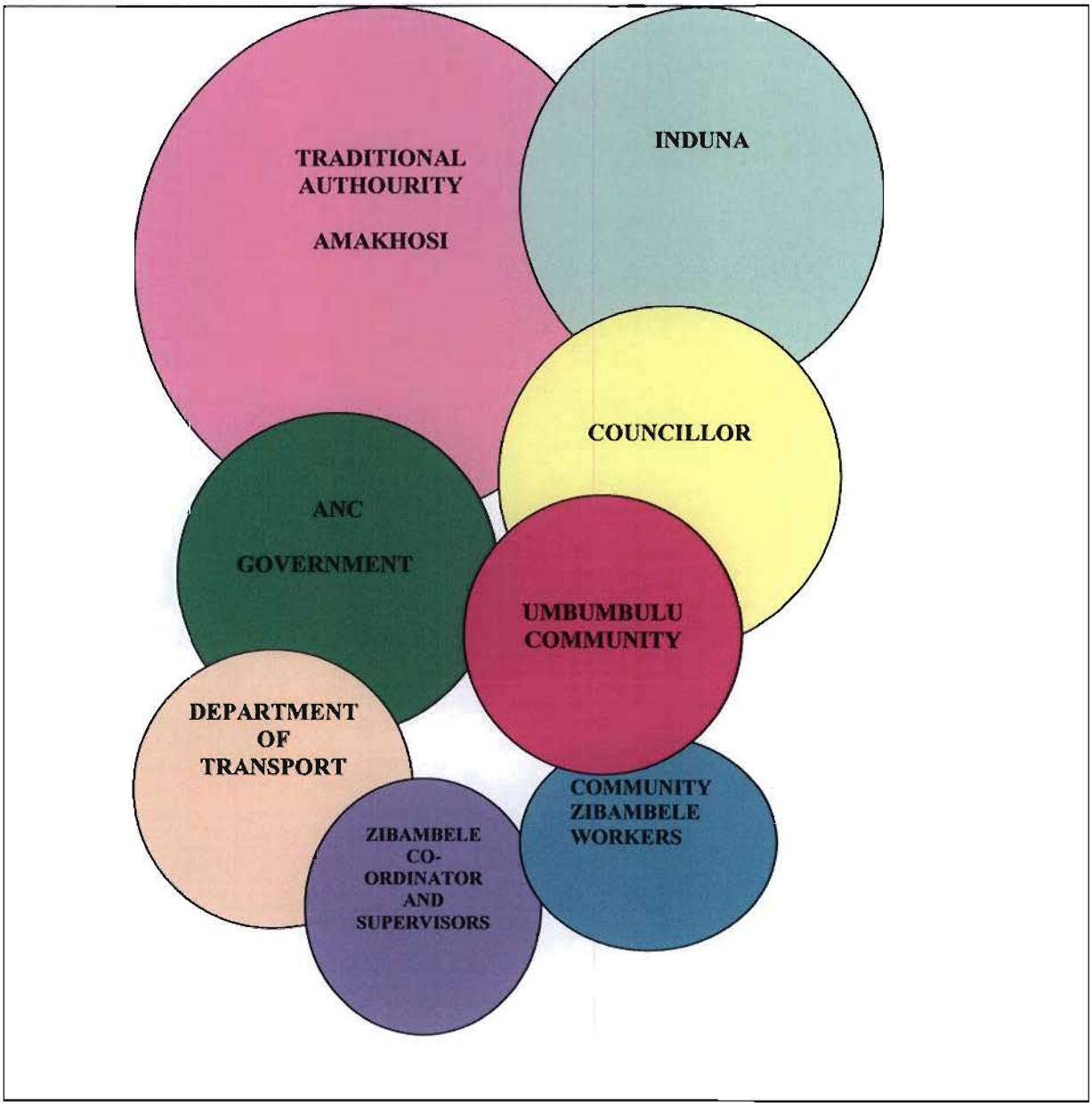


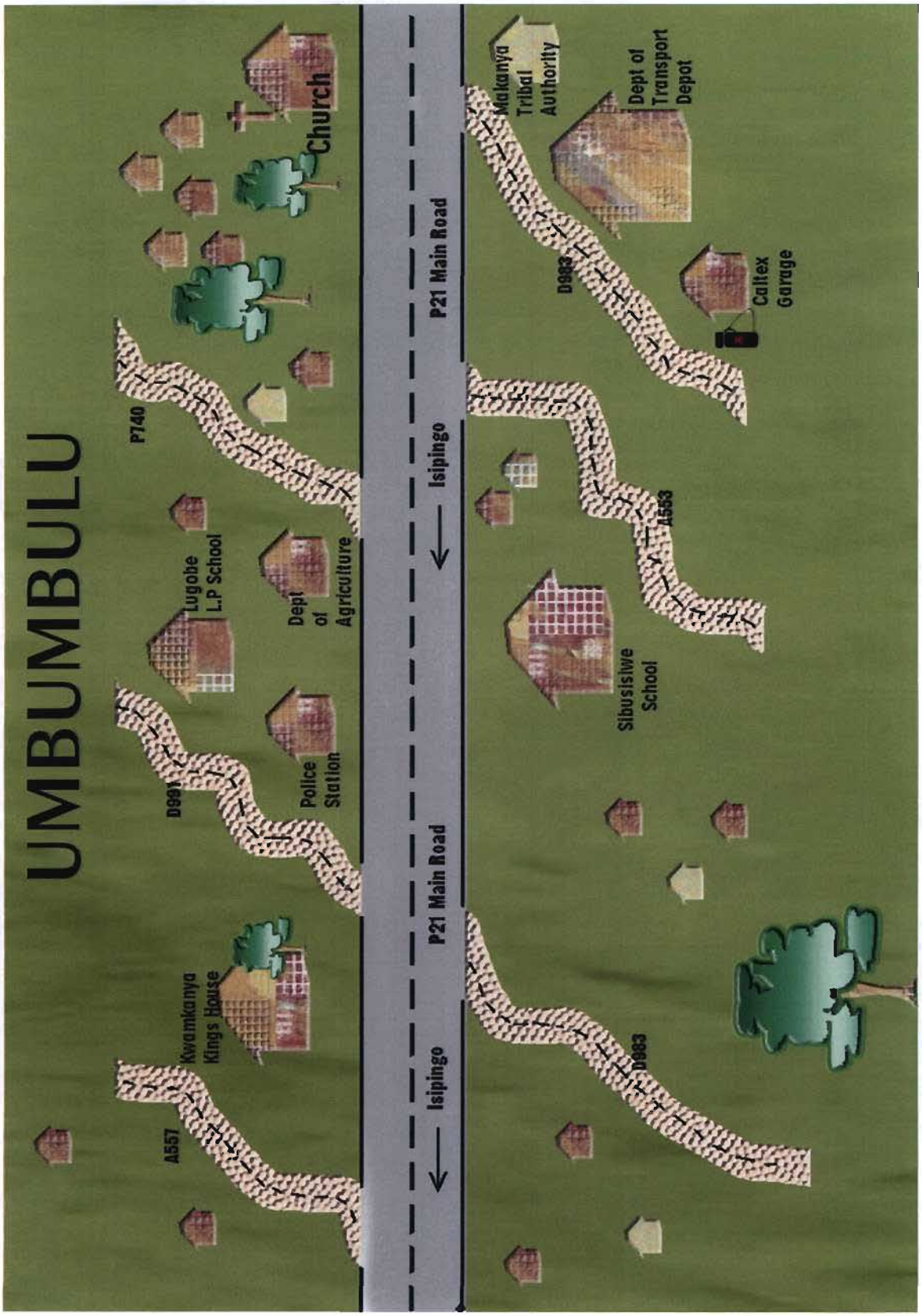
Figure 4.28 depicts a venn or chapatti diagram that was prepared by the women in the community during the focus group discussion. The groups were asked by the researcher to identify and rank institutions that are present in the area according to their importance and their influence in decision-making power as well as to show the relationships

