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EFFECTS OF PERCEPTIONS AND NEGOTIATION OF DECISION MAKING ON GENDER RELATIONS, MASCULINITY AND CONTESTED PATRIACHY AMONG IMMIGRANT-SOUTH AFRICAN HOUSEHOLDS IN JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA.

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A thesis submitted for the partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, in Forced Migration, Graduate School for the Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Witwatersrand

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DEDICATION

To my mother, Rosemary Charity Aaca, for your unceasing love and immeasurable support. I owe who I am today and whatever good I will ever be to your endless love, guidance and friendship. You are the star that I follow.

Acknowledgement

Utmost thanks go to the Almighty God for enabling this academic process. I never would have been able to reach this far without you. I thank you for granting me the scholarships that enabled the attainment of this research work. Indeed, you make all things possible in your own appointed time.

In a special way, I thank 'Toto ka', my mother. Your tireless efforts at making sure I am well physical, emotionally, spiritually and financially enabled me to swim through my academic endeavors when the tide was high and I thought, I would be swallowed by passing waves. Words cannot express my eternal gratitude.

I thank the DAAD for the scholarship that enabled me to pursue this master's course. Through this scholarship, the Almighty God used you to bless me. The one year of academic pursuit opened my mental insight to so many realities about life. In addition, indeed, I will use all these realities in service to human kind through all the opportunities, life avails me.

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I thank my dear classmates with whom we ran this academic race to a fruitful completion. Levis my brother, Darius, Adrian *our mon oncles*, Roseline our aunt, Grata our cutie, and Polite the class baby. You have all become both friends and family to me. The race was not

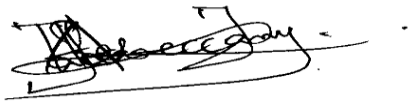
easy but your constant encouragement played a big role in seeing me through this race. You will always remain at heart. May all your endeavours be fruitful.

Last but not least, I thank my friend Njenga Micheal Kiri for your constant support especially when the road to the success of this academic project became rough. You stood by me when the tide was high. I always knew I could lean on your understanding and friendship. The completion and submission of this research report would not have been reached without your support. May God reward you richly.

DECLARATION

I Lisa Rebecca Aaca hereby declare that this thesis, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is my own original work, and that it has not been submitted for any degree award at any other academic institution.

Signed on the 30 July, 2013.



Lisa Rebecca Aaca,
687225.

ABSTRACT.

The study aimed at understanding how immigrant men and South African women in heterosexual relationships perceive and negotiate gender relations arising from household decision-making; and the effects these have on notions of masculinity among couples living in Johannesburg, South Africa. In order to investigate the research question, I used qualitative descriptive approaches with a poststructuralist perspective. The study drew on Foucault's conceptualization of power and identified eight (8) immigrant men originating from other African countries and eight (8) South African women using purposive and snowball sampling. All individuals recruited were of at least eighteen years of age and had lived with their partners for at least two years. I perceived a minimum of two years of living together as adequate for differences in culture and socialization of people in immigrant-South African relationships to manifest in the performance of gender; and to equip participants with different constructions of decision-making, gender relations and masculinity. I selected men from other African countries because of the exclusionary discourses surrounding them in South Africa. Data was collected using face-to-face in-depth semi structured interviews with open-ended questions. Data analysis was undertaken using both thematic and discourse analysis. In doing the thematic analysis, work by Braun and Clarke (2006) was drawn on while work by Parker (1994, 1997 and 2005) was focused on for the discourse analysis.

The study found that immigration and difference in nationality shape the different perceptions that determine decisions on formation of immigrant-South African relationships; affect income inequalities and decisions on expenditures; as well as decisions related to children in immigrant-South African households; and that these affect gender relations and notions of masculinity. The study further found that there are contradiction between gender equality and traditionally acceptable gender roles; as well as patriarchal and anti-patriarchal socializations by immigrant men and South African women. It also found that immigrant men and South African women use similar strategies in reviving and silencing of transgressed masculinity.

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CHAPTER ONE.

1.1 Introduction to the study.

A lot of scholarly work on gender and migration has continuously focused on patriarchal gender inequalities that subordinate women to men (Burman & Chantler 2005; Ojong & Muthuki 2010) and discourses surrounding formation of immigrant-national heterosexual relationships (Sanger 2009; Nkealah 2011). Far too little attention however, has been paid to the role immigration plays in shaping decision-making power and corresponding effects on masculine identity. The aim of this study therefore is to understand how immigrant men and South African women in heterosexual relationships perceive and negotiate gender relations arising from household decision making; and the effects these have on notions of masculinity among couples living in Johannesburg, South Africa. It contributes to discursive literature and to knowledge about gender relations, masculinity, decision-making, power and patriarchy.

This study was animated by the four years of experience that I acquired while working in Uganda with refugees from other African countries and with original empirical fieldwork in Johannesburg. This experience equipped me with knowledge that immigrant-national households experience unique decision-making dynamics that shape gender relations and notions of masculinity among partners. I combined this knowledge with a literature survey about gender relations in relationships involving immigrants and South Africans living in South Africa. The literature reviewed indicated that there exists so much knowledge about decision making and gender relations of immigrant women relating with South African men (Kiwanuka 2008, 2010), and financially stable immigrant men relating with South African women (Adeagbo 2011). While all these studies tended to focus on women's subordination by men, little documentation existed about financially unstable[1] immigrant men heterosexually relating with South African women. Given the available literature on exclusionary discourses that surround immigrants (Misago et al 2009; Haupt 2010; Landau 2010), the gender equality discourse (RSA 1998) and the challenges that immigrants find in the job market (Sibanda 2008), I decided to combine these factors in investigating aspects of

[1] In this study, 'financially unstable' is used to refer to a state of not having a monthly salary and not being sure about inflow of incomes.

power relations and decision making in immigrant-South African[2]households. This is how this research came about.

Considering that this study hoped to generate knowledge about masculinity, gender relations and household decisions from South African and immigrant people for whom the ideology of patriarchy[3] has influenced power relations, it found relevance in Foucault's approach to power. Foucault is critiqued for ignoring structural inequalities underlying gender and other social relations (Annecke 1999); merging concepts of truth, power and freedom (Kumar 2005); and generating a generalist and non-analytic force by "elevating the notion of power to the basic transcendental-historicist concept of philosophy" (McNay,1994 in Woermann 2012: 115). Despite this critique, the migration context in which this study occurs allows for the use of Foucaldian approaches of power because Foucault recognizes that power is omnipresent in all social relationships and is productive (Foucault 1980, 1982).

This research report consists of seven chapters. This first chapter presents the introducttion, rationale and objectives of this study. The second chapter that discusses the literature surveyed follows this. In discussing the literature, I identified the gaps that this research sought to fill. The third chapter presents the methodology used in this research. In this chapter, I present the research design, scope of the study, the procedure leading to the actual sampling and interviews of participants as well as the data analysis procedure that gave way to the three data analysis chapters. The fourth chapter presents and discusses how immigration and differences in nationality affect decision making by immigrant men and South African women in relationships with each other; and how these affect gender relations and notions of masculinity in immigrant-South African households. The fifth chapter builds on the arguments in the fourth chapter by discussing how perceived difference in culture and socialization between immigrant men and South African women affects decision making in terms of allocation of gender roles in the household. The last analysis chapter focuses on the

[2] In this study, immigrant-South African refers to immigrant men and South African women living together in heterosexual relationships. Throughout the study, I make reference to immigrant-South African relationships and households.

[3] Contestations of patriarchy refer to struggles against the ideology of patriarchy. Patriarchy tends to subordinate women to men. According to Foucaldian approaches to power however, both women and men influence each other in the exertion and resistance to power. Men thus are not always dominating over women.

silencing and revival of masculinities in immigrant-South African households; while the last and seventh chapter presents the conclusion to this study.

1.2 Rationale of the study.

In migration and gender literature especially in South Africa, much is known about exclusionary discourses surrounding immigrants (Misago et al 2009; Haupt 2010; Landau 2010), immigrants' adaptation strategies (Kiwanuka 2008, 2010; Adeagbo 2011; Tafira 2010; Nkealah 2011; Sanger 2009), decision making and changing gender roles in immigrant men-immigrant women households (Ojong &Muthuki 2010). Very little however is known about how immigrant men and South African women in heterosexual relationships perceive and negotiate gender relations arising from household decision-making; and the effects these have on notions of masculinity among couples living in Johannesburg, South Africa. This study is pertinent because it adds onto available knowledge about decision-making, gender relations and notions of masculinity in mixed nationality heterosexual relationships. It however produces this knowledge by focusing on immigrant men and South African women in heterosexual relationships.

Additionally, whereas gender cannot be defined independent of either men or women, there has been a methodological gap of a lot of feminist research recruiting only female participants (Gavey et al 2001; Sokoloft 2004; Kiwanuka 2008). Such research pays less attention to men and leaves out men's opinions on gender relations. This study sought to contribute to the filling of this gender methodological gap by combining both men's and women's opinions in producing knowledge on gender relations.

This study also fills a gap in literature available on the ideology of patriarchy. Although most gender and power research takes into consideration the ideology of patriarchy, it has so far not focused on how immigration distorts the notions of patriarchy and masculinity and how immigrant men negotiate changing notions of masculinity (Kiwanuka 2008; Ojong & Muthuki 2010). Available literature mainly reveals men exercising masculine power derived from patriarchy through perfomances of key decision-making and domestic violence towards women in their households (Ojong & Muthuki 2010; Urdinola & Wodon 2010). From experience working with migrants combined with literature and my original empirical fieldwork, I realized that contestation of the ideology of patriarchy sometimes occurs in the context of migration. Little documentation however exists on how such contestations of

patriarchy affect notions of masculinity among mixed nationality heterosexual relationships. This study therefore contributes to filling this knowledge gap.

Related to the above, is the gap in literature on gender relations that this study fills. Most of the surveyed literature tends to portray women in terms of their victimhood to violence by men (Drinkwater 2005; Adelman et al 2003; Sokoloft 2004; Kiwanuka 2008; Gavey et al 2001). These scholars focus less on women's levels of agency given the interest to highlight how women experience sexual violence, verbal violence and psychological abuse from acts of domination by men in their households. This study shows that both men and women have the ability to wield and exert different kinds of power in relation to each other.

The study also fills a knowledge gap in discourses pertaining to immigrants and South Africans. While available literature revealed the different discourses on the formation of immigrant-South African relationships, little knowledge exists about whether these discourses in any way affect gender relations and decision-making in immigrant-South African households. This study avails such knowledge.

Linked to gender relations, this study considers South Africa's contemporary context while as well acknowledging the historical effects that segregation and apartheid have on contemporary women's understanding of empowerment (Wolpe1972; Bozzoli 1983; Davies & Eagle 2007; Edigheji 2007) and how this contests patriarchy and affects notions of masculinity in immigrant-South African households.

Finally yet importantly, the study fills a theoretical gap. While Foucault's approach of power is widely referred to in the studies of power, this study utilizes it as the main approach in understanding gender and power relations between immigrant men and South African women in South Africa.

This study therefore seeks to answer the following research question:

1.3 Research Question.

How do immigrant men and South African women in heterosexual relationships with each other perceive and negotiate gender relations arising from household decision-making; and what effects do these have on notions of masculinity?

1.4.0 Research Objectives.

To understand how immigrant men and South African women in heterosexual relationships perceive and negotiate gender relations arising from household decision making; and what effects these have on notions of masculinity.

To achieve the main objective above, I considered three specific objectives:

- To understand ways in which immigration and difference in nationality influence how immigrant men and South African women in heterosexual relationships with each other perceive gender relations arising from household decision-making.

- To understand ways in which immigration and difference in nationality influence how immigrant men and South African women in heterosexual relationships with each other negotiate household decision-making.

- To understand how perceptions and negotiations of gender relations arising from household decision making affect notions of masculinity among immigrant men and South African women in heterosexual relationships with each other.

CHAPTER TWO.

LITERATURE REVIEW.

2.1 Introduction to the review.

According to Whitehead (2002), it is unlikely to take on studies about masculinities without taking into consideration that relationships between men and women have never been equal. For many years, the physical difference between men and women has been used in determining gender inequalities that tend to favor men over women. Over the years however, there has been emphasis on liberating women from male domination. Most of these liberating campaigns have happened both at international and national level in many countries; including South Africa. Women have systematically known and even sometimes exaggerated their rights. Increasingly, women have resisted male domination or any acts that they perceive to be domination. On the other hand, men strive to continue maintaining the status quo. Considering the power struggles going on, this chapter presents the literature review utilized for this study. All the sections in this chapter draw on Foucault's work on power to discuss the conceptualization of gender, evolution of patriarchy in South Africa; precariousness and vulnerabilities to domestic violence as well as discourses surrounding immigrant-national heterosexual relationships.

2.2 Conceptualizing gender: femininity, masculinity, patriarchy and power.

According to the Institute for Latino Studies University of Notre Dame (2009:1), "Gender is a socio-cultural construct of female and male identity that shapes how individuals live and interpret the world around them. Gender is not natural; it is learned in society through direct and indirect means."

Definition of gender is with reference to both masculinity and femininity that are not static constructs. While the constructions of masculinity and femininity tend to reflect each other, this study largely focuses on the construction of masculinities despite drawing on different constructions of femininity. Femininity and masculinity are subjective to individuals' upbringing, are passed on across generations and as such are open to constant reinterpretation (Davies & Eagle 2007). In his conceptualization of power, Foucault (1998) recognizes the effects that both historical and social conditions have on both men and women as regards exertion and resistance of power.

2.2.1. Conceptualizing Femininity.

Basing on Foucault in Lemke (2000), he asserts that domination is not about power but about outcomes of coercion or consensus as instruments rather than foundations of power. In line with this, culture designs feminine roles to keep women in the domestic sphere. Women have actively participated in the acceptance of these less prestigious roles that keep them in the domestic sphere where they "are expected to be sentimental, passive, dependent and fearful" (Gasteiz 2010:23). Furthering Foucault's (1991) views on self-surveillance, some women continue to take on subject positions as "good women" who identify with doing household chores, caring for husbands and in-laws, child rearing among other duties (Wang 2010:235) so much that any deviation from these roles is culturally unacceptable (Foucault 1991). Further, the enforcement of women's subject positions derives from the common belief that after contraction of marriages, women's duty is to men and their people because women start to belong to men. It is for this reason that Goldman (1969c cited in Marso 2003:4) opines that in marriage, women are condemned to

> 'life-long dependency, to parasitism, to complete uselessness, individual as well as social.' It [marriage] compounds the degrading effects of capitalism, annihilating woman's 'social consciousness, paralyz[ing] her imagination, and then impos[ing] its gracious protection, which is in reality a snare, a travesty on human character' (1969c: 235). The home, 'though not so large a prison as the factory, has more solid doors and bars' (1969c: 233)." Marriage thus, is assumed to compound the uselessness of women.

2.2.2. Conceptualizing Masculinity.

Socializations consist of what Foucault (1998) considers as part of social conditions that affect power. From an early age, men are socialized into what it means to be a man, the attributes of being a man and its accompanying roles and expectations. Hegemony closely relates to many notions of masculinity.

According to Morrell et al (2012:24), "hegemonic masculinity refers to that which constitutes a ''real man'' or forms of 'successful masculinity.'' These standards or norms of masculinity or masculine behaviour are often culturally informed or culturally bound. Connell (1995) cited in Davies and Eagle (2007:55) defines it thus, "hegemonic masculinity is not a fixed character type, but rather the masculinity that occupies the dominant position in a given pattern of gender relations." In order to elevate masculine notions that boost men's

superiority over women, hegemonic masculinity has a coercion effect that suppresses any threats to manliness (Davies & Eagle 2007). Men therefore are conscious of what society expects them to be, that is "tough, strong, competitive, independent and courageous" (Gasteiz 2010; Totten 2003). They therefore do anything in their power to comply with the ideals of manhood by drawing on common gendered stereotypes that favor men's superiority (Matshaka 2009). This cultural expectation explains heterosexual men's assumed superiority over women (Totten 2003). Men who act otherwise are "automatically distanced from the hegemonic model" (Gasteiz 2010:28). Men therefore wield power with a consciousness of cultural expectations.

Conway (2005) however opines that hegemonic masculinity may not always get displayed regardless of the fact that society encourages its admiration, embodiment, achievement, assertion and negotiation. In situations where men do not comply with society's expectations, they adopt strategies to see to it that masculinity constantly proves and reproves itself whenever disproved (Conway 2005). This is in line with what Foucault (1977, 1991) refers to as self-surveillance. For men this requires "an active process of grappling with a situation, and constructing ways of living in it" (Connell 1995:114 in Totten 2003:72). In order to achieve this, men adopt strategies like "direct participation, conscious complicity, ignorance, and opposition" (Liddle 1989 in Totten 2003:72).

In addition, masculinity is not constant. It undergoes reconstruction based on inter-personal relationships. It is probably for this reason that nowadays men willingly partake in traditionally female roles such as domestic chores. To enable the reconstruction of hegemonic masculinity, discourses on gender equality, changing gender relations and modernity have been very useful (Hearn et al 2012). It is no wonder that studies done on masculinity of contemporary western culture "identify discourses that construct men both as sensitive and caring 'new men' and as tough, emotionally inarticulate and competitive 'retributive men' (Edley & Wetherell 1997; Rutherford 1988 in Boehm 2008:36). The willingness of men to take up traditionally female roles is however not so common. It has so far been noted to happen in Western countries such as Sweden. This is what Hearn et al (2012:39) refers to as a "reformulation of hegemonic masculinity." While it is documented how the west has embraced changes in hegemonic masculinity, it is not known what the African situation is. This study produces knowledge on how immigrant men in South Africa perceive of change in notions of masculinity.

Besides discourses on gender equality, changing gender relations and modernity, there are also other factors that impact the meaning of being a man and what aspects masculinity is judged on. Some of these include immigration and transnational movements (Boehm 2008). For instance, in order to maintain authority over their women, Mexican immigrant men to the United States of America (U.S.A) send remittances back to Mexico regardless of the mean nature of work engaged in while in the U.S.A (Boehm 2008).

It is as well worthwhile noting that heterosexuality is now a market involving the exchange of scarce resources and in which participants (Baumeister & Kathleen 2004) seek maximum gain. As such, interactions between men and women continue throughout the period when participants gain more than they lose (Baumeister & Kathleen 2004). In the heterosexuality market, men and women take on the image of scarce resources and evoke competition based on their value and availability. Based on the competition, it is likely that in the heterosexuality market the altering of gender roles is also high.

2.2.3. Understanding patriarchy.

The previous sub-sections have exclusively discussed femininity and masculinity. This sub-section combines both concepts in discussing patriarchy. This is because the constructions of femininities and masculinities tend to be re-enforced by patriarchy. Boonzaaier and Sharp (1988:154) cited in Coetzee (2001:1) define patriarchy as "a system of domination of men over women, which transcends different economic systems, eras, regions and class. While I agree with Boonzaaier and Sharp about patriarchy as the domination of women, I disagree that it transcends different economic systems, eras, regions and class. This is because power just like gender is fluid, contextual, situational and negotiated (Shields 2008; Risman 2009; Totten 2003). Besides, gender power manifests in all relationships between men and women and is productive (Foucault 1982).

By portraying power to dominate over women as inherent in men, Boonzaaier's and Sharp's view follows the dominantly held construction of patriarchy that subordinates women to men. Daily chauvinistic talk about patriarchy sets the power imbalance between men and women by upholding discourses about men's cultural superiority, providence and protection abilities, physical and mental capabilities over women. These discourses become the regime of truth that most men and women in patriarchal communities draw on in deciding on which

strategies to use in the exertion and resistance to power that they meet in their various inter-personal interactions (Foucault 1982).

Patriarchy largely draws on the hegemonic position that allows for the subordination and oppression of women. To sustain this hegemony, strategies such as "legitimation, dissimulation, and eternalization" tend to gain emphasis in everyday life (Coetzee (2001:4). Coetzee explains that legitimacy derives from traditions that culturally give men authority over women and from religion that holds men as instituted heads of families by God.

Thompson (1992:65 in Coetzee 2001:5) defines eternalization as portraying transitory, historical states of affairs "as if they were natural, permanent, untouched by time." This for instance entails reference to the bible. The creation account in which man's creation comes before that of woman and that woman's creation was out of man is an example of eternalization. The bible also states that man named everything including woman. Such eternalization portrays the inequalities between men and women to have existed since time immemorial.

Dissimulation is the obscuring of women's subordinate status through claims that men and women are equal but just different. This leaves me wondering about the power implications of equality and difference between men and women. In my view, despite difference in sex, equality means having the same rights be they cultural or otherwise. Claiming therefore that women are equal but just different is just indeed a disguised emphasis of the inequality between men and women. Eternalization, legitimation and dissimulation are so pronounced in the discourses that favor patriarchy that both men and women regardless of their socio-economic and education status tend to accept men as culturally superior to women.

Furthermore, patriarchy normatively places women in the position of real or imagined men's watchful eye (Foucault 1978, 1991) that coerces women to do as pleases men (Ojong & Muthuki 2010). By elevating men, patriarchy gives men an edge over women and grants men the liberty to treat women in ways aimed at ensuring women's subordinate positions inclusive of battering (Adelman et al 2003; Sokoloft 2004; Kiwanuka 2008; Gavey et al 2001; Sokoloft 2004). In patriarchal communities, patriarchy as well condones discriminatory decision making in favor of men even on matters that most affect women. Such matters include ways of disciplining children born into a family (Owen 2012) and expenditures of household incomes (Drinkwater 2005).

Particularly relating to household decision making, dominant literature shows that some women especially women with higher education and income contributions compared to husbands get involved in joint decision-making processes. Most joint decisions however tend to be reflective of husbands' preferences (Carlson et al 2009; Urdinola & Wodon 2010). In my view, that such decision making is joint is just a disguise of joint decision making. Decisions cannot be joint if they are biased towards one party or if they are not based on a genuine compromise between a couple. Ironically, despite the knowledge that joint decisions making is just disguised in their households, these women participate in unequal decisions either through consent or coercion (Foucault 1982; see also Foucault in Lemke 2000).

Closely looking at the definition of patriarchy however, Coetzee (2001) refers to it as an ideology. I view an ideology as a fact at a given time that is dependent on situations that give it life. An ideology cannot be a universal truth to which every society should or ascribe(s). There are different constructions of patriarchy that contest the ideology of patriarchy. For instance, gender and power embed themselves in fluid and contextual social identities (Shields 2008; Totten 2003). In agreement, Risman (2009:83) states "gender structure is not static … individuals are the products of their social worlds yet are not determined by them." The constructions of gender and power therefore vary according to time, situation and actors involved in any given gender and power relations. It is possible for someone with socializations of men's superiority to adapt a contrary view based on life's experiences. It is therefore not definite that men are always superior to women.

Although discourses on patriarchy construct men as more powerful than women, in conceptualizing power, Foucault (1977, 1982) disregards power as solely rooted in patriarchy. Instead, he recognizes that regardless of gender, origin and socio-economic status both men and women have the ability to constitute, exert and resist power based on prevailing knowledge that is acquired through inter-personal interactions (see also Foucault in Gaventa 2003). One of such interactions occurs when immigrant men heterosexually relate with local women of their host countries. Regardless of socio-economic statuses, heterosexual immigrant-nationals' interactions are conscious of the differences that exist between individuals. Foucault (1982) recognizes legal, social, economic and cultural differences that accrue between people. The differences he argues create knowledge that strengthens different objectives and rationalizations for individuals' pursuits in any relationship. Further, the objectives and rationalizations tend to wield into different strategies

through which partners exert and resist power. Without disputing that both men and women strive to resist all forms of domination; exploitation; and subjection (Foucault 1982), I view difference in knowledge about each other as creating a consciousness that increases or reduces partner's agency to exert and resist power.

