BROTHERHOOD SOLIDARITY AND THE (RE) NEGOTIATION OF IDENTITY AMONG SENEGALESE MIGRANTS IN DURBAN

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DECLARATION

I, Bilola Nicoline Fomunyam, hereby declare that this thesis is my own unaided work and has not been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other university. All references, citations, and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged.

Bilola Nicoline Fomunyam (208519680)

07/10/14

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to God almighty for his grace and favour in my life and to my brother Divine langmia Fomunyam whose personal integrity and uncompromising ethical stance is a beacon of light as well as a living legacy for me. What would I have done without a brother like you.

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To God be the Glory

ABSTRACT

This thesis based on a study titled "Brotherhood Solidarity and the (re) negotiation of identity among Senegalese migrants in Durban" examined Senegalese migration to South Africa, particularly Durban, and sought to show how these migrants negotiate and reconfigure their identities within a transnational context. The study principally set out to critically examine how Senegalese Mouride migrants exploit networks of solidarity and brotherhood through 'dahira' membership as an important source of social capital in negotiating their transnational identities. Being one of Senegal's four major brotherhoods, the Muridiyya brotherhood possesses a deep-rooted organizational practice and solidarity system that plays a fundamental role in influencing migrants on how they make sense of the migratory experience. It is argued that Mouride networks assist its members in the social integration in host societies in maintaining transnational identities and are very important in providing migrants with spiritual and ideological points of reference and aiding the development of entrepreneurial networks and niche formation. The study equally highlights that there are embedded cultural and religious values and beliefs that constitute stepping-stones upon which Senegalese migrants choose this entrepreneurial livelihood pattern.

The study opines that migration in Senegal is a complex and multifaceted enterprise which has become an integral part of people's cultural and social lives. The gendered subject position of the woman as 'nurturer' and the man as 'provider' constitute an important facet of Senegalese identity construction and is a fundamental determinant of who migrates. The study argues that migration in this context is not simply an economic endeavour but is profoundly influenced by the culture. The Senegalese migrants regard it as a training experience, a rite of passage, an initiation process, an art, a means of world making and self-fashioning that paves the way for them to lay claims to their masculine identities. Migration for these men is associated with knowledge, adventure and 'becoming a man'. Such a cultural disposition highlights the importance of migration for masculinity and explains why migration in Senegal has remained a male preserve. Women do not have the same autonomy as men to migrate given the stigma often attached to migrant women. It is also contended that failing to do this through non- migration is

likely to result in alienation, loss of respect and self-esteem which sometimes lead to masculine gender-role stress.

The study emphasizes how in renegotiating their identities in Durban the Senegalese migrants transcend ethnic and religious differences by using the consumption of home food as a common ground for a broader Senegalese identity where all internal differences are muzzled. Food in this context is a metaphor of self, a cultural feature and a non-verbal form of communication through which migrants construct the space in which they find themselves. Cuisine and culinary ways are an essential form of expression and important outlets used by Senegalese migrants to assert, sustain and reconfigure their identities in Durban. Finally, the study shows that deeply engrained in the culture of Senegalese migrants is the spirit of 'Terenga' solidarity whereby new social relationships are established while those already in existence are maintained.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Prologue

This study explored brotherhood solidarity and the renegotiation of identity among Senegalese migrants in Durban. Islam constitutes 95% of the religion that is practiced in Senegal (Fall, 2003) and all the Senegalese migrants that partook in this study are Muslims. There is no singular version of Islam as the religion is practised in a variety of ways. In Senegal the type of Islam practiced is Sufi[1]oriented. With this version of Sufi-Islam the population of Senegal divides itself into brotherhoods. The four most important brotherhoods in Senegal are the Qadiriyya, Ttijaniyyah, Layene and the Muridiyya. These brotherhoods are different from each other in that each founder in creating the particular order had a different vision and purpose even though the main objective was often to unite all Muslims. Despite the differences in their visions, they were all committed to Sufism (Mane, 2012). Coulon (1999) in an attempt to bring out the differences between them categorizes these four brotherhoods into two sets namely: those of local origin (Muridiyya and layenne) and those of international origin with broader foundations (Tijaniyya which originated from Maghred and Qadiriyya from the Middle East). Mane (2012) has also shown that the Qadiriyyah is the oldest order and was founded in the 15th century. In modern day Senegal ten percent of the population follows this order. The Tijaniyyah order was formed in the 18th century and is the largest order with a share of 50 percent of the population. The Muridiyya is the second largest and most economically powerful while the layene which is the least influential of the four was founded by the prophet Libasse Thiaw.