between them. The community members designate the Amakhosi as holding the highest level of authority in the area. The Induna falls under the Amakhosi, while the councillor is linked to both the Amakhosi and the local Induna. The community forms part of the traditional authority control and is also linked to the local government. Community members view the local government as being a separate structure that consists of other structures such as the Departments of Transport, Agriculture, Water, Land Affairs, etc. In this case, DoT is used and community members created a link between the structures and community Zibambele workers.

4.3.4 Mental Map

Figure 4.29 illustrates a mental map that was prepared by the focus group of the Intinyane community in Umbumbulu. Participatory mapping is a process by which the community members produce a visual image of their community that they live in (Wilde and Mattila, 1996). The map illustrates the relevant points of geographical features that include the maintained roads, fields, trees, houses, schools, health facilities, shops, clinics, churches, tribal authorities and government structures. The Umbumbulu community map clearly indicates that there are several rural access roads in the area that connect to the main road. It is further evident in the map that some infrastructure is present for the community, such as primary schools, churches, and a petrol station. It is also clear that government depots such as the Department of Transport are present in the area. However, the map also indicates that the community lacks facilities such as a clinic, library and a sport ground. Contracted houses that live adjacent to the rural roads (shown in the mental map) are responsible to maintain a specific length of the road as stipulated by the lengthmen system that has been identified in the literature review. According to Wilde and Mattila (1996), outsiders gain insights into how rural women and men perceive resources and select their priorities, through using mental mapping.

Figure 4.29: Mental Map of Umbumbulu



4.4 Conclusion

The socio-demographic status of the Intinyane community in Umbumbulu reveals that the majority of the population are women and can be regarded as living in poverty. The community can be regarded as currently being in a transition phase after having to endure years of deprivation of basic services such as running water, proper sanitation, electricity, telecommunications and proper road infrastructure. The deprivation characteristics of the community can be regarded as being directly linked to past policies that were created by the apartheid government. After more than a decade since the new democratic ANC government came into power, many changes to address past imbalances of the apartheid government are slowly becoming visible. It was apparent from the research conducted in the area that households in the community have recently been provided with proper water and electricity supply. Suitable sanitation facilities in the community are currently being built through the utilisation of labour-intensive methods. A vast majority of households in the community lack telephone lines, however, they are able to access the local telephone booths provided in the community. Furthermore, it was determined that most respondents were not exposed to proper education during the apartheid era and therefore lacked the skills necessary for employment opportunities. Thus education can be regarded as being inextricably linked to the poverty status of the community.

With regards to the Zibambele programme, it was found that the programme played a vital role in the facilitation of income generation as well as skills development for more women-headed households. Hence, it is obviously clear that the adoption of labour-intensive techniques in road programmes provides the much needed opportunities to the poorest members of the community and further provides and maintains proper road infrastructure. The adoption of the Zibambele rural road maintenance programme in the Umbumbulu community has made some of the members of the community realise their potentials and also served as a stimulus for the community to become more involved in the development processes occurring around them. This has been evident not only in the Zibambele programme but also in the creation of other labour-intensive programmes such as land cultivation and sewing projects that has recently been adopted in the area.

The Zibambele labour-based rural road maintenance programme has paved the way for the development of the community. Community members have reported an increase in the number of vehicles and people using the road. A vast number of respondents have further indicated that there are improvements in the access of emergency vehicles such as ambulance and police vehicles into the area. The members of the community have expressed their feelings of safety, confidence and satisfaction of road maintenance for their household members. The road maintenance programme can be regarded as having countless positive socio-economic impacts for the community, since the community has identified significant changes with regard to their socio-economic status since the implementation of the programme.

CHAPTER FIVE
DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This research was undertaken in KwaZulu-Natal, in a tribal community known as Intinyane which forms part of the Umbumbulu Magisterial District. The area is part of the apartheid system and is classified as an area having high levels of unemployment and poverty, consisting predominately of Black tribal communities. Therefore, the Umbumbulu area formed an ideal research base to conduct socio-economic studies and evaluations on how labour-based rural road maintenance impacts on, and contributes to poverty alleviation as well as having the ability to satisfy other essential living requirements and improve access to other facilities, particularly those accrued by women-headed households.

The literature reviewed in chapter two of this dissertation, provides a suitable theoretical framework on the significance of infrastructure provision such as well maintained rural road infrastructure, in addition to socio-economic impacts of using labour-intensive methods in road maintenance. It also reflects on the colonial and apartheid history of South Africa, which denied poor Black communities the right to basic infrastructure such as roads. Consequently, the post-apartheid era is plagued with tremendous financial problems and backlogs in rural road maintenance and delivery, the lack of local capacity and an integrated approach to planning and implementation.

The research methodologies and approaches used in the study are highlighted in chapter three, which also details the case study area and background of the Zibambele, labour-based, poverty alleviation rural road maintenance programme. The underlying foundation for the primary data analysed in chapter four of the research was facilitated through the use of a quantitative method of household questionnaires that was undertaken in the Intinyane community as well as the outcomes of participatory approaches such as the focus group meeting. This chapter concludes the study with a discussion on some

evaluations made during the course of the study, and thereafter forwards a set of recommendations to be considered in order to improve the efficiency of rural road planning, maintenance and rehabilitation and their links towards poverty alleviation. The study conclusively ends with some final remarks.

5.2 Summary of Key Findings

Evidence from the data analysis chapter indicates that many households in the Umbumbulu community are not male-headed, and women increasingly are supporting and maintaining their families. With few employment opportunities in the area, female headed households tend to be the most disadvantaged. Given the severe lack of formal job opportunities for rural women, and the fact that more and more women are being forced to generate some form of income in order to survive (World Bank, 2005), it is of critical importance to create income generation projects such as the Zibambele labour-based rural road maintenance.

The study conducted in Umbumbulu revealed that time pressures play an important role in intensifying women's institutional powerlessness. Poor rural infrastructure increases women's task burden and therefore improvements in infrastructure can bring time benefits to women in terms of labour-saving technologies (Greico, 2002). Inadequate infrastructure greatly increases the labour time involved in domestic work and in this sense constrains women's participation in paid work. Women have to negotiate between the demands of work, caring for children and domestic work as well as having to deal with the different spatial locations of these activities.