Foucault's conceptualization of power further signals that there could be so much that is unknown about contestations of patriarchy in immigrant-South African relationships. In discussing Foucault's concept of governmentality, Lemke (2000:14) explains, "in the perspective of governmentality we always have to reflect on the historical and social conditions that rendered a certain historical knowledge of society "real", taking into account the possible theoretical and non-theoretical consequences of these "truths."

Accordingly, because the past tends to shape the present, I found it pertinent to reflect on the history of South Africa as a state in relation to women empowerment and emancipation with the view of understanding if these aspects in any way affect decision-making, gender-relations, and resulting notions of masculinity in immigrant-South African households. This also follows Burman's (2005:528) view that, "an adequate analysis of gendered selves in culture involves not only grounding cultural practices within social-political relations but also embedding these within broader historical and economic frameworks that extend to, and beyond, the state."

While the constructions of patriarchy, femininity, and masculinity are socially constructed and fluid, little knowledge exists about the constructions of these concepts in light of how they affect decision making and gender relations among immigrant-South African households. It is an understanding of these that this study contributes.

2.3 Evolution of patriarchy: The South African situation.

Having looked at the different constructions of patriarchy, femininity, and masculinity, this section looks at how the different constructions of patriarchy in South Africa emerged. The review dates back to pre-independence South Africa to the post-independence period.

According to Wolpe (1972), in 1910 when South Africa was unionized, the South African state became keen on capitalism as a mode of production. Accordingly, while the black men worked in the gold mines in the capitalist sector of pre-independent South Africa, the black women remained home in the subsistence sector to produce, nurture and care for the young

and aged population dedicated to the hectic capitalist sector (Wolpe1972). Wolpe in his writing emphasizes women's supplementary positions. He however does not consider people's different response mechanisms to changes outside the domestic sphere that have the potential to cause changes to the domestic sphere (Bozzoli 1983).

While Wolpe does not take into consideration the oppositions of women to domination by men, Bozzoli (1983) makes known the linkage between capitalism and contestations of patriarchy. Particularly, Bozzoli shows that after the introduction of capitalism, women's struggles against subordination by men followed. For long, with the exception of the families of abandoned, divorced or unmarried women, male heads of families controlled many rural women and side lined them in rights to property ownership (Bozzoli 1983). A slight variation only happened among black South African households that migrated to the urban area and the women took up more male related roles despite maintaining patriarchy. In these urban households, women were able to own property, had some leadership roles in their household although men were still the recognized heads of families (Bozzoli 1983).

Bozzoli (1983) further reveals that forces in the wider political system greatly contributed to the oppression of women both in the domestic and external spheres. I view this as a holistic oppression of women for if they faced oppression externally, their households should have been their only solace from oppression. Being oppressed both externally and internally leaves one with no place to turn to for a fair redress of oppressive treatment. Rather, while the women struggled against domination in the domestic sphere, the men struggled to maintain their places as well.

As Bozzoli (1983:168-169) asserts, "the urban family whether black, white, working or middle class, is a sub-system within the wider capitalist system." This has been the family situation in pre-independent South Africa and continues to be the situation in post-independent South Africa. As such therefore, I agree with Bozzoli (1983:169) who opines that the "evolution, nature and genesis [of modern South African households] must surely be understood as the result of a process of conflict and its character at any one moment a momentary crystallization of power relationships between conflicting groups."

South Africa's constructions of patriarchy are better considered in relation to the dynamics of its formation as a state and the different historical truths that shape men's and women's domestic power struggles which translate into who controls the household; be it either men or

women (Bozzoli 1983; Foucault 1977). There is thus no guarantee that men always control households.

While women in pre-independent South Africa had limited legal redress against domination, post-independence ushered in a new era in the fight against male domination of women. Notably, South Africa's new constitution has suppressed patriarchal dividends by emphasizing equal rights of both men and women especially through its bill of rights (Davies & Eagle 2007). Additionally, South Africa has adopted Affirmative Action (AA) aimed at promotion of women's rights. Particularly, the White Paper on AA in Public Service refers to AA as "corrective steps which must be taken in order that those who have been historically disadvantaged by unfair discrimination are able to derive full benefit from equitable employment environment" (RSA, 1998:9a). In article 2, the Employment Equity Act (RSA 1998b) shows people designated for AA to include "black people, women, and people with disabilities."

According to Edigheji (2007: 2), AA was aimed at achieving "social justice and equity and to make the state efficient, effective and inclusive." AA has granted South African women the opportunities that were long sought in pre-independence struggles against male domination. Women are no longer confined to the lowly jobs that ensure subordinate positions. Now they can compete for opportunities with men; not equally but equitably. Both men and women have to battle out equal employment opportunities in any sector based on their abilities and capabilities. The person who exhibits the best of both is expected to take the job. This in my view is how equitable employment works. I view this as equipping women with new insights into power that were not available to them in the pre-independence days.

Drawing so much on Foucault's conceptualizations of power, Butler (2009a:3) notes that "power relies on a mechanism of reproduction that can and does go awry, undo the strategies of animating power, and produce new and even subversive effects." The power derived from women's freedom to equitable employment is therefore pertinent to women's exertion and resistance to power. Similarly, the likelihood that it can impart new attitudes on patriarchy to South African women that are contrary to traditionally and commonly held beliefs is not to be underestimated. These new attitudes may influence gender relations in immigrant-South African's households. Besides, with so many men and women from different cultures battling out their success in the urban areas of capitalistic South Africa, it is obvious that they carry along from their different places of origin, different beliefs of sanctified domestic

relationships and patriarchies that they are determined to preserve despite the pressures of capitalism (Bozzoli 1983). It was pertinent that the contemporary constructions of patriarchy manifesting in immigrant-South African relationships be understood. This study contributes to this knowledge.

Because gender identities are fluid, contextual, situational and negotiated, immigrants tend to adopt new identities dependent on the situations and inter-personal interactions prevalent in their host communities. Consequently, with the different interactions and situations, immigrants negotiate gender roles and expectations (Morrell 2007; Quek & Knudson-Martin 2008). It is for the fluid nature of gender that Butler (2009a) refers to gender identity as unfixed but just perfomative, negotiable and a reproduction of norms. In addition, despite the desire to keep traditional beliefs, the process of immigration may have some effects on immigrant men that lead to either adjusted or very new identity constructions. Khalid (2011:19) asserts, "exposure to alternative lifestyles tends to make people less traditional and more open to change." It therefore is not surprising that immigration may make some formerly independent men dependent on South African women for basic needs and protection from the state. For this study, I supposed that the possible dependence of immigrant men on South African women gives women an edge over and above the men dependent on them; especially if these men derive their well-being and continued stay in South Africa from women. Considering that patriarchy privileges men as heads of families and key decision makers, the dynamics of household decision making and gender relations in the context of immigration deserved to be delved into.

2.4 Finances, changing allocation of household chores and domestic violence.

In the previous section, I presented and discussed women's struggles against male domination. I showed how provisions in post-independent South Africa's law have allowed women to enjoy social justice in relation to treatment with men. This section discusses the effect that financial inequalities are likely to have on allocation of household chores; as well as men's ways of dealing with perceived transgression of masculinity.

Despite noting the dilemmas of joint decision making in households, Carlson et al (2009), Urdinola and Wodon (2010) note that decision making based on income levels tends to disadvantage partners who contribute either little or nothing at all to household incomes. In reference to this, it is very likely that South African women's awareness of their immigrant

men's financial instability or dependence on them may create remarkable gender and power relations between couples. In support, Foucault (1982) recognizes economic differences in the appropriation of riches and goods as one of the aspects through which the exertion and resistance of power is dependent. In relation to this study, this implies that in immigrant-South African relationships, there may be power struggles in which men and women draw on financial differences between them to shape decision-making and gender relations in households. The different objectives pursued by individual partners in given relationships (Foucault 1982) as well could explain these power struggles.

Besides, as Butler (2009a:2) recognizes, there is a link between precarious living and gender norms. People who do not live in line with their gender expectations "are at heightened risk for harassment and violence." Given that most immigrant men in this study do not have stable incomes, it is likely that they deviate from the traditional role and expectation of men as providers. This I supposed was likely to affect decision-making, gender relations and notions of masculinity. Butler further, explains that precariousness determines the vulnerability of the gender-deviant people to public criminalization, stigmatization, limited legal recognition of intimate relationships and limited protection "by the law or, more specifically, the police, on the street, or on the job, or in the home… [She thus argues that] these norms are not only instances of power; and they do not only reflect broader relations of power; they are one way that power operates. After all, power cannot stay in power without reproducing itself in some way" (Butler 2009a:2-3). Available literature as later discussed in section 2.4 of this chapter shows the precariousness and vulnerability of immigrants in South Africa to the law and its enforcement officers. It is therefore likely that South African women and immigrant men in relationships with each other employ certain strategies in the exertion and resistance of power. These strategies were however unknown. Besides, in order to understand exertion and resistance to power using Foucault's approach better, strategies used for exertion and resistance are key. This study sought to reveal these strategies.

Gender roles have been noted to unconsciously undergo restructuring in the face of changing economic conditions (Sachs 2005 in Quek & Knudson-Martin 2008). Men however "take for granted a system that is structured to give them dominance and advantages [and hardly] notice the needs, interests, and contributions of subordinate women" (Quek & Knudson-Martin 2008:512). It has also however been noted that non-working men who lose power to their women by the fact of not being household bread earners tend to compensate for their

power through taking up particular household tasks (Hochschild 1989 cited in Starrels 1994). While Hochschild makes mention of household chores as a compensatory power mechanism, there is still a gap on understanding the kind of compensatory household chores that men engage in and in particular, immigrant men in immigrant-South African relationships. This study reveals if immigrant men are involved in any household chores and what perceptions surround the decisions they take on household chores. This study goes further to show how the decisions taken affect the gender relations and notions of masculinity in immigrant-South African households.

Besides, with women's increased assertiveness and negotiation abilities, marital equality and sharing of domestic burden increases in households of more educated, higher income and higher status women relative to their husbands (Quek & Knudson-Martin 2008). This however is more common in western countries and it leads to improved marital equality and couple satisfaction (Quek & Knudson-Martin 2008). In most non-western countries; however, there are still many women who perform all the traditional female roles without help from their husbands even when they contribute to domestic income (Urdinola & Wodon 2010). Urdinola and Wodon (2010) studied immigrant households in South Africa in which both spouses contribute to household income. In their findings, immigrant men maintained their patriarchal positions and left most of the female allocated roles to the women despite the fact that both partners returned home tired. This study however varies in that it looks at households where the male partner is an immigrant and may not have stable income. One of the aspects this study unravels is the gender relations arising out of decisions taken by immigrant men and South African women about household chores. The findings in this study are made in relation to the ideology of patriarchy and the ways in which both immigrant men and South African women draw on different discourses to allow for the exertion and resistance to the different power that occurs in their households (Foucault 1982).

Further, instances that change gender allocations in households tend to affect notions of masculinity. Men adopt different strategies to deal with perceived transgressions of masculinity. According to Morell (2007), men resort to violence in situations that threaten manliness. He asserts, "the reason for violence is not an attempt by men to perpetuate the domination of a wife or intimate partner, it is an attempt to secure a position of status which is central to the man's experience of being a man" (Morrell 2007:18). That men do not use violence to dominate over women but to secure masculinity is interesting. Morell's view is

supported by the arguments that men use violence against women as a resource for masculinity construction (Messerschmidt 1993 in Totten 2003) and as a means to reprove masculinity if ever it is disproved (Conway 2005). Following this view, violence is one of the strategies that men take up in resistance to any act that they perceive to threaten masculinity.

Kiwanuka's (2008) findings differ from the views of Morell (2007), Messerschmidt (1993 in Totten 2003) and Conway (2005). She shows how South African men use violence to perpetrate domination on immigrant women living with them. Specifically, she shows that South African men's awareness that immigrant women depend on them for both welfare and citizenship gives them liberty to subject the women to domestic violence. Knowledge that the women victims will not leave the violent relationships backs the perpetration of violence as these relationships are the only sure hope for permanent residence and possibly citizenship (Kiwanuka 2008). Kiwanuka's finding therefore point to the differences that statuses of citizenship and the lack of it pose to the power dynamics of parties involved. For me, the difference between Kiwanuka' (2008) findings and those of Morell (2007), Messerschmidt (1993 in Totten 2003) and Conway (2005) evoke a debate about whether violence by men is a strategy for female domination or of protecting masculinity. Little documentation however exists about whether immigrant men in heterosexual relationships with South African women as well use violence as a strategy to resist any transgression of masculinity or as a strategy to exert masculine power in their households. I supposed that the position of immigrant men living with and depending on South African women for their welfare is likely to be similar to that of immigrant women living with and depending on South African men. In a migration context in which patriarchy contestations are likely to exist, I found the above views worth further understanding hence, the need for this study. The findings in this study in chapter six contribute to this debate as well. These findings go further to show different notions of masculinity that arise out of violence.

Although masculinity is not "determined wholly by social structures, historical practices, and cultural scripts, nor by predetermined genetic and psychological makeup, gender relations that lead to oppression happen in existing socially recognised structures (Coleman 1990 in Totten 2003). In other scholarly work related to Kiwanuka's findings, women are portrayed to have limited agency to resist gender and power relations by their own objective not to shame their community through revelation of experiences of violence, especially where xenophobic tendencies target immigrants (Adelman et al 2003; Light 2007; Sokoloft 2004;

Gavey et al 2001). While such rationalizations may protect women's communities, they re-enforce notions of manliness and the gender power gap among couples. Sokoloft (2004) however, observes that when there is looming danger to women's lives and that of their children, they tend to quit the relationship. It is thus clear that condoning of unequal gender and power relations is only to the extent to which their benefit stretches. These perceived benefits are a product of rationalizations about the merits and demerits of a given relationship. While documentation shows that immigration status makes dependent immigrant women in relationships with South African men vulnerable, there was very little known about their male counterparts in similar situations. Among what was known is the fact that "gender patterns of domestic behavior are also changing, albeit very slowly and with men changing less quickly and to a lesser extent than women" (Scott 2006: 16). This study therefore hoped to make known views about men's agency to exert and resist power in domestic gender relations.

Although little documentation exists about immigrant men who may depend on their women for continued stay in South Africa, there are substantial documentations of financially stable immigrant men in immigrant-national relationships. For instance, in South Africa, Adeagbo (2011) shows Nigerian immigrant men as pampering their South African women with luxury. In explaining this however, he considers that immigrant men value the citizenship that they derive from marrying South African women. This resonates with Chester & Richard (1957) who observe that love and interaction surpass previous prejudices held towards people of different origin. As a foundation of immigrant-national relationships, love may be perceived as a shield to gender and power inequalities. Adeagbo's study conducted in South Africa however tends to focus on love between the Nigerian men and South African women. There is little documentation about gender relations surrounding immigrant men with limited financial capacity to lavish luxury onto South African women heterosexually relating with them. This study sought to contribute to such knowledge.

Additionally, in the context of migration, some of the dynamics in immigrant-national relationships that need more understanding include the decision-making dynamics and gender relations that accrue to and from partners' awareness of each other's advantages and vulnerabilities. I found it interesting to understand the dynamics of decision making given knowledge of immigrant men's status as refugees, economic immigrants and their partners as nationals of South Africa. I took up the ideology of patriarchy in reference to immigrant-

South African relationships. Through these relationships, I supposed that both immigrant men and South African women constructed the ideology of patriarchy differently. I further supposed that these different constructions would make known different truths of gender relations and notions of masculinities arising out of decision making in these relationships. In light of this therefore, while dominant gender literature portrays women as dominated upon by men, this study viewed this as a simplistic way of looking at domination. In this simplistic form, domination is looked at as a foundation of power rather than a product of coercion or consensus between men and women (Lemke 2000) yet as Foucault (1982) argues, ability to resist and exert power as well are inherent in all individuals.

2.5 Citizenship, fantasy, financial gain or love: Discourses surrounding immigrant-national heterosexual relationships.

The previous section discussed the effects of finances on changing allocation of household chores. It as well discussed women's vulnerability to domestic violence. The discussions of domestic violence showed that women tend to endure domestic violence for various reasons. This section builds on the previous one by presenting and discussing the various discourses that surround formation and sustenance of immigrant-national relationships.

There are discourses surrounding immigrant-national heterosexual relationships. The most dominant discourse holds that for various reasons, immigrants contract and stay in long term relationships with nationals of their host countries regardless of whether these relationships are happy or not. According to this discourse, immigrants purpose to form heterosexual relationships with nationals of their host countries in order to attain, citizenship, acceptance (Kiwanuka 2008; Dragojlovic 2008; Adeagbo 2011; Sanger 2011) and enjoy the benefits that accrue to citizens of a nation state while evading discriminations that accrue to foreigners. In this way, marriage is a means to an end. These relationships take three forms: cohabitations, traditional and/or formal marriages. Regardless of which relationship type, immigrant men and women in a relationship live together in hope that personal goals for engagement will be realized. In a study conducted in Sweden on Iranian immigrants' experiences on cultural change, Ahmadi (2003) found that cohabitation is so common that it is hardly differentiated in practice with marriage, save for the possession of a marriage certificate. For immigrants, the discourse on citizenship points out the ultimate goal as the ability to acquire citizenship from partners.

I liken marriage as a strategy to the acquisition of citizenship through immigrant-national relationships to what Kern (2005) and Kabachnik (2009) refer to as strategies for insider practices and cultural identities that enable the claiming and making of appropriate spaces by outsiders. Although Kern (2005) asserts that the feelings of belonging increase with levels of education, age and professional careers, the South African situation shows otherwise. Regardless of these, immigrants' sense of belonging is limited by South Africans' heightened sense of belonging that induces racist and superiority feelings that lead to discrimination, marginalization and maltreatment of immigrants (Landau 2010; Takabvirwa 2010; Tafira 2010). Discourses about immigrants as wife-thieves; strainers of public funds, and criminals (Landau 2010; Yuval-Davis 2007; Misago et al. 2009; Haupt 2010; Tafira 2009) promote such racist feelings. These scholars recognize that although state actors mastermind such discourses as a scapegoat for poor service delivery, they make immigrants undesirable to nationals of their host countries. Particularly, in South Africa, these discourses have formed a regime of truth surrounding immigrants (Foucault 1998). So much knowledge power emanates from these discourses to make immigrants particularly vulnerable to South Africans and the South African law.

Basing on Shaheed's (2007) and Yuval-Davis's (2007) recognition that citizenship and identity confer belonging that in turn dictates inclusion and exclusion into a given nation-state community, I view immigrants who seek citizenship in South Africa through marriage as having an insight into a comparatively guaranteed safety from eventual hostilities targeting immigrants. As Kern (2005) shows, such immigrants are determined to create homes in their host community. Additionally, ability to belong into a host country is linked to cultural capital that enables physical and social blending of would be isolated persons while also availing material and subjective privilege which increase feelings of safety. Despite knowledge of the discourse on citizenship and xenophobic attitudes, there was very little known about if and how such discourses and attitudes applied to the domestic sphere among people in immigrant-South African relationships and if or how they impacted on gender relations and notions of masculinity. This study hoped to make this known.

The Department of Home Affairs (DHA) has the mandate "to regulate and facilitate immigration and to enforce the immigration act. [Further the] DHA plays a crucial role in enabling all South Africans to proudly claim their citizenship, their identity and dignity. [As such] the department must balance its security and service delivery functions and develop

close ties with communities (ANC 2012:2)." The DHA also has the mandate to recognize marriages within the South African state. According to South Africa's Marriage Act (RSA 1961), marriage prohibitions occur only if either party is recognized as already married. For the widowed, contraction of new marriages occurs only if existing marriages with deceased persons have been terminated and proved by law. For these, a death certificate of the deceased is required. Marriage termination is as well possible after a competent court procedure that supports the termination.

Although acquisition of citizenship is a long process, fulfillment of all marriage conditions set by DHA leads to the acquisition of citizenship. For instance, before naturalization into a citizen, permanent residency and proof of good character are prerequisite. For immigrants who hope to use immigrant-South African relationships to attain citizenship, they further need to prove that their relationship is what the DHA refers to as 'a good faith relationship.' The DHA retains the discretion to withdraw the permanent residence permit based on evidences of fraudulent marriage contracts. Based on the marriage acts' provision and the DHA mandate, the arrangements in which immigrant men-South African women relationships happen was not by far documented; neither were the effects of relationship type on decision making, gender relations and notions of masculinity. In addition, it was not known how immigrant men keep up with proving good character while living with South women, especially if they hoped to attain permanent residence and later South African citizenship. This study fills this knowledge gap.

While the popular discourse on citizenship determines the regime of truth that shapes gender and power relations between immigrants and South Africans heterosexually relating (Foucault 1998), there are also other discourses that influence power and gender relations. Among these is the discourse that holds that immigrant-national relationships depend on foreigner's sexual potency and imagined sexual satisfaction (Tafira 2009; Nkealah 2011; Dragojlovic 2008). I refer to this discourse as the migrant-body curiosity discourse. Natives regard immigrant bodies; be they male or female as hypersexual bodies that tend to ignite sexual curiosities (Dragojlovic 2008; Sanger 2009). For instance, Sanger (2009) and Nkealah 2011 show that the immigrant men are perceived by South Africans as having superior sexual potency in comparison to South African men; just like the Balinese men are perceived by Dutch women in comparison to Dutch men (Dragojlovic 2008). Little documentation however exists about how the migrant-body curiosity discourse affects gender relations and

notions of masculinity in immigrant-South African relationships. This study contributes to the literature on sexual discourses.

Existing discourses as well revealed immigrants to engage in heterosexual relationships as a means to economic security in their host countries. In the face of segregation in immigration countries' labor markets, immigrants tend to take up jobs that natives shun (Sibanda 2008). In South Africa, some immigrant entrepreneurs "have acquired refugee status" (Sibanda 2008:29). There are however many illegal immigrants who are said to displace the low skilled South Africans and thereby increasing the country's unemployment rates. Sibanda (2008:32) shows the reasons for this is that "illegal immigrants are preferred to natives because they are less costly since they work for shelter, food and they resist unionization due to their illegal status… they can accept lower wages which natives cannot take."

Available literature shows how most immigrant men engage in mean jobs and earn little and unstable incomes. Further, the economic security discourse affects immigrants perceived to target South African nationals for marriage so they could have financial security. There are however contrasting views to the economic security discourse. For instance, while Dragojlovic (2008) shows Balinese immigrant men getting into heterosexual relations with Dutch women for the financial benefit and citizenship, Kiwanuka (2008) shows that immigrant women cohabit with South African men for survival and not out of love. Sanger (2009) however reveals that not only immigrants are materialistic. She reveals that immigrant men for citizenship acquisition through marriages exploit South African women's need for immigrant men's money. This study intended to contribute more to the findings about the economic discourses.

