

Influence of Patriarchy Ideology on Negotiations and Interest over Women Rural-Urban Migration

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ABSTRACT

The study was done in four selected villages in Dodoma region and three selected street, two from Dar es Salaam city and one from Dodoma town. The intention of the study was to find out how patriarchy ideology influences rural-urban migration for women. Specifically this paper uses some of the findings to explain how Patriarchy Ideology influences Negotiations and interest over Women Migration. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and in-depth interviews were employed in data collection in rural areas and towns respectively. It was found out that though women are facing patriarchal constraints in rural areas, they do not simply take migration as an abrupt solution. Together with other members of the society, women have to negotiate on migration. Patriarchy ideology becomes a determinant factor on how women fulfill their migration decision or fail to do so. Therefore, on one hand patriarchy ideology sets up conditions for migration negotiations that are done with reference to it but on the other it acts as the impeding factor for women migration. Thus, patriarchy ideology is a cause of problems to women and a means to maintain them.

Keywords: Patriarchy, women, migration

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Looking at rural women with a gender lens one finds that women face inequalities due to oppressive gender relations based on patriarchal system. These inequalities curtail their livelihood promotion processes. As women in rural areas experience contradictions in the patriarchal system, they keep on looking for ways to mitigate

their pressing conditions. Among the ways women think as mitigation possibility for their livelihood promotion is migration, which they cannot simply undertake, but have to negotiate their way out. Thus, suffering from inequalities is not enough for a woman to begin migrating; negotiations are necessary. Prospective women migrants negotiate migration with other actors in society who either expect benefits from women migration or are threatened by it. Thus, strategic actors who are involved in negotiation are prospective women migrants, mothers of women migrants, fathers of women migrants and women migration network members. The authors strive to explain how patriarchy ideologies facilitate women's negotiations for rural-urban migration. For this work, negotiations are about the different strategies that the different strategic actors in the migration phenomenon engage in so that migration of a woman can take place or not.

However, each actor negotiates within the patriarchy environment. An actor becomes different from another one due to a clear distinction of his/her interests as being influenced by patriarchy system they live in. So, when looking at the actors, it is also necessary to clearly point out the interests of the actor concerned. Gender relations as reflected within the patriarchy system among the Gogo affect the interests of negotiators in the migration process and the types of decisions they make and the ability to do so. This conform Boyd and Grieco (2003) that the ongoing gender relations and hierarchies within a household context affect such decisions – the interests of women and men do not necessarily coincide and may affect decisions about who manages to migrate, for how long, and to what places or countries.

This paper therefore, presents the nature of negotiations that take place within the Gogo women migrant trajectory being influenced by the patriarchy ideology in their living environment. It does so by taking it crucial to further identify the object of negotiations, the strategic actors in negotiation, the interests of strategic actors, and the strategies of the strategic actors in the negotiations.

2.0 METHODOLOGY

This was a qualitative study that was conducted in four selected villages of the Gogo rural community in Dodoma region, and three streets in Dar es Salaam city and Dodoma town, Tanzania. Research design for the study was Descriptive design because the study aimed at describing the state of patriarchy and inequality as they exist through classification, analysis, and interpretation of data. The study

aimed at collecting information about people's attitudes, opinion, habits and other social issues related to patriarchy ideology and negotiations over women rural-urban migration. Descriptive survey was adopted as a method of collecting information by interviewing sampled individuals.

The methodological approach for the study was ethno-methodological. This approach implied concentrating the 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 negotiations over women rural-urban migration.

Makulu bearing villages in Dodoma region were selected as the areas of study on Gogo cultural issues. For the Gogo people, a *Makulu* is believed to be a central area in which one finds the "original Gogo people" for understanding true Gogo cultural issues as they are revealed in the patriarchy system. In actual fact, the *Makulu* is the palace of the Gogo king or people of the royal family. The rural villages of Hombolo Makulu and Hombolo Bwawani were purposely selected because they belong to Hombolo Ward in which there is a *Makulu*. Similarly, Mvumi Makulu and Juhudi villages were selected from Mvumi Makulu ward because of the presence of the *Makulu* in the Ward. So, these villages in Dodoma region were purposively selected as they contain central areas (*Makulu*) for the Gogo people where the rule of the father as the head dominates the social systems.

