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GENDER SOCIAL NETWORKS AND INCOME GENERATION AMONG CONGOLESE MIGRANTS IN JOHANNESBURG

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A dissertation submitted to the faculty of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg for the degree of Master of Arts in Forced Migration Studies

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Declaration

This research project is entirely my own work and has not been previously submitted as a research project, dissertation, or thesis at any other university.

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University of the Witwatersrand, 2006

List of Acronyms

CV: Curriculum Vitae

DHA: Department of Home Affairs

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

FMSP: Forced Migration Studies Programme

ID: Identity Document

JHB: Johannesburg

JRS: Jesuit Refugee Services

NGO: Non Governmental Organisation

RSA: Republic of South Africa

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

USA: United States of America

USCR: United States Committee for Refugees

WITS: University of the Witwatersrand

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Abstract

A significant number of refugees and asylum seekers are living in urban areas in developing countries. In addition to the fact that they receive little assistance from international organizations, host government policies represent obstacles to their livelihoods. Generally, the economic behaviour, reasons for migrating and experiences of female migrants often differ from those of male. This research report examines the impact of gender on social networks and how gender might influence access to income. In contrast to other studies on social networks that focus on the social relationships between individuals and communities located in sending and receiving societies, this study produces greater understanding of urban migrants' livelihoods by exploring how women use social networks to generate income and contrasting these with those of men. This is rooted in the assumption that women refugees are facing additional challenges to livelihood including their social responsibilities and job stereotyping.

To document how gender might influence social networks and access to income, qualitative data collected through semi structured, face-to-face, in-depth interviews among Congolese refugees in Johannesburg was used. Findings reveal that gender does not have impact on the nature of social networks used by Congolese men and women to facilitate their access to income generating activities. However, friendships and social relations among Congolese refugees are based on gender and as a result Congolese refugees may be channelled in gender-dominated occupations. Congolese women are facing specific challenges such as domestic labour and child care that may limit their access to jobs and businesses.

Chapter One: Introduction

Since South Africa's democratic elections in 1994, the country has experienced a significant increase in asylum seekers and refugees mostly from the African continent. According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), approximately 26,558 refugees and 84,085 asylum seekers were living in the country by the end of 2003.The main nationalities of forced migrants include Angola, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Somalia, and Rwanda (UNHRC, 2003). Congolese refugees, among other forced migrants from war torn countries within the African continent, represent the majority of the refugee population in South Africa since 1994. At least 8,890 of the 26,558 recognised refugees in South Africa at end of 2003 were of Congolese origin (UNHRC, 2003). Furthermore, half of the approved asylum applications in 2002 were from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (USCR, 2003). Generally speaking, access to income is extremely difficult for forced migrants because of multiple challenges that they are facing.

Congolese refugee women represent a minority among Congolese forced migrants, which indicates that migration patterns are gendered. The proposed study focuses on the responses to challenges that Congolese forced migrants are facing in Johannesburg with a view to understanding the impact of gender and social networks on income generating activities. Existing literature on gender and migration has shown that the processes, motivations, and social norms governing men's and women's movements and the way in which male and female migrants settle in the receiving society are often different (Dodson 1998, Curran and Saguy 2001, Zlotnik 1993). The reasons for this difference,

among others, include the restriction of their physical and socioeconomic mobility, which limits their access to resources. As an additional challenge, women often have the primary responsibility for caretaking roles[1] in the family that may restrict their opportunities for finding paid work. My aim, therefore, was to find out if women and men use social networks differently to overcome some of these obstacles to income generation. This study hypothesises that women employ social networks differently from men in incoming generation activities. Based on this hypothesis, I aim to contribute to the growing literature on gender, social networks and livelihoods of refugees. The central question of this research is: How does gender affect social networks and income generation among forced migrants in Johannesburg?

In answering this question, I have the following aim and objectives; the main aim of the project is to analyse the impact of gender on the social networks of Congolese refugees in Johannesburg. The project seeks to explore how reliance on social networks to generate income differs between Congolese refugee women and men.

The objectives of the study are:

1. To analyse what men and women do to generate income.
2. To find out how social networks facilitate these activities.
3. To find out how social networks that facilitate access to income differ between men and women and to explore reasons for the differences.

[1]Moser N. used this concept 'caretaking role' to designate domestic tasks of women such as housework and childcare.

I-Rationale for the study

Many studies have incorporated gender into international migration, a field initially dominated by research on men (Grieco and Boyd, 1988). Research on migration shows that economic behaviour, reasons for migrating and experiences of female migrants often differ from those of males (Francis 2002, Curran and Saguy 1997, Dodson 1998). Although some studies have investigated the impact of social networks in the migration process (Koser and Pinkerton 2002), some literature on migration shows how men and women use social networks to generate income in a situation where host government policies limit migrants' access to resources. Thus, this proposed research expects to produce a greater understanding of urban people's livelihoods by exploring how Congolese women in Johannesburg use social networks to generate income and contrasting these with those of men.

II. Definition of key concepts

Gender and social networks are the key concepts in this study. It is therefore important to explain the understanding I am working with. The concept of gender in social sciences basically refers to "the social construction of femininity and masculinity as culturally and historically specific" and gender also refers to "existing power relations between men and women" (Lammers, 1999). The difference in attitudes, roles and values of men and women is conditioned by social and cultural expectations rather than natural distinction between the two sexes. The conception of gender is not based on the biological difference between men and women but on the distinction between the social roles and responsibilities of men and women that vary across societies (El-Bushra, 2000). These assumed differences result in discriminatory attitudes and inequalities in access to

resources between men and women because of gender stereotypes. The term gender challenges will therefore refer to the obstacles that men and women are facing as a result of their differential social roles and responsibilities. For example, the caretaking roles and job stereotyping may limit Congolese' access to income activities.

The concept of "network" has been given many connotations, depending on the context. Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellgrino and Taylor (1994:728) defined migrant networks as 'sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin'. The network that I am concerned with in this study is not networks connecting migrants to the relatives and friends in the country of origin. Rather, I will focus on refugees social networks within the destination country. Mitchell (1969:43) defined potential network members as that category of people who "in terms of the general values of the community, might be expected to provide the ego with some type of service or support". Refugees' social networks will include social connections with family members, neighbours, friends, NGOs, political, cultural and religious organisations with a view of understanding how these social connections may facilitate access to income among men and women refugees. In this study, the concept of social capital is also important because I will look at the indicators such as the density of membership in voluntary associations, the degree of trust and the reciprocity in services among Congolese refugees. Social capital, as defined by its principal theorists (Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 1993), consists of those features of social organisation such as networks of secondary associations, high levels of interpersonal trust and norms of mutual aid and

reciprocity, which act as resources for individuals and facilitate collective action. Due to the fact that "social network" is the concept generally used in the literature on migration, the concept of social capital is not frequently used in this study.

III. Why gender is important for social networks and income generation among migrants.

Assumptions about gender differences condition men and women's attitude within institutions, including the household, the community, the state, schools and places of employment. The concept of gender will be helpful for the study of social networks and income generation among migrants because men and women may use different types of social networks to access different income generating activities as a result of societal norms.

Displacement as whole impacts differently on men and women. Experiences and attitudes of female migrants often differ from those of males (Francis 2000, Curran and Saguy 1997, Dodson 1998). In the domain of employment for example, job stereotyping in many developing countries reduce the women's chance of getting employment. Research done in South Africa by Dodson (1998), shows that some jobs such as mining or mechanics are more accessible to men than to women. The same research shows that 18 per cent of women are involved in informal businesses such as trading and hawking whereas men represent only 5 percent of this occupation. In many cases, social norms make a distinction between men's and women's work.

In addition, the gendered division of labour within households and in the economy makes most women less able to control economic resources (Moser, 1993). As a result of this, men and women refugees may not have the same source of income or the same access to income. In addition, gender is about power relations between men and women within the household. The power to decide about the allocation of resources within the household may change in favour of women because of displacement. Callamard (1999) argues that dramatic events occurring in people lives can be factors that provoke or reinforce the transformation of gendered power structures. The changes in traditional gender relations that occasionally take place as a result flight provide vivid examples of these. The traditional gender roles may change in the destination countries because men and women may adopt different strategies in response to the new environment. Men and women may break away from their socially ascribed roles by accepting different survival strategies (Turner, 2000). For example in the Lukole refugee camp in Tanzania, the empowerment of women[2] by getting them to participate in camps activities gave women more economic independence within the household because of their earnings (Turner, 2000). Roles played by women in assistance programmes may contribute to eroding men's traditional roles including protection and decision making for the family.

The difference in attitudes, roles and values of men and women is likely to have an impact on the social networks used by refugee' men and women to facilitate access to income. As Rose (2002) pointed out, because of the gender differences in family

[2] In Lukole refugee camp in Tanzania in 2000, UNHCR gave refugee women the opportunities to participate in camp activities.

responsibility[3], women refugees are likely to make greater social investment in the locally based community or in the neighbourhood. Similarly, the social networks of refugee women were based on family and close friends and those of men were more diversified because of productive work that gave them more chance of building social capital (Rose, 2002). From the above case study, men and women may have different sources of support in communities of destination. Fuentes (2001) found out that in rural Mexican communities, men's migration in the United States relied on the experience of a wide array of friends and distant kin, as well as close family members, whereas women's migration depended exclusively on ties to close family members. Because of social norms that say that women are more vulnerable than men, women may move only if there is a close relative with whom to travel or with whom to live (Fuentes, 2001). Generally speaking, the above literature seems to indicate that men and women migrants are more likely to use social networks differently and therefore have different access to jobs and businesses in the destination countries.

[3] Rose (2002) stated that most of immigrant women in Canada are engaged in household based activities whereas men are engaged in productive activities or waged employment.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Although the fundamental domain of this study remains refugees and asylum seekers, many examples may be drawn from the broader literature on migrants. The proposed research will firstly draw from the literature on gender and international migration. In particular, it will review the literature on urban migrants' livelihoods. In addition, responses and coping strategies by migrants generally, and women particularly, will be highlighted with a view to identifying the existing gaps. Finally, the role of social networks among migrants in Johannesburg will be discussed.