The fourth discourse about immigrant-national relationships holds that partner's love for each other (Dragojlovic 2008; Adeagbo 2011; Ahmadi 2003; Tafira 2009) determines some relationships. Ahmadi (2003) puts love on what I will refer to as a love continuum; a scale along which people view love differently. Iranian men viewed love as an 'inducement' to long-term relationships and women as a 'pre-requisite' for relating. Contrary to Ahmadi however, Sanger (2009) and Nkealah (2011) report some South African women who do not regard love as a pre-requisite of heterosexual engagements. These women target immigrant men's money and sexual potency. Although Nkealah's, Adeagbo's and Sanger's studies done in south Africa reveal the discourses surrounding immigrant-national relationships, they did

not focus on how these discourses relate to decision making, gender relations and notions of masculinity; thus the need for this study.

Beyond just financial gain, desire for citizenship and love, cultural transformations explain immigrants-national relationships. Cultural adaptations yield changes that follow from interactions between immigrants and South Africans. These changes require men and women to make decisions about their lives, including decisions on whom and reasons of intimately relating (Mallki 1995; Ahmadi 2003; Parrado & Flippen 2010; Kalra & Bhugra 2010). It is thus not surprising that the decisions made allow immigrant-national relationships to survive various discourses into long-term relationships; be they cohabitation or formal marriage.

There is so much knowledge about the discourses surrounding immigrant-South African relationships. Particularly, although the reasons and discourses that sustain immigrant-South African relationships regardless of whether they are happy or not have received much attention, there was still need to understand if these discourses find their way into the immigrant-South African relationships. Knowledge of this would create an understanding of the power of discourses in affecting gender and power relations in immigrant-South African relationships.

2.6 Conclusion on literature.

As seen so far, although the ideology of patriarchy is widely held, there are situations that lead to its negotiation and consequent contestation. These include socializations that people go through, legal provisions, differences in citizenship and immigrant status as well as discourses surrounding immigrant-national relationships. The effect of these on decision-making, gender relations and notions of masculinity are still not very much documented. This study makes these linkages.

This chapter has also shown financial differentiations and their effect on changing gender roles. From these, it is likely that transgression of masculinity occurs. This chapter as well discussed the efforts taken by men against perceived transgression of masculinity. Later sections of this study will discuss its position on perceived transgression of masculinity in immigrant-South African households.

This review has further shown that there are contradictions in the discourses surrounding immigrant-national relationships. These contradictions in my view show the differentiations

that people make of others. The immigrant-national heterosexual discourses held by immigrants towards nationals and those held by nationals towards immigrants tend to counter each other (Tafira 2009; Dragojlovic 2008). However, other exclusionary discourses and practices against immigrants in their host countries tend to heighten the discourses held against immigrants in heterosexual relationships with nationals. I found it particularly interesting to take up a study that links the existing discourses, evolutions of patriarchy and immigrants' vulnerabilities to the domestic sphere. The product of this decision was this study.

CHAPTER THREE.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.

3.1 Introduction and outline of chapter

Following the literature review, this chapter of the research report presents the methodology used in conducting this research. Specifically, it consists of nine sections, some of which have sub-sections as well. In order of presentation, the sections and subsections are the introduction and outline of this chapter. It is followed by the research design, scope of the study that has three sub-sections: time, population and geographic scope of the study. The forth section is the sampling procedure which as well presents two sub-sections: purposive and snow ball sampling. These are followed by the data collection procedure in which the ethics clearance, pilot study and interviewing are presented. The section on reflexivity that shows my role in this research follows. Data analysis procedure is presented in the seventh section while the ethical issues; autonomy/consent, non-malfeasance, beneficence, confidentiality/anonymity that were crucial to this research are presented in the eighth section. The last section of this chapter details the limitations faced in this study and the interventions I took in dealing with them /intervention.

3.2 Research design.

This study used qualitative descriptive approaches with a poststructuralist perspective. Despite the fact that qualitative approaches are critiqued for not permitting generalization of scientific research (Lewis & Ritchie 2003), qualitative approaches are best suited for this study because I did not intend to generalize my findings but to have an in-depth understanding of perceptions on decision making, gender relations and masculinities (MacMillan 2006; Guba & Lincoln 1998). This enabled an in-depth understanding of how immigrant men and South African women in relationships with each other perceive and negotiate gender relations arising from household decision-making; and what effects these have on notions of masculinity.

Additionally, unlike positivism that holds that there is only one objective truth (Burr 1995) post-structuralism considers knowledge as fluid, recognizes many realities in the social world (Burr 1995), seeks to understand "existing power relations" (Weedon, 1987:39) and allows for understanding of the socially constructed nature of human behavior.

Besides, post-structuralism allows for thematic and discourse analysis that I used in the deconstruction and analysis of language that people in immigrant-South African relationships used to construct perceptions on decision-making, gender relations and the effect of these on the notions of masculinity.

3.3 Scope of the study.

In presenting the scope of this study, I consider three aspects. These are the geographic, time and population scope.

3.3.1 Geographic Scope.

I conducted this study in Johannesburg, Gauteng province, South Africa. I purposively selected Johannesburg because of its convenience to me as both a student and researcher. I had limited time and funds at my disposal to conduct the study. Being a partial fulfillment for a degree awarded by the University of the Witwatersrand, conducting the study in Johannesburg was not only time saving but also fitted into my limited research budget.

Besides, Johannesburg would still be the best place in South Africa for me to conduct the study even if it were not for proximity reasons. This is because Johannesburg lies in Gauteng province recognized as Africa's economic hub (Landau & Gindrey 2008). I supposed that in Johannesburg, it would be easier for me to find many immigrants from other parts of Africa who seek economic betterment. This is because Landau and Gindrey (2008) show that Gauteng has a large immigrant population. Particularly, they show that the migrant population in Gauteng increased by 418,000 between October 2001 and February 2007. Besides, Johannesburg is one of Africa's world-class cities. By virtue of its position, Johannesburg remains the place I would have preferred to conduct this study even when faced with geographical and financial constraints.

3.3.2 Time scope.

The study was a cross-sectional study. It was a once-off study conducted in eleven months from the time of conceptualization, through to literature reviews, data collection, analysis and report writing. The study started in March 2012 and ended in February 2013.

3.3.3 Population scope

In order to have an equal sample for both males and females, this study recruited eight (8) immigrant men originating from other African countries and eight (8) South African women. I considered immigrant men from other African countries because of the exclusionary discourses that surround African immigrants in South Africa as discussed in the previous chapter. I was optimistic that these discourses might affect gender relations in immigrant-South African households.

The study targeted people of at least eighteen years of age. I considered this age as an adult age and that participants aged 18 and over would be in position to either consent to the study or not.

The study was open to only South African women and immigrant men from other African nationalities that had lived with their partners for at least two years. I considered that a period of two years was ideal for differences in culture and socialization of people in immigrant-South African relationships to manifest in the performance of gender. Besides, I perceived a minimum of two years of living together as adequate to equip participants with different constructions of decision-making, gender relations and masculinity.

The study did not involve couples. It rather recruited either women or men in an immigrant-South African relationship. I aimed at benefitting within a short period from individual partner's unique perceptions and negotiations of gender relations arising from household decision-making; and what effects these have on notions of masculinity.

The study targeted participants who had attained at least twelve years of education. After twelve years of formal education, I perceived that female participants would be in position to find employment in South Africa. On the other hand, I perceived that for the immigrant men, despite being immigrants twelve years of formal education were ideal in comparing their education status to that of their South African women regardless of whether they were employed or not.

At conceptualization of the study however, I hoped that I would understand, contestations of patriarchy and notions of masculinity if the study recruited dependent low/ no income earning immigrant men and high income generating South African women on whom immigrant men depended for both basic needs and residence permits/citizenship. After the pilot study however, I realized that most immigrant men come to South Africa to seek better

economic opportunities. As such, a few immigrant men totally depended on South African women for both. Rather, the dependence for basic needs was occasional owing to the instability of the economic activities that the men engage in. As such, because the study sought perceptions, I then purposed to recruit into the study immigrant men and South African women heterosexually involved as long as they had lived together for two years or longer.

Based on the criteria for participation, I was optimistic that the participants would be in position to reveal diverse perceptions and negotiations of gender relations arising from decision-making; and how these affect notions of masculinity in immigrant-South African relationships. I was optimistic that the participants would indeed be in position to articulate their perceptions on the different ways in which immigrant-South African couples used decision making as a tool of exerting and resisting power based on knowledge constructions of their legal, socio-cultural and financial differentiations (Foucault 1982).

3.4 Sampling of research Participants.

I used both purposive and snowball sampling as explained below.

3.4.1 Purposive sampling

I chose to use purposive sampling for this study. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling method that allows for the selection of only participants whose characteristics fit into a particular research (Vureen et al 2000); a sampling method that would best identify South African women and immigrant men in relationships with each other. In addition, these participants would as well be knowledgeable about how immigrant men and South African women in relationships with each other perceive and negotiate gender relations arising from household decision-making; and what effects these have on notions of masculinity (Vureen et al 2000).

I was optimistic that using purposive sampling would enable the generation of in-depth data on immigrant-South African relationships given the time constraints and objectives of this study.

As noted in section 3.3.3, I purposively selected eight (8) men and eight (8) South African women who at the time of the study were living in Johannesburg; and who had been involved in an immigrant-South African relationship for at least two years. Although the sample was

small, I found it ideal enough to generate in-depth data on how immigrant men and South African women in relationships with each other perceive and negotiate gender relations arising from household decision making; and what effects these have on notions of masculinity. In agreement, Faugier and Sargeant (1997) cited in Abrams (2010), whose view holds that a small but carefully selected sample has potential to generate rich in-depth data.

3.4.2 Snowball sampling.

From the purposively selected sample, I used snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is a research method that allows for the selection of participants who have characteristics specific to a study from a population whose sampling frame is not readily available (Browne 2005; Atkinson & Flint 2001). I chose to use it because it would enable the identification of South African women and immigrant men in relationships with each other who fitted the selection criteria as presented in section 3.3.3 above.

Although snowball sampling has been critiqued for identification of only one chain of acquainted people who may have similar views (Atkinson & Flint 2001; Landau & Jacobsen 2003), using six different people to start the snowball in my view resolved this criticism.

In addition, Holloway (1997) asserts that samples of qualitative studies may be small but rich in content. Besides, large samples may lead to collection of repetitive data especially if nothing new is coming out of the interviews (Lewis & Ritchie 2003). A sample of sixteen in my view was thus perfect for this qualitative study.

At conceptualization of this study, I had hoped that I would start my snowball by explaining my study and its purpose to two immigrants and two South African selected acquaintances. I had hoped that the first four people I would approach would be my neighbors and course mates who in turn would refer me to one participant each or if not to some other people who would refer me to my intended participants. This however was not what happened. Due to the sensitivity of the study, I encountered some resistances from some neighbors. As such, instead of relying on only the four people I had initially hoped to contact, I ended up relying on five immigrants and one South African neighbor. These six people were the starting point of my snowball. Given that five out of six of my initial contacts were immigrants, they referred me to fellow immigrants. While this could have posed a challenge for sample selection, I requested three immigrant men to refer me to their South African partners. I did

this after I had explained the purpose of the study to the men whose partners I later interviewed.

Also, unlike the ordinary snowball in which contacts of the next participant are readily available, because of the sensitivity of this study, all participants preferred to first contact intended participants to explain the study before giving me the participants' phone contacts.

Fortunately, after the referees did the initial contacts, it was easier for me to build rapport with the participants given that initial introductions had been done. The phone calls that I made to the participants therefore entailed little explanations about the study. It thus was easy for me to set appointments for interviews at places convenient to both intended participants and I. Most selected interview venues were public places. In addition, I conducted most interviews as scheduled.

After each interview, I explained the snowball and requested for identification of subsequent participants. The process reverted to initial consultation with intended participants by the referees. This process continued until sixteen participants were covered. In order to keep up with the required gender sample, the sex of subsequent participants requested depended on that of those already interviewed.

3.5 Data collection procedure

This section presents the steps taken for actual data collection. These are presented in the subsequent three sub-section as permission sought, pilot study and interviews.

3.5.1 Permission sought.

In preparation for fieldwork, I sought permission from the ethics committee of the University of the Witwatersrand. The ethics committee issued the ethics clearance intended to assess the ethical issues pertinent to this research. After receiving the ethics clearance certificate, I was ready for the field. Section 3.8 of this research report discusses the ethical issues considered.

3.5.2 Pilot study

After obtaining the ethics clearance certificate, the second step to data collection was a pilot study aimed at testing and adjusting the interview guide. I did the pilot study in July 2012 with two immigrant men and one South African woman. Based on the pilot, I adjusted the

wording in the interview guide to ensure for clarity and easy understanding by the research participants.

3.5.3 Interviewing

After piloting, administration of the face-to-face in-depth semi structured interviews with open-ended questions followed.

Although interviews are critiqued for mainly being interested in extracting responses from participants and limiting the researcher-participant interaction (Hepburn et al. 2007), I used them because face to face interactions were the best means for me to collect data based on the sensitivity of my topic. Besides, the interview involved a lot of probing aimed at an in-depth understanding of participants' perceptions. There thus was not a limited researcher-participant interaction.

Further criticism is that interviews entirely rely on the participant's ability to articulate issues in an interview discussion (Hepburn et al. 2007). To counter this, I endeavored to make sure that despite the time constraints on my side, I asked the participants what language they could best express their views. I told them about my willingness to use an interpreter of their choice. Fortunately, most of the participants chose to speak English. Only one participant could speak a similar language with me. For this participant, because we spoke Kiswahili from the time of initial contact, I gave him the liberty to use Kiswahili and English concurrently as he pleased. In fact, I deliberately used both languages while asking the questions. I suppose this eased the participant's use of both languages. Regardless of the language used in the interview, I am convinced that the simple way in which the questions were asked eased the generation of detailed in-depth data on decision making, negotiation, gender relations, and effect of South Africa's history to women empowerment, patriarchy and masculinity among people in immigrant-South African relationships (Patton 2002).

The other criticism of interviewing as a data collection method is the assumption that participants purposely say words that portray them as angels while deliberately editing out any negative presentation of them. I went to the field well aware of this weakness. To counter it, although my referees had prior introduced me to the participants, I still dedicated some time to building rapport with my participants. I was able to build rapport by having a sharp awareness of my participants from my referees. This enabled me to position myself differently for each interview. For all participants, I expressly informed them of my

ignorance about immigrant-South African relationships. While my ignorance surprised the participants, their surprise urged them to educate me with their views on the questions asked. Fortunately, being semi structured interviews; I generated so many questions from their preceding speech. Besides, although I believe that everyone deserves respect regardless of their position in the household, I carefully phrased my questions so that I did not appear judgmental of my participants.

I was hopeful that the subjective nature of the research would generate an in-depth understanding of the participants' perceptions. Face to face interviews therefore were the best data collection method for this research.

3.6 Reflexivity.

Because poststructuralist feminism does not separate researchers from participants as does positivist research, in this section, I make known how my experience and knowledge influenced the research process (Watt 2007; Wetherell & Edley 1999).

Prior to the pilot study, I was aware of the sensitivity of my study. The pilot however, heightened my awareness of the study's sensitivity. From the pilot, I could sense the discomfort of the three pilot participants. From this point on, I was aware that I would either make or kill my interviews. This motivated the different positions I took throughout the study.

3.6.1 Lisa as a Wits student.

I was conscious about my position as a student of the University of the Witwatersrand. Most participants were interested in knowing about how I managed studying at Wits. This was a time for truth telling. I disclosed information that I was lucky to acquire a scholarship from DAAD, which scholarship I applied for because I could not finance my studies at Wits all by myself. I also revealed that the scholarship is needs based and that I am from a very humble background. This revelation greatly contributed to building rapport and to setting the pace for the interviews.

Secondly, for most of the participants, despite prior introduction by referees, they thought I was so knowledgeable about what happens in South Africa that I did not need to ask them so many questions. To combat this, I linked my position as a student to the duration of my stay in Johannesburg. I disclosed to the participants that I only came to South Africa in 2012 just

to pursue my studies and that I would return to Uganda, my home country. I corroborated the short duration of my stay with the ignorance that I had about immigrant-South African relationships. It thus served as a motivation for the participants to want to supply me with all the data that I required.

In addition, my position as a student placed me as a young adult. Most of my participants were older than I was. At first, I thought this would limit the disclosure on their perceptions about my sensitive study. However, the revelation that I was not married yet but hoped to placed me in the position of a person who needed to learn so much about marriages. Actually, most interviews occasionally seemed like pre-marital sessions of advice. With men emphasizing how men should be accorded their due respect as men while women passed mixed messages such as the value of respecting men but also asserting the position as a woman in the house when married.

3.6.2 Lisa as a woman and as a foreigner.

I also took on different positions depending on the sex of the participants at a particular time. With the immigrant men, I placed myself in the position of a foreigner in South Africa just like them. With knowledge from readings that most immigrants come to seek better economic opportunities in South Africa, I was empathetic during interviews. I placed myself in the position of a foreigner from a relatively poor country. In addition, with experience of working with forced migrants, I continually showed an understanding of the need to be out of one's country of origin based on the situations in participants' respective home countries.

As a woman researching on men, I had to adopt the image of a woman who was ready to listen to the men as they expressed themselves and as they lectured me on how to be a good woman.

On the other hand, with the women, I had to be empathetic as well. I placed myself in the position of an emancipated woman who would respect men but not let them trample on me because I am a woman. This gave me an understanding of the women's views.

3.6.3 Lisa the researcher.

Regardless of which positions I adapted at a particular time, it was easy to take on the positions given my social work background. All I had to do was to borrow the principles of social work to enable me sail through the research. In addition, regardless of the different

positions I took, I remained a researcher. I took control of the research and kept bringing it back into focus; otherwise, the interviews would stretch longer than an hour. I also picked so much data from the occasional lectures packed with so much data that participants wanted to say. Besides, I was conscious that as a researcher, I was just a channel of information between my research participants and the readers of my research report. I thus did my best to probe as much as I could in order to produce a research report that is representative of the various views of my participants.

As Gibbs (2007:91) argues,

> Reflexivity is the recognition that the product of research inevitably reflects some of the background, milieu and predilections of the researcher. The scientific model claims that good research is objective, accurate and unbiased. However, those who stress the reflexivity of research suggest that no researcher can guarantee such objectivity. The qualitative researcher, like all other researchers, cannot claim to be an objective, authoritative, politically neutral observer standing outside and above the text of their research report.

Following Gibbs' work on reflexivity, I do not boast of objectivity. My experience working with forced migrants for a period of four years as well as the literature that I read about the conditions in which immigrants live in South Africa influenced this research.

In addition, as Gibbs (2007:97) opines, "a good, reflexive research report will demonstrate clearly how it is grounded in the data collected and interpreted."

In line with Gibbs, I endeavored to include as much original data in chapters four to six of this report. In this chapter, I explain the whole research procedure. I as well append the set of open-ended questions that generated the data for analysis.

3.7 Data analysis

Greckhamer and Koro-Ljungberg (2005) cited in Koro-Ljungberg et al (2009) argue for the inter-relationship of data collection processes and data analysis in line with the epistemological goals intended by producing knowledge. Based on the post-structuralism perspective adapted in this research, I expected to find different versions of reality among people in immigrant-South African relationships about how they perceived and negotiated gender relations arising from household decision-making; and what effect these had on notions of masculinity. As such, Data analysis was undertaken using both thematic and

discourse analysis. This is because both flexibly enable deconstruction of data in the production of rich in-depth knowledge (Braun & Clarke 2006; Parker 2005; Parker 1994). Analysis took place at two levels: first the thematic analysis and then the discourse analysis.

Thematic analysis enabled the analysis of data according to selected themes relevant to the study while discourse analysis allowed for the deconstruction of language utilized in participants' constructions of gender relations, masculinity and patriarchy (Parker 1997).

In doing the thematic analysis, I drew on work by Braun and Clarke (2006). Accordingly, I first played back my audio data with the intention to familiarize myself with its breadth and detail. Transcription of both the verbal and sound non-verbal audio form of the collected data into a written form (Braun & Clarke 2006) followed. Transcription as well served to put the data in a text form for discourse analysis.

I then went on to code carefully the transcribed data by matching different data extracts with identified codes (Boyatzis 1998 quoted in Braun & Clarke 2006). At this point, I noted that there were some overlaps in the codes. The overlaps led me to merge similar codes into themes relevant to the study. At the theme stage, I realized that though some themes were less dominant than others were, they carried data that was very relevant to note in the research report. Therefore, I included them while I dropped the irrelevant themes. For the maintained themes, I checked them again to ensure that the content represented the allocated theme (Braun & Clarke 2006).

In the second level of analysis was the discourse analysis. Work by Parker (1994, 1997 and 2005) was focused on. By using discourse analysis in the second phase of analysis, I intended to go beyond a simple show of perceptions on decision-making, gender relations and notions of masculinity to showing the power of discourses in partner relationships (Parker 1992). To achieve this, I endeavored to analyze discursively participants' speeches with the aim of understanding the effects that specific utterances of words had on the understanding of decision-making, gender relations and notions of masculinity in immigrant-South African households (Parker 1994).

Discourse analysis enabled an understanding of how discourses used by different participants revealed the different constructions of power through decision-making, gender relations and how these affected notions of masculinity among immigrant-South African couples. I did the analysis in light of realities pertaining to patriarchy in the context of African migration. The

analysis of discourses as a form of "deconstruction requires "taking texts apart and see how they are constructed in such a way as to present particular images of people and their actions" (Burr, 1995:164). As such, the discourse analysis considered deconstruction of the connections between words, phrases and sentences. This was aimed at identifying similarities and contradictions revealed by immigrant men and South African women about different perceptions on decision-making, gender relations, masculinity and patriarchy.

In order to understand further the effects of discourses, analysis also took into consideration the different household and broader contexts in which discourses happen. According to Parker (2005, 2004) given that discourses have a linkage to already existing discourses, an understanding of discourses in the broader context enable the understanding of discourses occurring at an inter-personal level (Parker 1997; Wetherell 2004).

In order to understand what effects power has in discourses, I took into consideration the different functions that discourses serve (Parker 2005; Weedon 1987). I therefore considered the different positioning that both immigrant men and South African women took in their utterances. I also related the different positions to what participants left unsaid but which had implications for the understanding of gender and power relations (Parker 1992; Baxter 2003).

Additionally, because discourses emanate from "shared patterns of meaning and contrasting ways of speaking about reality" (Burman & Parker 1993:1), I was involved in knowledge construction with the participants (Parker 2005; Braun & Clarke 2006). The section on reflexivity above elaborates my role.

Finally, the effect posed by broader discourses and writings in society about gender and migration were considered in light of the social, cultural and historical understanding of dominant and silenced discourses and practices on decision making, gender relations and masculinity (Weedon 1987; Braun & Clarke 2006). This is because people subject themselves to different cultures with different discourses that take root in their lives (Baxter 2003, Weedon 1987). I relied on the broad writings, most of which appear in chapter two of this report. The broader views enabled me to make arguments about the participants' views in relation to the research question.

3.8 Ethical issues

I have an awareness that "research into vulnerable populations like refugees, some of whom might be engaged in illegal or semi-legal activities raises many ethical problems" (Jacobsen

& Landau 2003:187). For this study therefore, I took into consideration the four ethical issues autonomy/consent, non-malfeasance, beneficence and confidentiality/anonymity as presented in sub-sections 3.8.1 to3.8.4.

3.8.1 Autonomy/consent.

I endeavored to give all study- relevant information to participants aimed at allowing them to participate in the study out of their own interest. After explaining the study to them, I also informed them that despite prior acceptance to participate in the study, they were at liberty to accept or reject participation in the study (Lewis 2003; Rees 1991; Ritchie et al 2003; S.R.A 2003). I also informed the participants that if they preferred to withdraw from the interviews in the course of the interviews, they were at liberty to inform me (Ellsburg & Heise 2005).