All these brotherhoods trace their ancestry back to a particular initiator or founder. Religion in this country is very distinctive in that it has blended with cultural practices such that one cannot distinguish between a cultural and religious practice. Thus, Islam in Senegal is expressed through Sufism and culture. This study focused on the Muridiyya brotherhood because besides being

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[1]Sufism is an orientation within Islam which emphasizes the personal search for mystical meaning. Rhythmic and continuous repetition of special prayers. Historians of religion suggest that pre-Islamic Persian practices may have mixed with Arabian traditions to produce Sufism as it emerged in the 9th century (Sodiq, 2007).

Senegal's richest and most powerful Islamic brotherhood, most of the Senegalese migrants in Durban are Mourides and the precepts of this religious brotherhood impact significantly on their lived experiences as well as on how Senegalese migrants negotiate their identities in the host context.

Authors like Piga (2003, Riccio, 2002a and Salzbrunn, 2004) have found that in Senegal as well as in places where Senegalese people migrate to, the Muridiyya brotherhood appears to be the most prominent. Etymologically, the word Muridiyya comes from the word tariqa in Arabic which means brotherhood. People who belong to this brotherhood are known as Mourides. In Sufism which is the type of Islam they practice, the word Mourides denotes a disciple or follower. This brotherhood has an embedded organisational structure which encompasses an asymmetrical yet reciprocal relationship of interdependence between the disciples and their marabouts[2]. Such a tight system of faith and solidarity enables Mourides to grow, maintain their group identity and to have a sense of belonging in a migration context. The solidarity and training system that the brotherhood offers are well adapted within a transnational context and as such its networks play a very important role in the migratory experience of the Senegalese.

This religious brotherhood was established around the 1880s by Amadou Bamba (Diouf, 2000; Bava and Gueye, 2001; Babou, 2007; Riccio, 2008 and Barbali, 2009). The Site of its relation, Touba later became its capital city. This religious order assists its members in the social integration in host societies and is equally fundamental in forming and sustaining transnational identity. It also provides ideological and spiritual points of reference to migrants as well as aids the growth of trade networks. This Senegalese religious and culturalpractice of dividing its members into brotherhoods predisposes the Senegalese men for solidarity to one another and entrepreneurship. The cultural disposition in which these migrants are nurtured is very crucial for explaining their transnational activities. Against this backdrop, this study examined how Senegalese Mouride migrants in Durban exploit brotherhood networks of solidarity to survive as a group and how their affiliation to the Muridiyya brotherhood reinforces their relative economic success in this novel transnational environment. The study further probed into how this

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[2]Marabouts also known as Sheikhs are Sufi clerics who act as saints and spiritual guides to their followers. The word means `the one who wants' (Riccio, 2001).

brotherhood was exported to Durban, the cultural factors that influence migrant experiences and adaptations, focusing on how such religious and cultural organisational features help migrants to organise businesses and to engage in mobility as well as temporary settlements within the receiving context.

Riccio (2002) argues that most Mouride migrants particularly those working as traders are men who usually leave their families in Senegal where their transnational social networks are anchored, and are involved in circulatory migration. Adler (1989:1365) notes that migration for the Senegalese is an art, a means of world-making and self-fashion and not simply an economically driven endeavour. Migration to them is highly culturally rooted as it is viewed as a training experience as well as a rite of passage and an initiation process. The study thus interrogated the gendered nature of Senegalese migration and the masculinisation of migration looking at how migration paves the way for Senegalese migrants to lay claims to their masculine identities and how such gender ideology informs how they negotiate their transnational identities.