Poor transport intensifies the task burdens of women, particularly in the Umbumbulu area case where women are themselves forms of transport, collecting fuel, water, agricultural produce and household goods in the absence of access to other forms of transport. According to the World Bank (2002), the provision of roads where local communities neither have resources to maintain the road nor have the necessary income to travel on motorised vehicles is challenging. Historically, road infrastructure has not been matched by measures which enable the vulnerable to make use of such facilities. The World Bank (2002) asserts that spatial marginality limits women's mobility as well as their access to

facilities and economic opportunities, and as a result, it drives up the cost of living. The poor conditions of many local roads and their lack of maintenance has meant that transport costs are increased, and that taxis and buses avoid going into certain areas, effectively isolating these areas.

Although no data exists to enable an assessment of the impact of HIV/AIDS on the Umbumbulu community, an important concern identified during the analysis of the focus group meeting and questionnaire interviews was the concern of a growing number of HIV/AIDS infected and affected households in the area. The need for the services of a qualified social worker was expressed by community members to deal with social problems faced by communities as a result of the impact of HIV/AIDS. With regards to transport, it was determined that transport is not readily available and patients often travel long distances for treatment. Because of a lack of resources, clinics have not been able to resolve health problems easily and incorrect decisions around HIV/AIDS have been made. Consequently, it should be noted that in order for the Umbumbulu community to confront this pandemic, future research on issues such as HIV/AIDS education needs to be addressed, and unemployment and poverty must be alleviated if not completely eradicated.

According to May (1998), women's chances of victimisation increases with having to walk long distances to collect firewood and water in rural areas. Furthermore, poor road conditions limit the effectiveness of emergency police vehicles, making it difficult to access communities and thus causing time delays.

The rural residents in the Umbumbulu area still cultivate small land holdings, particularly sugar cane. Each homestead in the area has a vegetable garden and fields for crop production, however, many members of the community indicated that there is not enough land for cultivation and grazing purposes. This situation can be regarded as emanating from unfair colonial and contemporary land and agricultural policies that resulted in the diminution of the per capita size of land held by Black rural dwellers (Makhanya, 1997). With regards to rural agricultural production, transport improvement may lower

input prices and production costs, improve access to credit, facilitate technological diffusion and increase the area of land under cultivation (National Department of Transport, 2006). It is suggested that further research be conducted on the shortage of land for agricultural practices in the Umbumbulu area.

Access to communication networks is poor in the area, with a large proportion of the population having no access to telephones and having to rely on public telephones. Although many households in the area have access to electricity, there exists a number of households that still use paraffin and candles for cooking, lighting and heating. This is due to the high level of unemployment in the area. The vast majority of households in the community make use of pit latrines as a method of sanitation and use tap water for cooking and drinking. This socio-economic profile paints a picture of a rural community that has limited access to infrastructure such as communication networks, and facilities such as libraries and mobile clinics.

Community members consulted (Zibambele participants) within the Intinyane community in Umbumbulu indicate that the Zibambele rural road maintenance project has impacted positively on their living environment and overall quality of life. Many members of the community felt that the programme makes them feel proud to be part of the community and has facilitated the hope for a new life that is free from poverty. With regards to poverty alleviation, community members confirmed that Zibambele has put food on their tables and provided other living essentials such as clothing and appliances as well as made access to markets, schools, and clinics more feasible.

It was also determined that the participants, especially women, have acquired skills and knowledge through Zibambele which subsequently makes them feel a sense of independence. An important point made by the vast majority of females in the community is that Zibambele gives them a chance to voice their own opinions on road maintenance and development and has provided them with access to credit institutions. The role of access to credit and banking facilities in reducing the social exclusion of women in rural areas is already evident in the research study (Zibambele) in Umbumbulu.

The success of the Zibambele programme in organising women in rural areas into sustainable banking and credit social movements has received widespread acknowledgement from government and rural communities (Bridraj, 2000). Access to credit and banking facilities creates a good cycle in which women can increase their participation and control over other areas of decision-making and resource allocation. It is also evident that the Zibambele programme has acted as a catalyst for other development since several projects such as land cultivation and poultry has started since it has been implemented.

In relation to the maintained rural roads specifically, it was found that maintenance has eased the burden of the community by providing greater mobility of vehicles and community members. The maintained rural roads has also facilitated all weather accessibility to transport goods, services and people to and from the community. The well maintained rural roads have also provided the community with the feeling of safety when accessing forests and other areas that was achieved through the clearing of bushes that obstructed the roads in the past. During the focus group discussion held with the women in the community, it was indicated by the women that the bushes, previously present before the road maintenance programme could be implemented, made women easy targets of crime and violence since it obscured the vision of other members in the community. It was further found in the study that road maintenance has improved the response from emergency vehicles such as the ambulance and police services. This reassures the community that the emergency vehicles will be able to access their locations more efficiently when the need arises.

The success of the Zibambele rural road maintenance project is highly dependent on the community's involvement in the various facets of the programme. Through the proper procedures of community participation and consultation, the programme can be regarded as being one that is community-driven. In fact, the most commendable part of the programme is the method of household contract selection, which is geared by the community members themselves. The consultation process appears to be transparent by involving all members in the community (participants and non-participants) from the

inception of the programme in taking a decision on how and by whom rural road maintenance should be carried out.

Making use of local resources and labour provides significant benefits to the people as well as to the government because the money spent on labour-intensive projects stays within the local economy (Taylor, 1992). Labour-intensive projects and programmes such as Zibambele are more feasible than capital intensive methods. Furthermore, the use of local labour can be vital to prevent the spread of diseases such as HIV/AIDS from foreign employees residing in local areas for extended periods of time, as in the case of conventional construction and maintenance methods (Perrin et al, 2003). DeSilva (2001) asserts that allowing the participation of communities in decision-making processes about the programme can be pivotal to the life-span of the programme as well as to the commitment and concerns displayed to the community by the government.

5.3 Recommendations emanating from the study

This section is an attempt to provide recommendations relating to labour-based routine road maintenance and further attempts to forward a set of recommendations that relates to the study undertaken in the Umbumbulu area. The recommendations discussed below are primarily concerned with routine maintenance of rural roads and are aimed at ensuring that suitable levels of maintenance are justified.

In the proceeding chapters, it was determined that rural road maintenance is best suitable to be carried out by labour-intensive methods and technologies. Technology choices are best determined by the state of which rural roads that are travelled on are in and the level of maintenance required. During the evaluation of labour-based rural road maintenance activities, government should consider areas of procurement, servicing and repairing of maintenance equipment (Mwango, 2000). This could be vital to ensuring the smooth running of maintenance tasks. Another important feature that gives communities better control over technology is the use of equipment and tools that are less heavy, paving way for women and senior members of a community to be part of the development processes.

Mwango (2000) assert that it is important that government never undertakes labour-based maintenance activities before the funding requirements have been established. Labour-based maintenance stresses supervision and prompt payment. Therefore, financial resources to pay the lengthmen workers must be properly allocated and be available as soon as maintenance has been carried out, depending on the payment agreement made at the initial implementation of the programme. According to Mwango (2000), maintenance operations must begin with distinct and visible lines of responsibility so as to encourage competitiveness and improved importance. The employment of local labour resources in programmes shows government's commitment to the well-being of its people by providing both cash and better access and is also beneficial to the local currency since it stays within the local community.