In addition, because I intended to audio record the interviews, I sought permission and consent from the participants for audio recording. Fortunately, none of the participants showed signs of discomfort with the recording.

Only participants who consented to participation in the study filled the consent form that I prepared to show acknowledgement that participants had willingly consented to participate in the study.

Further, because signatures are easily identifiable, participants appended only initials onto the consent form. Although I intended to ask declining participants to refer me to other potential participants, none of the research recruits declined participation.

3.8.2 Non-malfeasance.

I clearly informed the participants that there would be no form of remuneration for participation in the study. For most of the interviews however, the participant and I shared a snack and soft drink during the interview.

I did not encounter any participants who indicated emotional distress despite my readiness to refer them to Sonke Gender Justice for psychosocial help (Fouka & Mantzorou 2011; S.R.A 2003). I still cannot tell if it was because they deliberately put up a strong front or because of the ease with which the interview flowed or just because I phrased most questions in a way that sought perceptions.

3.8.3. Beneficence

There was no participant discrimination based on language. For all interviews, I asked the participants what their preferred interview language was. For participants that would have preferred to speak a language other than English, I was ready to reschedule the interviews to a time when they found interpreters of their choice. It is essential to use interpreters for ease of communication (Fouka & Mantzorou 2011; S.R.A 2003). Fortunately, all participants were comfortable to speak English. Only one participant used two languages and with my encouragement. There also was no discrimination based on tribe (for South African women) and nationality (for the immigrant men). Rather, I hoped that I would cover at least a woman from each of the South African tribes. Similarly, I hoped that I could cover immigrant men from different countries of origin. This however was not fully in my control because of the sensitivity of my study.

3.8.4 Confidentiality/anonymity.

As a pledge of confidentiality and anonymity, I communicated the procedures that I took to ensure anonymity and confidentiality during and after data collection to the participants (Sieber 1998).

Considering the sensitivity of the study, I have ensured anonymity by using pseudonyms in place of actual participants' names in this research report. In addition, I have omitted actual participants' countries of origin in the selected quotes. In instances where names of countries appear, the stated countries are just a replacement of the actual country mentioned at the interview. I as well omitted the ages of the participants. All the omissions are because I intended to protect the identity of all participants such that even referees do not identify them (Homan 1991; Lewis 2003; Sieber 1998).

For confidentiality purposes, I did not share audio and transcribed data with other people. I was only willing to share it with my academic supervisors. The raw data was stored in a lockable cupboard and password protected computer respectively (Homan 1991; Fouka & Mantzorou 2011; Lewis 2003; Sieber 1998; S.R.A 2003) so that other people did not access it. I am still convinced that the assurance of confidentiality and anonymity played a crucial role in motivating the respondents to reveal the sensitive information sought by the study as asserted by Homan (1991).

3.9 Limitations of the study/intervention

Due to the sensitivity of the study, it initially was hard to find participants. I solved this by asking several acquaintances to lead me to my participants. Six of these accepted and I was able to roll out my study.

I also had financial challenges during the study. The sensitivity of the study led me to rely on referrals from acquaintances. I therefore had to make phone calls continually to referees to inquire about the participants. I solved this by acquiring a sim-card that enabled me to make cheaper calls. I as well had to incur costs for transport to the interview venues as well as to my residence. In addition, I incurred refreshment costs for some interviews.

I also was conscious about my position as a researcher during the interviews. As such, I deliberately adapted different positions: as a woman, as a student, and a foreigner. My background as a social worker made it easy for me to adapt all these identities in different interviews.

CHAPTER FOUR.

DECISION MAKING: EFFECTS OF IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY DIFFERENCE ON GENDER RELATIONS AND NOTIONS OF MASCULINITY.

4.1 Introduction to the chapter.

The previous chapter showed the methods of data collection. This chapter builds on that to show how immigration and differences in nationality affect decision making by immigrant men and South African women in relationships with each other; and how these affect gender relations and notions of masculinity in immigrant-South African households.

To lay out the argument, the chapter comprises of three sections. The first section shows how immigration and difference in nationality shape the different perceptions that determine decisions on formation of immigrant-South African relationships; and how these perceptions create a knowledge base that later transforms into decision-making and gender relations in immigrant-South African households. In this section, immigrant men and South African women draw on the same perceptions while forming relationships. These perceptions further shape the various discourses that function to affect gender relations and notions of masculinity in immigrant-South African households.

The second section discusses how immigration and difference in nationality affect income inequalities and decisions on expenditures in immigrant-South African households; and how these affect gender relations and notions of masculinity. This section shows that, individual's positions as immigrants or South African nationals and income determine who takes what decisions in the households and how these decisions position men and women in immigrant-South African relationships.

The third section shows how immigration and difference in nationality affect decisions related to children; and how these affect gender relations and notions of masculinity. This section discusses the conflicts related to children's welfare and belonging in relation to parent's positions as either immigrants or South African nationals.

All sections in this chapter draw on Foucault's conceptualization of knowledge and power being embedded in each other (Foucault 1980), power of discourses (1998) and effects of individual differences on power (Foucault 1982) as well as Foucault's bio-power (Foucault 1978, 1991) among other conceptualizations of power utilized by Foucault.

4.2 Immigration and difference in nationality: perceptions about immigrant-South African relationships; and effects on gender relations and notions of masculinity.

This section shows how immigration and difference in nationality shape the different perceptions that determine decisions on formation of immigrant-South African relationships by immigrant men and South African women. It also shows how these perceptions create a knowledge base that transforms into decision-making and gender relations in immigrant-South African households.

Particularly, the immigrant men and South African women interviewed in this study present with different realities of perceptions upon which immigrant-South African relationships are formed. Although the perceptions evoke similar discourses, immigration and difference in nationality shape the different ways in which immigrant men and South African women present these perceptions. The perceptions include love, a juxtaposition of love and selfish needs such as money and or legal documentation, as well as convenience and limited choices of partners. These perceptions make up the prevailing knowledge base (Foucault 1998) which the immigrant men and South African women interviewed consider in the formation of relationships with each other. Participants present these perceptions to shape the outcome of the many realities of gender relations among immigrant-South African households; some of which affect notions of masculinity and construction of patriarchy.

Based on what perceptions underlie the formation of a given relationship, the study reveals three types of relationships. These include cohabitations, traditional and formal marriages. From the sixteen research participants, only four participants had married in church, while three had customarily married and nine were cohabiting. Cohabiters were the highest number of interviewed participants. While in all these relationships, there were imbalances of power, transgression of masculinity and contestation of the ideology of patriarchy most occur among couples that cohabit. This is because participants perceive cohabitations to have less commitment than the other two types of relationships. Despite many relationships being cohabitations, love was the basis of their formation.

The citations below show how South African women perceive and present relationships founded on love.

> I think it [relationship] is founded on love really from the beginning. If he had a motive behind, I do not see it because I also loved him to bits… sometimes we disagree on what should be done but

> because of the love we have for each other, we still come up with something that makes both of us happy *(Interview with Loretta held on 25 October 2012).*

Regina states,

> We met and dated for seven years. So, we decided to get married. We share values and principles. I look up to my husband. He is a strong pillar of my home… although he is the head of the home; we do not take decisions that will make the other feel bullied in the relationship (*Interview with Regina held on 25 October 2012).*

In these excerpts, love is presented as a discourse as well as an important ingredient for good and lasting relationships. It fosters obedience and respect for each other regardless of partners' financial, migrant and/ or nationality status. Love is therefore pre-requisite for long lasting amicable relationships. Love also presents as a strong pillar for joint household decision-making, a solution to problems as well as good and stable gender relations between men and women. By implication, this discourse seems to suggest that where love is not; disagreements, tensions and a difficulty of joint decision making in relationships exist frequently. This discourse functions in this context to advance the; *'love as conquering all'* idea that is normally utilized in popular day-to-day talk that enforces the relevance of love in relationships. It is interesting to note that the South African women interviewed discuss love as having the potential of sustaining relationships and ensuring good gender relations.

On the other hand, the immigrant men perceive and present love in terms of what societal norms towards a good wife should be; one with good manners, obedience and respect. Immigrant men's understanding and construction of that love therefore seems to advance their masculine identities through preferences of an ideal woman for their own benefit as well as that of the relationship as the two extracts below indicate;

> My wife is a good woman; a very good woman with cute manners. Even when I was very poor, she loved me. Even now, we do not have very much money but she is still cute. I thank God for her. She respects me and I ask her about important things for the home *(Interview with Andrew held on 29 September 2012).*

> My second wife is a very good woman. We love each other so much. She does not give me hard time, she obeys me, she is independent, and she supports and even understands me. We decide on our matters together. In fact, I clap for her. She is different from my first woman *(Interview with Richard held on 29 September 2012).*

From these excerpts, a good woman's character determines the love that her man feels towards her. A woman's character as well determines whether joint decisions are made in the household. Character therefore presents as the backbone or destroyer of the feelings of love and household decision-making. This goes in line with the common saying that *a good woman builds her home while a bad woman destroys it.*

Closely related to relationships perceived as founded on pure love, there are perceptions of relationships founded on a juxtaposition of love and personal gain as presented below.

> There are situation of double advantage; where you're in the need of the papers but you also find someone that you genuinely want and they are able to give you the papers too… in these ones, we have to keep reminding the women that we are in the relationships for the good reason; love. If not, things can really go bad *(Interview with Oscar held on 28 October 2012).*

> As much as any foreigner wants to marry a South African for papers, he came with love first. But obviously staying in South Africa, he would want to be a citizen as well. The love came first. But of course it would be nicer, say a bonus for him to get status. This is how I view his thinking… My parents know him. They know we are staying together but until I am sure why he chose me, I will not accept to marry him *(Interview with Loretta held on 25 October 2012).*

These citations present love and personal gain as juxtaposed in some research participants' establishment and sustenance of relationships. The juxtaposition of love and personal gain discourse produces a knowledge base of uncertainty of the intentions of some immigrant men. Particularly, the cited participants present the need for citizenship and or legal documentation to live in South Africa as blurring a clear distinction of pure love from personal gain. In these excerpts, the knowledge of love as the only prerequisite for successful relationships is presented; such that if a woman found out that an immigrant man has other motives, this new knowledge generates controversy and troubled gender relationships. Perhaps this is why Oscar insists that men must convince women to believe that immigrant men in relationships with them are truly committed to loving them. This reflects Baumeister & Vohs's (2004) view that relationships occur when men show ability to commit to their women.

To further support Baumeister & Vohs's (2004) view, as revealed by Loretta, uncertainty about whether her partner engaged in their relationship for personal gain makes her skeptical about his intentions. Her skepticism functions to justify halting either a formal or traditional marriage ceremony until she has confirmation that love is the basis for their relationship and

not citizenship viewed as a personal benefit to the immigrant man. Loretta's skepticism as well is in agreement with the findings of Galena, Scott & Howard (2009) on the usage of cohabitations as a relationship tester to ensure choice of good partners and stable future relationships. Beyond this, the discourse of juxtaposed love and personal gain also seeks to suggest that real intentions advanced for these relationships by men are not in line with what women would want; which is love and that is why they need convincing from time to time.

Further utilizing the discourse of juxtaposed love and personal gain as a driving force in relationships' formation, some South African women interviewed acknowledge the coexistence of both factors in relationships but emphasize how knowledge of the juxtaposition creates tension in choices made by partners and contribute to troubled gender relations in the home as can be seen below:

> Most of us go out with foreigners thinking that we are going to get something, say money, to inherit their businesses… we always want the men to do what we want them to do. Sometimes, this leads to fights *(Interview with Martha held on 21 October 2012).*

The idea of money and control unfolds in Martha's speech. Apparent in this extract is an indication of personal gain as the foundation in immigrant-South African relationships. Martha reveals that the objective and hope of inheriting the money and businesses of immigrant men underlies why South African women relate with immigrant men. By implication, it is likely that some South African women get into immigrant-South African relationships in the hope that the duration of immigrant men's stay in South Africa is not guaranteed. Perhaps this is because of the exclusionary treatment that immigrants face in South Africa (Haupt 2010; Landau 2010), which the South African women hope will force them out of South Africa. What is pertinent however is that their objectives determine their actions as per Foucault's (1982) view that individual objectives combined with knowledge determine individual actions.

In addition, Martha's revelation further supports Foucault (1982) above. Martha interestingly presents some South African women as having the objective to control immigrant men's expenditures. Perhaps this is because of uncertainty about whether the women will actually benefit from targeted wealth or because of the perceived power inherent in South African nationality and or citizenship that women know they have access to and which only immigrant and not South African men lack. The objective of materially benefiting from

immigrant men draws on contemporary discourse that immigrant men are harder working than South African men (Tafira 2009; Sanger 2009; Nkealah 2011).

Most immigrant men shared Martha's view on personal gain as a basis for relationship formation. For instance, Gerald states,

> They have one common interest: that interest that the foreign man is a moneybag. They say we are ATMs. When they need money, they ask and they want to get it same time. If a South African woman is comfortable, she will not want to marry a foreigner. Most of them get married to foreigners because they have no option. They see it as their means for surviving. We don't call that real marriage. You didn't discover each other. You got married to that girl because you want her to assist you to do certain things and even the girl had her own personal interests at the back of her mind. If I got married to you because of your ID, you got married to me because of my money as well. It is a two-way traffic. Just a double-edged sword *(Interview with Gerald; held on 21 October 2012).*

Julius as well laments,

> My relationship has not been healthy especially for discovering that when I don't have, she is not there for me; no encouragement at all! When am broke, she is not happy. That is the time that I hear her mentioning the foreigners that she knows are richer. Her mind works too fast. Her brain runs like a roller coaster. Her needs come before love. The needs bring her to a position of saying, when I liked you, I was expecting this or that. Expectations of before have come to the present to attack me. When I have [money] it is partly Christmas *(interview with Julius held on 26 September 2012).*

The preceding excerpts as well illustrate that it is not only love that individuals seek in relationships, and that love is not purely the driving force but also co exists with other expected exchanges and benefits from either party. It is with this knowledge that most immigrant men interviewed for this study form the discourse that positions South African women as individuals who are after their money and other material benefits. Considering that some South African women liken immigrant men to automobile machines (ATMs) is a discourse that functions to indicate the perception that South African women have towards immigrant men not as generous but as money making machines. These extracts present South African women as engaging in relationships with immigrant men with the objective of extorting as much material benefits as they can without necessarily caring about the men. However, Gerald's emphasis is not on all, but the poor South African women, which discourse then does not categories all South African women in the same manner. Landau and Gindrey (2008) who found that in Johannesburg immigrants are targets of extortion by the police given their lack of bank accounts and low bargaining power in the country earlier

advanced this discourse. Therefore, by taking on the imagery of ATMs, immigrant men interviewed seem to extend this feeling to South African women constructing the women as persons who continue to have relations with them for their money or to secure a sense of security.

The discourse that juxtaposes love and personal gain further functions to show the likelihood of troubled gender relations arising from women's unrealized expectations in a relationship. Julius draws on the image of a roller coaster to present the realizations with which his partner engages in unpleasant talk that ridicules him during times when he has little or no money. It is only after realizing that the man she married does not always have money to lavish on her that Julius' wife insults him and compares him to other immigrant men who fit into the prevailing discourse of immigrant men as moneybags. He further contrasts the times of financial scarcity with times of financial abundance in which he portrays his wife as relating with him in excitement and happiness. In doing so, Julius uses this discourse to portray the materialistic nature with which he perceives South African women who relate with immigrant men. For Julius' partner, the knowledge- power relationship (Foucault 1980c) shapes the response with which she treats Julius depending on his financial situation. The woman's actions draw from her expectations that an immigrant man should be in position to meet all her needs as per the popular financial discourse that immigrant men, unlike South African local men have the ability to lavish women with material goodies to the satisfaction of women (Tafira 2009; Sanger 2009; Nkealah 2011).

In addition, by using the images of both two-way traffic roads and double-edged swords, the juxtaposed love and personal gain discourse also functions to show that relationships based on this juxtaposition face uncertainties about longevity due to troubled gender relations. With the selfish interests of both partners preceding relationship formations, the quality and durability of the relationships is questionable. The idea that is presented here is that relationships founded on this juxtaposition are at a greater risk of not lasting longer than those founded on true love. This finding is in line with observations of Galena et al (2009:234) that some relationships experience "marital distress and divorce…depressive symptoms, generalized anxiety symptoms, difficulty depending on others, and anxiety about abandonment."

Further to the juxtaposition of love and personal benefit, an immigrant man uses the analogy of a business venture to reveal how personal gain exceeds love in relationship formation and sustenance. He notes,

> …You venture into it (relationship) and you are making profits. When the profits start dropping, you hung in there. When you start making losses, er…er…er.., you withdraw! It is something like that…. *(Interview with Owen held on 22 October 2012).*

The business venture analogy further exemplifies the basis and sustenance of some immigrant-South African relationships. Some immigrant men interviewed engage into heterosexual relationships with objectives and hopes that they will personally benefit from the relationships. These hopes and objectives in turn form the discourse through which men justify why they should leave these relationships drawing on the knowledge that they are not producing the desired benefits as envisaged. From the interviews, the benefits envisaged by most immigrant men in forming immigrant-South African relationships include expected respect, love, financial opportunities and residence permits. In using the phrase *"hung in there*" and the word '*withdraw*', Owen positions immigrant men as exercising tolerance with limits. They tolerate relationships throughout the period of time when they have positive benefits just like profits in the business world. Beyond the point of tolerance, that is, when men realize that they have nothing more to gain in the relationship, they contemplate leaving and or to engage with other women.

Interestingly ironical in the men's quotations above is the way in which immigrant men interviewed in this study construct South African women as materialistic, and as persons bent on exploiting them because they are foreign and have low bargaining power in the context they find themselves. In doing so, they contradict their position as also having other material motives for engagement in relationships with South African women. It shows that immigrant men are very willing to exchange their perceived financial capabilities for residence papers and/ or citizenship for which they target South African women. The tendency for men to blame women as materialistic is a discourse that seeks to silence men's need to negotiate an improved social position through relating with South African women. This is because these women have the ability to enable men's acquisition of citizenship and or legal documentation in South Africa. It also works to silence their opportunistic tendencies as well. This discourse as well seeks to deny the co-existence of love and materiality even in relationships accepted in Society – like marriages (Palmary 2010).

Closely related to the above discussions are the discourse on convenience and the lack of choice as a basis for relationship formations. Although only three men portrayed this discourse, it drew my attention because of its relevance to discourses immigrant men utilized to explain their relationships with South African women as illustrated.

> **Lisa: What do you think motivates relationships between immigrant men and South African women?**
>
> **Gerald:** Where we migrate from to South Africa most of the people that migrate are men. And for the fact that our girls are not here, most of these things we don't do because we like but because we have no alternative and because God has made it so. You know it is about feelings. If we had the same population of boys and girls, I would not even have anything to do with a South African woman.
>
> **Lisa: So are you saying that these relationships are founded on love?**
>
> **Gerald**: Yah but in my own case, I had no choice. After all, love develops today and dies the following day.
>
> **Lisa: So, could we call that a relationship of convenience?**
>
> **Gerald:** Exactly. We put up with so much nonsense just because we have to. We have no option *(Interview with Gerald; held on 21 October 2012).*

Owen supports Gerald's view,

> I know of people who relate because of papers. Personally, I was/am in love. It is basically these two. These relationships are for now. It is for the convenience of now. It is like I love you but at the back of my mind, I know I want to go home. I see that I will get tired because this is not the way I was brought up. My mind tells me it is not gonna last. It is your happiness that matters in the end. These relationships are like a business. When you cannot hold on you keep remembering that all of them [South African women] are the same. Then you miss the girls from home *(Interview with Owen held on 22 October 2012).*

The discourse on convenience and limited choice of partners as a basis for relationships draws strongly on the idea of bounded geographical space as creating particular distinct differences among people. In drawing on national collectivities, Gerald positions his self and other immigrant men and normalizes their actions of having relations with women even though they would have not in the first place. He naturalizes the occurrence of these relationships because as men by nature they must satisfy that particular sexual need and love. He however contradicts himself by linking the naturalness of love to limited options caused by a shortage of immigrant females from his country of origin. By portraying love with South

African women as feelings that develop and die in a short period and as relationship based on limited choices, Gerald shares Owen's view that immigrant-South African relationships are relationships of convenience for most immigrant men. This discourse not only allows the two participants to show that South African women are not good enough for them but also seems to suggest that for more fulfilling and ideal relationships, immigrant men prioritize women from respective home countries. In doing so, nationality as a discourse is used to create difference; a position that constructs women from the home-countries of the immigrant men as a measure and mark of goodness while pathologizing South African women as not good for wives or relationships. Men are here again seen to rely on socialized ideals of good women (Foucault 1998).

In addition, by attesting to relationships of convenience, immigrant men position themselves as men who combine rationalizations of starting and staying in relationships that they tolerate just because of the benefits that they hope to achieve in these relationships. This is in line with Foucault's (1982) view that for all actions, individuals combine various rationalizations with objectives they intend to achieve. That immigrant men choose to remain in relationships of convenience also draws on the idea that when they decide to relate heterosexually with women after arrival into South Africa, they undergo various rationalizations about whom and why to relate intimately (Mallki 1995; Ahmadi 2003; Parrado & Flippen 2010; Kalra & Bhugra 2010). It is after these rationalizations and objectives that immigrant men decide to relate with South African women. It is also on the same basis that they tolerate women even when faced with troubled gender relations as shown in the extracts below.

> I need respect in my life. I have been searching for respect ever since. And when I mention, 'you do not respect me' she mentions, 'how do I respect a man who is always broke and…' she mentions a hundred other things! They say women's minds are like a barbed wire. Everything is connected to everything. So as she begins to think, she remembers everything. As she begins to speak, it all comes out, er.., er.., I keep quiet. That is my weapon. I keep quiet then turn to her when everything is cool and I say, 'what you said yesterday I did not understand. Can you elaborate?' and she barks again. So I keep quiet again. So it remains unsolved. The South African issues of a man and woman, always remain unsolved. …Someday, just one day I will quit. I see it coming *(Interview with Gerald; held on 21 October 2012).*

Oscar similarly shares,

> It is not easy to accept a woman treating you just like she chooses. You are a man and you have been told this since you started understanding. So, now what do you do? The world has pushed you to its

> end and you must survive. Now it is the woman helping you to survive. You know she has the power to make you what you want to be. You have to behave. Be a good man so that she does not leave you for dead. …. We men need the papers and the easiest way to get them is through your woman. She even can protect you from police harassment just by talking her language *(Interview with Oscar held on 28 October 2012).*

In these extracts, Oscar and Gerald present South African women to resist performances of masculinity because they have the needed resources to provide for the men and have power associated with citizenship status as opposed to their partners. However, power that exists in all social relations and through people is productive in form of resistances that meet power at every point (Foucault 1982). It is on this basis that some immigrant men like Gerald continually demand for respect when met with disobedience.