I. Gender, migration and income generation

Literature on migration has long recognised the importance of labour migration for people's livelihoods. Labour migration, historically dominated by men, is a strategy to generate income that will improve the life and livelihoods of the family left in the country or the place of origin. Examining the impact of labour migration in Southern Africa, Francis (2000) pointed out that many rural households in Botswana, Tanzania and Zambia depended heavily on remittances coming from migrants working in the mining industry in South Africa. However, the downturn in urban economies in South Africa has led to a slowing of such migration and to return migrancy. For instance, in South Africa, the yearly average total of miners employed on the South Africa gold mines fell from 477,397 in 1986 to 324,441 in 1992 (Crush, 1995). This research has indicated that, in response to labour migration trends, gender relations were subject to many changes: For example, as a result of migration of men, women in a very large proportion of African societies bore the major responsibilities for maintaining the household (Francis, 2000).

Similarly, in the absence of male relatives, many women survive because of remittances from a male partner. As migration patterns change, it is likely that the responsibilities and power relations between men and women are redefined or renegotiated. A study by Turner (2000) is a practical example of change in power relations between men and women. In this camp, like in many others, UNHCR provided food and other resources to men, women and children on the basis of equality. The fact that men could no longer play the role of providers and protectors of the family affected the relationships within the household. In this study, men regularly lamented that women were not respecting them.

In addition, UNHCR had various programmes to promote women's livelihood possibilities such as vocational training. All these factors reduced the dependency of women on men, thus changing power relations between men and women. Similarly, research done by Kibreab (1995) on Eritrean refugees in Sudan also showed that refugee women living in urban areas were compelled to take on new responsibilities, which effected changes in gender relations.

In the rural settlement in Eastern Sudan, patriarchal relations were intensified which meant that Eritrean refugee women were subject to greater restriction and subordination than before the displacement, whereas Eritrean refugee women living in Khartoum were engaged in new income activities that gave them more financial independence and more power. Kibreab (1995) therefore concluded that if these refugees were to return to Eritrea, these experiences would influence the process of repatriation and many of the former rural

based dwellers who became urbanised in Sudan will want to resettle in urban areas in Eritrea.

Historically, income-generating activities of men and women have varied over time with men dominating access to productive activities[4]. In South Africa for example, the economic motives for migration are gender specific with women going to South Africa largely to trade and men to work in formal employment (Crush 1995, Dodson 1998). As such, the labour market opportunities for migrants in South Africa are stratified by gender. Data from the recent census demonstrates that 99 per cent of mine employees are male which indicates a critical difference in this employment sector (Crush and Williams, 2005). In the same way, research done by Moser (1993) showed that many women in third world countries were likely to have less access to productive activities.

Studies of Lesotho households by Murray (1970) and Ferguson (1980) also showed a distinction between men and women's income generating activities. Male migrants were concerned that their mine labour incomes were used for long- term investments (such as building the house or investing in livestock), whereas female incomes from farming and small-scale activities could finance day-to-day household reproduction. This indicates a different significance given to men and women's earnings. In the same way, fieldwork from Thailand (O'Connor 1995, Limpinuntana et al.1982[5]) also revealed the gendered structure of labour opportunities. This research showed that women have access to low wage, low skill manufacturing jobs located in the export processing zones outside

[4] The productive activities which men dominated in Eastern and Southern Africa include access to land and wage income (Francis, 2000)
[5] These two authors were cited by Francis (2000)

Bangkok. Women are also present in growing service sector jobs in the country. However, it also showed that women's jobs were more stable than men's, with men engaged in the seasonal or transitory occupations of construction and agricultural wage labour. Similarly, research on Salvadorans, Mexicans and Guatemalans migrating to the United States showed that the majority of women work as domestic labourers whereas men work primarily as unskilled labourers (farm, restaurant, or construction workers). The general picture emerging from the literature on gender and income generating activities is that jobs are based on gender stereotypes, which often change as a result of migration, thus transforming the power relations between men and women.

II. Livelihoods of urban refugees in Africa

The majority of African refugees are living in rural areas and camps where they rely on UNHCR and NGOs for their basic needs like shelter, food and healthcare. However, a growing number of refugees are heading towards the cities (Landau and Jacobsen, 2003). Among the African countries receiving refugees, it is only in South Africa and Egypt where refugees are legally settled in the cities (Landau and Jacobsen, 2003). Urban refugees receive less assistance from international organizations and they face host governments' restrictions on their rights to employment. Generally speaking, urban refugees in many developing countries are facing similar obstacles to livelihoods that hinder the development of their human potential and capacities (Riak, Kibreab, 2003; Landau and Jacobsen, 2003).

Moving from rural to urban area, or from one country to another is likely to produce significant changes in livelihoods for both men and women. Migrants have to adjust to an

unfamiliar, often hostile physical environment, to unfamiliar food and clothing, sometimes to a new language, and to new customs (Seller, 1981). The changes in lives can be so radical that the initial years may be consumed by a struggle for physical and psychological survival. The above factors are likely to represent serious challenges for migrants' ability to access income in South Africa.

In addition, the failure to implement the refugee's law, host government practices are likely to limit migrants' access to income. Urban refugees, such as those in South Africa and in Egypt, face a lot of obstacles: Their rights to employment, education, and access to many services are limited (Riak, Kibreab, 2003; Landau and Jacobsen, 2003). In 2002, the Forced Migration Studies Programme at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg and the Refugees and Forced Migration Programme of Tufts University, initiated a study of refugees 'experiences in, and influence on, Johannesburg. In the sample, one third (32%) of South Africans reported working full time in either the formal or informal sector; compared with only 7% of migrants. Significantly, 28% of the working migrants claimed to be self employed compared with 6% of South Africans. According to the National Refugee Baseline Survey in South Africa in 2003, the majority of refugees come from fairly well educated and skilled backgrounds (UNHCR, 2003). Given the opportunity, they can contribute positively to the development of the local economy. In contrast, the same survey revealed that 24 per cent of refugees were unemployed in South Africa and of the employed, very few worked in the area of their expertise. As a result of inaccessibility to resources, refugees and other migrants are not able to pursue sustainable livelihoods (Mulki 2003; Bailey 2005).

Similarly, urban refugees in Cairo have difficulty satisfying daily needs (such as accommodation and food) as they are allowed neither to work nor to set up businesses (Mulki 2003; Bailey 2005). In countries where the presence of refugees in the cities is prohibited, urban refugees may face additional challenges due to their legal status. For example in Tanzania and Kenya, authorities require refugees to live in camps or settlements and view urban refugees as illegal migrants (Jacobsen, 2003). The fact that in many countries, refugees and asylum seekers are denied many civil, economic, political and social rights accessible to nationals tends to marginalise them.

One of the most significant economic obstacles facing refugees in South Africa is their inability to access banking services (Landau and Jacobsen, 2003). The documentation issued to them by the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) does not easily enable them to open a bank account. The reason is that banking staff members simply choose not to take that kind of identification (Segale, 2004). The high unemployment rate in South Africa and the inaccessibility to formal employment due to lack of proper documentation force most of migrants into the informal sector. According to UNHCR, the vast majority of refugees in South Africa earned a living hawking goods on the streets or doing "piece jobs" (UNHCR, 2003). In terms of economic obstacles, many factors play against the lack of access of refugees to finances (Landau, 2004). Some officials within the banking sector consider that 'insolvency' constitutes a pattern of behaviour within the community as there is no guarantee that a loan given to migrants could be returned in due time, given the weight of problems faced by them. In practical terms, the lack of trust linked to

migrant status and financial insecurity constitutes a great obstacle for migrants in the informal sector.

Additionally, refugees and migrants are victims of harassment from the police and from the Department of Home Affairs (DHA). Research done by Landau and Jacobsen in 2003 showed that refugees pay money to DHA officials to speed up their asylum applications that take at least 18 months rather than six-month envisioned by law. The same research has shown that migrants in Johannesburg are more likely to be victims of police harassment than South Africans. These different problems faced by refugees and migrants are more likely to affect their income activities. Given the challenges facing migrants, there is a need to investigate whether social networks may help migrants to overcome some of these problems.

III. Gender and social networks

In addition to a difference in men's and women's work, there is also evidence that this is shaped by different social networks. The composition of refugees' social networks is significantly affected by forced migration in the sense that they have lost their previous networks established in the country of origin (Kibreab, 2003). In addition, Willems (2003) suggested that refugees' social networks are also influenced by the societal position of the individual in terms of his/her belonging to various types of social groups like gender, different nationality, and age categories. Similarly, research done by the Strategic Workshop on Immigrant Women in Canada (Rose, 2002) has shown that gender differences in family responsibility lead women to travel shorter distances to work

compared to men and make a greater social investment in the locally based community. According to this study, there were gender differences in the nature of the social networks used by refugee women and men to gain access to work. For example, the study found that the household based activities of women restricted their movement and created more social interactions in the neighbourhood, in contrast to men who travelled long distances for waged employment. For the above reasons, men may be more exposed to a variety of social connections.

Similarly, O'Conner (1995) notes that traditional gender roles in Thailand assign women a heavily kin –based domestic role, while young men are expected to be freer from the household. Due to this factor, this research found that Thai women would have stronger ties to their natal households whereas Thai men possess non-kin ties far from home. In both cases, the neighbourhood is important in distinguishing the nature of social networks of women and men. Women's social networks are more strongly rooted in family and close friends whereas men's social ties tend to be more diversified (O'Conner, 1995; Rose 2002). In spite of this growing literature on social networks, there is relatively little research into how social networks facilitate access to income among refugee populations.

IV. Social networks and income generation

A significant amount of literature on social networks (Hugo and Massey 1994, Koser and Pinkerton 2002, Curran and Saguy 2001) has focussed on the social relationships between migrants in the destination countries and relatives and friends in the country of origin. Despite the differences in the motivation of people who move, most of those authors have agreed that migrant networks can facilitate migration by reducing the costs

to the aspiring migrants. At this point, Portes and Bach (1985) suggest that migration is a process of building social networks and may reinforce the social relationships across space, for example, the 'reciprocal exchange' of goods or services among the network members (Gelderblom and Adams, 2006:228). Likewise, studies from many countries have established the importance of networks for providing general information, financial support to facilitate the move, and the maintenance of long distances ties with the original communities (Curran and Saguy, 2001; Massey, 1994; Goza, 2004; Koser and Pinkerton 2002). Migrant networks are essentially understood as social products that link individuals and communities located in sending and receiving societies.