Institutional strengthening is also an area of major concern towards achieving a sustainable rural road maintenance programme (Mwango, 2000). Mwango (2000) suggests that government's intentions to implement rural road programmes that makes use of labour-based techniques should first consider the following key issues:

- Fiscal policies and the use of shadow prices such as the use of economic instead of market for labour or surges for equipment.
- Prejudiced levies on labour-based equipment intended to maintain roads.
- Interest rate policies that do not subsidise the import of construction and maintenance equipment.
- Tendering procedures that are not biased towards the use of labour-intensive equipment.
- Equivalent positions between staff of technical departments working on labour-based technique programmes.

Although it was noted in the research that Zibambele workers are given the opportunity to attend skills training workshops, government should also support the following strategies to facilitate the flow of good labour-based programmes (Mwango, 2000):

- Special training programmes for road engineers, technicians, local government officials, community leaders and authorities and others involved in rural road works, such as farmers.
- Basic and simplified administrative standards and procedures.
- Simplified contract documents, bidding and payment procedures to be applied to rural roads.
- The development of a domestic contracting industry that identifies those areas that are most in need of employment opportunities and rural road maintenance.

The recruitment of local resources is an important element for the prospect for labour-based rural road maintenance operations, mainly as a consequence of the continuing lack of finance and trained person-power. Through the invention of appropriate channels for participation, local participation can be improved. The lengthmen system provides an enhanced opportunity to involve local communities in maintenance programmes enabling them to identify with the costs and benefits involved in rural road maintenance. Zibambele can be considered to be appropriate in fitting with programmes which are beneficial to both road agencies and the community, since it provides employment to the people and improves the road condition simultaneously. It is, therefore, recommended that the feasibility of the Zibambele programme be explored on all other road projects since the benefits can be substantial.

The research conducted in the Umbumbulu area was based solely on the socio-economic impacts of labour-based rural road maintenance on poverty alleviation. It is recommended that extensive research on other areas such as on agricultural practices, education, basic services, etc. should be conducted in the community. However, a few observations with regards to education levels and basic services have been made.

With regards to the study conducted in the Umbumbulu area, the research revealed high levels of illiterate and partially educated people in the Umbumbulu community. The low level of education in the community can be a direct barrier towards employment opportunities, subsequently resulting in the community's poverty status. Training and

retraining to build basic literacy and basic entrepreneurial skills for vulnerable groups are critical to the integration of the poor into the labour market. It is, therefore, recommended that adult basic education and training (ABET) classes and workshops be made available for the members of the community that were previously denied such opportunities. Language classes for previously disadvantaged adults should also be provided in such ABET programmes. If improvement of provision focuses on these areas, it will have the greatest impact on the current educational disparities.

During the literature review it was determined that traditional methods of transport have been ignored in most rural areas. This is fitting with the scenario in KwaZulu-Natal, since very little research work has been done on informal transportation and the contemporary use of alternate and non-motorised use of transport for access. Thevadasen (2003) makes reference to a case study on the use of donkey drawn carts in the Northern Province of South Africa. The study reflects on the socio-economic benefits accrued by several community members, such as an average salary of R811 attained per cart operator. It is, therefore, recommended that feasibility studies be conducted in the Umbumbulu area to determine the advantages of such methods of using animal drawn vehicles for the poor community members, particularly women.

The poor generally have little influence in the political process and this makes it important to consult potential beneficiaries to make sure that interventions are designed to meet the needs of all members of society. It is thus recommended that consultation be done either directly with the beneficiaries or through non-governmental organisations. Accordingly, if road projects are to have a positive impact on poverty reduction, their design must be based on a clear understanding of the local situation; should incorporate the expertise, knowledge and perceptions of the community; and must substantially involve them in the projects implementation. It is further recommended that the poor be involved in the planning stages by consulting with communities on priority needs, allocating more expenditure at local government level to invest in more small-scale road programmes, using more labour-intensive methods, and by making use of the local labour and resources to construct and rehabilitate rural roads and other local infrastructure.

With regards to rural roads and poverty alleviation, the Eastern Cape CARNS report identified in Thevadasen (2003) reveals some important recommendations:

- As a result of too many departments being involved in delivery, there is a huge backlog in provision and maintenance of rural roads. This is mainly due to a lack of communication, local accountability and the lack of an integrated delivery approach. Consequently, it is recommended that all rural road responsibility should be held by the DoT. This can facilitate accountability, appropriate technical knowledge and capacity.
- Access roads are vital catalysts linking communities to formal road networks and social needs. An integrated and co-ordinated approach to strategic planning and setting up of work programmes must be adopted to liberate social, physical and economic isolation.
- Public participation involving all stakeholders as well as transparency in the planning phases are essential in the development process to avoid contempt and suspicion of government not acting in the interest of its people.

It was discovered that the Umbumbulu community is threatened by the HIV/AIDS pandemic and lacks basic health education and facilities. In this regard it is recommended that government should introduce HIV/AIDS communication campaigns into existing and new infrastructure projects, develop HIV/AIDS prevention and control programmes for transport, construction and maintenance workers employed by the government and include HIV/AIDS education in transport sector training programmes.

Women's transport needs are frequently ignored and gender biases are common in transport planning. Systematic procedures should therefore be put in place to give women a greater role in the planning and management of transport projects. Targeting women and affirmative action are suitable methods for bringing women into the planning and production processes of rural roads.

While it is important to evaluate the planning, provisioning, construction and maintenance strategies of rural roads on the livelihoods of poor rural communities and

their links towards poverty eradication, it is also imperative to ascertain the ecological impacts of road maintenance on the environment. Subsequently, it is recommended that further evaluations be taken in the following areas of ecological, economic and social concerns as identified by Wasike (2001):

- Ecological: The impact on flora and fauna, deforestation, disturbance of natural ecosystems, decrease in biodiversity, threats to exotic and non-indigenous species, depletion of scarce material resources, and regressive or progressive soil erosion.
- Economic: This refers to capital costs (design and construction), maintenance costs, flood damage costs, loss or degradation of agriculture or arable land, sterilisation of land for future use and land value reduction (designated borrows, severed farms).
- Social: This refers to severance or dislocation of local communities, adverse impacts on women, destruction of cultural antiquities, conflicts arising from changing land use/ownership of land, traffic accidents, health and safety (for example, danger to humans, especially, children, and wildlife from drowning in borrow pits) and construction impacts (Wasike, 2001).

Evidence generated from the data analysis demonstrates that the Zibambele programme has been highly successful in poverty alleviation and in maintaining good rural roads. It is thereby recommended that the Zibambele labour-based, rural road maintenance programme be put into effect in all rural regions and areas in South Africa. This will furthermore encourage the use of local labour-intensive methods and poverty alleviation in other sectors of development.