1.2 Background to the Study

Scholarship on transnational migration has given limited focus on Senegalese migrancy in South Africa which has been on the increase since the demise of apartheid in 1994. Most of the research done on the Senegalese as a migrant community has been in the northern developed nations which have focused on their entrepreneurial activities in countries such as France, Italy, USA and Spain (for example, Riccio, 2001a; Carter, 1997; Salzbrunn, 2004 and Ebin, 1996) with limited attention given to how solidarity reinforced through brotherhood membership determines the kind of activities that migrants engage in, facilitates adjustment to host community and promotes economic success in transnational spaces. This study focused on Senegalese migrants in Durban and critically examined how Mouride migrants in Durban exploit networks of brotherhood and solidarity through dahira[3] membership to survive as a group and to foster their

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[3]A dahira is an association that groups Mouride followers either on the basis of allegiance to a particular marabout or their location (Bava, 2002). When Mourides migrate, they group themselves in networks called dahiras which form part of the socio-religious landscape of Senegal and Senegalese residence places abroad (Ebin, 1996).

economic success in the novel transnational environment. The study argued that their migration experience is profoundly influenced by the cultural factors and is intended to fill in this gap and add to the body of knowledge on migration. The study also attempted to understand the expansion and growth of the Mourid emigrant community in Durban and advances a framework for understanding its source of cohesion. The study interrogated how the culture of solidarity assists migrants to orientate themselves in host societies and how belonging to the Mouride brotherhood determines who migrates and what kind of activity they engage in, in the transnational space of Durban. The study was premised on the argument that solidarity through dahira membership constitutes a vital source of social capital for the Mouride migrants and assists to negotiate their transnational identities within a new space.

Some authors have noted that migration has a long and significant history in West Africa and Senegal (Adler, 1989). The causes for this history of permanent, circular and seasonal migration include economic and ecological reasons as well as increasing urbanisation (Swindell 1995: 196), but Zinn (2005: 58) observes that in Senegal, the migration experience is a rite of passage for young men. A similar argument is possible for Burkina Faso, where migration is also perceived to be an initiation process (Konseiga 2005: 35). Swindell (1995: 196-197) notes that in West Africa today, migration is "an integral part of peoples "cultural and social lives." This illustrates that migration is not always solely an economic or political enterprise but rather a complex and multifaceted phenomenon. This study, therefore, examined the cultural element of Senegalese migration to South Africa thus providing a more nuanced and holistic explanation of the role of the Mouride Brotherhood in Senegalese migration.

Simone (2001: 51) notes that religious brotherhoods found in Senegal are the "linchpin in the cohesion of Senegalese national identity". Stoller (2002) points out that Islam and membership to a Sufi brotherhood allows the creation of highly complex and very flexible transnational networks that provide Senegalese migrants with valuable information. Stoller further adds that such Sufi religious orders provide economic, social and spiritual support and also engender trust among the members. Within the past two decades, these Sufis have abandoned an agricultural way of life in the rural regions of Senegal to enter the world of international trade.

Prior to the crisis which pushed Senegalese young people from areas like Dakar, Kaolack (Sine), Louga (Djambour), Touba (Baol), and Kebemer (Cayor) towards a mass exodus to countries such as the USA, Spain, Italy and later South Africa, Senegalese people especially the Mourides were largely confined to Senegal's Groundnut Basin (Barbali, 2009; Riccio, 2001a; Carter, 1997 and Ebin, 1996). Through the circular migration they were able to form novel transnational spaces. About 30 years ago, Senegal was economically strong and stable but currently the country is in a precarious economic situation (Riccio 2005), which is compounded by the present famine conditions in the Sahel area. Recurring drought conditions in the country have affected the groundnut export industry and as a result there has been an exodus from the rural areas into the urban areas (Riccio 2005). Consequently, the unemployment rate is high. This has increased the number of migrants into African and European countries and cities in the USA.