Further, in these extracts, immigrant men present themselves as exhibiting both assertiveness and rationality in their households, perhaps for establishing hegemonic masculine identity as heads of households and as men even in a situation where women usurp the masculine role of taking care of them. They clearly present their awareness of their migration status and especially the need to survive and acquire legal documentation to live in South Africa as a factor negatively affecting exercising their masculine identity. They however rationally take on a subject position aimed at benefiting from what they seek to benefit from their women. For instance, some seek protection that they perceive women would give them against police officers' harassment. Most importantly, the women avail the men with residence permits that men perceive as life changing documents. This is in line with the views that power which exists in all social relations and through people (Foucault 1982) has the ability to influence choices, actions and decisions (Cooper 1994) in line with their agendas.

It is however interesting to note that in taking on subject positions, men rationally utilize the discourse of tolerance. Through tolerance, they take on positions of weakened masculinity because of having no money and legal documentation. As such, they adopt the strategy of doing what their women demand of them through exhibiting good behavior and utilizing silence even though they would not in other circumstances. While silence and tolerance are alternative strategies in the negotiation of gender relations and masculine identities that work to position men as good partners; they could also point to the nature in which South African women influence immigrant men's behavior (Cooper 1994; Foucault 1980c). These findings are in agreement with the Social exchange theory that embodies the ""principle of least

interest" (Waller & Hill 1938/1951 in Baumeister & Vohs 2004:342). According to that principle, a party gains power by virtue of wanting a connection less than the other wants it" (Baumeister & Vohs 2004:342). The interviewed immigrant men thus do strategically and consciously tolerate (Totten 2003) harsh situations that women put them through because of the underlying interest of the residence papers and protection that the South African women make possible. Immigrant men seek to maximize gain from their relationship with South African women and thus keep in these relationships as long as they "do not lose more than they gain" (Baumeister & Kathleen 2004).

4.3 Immigration and difference in nationality: income inequalities and decisions on expenditures and effects on gender relations and notions of masculinity.

The previous section broadly looked at how immigration and difference in nationality shape the different perceptions that determine decisions on formation of immigrant-South African relationships by immigrant men and South African women; and how these perceptions create a knowledge base that transforms into decision-making and gender relations in immigrant-South African households. This section builds on the previous section by showing how immigration and difference in nationality affect income inequalities and decisions on expenditures in immigrant-South African households; and how these affect gender relations and notions of masculinity.

Particularly, the South African women interviewed for this study present themselves as having higher incomes relative to their immigrant partners. In relation to their immigrant partners, the women as well present themselves as having a higher bargaining power in decisions related to the expenditure on household incomes. Further, the women as well related this power imbalance to troubled gender relations in households as shown in the extracts below.

> … We have women making more money than their husbands. Now, what about foreigner men who just don't have access to good jobs? I mean all these things; give us [women] more power in the home…. what's more? Some of these foreign men sometimes depend on their women (*Interview with Sally held on 28 October 2012).*

Bernadette supports Sally's view,

> We are educated. And especially if my husband is a foreigner, I could be earning more than two times or three times than him. My salary can be much. I don't think there's more respect there. If you know

> that you got power, it means that no one can be above you. You know that you can do this and that. You know that everybody should be down and you remain up. It is this thing of power which is making us South African women not to be good wives to our husbands. But for me, I have not grown up like that. Eh..eh…eh…, if you are working and doing everything on your own, you still have to respect your husband. You have to be a woman. You don't say that because I am working and doing everything by myself, I should not be myself *(Interview with Bernadette held on 29th October 2012).*

These extracts show that income inequalities exist between immigrant men and South African women. Studies have frequently revealed how migration affects men's downward economic mobility in terms of inability to find jobs easily as compared to women in general (Warner & Finchileschu 2003). The interviewed women were aware that immigrant men find challenges accessing high income paying jobs. This is because of being immigrants and being pre-exposed to poorly paying jobs as they lack legal documentations that determine chances of employment. In addition, immigrant men tend to be jobless or meanly employed because of the failure at times of employers to recognize their documents and or the high levels of unemployment in the country (Warner & Finchileschu 2003). Illustrating immigrant men's vulnerability, Sibanda (2008) shows that immigrants in South Africa face labor market segregation and tend to occupy job places that South Africans find undesirable. Sibanda (2008:32) further shows that "illegal immigrants are preferred to natives because they are less costly since they work for shelter, food and they resist unionization due to their illegal status.

Women's ability to have access to jobs and earn higher incomes relates to their nationality as South Africans. The financial inequalities portrayed in these extracts functions to show how differences in income affect decision making and gender relations. The South African women are knowledgeable about the differences in incomes that exist between them and their immigrant men. These financial differences cause most women to position themselves as having a higher decision making power than their immigrant partners. For women, money gives them the impetus to take whatever decisions they choose in households. Women therefore take on the leadership roles as regards financial decisions because of their comparative advantage in household income contribution and/or differentials in income-earning levels. This is in conformity with Foucault (1982) who recognizes that economic differences in the appropriation of riches and goods are some of the aspects through which the exertion of power is dependent.

This finding on women with comparatively higher financial advantages in the household conforms to the observation of Afsar (2011) that households are sites where decision inequalities occur between partners. However, it is contrary to the assumptions made by Goldman (1969) as cited in Marso (2003) about marriage. Goldman's view holds that in marriages, women are condemned to a life time of being dependants, parasites as well as individually and socially useless. Goldman further said that homes are prisons for women. While Goldman's views are refuted by this study, the time lapse from 1969 to 2012 is long and could be used to explain the difference in finding. After 1962 when Goldman made his findings, women have become emancipated through state policies that have checked the effects of patriarchal stratifications of power and race (RSA 1998) and migratory processes that affect gender roles to even make some men dependent upon women (Afsar 2011). Femininity and masculinity are thus no longer fixed but negotiated through daily interactions of both men and women (Shields 2008; Risman 2009).

Despite presenting women as deriving decision making advantage from incomes and nationality status, Bernadette brings out a contradiction when she presents money and South African-ness as a mere excuse of disobedience by South African women. In saying, *"You don't say that because I am working and doing everything by myself, I should not be myself",* Bernadette disassociates herself with what she terms as bad women through presenting a contradiction that relates womanhood to socialization. She recognizes socialization as historical and social conditions that underlie her knowledge of what a woman ought to be (Foucault 1982) as well as shapes both acceptable and unacceptable behavior of women in their households (Foucault 1991). The self in this statement is the cultural woman. Accordingly, a woman does not lose her gendered roles expectations as a good wife and reverence to a man just because of earning higher income. This discussion therefore presents femininity and womanhood with a meekness that idolizes the husband-figure in the household. Drawing on existing literature, the characteristics of womanhood include weakness, inactivity, dependence and cowardice (Gasteiz 2010). The attachment to the socializations of womanhood are what Goldman (1969) cited in Marso (2003) refers to as women's attachment to the power of womanhood which keeps them in bondage. This bondage maintains the gender hierarchy in the household. Maintenance of the gender hierarchy is however contrary to the current confrontations by men and women of gender inequalities (Quek & Knudson-Martin 2008).

The interviews further present South African women's high incomes as an emancipation and empowerment weapon as presented in the extracts below.

> A man should be responsible for every decision in the house…. But now in this world we live in, it is women. It is a women's world. They are working and when they cough out, it gives them power to have power over the man. If you are cross with your woman, and you're going through financial short comings and your woman solves that issue for you, it becomes an issue again… It is about provision: when you provide, she does not appreciate, it is not enough. When she provides, it becomes a big issue. *(Interview with Julius held on 26 September 2012).*

Loretta in agreement says,

> Traditionally, the man has the final say. It is like things have changed now. The clocks have turned. In most cases if they do work, the job is not stable. So you will always be the bread winner most of the time. But they are not happy about it. They are very proud. At the end of the day anyway, you end up being the man here because you are the bread winner because their jobs are not stable. Obviously, there are things that I have to say yes or no to. Sometimes, my voice is final *(Interview with Loretta; held on 25th October 2012).*

In these extracts, Loretta and Julius present the challenges that come with migration and how these affect men's gendered roles and function to weaken their masculine identity. In immigrant-South African households, gender roles have changed from what immigrant men were accustomed to in their home countries. Immigrant men are no longer the key decision makers in their households. Further, ability to make key decisions in households instills into women feelings of manhood in immigrant-South African households. Some South African women in immigrant-South African households have taken on the men's roles by virtue of their nationality and especially in terms of decision-making. As Loretta shows, like *'men'*, they have the ability to have the final say on matters pertinent to the household; a role that patriarchy traditionally ascribes to male-figures in the household. These women adopt the male role with the underlying knowledge that the immigrant men in the household are financially hard-up and may not oppose the women's decisions. They use both nationality and comparative financial capacity in the wielding and exertion of decision-making power in their households (Foucault 1982).

The role reversal however cultivates a series of troubled gender relations. Loretta laments that men are not happy about the financially disadvantaged position they find themselves in. They also are not happy with having to tolerate the attitudes and actions that women adopt because of their comparative financial advantage. As noted by Julius, his lack of finances

aggravates any household misunderstandings because culturally his wife expects him to provide for her. Nonetheless, in times of financial scarcity, Julius does not remain passive to his situation and the family needs. Rather, he asks his wife to financially help in meeting household needs, thereby agreeing with Liddle's (1989 in Totten 2003:72) view of masculinity involving "actively responding to situations." While his efforts to ask his wife for help is an outcome of rationalization of household needs and his financial status, his wife's decision to solve financial shortages in the households is an avenue through which Julius suffers ridicule of his gender as a man. These findings as well show that "the reproduction of gender categories is never automatic" (Liddle 1989:70 cited in Totten 2003:71).

The study further revealed a deeper linkage between the instability of men's finances and the complexity of household decision-making. The extracts below reveal this.

Oscar opines,

> These women work and have their money. Now, what happens when you don't have money to provide for her needs at a particular time? Sometimes, they can even ask for saloon money yet they know you don't even have money to take you to town. Eish! Is that not laughing at you? How will you want to be a man in the house when you cannot give her what she wants? When she has [money] and you don't have, she is like the man and you the woman. She makes important decisions. This is not easy at all *(Interview with Oscar held on 28 October 2012).*

Owen, who said, substantiates Oscar's view,

> It depends on what you're deciding. The strength of the man in the house is his financial capacity. Making decisions is hard for us when we are broke. At that particular moment, a man is helpless. If she makes decisions, you have no choice. You go with her decisions. It is humiliating. She even sees you as a waste of time. You have been stripped of your dignity, you are not respected and if there are children involved, you are not a man. She will humiliate you in front of the children, neighbors. You have no dignity, no respect. You flow with what is said. It is tough *(Interview with Owen held on 22 October 2012).*

These two excerpts present women as having a constant awareness that their men have socialization as providers for their families. The women referred to therefore utilize the knowledge of this socialization to ridicule men who at any one given moment cannot fulfill their financial and gendered obligations in their households. In showing that men let the women to be *men* in the household during times of financial instability, Oscar masculinizes

women in reference to the ideology of hegemonic masculinity that men should provide for their families. In doing so, Oscar participates in the exercises and relations of power in his household (Foucault 1982). Oscar's actions only contribute to the gendered relations occurring in his household. However, by allowing the woman to make financial decisions in the household, he wields a strategy that objectively allows him to retain his identity as a man in his household. Oscar does this with an underlying knowledge that he is not in the position to meet his woman's financial needs. The situation in Oscar's household is typical of Foucault's (1982) idea that at every point of power exertion; there is counter resistance. These findings agree with the view of Connell (1995:114) as cited in Totten (2003:72) that "an active process of grappling with a situation, and constructing ways of living in it, is central to the making of gender."

Owen, on the other hand presents moments of bankruptcy as moments of stripped masculine identity because without money, men have no say in decisions in the home and do not figure as men. This finding is in agreement with that of Carlson et al (2009) and Urdinola & Wodon (2010) who find that partners with low contribution to household incomes are disadvantaged when it comes to household decision making. Further, drawing on Foucault (1978), this finding also reveals that South African women's awareness of their immigrant men's financial instability and or dependence on them creates opportunities for women to dominate over their men and create unequal gender and power relations between partners. These findings are also consistent with those of Sachs (2005) cited in Quek and Knudson-Martin (2008:512) that "changing economic conditions… restructure family roles and potentially improve women's access to resources and power." These findings are however contrary to the earlier twentieth century findings that marriage "compounds the degrading effects of capitalism, annihilating woman's 'social consciousness, paralyz[ing] her imagination" (Goldman 1969c:235 cited in Marso 2003:4). The change as well shows changes in trends of women emancipation between 1969 and 2012.

Besides finding women as having a key decision making function rooted in ability to have stable incomes and advantage of nationality, there are specific decisions where the South African women's nationality advantage cannot be escaped as revealed in the following extracts,

> He is the Head of family, fine, but when it comes to decisions such as buying a car and a house, I tend to step in because of the whole paper situation. I take lead in things that have any legal implication. A

> lot of these things come to me easily because am a South African. We sit and discuss but when it comes to implementing, it completely changes. I would be in the lead in that situation. And you would think that ideally as a man he should have those options and be able to implement… it is ultimately because he doesn't have Permanent residence… When we were looking at buying a car, it was mainly my decision, aaa…rrr, because it affects my credit standing. So errr, I mean err, yes he had input in money but in the final decision, I had to take into consideration how it would affect me *(Interview with Sally held on 28 October 2012).*

Martha, who said, substantiates Sally's view,

> Because he is foreign, the interest rate is completely different. Because I am South African, my rate is lower and because he is foreign, they would hike it more. The concern for them [sellers] is that because the person is not permanent, there is no reason why they are here. It is a risk-mitigating factor to hike the interest [rate] for foreigners that aren't permanent… We are looking to buy a house but when I called my bank, they told me that they would offer a 100% bond, that is, the full purchase price. But if I wanted to buy the house with my husband, because he is foreign, the maximum they could offer is 65% of the bond, purely because he is foreign. It doesn't matter if one of the people buying the asset is a South African. What matters is the permanent residence. When I asked what would happen if he had permanent residence, then they said, it would go back to 100% because he has a bar-coded I.D. It does have far-reaching consequences *(Interview with Martha held on 21st October 2012).*

These extracts present South African women as having an advantage based on their nationality over immigrant men in household decision-making. Although some cases present men as equally involved in decision-making, being South African nationals gives women an advantage of being able to make key decisions on the purchase of assets. This happens also when the assets bought are solely for the immigrant men's usage. Interest rates that accrue to assets bought by non-permanent residence permit holders are higher than rates of either nationals or permanent residence permit holders. This discourse then works to show that although women may involve their partners in decision-making, state policies on economic and financial procurement of assets discriminate based on nationality.

Further, these excerpts present joint household decision making in immigrant-South African households as disguised joint decisions. This study has found that in regard to decisions on purchase of assets, the South African women interviewed have a nationality advantage over immigrant men even in instances when men may have monetary input. Women hardly consider men's decisions especially where residence status has implications. While these findings are in agreement with those of Sibanda (2008) that some immigrants are entrepreneurs and have financial capacity, they contradict with those of Carlson et al (2009)

and Urdinola & Wodon (2010) who find that although women get involved in household decision-making, most household decisions tend to favour men's decisions. As such, men's decisions are disguised as joint household decisions. While Carlson et al (2009) and Urdinola & Wodon (2010) focus on decision making in a patriarchy, this study serves to show the influence of nationality on decision making in immigrant-South African relationships. It thus shows that decisions of nationals tend to take precedence over immigrants' and tend to be disguised as joint household decisions.

Closely related to the finding on women's decisions as disguised joint household decisions dictated by financial procedures, the study further reveals that because the key decision ability is stripped off immigrant men by virtue of their immigration status; masculine prowess was in turn stripped from them as well in immigrant-South African relationships. The extracts below show how.

> …, I have more power than him from a bargaining perspective, but the fact is: he is a man, he needs to be strong. I need to feel that I am secure and safe. So if I must make all the important decisions, then I ask, why did I even marry him? I could have stayed alone. I would struggle heavily with a man who doesn't assert himself, I mean not aggressively but as the Head of family *(Interview with Sally held on 28 October 2012).*

Oscar as well substantiates Sally's view saying,

> It reduces the credibility of power that when you speak things get done because you say so. That is the idea of being a man. You have the say, the signature on everything that happens in the house. This makes a man feel very inferior. He feels like his word is not heard most of the time. He doesn't have the freedom. He has to swallow his words. I don't think it is a good situation for us. I would say we actually get tortured. But then, we suffer in silence. It affects the relationship. I don't think there is any man who doesn't want to have power. You have been brought up as a man, you have to have power. You want to be the head of the home. Now all of a sudden, you are this small boy. It even affects the relationship. Instead of feeling like this is my partner, you feel like this woman wants to be my mother now. She is even worse than my mother. No man wants to be mothered you know *(Interview with Oscar held on 28 October 2012).*

In these extracts, while Sally recognizes the disadvantage in decision making by immigrant men as rooted in funds, she as well presents the immigrant status of immigrant men as functioning to reduce their socially ascribed roles of security provider and key decision maker in households. Both Oscar and Sally agree as regards men's culturally ascribed position in the household regardless of the circumstances that men find themselves in. Both

expect men to be the heads of their households. Men's reduced agency in household decision making however, functions to undermine their socially ascribed role of family head. Oscar as well reveals that the reduced agency to make key decisions in the household relegates the family headship role to women. In turn, role relegation places men in subject positions that threaten their masculinities. Oscar compares South African partners with the immigrant men's mothers. Drawing on the image of a mother, Oscar presents South African partners as domineering and patronizing. The women's actions cause the men to display masculine notions with caution, thereby transgressing "the experience of power in men… internalized through the socialization process... found in their own patriarchal family" (Gasteiz 2010:27).

On the other hand, immigrant men present themselves as adapting to the domineering and patronizing nature of their women by exercising "the agency to choose the gender identity they perform" (Conway 2005:93). Men interpret their silence as a choice aimed at concealing emotion and therefore a mechanism of recapturing masculinity through what Totten (2003:72) refers to as "conscious complicity." This finding however, contradicts that of Matshaka (2009) on masculine socializations. According to Matshaka (2009), masculinity involves men's ability to work towards improving their image, financial independence, ability to provide for their families and not showing vulnerability to emotion. In Matshaka's view, therefore immigrant men in this category present as less of men because of their reduced financial independence and reduced ability to provide for their families.

4.4. Immigration and difference in nationality: decisions related to children and effects on gender relations and notions of masculinity.

The previous section looked at how immigration and difference in nationality affect income inequalities and decisions on expenditures in immigrant-South African households; and how these affect gender relations and notions of masculinity. This section shows how immigration and difference in nationality affect decisions related to children; and how these affect gender relations and notions of masculinity.

To start with, decisions related to naming of children spark disagreements that negatively affect gender relations and feelings of manliness. The extracts below show how.

> I don't see why the children should have names from their father's side. What I want for my children is to grow up well, study well and live a good life. How will this happen in Zimbabwe? His country does not have good chances for my children to live a good life. So, I insisted on zulu names because the

> children were born here [South Africa] and are South Africans *(Interview with Susan held on 26 October 2012).*

> Eish! Naming of our son and daughter was not easy. My fiancée is still unhappy about it although he just keeps quiet. He wanted to give the children names from his country but in my culture, if you have not paid lobola, the children are for the woman. He tried to force me but when I told my parents, they reminded us of my culture. When he marries me, he can change their names. He says culture in my country is fake *(Interview with Martha gate held on 21 October 2012).*

These extracts portray how discourses of nationality, culture and power link to decisions over children. To evoke the idea of children's belonging while disregarding their fathers' identity, women utilize being South African. This draws on the economic discourse of South Africa as Africa's economic hub that in the course portrays other countries in Africa as poor and not suitable for child upbringing. In utilizing the idea of a good future for their children, six out of eight women show the benefits of children having South African names and nationality because of the way the country is associated with wealth and better opportunities.

These women also utilize the discourse of ethnic identity and role of culture in naming and owning children to justify their decisions to provide their children with South African names. Allowing children to have South African names for women meant that the children in essence belonged to the women especially in cohabitations. Culturally, the absence of a formal marriage between partners meant that the children belong to the women. This discourse then serves to make the immigrant or any other man who has not fulfilled any of these cultural obligations as without children and by implication any power over them.

While these are women's views, the men draw on the same discourses in talking about naming of children, as seen in the following extracts.

> It [power over children] starts with which names the children should have. In my culture, children belong to men. The men are responsible for naming of their children. But here in South Africa, the women want to personalize children just because they are in their country. But I also know that if you are married properly, the man can give names to the children. When married, both children and mother are under your power *(Interview with Edgar held on 22 October 2012).*

> You see when a man names his children; it is a way of instilling heritage in the children. Also, a man is not a man until he is a father. And the only way to prove you are a father is to present your children using the names of the great men and women who came before you. Giving names to your children is a thing of pride. So, if you cannot do that just because her culture refuses, you wonder if you should say that you are a man and you even have children *(Interview with Richard held on 29 September 2012).*

From the above extracts, the discourses of culture, nationality, power and masculinity are shown as interlinked. These extracts present immigrant men to have the authority to name as well as own both children and women. This masculine authority is derived from socialization and culture that men perceive to be tied to their countries of origin and non-negotiable (Mallki 1992). From socialization and culture, naming of children signifies that children carry on men's lineage and that men have actual control over decisions about their children's affairs. This discourse shows how and why men felt it was important that the children's names identified with their origins. While these citations present that it is easier for men to name their children in formal marriage relationships, in cohabitations it is not. Where children carry South African names therefore, men perceive themselves as having lost the cultural control of fatherhood because first, they are migrants and second they are not in position to officially marry the women and legally own the children. Because child naming identifies one of the first parental obligations, immigrant men perceive that being unable to name children jeopardizes the feelings of being a man who is in full control; not only of their children but of their women and households as well. This discourse again speaks of emasculated masculinities and contested patriarchy brought about by migration.

The other decision that sparks so much disagreement and affects gender relations and notions of masculinity are decisions about instilling discipline in children. Women and men held contrasting views as shown in the extracts below:

> Why should I beat my child when I know it is painful? I also do not want anybody to beat me. Infact, beating is out dated. There are different ways like talking to a child that teach children. But my boyfriend thinks that beating is the best way to discipline a small child. If it worked for him, it is not a must that it will work on my child *(Interview with Martha held on 21 October 2012).*

> This is South Africa; we all have equal rights even if you are a child or woman. Things of beating ended long time ago. In fact if you beat children, they can be taken away from you and taken into custody. Now just imagine if your children are taken away and you are not even sure if the man will stay with you! Aah! That is losing twice (*Interview with Susan held on 26 October 2012).*

Edgar however has a different view.

> South African women want to spoil their children… the worst [most painful] is the way you correct the child. For instance it is not bad to spunk your own child. But here in South Africa, if you beat your own child, you are arrested. They say you are violating the rights of the children. But this is how we learnt how to be responsible people… Along the way, most of us [men] learn to agree with women

about how to correct our children. It saves us a lot of problems in this country (*Interview with Edgar held on 22 October 2012).*

The above extracts evoke and contest the rights discourse as regards disciplining children. While most men and women reveal experiencing beatings by their parents while growing up, women view beating as a punishment in modern times. Women utilize a rights discourse that is in line with the convention of the child (UN 1989) and child statute in South Africa (RSA 2005) to show how outdated beating as a mode of instilling discipline is. On the other hand, however, six out of eight men view it as the best way for correctional efforts. The difference in opinion among parents on beating of children as a way to instill discipline supports earlier findings of UNICEF (2010) that among some caregivers, physical punishment is not as famous as non-violent disciplining mechanisms such as removal of privileges and making children understand wrong behavior.