5.4 Conclusion

The study conducted in the Intinyane community in Umbumbulu comprised of secondary and primary data sources that were collected, analysed, interpreted and displayed in the form of figures and tables. The following research approach was adopted during the course of the study:

- The application of qualitative and quantitative methods to perceive the impacts and social dimensions pertaining to rural road maintenance.
- The formulation of survey questionnaires (for participants and non-participants) following the consultation of past and current documentation, media releases, journals, library books, policies and internet website papers.
- Compilation of a literature review that is appropriate to rural road maintenance and poverty alleviation locally, provincially and internationally. This was accomplished by researching rural road terminology, understanding the history of roads and their importance, examining current conditions of road networks and determining the positive impacts of rural road maintenance on households and communities.
- An evaluation of political history and marginalisation, road policies and strategies, and institutional arrangements.
- A case study approach was adopted to examine rural household awareness, perceptions and concerns that is associated with the Zibambele poverty alleviation, labour-based programme. A comparative analysis was undertaken, focusing on Zibambele participants and non-participants.

It was evident from the study that a sound road network is essential to a country's economic and social well-being. Additionally, it is clear from the research conducted in the Intinyane community in Umbumbulu that Zibambele is an innovative programme that concentrates on the reduction of poverty and the improvement of the quality of life of the poor. Well maintained roads play a significant role in economic development and are one of the essential pre-conditions for national economic growth. The Zibambele programme is a transparent illustration of best labour-intensive practice and can be described as a social and economic development programme through which rural road networks are maintained.

The Zibambele programme has created sustainable work opportunities for the poorest of the poor while maintaining rural roads that are regarded as life lines to rural communities. The Zibambele routine rural road maintenance programme provides ongoing work

opportunities that are sustainable to the country. The programme contributes to the social upliftment of the poor communities by providing training programmes that are designed to assist poor people in acquiring the knowledge and skills essential for a sustainable future for themselves and for their children. Zibambele contractors have been organised into saving clubs to promote collective savings into feasible wealth generating projects such as community gardening, sewing and craft work.

It is apparent that the Zibambele programme has put people to work who would normally be excluded from opportunities both because of their poverty status and because of their gender and education levels. There is a need to provide marginalised communities with access to the basic facilities such as education, health care, water and firewood. Thus, a multisectoral planning approach such as the Zibambele programme enhances the overall accessibility of poor communities and is most appropriate for developing rural areas and alleviating rural poverty. The conventional method of road network development must be substantiated by the provision of accessibility to basic facilities at the local level.

Furthermore, the authority and functions of local government should be exercised in a way that has the utmost impact on the social development of communities and on the growth of the local economy. Municipalities, therefore, need to have a clear vision for the local economy to maximise job creation and investment. Provision of basic community infrastructure is the central contribution made by local government to social and economic development. Local government can be able to successfully perform these responsibilities if it is given the necessary policy-making and decision-making powers to facilitate the implementation of workable programmes such as in the case of Zibambele.

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APPENDIX 1

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
RURAL ROAD DEVELOPMENT AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION
CASE STUDY OF ZIBAMBELE ROAD CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE

A. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF RESPONDENT (ZIBAMBELE PARTICIPANT)

1. Location of respondent _____

2. Gender of respondent

Male	1
Female	2

3. Marital Status

Married	Single	Divorced	Widowed	Other (specify)
1	2	3	4	5

4. Level of education

Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	No-school	Other (specify)
1	2	3	4	5

5. Age of respondent

>16-24	25-34	35-44	45-59	60 and over
1	2	3	4	5

6. Number of members in the household

Females	Males	Total

7. Household income sources

HOUSEHOLD INCOME SOURCES	CODES
N/A	0
Household farming	1
Own business	2
Agricultural wage labour/ farm worker	3
Informal activities (crafts, traditional medicine)	4
Non-agricultural wage labour	5
Forest utilization	6
Pension, welfare grants, etc	7
Professional	8
Other (specify)	9
No source of income	10

B. SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE

1. What services are available for the households in your community?

SERVICES	CODE
N/A	0
Telephone	1
Water sources (borehole, tap, etc)	2
Electricity	3
Land for cultivation	4
Land for grazing	5
Toilet	6
Sources of fuel	7
Other (specify)	8

2. What other services would you like to have provided for the community?

3. How is the primary source of water that is used by the household accessed?

WATER SOURCE	CODE
N/A	0
Tap	1
Borehole	2
Nearby River/stream	3
Nearby community well/tank	4
Other (specify)	5

3.1 How do you access the source(s) identified above?

3.2 What is the distance traveled to obtain/collect or purchase the water source identified above?

DISTANCE	CODE
N/A	0
<1-2 km	1
2-4 km	2
4-8 km	3
8-10 km	4
>10 km	5
Other (specify)	6

3.3 Do you experience any difficulty obtaining/collecting the water source identified above?

4 What are the primary sources of fuel used for cooking, lighting and heating that are used in the household?

Source	Cooking	Lighting	Heating
N/A	0	0	0
Wood	1	1	1
Paraffin	2	2	2
Coal	3	3	3
Electricity	4	4	4
Gas	5	5	5
Generator	6	6	6
Candles	7	7	7
Other (specify)	8	8	8

4.1 How do you access the source(s) identified above?

4.2 What is the distance traveled to obtain, collect, purchase the primary source of fuel used by the household?

DISTANCE	CODE
N/A	0
<1-2 km	1
2-4 km	2
4-8 km	3
8-10 km	4
>10 km	5
Other (specify)	6

4.3 Do you experience difficulties in obtaining/ collecting/ purchasing the source of fuel?

RESPONSE	CODE
N/A	0
Yes	1
No	2
Sometimes	3
Not certain	4

4.3.1 If yes, what difficulties are those?

_____

_____

5. What type(s) of materials are used to build and maintain your home?

TYPE OF BUILDING MATERIAL	CODE
N/A	0
Brick	1
Blocks	2
Mud	3
Poles	4
Thatch	5
Other (specify)	6

6. What is the distance traveled to obtain/collect/purchase the building materials required by the household?

DISTANCE	CODE
N/A	0
<1-2 km	1
2-4 km	2
4-8 km	3
8-10 km	4
>10 km	5
Other (specify)	6

6.1 Do you experience difficulties in obtaining, collecting, and purchasing the building materials identified above?

RESPONSE	CODE
N/A	0
Yes	1
No	2
Sometimes	3
Not certain	4

6.1.1 If yes, what difficulties are those?

_____

_____

7. Does the household/community experience any of the following problems?

PROBLEM EXPERIENCED	CODE
N/A	0
Inadequate infrastructure e.g. roads, telephones	1
Lack of employment opportunities	2
Not enough land	3
Lack of access to saving clubs	4
Community structures not functioning properly	5
Environmental problems e.g. overgrazing, erosion, dry soils	6
Inadequate extension services	7
Any other problem (specify)	8

C. ACCESSIBILITY

1. Distance of household from closest road?

<100m	101-300m	301-500m	501-700m	701-900m	>1KM

1.1 Name and description of the closest road? _____

_____

2. How often do the household members use the road?

FREQUENCY	CODE
N/A	0
Daily	1
Once a week	2
Twice a week	3
More than twice a week	4
When necessary to use the road	5
Other (specify)	6