The sample size of respondents was obtained by the predetermined method of data collection to be used in data collection for each category of respondents. The researcher determined to use Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) to collect data within the rural Gogo community in both Hombolo and Mvumi Makulu wards. There were FGDs for men, women and young adults. Twelve life stories were also built through in-depth interview conducted to the migrants in town (at Chasimba & Masait streets in Dar es Salaam city and Kwa-Mwatano Street in Dodoma town) so as to crosscheck issues raised in the rural areas through FGDs.

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

3.0 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Negotiation Object

The object of negotiation is what makes rural-urban migration a livelihood opportunity for rural women. However, the main influencing factor of women migration is not only need to escape patriarchal constraints but also ability to finance migration process. Specifically, oppressive social and natural situations such as conflict and persecution institutions engineered by patriarchy ideologies is viewed as some of main causes of women migration facilitated by unequal power relations based on gender, leaving women on the losing side.

Causes of women migration in Morocco is discussed by Heering, *et al.* (2004) to have rooted in any of the three scenarios originated from patriarchal ideologies namely traditional motivations as trailing spouse to make ends meet for the family. Secondly working abroad and earn money for the family. Lastly, running from traditional dependent life style and to be far away from patriarchal ideologies on women obedience to male kin (Presser and Sen, 2003). Bock and Shortall (2008) cement this discussion by providing three discourses on the cause of women rural-urban migration. In developing countries women migration is seen 'as act of transformation and liberation' through moving away from dominant social norms, secondly, rejection of intolerant patriarchal societal climate and oppressive subordination and lastly migration as part of search for better life and modernization which is becoming more possible with globalization (Shortall, 2006). In summary, factors influencing women migration are dynamic and have various patterns varying by responding to socio-economic and cultural demands. For instance, Irish women migration are influenced by patriarchal oppressive norms while in Africa issues related to HIV/AIDS, poverty, crisis in agricultural sector and social conflicts are major factors influencing women into rural-urban migration.

With reference to the authors' findings through FGDs in selected villages, it was observed that there is demand from urban dwellers for labor in people's homes, and other businesses that need services such as bars, pubs, and guesthouses. There is need for people to do the cleaning of the houses, cooking for household members, taking care of children, doing some shopping for the household, and many more household chores. It is this demand of human labor (especially of women) which becomes an impetus for women negotiation on rural-urban

migration. It illuminates rural women's imagination of town life as good place for them to escape the patriarchy constraints. Work in town is the major negotiation object that women have in mind as they think of rural-urban migration as livelihood opportunity. The demand for such people has come as a result of many town dwellers spending most of their time outside their homes for professional reasons or working in informal sector: This is as one woman migrant narrated:

I work for a woman who leaves home very early in the morning and comes back late in the evening. She is always at home on Saturdays, but then she goes away almost the whole day to buy what can be used for the rest of the week.... The husband works in Nairobi and he comes visiting from time to time. She has three children, two go to primary school and one is still very young... I have to prepare food for them and clean the house; I have to make sure that I wake them up every morning on time in order to prepare them for school. (Life story, Masaiti Dar es Salaam, April, 2010)

The patriarchy ideology that surrounds the socialization process in rural areas has made women get confined in the homes. Consequently, this have had two impacts: First, it has led into preference of women for housework by urban dwellers as compared to men. While girls are considered to be easy to train for household chores, women are seen as people who already know such activities; girls and women are said to satisfy easily with housework in town; they are seen as people who settle and concentrate than boys or men before they can opt to change for another job or return home. Secondly, women themselves consider housework as a nice job:

What was I doing at home? I was just working, but I was not getting any payment. Instead here, I am working and I am being paid; I am doing almost the same things as I was doing in the village. Besides, I am cleaner here and I am in town; I have learnt so many things: using a gas cooker, using the television, using a micro-wave, using an electric iron box, and many other things. ... I am happy and that is a good job for me. I am soon getting married to a man who found me here. ... Life story, Masaiti Dar es Salaam, April, 2010)

This indicates that patriarchy ideology apart from creating socio-economic problems to women in rural areas, it has also become a major determinant factor

on how other people allocate her in a wage employment and the way women themselves make choices to employment opportunities.

