Constraints of Patriarchy Ideology in the Integration Process of Women Migrants in Town

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Abstract: Understanding issues of women migrants is important as the number of women migrating independently is increasing. This work serves to show that women migrants face different problems as migrants, some of which are related to patriarchy environment that surrounds them. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and In-depth interviews were employed in data collection from the Gogo rural community and Gogo women migrants in town respectively. It is found out that women migrants move as victims of patriarchy ideology as poor individuals and without exposure to town life. Consequently, such women go to places where they can get cheap life by living in poor condition houses or depend on their fellow women. Moreover women migrants exercise their inferiority complex before men as a result of patriarchy ideology; when they are in problems like lack of fare they submit themselves to men for assistance. Once in town, women migrants find themselves fit for work at home where they get paid little salaries. Gender roles that have been assigned to women within patriarchy system have also influenced the way they select on activities for liberating themselves from patriarchal constraints. This implies that women will hardly enjoy life within patriarchy system that circumvents them in whatever they do. Promotion of Gender Equality is the great solution for most of women’s sorrowful life in town as migrants.

1. Introduction

Potts (1997) explains that poor urban households have adopted two major coping strategies that have so far been well documented: multiple sourcing of cash incomes, especially from the informal sector and urban farming. In addition, she acknowledges the importance of urban-rural links in the livelihood of poor urban households. In the same book, Simon (1997) is categorical that the continued urban residence of migrants can be explained in terms of economic diversification and risk-minimizing strategies by multi-active households and straddling town and the rural shamba. The major response at household level to the current economic crisis has been the diversification of income-generating strategies, but the scope for such diversification varies between households, which have different degrees of resilience and vulnerability (Rakodi 1995). According to Potts (1997), diversification involves an increase in informal-sector activity, with previously non-earning household members entering the petty commodity sector, as well as wage-earners taking on supplementary cash-earning activities.

In a context of economic uncertainty, a household develops survival strategies to ensure a better standard of living and therefore women’s contributions to the household economy become important. Vaa et al. (1989) described some of the socio-economic niches where poor women find for themselves in the city, and the economic and social strategies they employ to make ends meet. Women have generally less education, fewer skills and less access to resources than men. Even in terms of the available opportunities, women are disadvantaged relative to men and have been particularly vulnerable to the downward pressures on incomes (Rakodi 2002). Moreover, they almost always earn less than men, even within the informal sector (Frayne 2004). As Kanji (1996) points out, women-run businesses start smaller, grow significantly slower and live shorter than those of their male counterparts. Women tend to be concentrated in less lucrative informal sector activities, and women are working longer hours for less profit. In short, women tend to modify their lives more than men, also by taking greater cuts in their consumption, and spending more time shopping to look for cheaper goods (UNCHS 1996).

There might be different reasons for the way poor women experience life in town. This leads to the importance for examining the way patriarchy ideology specifically perplexes the lives of women migrants, right from their arrival to the whole
integration process in their destination areas in town.

2. Methodology

Research Design and Research Approach

Research design for this study was Descriptive design because the study aimed at describing the state of patriarchy and migration as they exist through classification, analysis, and interpretation of data. Descriptive survey was adopted as a method of collecting information by interviewing a sample of individuals. This design was adopted because the study aimed at collecting information about people’s attitudes, opinion, habits and other social issues related to patriarchy ideology and migration. The methodological approach for the study was ethno-methodological. This approach implied concentrating its enquiry in the Gogo ethnic group, trying to interpret and understand meanings of reality from the perspective of the Gogo themselves in matters pertaining to patriarchy ideology and inequality within households.

Study Areas and Justification

This study begins in Dodoma Region and winds up with the collection of data in Dar es Salaam city, dealing with the people who originate in Dodoma, the Gogo people. In Dodoma Region, two districts were selected for the study, Dodoma Municipality and Chamwino District. In Dodoma Municipality, the rural villages of Hombolo Makulu and Hombolo Bwawani were selected. In Chamwino District, the villages of Mvumi Makulu and Juhudi were selected. In Dar es Salaam Region, Kinondoni Municipal was selected and in it, Chasimba and Masait Streets (in Kunduchi ward) were sources of data.