Throughout the brotherhood's expansion from the countryside to urban employment and now to international migration, the Mourides have maintained a strong identity and a highly centralized organization which has extended to new communities outside Senegal in the transnational spaces. Although some authors have highlighted the different stages of transformation that have characterised the brotherhood, no study has been conducted to show how membership to this religious organization enhances particular kinds of behaviors in the transnational spaces. Nooy et al. (2005) argue that movement and adaptation to new unfamiliar spaces are facilitated by social networks. These networks exist along various points in the migrant's life and are used to inform the migratory process in both the sending and the receiving countries. This study, therefore, interrogates the bond of fraternity and solidarity that ties the Mouride and the role it plays in assisting them to orientate themselves in the host society and in negotiating their identities as migrants.

Religious and cultural practices have played an important role in Senegalese migration. The Mouride brotherhood is an offshoot of the Muslim religion that assigns to men the responsibility of caring and providing for their families and women to the duty of being good mothers to their children as well as obedient, caring and respectful wives to their husbands. Men are expected to provide their families with the basic needs of food, shelter and clothing (Fomunyam, 2008), and because the Islamic religion allows men to be polygamous, this means that the family size is

quite big leaving men with a lot of responsibilities. As a result of this Senegalese men perceive migration as an economic strategy for acquiring the amount of money needed to meet this obligation as men. This is so because due to the untold pain and misery brought about by the crisis in the groundnut basin of Senegal, which was a major source of livelihood, meeting this responsibility at 'home' is assumed to be largely imposible.

What emanates from the discussion above is that there are embedded cultural and religious values and beliefs which impact on the migratory experience of Senegalese. Such cultural and religious values, therefore, constitute the stepping-stones that allow Senegalese Mouride men to migrate as it determines who migrates and sometimes shapes the kind of activities that the migrants engage in. This study examined migration as a rite of passage and an initiation process that allow Senegalese men to lay claims to their masculine identities. The study further interrogated the relationship that exist between this notion of migration as an initiation process and the fact that it is mostly Senegalese men that migrate and even when Senegalese women do migrate, they constitute a minority (see Fomunyam, 2008; Ojong and Fomunyam, 2011; Riccio, 2002 and Salem, 1981). Thus, the study highlights the cultural factors that influence migrant's experiences and adaptation and how these ensure a form of continuity.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

This study intended to examine how Senegalese Mouride migrants in Durban exploit the brotherhood networks of solidarity to survive as a group and how their affiliation to the Muridiyya brotherhood reinforces their relative economic success in an unfamiliar transnational environment. The study achieved this by examining the following objectives:

(a) Providing an understanding of the particular factors that influence Senegalese migration to South Africa
(b) Examining how Senegalese migrants in Durban construct and reconstruct their identities
(c) Ascertaining how and why membership to the Muridiyya brotherhood is attained, the benefits of belonging to members as well as the host and home communities and the

significance of Mouride networks in the social integration of Senegalese migrants in Durban

(d) Examining the particular religious and cultural factors that impact on Senegalese masculine identity construction, the importance of migration for masculinity as well how these dynamics shape migrant experiences

(e) Probing gender dynamics of Senegalese migration and Provide an understanding of how Senegalese migrants attempt to re-negotiate their gender position and identity in the new gender regimes in Durban

(f) Interrogating how Mouride brotherhood reinforces economic success for the Senegalese migrants.

1.4 Key Questions Probed in the Study

Drawing from the objectives of the study, the following key questions constituted the focus of the research:

(a) What informed the decision to migrate? Was it a responsibility to provide for the family and / or a perceived need to better oneself?

(b) How and why did they attain membership to the brotherhood and what are the benefits of membership both to the Senegalese migrants as well as the host and home community?

(c) How and why was the brotherhood formed in Durban?