This housework and marriage opportunity, reflect the stereotype of a woman as expert of the home and one who has always to be attached to a man. The same experience in southern Ethiopia has been discussed by Ragassa and Yusufe (2009) that migration among women has impact on socio-economic development among women in terms of high self esteem, increased women empowerment, family transformation and remittances. However, abuse among women migrants including sexual harassment, forced labour, physical abuse and exploitation is the public concern in Southern Ethiopia.

3.2 Patriarchy ideology and Strategic Actors in Negotiation

Women negotiation for migration involves Strategic Actors who are prospective women migrants themselves, mothers of the women migrants, fathers of women migrants, and women migrant networks. All these individuals are involved in negotiation of women migration being influenced by patriarchy ideology.

3.2.1 Prospective women migrants

Prospective women migrant are not only circumstantially open to move, but also have a psychological disposition. Migration for women is regarded as a means for self emancipation from patriarchal constraints thus a root towards modernization. This is as Salih (2001) puts it on Moroccan women migrants that a small but significant group of women sees migration as a means to escape from an environment where they have as few rights as dependent children. He found that these women often migrate alone, and hope to find opportunities in the receiving country that they would never have had when staying in Morocco. For these women migration is a step towards modernization. More specifically, Boyle (2002) and Fincher (1993), relate patriarchy and women migration by putting it forward that one among other motivations for female emigration is a way out from a life with a traditional dependent status, and away from obedience to male kin. Thus prospective women migrants are negotiating as individuals who want to escape patriarchy constraints in the rural areas.

Interest of Prospective Women Migrants

Interest for migration depends on the motive behind. Women migrants in this study have motives based on their experience over patriarchy system and therefore their interest is to gain freedom out of it. This supports De Haan and Yaqub (2009) who argue that migrant interest depends on the migrant motives. Skilled migrants have their motive clear on bettering their lives and their families while poor and rural people would take migration as their livelihood survival strategy or taking advantage of seasoned opportunity. In West Africa saving for dowry is an important motive for migration among female migrants. Other motives such as political, economic and cultural factors have been cited to influence migration pattern in West Africa.

Women migrants have an interest of getting into modern life, as this woman migrant speaks about herself at her early stage when she was pondering on leaving the village:

I had just completed my primary school. ... I just wanted to be free; I wanted to be smarter and cleaner; I felt that there was too much dust in my village; I saw everybody backward; I felt I had to move to some place where there is more development, but not staying in my village (life Story Kwa-Mwatano Dodoma, April, 2010).

This woman felt that the village symbolized backwardness and she wanted to move away to town where there is life that symbolizes modernity. She feels there is liberation by going to town. In characterizing the town, she said:

Any town is a good place to be: you can get work; you learn new techniques in cooking; you are able to speak Swahili language fluently and confidently; you can keep yourself clean; you become an entrepreneurs; and once you have some money, you send some to your family and young brothers and sister (life Story Kwa-Mwatano Dodoma, April, 2010).

Embedded in this quote is the idea as to why one would like to migrate to town. Not only is one interested in work, but also in learning so many things that one finds in town: there is modern life and new ways of doing things. Moreover, a woman would like to go to town because she has a possibility of assisting the family, after getting work and being paid.

So, as women decide to move to town, they do so with great expectations on positive changes on their lives. A town is considered a place where chances for economic development are more open than it is in rural areas. They expect to get loans and be able to develop their own businesses. They expect to get a good job and secure enough money. They plan to buy good clothes than they used to have in rural areas. They expect to be more modern in thinking and actions. Thus, the major interest for the women migrant is to go to town to have some good life, which is different from the life in the village. This implies that the exposure, opportunities and freedom that women are denied by patriarchy system in rural areas are what woman migrants define as modern life they expect to get in town. The interest of women migrants is to get free from patriarchal constraints. Thus, Patriarchy ideology in rural areas is among the initiators of women rural-urban migration due to constraints it stresses on them.