Areas of origin of women migrants

Dodoma was selected as the area of origin of the Gogo women migrants. The rural villages of Hombolo Makulu and Hombolo Bwawani were purposely selected because they belong to Hobolo Ward in which there is a Makulu. For the Gogo people, a Makulu is believed to be a central area in which one finds the “original Gogo people”. In actual fact, the Makulu is the palace of the Gogo King or people of the royal family. Similarly, Mvumi Makulu and Juhudi were selected because of the presence of the Makulu in the Ward. Other Makulas that are not dealt with are Chali, Bahi (rural); and Dodoma and Mahoma (urban). So, the villages in Dodoma were purposely selected as they contain central areas (Makulu) for the Gogo people where the rule of the father as the head dominates the social systems.

Destination areas of women migrants

Dar es Salaam, two Municipalities of Ilala and Kinondoni were mentioned to have wards in which the Gogo do prefer to migrate to during the pilot study, particularly in Vingunguti and Kunduchi Wards, respectively. Kinondoni Municipality was purposely selected as it is both urban and peri-urban in nature, characterized by high and rapid urbanization, high population growth and high rate of rural-urban migration (Sackey 2010). These characteristics were considered to enable easy identification of respondents through snowball sampling as migrants in this area were considered to be many, with unclear settlement areas and with some undefined activities. As both Kunduchi and Mbezi wards in Kinondoni Municipality are urban and peri-urban, one Ward, Kunduchi, was randomly selected. In Kunduchi ward Chasimba and Masait streets were selected as study areas. Chasimba street was selected because it is a peri-urban Mtaa where most migrant prefer to live so as to combine both rural and urban life. Masait street was selected since it was a new rapid developing area in Kunduchi ward where migrants prefer to move to in seeking temporary employment in house building or security guards.

Sample size, Sampling Procedures and Data Collection Techniques

The sample size of respondents was determined by the predetermined method of data collection to be used in data collection for each category of respondents. The researcher determined to use FGDs to collect data within the rural Gogo community in both Hombolo and Mvumi Makulu wards.

Snowball sampling techniques was applied to identify women migrants for in-depth interviews in destination areas. Since the desired sample characteristic of migrant women in destination areas was expected to be rare or difficult to identify, a snowball sampling method was applied whereby there was relying on referrals from initial subjects to generate additional subjects.

Data Processing and Analysis

The data which were initially tape-recorded were later transcribed into English from Swahili language and then assigned into the Atlas.ti program, ready for analysis.

3. Findings and Discussion
Patriarchy ideology and Arrival of Women migrants in urban areas

Under this sub-section, there are two basic questions: how does patriarchy ideology influence choice of areas that women move to during migration? The second question is: how does patriarchy ideology influence women migrants’ early experiences as they arrive in destination areas?

3.1 Women Migrant Stops in Dodoma and Dar es Salaam

There are, basically, two categories of women migrants who get to Dar es Salaam. The first category is of those who get to Dar es Salaam with clear destination place to go to. The second category is of women migrants who get to Dar es Salaam without a clear destination or place to go to. The first category of women normally goes directly or indirectly through a member of the women migrant network, to the destination homes or places of work. Women, however, normally do not go direct to Dar es Salaam, but have a stopover in Dodoma town. However, for women who do not have clear destination places, there are preferences of places where to go to. This is for reasons of minimizing those challenges of being in a new place, which is particularly a town. In Dodoma town, for example, they move to Makole, Chadulu, and Bahi Road. They prefer Makole and Chadulu areas because these are areas they get exposed to as they are entering the town from Hombolo (from the East). In these places, which are actually not in the centre of the town, there are already other Gogo people who act as their relatives and help them on arrival. There are cheap houses for hire and it is within a walking distance to the town center. Bahi Road is preferred, as well, because there are trucks that pack there and go to Dar es Salaam (and other destinations). These trucks can provide transport to such women migrants free of charge or with less fare compared to what they would pay if they got by bus. At Bahi road, some women migrants begin their experiences as sexual partners to truck drivers; they begin relating with patriarchy in terms of women as sex workers, a trait that might follow their lives throughout their migration career.