Nevertheless, social networks are also likely to facilitate integration after arrival in the sense that social networks may provide newcomers with information about accommodation, papers and jobs (Massey, 1994; Goza, 2004). It is therefore possible that people in one's network also help one find a place to live or find a job. A survey done by the Forced Migration Studies Programme in Johannesburg in 2003, showed the possibility of social networks among migrants that may facilitate their access to income, accommodation and many other services. The survey revealed that some of migrants already had close friends or relatives in South Africa before leaving the country of origin. A study by Willems (2003) showed that Congolese, Burundese and Rwandese urban refugees in Dar es Salam depended on their social networks to find employment or receive financial and material support from friends and relatives. In the absence of any institutional structures providing assistance, urban refugees in Dar es Salam heavily relied on their personal relationships for survival (Willems, 2003). Unfortunately,

Jacobsen (2004) argued that frequent relocation of migrants in Johannesburg would retard the ability to build their social capital because every time that they move, they may loose some network members including friends, household members and neighbours.

In research aiming to explore the efficiency of network members in the reception of new arrivals, qualitative and quantitative data were collected in Brazilian sending regions, Canada and the United States of America (USA) (Goza, 1994). Findings revealed that 74 percent of those in the USA and 55 percent in Canada had at least one relative present. The same research indicated that, in the USA, 73 percent of new migrants initially stayed with friends, cousins or siblings.

The other critical way in which networks may assist the newly arriving is to help them to locate employment and sustain an income. In the same study, the number of days between an immigrant's arrival and when initial employment began revealed that 26 percent of immigrant men in the USA were working within five days of the time they arrived. All of these men found their first job either through the assistance of a friend or a relative (Goza, 1994). Among the immigrant women in the USA, 20 percent were working in five days or less and of these only 10 percent located employment on their own (Goza, 1994). The same research indicated that migrants with relatives in the USA were likely to be inserted into the work force earlier than those with no relatives present. This highlights the strength of social networks in helping obtain employment, in particular among Brazilian migrants in the USA where networks are well established.

Data collected in Canada and USA revealed some specific aspects of social networks, which is the interaction between Brazilians and Portuguese. A significant number of newly arrived Brazilians were employed either by Brazilians or Portuguese and many also indicated that most of their co-workers were Brazilians. Goza (1994) argued that cultural and linguistic ties among Portuguese and Brazilians justify these various types of support, especially in the areas of housing and employment.

The function of networks also involves channelling newcomers into a particular occupation or particular companies at the destination areas (Gelderblom and Adams, 2006). It is easy for former migrants to find jobs for new migrants in the companies where they are employed because they are the first to know about jobs opportunities (Grieco 1987). Migrants that are mostly self-employed like those in Johannesburg (Landau and Jacobsen, 2003) may introduce new ones into the same business that they own. Because of social networks, new migrants will be channelled in a particular type of job or business. As a result, networks may shield the migrant from exposure to other social environments and other possibilities for employment, and generate a relatively homogeneous class of migrants (Gelderblom and Adams, 2006).

In addition, the importance of networks in procuring employment can be explored in the light of the following example. Research in Great Britain showed that individuals looking for income generating activities may either use formal methods[6] or informal methods including social networks of friends or relatives (Armengol, 2001). Both

[6]According to Armengol (2001), formal methods of jobs searching include reading newspapers, going to employment agencies, or browsing in the web.

methods allow people to get information about jobs, but some research has suggested that social networks are the most trusted by refugees and asylum seekers because they provide relevant and up- to-date information (Koser, 2002). Existing research indicates that migrants who have more personal contacts are more likely to receive more information about different opportunities.

According to Granovetter (1983), there are two kinds of ties in the social networks: the non-kin ties, which he called "Weak Ties" and the "Strong Ties" which means the kinships ties. For Granovetter (1973), people that have non-kin ties are more likely to have access to more information than those in social networks of relatives and close friends. He argued that family members have strong ties among each other, however, due to the fact that their networks are not connected to other networks, they are likely to have less information about resources. From this perspective, the nature of social networks is likely to have impact on access to income.

In contrast to this, however, Grieco (1987), examining the role of kin networks in the social organisation of employment, claimed that an individual's opportunities are strongly affected by their membership to a particular kinship group. For Grieco (1987), kinship networks represent the most effective channels of information transfer. In addition, family and friends play an important role in employment allocation. For example, if an individual gets information about a job opportunity, they will quickly transmit the information to their family members or to their friends and those who are interested will go to the employers. This method of recruitment, limited to certain

categories of labour, may not necessarily follow the objective criteria of employment such as skills and experience. People already working for or having good relationships with employers are likely to be informed about vacancies first and will transmit the information to friends and relatives before it is made generally available (Grieco, 1987). This research also found that instead of advertising vacancies, employers prefer to use family and friends of the existing workforce to get people to undertake available positions.

Grieco (1987) gives three motivations why employers use family and friends of the existing workforce. The first motivation is that by using the informal methods, employers can save time and money. It is a way of avoiding the costs of advertising and processing applications. Moreover, employers often receive few applications and they can get the type of worker wanted for the job directly. The second motivation is that this channel provides an efficient screening mechanism that will produce new workers with characteristics similar to the existing workforce. According to this research, employers trust existing workers in choosing new ones and, in the absence of formal training, existing workers are more likely to train people that they know rather than strangers. The final motivation is that this channel acts as a form of control since the new employee is constrained by the interests and reputation of his sponsor. With mutual obligations existing between friends and family members, the new recruit will try to avoid damaging the reputation of his sponsor.

In addition to the employees' motivation to use social networks for employment, Grieco (1987) found that people looking for jobs are more likely to trust information when it comes from a family member or close friend. Social networks candidates possess a time advantage because they get the information before other jobs seekers and they can find out details of the job, including interview procedures, wages and any disadvantages.

Nevertheless, network members may not systematically provide support to any person on the ground of family, linguistic or cultural ties. As Gelderblom and Adams (2006) pointed out, migrant networks are relationships of reciprocal exchange, which means that the help among members is mutual. Services rendered among network members may not demand immediate reciprocity, although that does not mean that reciprocity is absent (Gelderblom and Adams, 2006). This means that the member doing a favour is expecting some sort of compensation, albeit in the longer term. Logically, those who are unable to reciprocate may become excluded from networks.

An additional factor related to social networks, is the fact that network members may use the relationships for the purpose of exploitation. Empirical data collected among Brazilians in Canada (Goza, 1994) showed many examples of some Brazilians taking advantage of their fellow newly arrived Brazilians. The common form of exploitation was the Brazilians selling jobs to one another, for example, if you make $400 a week, they sell you the job for $800. Another form of exploitation among Brazilians was to get contracts for services and hire other Brazilians to do the job at a very low income. This research report investigates whether these principles are applicable to Congolese

refugees in Johannesburg in light of competing explanations in existing research. Refugees' social networks may be limited because of multiple problems associated with their status. During displacement, people loose a lot of resources including their social networks (Kibreab, 2003). This means that migrants are likely to have few family members and friends as compared to local people. However, having relatives and friends is not sufficient for Congolese forced migrants in Johannesburg to have access to jobs because of other limiting factors like host government practices. Concerning forced migrants in Johannesburg, social networks are likely to be important for them because the documentation issued by the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) limits their access to jobs, accommodation and many services. So they may have to rely on social networks to increase their access to resources. This research on Congolese refugees investigates whether women and men differently use social networks to generate incomes.

Chapter Three: Methodology

I. Key tasks

Existing bodies of research on urban refugees in Africa (Kibreab, Landau and Jacobsen; 2003, Segale; 2004) have recognised the fact that urban refugees in South Africa and in Egypt, do not easily have access to jobs, businesses and many other services because of discriminatory hiring practices. At a general level, research on migrants and refugees had shown that social networks are mechanisms through which they find employment and different types of support (Curran and Saguy, 2001; Massey, 1994; Goza, 2004; Koser and Pinkerton 2002).

Additionally, experiences of men and women demonstrated that gender is a factor that influenced social networks and income activities of migrants and refugees (Crush and O'Conner, 1995; Dodson, 1998; Rose, 2002). This research will seek to answer the following questions:

1. What Congolese men and women do to generate income?
2. How do social networks facilitate income generation among Congolese refugees and asylum seekers?
3. How do Congolese men and women's social networks differ in their facilitation of income generation and why?

II. Variables and key concepts

This research focuses on the nature of reliance on social networks used to generate income with a view of understanding the impact of gender among Congolese migrants. In

other words, how do the gender challenges impact on social networks and income generating activities of Congolese migrants? The key concepts of this research are as follows:

-Social ties of Congolese migrants: I have looked at the family members and friends of men and women in Johannesburg, the number of household members and the religious, cultural or political organisations to which they belong. I then analysed the size and the nature of social networks of the two groups. I have selected those measures because in the context of displacement, migrants are more likely to make social investments with family members, or with people having the same religious beliefs, the same language and the same culture. This was demonstrated by Goza (1994) in research on Brazilians in Canada and in USA as stated in the literature review.

-Methods used to access income: I intended find out to what extent social networks had increased access to income. For example, how do Congolese migrants get information about the businesses or the jobs they are doing? This was to find out how Congolese refugees are using their social relationships, which are informal methods, to have access to income generating activities. I had also compared the nature of social networks used by Congolese men and women to access income.

-The gendered nature of challenges to income generation

I looked at the following key factors;

- Quality of job (is it in the formal or informal sector) and type of business including the salary.
- Jobs or income activities inaccessible to Congolese women migrants because of job stereotyping.
- The marital status of the respondents.
- The social responsibilities of men and women.
- The access to the household' resources: who has the power to decide about income distribution between Congolese men and women?
- The level of education and the skills of men and women.