3.2.2 Mothers of women migrants

One of the mothers of the woman migrant declared:

I have been with her (daughter) all along till when she was sixteen when she left for Dodoma town. Now she is already in Dar es Salaam. I did my best to educate her as a Gogo woman, even though at some point she did not like me; she had learnt so many things at school that she thought were important than mine. ... I was hesitant to let her go when I was approached by someone looking for my daughter as a house girl in Dodoma town. I knew she would have liked to go, but the father would be against it. ... (Hombolo Makulu, FGD, Women, Feb, 2010)

This indicates that mothers have been at the forefront in the socialization of the women migrants. They are the ones who taught their daughters how to become accepted women, but more especially how to become perfect household, farm, and off-farms workers. The mothers of the women migrants have been positive for their daughters with regard to migration. Much as they are happy and they see that their daughters can make some life if they moved from home to somewhere in town, these very mothers are afraid about the fathers of their daughters:

When my daughter told me that she wanted to move to town because she had got a job, I was very worried. I knew the father would be against the idea and I knew my daughter would move at any cost, as she was decided

already. ... Her father was very tough and already had plans for the daughter: someone (man) was already interested in getting married to her. ... But again, who would continue working here? (Myumi Makulu, FGD, Women, March 2010)

Mothers of women migrants played their role in facilitating the migration process of their daughters. Mothers' negotiation for their daughters' migration is in terms of their desire to free their daughters from patriarchy constraints but also to maneuver the migration process against the impeding forces from their fathers.

This implies that within patriarchy system, women are not expected to make heavy decision without considering their husbands. Mothers are not free to exercise their willingness on their daughters need for migration before their husbands. However, mothers and their daughters do collude secretly in order their mission for migration can be successful. This conforms Nkau, (2003), who puts it that, women who migrated from Zimbabwe to South Africa left their children in Zimbabwe in the care of their parents, mothers or relatives while they travelled to South Africa for a period of two weeks or more. Despite some social constraints, women had asserted their right to participate in decision –making to shape their own futures. The mother-daughter or parent –daughter relationship suggest that where women gain some economic independence this is achieved via dependency on their mother's or parents' unpaid labor (in housework and childcare). This demonstrates the important contribution of women in supporting the personal autonomy of their daughters and other female relatives. Mothers of prospective women migrants represent the community of all women in the rural society who are not satisfied with male dominance .Although some women in rural areas may not be able to escape patriarchy system due to old age, fear or financial constraints, they are in position to support those who dare plan to escape this system. Rural urban migration is backed by the support of all women who are eager to escape from the patriarchy system or do not accept it.

Generally, mothers of women migrants have different interests in their daughters' migration mainly financial, material, and marital issues of their daughters. As this woman says:

There are so many men in town who are very good, not like these young men here who are poor. I allowed my daughter to go and she got a man there in town. Now she is married. When she told me that she would have

liked her younger sister to come to town, I did not hesitate. ... She went and I am told that she is dating with a man who wants to come home and present himself.(Hombolo Bwawani FGD, Women, Feb 2010)

3.2.3 Fathers of women migrants

Fathers have been the male image of the women migrants. One of the fathers of a woman migrant declared:

My daughter showed some character of a stubborn girl ever since she was born. She would never listen anything, except from the mother. ... I have beaten her several times in order to make her respect me, but in vain. And when she went to school, that was worse. Before she finished her primary school, I could not even say a word, but I kept on punishing her: I would force her to go to the farm; I would beat her; I would scorn her, but she was very stubborn ... (Hombolo Bwawani FGD, Men Feb. 2010)

This man shows how he has been a disciplinarian with respect to her daughter. In relation to education: that the daughter became more stubborn with the education she got. This is an important element as with education, and then the daughter would stand on her feet. For the father, this was a rebellious character. Men have phobia for towns when it comes to thinking about women in towns:

This town is destroying our women. If your wife goes to town, you have to think twice before you decide to have an affair with her when she is back; she may be already contaminated (contracted HIV). It is a great disaster to our sons who are looking for fiancées. Most of expected beautiful girls are either planning to leave or have already left to town (Juhudi, FGD, Men March, 2010).