In Dar es Salaam, women migrants prefer to settle in places such as Vingunguti and Tegeta. These areas are both urban and rural-based. There are so many migrants from other places in Tanzania, the Gogo inclusive. People that women migrants find there introduce them to town life. These are places where migrants can afford life because they can lend cheap houses and can do manual work for survival, given a bit of the rural status of the areas. This issue of relationship between migrant networks and their settlement patterns was also observed by Curran and Saguy (2001); Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994); Lindstrom (1997); Pedraza (1991) and Pessar (1999) that if networks’ value stems from their provision of job information, and if males and females are concentrated in different sectors of the destination economy, then networks with male migrants may have little effect on female migration, and vice versa. The gender composition of networks can affect not only international migration incentives but also settlement patterns. Davis and Winters (2001) find that male and female networks are significant in explaining migration by both genders, but female’s location decisions are influenced more heavily by female networks.

3.2 Women Migrant Early Experiences

There were two kinds of women migrants who arrived in Dar es Salaam city and Dodoma town: those with a more or less sure (guaranteed) job and those without one.

Women Migrants with Guaranteed Job

When women migrants with guaranteed job arrive in town/ city, they get received by their relatives or friends who show them where they are supposed to do the job. However, they first arrive at one of the women in the migrant network, it is at this point when women migrants have an initial introduction to town life:

When I arrived from Dodoma, my aunt picked me up. ... She took me to her home. ... There I took a shower and she gave me food. The following day, I went with her and she bought me some clothes and a pair of shoes. She also bought for me some Vaseline. ... She showed me the market, where I could buy meat, and where I could buy vegetables. ... She showed me where I could buy water and how I could get it. ... I stayed with my aunt for a week and then she took me to another aunt where I was supposed to work as a house girl. ... (Life Story Masaiti Dar es Salaam, April 2010)

In this account, this young woman who arrives in Dar es Salaam for the first time is generally introduced to town life. She has to know how she
should look like and she has to know where things are obtained. This is necessary early exposure in order to be able to fit in the town life, on the one hand, and in order to catch up with the house work that she would soon get into.

Patriarchy ideologies and their influence to women migrant labour market is a development challenges. It inevitably acknowledged by Presser and Sen (2003) that institutional rules and cultural norms that influence job availability in urban area and especially in large firms have sidelined women. Despite the fact that gender is regarded in job recruitment, women find themselves on the losing side compared to men. Patriarchal system in urban areas are as well affected by subordination behavior where women are regarded as second to men making it difficult to access job compared to men. For instance, aggressiveness at work place is promotable to men while is regarded as lack of manners to women. Women subordination is also evident in religious institutions where all powerful jobs are left for men while women are socialized to jobs like taking care of children and low-paying jobs.

On the other hand, unequal power relations among women migrants and their male counterpart is one of the gender based challenges facing women migrants in Asian countries. For instance, in Hong Kong women migrant’s housekeeping jobs were not allowed by law to change employment in the first two year of their contract, in Singapore and Malaysia women migrants worming domestic services were not allowed to become pregnant and they were forbidden by law to marry local citizen (Presser and Sen, 2003).

**Women Migrants without Guaranteed Job**

As victims of patriarchy ideology constraints, women migrants arrive in town as totally poor and uncertain individuals. Soon after a woman migrant without guaranteed job has arrived in town, she faces difficulty in integrating with the new society she just gets in as reported by this woman:

> I was tired of being in the village. ...My mother assisted me in escaping to Dodoma town where there was her friend whom I stayed with for three days, waiting for money to be able to go to Dar es Salaam. ... I woke up one day went to where the lorries were; I asked if there was a lorry going to Dar es Salaam; they showed me one and I was asked to pay what I had. My mother had given me ten thousand and I told the driver I would give him five thousand and he accepted. ... After three days we were in Dar es Salaam and the driver had promised to pay for me a place where to stay for some days after which I was to get my own place after getting a job in town. ....