3. What type(s) of vehicles use the road?

TYPE OF VEHICLE	CODE
N/A	
Bicycle	
Car	
Bus	
Mini bus taxi	
Heavy vehicles e.g. trailers/trucks	
Animal drawn vehicles e.g. carts	
Other (specify)	

3.1 How often do the vehicles identified above make use of the road?

FREQUENCY	CODE
N/A	0
Several times in the day	1
Once a week	2
Twice a week	3
More than twice a week	4
All the times	5
Other (specify)	6

5. Would you rate the distance of the road from your household as being in close proximity or far from your household?

DISTANCE	CODE	REASON
N/A	0	
Easily accessible (< 5 minutes)	1	
Not very difficult (10 minutes)	2	
Difficult to access (>15 minutes)	3	
Other (specify)	4	

4. What is the name of the main town or city that you travel to for goods and services?

_____

5. What modes of transport do you and your household members frequently use?

MODE OF TRANSPORT	CODE	FREQUENCY OF USE
N/A	0	
Foot	1	
Animal drawn cart	2	
Bicycle	3	
Bus	4	
Taxi	5	
Private vehicle	6	
Other (specify)	7	

6. Please indicate the cost, time, distance and type of transport used to access the following areas:

AREA	TYPE OF TRANSPORT	COST	TIME	DISTANCE
N/A				
Sopping center				
School				
Clinic/Hospital				
Market				
Church				
Other (specify)				

KEY:

1. Type of transport
1. Foot
2. Animal drawn cart
3. Bicycle
4. Bus
5. Taxi
6. Private vehicle
7. Other (specify)

2. Cost of transport
1. < R5
2. R5-R10
3. >R10
4. Other amount (specify)

3. Time taken to reach the area
1. <15 minutes
2. 15-30 minutes
3. 30-45 minutes
4. 45 minutes - 1hour
5. > 1 hour (specify)
6. Other (specify)

4. Distance to area
1. <1 km
2. 1-3 km
3. 3-5 km
4. 5- 7 km
5. 7-10 km
6. >10 km
7. Other (specify)

D. ZIBAMBELE ROAD MAINTENANCE AWARENESS

1. Are you aware of the Zibambele road maintenance and poverty alleviation programme?

RESPONSE	CODE
Yes	
No	

1.1 If yes, what are you aware of?

AWARENESS	CODE
N/A	0
Contracts awarded to the poorest households	1
Maintenance of a length of road	2
Upgrading of rural road	3
Poverty alleviating road maintenance program	4
Construction of a length of rural road	5
Other (specify)	6

2. Are you or any member of your household contracted to the Zibambele programme?

RESPONSE	CODE
Yes	1
No	2

2.1 If yes, state the age and gender of the member(s) in your household that are contracted to the road maintenanc project.

Member	AGE	GENDER
1		
2		
3		
4		
Other (Specify)		

KEY:

1. Age of member
1. <16-24
2. 25-34
3. 35-44
4. 45-59
5. 60 and over

2. Gender
1. Male
2. Female

2.3 What tasks are you required to carry out as part of the Zibambele programme?

TASK	CODE
N/A	0
Clearing the verges	1
Clearing debris off the road	2
Cleaning of debris from drainage systems	3
Rehabilitation and repairs to dilapidating roads	4
Building of new roads	5
Other (specify)	6

2.4 How many hours per day are you or the other member(s) of your household required to work on maintaining the roads?

1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6
6-7	7-8	8-9	9-10	>10 (specify)

2.5 How much would you say that the project pays you or the other member(s) of your household contracted to maintain the road?

INCOME	CODE
Confidential	1
No money is earned (INDICATE COMPENSATION)	2
<R200 per month	3
R200-R500 per month	4
> R500 per month (specify)	5
Other amount (specify)	6

3. How is the money earned from being contracted to the Zibambele programme spent?

	CODE
N/A	0
School Fees	1
Food	2
Shelter	3
Clothing	4
Farming	5
Medical treatment	6
Repairs to vehicles	7
Other (specify)	8

4.1. What are some of the advantages of being contracted to the Zimbabele programme?

_____

_____

4.2. What are some of the disadvantages of being contracted to the Zimbabele programme?

_____

_____

E. ZIBAMBELE MAINTAINED ROAD

1. What is the name of the length of road that your household is contracted to maintain:

_____

2. Distance of household from the closest length of road that is being maintained:

<100m	101-300m	301-500m	501-700m	701-900m	>1KM

3. How often is the maintained road used?

FREQUENCY	CODE
N/A	0
Daily	1
Once a week	2
Twice a week	3
More than twice a week	4
When necessary to use the road	5
Other (specify)	6

4. Have you noticed an increase of vehicles that are using the road after implementation of the road maintenance programme?

RESPONSE	CODE
Yes	1
No	2

4. What type(s) of vehicles use the maintained road?

TYPE OF VEHICLE	CODE
N/A	
Bicycle	
Car	
Bus	
Mini bus taxi	
Heavy vehicles e.g. trailers/trucks	
Animal drawn vehicles e.g. carts	
Other (specify)	

4.1 How often do the vehicles identified above make use of the maintained road?

FREQUENCY	CODE
N/A	0
Several times in the day	1
Once a week	2
Twice a week	3
More than twice a week	4
All the times	5
Other (specify)	6

5. How was the response of emergency vehicles such as police and ambulance services to your current location before the road could be maintained? Give a reason.

RESPONSE	CODE
N/A	0
Responded within a few minutes (<10 minutes)	1
Responded within 30 minutes	2
Responded between 30 minutes to 1 hour	3
Respondent in more than 1 hour	4
Other (specify)	5

5.1 Give a reason for the response selected above:

_____

_____

6. How would you rate the response from emergency vehicles to your current location after the road has been reconstructed and maintained?

RESPONSE	CODE	REASON
N/A	0	
Improved considerably	1	
Improved slightly	2	
Not much improvement	3	
No improvement at all	4	
Other (specify)	5	

7. Did rainy weather have an impact on the use of the road before the road could be maintained?

RESPONSE	CODE	REASON
Yes	1	
No	2	

8. Has reconstruction and maintenance of the new road improved access during rainy weather?

RESPONSE	CODE	REASON
Yes		
No		

F. ZIBAMBELE PARTICIPANTS PERCEPTIONS ON ZIBAMBELE AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION

1. Are you satisfied with the Zibambele road maintenance programme?

RESPONSE	CODE	REASON
Yes	1	
No	2	

2. Where you or your household members consulted about the Zibambele programme/project?

RESPONSE	CODE	REASON
Yes	1	
No	2	

3. How were you and your household members informed about the road maintenance programme?

WAY INFORMED	CODE
N/A	0
Through government Authorities	1
Traditional Authorities/Indunas	2
Local District Councilors	3
Social Gatherings	4
Word of Mouth from family/friends	5
Other (Specify)	6

4. How are houses selected and awarded Zibambele contracts?

5. Are you satisfied with the selection process? Give a reason.

RESPONSE	CODE	REASON
Yes	1	
No	2	

6. How would you rate the selection process?

RATING	CODE
N/A	0
Very Fair	1
Fair	2
Neutral	3
Unfair	4

7.How has the Zibambele road maintenance programme impacted on daily routines in your household?