(d) How does membership to the Mouride brotherhood reinforce economic success for the migrants?

(e) What is the importance of migration for masculinity and in what way does migration pave the way for migrants to lay claim to their masculine identities?

(f) How do they re-negotiate their position in the new gender regimes in Durban and how did incorporation into both the masculine and the feminized sectors of the economy impact on their identity?

(g) How is Islam central in Senegalese models of transnational migration?

(h) What impact has ethnicity, race, religion, and class had on constructing masculinities?

1.5 Significance of the study

This study is very significant because it describes how Senegalese migrants construct and reconstruct their identities as they attempt to negotiate their stay in the host context of Durban South Africa and how a network of solidarity through brotherhood membership facilitates the establishment and success of trade networks. This is so because Senegalese migrancy in South Africa which has been on the increase since the official collapse of apartheid in 1994 has been understudied. Most of the studies conducted on the Senegalese as a migrant community has been in the northern developed nations which have focused on their entrepreneurial activities in countries like France, Italy, USA and Spain (see Riccio, 2001a, 2001b; Carter, 1997; Salzbrunn, 2004 and Ebin, 1996). Also in the South African context the few studies that have been conducted on this migrant group have focused on issues like:

(a) How they cope with xenophobia (Barbali, 2009),
(b) The complexities of African Muslim identity (Senegalese tijanis in Cape Town) (Lliteras, 2009)
(c) And the economic activities of Senegalese in South Africa (Sunkekang, 1998 cited in Perberdy and Rogerson, 2002).

Senegalese migrants construct a true sense of belonging for themselves by keeping to their membership to the Muridiyya brotherhood which is an expression of Sufi Islam. Keeping to their membership informs their choice of livelihood patterns which in turn promotes economic success and how they construct their identities within the transnational context. This study, therefore, envisioned to fill in this gap and add to the body of knowledge on migration as well as provide a timely contribution on how Senegalese migration in South Africa is understood.

Furthermore, this study is also significant in that it offers an understanding of the masculinization of migration and Senegalese male migrants as gendered beings which has been under represented in literature. For example, Muthuki (2009) highlights that scholarship on gender within transnational contexts has focused mainly on women. This focus on women downplays the fact that men are equally a gendered category since gender is relational. This

makes the study very important as it puts forward a critical and comprehensive understanding of men as gendered beings and their experience of migration. It provides an inclusive approach to gender and migration by portraying how Senegalese migrants attempt to re-negotiate their position in the new gender regimes in Durban and how being incorporated into both masculine and feminized sectors of the economy impact on their identity.

Additionally, this study is equally important in that it provides an understanding of Senegalese migrant activities particularly in Durban and in South Africa at large, showing how their entrepreneurial and business acumen is beneficial to themselves, the host nationals (through employment creation) and their families left behind (through remittances). By showing how these migrants operate their businesses, the study contributes to an effective understanding of the strategies for running and efficiently managing small businesses in South Africa thus clarifying debates on the activities of migrants in South Africa as well as prompts policy makers to reconsider the South African policy on small scale immigrant entrepreneurship. Also, by probing and describing Senegalese migrant entrepreneurial success, the study offers a more holistic picture and understanding of entrepreneurial success and the reasons why migrants choose entrepreneurial livelihoods by showing that Senegalese migrants opt for this livelihood pattern not only because it opens up avenues for them to attain upward socio-economic mobility, but also because it is deeply embedded in their cultural and Islamic religious beliefs. These religious and cultural beliefs are intertwined in entrepreneurial behavior in that it predisposes them to entrepreneurship and their subsequent success ensuing from it.