> ... He paid for me a room for a month and he would come every evening to visit me for four days and then he went away. ... I never saw him again. ... One day, after like a week, I got an idea to go and look for work in houses; I walked for three days without getting any work. Then I met someone who told me he had a bar and was looking for someone to work in as a waiter. I accepted to do the job, but he told me that he would not pay until he is satisfied with how I worked, but he would give me some money to spend. ... He gave me one thousand Tanzania shillings a day, I would spend very little of it and keep some so that when it would be time to pay for where to stay and I had not got any other job, I would have something to pay. ... I worked for the first month like that. ... But the man became my husband for a while and he assisted me in paying for the room and food. I managed keeping some money because I would ask for even more money for clothing and he did give me. .... He was good to me. ....(Life story Chasimba, Dar es Salaam April, 2010)

This indicates that a woman who arrives in town without a guaranteed job finds herself surrounded by a number of problems. At the beginning she has to ensure that she gets any job at any wage. At this stage, she is more concerned with survival rather than making profit. She also faces challenges of coping with town life in general. She needs to put herself in a good standard (in terms of clothes and cleanliness) so as to match with the people she finds there.

At early time of arriving in town, women migrants still have to suffer the consequences of patriarchy ideology. Such women migrants who are new arrivals in town do become easy goers before men. They easily accept men with expectation of getting money or get married. They live with men for some time and then they separate for different reasons. They are never satisfied with how they work, but they give me some money to spend. They looked for where to stay and I had not got any other job, I would have something to pay. ... I worked for the first month like that. ... But the man became my husband for a while and he assisted me in paying for the room and food. I managed keeping some money because I would ask for even more money for clothing and he did give me. .... He was good to me. ....(Life story Chasimba, Dar es Salaam April, 2010)
caught up in trap organized by their friends in order that they accept men; where friends are paid for a successful deal.

My aunt paid for me bus fare in order to come to get a job in Dar es Salaam at one of my aunt’s bar. As soon as I arrived in Dar es Salaam, my aunt kept on telling me that the owner of the bar was not around and he was coming after a month. So, I stayed with my aunt and she told me that she would get me a good place to stay. .... She got it and it was an old room. Two days when I was there, a man comes and says it is his place and we could share the room. .... I hesitated, but he assured me that he would marry me. .... Till now I am with that man. .... (Life Story, Chasimba, Dar es Salaam April 2010)

Hard economic situations and unfair sexual relations are the major experiences that women encounter in their early time of arrival in town. Such experiences of hard life of migrants at arrival period conform Katega (2007) who concluded that upon arrival in urban areas, migrants are either hosted by their relatives, friends or their fellow tribes men. For the young migrants who with on initial contacts with urban areas spent their early days at bus and or railway stations as street children. For this study, hard life of migrants on arrival is propagated by the low economic status a woman has in rural area due to patriarchy system she lives in as a disadvantaged member of society. The patriarchy ideology surrounding her does not give her ability to prepare herself for migration to town; she is not so free to make money and the little she makes is either controlled by the family and/or the husband and/or utilized in child rearing.

The unfair sexual relations are propagated by the stereotypes of women as people who have to survive under men and be provided with finance and material things for livelihoods promotion by men. Gogo women have been socialized to feel inferior before men, with less freedom of expression before them. Consequently, men in town have cheated such women since they cannot question them, when making arrangements. Women inferiority complex that has been developed within patriarchy ideology has made them fail to bargain for good pay and has also made them fail to demand for their sexual rights. For both women who have migrated with guaranteed jobs and for those without guaranteed jobs, carrying on town jobs is not easy them all. This is because such women migrants have for some time been so much confined to rural areas and occupied by farm activities as a result of patriarchy system they live in. Working as a house maid in town, for example, seemed not to be an easy work as one of the respondents said:

... There are activities in the house that I was not used to and I had to use much effort to learn on how to go about them...