III. Population of study

The population of interest in this study was the Congolese respecting the following criteria:

1. The respondents in this study were expected to be refugees or asylum seekers from DRC in Johannesburg.

2. Respondents had to have lived regularly in Johannesburg for at least one year which is assumed to be long enough for a person to establish social networks or connections in order to overcome obstacles to livelihoods

3. Respondents had to be a minimum of eighteen years. This was in order to comply with ethical considerations of social sciences research regarding acceptable limit for participation in social studies.

I opted to work with Congolese refugees and asylum seekers living in Rosettenville and Yeoville. The primary reasons why I selected Congolese migrants are:

- Firstly, according to UNHCR statistics from 1994 to 2003, Congolese forced migrants were the largest number of refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa. Due to their high number, I could get a sufficient sample to participate in this study and it was important to understand their experiences of income generation. They were also more likely to face the challenges that most of refugees are having in accessing income in Johannesburg (Landau and Jacobsen 2003; UNHCR, 2003; Segale, 2004)

-Secondly, they are francophone like me which facilitated communication and the understanding in the interview process.

-Thirdly, many Congolese were living in Rosettenville and Yeoville which are well known suburbs by the researcher: Therefore, I could access respondents many times without spending great amount of money on transport.

IV. Research design

To determine whether Congolese migrant women and men rely differently on social networks to generate income, the research was organised around 3 activities:

1. Literature review
2. Collection of data
3. Analysis of data

This research was done on the basis of a qualitative methodology. Therefore, it was conducted through a semi-structured questionnaire. This method allows flexibility, which is important because, as the study unfolded, respondents had drawn my attention to some critical issues like the financial and material support from churches omitted in the initial conceptualisation of the study. The qualitative method has also provided me with rich

data and as much detail as possible (Punch, 2000). In addition, qualitative data has yielded deeper understanding of social networks as the depth of participants feelings are revealed (Patton, 1990). For example the lack of trust among Congolese and the exclusion of South Africans from their social networks.

V. Sampling

Sampling is the selection of a subset from the population. In this case, I had sampled a small group of Congolese refugees and asylum seekers living in Rosettenville or in Yeoville in order to gain rich understanding of the topic. My intention was to interview[7] an equal number of women and men respondents. Due to the fieldwork constraints, 10 men and seven women were interviewed by using a combination of convenience and snowball sampling techniques. In studies of this nature, the convenience sampling enabled the researcher to access approximately five Congolese refugees independently, and then the use of snowballing, ensured that at least five different social networks were researched. The snowball sampling helped to 'break the ice' between the researcher and the participants, and build a trust (Peil, 1982). Those five Congolese refugees had acted as the node providing information to identification and location of subsequent participants, therefore the sample became more purposive.

VI. Data collection[8]

With regard to this research, I have structured my questionnaire around the following themes:

[7] All the 5 nodes were men; therefore they had introduced more men than women to me.
[8] The full questionnaire is in the appendix.

1. Data on the nature of income generation of Congolese refugees and asylum seekers in Johannesburg.
2. Data on gender challenges facing Congolese refugee women and men such as the marital status, the number of children, the social responsibilities, the type of job they have access to, sources of support, level of education and legal status.
3. Data on the social networks of the two groups and its relationship to income including the family members, members of the household, friends and any place where they can get assistance (such as religious, cultural or political organisations).

Qualitative data collection was through semi structured face-to-face in-depth interviews. The interviews were guided by an interview schedule (see appendices). All the interviews were conducted in French. Few interviews were taped due to the objections from the respondents to having their opinion recorded. The other reason was the difficult circumstances in which some interviews were conducted like a noisy environment. However, to prevent the loss of data, any interview was hand written on scripts and quickly evaluated while the memory of the interview was still fresh in the researcher's mind. Field notes were also made after the interviews.

VII. Analysis of the data

In this study, data was coded and analysed using two coding methods typical of content analysis: open coding and axial coding. Open coding is the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing and categorising data (Patton, 1980). The aim of

open coding is the development of categories. Axial coding involves re- building the data in new ways by establishing relationships between categories, and between categories and their sub-categories (Punch, 2000). Coding procedures and memo writing were used as data analysing strategies. Incidents obtained from interviews and documents were coded in a systematic way.

VIII. Ethical considerations

This study complies with the University of the Witwatersrand ethical standards in social sciences research, as well as those in Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP). Most significantly, all the participants in this research were adults advised on the academic purpose of the study and no compensation was given to them for their participation. The researcher has used pseudonyms instead of names of those interviewed for the reason of confidentiality of the information. They were also advised on their freedom to participate in the research and no pressure was put on them to get information. In addition, respondents were advised of their right not to answer questions that they were uncomfortable with as well as their right to stop the interview if they wanted to. The researcher asked their permission before recording any interview. Anonymity was kept and the findings were used only for the purpose indicated above.

IX. Limitations of the study

Due to constraints of time and the access, all categories of Congolese refugees were not included in the research. The research indicated that people interviewed had very low income levels, therefore, incorporating more wealthier Congolese refugees or former

Congolese refugees in the study could have given a different way of understanding the impact of gendered social networks on income generating activities because wealthier migrants may consider networks as a burden rather than a source of security (Gelderblom and Adams, 2006). It will, therefore, be inappropriate to apply the findings of this research either to the entire Congolese refugee community or to all urban refugees. Although the participants were informed of the academic purpose of the research, the researcher has reason to believe that one of the respondents, Augustine was giving answers that exaggerate the difficult living conditions of the refugees. For example when asked how much he spends for food per month, he said R80 and specified that for 4 days he had not eaten. This claim appears contradictory because he is a street trader that employs one person and his monthly rental is R800. Another respondent, Alain was deliberately misinforming the researcher by giving incoherent answers. This may be attributed to the presence of other Congolese during the interview process. However, these are deemed not to have negative influence on the research in general, principally on the findings, because my concern was to look at how social networks facilitate income activities among men and women and not for the accuracy of numbers. This research gives an in depth understanding of the relationship between gender, social networks and income generating activities within a specific group and can, therefore, make useful recommendations for follow-up research.

Chapter four: Data presentation and discussion

The study in brief found that pursuing a sustainable livelihood in South Africa for Congolese refugees and asylum seekers may be extremely difficult because of livelihood obstacles that often differ from what they have previously experienced in their country of origin. Information gathered from this research shows that Congolese men and women use social networks to facilitate their access to jobs, businesses, and to other forms of income in Johannesburg. While the majority of participants strongly believe in social networks because they are strangers[9] in South Africa, income-generating activities among them are based on gender stereotyping. Data presented below are in the form of categories and sub-categories according to their degree of importance and relationships between them. In each section, a multitude of testimonies is included in order to give rich details about Congolese refugees' livelihoods.

I. Income generating activities of Congolese refugee men and women

Income generating activities of Congolese refugees explored in this section are based on the information collected from 17 informants. They may not consequently represent everything that Congolese refugees do to make money in Johannesburg. Data reveals that 16 of the participants have used their social relationships to get access to income generating activities, in part because of restrictions on forced migrants' opportunities to pursue livelihoods. Income generating activities of informants are divided into two categories: small businesses dominated by trading activities, and paid employment.

[9] Clara, one of the respondents, said that personal relations are important because she is a foreigner in South Africa.

I.I. Small businesses

All the Congolese informants having small businesses either in a shop or in the street are self-employed. This category of self –employed Congolese informants were both involved in formal and informal businesses. Due to constraints of time and the access, most of the Congolese refugees that I met, were engaged in informal trade in the streets. They use a portion of the pavement, allocated to them by the Metropolitan Council or chosen by themselves to sell goods such as clothes, shoes, hand bags, cigarettes, etc. For security reasons, all goods and display tools are packed at the end of the day and kept in a storage facility. In the morning, the owner or alternatively the employee, will collect the trolley of goods and display them at the same place. Rental of the store varies from R15 to R30 per week according to the quantity of goods.

In terms of the outcome, based on certain indications such as the monthly living expenses, the amount of remittances, the future projects, and the nature of challenges expressed, I may draw the conclusion that most of the Congolese informants engaged in small businesses are likely to generate more income than those employed. Most of street traders had started their small business since they arrived in Johannesburg and they rely on this business to pay the rent, to buy food and to support their family. Joseph, for example, who is selling new and second hand shoes has mentioned:

> I spend per month; R1700 for the rent, R800 for food, R400 for transport, R250 for clothes and other small things…I am financially independent since I came to South Africa and now my relatives in DRC are expecting money from me…The only

problem we have in this business is the metro police that regularly disturb us. The project I have is to open a second hand car sale business here in Johannesburg.

To supplement this point, I found that some of them are employing other people who receive a minimum income of R180 per week. However, Congolese men and women are unequally engaged in trading activities in the street. Most of Congolese trading in the streets of downtown Johannesburg, even those who did not participate in the study, are men. This gender imbalance in the street business may be different from one area to another.

Despite the amazing range of innovative business initiatives displayed by Congolese refugees trading in the streets, the attitude of metro police remains a crucial obstacle to their livelihood. Each and every Congolese informant trading in the street expressed his or her bitter frustration caused by the metro police. When someone trades in the restricted areas or does not respect the limits of his stall, the metro police may intervene and seize all the goods. The owner will pay a fine of R780 before collecting his goods. Discussions with Congolese informants revealed that metro police while doing their job, were pursuing different purposes, such as targeting foreigners for bribes. As a solution to this issue, one of the respondents, Augustine told me that you must always carry some cash because you do not know at what time the metro police will come. Bertha, one the victims has testified:

> The metro police disturb us regularly. My stock was seized twice this year and I abandoned it there because I don't have R780 to go and pay every time. Sometimes when you pay, you will find that many things are missing.

The second challenge mentioned by Congolese refugees trading in the street was the language. Generally, most customers present themselves and start speaking one of the local South African languages that the traders do not understand. But as they told me, it was a minor problem to solve because they could ask, if necessary, for the help from a casual interpreter who usually does not require payment for the favour done. In this context, I assume that a customer may tolerate the fact that the service provider does not understand his/her language and therefore, may use any mean of communication to achieve his interest. In a different context, the language may be a cause of social exclusion or xenophobic attitudes against those who may not speak the local language.