ROUTINE	BETTER	WORSE	UNCHANGED	REASON
N/A				
Collection of firewood/water				
School Attendance				
Church				
Local clinics				
Mobile clinics				
Community centers				
Neighboring communities				
Travel to main town/city				
Visiting other residents				
Other (specify)				

8. What are some of the benefits that Zibambele offer to the community member?

BENEFITS	CODE
N/A	0
An income to the household	1
Savings club	2
Skills / training	3
Social gathering	4
Other (specify)	5

9. How has the maintenance contract of a length of road benefited you and your household?

10. What are some of the disadvantages of the Zibambele programme?

11. Please indicate the level of satisfaction with the following statements:

1. STRONGLY AGREE 2. AGREE 3. NEUTRAL 4. DISAGREE 5. STRONGLY DISAGREE

STATEMENT	CODE
Zibambele has changed my life for the better	
Zibambele makes me feel proud to be part of the community	
Being selected as part of Zibambele has given me a new hope in life	
I've acquired skills and knowledge through Zibambele	
I am now independent and can stand up for my own needs	
Working for Zibambele gives me a chance to voice my opinions on road construction and development	
Zibambele has provided me with access to credit institutions	
I can now save for starting my own business	
Zibambele has put food and other living essentials on my table	
Through Zibambele, roads are improved and access to markets, school, clinics, etc. are quicker and efficient.	
Zibambele provides economic as well as social upliftment	
Zibambele centers around the strengthening of women headed households	
My children can now afford to attend school and pay for fees.	

12. Do you think that the construction and maintenance of rural roads will help improve the development of the area?

RESPONSE	CODE	REASON
Yes	1	
No	2	

10. Have any other development projects started in the area after the Zibambele programme was launched? *Yes/ No*, If yes, what other projects are in operation in the area?

13. What are some of the problems generally facing your household?

14. What are some of the problems generally facing the entire community?

15. Do you think that there should be more government initiated labour-based projects in this community?

Yes	No

16. If yes, give a reason for your response.

17. What type of projects would you like to have take place in your community in the future?

APPENDIX 2

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
RURAL ROAD DEVELOPMENT AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION
CASE STUDY OF ZIBAMBELE ROAD CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE

A. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF RESPONDENT (NON-ZIBAMBELE PARTICIPANT)

1. Location of respondent _____

2. Gender of respondent

Male	1
Female	2

3. Marital Status

Married	Single	Divorced	Widowed	Other (specify)
1	2	3	4	5

4. Level of education

Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	No-school	Other (specify)
1	2	3	4	5

5. Age of respondent

>16-24	25-34	35-44	45-59	60 and over

6. Number of members in the household

Females	Males	Total

7. Household income sources

HOUSEHOLD INCOME SOURCES	CODES
N/A	0
Household farming	1
Own business	2
Agricultural wage labour/farm worker	3
Informal activities (crafts, traditional medicine)	4
Non-agricultural wage labour	5
Forest utilization	6
Pension, welfare grants, etc	7
Professional	8
Other	9
No source of income	10

B. SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE

1. What services are available for the households in your community?

SERVICES	CODE
N/A	0
Telephone	1
Water sources (borehole, tap, etc)	2
Electricity	3
Land for cultivation	4
Land for grazing	5
Toilet	6
Sources of fuel	7
Other (specify)	8

2. What other services would you like to have provided for the community?

3. How is the primary source of water that is used by the household accessed?

WATER SOURCE	CODE
N/A	0
Tap	1
Borehole	2
Nearby River/stream	3
Nearby community well/tank	4
Other (specify)	5

3.1 How do you access the source(s) identified above?

3.2 What is the distance traveled to obtain/collect or purchase the water source identified above?

DISTANCE	CODE
N/A	0
<1-2 km	1
2-4 km	2
4-8 km	3
8-10 km	4
>10 km	5
Other (specify)	6

3.3 Do you experience any difficulty obtaining/collecting the water source identified above?

4 What are the primary sources of fuel used for cooking, lighting and heating that are used in the household?

Source	Cooking	Lighting	Heating
N/A	0	0	0
Wood	1	1	1
Paraffin	2	2	2
Coal	3	3	3
Electricity	4	4	4
Gas	5	5	5
Generator	6	6	6
Candles	7	7	7
Other (specify)	8	8	8

4.1 How do you access the source(s) identified above?

4.2 What is the distance traveled to obtain/collect/purchase the primary source of fuel used by the household?

DISTANCE	CODE
N/A	0
<1-2 km	1
2-4 km	2
4-8 km	3
8-10 km	4
>10 km	5
Other (specify)	6

4.3 Do you experience difficulties in obtaining/ collecting/ purchasing the source of fuel?

RESPONSE	CODE
N/A	0
Yes	1
No	2
Sometimes	3
Not certain	4

4.3.1 If yes, what difficulties are those?

_____

_____

5. What type(s) of materials are used to build and maintain your home?

TYPE OF BUILDING MATERIAL	CODE
N/A	0
Brick	1
Blocks	2
Mud	3
Poles	4
Thatch	5
Other (specify)	6

6. What is the distance traveled to obtain/collect/purchase the building materials required by the household?

DISTANCE	CODE
N/A	0
<1-2 km	1
2-4 km	2
4-8 km	3
8-10 km	4
>10 km	5
Other (specify)	6

6.1 Do you experience difficulties in obtaining, collecting and purchasing the building materials identified above?

RESPONSE	CODE
N/A	0
Yes	1
No	2
Sometimes	3
Not certain	4

6.1.1 If yes, what difficulties are those?

_____

_____

7. Does the household/community experience any of the following problems?

PROBLEM EXPERIENCED	CODE
N/A	0
Inadequate infrastructure e.g. roads, telephones	1
Lack of employment opportunities	2
Not enough land	3
Lack of access to saving clubs	4
Community structures not functioning properly	5
Environmental problems e.g. overgrazing, erosion, dry soils	6
Inadequate extension services	7
Any other problem (specify)	8

C. ACCESSIBILITY

1. Distance of household from closest road?

<100m	101-300m	301-500m	501-700m	701-900m	>1KM

1.1 Name and description of \ the closest road? _____

_____

2. How often do the household members use the road?

FREQUENCY	CODE
N/A	0
Daily	1
Once a week	2
Twice a week	3
More than twice a week	4
When necessary to use the road	5
Other (specify)	6

3. What type(s) of vehicles use the road?

TYPE OF VEHICLE	CODE
N/A	
Bicycle	
Car	
Bus	
Mini bus taxi	
Heavy vehicles e.g. trailers/trucks	
Animal drawn vehicles e.g. carts	
Other (specify)	

3.1 How often do the vehicles identified above make use of the road?

FREQUENCY	CODE
N/A	0
Several times in the day	1
Once a week	2
Twice a week	3
More than twice a week	4
All the times	5
Other (specify)	6