Men as fathers of migrants do discourage women migration with intention to maintain male hegemony. They have an idea that once in town women are no longer precious objects under their control. It is for this reason that they do not respect women who migrate to town; they see them as prostitutes:

These women who go to work in town are prostitutes. They just board buses and go to look for men. Most of them have escaped from home without permission of their fathers. And when they come back home from

town, they are already infected with HIV (Juhudi, FGD, Men March, 2010).

Men fear that if women go to town and be exposed to town life, they become informed and knowledgeable and can no longer respect men. This is an inferiority complex before women living in town to an extent that they fear to get married to them. Under such circumstances some women do hesitate to migrate in fear of losing marriage opportunity in rural areas. Thus, while the fathers of women migrants have tended to be disciplinarian with respect to their daughters: they have not liked their daughters to become free women who could think their way; they have phobia for towns because they think that is where women become sexual outcasts. Power of a man that is brought about by patriarchy system among the Gogo is more explicitly in terms of controlling women movement by giving bad images on women migrants and denying them opportunities for migration. This conforms Repak (1995) that in some families, for example, daughters and wives may not be accorded permission or family resources with which to migrate, but they sometimes find ways to circumvent or alter these “patriarchal constraints.” This implies that any effort made by women to escape patriarchy system is opposed by men who benefit from it. For Gogo women migration is regarded as going astray from cultural values where women are expected to be under man’s control. All in all, men are not interested in women migrating to town. Men do not like women to free themselves as this is a challenge to male dominance; they do make efforts to avoid it or disappoint it through cultural values already set within the Gogo culture.

3.2.4 Women migrant networks

Apart from mothers and fathers of women migrants as negotiators of women migration, there are other individual who make the migration network for prospective women migrants. When there is a purposeful search of house girls, networks get established between those in need of them and those who can connect them with such girls. Normally, the one in need of a house girl sets the go-between:

My uncle lives in Dar. He contacted me asking for two house girls. He had one who got married and now he was looking for one for himself and another one for a friend. ... I asked one of my sisters to search for the two girls in her village, which is not far from here. She got one from a friend,

and another one from a friend's friend. (Life Story, Kwa-Mwatano, Dodoma, March, 2010)

Looking for a house girl is not a straight forward activity that involves a few people. It involves searching, and careful searching. It is here that networks are formed. At one end of the network, there is a person who needs a house girl; then in the middle, there are other people, normally acquaintances, who begin searching for the house girl. Not only one person is involved here, as if she got a tender; there could be so many people involved. Each person, however, struggles to make sure that a house girl is obtained and she is qualified for the work. At the other end, there will, normally, be the mother of the person who has been identified as a house girl. The networks are not official as such, but they rise as needs arise, particularly when a house girl is being looked for (Presser and Sen, 2003). The influence of social networks on women migration was also observed in Moroccan women migration to Europe. According to Heering, *et al.* (2004) 60.9% of Moroccan women migrants move to Europe by using what they call Family Network Abroad with the reason that the large part of women respondents had more than one relative in Europe.

Migration networks are very essential to migrants as they provide economic assistance, employment opportunity information, and means of escape. This conforms Winters, *et al.* (1999) that migrant networks convey information and provide assistance to prospective migrants, and these reduce the costs and risks while increasing the benefits of future migration. Network ties can decrease migration costs by providing would be migrants with critical information about border crossings and employment. Past migrants also may assist in financing the costs of future migrants and provide job market information and contacts. As a result, they can positively influence the probability of migration and also the economic returns from migration.