In town you cook in a different ways; you have to sweep and use different kinds of soaps for the kitchen, the toilet, the seating room, and the bedrooms; you have to wash clothes daily and you have to mind about the soaps you use; even you yourself, you have to wear in a different way and shower every day. .... It is different and difficult. .... At first I thought that they were mistreating me because they kept telling me what to do and how and I was always wrong... my aunt would just complain every moment on the way I cooked. I was used to hard porridge; they just wanted moderated hard porridge (ugali laini). I even thought of going back home since the job had looked difficult, but what could I do at home? (Life Story Masaiti Dar es Salaam, April 2010)

However, when women migrants leave the rural areas of Dodoma, they do not go direct to Dar es Salaam, but they have a stop in Dodoma in strategic areas in order to have transport to Dar es Salaam. When they arrive in Dar es Salaam, they go to places where other migrants are for easy insertion in the town life. Whether a woman migrant has got a guaranteed job or not in Dar es Salaam, the hard economic situations, unfair sexual relations, and different and seemingly difficult jobs are the major challenging experiences that women encounter in their early time of arrival in towns. This conforms Nigatu and Ansha (2009) who found that the gender element in the migration phenomena is related to the motivation of men and women to move, to the migration process itself and to the conditions migrants find on their arrival to the destination. They noted that migrants face a number of socioeconomic problems compared to non-migrants at the place of destination at least for certain period of time. During the first phase of their stay, migrants have to make all their level best to adjust themselves with the new life. For women it becomes more hard as compared to men. Migrants face financial problems, cultural shock, faced unemployment problem for some times at the first stage of their arrival at the place of destination, face long working hour compared to the non-migrants, which is also conceived as a means of survival strategies, serious housing problems, encountered health problems, loosen family ties, suffering from serious food insecurity or insufficiency and homelessness.
Patriarchy ideology-related issues become evident when, for example, female migrants suffer human abuses and violations by those men who take advantage of their dual vulnerability as migrants and women. Such abuses occur even in the first phase of migration, during transit, and when they enter the destinations. In addition, on arrival, gender becomes a factor that increases the female migrants’ vulnerability with respect not only of women’s insertion into the labour market and the society of the receiving country, but also in her economic development during her stay (Nigatu and Ansha 2009).

3.3 Women Migrants and Work in urban areas

Women are involved in such works as: house work or home caretaking; working in bars; working in guesthouses; tailoring; working in shops, and; food vending as discussed below.

House work or home care taking

There are areas like Masait area in Tegeta (Dar es Salaam) where house building is at taking place at great speed. In such areas some people prefer deploying women migrants to stay in these houses as guards and care takers when the construction is going on. Women migrants in such places can live for free and the task would be taking care of the security of the house and maintain cleanliness of its surroundings. This reveals that the patriarchy ideology in which women were socialized, determines on what they choose as proper job in town. Thus women migrants find themselves confined in domestic work where they are confident and the society at large expects them so. Experiences of women working in domestic services was as well noted by Presser and Sen (2003) in Jakarta in 1980s where 85% job opportunities for women migrant were in domestic services. Employment opportunities in domestic services is contended to be as the result of increasing middle and upper income groups, burgeoning expatriates and diplomatic household who concentrated in the white and blue color jobs and demanded other people to support in domestic chores. Increase of investment in manufacturing enterprises in Jakarta also expanded the need for people to concentrate in housekeeping jobs which from point of view of patriarchal society suited more women than men.