Among small business owners, I also met two Congolese informants who possess Internet café businesses. Services rendered to customers include Internet surfing, printing, typing, photocopying, faxing, international calls and sales of computer accessories. Both, Alain and John told me that they have learnt about internet business here in South Africa while working in an internet café. Alain especially emphasized that the rental of his business's premises is R3000 per month and he presently employs one South African lady and one man from DRC. These two shop owners are so confident about their business and the only challenge that they mentioned is the fact that the police usually come in their shop and harass foreigners for legal documentation in South Africa.

One Congolese informant Babyth, who is the owner of an electrical engineering company that employs between 5 and 10 persons depending on the season observed:

> There is a certificate in this business that I do not have and that I have applied for. If I get it, I will never work for someone even for R35000 per month because I will be able to earn that money in just one week.

Among the 17 Congolese informants, 12 are engaged in self-employment businesses, only 4 are employed[10] and one is jobless. Although this is not a sufficient proof that Congolese refugees are facing barriers to employment, it is however, an indication that a significant number of Congolese refugees like other refugees in South Africa are self employed. This data reflects the literature review on livelihood of refugees in South Africa: A survey[11] undertaken by Landau and Jacobsen in 2003 revealed that only 7 percent of migrants were working, compared with 32 percent of South Africans. Over a quarter percent of the working migrants reported be self employed compared to 6 percent of South Africans.

I.II. Paid employment

The other form of activities exercised by the Congolese respondents was the paid employment. Among the 17 Congolese informants, only four were employed, all in the informal. Robert is a security guard in Fourways. Franco and Lily are employed in clothing shops in the inner city of Johannesburg. The fourth one Flora is a domestic worker. The challenge that is expressed by all of them is that their income is too low. Lily for example has stated:

[10] The 5 respondents are working for low wages income which hardly covers their monthly living expenses including food, transport and rent.
[11] 737 people responded to the survey on Johannesburg project in 2003, of whom 53 %(392 people) were South African and 47% (345) were migrants and refugees.

> I will like to get a better job because what I am doing now is just to pay the rent, the transport and food. I rely on my friends for other things.

In fact, their level of income was noticed through their monthly expenses. The sum of money that they spend for rent, transport and food per month was very much lower than the one spent by the Congolese trading in the street. Most of companies require a South African ID from the potential employees before hiring them, which means jobs available to migrants and refugees are likely to be low wages jobs such as security guards and sales agents in the store.

South Africans may view Congolese refugees working as competitors in the job market as opposed to those engaged in trade who had not mentioned any xenophobic problem. As a result, xenophobic attitudes towards refugees and migrants was common in work places. Franco has experienced this kind of attitude and said:

> I want to leave South Africa because my life is not good here. Where I am working, the salary is too small and they do not treat us nicely. At any time they will remind you that you are a foreigner.

Usually, jobs and small businesses that Congolese refugees do in Johannesburg are not reflective of their educational background and former professional experiences. Esther for example, who is a street trader, was a nurse in DRC. Gilbert who works as a security guard in Fourways is a mechanical engineer with experience in marketing. While I was trying to ask more details about his job, he told me the following story:

> Look one day, a white customer who asked me to watch his car, came back from the shops and told his 10 years son: take this two rands and give to that security there. You should look at him very well. If you don't want to go to school, you will end up watching cars like him. I thanked the little boy for the money and replied kindly to his father: I am a security guard not because I did not go to school. Rather because I am a refugee here. We do not have the South African ID book to work, the only job we can do is this type of job. The father of the boy said sorry and drove away. The next day, he came to me very friendly and asked me again to forgive him for what he did the past day. He told me that he did not sleep very well last night because he was thinking of that incident.

This statement of Gilbert reflects one of the important challenges of refugees and migrants in South Africa that is mentioned in the literature, namely the issue of proper documentation (Segale, 2004) that limits their access to employment and to social and financial institutions. As explained above, Congolese respondents in the process of generating income through small businesses and jobs are facing general challenges such as the police harassment, the issue of documentation and language. The next section will explore the specific challenges that women may face as a result of gender.

II. Gender challenges in income generating activities

Actually, the majority of Congolese women trading in the street mentioned gender as a challenge to their income generation. For example when asked if they were having challenges in the trade because of gender, Bertha, Esther and Laure were concerned about

their domestic tasks and the child care. Additionally, William, an asylum seeker who is 30 years old told me that:

> Trading in the street is little bit difficult for women because the job needs energy; whenever an item is sold; you have to run to the wholesale shop to buy another one to replace it.

William's perceptions of trading activities justify the fact that his wife stays at home and takes care of their child and the domestic labour since she arrived in Johannesburg. Getting a job in South Africa is very difficult not only for migrants but also for South Africans. Due to the fact that there are practices that limit the refugee's rights of employment (Riak, Kibreab, 2003; Landau and Jacobsen, 2003), some of the jobs available to them, are more accessible to men than women because of job stereotyping. Security jobs for example were cited by both Congolese men and women as men's jobs. When asked whether men and women have the equal access to income in Johannesburg, Gilbert replied:

> In business, there is no problem. But for work such as security guard, companies are more likely to employ men than women and security jobs are too hard for women.

Similarly, Bertha who trades in the street told me that, men have more chance in securing income in Johannesburg because they can do every thing including jobs like security guards. Among the 17 Congolese interviewed for this study, seven stated that men have more access to income than women especially in the domain of employment in Johannesburg. This data on job stereotyping largely confirms the study of Crush (1995)

and Dobson (1998) about the market opportunities of migrants stratified by gender in South Africa. For example, the study has indicated that most of the mine employees in South Africa were men. Apart from the job stereotyping, other reasons were given by Congolese respondents to explain women's difficult access to income such as that women are very slow and do not have courage to face difficult situations.

The other gender challenge faced by Congolese women was the burden of the domestic tasks such as cleaning, washing, cooking, and childcare. This additional domestic role played by women appears to be an obstacle to women's jobs and businesses. Congolese women married and/or having children were more affected by the domestic labour in their income generation. For example, Bertha who is living with her husband and their child told me:

> It is very difficult for me because I must take care of my child[12], clean the house and cook for the family every day. Because of this, I always arrive at my work place late and tired.

All the married Congolese women that I interviewed had similar daily household activities plus their normal jobs. When I interviewed Esther, for example, she had one year old baby. She later explained to me that she trades with the child because she was unable to pay for the crèche. These two examples show that the marital status and the household responsibilities may limit women's access to income generating opportunities. Three Congolese refugee men, who were married, also mentioned the domestic tasks and

[12] Bertha must take her child to the crèche every morning before going to work. In the afternoon, after knocking off, she must go and fetch the child again.

especially the child care roles of women as gender challenges. For instance, when asked how he manages his business and his social responsibilities, John told me:

> I do not have any problem with that because my children are not here. They are in Canada with my wife. What I do is just to send them some money at the end of the month.

Income generation among Congolese women is seriously affected by domestic labour and child care, which probably reduce their access to income. Congolese women are obliged to perform domestic tasks, in addition to their income activities.

In contrast however, among the Congolese informants, some men stated that they too were victims of gender discrimination in Johannesburg. Babyth told me that he could have more access to income if he was a woman:

> When I give my CV somewhere, they will tell me: this is very good, but if you were a woman, we could hire you immediately.

Surprisingly, Babyth has not been a victim of discrimination due to his nationality, but rather because of his masculine gender. According to him, women have more chance than men in getting jobs and businesses in South Africa. The reason that he gave is that the South African government is promoting gender equality, by giving more chance to women, this is to balance the existing gender inequality in many services.

Franco also cited gender discrimination against men. He argued:

For jobs in South Africa, women have more chance because they work harder. In our company, for example, women are better paid than men. But in business, men are more powerful than women.

However, the general idea on gender challenges mentioned by the majority of Congolese respondents is that men and women are more likely to face the same challenges in Johannesburg. John's point with regard to migrants' challenges was unique in the sense that he thought that access to income among men and women will depend on the personal capacities of any person. It appears that Congolese women had fewer expertise than men, in terms of the level of education, the skills and the professional experiences. As a result, women were generally more disadvantaged in the employment sector as previously mentioned in the literature. Research done by Moser (1993) showed that many women in third world countries were likely to have less access to productive activities and that their predominant sector of employment was the reproductive activities because of gender discrimination. Challenges faced by women that limit their access to jobs may create a state of dependency on social networks as a unique way of getting financial or material support to meet their daily needs such as food and accommodation. On the contrary, Congolese men may use social networks to get connected to a job, generally at the arrival in Johannesburg and once working, may be independent of the social networks. The purpose of the following section is therefore to shed some light on the social networks used by Congolese refugees to facilitate their access to income generating activities.

III. The community of origin

The community of origin plays a critical role in the integration of Congolese refugees in Johannesburg. It can be considered as the definition domain or the starting point of the Congolese social world. Congolese refugees may rely on the community's members to get accommodation, to locate employment and to be connected to other organisations that

may provide them with any kind of support. In terms of accommodation for example, most of the Congolese interviewed cohabited with compatriots from the time they had arrived in Johannesburg. Florence, a single woman who is 33 years old reflects that:

> I knew nobody when I arrived in Johannesburg; it is one Congolese woman that I met who helped me to get accommodation in the flat where she was living with other Congolese.

Apart from the role of welcoming Congolese migrants and refugees, community members are the source of minimum security to Congolese. Without generalising the findings to all Congolese, 14 of those interviewed revealed that they were sharing accommodation with compatriots. Two other reasons may also justify the fact that many Congolese informants are sharing accommodation: Access to accommodation is difficult because most of the agencies and the owners of property require a South African ID to rent house. Moreover, due to the low income of some Congolese refugees, they are forced to cohabit to afford the rent. The role of the community of origin is important not only to Congolese without contacts at the arrival but also to those already having relatives or friends in South Africa.