Further, the men conceptualize beating as playing a key role in instilling discipline and a sense of responsibility for their children's future. To the men therefore, hindering them from disciplining their children equates to removal of children from the watchful eye of their fathers whose duty is to discipline them and teach them both acceptable and unacceptable behavior (Foucault 1991). These finding are in agreement with those of UNICEF (2010) that caregivers who prefer the use of physical punishment consider it the best way to raise children properly.

While some participants report reaching consensus on how to correct children, some hardly reach consensus. In most of these, South African women report immigrant men to the police for beating children. For most men, reporting them to the police for a parental obligation means using the wrong channel to unlearn men's socialization as fathers. Common law permits parents to beat children in a non-offensive way only for correctional purposes that do not breach children's rights. These include the rights to respect for human dignity and physical integrity; as well as rights to equal protection under the law as recognized in international treaties and conventions such as Committee on the Rights of the Child and other treaty bodies (Owen 2012).

The study as well showed that decisions related to visiting of paternal grandparents sparked so much disagreement and affected gender relations and notions of masculinity.

> If a man has not married you, the best punishment is for him to steal your children and take them to his parents. Who knows? You might not see your children again! The children might get lost after they leave South Africa. Me, I don't want my children to leave South Africa to go and see his people. I can only allow if we are all going. He always says he wants the children to go and see his parents. They will go but later (*Interview with Martha gate held on 21 October 2012).*

Oscar on the other states,

> These women think that when our children go to Cameroon, they will get eaten there. How can my mother and grandmother come here to see their grandchildren? That is wrong! It is the children to go to the grannies, not the other way round. Sometimes, force is used. The children are mine as much as they are hers. Not only her parents deserve to be known. That is nonsense *(Interview with Oscar held on 28 October 2012).*

Considering that most men often return to their countries of origin, men perceive and present women in cohabitations as blocking children's exit from South Africa, while women see men as a threat to their children's lives. While this manifests signs of fear that children taken to immigrant men's countries might not return to South Africa, it also reveals lack of trust between partners relating to their children's and marital affairs. Also, many women use refusal of children to travel out of the country as a sign of the authority they hold over children and immigrant men as well. To achieve this, the women draw on culture and national difference. On the other hand, there were so many instances of men forcefully using coercion to take children to visit paternal grandparents. In this way, men present themselves as being able to "'embody and admire' (Conway 2005:93) masculinity by forcefully taking the children to visit their paternal families.

4.5 Conclusion to the chapter.

This chapter has showed how immigration and differences in nationality affect decision making by immigrant men and South African women in relationships with each other and how these affect gender relations and notions of masculinity in immigrant-South African households.

In this chapter the different perceptions that immigrant men and South African women have and that determine decisions on why they enter into immigrant-South African relationships have been discussed. The chapter shows three perceptions that lead to formation of immigrant-South African relationships. These are; the perceptions of love, juxtaposition of love and selfish needs such as money and or legal documentation, as well as convenience and

limited choices of partners. These perceptions involve discourses that make up the prevailing knowledge base (Foucault 1998) that shapes gender relations.

In addition, the chapter shows that individual's positions as immigrants or South African nationals and income inequalities determine decision making in households. It shows that women earn salaries while the men have unstable incomes. This elevates women's discretions in expenditures of household incomes. Besides, women determine the purchase of assets such as cars and houses given the high interest rates that disadvantage non-permanent residence permit holders. The income inequalities and reduced participation in decisions on household expenditures also transgress men's patriarchal socializations as key decision makers and providers in their households. The disempowering nature of immigration that functions to strip men of their patriarchal privileges and abilities creates room for transgression of hegemonic masculinities and patriarchy.

As well, this chapter shows immigrant men and South African women with children have different disagreements relating to the welfare and belonging of children. Men and women have different perceptions of each other as regards children. Differences in culture, socialization and national wealth are shown to play into decisions related to children. All these factors do affect gender relations and notions of masculinity, as children's identity is one of the key identifiers of manhood. When men therefore perceive themselves as falling short of fulfilling their parental obligation because of differences with their partners, they feel like the authority given to them as men by patriarchy faces contestation.

CHAPTER FIVE.

HOUSEHOLD DECISION MAKING: EFFECTS OF DIFFERENCES IN CULTURE AND SOCIALISATION ON GENDER ROLES.

5.1 Introduction.

The preceding chapter showed how immigration and differences in nationality affect decision making by immigrant men and South African women in relationships with each other and how these affect gender relations and notions of masculinity in immigrant-South African households. This chapter builds on this to show how perceived difference in culture and socialization between immigrant men and South African women affect decision making in terms of in the household. To lay out this argument, the chapter presents two sections. The first section discusses the contradiction between the equality of men and women and traditionally acceptable gender roles. In this section while women enforce their understanding of equality derived from government policies of women empowerment, immigrant men construct this as an obstacle to socially constructed gender roles for women and to good household relationships. The second section discusses patriarchal and anti-patriarchal socializations between immigrant men and South African women. This section draws on differences based on culture and nationality to explain positions immigrant men and South African women take in decisions relating to gender roles in the kitchen and cooking. This chapter heavily draws on Foucault's conceptualization of power to highlight the different and shifting subject positions participants take on to counter resist and or assert power and or influence action and decision making. I discuss these for the purposes these serve in such relationships.

5.2 Contradictions in household responsibilities and perceptions of equality between immigrant men and South African women.

The study revealed contradictions and conflicting ideas in perceptions of equality between men and women in the households. Five out of eight South African women in this study for example argued that women just like men have equal rights and as such equal decision-making power on responsibility allocations in the household. This was based on the perception that women are no longer confined to the private sphere (household) but can as well be part of the public sphere (work space) given their ability to earn income and support their families and themselves. In this way as Tamboukou (2007) argues, women aim to

contest boundaries existing between the private and public sphere. Women therefore derive equality from the prevailing discourse in South Africa that draws on the bill of rights and South Africa's affirmative action.

As in the words of Regina,

> We preach 50-50 but do not preach to the young generation how to be a woman or a man in their household; how to handle themselves in the relationship; how to submit. So gender roles become a bit distorted *(Interview with Regina; held on 25 October 2012).*

Loretta's views substantiate Regina's views. Loretta said,

> Before, men were higher than women. Only men were working. Now women are also working. They have the same rights as men at work. Now they bring it even at home. We want to be equal with our husbands at home. I think that is where we South African women end up disrespecting our husbands. What he does, I can do. Even the government esteems women (*Interview with Loretta; held on 25 October 2012).*

Drawing on Regina's and Loretta's statements, the discourse on equality is presented as women's major tool in decision-making power in the domestic sphere. These excerpts show the effects of overly publicizing the equality discourse across gender. This discourse draws on and reinforces existing discourses on women's employment and equity act of 1998 as well as discourses of women's development for the ways in which these seek to minimize levels of inequalities between men and women. The equality discourse portrays the state's role in shaping family and gender relations through its policies and ways into which these filter into the family, hence the idea that the personal is political (Mackinnon 1982). Accordingly, from the quotations, regardless of gendered beliefs, both men and women have equal power within the household. This seeks to imply a need for change in ways in which the women are defined in relation to their gendered roles, a situation that directly implies the same for the man in the home as a means to stabilize relationships. With the women being equal to the men, for many of the interviewed women, it is unworkable to insist on patriarchal gender allocations and discriminations.

However, for the women in this study such power is derived from the knowledge of state policies that aim to promote gender equality for purposes of minimizing the discrimination of women. The participants thus utilize this power knowledge idea as a means to alter and resist hierarchical power relations in their relationships. In line with Foulcault (1980c 51-52) this is

a form of the power knowledge relationship in which '…The exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and conversely knowledge induces effects of power…it is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge…"

In further elaborating how power is exercised through individuals and not something they or anyone possesses (Foucault 1980a), the discourse of South Africa's Affirmative action (AA) and ways in which this is understood in terms of granting equal employment opportunities for women is brought to the fore. It is a discursive strategy utilized for negotiation of power relations in the home, which women in this study use to reject the subject position normally associated with stereotypical femininity as passive and or inferior to men while taking on a new position of equals. The purpose of taking on such a subject position may be for the purposes of reinforcing how they want to be seen differently and positively as no longer the dominated women but as women who match up to masculine roles such as providing for the family. In this case, they see themselves as empowered women and thus equal to men in every sense of the word. This mainly draws from their consideration that the state has removed the barrier that was creating inequality and hierarchy in relationships (women's inability to participate in paid work as men).

It is interesting to note that women only consider this equality in terms of its role in the economic improvement of women and not in other aspects. This discourse greatly draws on women in development discourses and policies that consider women's participation in paid work as liberating for women to the extent of being able on its own to facilitate women's ability to counter gender inequality in homes and to contribute to their increased decision-making power (Blumberg 1991). This view has however been critiqued for its inability to consider the role of unequal gender relations and other factors in affecting women's empowerment and decision making (Grasmuck & Espinal 2000).

In addition, besides being conceived of as derived from access to equal employment for the women, the power of the working South African women in this study also extends to their households and their relationships as well, such that when the women return home from work, so does the power. It is for this reason that Loretta further utilizes the equality creed as the means through which she justifies women's disrespect for men (especially those who do not earn income in their homes). Drawing from Foucaldian understanding that the constitution of power and knowledge are in and through each other (Foucault 1988); women utilize AA and the meaning they make of it as a strategy for resisting hierarchical power that

their men were associated with before the so-called equality of women. This explains why the women reproduce the relationship between men and women as equal now. This draws on Foucault's notion of relational power as a two way process and not static (Foucault 1988). As we have seen, it can be exercised by both dominant and groups considered as subordinate. Therefore as knowledge, AA forms another of the regimes of truth that South African women draw on to legitimize and normalize their position. Given that the exercise of power comes with effects (Foucault 1982), such discursive actions at times portray means of ridiculing masculinity and contesting patriarchal stratifications of power.

While the equality discourse is presented as favoring women both in the public and domestic sphere, immigrant men thought of it as contradicting their cultural socialization. This follows that people's internalized cultural beliefs related to gender and differences in socialization play a major role in their understanding and acceptance of different ways of behavior (Woods 2004). Interpretations of equality therefore directly link to difference in culture between South Africans and immigrants. This view largely draws from the idea of conceiving identity as rooted to territory given existing geographical boundaries that people in turn assume to constitute uniqueness (Malkki 1992, Hudson 2008). Such a discourse has often been mainly associated with the aim of creating difference through enforcing the idea of homogeneity, while at the same time overlooking issues of cultural fluidity (Rose 1996, Gupta & Ferguson 1997). As an example, all the immigrant men contrast the running of immigrant-South African households from that in their home countries. The key contrast lay in the perceptions of culture that they tended to associate with place- the home country. In holding this view, the idea advanced was that South Africans' as compared to immigrants' households had a weak attachment to patriarchal socializations grounded in the prevailing equality and power discourses. In this way, participants consider socialization as differentiated by geographical boundaries; a discourse that seeks to advance a universal sameness and therefore homogeneity that draws on issues of national borders.

All male immigrant participants of the study shared Gerald's view. He said,

> Relationships of immigrants and South African women from my experience are affected by culture. I came from a country where women are very submissive to their husbands unlike what I see here. You find that in South Africa the women tend to be controllers of homes. If you don't agree to their terms, you are bound to have a very stressful relationship *(Interview with Gerald held on 21 October 2012).*

Richard substantiates Gerald's view, thus,

> Women in South Africa want to be equal to men. In my country, there is no way a woman will claim to be equal to the man who married her. Even if she is very rich or the minister, a woman remains a woman. But here, heh! Women talk of 50-50. This thing [50-50] has made women to think that they are men. They want to rule men in the house. Things cannot work this way. You cannot have more than one man in any house. Things will just go wrong *(Interview with Richard held on 29 September 2012).*

In resisting South African women's conceptualization of power, men draw on culture as tied to a geographical territory; their home country. Culture enforces the view that South African women need to be submissive to men as women in men's countries of origin. This view neglects the idea that "…not all men and women respond in the same way to gender socialization" (Armstrong 2000:8). Therefore, immigrant men utilize culture to enforce the discourse on difference in social relations between men and women in which difference based on nationality and geographical boundaries are evoked and sustained. This discourse on one hand works to create a homogeneous society based on nationality (Mallki 1992) in which socialization is similar for men and women while at the same time denies the changing gender roles in relationships and the reality of equality in South Africa (O'Sullivan et al 2006). This seems to be for the purposes of strengthening immigrant men's views on static gender roles for women and enforcing national difference.

Again, in line with Foucault's view that power and resistance co-exist in the same place (1980c), immigrant men use the image of women in their countries of origin as a means through which they resist the idea of adapting to changing gender norms in terms of equality. In the process of doing so, immigrant men portray South African women as not good-enough to be their wives. This is because they are often associated with taking on masculine identities and character as providers and decision makers in the home; traits which men find unacceptable given their consideration of women's gendered roles as static. In their discussions, immigrant men thus position South African women as women who elevate themselves over men in households and as such, persons who cannot be fit to be wives, or even to be called women. This reinforces the understanding of men's superiority and women's inferiority in the relationship as the natural order of power relationships.

The culture discourse also serves as a means of reinforcing dominant masculinity and patriarchy as a means through which good marriage relationships should continue to exist and thrive. This is the idea on which immigrant men seem to draw when, they expect South African women to treat them as per the socializations that they as men from different

countries are accustomed. In this case, immigrant men reject the equality discourse in South Africa and the subject position this discourse places them because it functions to weaken their masculine identity. In the process of this rejection of masculine identity, Richard (when he says women will still remain women) draws on dominant representation of women that homogenizes all South African women as a unitary group and constructs their subjectivity as stable irrespective of differences in class, gender, race nationality and others factors (Mohanty 1988; Weedon 1987). This is a strategy that Richard and other men utilize to reconstitute themselves as still powerful men and heads of household irrespective of their immigrant status, which affects their ability to at times take on their gendered roles as providers for the family and masculinizes the status of their women.

This discourse also works to maintain national identities through creating difference between immigrants and South Africans. Therefore in minimizing women's equality and claiming men's power back through maintaining a status quo, immigrant men work in ways that seek to reposition the self to its earlier state (Butler 1999b). In addition to this, for the immigrant men, culture and socialization constitute the historical and social conditions that surround their understanding of masculinity in the way that equality between sexes does not. The culture that men are accustomed to and one which is referred to in the texts is one in which women have accepted the superiority of men in the household (Burman 2005; Gavey et al 2001); It is a culture in which inequitable household decision-making power favors men (Carlson et al 2009; Urdinola & Wodon 2010). Therefore in sticking to their socialization and resisting the equality discourse immigrant men construct themselves as being ignorant that "gender relations are always mediated by other socially constructed categories such as class, "race," and ethnicity" (Tyner 1996) cited by Afsar 2011:398). This supports findings of Scott (2006) and other findings in South Africa (O'sullivan et al 2006) that despite changing domestic patterns and gender norms men change at a slower rate as compared to women.

In addition, the study shows that consequences of the gender equality and power discourses reflect in decisions on domestic chores. Because of the perception that both men and women are equal, five out of eight women in this study perceive doing household chores as a sign of deeper male domination and abuse to womanhood in a modern world. Consequently, they prefer the sharing of household chores. Additionally, all the interviewed women either were working or on transition to other jobs. They expect non-working partners to help in undertaking the domestic chores as shown in the extracts below.

> **Loretta:** Now, you can't be having a husband that expects you to go to work and come back to work. You should both divide the chores because you are both not there during day. We can't be expected to slave away at work and slave away at home as well. Secondly, if I have a man that is not working, he can't expect me to wash the pan that he used to make eggs in my absence.…! They have hands. They don't have ribbons. They must work. … If your hand is like a ribbon, it means you cannot do anything for yourself. Ribbons only stay in places where you have left them. They can't pick themselves up. ……. We've got mothers. They still play those roles of being wives to their husbands. May be if the South African woman is a housewife, they can do all the chores that our mothers used to do. We are not expected to come back from work tired like a dog, find a man lying in bed waiting for me to work. No, it does not work like that. But weekends are different. We are both here; I do not have a problem to do anything or even wash his feet. I am free over the weekends. I don't go to work *(Interview with Loretta held on 25 October 2012).*

Susan, who opined, shared Loretta's view,

> I am not a maid. We all must do the work in the house. Who said that when men wash plates, or clothes or even cook that their hands will fall off? Eish! *(Interview with Susan held on 25 October 2012).*

Only one male participant shared in the women's view. Andrew stated,

> A woman does not have 20 fingers. Women are not slaves. Even when you buy a car, the engine is fresh but after 5 years, the engine gets tired. Even a woman, she gets tired *(Interview with Andrew held on 29 September 2012).*

These extracts contrast modern working class women with both house cleaners and housewives to whom the traditional roles of doing domestic chores are considered to be modernly allocated by most interviewed South African women. These extracts present how the power and equality discourses evoke women's preference of sharing work with men in homes if women are working for income. Decisions of abandonment and/ or selection of household chores among South African women fit into Foucault's understanding of strategies of exertion and resistance to power (Foucault 1991). As an exertion, decisions on abandonment of household chores for women reflects on power presented as derived through economic emancipation which in this case is advanced through women's employment. On the other hand, as a form of resistance, women evade, subvert, or contest their partners' inability and or unwillingness to work in the home and thus their domination (Foucault in Gaventa 2003).

Loretta and Susan further introduce the discourse of immigrant partners who sit at home in comparison to women who work. In reinforcing the constructed nature of gendered roles, they advance the idea of equal contribution towards household chores. In explaining their (men's) unwillingness to do household chores, such men take positions that draw on patriarchy and notions of masculinity which seek to elevate and maintain statuses above women in the households (Afsar 2011). It is for this reason that Loretta stresses that if both men and women work, division of household chores are ideal. It is interesting to note that women do not advocate for reversal of gender roles because they work but insist on shared responsibility, an aspect that seeks to highlight that power at times can contribute to positive aspects in the home as seen in women's efforts to balance their workload with men.

Findings have also shown that women seek to manifest and resist power by challenging subordinated patriarchal structures (Baumeister & Kathleen 2004) that delegate housework and domestic care to women in the household. In this study, by opposing men's reluctance to house work, women thus express their discontent with stereotypical feminine characteristics of being "sentimental, meek, dependent and fearful" (Gasteiz 2010:23), as well as with static structured gender roles. In doing so this discourse seeks to emphasize that gender roles are constructed and as such are changeable while at the same time highlighting women's agency in issues to do with ways in which they are constructed. Contrary to the views of Totten (2003), that in households labor divisions naturally occur, these findings show the shifting nature of power that women utilize for selective chore allocations in their relationships with immigrant men. This power however in not solely utilized to dismiss their gendered role in the household but also enables women to decide when to **"**identify with the hegemonic gender regime in which "good women" do housework" (Wang 2010:235), and when not to as Loretta notes.

There however is a contradiction in Loretta's talk. Despite resistance to domestic chores, she is willing to take them up on non-working days. This implies first, that there is on one hand a connection between the public sphere of women's work and a private one of the home, where both men and women should equally contribute to (Messing 2006). Second, the finding suggests that from taking up jobs outside the domestic sphere, the modern South African woman positions herself as having attained a level of independence to decide not to do domestic chores or even to decide when and what chores to do. This case presents empowerment or equality of women tied to ability to work and earn income as facilitating

decisions of abandonment of some of the gendered work linked to women. Thirdly, in exhibiting shifting subject positions, Loretta presents herself with a double identity as an empowered woman but as one who also keeps in line with patriarchal functions of the ideal woman whose main place is the kitchen. This relates to people's subjectivity in talk as shifting rather than static (Wang 2010; Weedon 1987). Given that the reproduction of gender structures is determined by gender practices that are in conformity with "gender norms and social expectations" (Quek & Knudson-Martin 2008:512), the above findings confirm that in immigrant-South African households, traditional and gender related allocations of labor are contested and at times negotiated in order to change or maintain the status quo whenever suitable.

The imagery in the use of the words 'slave', 'dog' and 'car' advance the idea of how oppressive it gets for women to work in both private and public spaces. Particularly, slavery likens a day's toil at work to a laborious exercise not deserving of repetition in the household. These extracts present homes as places of rest for persons who work. Similarly, the imagery of tired dogs is a measure of women's resistance in attending to both work that earns income and that in the house. What seems to be implied is the hierarchy of types of work; an idea that constructs house hold chores as not as important as paid work. This works to advance the idea of the working women as deserving of an undisturbed comfortable rest at the end of a hectic day from work that brings income to the household. These findings show situations of power struggle in which all men and women try to protect their autonomy but more so to ways in which women claim freedom from housework that for long their sex has designated to them (Foucault 1982; Mcnay 1992).

In distancing himself from discourses of masculinity, Andrew takes up the subject position that men and women should be equal and help each other in the home through utilizing the discourse of equality. These findings conform to "gender equality discourses and changes in gender relations [that] have influenced and changed men's practices, including hegemonic masculinity" (Hearn et al. 2012:47). It is pertinent to note that only Andrew takes up the subject position that chores deserve to be shared by men and women in the household. This also means that for most immigrant men, heed has not been taken to equality discourses (Sullivan 2006 in Quek & Knudson-Martin 2008). Most immigrant men therefore ascribe to Goode's "sociology of 'superordinates'" (1992:294 in Quek & Knudson-Martin 2008) that

shows men as taking advantage of "a system that is structured to give them dominance and advantages (Quek & Knudson-Martin 2008:513).

While the above were largely the women's views, because of their gendered roles associated with domestic work, seven out of eight men's views were channeled towards enforcing gendered roles of women related to undertaking domestic chores irrespective of whether they were tired or not or whether they were the main bread winners or not.

Owen, a non-working partner reveals in an interview,

> **Lisa: Are there times when you feel like your rights as a man are stepped on by your woman?**
>
> **Owen:** when the woman goes to work and finds you at home, she says, 'I have come home and you have not cooked. You didn't clean the house, wash dishes' etc. But then, she is the woman. Eish! Too bad! The tables have turned *(Interview with Owen held on 22 October 2012).*

Apollo in agreement said,

> She does not want to do anything in the house. Even cleaning my clothes, she does not. Even the pots, she can leave them dirty for up to a week. On Sunday she cleans the house because she knows I am going to come with friends. I used to complain but gave up. We quarreled all the time. She said I was a bad man. After I stopped complaining, she now says I am a good man. So she does what she wants to do. That is what makes me a good man in her eyes *(interview with Apollo held on 24 September 2012).*

The above extracts present the discourses of culture and socialization. They portray women's resistance to work as negative decisions that have a toll on responsibility allocations in immigrant-South African households. To these men, masculinity is associated to not doing traditionally female allocated roles like housework (Afsar 2011) despite the fact that gender and its roles are subject to situational change (Quek & Knudson-Martin 2008). Men thus portray women as reluctant to do domestic chores regardless of men's perception of domestic chores as a static role and women's domain in the households (Sheffer 2004). As a result, these discourses serve to portray South African women as lazy and disrespectful.

In the above extracts, the multiple forms and roles of power and ways in which they act differently on different gendered bodies is advanced. Given that both individuals (dominated and subjugated) can equally utilize power through its capillary like nature; these extracts present women as resisting household roles, while men continue to enforce them. As a means of countering women's behavior men draw on strategies of quarrelling with their wives through which, they create a force expected to influence women to do certain chores assigned

to them as females. However, given the productive nature of power and its ability to facilitate outcomes and practices (Cooper 1994), in order to get them to stop complaining about women's behavior and may be to let them be, women utilize the power of language through categorizing men as bad when they complain and as good if they do not. This power later has an effect of and works to silence men as Apollo and others note. However, the silence here can also be understood as a form of power in a way it works as a positive mechanism to minimize conflict (Cooper 1994).