5. Would you rate the distance of the road from your household as being in close proximity or far from you household?

DISTANCE	CODE	REASON
N/A	0	
Easily accessible (< 5 minutes)	1	
Not very difficult (10 minutes)	2	
Difficult to access (>15 minutes)	3	
Other (specify)	4	

4. What is the name of the main town or city that you travel to for goods and services?

_____

4. What modes of transport do you and your household members frequently use?

MODE OF TRANSPORT	CODE	FREQUENCY OF USE
N/A	0	
Foot	1	
Animal drawn cart	2	
Bicycle	3	
Bus	4	
Taxi	5	
Private vehicle	6	
Other (specify)	7	

5. Please indicate the cost, time, distance and type of transport used to access the following areas:

AREA	TYPE OF TRANSPORT	COST	TIME	DISTANCE
N/A				
Sopping center				
School				
Clinic/Hospital				
Market				
Church				
Other (specify)				

KEY:

1. Type of transport
1. Foot
2. Animal drawn cart
3. Bicycle
4. Bus
5. Taxi
6. Private vehicle
7. Other (specify)

2. Cost of transport
1. < R5
2. R5-R10
3. >R10
4. Other amount (specify)

3. Time taken to reach the area
1. <15 minutes
2. 15-30 minutes
3. 30-45 minutes
4. 45 minutes - 1hour
5. > 1 hour (specify)
6. Other (specify)

4. Distance to area
1. <1 km
2. 1-3 km
3. 3-5 km
4. 5- 7 km
5. 7-10 km
6. >10 km
7. Other (specify)

D. ZIBAMBELE ROAD MAINTENANCE AWARENESS

1. Are you aware of the Zibambele road maintenance and poverty alleviation programme?

RESPONSE	CODE
Yes	
No	

1.1 If yes, what are you aware of?

AWARENESS	CODE
N/A	0
Contracts awarded to the poorest households	1
Maintenance of a length of road	2
Upgrading of rural road	3
Poverty alleviating road maintenance program	4
Construction of a length of rural road	5
Other (specify)	6

2. Are there any other member(s) of your household contracted to the Zibambele programme?

RESPONSE	CODE
Yes	1
No	2

2.1 If No, what are your reasons for not being contracted to the Zibambele programme?

_____

_____

3. Would you have liked to have been awarded a Zibambele contract?

RESPONSE	CODE	REASON
Yes	1	
No	2	

4. Do you think that being awarded a Zibambele contract could have made a positive impact on your present livin conditions?

RESPONSE	CODE	REASON
Yes	1	
No	2	

5. Do you know of any other person(s) or member(s) of your community that have been awarded a Zibambel contract?

RESPONSE	CODE
Yes	1
No	2

5.1 If yes, please fill in the table below:

NUMBER OF PERSON(S)	GENDER	AGE
N/A		
1		
2		
3		
4		
Other (Specify)		

KEY:

1. Age of member
1. <16-24
2. 25-34
3. 35-44
4. 45-59
5. 60 and over

2. Gender
1. Male
2. Female

E. ZIBAMBELE MAINTAINED ROAD

1. What is the name of the closest road to your home that is Zibambele maintained?

_____

2. Distance of household from the closest length of road that is being maintained:

<100m	101-300m	301-500m	501-700m	701-900m	>1KM

3. How often is the maintained road used?

FREQUENCY	CODE
N/A	0
Daily	1
Once a week	2
Twice a week	3
More than twice a week	4
When necessary to use the road	5
Other (specify)	6

4. Have you noticed an increase of vehicles that are using the road after implementation of the road maintenanc programme?

RESPONSE	CODE
Yes	1
No	2

4. What type(s) of vehicles use the maintained road?

TYPE OF VEHICLE	CODE
N/A	
Bicycle	
Car	
Bus	
Mini bus taxi	
Heavy vehicles e.g. trailers/trucks	
Animal drawn vehicles e.g. carts	
Other (specify)	

4.1. How often do the vehicles identified above make use of the maintained road?

FREQUENCY	CODE
N/A	0
Several times in the day	1
Once a week	2
Twice a week	3
More than twice a week	4
All the times	5
Other (specify)	6

5. How was the response of emergency vehicles such as police and ambulance services to your current locatio before the road could be maintained? Give a reason.

RESPONSE	CODE
N/A	0
Responded within a few minutes (<10 minutes)	1
Responded within 30 minutes	2
Responded between 30 minutes to 1 hour	3
Respondent in more than 1 hour	4
Other (specify)	5

5.1 Give a reason for the response selected above:

6. How would you rate the response from emergency vehicles to your current location after the road has beer reconstructed and maintained?

RESPONSE	CODE	REASON
N/A	0	
Improved considerably	1	
Improved slightly	2	
Not much improvement	3	
No improvement at all	4	
Other (specify)	5	

7. Did rainy weather have an impact on the use of the road before the road could be maintained?

RESPONSE	CODE	REASON
Yes	1	
No	2	

8. Has reconstruction and maintenance of the new road improved access during rainy weather?

RESPONSE	CODE	REASON
Yes		
No		

F. HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS PERCEPTIONS ON ZIBAMBELE AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION

1. Are you satisfied with the Zibambele road maintenance programme?

RESPONSE	CODE	REASON
Yes		
No		

2. Where you or your household members consulted about the Zibambele programme/project?

RESPONSE	CODE	REASON
Yes		
No		

3. How were you and your household members informed about the road maintenance programme?

WAY INFORMED	CODE
N/A	
Through government Authorities	
Traditional Authorities/Indunas	
Local District Councilors	
Social Gatherings	
Word of Mouth from family/friends	
Other (Specify)	

4. Do you know how households were selected and awarded the Zibambele contracts?

RESPONSE	CODE
Yes	1
No	2

4.1 If yes, how are the houses selected and awarded Zibambele contracts?

5. Are you satisfied with the selection process? Give a reason.

RESPONSE	CODE	REASON
Yes	1	
No	2	

6. How would you rate the selection process?

RATING	CODE
N/A	
Very Fair	
Fair	
Neutral	
Unfair	

7. How has the Zibambele road maintenance programme impacted on daily routines in your household?

	BETTER	WORSE	UNCHANGED	REASON
N/A				
Collection of firewood/water				
School Attendance				
Church				
Local clinics				
Mobile clinics				
Community centers				
Neighboring communities				
Travel to main town/city				
Visiting other residents				
Other (specify)				

8. What are some of the benefits that Zibambele offer to the community members?

BENEFITS	CODE
N/A	0
An income to the household	1
Savings club	2
Skills / training	3
Social gathering	4
Other (specify)	5

9. Do you think that the construction and maintenance of rural roads will help improve the development of the area?

RESPONSE	CODE	REASON
Yes	1	
No	2	

10. Have any other development projects started in the area after the Zibambele programme was launched? *Yes/ N*
If yes, what other projects are in operation in the area?

11. What are some of the disadvantages of the Zibambele programme for your household and community?

12. What are some of the problems generally facing your household?

13. What are some of the problems generally facing the entire community?

14. Do you think that there should be more government initiated labour-based projects in this community? Yes/No. Give a reason for your response.

_____

_____

15. What type of projects would you like to have take place in your community in the future?

_____

_____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN ANSWERING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE!!!