However, the support of the community members was urgent for Congolese refugees who have arrived without contacts because once they arrived in South Africa, they asked the first person that they met to help them to find Congolese people. An additional role played by the community's members is to channel newcomers to churches and to Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) where they can be helped for immediate needs such

as food and accommodation. William for example, when he arrived in 2001, without knowing any person in Johannesburg met a South African who directed him to a Congolese. William has stated that:

> This brother took me to a church where I stayed without paying rent and food for one year and half.

One of the most significant contributions of the community members is to provide Congolese with information on jobs and small businesses. Although, the Congolese community is not the only source of information about income generating activities, out of 17, 16 Congolese refugees interviewed, used informal methods such as social relationships to locate employment or to set up small businesses. When asked how they got information about their jobs or their businesses, the frequent answer was: "It was a Congolese brother who helped me to get the job".

Roger went through the same process but with a Congolese woman:

> Dora realised that I was staying at home every day. She advised me go to town and start a small business like her. I replied that I got no choice. After one week, she told me that she had found a small space where I can start to trade in the street. I am so grateful for what she did to me. She taught me how to trade, what to sell and where to get merchandise at stock price.

Findings of research on social networks revealed that refugees and migrants have used their social relationships to get accommodation and information about jobs and businesses. For example Goza (1994) indicated that in the USA, 73 percent of new migrants initially stayed with friends, cousins or siblings and that many Brazilian

immigrants had found their first job, either through the assistance of a friend or a relative. Similarly, Armengol (2001) and Grieco (1987) had pointed out the role of social networks in getting jobs. Data collected among Congolese refugees in Johannesburg indicates that their social networks were basically used for the same purpose indicated above.

Apart from Congolese refugees having relatives and friends at the arrival, Congolese social worlds are rebuilt in South Africa. This process of rebuilding ones social world is frequently interrupted because they regularly move from one place to another. As Jacobsen (2004) has shown in the research on urban refugees, this phenomenon continues, and applies to Congolese refugees in Johannesburg as the data indicates. One of the Congolese informants, who has been living in Johannesburg for three years, stated that moving out for him has become a common thing:

> Since I came to Johannesburg, I have moved more than 15 times. I have also shared the room or the flat with many friends and Congolese. My friend that helped me when I arrived here is now in DRC and some of them I cannot find them today; you know South Africa is very big.

The fact of moving has caused the loss of contacts with network members such as compatriots, friends, household members or neighbours.

It appears that, despite multiple supports received from the community members, including accommodation, food and information on jobs, businesses and other supportive networks like churches and NGOs, the lack of trust among Congolese remains a general

issue. Based on the allegation of the majority of Congoleses interviewed for this study, the level of mistrust among community members is very high. For example, when asked whether they can put themselves at physical risk to defend the rights of a person from DRC, most of the respondents were very suspicious. John, 42 years old and owner of an Internet café explains:

> I don't treat someone in a particular way because he is a Congolese; all will depend on what he has done to be in that situation.

The Congolese perception of the non- availability of mutual assistance also demonstrates this lack of trust among them. When asked if you have financial problem, who do you think can assist you. Babith answers:

> I don't know any person who can assist me, only God and myself.

Throughout Congolese testimonies, the community of origin is not considered as a source of financial support and none of the respondents has mentioned the existence of national supportive groups. In contrast, data collected indicates that friendships and family ties were sources of mutual trust between a minority of Congolese refugees. Congolese refugees have also used kinship networks to facilitate their access to jobs and businesses and these are therefore worth considering in more detail.

IV. Importance of kinship networks: close friends and family members

In terms of general support given to Congolese refugees, accommodation, food and information on jobs and businesses, assistance from kinships networks are similar to those of community members. Among the Congolese interviewed, only a few fell into this category of kinship networks. Apart from general support, the Congolese engaged in

dense social networks such as close friends and family members have received significant material assistance as well as financial support. Gilbert who is working as a security guard in Fourways is a typical example of Congolese who really believes in social networks:

> I am doing car watch in Fourways. I got that through a connection of a friend…My boss employs only foreigners in his company. We are 8 Congolese working in Fourways… I trust the people with whom I am working… If I have a financial problem, I prefer to ask money from friends than from relatives. I know if they have, they will give me because I also support them when they have problems.

What seems unique about kinships networks among Congolese was the high degree of trust, the reciprocity of services rendered and the frequency of visits among members. Congolese respondents having close friends and relatives in South Africa reported that they trust each other and may count on them for financial assistance. In return, they were willing to provide those close friends and relatives with financial support. Babyth, who was welcomed in Johannesburg by a bigger sister, was so grateful for the support given to him. Apart from the support for accommodation and food, Babyth was introduced to the work force by the same lady. I found that only 7 Congolese were involved in kinships networks with close friends and relatives. The large supportive networks of Congolese informants include the religious groups, which is the topic of the next section.

V. Religious organisations

Religious institutions or their members have frequently provided material and financial assistance to Congolese refugees in Johannesburg. 16 of Congolese participants declared going to church at least once a week. Churches were the most trusted source of support capable of providing unlimited supports to Congolese refugees. John who is a Jehovah's Witness trusts his church than his friends and compatriots:

> I was welcomed in South Africa by the members of my church. They helped me for accommodation and food for one month. I can defend the right of a family member but I cannot defend people just because they are from my tribe or from Congo. I will defend someone from my religion more than anyone else. People that can assist me financially are either my friends here or in D.R.C or the members of my religion.

Informants that have close friends or relatives in South Africa that they trust for potential supports such as John have stated that in the case of financial problems, their churches or the pastors were likely to help. John was member of the same church "Jehovah's Witness" since he was in the DRC. But some of the Congolese informants have become members of a new church after their arrival in South Africa. It is more likely that Congolese refugees choose to become members of a certain religious organisation according to information received from friends, relatives and community members. Data shows that churches where they are members are often different from their former church in DRC. In some instances, I found that Congolese refugees had voluntarily become member of new religious institutions when the former one in DRC was also established in

South Africa. Joseph, who still considers himself as a Pentecostal, presently goes to "Sanctuary Heritage" church.

Most of the participants that rely on kin social networks for potential support, still trust churches, pastors and church's members for assistance more than anything else. Laure who is engaged and relies on her fiancé for accommodation and financial assistance has noticed:

> I go to church at least twice a week… There are families in church that usually assist people having financial problems.

The principle of reciprocity in services was confirmed among members of religious organisations. Congolese informants mentioned that they have received material or financial support from their churches and are willing to provide assistance to a member who is in need. When asked if he has ever provided money or other material assistance to any organisation and why, Joseph answered:

> I gave money to church because a brother was sick and we usually contribute when a member is having a problem.

In some instances, friends, members of the same church could easily meet on Sundays or any day when attending the church. Churches are also the place where some Congolese refugees build and maintain their social worlds including the Congolese community, other foreigners and South Africans. Religious affiliation was not however the unique condition of trust. For example when asked how will she feel if a South African from the same church marries her daughter, Clara said: "I wish this could not happen because I do

not trust those people" In reality, no question was asked to find out if they maintained any networks with South Africans. But the fact that none of the respondent mentioned having a South African friend may indicate a sign of mistrust.

Based on the literature, the role of the church in the social networks of Congolese refugees was not expected to be more important than the role of friends and relatives. Many studies analysing social networks (Armengol, 2001; Goza, 1994; Grieco, 1987) focussed on cultural or national groups, familial links and friendships as the most important support providers. However, according to the data collected among Congolese refugees, non-kin networks including churches and the Congolese community were the dominant sources of various types of support. This finding is relevant to the theory of Granovetter (1973) which says that people engaged in non-kin ties such as the religious groups and the national community may receive more support and more information about resources.

In addition, interviews with Congolese refugees had revealed that some of them were in contact with NGOs and UNHCR.

VI. Interactions with refugee's NGOs and UNHCR

NGOs working with refugees and UNHCR were unknown to most of the respondents. All together, 11 Congolese participants reported that they have never visited the office of UNHCR and were not aware of NGOs providing services to refugees. Few Congolese who visited some NGOs such as Lawyers for Human Rights, Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS), and UNHCR had not used the connections from these organisations to get a job or

to generate income. Assistance given to them was limited to food provision and legal protection and services[13]. John stated:

> Yes, I was in Lawyers for Human Rights in Pretoria when I couldn't get a permit from the Department of Home Affairs. They issued me a letter to circulate as a refugee in RSA. I also went to JRS for family reunification and they sent me to UNHCR. You know, my wife and my children are living in Canada and I would like to join them there.

Lily and Babyth visited NGOs such as JRS and Papillon Project for the provision of Food. This suggests that NGOs and UNHCR are not a meaningful part of Congolese networks.

VII. Impact of gender on social networks

No significant difference appears in the way Congolese men and women are using their social networks. The social networks of the two groups are basically the same: the community of origin, friends and relatives, churches, UNHCR and NGOs working with refugees. In addition, all networks structures were used for the same purposes including starting a business or getting a job, food, accommodation, material or financial support. However, friendships and interactions within the community of origin were likely to be based on gender. Most of the respondents mentioned that their close friends were Congolese of same gender. John and Gilbert active in kin networks with friends have not cited any women as their best friend. In general, Congolese men were more likely to rely on male contacts and Congolese women on female contacts. Consequently, this may lead

[13] Legal services rendered to Congolese informants included family reunification and document to circulate when the Home Affairs could not adequately give them section 22, which a permit for asylum seekers in South Africa.

Congolese refugees to gender-dominated occupations, for example, Congolese women may be channelled by other Congolese women in female - dominated businesses. Data on Congolese networks reflects what Gelderblom and Adams (2006) have argued: Network members were often channelled into a particular type of business or job, which may shield the migrant from exposure to other opportunities. Based on earlier arguments, the extensive reliance on social networks may limit the kind of jobs, men and women hear about.

VIII. Gender relations within the household

This section will focus on power relations between men and women. Congolese respondents, who were single, were independent in terms of how to use their income within the household because they told me that they are free to decide what to do with their money. In contrast, married Congolese respondents were affected by the partner in the allocation of resources. Bertha who lives with her husband in Yeoville stated:

> Men must have more responsibilities than women. It is not good if the husband is not working because work is essentially for men. Women work just to add something to men's income. I decide what to do with money in my family, and sometimes, together with my husband… I buy food (R800 per month) and the small things like washing powder and cosmetic products for the family. I also pay my transport. My husband pays the rent (R1900) and his transport (R300), school fees R150 per month…

As indicated in the literature, a different value was attached to men's and women's earnings (Murray, 1970; Ferguson, 1980).