Whereas this works for the women, for the men such power on the other hand presents to push them into subordinate positions that are not upheld by patriarchy. Additionally, disrespect from women in households threatens feelings of manhood. Although women's resistance is acknowledged by their partners, it does not at all times lead to a weakening of men's power given the idea that power has limits in that it can only go as far as suppressing peoples interests but not erasing them completely (Cooper 1994). This is evident when immigrant men typically continue to subscribe to hegemony that associates women's goodness in relation to their ability to undertake household chores in this and other studies (Wang 2010). In addition, men give in to the demands of their wives just for the sake of peace (Quek & Knudson-Martin 2008).

There however is a counter discourse in Apollo's narration of women's decisions to refuse to do house work. While he presents women as deciding not to work, he simultaneously shows that in image saving situations involving people external to the household, women decide to pick up the conservative role of doing domestic chores. Perhaps also, women decide to undertake chores in image saving situations as a means of portraying themselves as the good wives that their husbands and society expect them to be. While this presents women's discretionary power in doing domestic chores, it also presents men's weakened masculinities. Foucault (1982) opines that the ways through which power relations manifest and are exerted affect response to power. Owing to AA, it is likely that restricted cultural power that immigrant men have over their women leaves them with little control over their homes. This in turn gives women the discretionary power to do as they please regardless of whether men like it or not. It as well seems that both immigrant men and South African women undergo power struggles and negotiations in which both strive to influence each other while at the same time trying to protect their autonomy (Foucault 1982). This has been advanced in Foucault's work through the understanding that power exists in all social relations and

through effects that people have on others (Foucault 1982) in terms of wanting to influence choices, actions and decisions (Cooper 1994) that seem to advance their agendas. These agendas may relate to maintaining the status quo and changing it as this study shows.

5.3 Socializations and decisions in the kitchen: Perceptions about cooking and domestic chores by immigrant men and South African women.

The previous section reveals and discusses the various contradictions and conflicting ideas in perceptions of equality between immigrant men and South African women in the households. This section draws on these contradictions and conflicting ideas to show how socializations affect perceptions and decisions about cooking and domestic chores in immigrant-South African households.

Particularly, the interviewed South African women present themselves as having a unique socialization that traces back to the days of segregation and apartheid. Women present this socialization as having nurtured them into assertive household leaders. The extracts below show how.

> Many of our fathers were absent. We grew up seeing our mothers being both mom and dad. The girls had role models to do everything on their own. They [fathers] were either negligent or out at work. As a child growing up, it affects the way you grow up viewing men. You have little respect for them when you get married. You didn't grow seeing your dad respecting your mom and you don't want to be treated like your mom. It is kind of a defense mechanism. It happens with South African men, what more will happen if your partner is actually a foreigner who even depends on you for so many things *(Interview with Loretta held on 25 October 2012)?*

Loretta's view was re-echoed by Regina who said,

> The South African black family structure is very broken, very messed up, very damaged. The heritage comes from the apartheid era where men were taken from homelands and shipped off to mines or sugar plantations or whichever case it was.... The women had to oversee the households. Now what happened to the small boys growing at home? They had no one to look up to about what it is to be a man, to take responsibility, to lead a family… That is when mothers started to indoctrinate their daughters growing up to take on a stronger role. That is why we as growing girls don't want to be financially dependent on some one. I don't want to be led, domesticated because when am all these things, the man doesn't take care of me, cheats on me and blah blah blah. Which is not necessarily the truth but that is what we see and that is what we believe. We do with what we see. …Society then tells you, 'go and have an education then you won't have someone who is loading over you'. This is why you find eh… career women who want to always achieve more. So, whether in a mixed marriage or

not, the relationship is bound to be messed because the order of things has changed. Most of all, we don't want to become our mothers *(Interview with Regina held on 25 October 2012).*

The extracts above utilize discourses on culture, power, and socialization, which in turn draw on the broader discourses of the history of women's struggle for democracy, women's equality and patriarchy. The discourse of absent male heads-of-households is used to show how men were temporarily replaced by females as leaders-of-households as a means through which the history of women's independence can be conceptualized and understood. Although taking up some duties (such as bread winning) culturally designated to men enhanced the power of leaders-of-households, growing South African girls continued to witness the effects of women's cultural subordination playing in reducing women's power. This finding resonates with the view of Bozzoli (1983) that despite South African women's attempted resistance to domination and attaining some leadership roles in their households, in the pre-independence days, women were still vulnerable to male domination. Totten (2003:80) explains the vulnerability of women as emanating from the "traditional sexual division of labour and the adherence to rigid gender roles" that do not allow negotiated masculinity. This is an example of what Foucault (1991) refers to as disciplinary and bio-power; knowledge that distinguishes between acceptable and unacceptable behavior and one that has an effect of self-surveillance on part of the subject.

Additionally, the extracts above show that growing South African girls learned new femininities that inculcated masculine qualities and attitudes that contest the ideology of patriarchy. Women in this study thus utilize this to justify their current character through utilizing discourses that construct them as independent and assertive in relationships with men. In this way, a combination of education, paid work and socialization seem to form women's identity in the relationships. Whereas this is the case, women at times show how they have mixed feelings in balancing such qualities with those associated with women's reproductive and productive role. Accordingly, these extracts present girls as socialized into perceiving that there exists a linkage between maltreatment by a partner and being domesticated. Most interviewed South African women, because of their association with empowerment and gender equality thus perceive and reinterpret women's traditionally assigned roles such as doing house hold chores and looking after the family as weakness. This finding proves Davies and Eagle (2007) right. They agreed that gender is open to constant reinterpretation. Additionally, these findings resonate with Burman's view that "an

adequate analysis of gendered selves in culture involves not only grounding cultural practices within social-political relations but also embedding these within broader historical and economic frameworks that extend to, and beyond, the state" (Burman 2005:528). Foucault (1982) as well opines that both historical and social conditions that determine a society's historical knowledge of what is real is vital in understanding power relationships. The South African women's socialization therefore contributes to their actions in both exertions of female power as well as their resistance to masculine power.

While anti-patriarchal socializations characterized seven out of eight South African women, one woman draws on cultural socialization in talking about culturally ascribed roles of men and women. Bernadette opines,

> A man should be the head of the home. I know that it is only a man who can tell everybody in the house to do this and do that. The way I was brought up, I do not know that the man can go to the kitchen and cook for himself, or wash for himself. I [have] never seen my father do this since I [was] born. But these days, because we are in this 50-50, women can tell the men, 'now go and cook because I am tired from work'. It is this thing of 50-50 that is doing women not to be good women in this nowadays. Because from work, a woman gets angry to find that the man did not do anything in the house *(Interview with Bernadette held on 29 October 2012).*

Bernadette's view is the ideal expectation of gendered roles of men and women. In doing so, she takes on varying subject positions from other participants in favor of promoting women's gendered role in the house. Her views of cooking as women's work are contrary to that of most women in the study who perceive it as out dated measures of male control. Two participants who refuse to cook as a mechanism to exert their feminine power and related subject position further exemplify this. Resistance to perceived male domination as well manifests through this mechanism. Refusal to cook therefore meant a deliberate attempt to oppose men's socialization because all the female participants in the study were aware that their men have socialization that cooking is a female role. This is again an example of the knowledge-power relationship and its effect. The socialization that a woman's place is in the kitchen is an example of usage of legitimation to sustain the hegemonic position that works to maintain women's position in the private while denying them opportunities in the private realm (Palmary 2010). This is also in accordance with the analysis of Coetzee (2001) on legitimation; which refers to traditions that culturally give men authority over women. Legitimation as well labels hegemonic acts demanding that real women take care of their husbands (Wang 2010) as natural and typical to women (Totten 2003). It is for such

legitimation that Goldman cited in Marso (2003:4) compared marriage to a prison with firmly solidified "doors and bars" towards wifehood, motherhood and housekeeping.

Although most female participants are opposed to cooking, the study reveals a contradiction that not all women refuse to cook. Some women decide to cook but only focusing on foods familiar to them. Extracts below show this.

> I make sure he is fed. It becomes difficult when someone comes and says, "*Because you are married to a Ugandan man, this is the type of food you should cook".* The type of food that they make is different from the kind of food that I am used to. So for me, it is very difficult to tell me what food to eat. This is how I make it. Like pap, it is cooked differently in different places, so to assert to me to make it in a different way is difficult. Here it is made soft and close to porridge. It is even eaten with a spoon. We would be at logger heads… If it is a woman marrying into a foreign country, it is obvious that she can easily assimilate. It kind of becomes difficult when it is the man marrying into the woman's country. It kind of becomes strange. In his country for instance, normally I would have to learn luganda and cook Ugandan food, but in South Africa, I would be playing on familiar ground so, it can give me an upper hand (*Interview with Sally held on 28 October 2012).*

Sally's view was in line with Owen's.

> When she chooses to cook, she cooks what she feels like eating. When she has been considerate, she tells me what she is going to cook and asks if I will eat. But most of the time I am forced to eat what she prepares if I do not want to go hungry (*Interview with Owen held on 22 October 2012*).

These extracts show power as associated with the nationality and culture discourse. Although men had preferences on food, findings show that women hardly consider their preferences. In this way, men perceive women as dictating meals to them even when asked about food preferences. To show this resistance, women refuse to learn how to cook particular food types that men prefer. Most of these are food types from men's countries of origin. For such women, a continuous decision to refuse to cook food that pleases men is both a resistance to patriarchal expectations while at the same time being an expression of power embedded within women's gender roles of cooking. It is also a resistance to cultural and national difference based on geographical and assumed cultural boundaries.

In addition, the extracts present women as taking advantage of their nationality as South Africans to resist what is new and different in preference for a familiar way of doing things. This is an understanding of culture that presents as static. This study identifies therefore refusal to cook as one of the ways in which women confront the hierarchies of gender (Quek

& Knudson-Martin 2008). Contrary to Foucault's (1991) disciplinary and bio-power, South African women have refused the cultural positioning of women in the kitchen. In so doing, their actions of resistance are a way in which women wield and exert power in relation to immigrant men (Foucault 1982).

While women present contradicting views of their decisions on cooking, on the other hand the men view women's assertiveness as anti-patriarchal and disrespectful. They have different perceptions of the South African women's decisions on cooking as cited below,

> They don't cook at all. They do not do proper management. A woman will be using her phone to order for food costing R.250. R.250 in my country is equivalent to 5000 bucks. It can take care of a family for one week. A woman has to be so obedient to go to the market to buy different sorts of soup. Imagine the man has to pay. Enjoyment is their right. Most of us are not used to such a thing *(Interview with Gerald held on 21 October 2012).*

Apollo supports Gerald's view,

> They don't cook. I stock food but she doesn't want to cook. I have to eat out. Some day she cooked *inkomazi*[4] and *pap*[5]. I couldn't eat it. This is just one of the old ways to show unhappiness to a woman who has cooked *(interview with Apollo held on 24 September 2012).*

These extracts portray South African women as not good wives given their construction as refusing to undertake their expected roles as women. These citations draw on the discourses of the ideal woman and function to show that a true woman cooks food in her house and feeds her family from the food she cooks. Further, these citations construct the South African woman as extravagant given utilization of *take-away*[6] as opposed to buying fresh food from the market. This unwomanly behavior presents as unfamiliar to immigrant men. By portraying unwomanly behavior as unique to South African women, the discourses of difference are reinforced through negating the other and elevating the *what is common to us approach*. In this way Apollo portrays South African women as very different from other African women drawing on the idea of difference in socialization.

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[4] Inkomazi is a famous type of yoghurt that is sold in South African super markets. It is delicious yoghurt without any sugar added into it. It however does not make up sauce for a meal but is just a drink.

[5] Pap refers to cooked ground maize mill. It is a very common food in South Africa.

[6] Take-away refer to fast foods that are sold in public places. Some of the famous take-aways in South Africa are McDonalds, KFC, Chicken Licken, Hungry lion among others. These sell foods that are ready to be eaten.

In addition, while South African women portray their decision making power through exercising their authority by refusing to cook or cooking what they choose, men on the other hand refuse to eat when they cook food that is not of men's preferences. Therefore, power and resistance reinforce each other. Additionally, refusal to eat communicates to the women about the cultural wrongness of cooking unacceptable food. Refusal to eat reveals the effect of power whereby individual actions are determined by objectives that parties in action seek to achieve (Foucault 1982). The study reveals that refusing to eat is a common discourse in several cultures in Africa that silently indicates that a man is not happy with the woman and is a strategy to get the woman to change but without the man telling her anything. This advances Foucault's (1991) work on disciplinary power in terms of self-surveillance. The man does not have to monitor the woman's actions related to cooking, but expects her to check herself and change accordingly. The man's refusal to eat in this case is the means of surveillance placed upon the woman. As revealed by Apollo, a man is required to eat the food prepared by his woman. The power struggles revealed in the decisions about cooking are in agreement with Bozzoli (1983) who notes that both dominators and the dominated undergo power struggles aimed at creating an environment in which the subordinated evade domination and the dominators seek to maintain the status quo. In deciding to refuse to eat food cooked by their South African women, immigrant men portray that cooking any food that a man finds offensive is an unacceptable behavior.

5.4 Conclusion to the chapter.

This chapter shows how perceived difference in culture and socialization between immigrant men and South African women affect decision making in terms of allocation of gender roles in the household. The chapter presents women to utilize equality discourses that emanate from the legal provisions in the bill of rights and AA. The equality discourse functions to present women as equal to men both in the private and public sphere. Besides, because of the equality discourse South African women have broken ties with patriarchal stratifications of power that subordinated women during the pre-independence days.

Women also present socializations that inculcated in them notions of masculinity. These socializations linked domestic chores to women oppression. As such, the women interviewed in this study presented themselves as equal to men. As such, they utilize the knowledge of the equality discourse and socializations to decide what household chores to undertake. They also decide when and how to cook. Although the chapter presents these decisions to affect

gender relations between immigrant men and South African women, they are strategies through which women wield power while at the same time resisting the subject positions tied to the ideology of patriarchy.

On the other hand, however, immigrant men construct the equality discourse as an obstacle to socially constructed gender roles that the ideology of patriarchy allocates to women. Men mainly draw on culture that they present as static and the patriarchal socializations that accord them superiority. Most men still wanted to maintain the status quo in their households. In resistance to the women's acts of power, men compare South African women to the women in their countries of origin to portray them as unwomanly and unworthy wives. Although both immigrant men and South African women adopt different and shifting subject positions in counter resistance and or assertion of power and in influencing action and decision-making, the difference in equality and cultural discourses breeds gender relations that contest patriarchy.

CHAPTER SIX.

SILENCING AND REVIVING MASCULINITY: STRATEGIES USED BY BOTH IMMIGRANT MEN AND SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN.

6.1 Introduction to the chapter.

The previous chapters showed how perceived difference in culture and socialization between immigrant men and South African women affect decision making in terms of allocation of gender roles in the household. This chapter shows how immigrant men and South African women use similar strategies in reviving and silencing of transgressed masculinity. This chapter comprises of two sections. The first section discusses physical fights as a masculinity reviving and silencing strategy. This section shows both men and women to use physical violence to exert and counter power in interaction with each other. The second section discusses the threats of deportation as a masculinity reviving and silencing strategy. It shows women to use threats of deportation to influence men's actions while men use the same fear to act in accordance with women's expectations. This chapter as well draws on Foucault's conceptualizations of power.

6.2 Physical fights as a masculinity reviving and silencing strategy.

The study reveals that both men and women use physical fighting as a silencing and reviving strategy, as shown in the extracts below.

> South African women feel like they are bigger than men. They go to work, have money; they also want to decide over men in the home. They can say no and that is final. In our culture you know a man should be listened to but if she can't; you can't take it if you want to be a man. If you feel like a man and you don't want to be stepped on, you will fight *(Interview with Benjamin held on 21 October 2012).*

Oscar substantiates Benjamin's views. He said,

> … So the minute it becomes that there is a shift of power, you can either try and oppose that by oppressing her and try and make her feel that even if she is doing all this for you [facilitating stay in south Africa], she is still underneath you. For that you compensate the little power and try and enforce your strength on her *(Interview with Oscar held on 28 October 2012).*

In these extracts, immigrant men present their hegemonic masculinity. The immigrant men have socialization of masculinity in which as men, they are superior to women in households.

This is in line with Bozzoli's (1983) view that immigrant men carry along from their different places of origin, different beliefs of sanctified domestic relationships and patriarchies that they are determined to preserve. Men have socializations of being the final decision makers in their households. Not having a final say in domestic matters induces feelings of reduced masculine superiority in men. To re-affirm to themselves and the women in their lives that they are still men and hold patriarchal power despite reliance on women, they make do with the physical strength that they have left. They batter women in attempt to revive masculinity. These findings contribute to the earlier debate that I identified about whether violence perpetration by men is a strategy to dominate over women or a masculinity protection strategy. These findings differ from those of Kiwanuka (2008) who found that violence is a strategy of male domination over women.

From the findings above therefore, for immigrant men in heterosexual relationships with South African women, violence is not a domination strategy but one of the strategies through which they revive masculinity when they feel like it is transgressed. This is in line with Morrell (2007), James Messerschmidt (cited in Totten 2003) and Conway (2005) who argue that violence is not about female domination but about securing status as men and that domestic violence tends to be higher in such situations (Hautzinger 2003). Physical fights therefore are one of the strategies used by the interviewed immigrant men in exertion of masculine power aimed at reviving masculinity while at the same time resisting transgression of masculinity (Foucault 1982).

This study finds that while the immigrant men interviewed in this study use physical violence as a masculinity reviving strategy, women silence hegemonic masculinity portrayed through physical violence by using men's violent behavior. For the women, silencing hegemony is a strategy through which they resist men's physical power while at the same time resisting the subject positions that violence puts them through (Foucault 1980c). In order to achieve this, women convert knowledge about the men's immigrant statuses into strategies that expose men to injustices experienced by immigrants in the wider South African society. As an outcome, deciding to use physical violence as a masculinity power reviving strategy becomes the most regrettable decision taken by men as shown in the extracts below:

> Sometime I was tempted to get cross and I slapped her. That is not my thing. I don't slap a woman. She just itched me. She kept saying, 'slap me!" The only thing she did was to call the police and the police came running. I told them she beat me. They laughed at me. Instead of them coming to the point

> of everything, they just wanted to grab me. They spoke to me and said, since I did not call them but she called them, they will arrest me. I have learnt something in South Africa; that there are no rights for men. They don't care if you are right or wrong *(Interview with Julius held on 26 September 2012).*

Gerald as well comments,

> Government has empowered them [women]. Once I alert police about a disagreement, police will not want to listen to what I say. They will always judge me by what she has to say. That makes her a very superior person *(Interview with Gerald held on 21 October 2012).*

These extracts draw on the discourses of nationality and power. The extracts present South African women as continually provoking the immigrant men with the intention to show how powerful it is to be a South African in an immigrant-South African relationship. These discourses draw on the exclusionary discourses surrounding immigrants as criminals (Haupt 2010; Landau 2010). With the underlying knowledge that immigrants generally face exclusion in South Africa, the South African women wield these exclusionary discourses into strategies of showing what advantage they have over immigrant men in heterosexual relationships with them. Perhaps this explains why it is pleasurable for these women to remind their *kwerekwere*[7] men that they are foreigners in South Africa. As noted in the above excerpts, one of the easiest ways to show nationality advantage is to provoke immigrant men to lay their hands onto women. Julius shows that provocations take either verbal or physical harm. Julius uses the word 'itch'. According to the Cambridge advanced learner's dictionary, to itch is a verb that means, *"to have or cause an uncomfortable feeling on the skin which makes you want to rub it with your nails."* It also means *"to want to do something very much and as soon as possible."* From these meanings, in immigrant-South African relationships, an itch leads to an itch. When the women provoke men by either shouting at them or ordering the men to hit them, feelings of masculinity are provoked to prove themselves. In the heat of the moment, it is a time for couples to prove their powers over each other: with the women seeking to prove the power in South African-ness and the men on the other hand seeking to prove masculine prowess.

In support of the men's views, the women reveal,

[7] Kwerekwere is a common term used among South African to refer to all immigrants from other African countries. It is a term that excludes the African immigrants and potrays them as different from South Africans.

> In case of a fight, people call each other names. Just imagine saying, to the police, this kwerekwere husband of mine has beaten me up! The police will hurry. But if you just say, 'my husband', they will say this is domestic violence. If he is a foreigner, they will then take him like a dog (*Interview with Loretta held on 25 October 2012).*

> It makes the woman feel like she is on top because even the police, they are chasing them and treating them bad. So women also know that foreigners cannot do anything to them. Once you do anything to her [South African], she calls the police and when she mentions a foreign name, they come rushing. But if you report a xhosa guy, they take their time but a foreigner, in two minutes they will be here (Interview with Martha; held on 21 October 2012).

The citations above show the nationality advantage that South African women have over immigrant men, which function to show the silent alliance between the police and South African women in anti-foreigner treatment. The consequences of physical violence are indeed double edged; the South African women receive beatings and the immigrant men receive the dog-treatment from arresting officers. To portray the urgency with which the police treat immigrant-South African crime scenes, Martha uses the words *'two minutes'*. This is in contrast to the *laissez faire* speed with which the police respond to domestic violence involving South African couples. Taking an immigrant man like a dog shows the xenophobic attitude with which the police treat immigrants in South Africa. Earlier in Julius' and Gerald's extracts, they present the police as taking sides with South African women and denying them the opportunity to explain themselves. This functions to show the limited options which immigrant men have for legal redress over domestic matters in South Africa. It as well shows that the immigrant men have limited legal protection in South Africa.

This reaction from the police draws on the exclusionary discourses propagated by the state and media that immigrants in South Africa are criminals (Haupt 2010; Landau 2010; Misago et al 2009). According to Young (1971: 240), in '*The Order of Discourse',* Foucault writes, "In every society, the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality." Foucault (1988) further argues that these prevailing exclusionary discourses make up the regime of truth with which South Africans view and treat immigrants. It therefore does not matter for the police whether an immigrant man is in the right or wrong. The excerpts present the anti-foreigner attitude to deafen the police towards listening to immigrant men.

Although another prevailing discourse; the popular domestic violence discourse could be used to explain why the police sides with South African women, I view the exclusionary discourses and xenophobic attitudes as key in the ways in which the South African police handles domestic disputes between immigrant men and South African women. The domestic violence discourse shows women as common victims of domestic violence and men as common perpetrators (Burman 2008; Gavey et al 2001). To support my view, I draw on the various findings of Hornberger (2009, 2010, and 2011) to explain police actions. She finds that the police target immigrants to boost arrest numbers and as a sign that the police is working. Given the discourses that immigrants are criminals and the requirements of the police to prove that they are doing their best in policing migration and keeping law and order (Hornberger (2009, 2010, 2011), arresting immigrant men is a free opportunity for the arresting officers to boost their arrest numbers. Besides, there also is knowledge that because of the exclusionary treatment that immigrants face in South Africa, many immigrants prefer to remain as invisible as they can be from state authorities in order to avoid any victimization of illegality (Landau 2010; Hornberger 2009). For the arresting officers to be called to a crime scene involving an immigrant is therefore making the officer's search for 'criminals' easier.