Another factor discussed by Presser and Sen (2003) on the influence of women migrant on domestic services was what they called ‘marriage migration’ which influenced women to move from rural to urban areas following their husbands. Jobs while in urban was influenced by the patriarchal stereotype of women as house and child keeper. Influence of types of job women migrants could do was also influenced by patriarchal ideologies in the social networks that connected between origin and destination area. Women migration through social networks maintained tradition aspect of controlling over women in domestic services jobs.

Bar Attending

In the bars, women serve foods and drinks. Customers prefer women to men in being served in bars and pubs. This becomes convenient for women migrants as they find the work more welcoming as the customers accept them. Bar attending does not pay quite much. There are scenarios whereby women just work and the customers are the ones to give them pay through tips; sometimes, the bar owners pay them only transport and/or what to eat; sometimes, they can earn according to what they sell, and sometimes, some women work for less than a thousand shillings a day. Though this is not a good paying job at all, it connects them with men for sexual relationships or for marriage; women migrants can, therefore, be paid for sex; if they got a man for marriage, whether as first or second or third wife, it is good for a woman because certain needs of hers can be taken care of.

Guesthouse Attendant

As it is with the housework, working as bar attendant does not pay good money, but there are possibilities of earning from the encounters one has with the customers. A woman can get a tip; sometimes, and most often, they have sexual relations with customers. But again, working in a guest house can be a good way of saving house rent as they can be provided with good rooms for living as they are supposed to be at work during the day and night.

Tailoring and Shop Keeping

These are the engagements women do get involved in when they decide to work independently. Tailoring does not involve new arrivals in town. It requires expertise which most of women migrants do not have. Some housekeepers do get chance to learn tailoring when their bosses agree to pay the cost of learning for them. Later they opt for
tailoring, rather than housework. This is some kind of upgraded form of professional work in town that migrant women could get into. It liberates women migrants, as most of the times they will be in charge of the work. As regards shop keeping, very few are trusted for such a job at the beginning. Such a job requires that the particulars of the women migrants are known; otherwise she is well-known and the employer is sure about her background.

Food Vending

Being socialized to cook for the husband and the whole family, women find themselves in food vending as the business they can do well in urban areas. Food preparation that women do but not men in rural areas is a gender role arrangement that aims to portray a man has a boss of the family while leading to women subordination within patriarchy ideology.

From such works, it can be argued that women migrants’ work is influenced by gender roles as propagated by patriarchy ideology in their areas of origin and destination as well. Women migrants have been socialized in the rural areas to imagine themselves as women, and therefore seek for jobs they think will be fit for them as women. Most of the works of the Gogo women migrants are tied to a woman being a private human being whose area of expertise is the home. Even when she gets out for some business, still she sells food as she knows how to prepare it and serve it. Similarly, in the bars/pubs, and guest houses, she remains a private human being, to serve for cleanliness and food works. Worse still, she is still constructed as a sex object in most of her outside places of work (bars/pubs, restaurants, guesthouses). This is all about thinking and behaving within a patriarchy ideology for women migrants. This supports the ILO report (2005) that female labour migration is concentrated in a few female-dominated occupations associated with traditional gender roles. Labour market segmentation and stereotypes define the demand for women migrant workers. Boyd and Grieco (2003) found that gender-segregated job markets influence women migrants’ work opportunities, money earned, and risks of exploitation. In the unskilled sector, women dominate in isolated jobs and therefore may be at greater risk of exploitation – nannies, sex workers, entertainers. Men tend to dominate in more regulated/visible sectors, e.g. construction generally, mining in South Africa, agriculture in North America.

Conclusion

The paper has substantiated that though women may migrate to escape patriarchy constraints in rural areas, yet patriarchy continues to dominate their lives in their new places in town as immigrants. It has done so by initially excavating patriarchal issues on arrival of women migrants in Dar es Salaam city and Dodoma town, then on women migrants’ work. To a large extent, therefore, patriarchy influences the life women live in areas of destination. The way they live is because they have been socialized to live as women, consider themselves women, and aim at living as accepted women. Reciprocally, even men expect women of living in a certain way, as they have also been socialized that way.

REFERENCES