Joseph who trades in the street was less interested by the distribution of resources in his household. It appears that with regard to the income distribution, he trusted his wife because she was doing better than what he could have done. He told me that his wife is the one deciding on what to do with money within their household. These two examples show that some Congolese women have more decision-making power than men over the resources. However, power relations between men and women and the allocation of resources were not the same in all households. William, who sells hand bags in downtown Johannesburg, was confident about his point:

> I decide myself on what to do with money within our household. In DRC where I come from, men must take care of all expenses in the household and if the wife is working, the husband must manage the salary.

Two other respondents Clara and Laure told me that money was spent in their household on the basis of mutual agreement between the wife and the husband. But Clara revealed that she was not working since she came to South Africa because her husband has asked her to stay at home and take care of their children. Coming to South Africa has made her more dependant financially because she told me that she had a business in the DRC. She was preoccupied by the fact that she has promised many times to send money home and she could not effectively do so because she relies on the husband for income. In addition Congolese men's and women's spending patterns were different in the household. Generally men were responsible for rent and school fees payment whereas women 'duties were to buy food and other minor things in the house.

Chapter five: Conclusion

This research has found that while Congolese refugee men and women are both engaged in business activities, certain jobs such as working as security guards are perceived by Congolese as inappropriate for women because of the efforts they demand and assumptions about women's inferior strength. Access to income generating activities in Johannesburg for refugees in general, and for Congolese in particular, is difficult. This may be attributed to the high unemployment rate in South Africa and the discriminative practices that limit refugees' access to resources including jobs. As a result, Congolese testimonies show the importance of their social worlds in securing income. Social networks were the channels through which Congolese refugees got jobs or started businesses. Data collected among Congolese refugees revealed that most of the respondents have used their social networks to locate employment or to set up small businesses. These social networks consist of the Congolese community, the relatives and friends and the religious organisations. Although how Congolese refugees get food, accommodation and other forms of support was not the focus of this study, social networks were also used for that purpose because of the urgency of these needs.

Among the supportive networks, the Congolese community and the religious groups were the largest sources of support among Congolese refugees. Assistance generally provided by network members to Congolese refugees included accommodation, food, information on jobs and small businesses, and financial support. Although attitudes of mistrust were noticed among the Congolese community, churches may be the more trusted sources of support where members could be given mutual material or financial assistance in case of

difficulties. Kinship such as friendship and family ties had provided different assistance to Congolese refugees, but few of them were engaged in networks of "Strong Ties"[14].

Congolese men and women did not differ significantly in the way they used social networks, however, friends and compatriots with whom Congolese interact were more likely to be based on gender and gendered social networks may lead Congolese refugees into a particular income generating activities (Gelderblom and Adams, 2006). I also found that childcare and household activities, mostly done by Congolese women could have an impact on the jobs and business opportunities of Congolese women by reducing their chance.

Many of the findings of this research are compatible with the data generated from the research done on Congolese, Burudese, and Rwandese urban refugees in Dar es Salam, Tanzania (Willems, 2003), which also shows that urban refugees rely on social networks to get access to employment, food and accommodation. Congolese refugees used their personal relationships to find employment and other support similarly to Brazilian immigrants in the USA (Goza, 1994). In terms of the composition of social networks, the neighbourhood, generally associated with mistrust among Congolese refugees, is not important for the livelihoods of urban refugees in South Africa. As a result, Congolese women were less likely to build personal relationships with the neighbours. This is

[14] Granovetter (1983) in "The Strength of Weak Ties" argued that the family members and close friends have strong ties among each others but, because their networks are not connected to other networks, they are likely to have less information about resources.

contradictory to the findings of the study of Willem (2003) in Tanzania where the local community accounts for the major support providers to urban refugees.

Research has long recognized the importance of social contacts in the job search, especially the value of the weak ties (e.g., work contacts, casual acquaintances) who provide access to more diverse sources of information, from a greater variety of people, than a more dense personal network of family and friends (Granovetter, 1973).This theory of Granovetter on social networks applied to Congolese networks because the community of origin and the religious groups were the largest sources of support. Gender is definitely an important factor that influences social networks and access to jobs and businesses among Congolese refugees in Johannesburg. Evidently, researching on refugee's social networks is very complex and quantitative methods may also help to probe some of the unanswered questions raised by this research. Future research may compare the motive behind network formation between two different nationalities.

Appendices

Informed consent form

To be read to all before beginning interview:

Good evening /day/etc. My name is Mr Felix Monche; I am working on a project with the University of the Witwatersrand (WITS) in Johannesburg that seeks to understand the lives and livelihoods of Congolese migrants in Johannesburg. I do not work for the government or for any form of development agency. If you agree I will like to ask you a series of questions about your life and opinions. This is neither a test nor an examination and my questions do not have 'right' or 'wrong' answers. I only want to know your life and your ideas. Please tell us what you honestly think. And please also remember, you should feel free not to answer questions or to stop the interview at any time. Your responses will be kept confidential and will help us to develop a better understanding of the needs and ideas of people living in your area. I will not give this information to the government or the police. Since I do not work for the government or an aid organisation I cannot promise you anything for participation except my appreciation.

All together this interview should take about 45 or 60 minutes to complete.

Would you like to continue? Yes□ No □ Please (√) Signature of Investigator____

Interview schedule

1. In which country were you born? _____

2. Date of interview

Day_____ Month_____ Year_____

3. Venue of interview

_____

Start time Finish time

_____ _____

4. Total minutes spent on interview

_____

5. Respondent sex

Male _____ Female_____

I. Profile of the respondent

How long in total have you live in South Africa? _____

How old are you? *If respondent can remember age, ask*: What year were you born?

*Record year and calculate age*_____

Are you currently either a refugee or asylum seeker? When did you apply and when was refugee status granted? Record year and month.

How would you describe your current marital status?

_____

What is your religion and how often do you go to church?

_____

What is the highest level of formal education you have completed?

_____

Apart from that which you just described, have you had any sort of additional training or education? _____

Which languages can you speak and understand? _____

Which one of these would you consider to be your mother tongue?

How many children do you have? _____

How many of these are related to you by blood? _____

How many of your children have been born in South Africa? _____

Including yourself, how many people presently live in your household here in S.A? When I say household, I mean people with whom you live and regularly share resources._____

Are there people who regularly stay wit you in Johannesburg for periods of more than two months who are not staying you now? If so, how many? _____

II -Gender

1. Maybe we could begin by you telling me about the work that you do. What else do you do to earn money? (If the respondent is not working, ask how does pay rent and get food).

_____

2. What are the challenges that you face in securing income?

- Are they related to your status of refugees in SA?
- Is it because of the level of the education or the fact that you do not have skills?
- Is it the language?

_____

_____

3. Do you think men and women are facing the same challenges in accessing income JHB? (Prompt jobs, business and financial assistance from NGOs?)

_____

_____

4. Are you having any barrier to income because of your gender?

_____

_____

5. How do manage your job or business and your social responsibility? Do you think you could have greater access to income without those responsibilities? (Prompt children, extended family or partners)

_____

_____

_____

6. I will like to know how you use your income. What are your primary responsibilities within your household and why? (Ask who is paying the rent, the school fees, food, cloths and transport for the household members)

_____

_____

_____

7. If one month you make R100 more, how will you use it?

_____

8. Has the fact of coming to S.A affected your relationships in your family? Explain how. (Ask whether his income has increased or decreased).

9. Do you think that your responsibilities within the household may change with time and why? For example if your income increases.

10. Do you think your relationships within the household will change if you return to D.R.C? I want to know why.

11. In fact, tell me who decides what to do with money within your household?

12. Do you think that men and women should have equal responsibilities within the household and why? What do you think about the relationships if for example the husband doesn't have a job?

III. Social networks

1. Let us come back to period you have arrived in S.A or in JHB. Did you have any person waiting for you? Once you were in S.A, who did you first make contact with?

Were you happy for the way they welcome you in S.A and why?

_____

_____

_____

2. Tell me how you got accommodation and food at your arrival in JHB. (Remember to ask details about how he overcame these two challenges)

_____

_____

_____

3. In what part of JHB do you stay now? How are you related to the people you are living with you now? How are you related to your neighbours? (Ask how many of them he /she knows)

_____

_____

4. How many times have you moved since you arrived in RSA?

_____

_____

5. Would you be happy if you were asked to move from your present residence? Tell me why.

_____

_____

_____

6. I would like you to tell me if you would put yourself at physical risk to defend the rights of your family member, the rights of your tribe, the community of origin or your religion.

_____

_____

_____

7. How important do you think is it to marry a person from your own tribe or community?

_____

_____

8. Do you have relatives or friends in RSA? How often and how do you meet each other? Where are they living and how do you judge your relationship?

_____

_____

_____

9. Have you ever been taken to or visited the United Nations high commissioner for refugees (UNHCR) offices? What assistance did they give you?

_____

_____

10. Have you ever been taken or visited the ministry of home affairs or other RSA government department responsible for immigration? For which reasons did you go there?

_____

_____

_____

11. Have you ever been taken or visited the offices of an NGO working with refugees people from other countries? What assistance did you receive?

_____

_____

12. Do you belong to any political, cultural or religious organisation? (Ask him/her to describe) Why are you member of that organisation? How often do you meet? What kind of assistance do you give each other?

_____

_____

_____

13. What kind of relationships do you have with people that you are working together? Have you got any close friend or relative among them? Do you actually trust them and why?

_____

_____

_____

14. If you have financial problem, who do you think can assist you? (Friends, relatives or organisations) Which of them do you trust and why? (Ask about the nature of ties between them).

_____

_____

15. If you are speaking with people from country of origin, what ethnic group do you usually say you belong to? Do you trust the people from your tribe?