The findings on the injustice that immigrant men suffer through police actions are close to the findings of Bozzoli (1983) that relate domestic oppression to external oppression from the wider political system. Bozzoli's findings however were of women's oppression in pre-independent South Africa while mine are of immigrant men in post independent South Africa. Regardless of sex and times, we both find that experiences of internal and external oppression leave victims of oppression with no place to turn to for a fair redress of oppressive treatment. What this injustice means for the victimized immigrant men is that it reminds them of two discomforting issues: one; that they are not in their country and therefore cannot enjoy the protection exclusive to nationals and two; that South African women they relate with do not condone patriarchal stratifications of power.

6.3 Threats of deportation as a masculinity silencing and reviving strategy for men and women.

The study presents women to have the discretion to enable the provision and removal of men's residence permits. Women use this authority in the silencing of masculine identity as shown in the extracts below.

> A woman wants you to crawl on your knees for her to stay with you. If police arrests me and am using accompanying spouse identification, my wife must come for me to be released. Even at the airport, if I return, they have to ask confirmation from a wife before letting a man back into this country *(Interview with Gerald held on 21 October 2012).*

Agreeing with Gerald's view, Martha states,

> If you married a woman for papers and she knows she is keeping you in this country, she will want you to always dance to her tunes. If you make any little mistake, she will tell you she will call the cops… It makes the man shake because everything is built on that paper and nothing else. He has to be good you know. She becomes like God in her country *(Interview with Martha held on 21 October 2012).*

The extracts present the protective discretion of women to depend on what attitudes they have towards the immigrant men relating with them at a given time. Unlike assumptions embedded in patriarchal beliefs that men are protectors of women, in the above extracts, the immigrant-South African relationship context in South Africa presents women as having protection discretion for immigrant men. Women are conscious of the fact that immigrant men either derive or hope to derive permanent residence and/or citizenship from them. With permanent residence and citizenship, comes perceived protection from the state authority that scouts for illegal immigrants. Women utilize this knowledge to shape gender relations in the household. According to Foucault (1977), knowledge is power and power is knowledge. The two are inseparable. He states, "there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute...power relations" (Foucault 1977:27).

Knowing that they have the authority to determine any further stay, women tend to tie so many household actions to men's fear of deportation. This serves to show how gender relations link to the threat and fear of deportation that men have. Besides, men are knowledgeable that the interference of the police limits their attempts at acquiring citizenship. This follows from the DHA requirements that for anyone to hold a permanent residence permit or acquire citizenship; they should have proof of good conduct from Police. For the men therefore, it is as important to be in the good books of the police as is with the South African women they relate with heterosexually. The threats and fear of deportation in turn tend to shape the behavior of immigrant men in households. These instigate a sense of humility for the immigrant men who fear deportation back to their countries. It is noteworthy that this sense of humility is a strategy that men adapt after the rationalizations of the dangers

of deportation in comparison with the benefits of pleasing the South African women. Men therefore choose to please the South African women relating with them with the objective of evading deportation. While this may make a woman perceive that she is in control of a man, it also means that the immigrant man has consciously thought through his situations and dealt with it accordingly (Conway 2005).

The study also revealed that deportation has a linkage to notions of masculinity and power. Deportation threatens what men want for their accomplishments. The extracts below illustrate how.

> **Lisa: how does the threat of deportation affect a man?**
>
> **Loretta:** It is a threat for him because he wants to be here. For the fact that he got married for citizenship, it means he doesn't want to be anywhere at that particular point. So it is a threat to be deported. In his country, may be things are not as good or South Africa is better. If he gets deported, what is there for him to show that he was in South Africa? It is also to do with the pride of a man's status *(Interview with Loretta held on 25 October 2012).*

Just as Loretta states, all immigrant men interviewed for this study were against deportation as shown below.

> **Lisa: what was the reason for your coming to South Africa?**
>
> **Apollo:** Everyone is looking for greener pasture. You understand what am saying? It is not as if there is no greens pasture in my country but where you cannot have it at the time you want it, you look for the alternative places, you understand? So that is it *(interview with Apollo held on 24 September 2012).*

Julius who intended to transit to the United States of America states,

> **Lisa: You have said, your intention was not to stay in South Africa but to move on to the U.S.A. Why then did you choose to stay in South Africa after the U.S embassy rejected your application?**
>
> **Julius:** I finally decided to stay here because the rand is better than the shilling. The first time I sent money to my home, I sent only R.500. They received more than 5.000 shillings. They felt like I was doing a big job. Then that was the same-same period I came to South Africa. So it convinced me to stay here (interview with Julius held on 26 September 2012).

Loretta's citation presents the discourses on belonging and masculinity. She presents immigrant men as desperate to belong into South Africa through relating with South African women and that deportation threatens the need to belong. Men's need to belong is rooted in

the different objectives for their migration to South Africa. These are the reasons for which men do not desire to return to their countries at a particular time. One of the pronounced reasons revealed for men's immigration to South Africa is the urgent need for economic betterment. The discourse on belonging presented here draws on the broader economic discourses about South Africa as Africa's leading economy (Landau & Gindrey 2008).

While Julius regards the United States of America (U.S.A) as the world's economic giant, he portrays South Africa as Africa's country with the greenest pastures for people seeking economic nourishment. Julius emphatically illustrates that the South African rand has a higher value than the currency in his country. As such, when he remits money to his country of origin, the value of the rand increases his financial status in his community. These remittances disguise him; a struggling immigrant man as a financially independent man. Considering the odd jobs that most immigrant men engage in (Sibanda 2008), being viewed as financially liberated boosts men's feelings of being men. By virtue of being able to provide for the families back home for instance, Julius receives appreciation and honor as a real man. Threatening his stay in South Africa therefore as well threatens his assumed position as a financially independent man.

Not only did the study reveal the involvement of the police in domestic disagreements and power dynamics related to deportation, it also revealed that reliable third parties were involved as well as shown below.

> Because she is South African, she feels like she knows more than me. She thinks she can just get me out of her country anytime. That is oppression. This is what happens: the man doesn't have to assert his position directly. If he has brothers and friends, he can tell them that he is trying to get his way through this and that. Where more than one person, comes into the relationship and tries to bombard you with their suggestions telling you what to do and they are telling you that you married into them and not the other way round. They remind her that he is the man, he has paid lobola[8] and she has moved over to his side *(interview with Julius held on 26 September 2012).*

In this extract, Julius positions his and other immigrant men's adjusted masculinities. In the face of household power struggles in which immigrant men and South African women strive to influence each other (Foucault 1982), the threats of deportation are one strategy that women use to silence masculinity. Deportation in this case functions to protect the autonomy

[8] Lobola refers to bride wealth. It is given to a woman's parents as a sign of a traditional marriage contract.

of the South African women while silencing immigrant men's masculinity. In response to the transgressed masculinity, immigrant men temporarily but rationally abandon the hegemonic characteristic of independence (Morell 2001) but with the objective of shielding themselves from any eventual deportation as threatened by the women. To achieve this, they involve a large number of friends and family in arbitration of the household conflicts that spark the deportation threat. This as well is pertinent in the men's efforts to re-prove transgressed masculinity. This study therefore finds that the immigrant men studied do not only use violence in the reclamation of masculinity (Morrell 2007; Messerschmidt cited in Totten 2003; Conway 2005), they also use arbitration by third parties in the reclamation of transgressed masculinity. Perhaps, the immigrant men interviewed in this study had learned that for them, violence closely links to vulnerability of deportation and adopted the third party strategy.

Three out of eight South African women however were against any third party involvement in arbitration of family conflict resulting into threats of deportation. One of them said,

> These men have the time to call the whole world to solve small things in the house. … Sometimes we just threaten them with calling the cops. … But you see, real men know how to make wrong situations to become alright. They don't need the whole world to know what is happening in their house *(Interview with Susan held on 25 October 2012).*

In this extract, the deportation discourse functions to show transgression of hegemonic masculinity. By involving large numbers of people in the arbitration of a household conflict resulting into deportation threats, South African women perceive immigrant men as not men-enough. Susan shows that real men are autonomous thereby agreeing with Morell's (2001) view on autonomy as a characteristic of hegemonic masculinity. Susan presents real men as having enormous abilities of self-problem solving and as such, mobilizing quorum to reassert masculinity is therefore unmanly. In essence, however, the involvement of so-called quorums is a masculine identity that immigrant men take on as a product of actively negotiating and resisting threats to deportation. This supports Connell's (1995 cited in Totten 2003) view of masculine identities being situational.

On the other hand, both immigrant men and South African men perceived immigrant men as being priceless to South African women. This derives from the idea and talk that immigrant men are caring and sexually superior to the South African men. As such, men use this discourse in reviving masculinity as shown in the extract below.

> I fear to be deported, yes, I do. But many times women just sing deportation knowing we fear but inside of them even you the man can see that she is just scared that you want to leave her. (laughing), these women adore us, er.., er, so much I must say. They fear to lose us more than they fear their cops. This is why it is easy for them to call the cops. Their cops threaten you with deportation just because these madams fear you… they even know that as a foreigner, it is easier for me to get another woman than it is for her to get another foreign man (laughs again) *(interview with Apollo held on 24 September 2012).*

In this extract, the discourse of deportation functions to show that sometimes South African women wield threats of deportation into a power weapon which shapes immigrant men's marital actions that threaten to terminate immigrant-South African relationships. Apollo presents that South African women in heterosexual relationships with immigrant men are afraid about immigrant men leaving them for other women. As such, they wield their fear into a mythical acceptance that threats of deportation are an effective weapon of keeping immigrant men. Deportation thus in this case becomes for these women a strategy to impose restrictions on immigrant men's access to other women as well as rendering themselves valuable to their men (Baumeister & Kathleen 2004).

The deportation discourse also functions to show that South African women view immigrant-South African relationships as viable relationships that require maintaining but also as temporary and thus the use of threats to maintain them. This perhaps explains the involvement of the cops. Some immigrant men however are no longer afraid of the deportation threats used by the South African women with whom they relate because of the awareness that the women are very afraid of losing them to other women as well as to their countries of origin. While these findings reflect women's fears of abandonment by immigrant men, they also portray the view of Baumeister and Kathleen (2004) of heterosexuality as a market place. Particularly, in immigrant-South African relationships, men are the scarce resource in the heterosexuality market.

Further, the excerpts below present the perceived value of immigrant men.

> Most of the time they [men] feel like they are down, it affects the relationship. When he goes out he finds a woman who treats him like an angel. He can leave and go…but also, a man feels like a man when having sex. …You do not want to replace your man with another useless one (Interview with Martha held on 21 October 2012).

Oscar substantiates Martha's view. He states,

> There are a lot of women out there who could have me. South African women like immigrant men. We treat them well. Women like to be pampered. If I were to say I am gonna leave you [South African woman], you would have to shape up (Interview with Oscar held on 28th October 2012).

In these extracts, men and women in immigrant-South African relationships present themselves as relying on the discourse that immigrant men are caring and sexually superior to South African men. Some interviewed men use this discourse as a strategy of threatening to leave South African women with the objective of shaping women's behavioral change. It as well functions to show that immigrant men draw on the sexual discourses to claim and reclaim transgressed masculinity. Oscar presents that immigrant men treat South African women in ways that please them. Martha as well speaks of immigrant men's perceived sexual potency by presenting the fears some of the South African women have in losing such sexually potent men. These findings add to those of Sanger (2009) and Nkealah (2011) who found that South Africans perceive immigrant men as having superior sexual potency in comparison to South African men. They also found that women perceived immigrant men as more caring and pampering than South African men are.

Further, while South African women perceive immigrant men to have higher chances of finding other women either in South Africa or in countries of origin, South African women perceive of them-selves as having limited chances of finding other partners. This could be because of the time invested in a relationship that they viewed in terms of women not growing younger and therefore being cautious of starting new relationships. Besides, if legally married in South Africa, the law on marriage does not recognize two marriages at the same time for one person (RSA 1961). In the event that a man just decides to leave his South African wife, the woman will have the burden of proving that the marriage was actually ended before contracting another one (RSA 1961). This as well is not an easy task.

6.4 Conclusion to the chapter.

This chapter has shown how immigrant men and South African women use similar strategies in reviving and silencing of transgressed masculinity. The identified strategies are physical fights and threats of deportation. The chapter shows both men and women to further wield these two strategies into strategies of power aimed at influencing each other's actions. It as well shows women to have silent alliances with the police, which alliances they use to silence

masculinities and shape men's actions. These alliances draw on the exclusionary discourses and xenophobic attitudes surrounding immigrants.

The chapter also shows that immigrant men are afraid of deportation for various reasons such as economic opportunities perceived to be in South Africa and less in other African countries. It also shows that women in shaping men's actions use this fear and desire to stay in South Africa. Men however rationally adopt strategies that position them as good men in order to evade deportation. Most men as well have mastered the sexual discourses surrounding them. They use this knowledge in maintaining their positions as men as well.

In light of patriarchy, the chapter constructs men as recognizing patriarchal stratifications of power in the household. As such, women perceived to transgress these power stratifications transgress their masculinity and contest patriarchy.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION AND WAY FORWARD.

This study aimed at understanding how immigrant men and South African women in heterosexual relationships perceive and negotiate gender relations arising from household decision making; and effects these have on notions of masculinity among couples living in Johannesburg, South Africa.

To achieve this objective, Foucault's conceptualization of power and qualitative descriptive approaches with a poststructuralist perspective were used because they allow for the understanding of knowledge as fluid, recognize many realities in the social world (Burr 1995), seek to understand "existing power relations" (Weedon, 1987:39) and allow for understanding of the socially constructed nature of human behavior.

The study finds that there are three perceptions behind formation of immigrant-South African relationships. These are love, a juxtaposition of love and selfish needs and convenience. These perceptions make up the prevailing knowledge base (Foucault 1998) of the discourses that shape gender relations among immigrant-South African households, as well as affecting the notions of masculinity and construction of patriarchy. Of all these perceptions and discourses, love presents as a pre-requisite for long lasting amicable relationships, a pillar for joint household decision-making, a solution to problems as well as good and stable gender relations between men and women. For the discourses and perceptions such as juxtaposition of love and selfish needs and convenience, the likelihood of troubled gender relations arising from partners' unrealized expectations in relationships is very high.

The study finds that income inequalities that exist determine who takes decisions on expenditures of incomes in immigrant-South African household. It presents South African women to have higher incomes than their immigrant partners do. While this inequality gives them a higher bargaining power, it instills into women feelings of manhood and leads to troubled gender relations in households. Out of the gender relations resulting from decisions on household expenditure, the men participated in the exercises and relations of power (Foucault 1982). This is achieved by allowing women to have their way as bankruptcy strips men's masculine identity and creates unequal gender and power relations between partners. In letting women be, men interpret their silence as a choice aimed at concealing emotion and

therefore a mechanism of recapturing masculinity through what Totten (2003:72) refers to as "conscious complicity."

In some instances, women and men are involved in decision-making but state policies on economic and financial procurement of assets discriminate based on nationality. High interest rates accrue to purchases made by non-permanent residence permit holders. In such instances, the study finds South African women have a nationality advantage in the making of key decisions on the purchase of assets. For men who have socializations as key decision makers, they feel like immigration has stripped them of the masculine prowess accorded to them by patriarchy. In such instances, men exercise "the agency to choose the gender identity they perform" (Conway 2005:93).

The study also finds that immigration and difference in nationality affect decisions related to children such as naming, disciplining and visiting of paternal grandparents. Particularly, in advancing different standpoints on matters related to children, the study draws on the discourses of ethnic identity, culture and economic discourses. Cohabitations with children born into them pose more gender relations that transgress masculinity than either traditional or formal marriages. These children are not considered to belong to men and as such men are expected to have limited authority over such children even though sometimes men are seen to "embody and admire" (Conway 2005:93) masculinity by forcefully taking lead in children's affairs. Men perceive masculine authority from socialization and culture to be non-negotiated and tied to their countries of origin (Mallki 1992). From these perceptions, children carry on men's lineage. Men perceive any attempts to limit their control over their children's affairs to go against the cultural position as men and to contest patriarchal stratifications of power.

The study further reveals contradictions and conflicting ideas in perceptions of equality between men and women in the households. While women perceive, present and want to be equal to men in the household, the men want to maintain the patriarchal status quo between the sexes. Women draw on their knowledge of South Africa's affirmative actions and bill of rights to shape the strategies that seek to alter and resist hierarchical power relations in their relationships (Foucault 1980c 51-52).

Specifically, AA forms one of the regimes of truth that South African women draw on to legitimize and normalize their position. Given that the exercise of power comes with effects

(Foucault 1982), such discursive actions at times are portrayed as a means through which masculinity is ridiculed and patriarchal stratifications of power contested.

The immigrant men on the other hand perceive the equality discourse as contradicting their cultural socialization. This is because immigrant men conceive identity as rooted in their countries of origin and their geographical boundaries (Malkki 1992; Hudson 2008). Their perception and internalized cultural beliefs play a major role in their understanding and acceptance of different ways of behavior (Woods 2004, 1979). As such, most immigrant men portray South African women as not good-enough for the immigrant men as wives. This perception is arrived at by most immigrant men because most South African women resist the feminine characteristics of being "sentimental, meek, dependent and fearful" (Gasteiz 2010:23) and challenge subordinated patriarchal structures (Baumeister & Kathleen 2004) that delegate house work and domestic care to women in the household.

Most women therefore either refuse or chose when to cook and do domestic chores. They also decide what and how to cook regardless of men's preferences, often taking advantage of their nationality as South Africans. In this way, they not only use this resistance to dismiss their gendered role in the household but to decide on when to **"**identify with the hegemonic gender regime in which "good women" do housework" (Wang 2010:235). In reaction, sometimes men refuse to eat the food eaten by women. What such resistances to patriarchal power stratifications shows is that both immigrant men and South African women undergo power struggles and negotiations in which both strive to influence each other while at the same time trying to protect their autonomy (Foucault 1982).

The study further reveals that the power struggles between men and women sometimes end up into physical fights and threats of deportation. For the men, physical fights are one of the strategies through which they exert masculine power to revive masculinity while at the same time resisting transgression of masculinity (Foucault 1982). Women however turn knowledge about men's immigrant statuses into power to expose them to the likelihood of deportation. To achieve this they provoke men into physical violence and call the cops to arrest the immigrant men. The women, in full knowledge that immigrant men either derive or hope to derive permanent residence and/or citizenship from them do this. In addition, women as well consider the prevailing exclusionary discourses that make up the regime of truth with which South Africans generally view and deal with immigrants (Foucault 1988). These portray

immigrants as criminals. Calling on the cops therefore is implicating an immigrant man as a criminal.

The threats and fear of deportation in turn tend to shape the behavior of men in households because involvement of cops may either lead to deportation or even pose challenges to proving good conduct at the point in time when men hope to seek permanent residence and or citizenship. Further, in the face of deportation threats, men also involve a large number of friends and family in arbitration of the household conflicts that spark the deportation threat. This happens even if it leads South African women to perceive immigrant men as not men-enough. Finally, although women's resistance to patriarchy is acknowledged by immigrant men, it does not at all times lead to the weakening of men's power. This is because power has limits in that it can only go as far as suppressing peoples interests but not erasing them completely (Cooper 1994). Although immigrant men feel like their masculinity is transgressed and that patriarchal power stratifications are contested, men are hopeful that they will always be men and women will be women.

In the analysis of this data, I do recognize that my personal readings, experiences may have affected the analysis of my findings. In respect of this, I therefore recognize that the analysis made in this research report does not apply to all immigrant-South African relationships but strictly to those of the sixteen participants interviewed. In addition, the analysis of my research findings is through both thematic and discourse analysis. If another methodology and theoretical approach is drawn on, the analysis I have made in this study could be different.

Finally, there are some aspects that came up in this research that need a deeper investigation in order to understand the effects of immigration and difference in nationality on immigrant-South African relationships. These include the dynamics of naming children born into immigrant-South Africa relationships and the involvement of children in household decision-making. I therefore recommend that future researchers take these on.

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Semi – Structured Interview guide

Basic questions:

Date of interview, Age, occupation, immigrant/ South African, relationship status, country of origin.

Questions about construction of life in Johannesburg and gender relations+.

1. Please tell me about your coming to Johannesburg/South Africa. *(Probe for country of origin, reasons for coming, realization of reasons for coming)*

2. Please tell me about how you and your partner met?*(Probe for year, length of relationship, children, relationship type, and motivations for relationship-citizenship, love, economic ground, strength and weaknesses of relationship)*

3. In your culture, how are duties apportioned between man and woman in a household? *(Probe for differences with partner's culture, current context/changes to culture, account for changes)*

4. Have the 'things' people/media say about foreigners affected your relationship in any way? *(Probe for positive and negative discourses, matching positive and negative effects, how partner/couple handles them)*

Questions about decision making in the home.

5. How decisions are generally made between you and your partner in the household? *(Probe for who makes what decisions and why?)*

6. Looking at your nationality status, are there areas in your relationship that you feel making a decision is hard/easy? (*Probe for decisions affected by nationality, immigrant status and why? impact of difficulty/ease to make decisions on relationship, regrettable decisions and why.)*

7. Are there instances when your partner and you disagree about important aspects of your relationship *(Probe for sources of disagreement, frequency of disagreement)*

8. How are such disagreement handled in the relationship*? (Probe for problem-solving strategies employed by couple-help seeking from friends, family, and institutions? What help is got, its effectiveness)*

9. Looking at your relationship, between the two of you, who do you think has more power and why?

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET.

Information about the research, for you to keep.

My name is **Lisa Rebecca Aaca.** I am a graduate student at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am conducting a research that is part of a higher degree that I am pursuing.

Purpose of the research.

I will be looking at the ways in which being an immigrant or being a South African national affects decision making in the households of immigrants and South Africans living together in a heterosexual relationship.

The research findings will also be useful in creating more knowledge about how decision making in households is affected by couples' status of being either immigrants or south Africans.

What being involved requires you to do.

I am asking you to participate in this study aimed at understanding how being an immigrant or south African national affects decision making in households involving immigrants and south Africans. I will ask questions related to household decision making and how the decision-making processes affect the marital relationships of the immigrants and South Africans involved. We shall discuss these for approximately forty-five minutes to one hour. I would like to record our discussion so that I can have an accurate record of it.

What I am promising you.

I promise that:

1. Your participation in this research is voluntary. You may withdraw from the study at any time without any penalty
2. When I report my study, you will not be named or described in any way which may identify you.
3. During the research, all data will be kept in a locked cupboard and on a password protected computer. After the research and any reports arising from it are completed, the written information and the audio recordings from the interviews will be destroyed.
4. Should you at any time want to discuss aspects of the research, please contact me.

How you can contact me.

If you have any questions or concerns about this matter, please do not hesitate to contact me at:

Telephone: (078) 017-7659

e-mail: lisaaaca@yahoo.co.uk.

Participant Informed Consent Form.

Note to the Ethics Committee:*I have not made a separate form for permission to audio record because if any potential participant does not agree to be recorded, I will not involve them in the study. I will ask them to refer me to a person with characteristics that suit the study. I do not want to be distracted by having to take notes, and an accurate record of the interview is highly essential for the quality of my findings.*

- The research has been fully explained to me.
- I have been informed about what my involvement in the research requires of me.
- I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being penalized.
- I am sure that my identity will not be revealed in reports about the research.
- I am aware that I can contact the researcher if I have questions about the study.
- All my questions about the research have been answered by the researcher.
- I agree / do not agree that our discussion should be audio-recorded

Signature……Date……