The patriarchy system has an influence on women migration networks. This is reflected in the way women establish networks by avoiding men, types of information they seek and assistance they expect to get. As women, they do not just establish networks but they do so knowing they are against patriarchy system as they initiate migration process. Prospective women migrants tend to avoid men (fathers) in their network and they establish migration networks as poor individuals within a patriarchy system. Poverty that women face due patriarchy system they live in the rural areas has a big influence on the need of migration

networks they establish. Apart from other reasons for establishing networks, women look for the way they can manage life in areas of destination as poor individuals

De Haan and Yaqub (2009) in their migration and poverty paper argue that despite the fact that poverty is the main engine in women migration lack of financial capital needed in migration process is likely to make poor women not to migrate from global south to global north. The only social capital in terms of networks thus remains as main source for poor women rural-urban migration as De Haan and Yaqub (2009) put it;

An important general finding is around the importance of migration networks, internationally as well as locally. Put simply, migrants move to places where friends, family members, neighbours or others from their village have moved before. As a result, migrants in a particular destination tend to come from specific areas of origin—particularly when the migratory jobs are relatively attractive and have higher returns. People who are better off may pave the way for migrants with fewer resources. Migration patterns are structured by social divides, such as caste in India, ethnicity in Viet Nam or religion.

The impermanent women migrant networks are not neutral in looking at the issue of migrant women. They have various interests in the phenomenon:

I could not resist getting my brother a house girl, even though I did not have one. All I knew was that as I had a friend in the other village, she would have gotten me one. And when I asked her, she told me that she was going to get one from a nearby village; a friend also told her that there was a young girl who had completed primary school and the mother wanted her to get some work to do in town.... And my friend assured me that she was a good girl. (Mvumi Makulu FGD, Women, Feb.2010)

This quote is an expression of so many interests that women migrant networks would have. The first interest has to do with people who are related assisting each other. Once someone is in town and is search for someone to work at home, the first search goes to the relatives, who feel they are obliged to assist. This enhances blood relationships. Among the Gogo, like many other people, one is obliged to assist a relative.

In the networking, it is clear how friendship is important. That is why it is a “friend of a friend of another friend” who manages to have a house girl to migrate to town. Thus, there is this interest of enhancing friendship in the women migrant networks.

These networks are also interested in enhancing career for the young girls. A girl that has been found already expressed her mind that she wanted to go for work. Her mother picks up this and she throws it to her friend who also integrates it in the network. The whole point is that this girl should be given opportunity to work, hence enhancing her career.

One more important interest in the networks is that networks expand acquaintances. A friend leads to someone knowing another friend. This is important as there is a wider spectrum for someone in need to address her needs. Today, it is about a house girl; tomorrow, it might be about a doctor, and the other day about school. It is through these acquaintances that someone makes through networking that become a stepping-stone to addressing such future needs.

Enhancing friendship, career opportunity, and expanding acquaintances boils down to enhancing the social capital for the rural people. This is special interest for the rural people as it is through such capital that they can address their different needs. Thus, networks become an opportunity for further encounters with different people. This conforms Hugo (1981); Massey *et al.* (1998); Sycip and Fawcett (1988) and; Taylor (1986), on their analysis of relationship between social capital theory and social networks. They found that the social capital theory assigns importance to the functioning of interpersonal social networks between migrants in receiving countries and relatives in sending countries. The focus of the theory is on micro-level behavioral factors that generate and perpetuate international migration. The principal argument of this theory is that an existing migration flow will continue because the costs and risks for potential new migrants are lower if they maintain social relations with relatives in a country of destination. However, in relation to the study objective on the influence of patriarchy ideology on women negotiation for rural-urban migration, women migration networks are selective and specific as they are strategically maneuvering against patriarchy ideology.

4.0 CONCLUSION

This paper gives knowledge that for women, rural-urban migration may just be an escape from patriarchal constraints. However women have to negotiate for migration within the patriarchy system itself, consequently the mechanism for negotiation are influenced by the patriarchy ideology existing within their social environment. The power of patriarchy ideology influences the migration negotiation in two ways: on one hand it sets up conditions for migration negotiations that are done with reference to it but on the other it acts as the impeding factor for migration for those women who suffer from its constraints. Thus patriarchy ideology is a cause of problems to women and a means to maintain them.

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