_____

_____

IV-Income generation

1. Is it the only job /business you have being doing since you arrived in JHB? If no, tell me the previous ones.

_____

_____

_____

2. I want to know if you are actually happy with your income and your working conditions.

_____

_____

_____

3. If you don't mind me asking, approximately how much money does your household (People who you support or with whom you regularly share resources) earn per month from all resources of income combined?

_____

_____

_____

4.Since coming to SA, have you ever paid someone to do work for you? This could be at home or in your business.

_____

_____

_____

5. I am interested in knowing how you got information about your job or your business. Do you think that the personal relations are important in getting a job or a business and why? (If yes to question 2, ask how did he/she get information on the job?)

_____

_____

_____

6. Let talk about your projects. What type of job or business would you like to have in the future and why?

_____

_____

7. Have you ever provided money or other assistance materials to any organisations and why?

_____

_____

8. Thank you. Is there any person in JHB who financially relies on you? (Remember to ask the number of the household and which type of assistance he may provide….)

_____

_____

_____

READ: Thank you for your time and your cooperation. If you have any question about this interview or its results, you should feel free to ask me now.

Version Francaise

Bonjour! Je m'appelle Felix Monche. Je travaille sur un projet de l'universite de Witswatersrand a Johannesbourg qui cherche a comprendre la vie et le gagne pain des immigrants Congolais a Johannesbourg. Je ne travaille ni pour le gouvernemrent, ni pour une agence de developpement. Si vous etes d'accord, j'aimerais vous poser une series de questions sur votre vie et votre opignon. Ceci n'est ni un text ni un examen et mes questions n'ont pas de reponse "Vraie "ou "Fausse". Je veux tout simplement savoir votre vie et vos idees. S'il vous plait, dites moi honnetement ce que vous pensez. Et rappelez vous, vous etes libre de repondre aux questions ou d'arreter cet interview a n' importe quel moment. Vos reponses seront gardes secretemente nous aideront a developer une meilleure comprehension des besoins et des idees des gens vivant dans votre milieu. Je ne donnerai pas cette information ni au gouvernement ni a la police. Etant donne que je ne travaille ni pour le gouvernement ni pour une agence humanitaire, je ne vous promets rien pour votre participation en dehors de mon appreciation.

Cet interview prend generalement 45 a 60 minutes.

Aimeriez –vous continuer? Oui….Non …Signature de l'investigateur

Programme de l'interview

1. Ou etes vous ne?

2. Date de l'interview:

Jour_____Mois_____Annee_____

3. Lieu de l'interview_____

4. Total du temps mis pour l'interview_____

5. Sex : Male_____Female_____

I. Profile

Depuis combine de temps habitez –vous en Afrique du Sud? _____

Quel age avez –vous?_____

Etes vous un refugie ou un demandeur d'asile? _____ Quand aviez –vous appliqué et quand cela vous avait ete accorde?_____(mentioner l'annee et le mois)

Etes –vous marie (e)? _____

Quelle est votre religion et combien de fois allez –vous a l'eglise par semaine?_____

Quel est votre plus haut niveau d'etude?

En dehors de ce que vous venez de decrire ci dessus, est ce que vous avez eu d'autres formations? Si oui, lesquelles? _____

Quelles langues parlez –vous? _____

Laquelle considerez-vous comme votre langue maternelle? _____

Avez vous d'enfants, et si oui, combien sont-ils?_____

Combien etes vous dans votre ménage ici en Afrique du Sud?_____

J'entends par member du ménage les gens avec qui vous vivez et partagez regulierement les resources.

Avez –vous vecu plus de deux mois avec des gens qui sont actuellement ailleurs? Si oui combine?

II- Gendre

1. Peut-etre, pourrais-je commencer par savoir ce que vous faites comme boulot. Avez vous une autre source de revenu parralele? (Si l'interlocuteur ne travaille pas, demander comment est-ce qu'il fait pour payer le loyer et la nourriture).

_____

2. Quels sont les problemes auquels vous faites face dans l'exercice de votre boulot?

- Sont-ils lies a votre statut de refugie en Afrique du Sud?
- Sont-ils dus a votre niveau d'etude ou au manque de qualification?
- Ou alors a cause de la langue?

_____

_____

3. Selon vous, est-ce que l'homme et la femme rencontrent les meme obtacles dans la recherche du revenu ?(Mentionner le travail, les affaires et l'assistrance financiere venant des O.N.G)

_____

_____

4. Avez des problemes dans la recherche du revenu a cause de votre gendre?

_____

_____

5. Comment conciliez-vous le boulot ou les affaires avec vos responsabilites sociales? Pensez vous que vous auriez plus de chance d'evoluer si vous n'aviez pas ces responsabilites? (mentioner les enfants, la famille eloignee ou les copines)

_____

_____

6. J'aimerais savoir comment est-ce vous repartissez votre revenue. Quelles sont vos principales charges dans le ménage et pourquoi? (Demander qui paie le loyer, les frais de scholarite, la nourriture, les habits et le transport pour les personnes du ménage).

_____

_____

7. Si vous avez un surplus de 100 Rands au cours du mois, que faites vous de cela?

_____

8. Est ce que le fait d'etre venu en Afrique du Sud a affecte vos relations familiales? Expliquer en quoi? (Demander si depuis lors son revenu a baisse ou augmente)

_____

_____

9. Pensez vous que vos responsabilites dans le ménage pourraient changer avec le temps et pourquoi? Par exemple en cas d'augmentation du revenu.

_____

_____

10. Pensez vous que vos responsabilites au sein du ménage pourrais changer si vous retournez au R.D.C. J'aimerais savoir pourquoi.

_____

_____

11. En effet, dites moi qui decide de la maniere dont l'argent est gere dans votre ménage?

_____

12. Pensez-vous que l'homme et la femme devraient avoir les charges egales au sein du ménage et pourquoi? Que pensez-vous de la nature de la relation entre l'homme et la femme si le mari ne travaille pas?

III. Reseau social

1. Revenons a votre arrivee en Afrique du Sud ou a JHB, y'avait-il quelqu'un pour vous accueillir? Avec qui aviez vous fait le premier contact? Est ce que votre accueil avait ete chaleureux et pourquoi?

_____

_____

2. Qui s'etait occupe de votre logement et nutrition a votre arrivee? (Ne pas oublier de demander comment il avait resolu ces deux problemes)

_____

3. Dans quel quartier de JHB vivez-vous actuellement? Quel genre de lien y a t-il entre les gens avec qui tu vis et toi? Avez vous des rapports avec les voisins? (Demander combine d'eux il ou elle connait de noms)

_____

_____

4. Combien de fois avez vous dememage depuis votre arrive en Afrique du Sud?

_____

5. Seriez-vous content si l'on vous demande de quiter de votre lieu actuel de residence? Dites pourquoi.

_____

_____

6. Pouriez vous vous exposer phisiquement pour defendre les droits des personnes suivantes:1-un membre de famille. 2-quelqu'un de votre tribu. 3-quelqu'un de votre nation. 4. un frere ou une soeur en Christ.

_____

_____

7. Pensez vous qu'il est important d'epouser une personne de sa tribu ou de sa nation?

_____

8. Avez vous un membre de famille ou des amis en Afrique du Sud ? Quand et comment est ce que vous vous rencontrez? Ou vivent –ils et comment trouver vous vos rapports?

_____

_____

9. Avez vous deja ete au bureau du Haut Commissariat des Nations Unies pour les Refugies (U.N.H.C.R.)? Quel assistance aviez vous recu?

_____

10. Avez-vous deja ete au ministere des affairs interieures ou dans tout autre department du gouvernement Sud africain en charge de l'immigration? Pourquoi etiez vous la?

_____

_____

11. Avez vous deja visite une Organisation Non Gouvernementale (O.N.G.) en charge des refugies ou des etrnagers? Quel assistance aviez vous recu?

_____

_____

12. Etes vous membre d'une organization politique, culturelle ou religieuse? (Demander lui de decrire). Pourquoi etes –vous member de cette organization? Comment est-ce vous vous rencontrer et quel genre d'assistance donner vous aux members?

_____

_____

13. Quel genre de relation y a t-il entre vous et les gens avec qui vous travailler? Avez des amis proche ou des members de la famille parmi? Est ce que vous leur faites confiance? Pourquoi?

_____

_____

14. Qui peux vous assister financierement si vous avez un probleme?(Les amis, les members de famille ou une organization)? A qui des trois faites –vous confiance et pourquoi? (Demander la nature des liens entre eux).

_____

_____

15. Si vous vous addresser aux gens de votre pays, a quel groupe ethnique vous identifiez- vous? Faites vous confiance aux gens de votre ethnie?

_____

_____

IV-Source de revenue

1. J'aimerais avoir les details sur votre job ou sur vos affaires, etes vous dans le secteur formel ou informel? Est-ce la seule chose que vous faites depuis votre arrivee a Johannesbourg? Sinon parlez moi de vos activites passees.

_____

_____

2. Etes vous satisfait de votre revenue et de vos conditions de travail?

_____

_____

3. Si cela ne vous derange pas, approximativement conbien est-ce que votre ménage (Les gens que vous supporter et avec qui vous partager les resources) gagne par mois, y compris toutes les sources de revenu.

_____

_____

4. Depuis votre arrivee en Afrique du Sud, avez –vous deja payer quelqu'un pour travailler pour vous, soit-il a la maison ou dans vos affaires?

_____

_____

5. J'aimerais savoir comment avez vouus eu l'information sur votre job ou sur vos affaires. Pensez –vous que les relations personnelles sont necessaries pour avoir un emploi ou pour faire les affaires? Pourquoi? (Si oui a la question 2, demander comment il/elle a eu l'information sur ce boulot)

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_____

6. Parlons de vos projets. Quel genre de boulot ou d'affaires compter vous avoir dans l'avenir et pourquoi.

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_____

7. Avez vous jamais donner une assistance financiere ou materielle a une organization et pourquoi?

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8. Merci.Y a-t-il quelqu'un a Johannesburg qui depend financierement de vous? (Se rappeller de demander le nombre de members du ménage et quel genre d'assistance il pourrait donner)

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A lire: Merci pour votre temps et votre cooperation. Si vous avez une question concernant cet interview ou son resultat, sentez –vous libre de me demander maintenant.

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