Moreover, this study is equally significant in that it analyses the social and cultural meanings of food and food habits in the process of identity construction, how the Senegalese in Durban transcend ethnic and religious differences by using the consumption of Senegalese home food as a common ground for a broader Senegalese national identity and food from the home becomes an important boundary marker between the Senegalese and the locals. Food is the principal means through which Senegalese migrants are able to acknowledge their origin as well as an embodiment of their cultural identity since it plays a very vital role in the production and reproduction of identity and social ties. Through the consumption of Senegalese traditional food the migrants express forms of inclusion and exclusion as well as different social relations

between them and others. Food is thus a metaphor of the self, a cultural feature and a non-verbal form of communication through which migrants construct the space in which they find themselves.Even though research on migration and migrant adaptation has been burgeoning, studies on how home food is utilized to maintain and reassert migrant identity and at the same time constitute a marker of difference between 'us' and 'them' still remains scant. In light of this, this study is, therefore, very vital as it offers a new perspective for understanding Senegalese migrant identity construction and as such is a noble addition to the limited available scholarship on the subject matter.

Lastly, this study on how Senegalese Mouride migrants in Durban exploit networks of solidarity and brotherhood through dahira membership to survive as a group and to their relative economic success as well as informing how they negotiate and renegotiate their identities in a novel transnational environment has not been conducted before.Through the results of this study I have been able to highlight and record critical understandings on migrant identity construction and thereby added to both the theoretical and empirical body of knowledge on gender, migration and transnationalism in South Africa.

1.6 Limitations of the study

Most of the participants were interviewed in their shops given that they are usually busy and worked from Monday to Sunday. This posed a major challenge to this study because interviews were usually interrupted when clients walked into the shop and also when other Senegalese entrepreneurs came in to either ask if they had a particular product, particular size or just for chitchat. This led to the interview process lasting too long. For example, sometimes I started the interviews and could not complete them the same day due to several interruptions making the interview process a bit tedious both for the researcher and the participant. Also, more often than not, I had to reschedule the interview time and date due to these interruptions.

Although the Senegalese migrants who participated in this study were quite cooperative it was not an easy task to get them to open up and talk about very important issues. For example,

despite their shared migration experience and common knowledge of French that made me an insider they (to some extent) still saw me as an outsider because I was a female, not a Senegalese and a non-Muslim. My gender, religion and nationality thus acted as barriers to obtaining critical information. For example, this was evident when I asked the interviewees why there were no female Senegalese migrants in Durban or why they chose to keep their wives back in Senegal and lived here in South Africa. Their response was usually that women do not like to travel out of Senegal and that if these women came here (South Africa) they would not like the country and would want to go back to Senegal. However, due to the Senegalese culture of terenga[4] I was able to develop a relationship of trust with them very easily as they felt that I could not possibly be a spy for the South African government. This enabled them to allow me to participate in their activities. After regular participation in their activities they were able to open up and talk to me about what they considered to be the 'real' reasons for the Senegalese female invisibility in the migration project. The reasons ranged from viewing migration as being for the male gender and their rite of passage to manhood, to the fear and uncertainty about women's behaviour change that might occur as a result of migration.

Equally, because identity is not constructed in a vacuum, it would have been beneficial for this study if I included local South Africans so as to understand how they perceive Senegalese migrants' negotiation of their identity and how they adapt to their new environment in Durban. For example, it would have been useful to understand the perspectives of local South Africans who are employed in Senegalese businesses as well as those who are in a love relationship with them so as to obtain a holistic and more nuanced picture of the subject matter. But because this was beyond the scope of this study, it was not done. I only focused on the experiences of the Senegalese migrants themselves.

Another major limitation to this study relates to language. The fact that Senegal is a French speaking nation meant that the participants were not fluent in English. Although they were allowed to articulate themselves in French given that the researcher is also from a French speaking country and thus has full working knowledge of French, some of the participants only had limited knowledge of French due to their low educational level as well as little knowledge of

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[4]Terenga is a word in Wolof (one of Senegal's ethnic languages) which means hospitality and solidarity

English. This resulted in communication being impaired sometimes as they tried to be brief in their explanations. This language barrier sometimes led to some level of misunderstanding of the questions and consequently the provision of responses that were not in line with what had been asked. However, the researcher endeavoured to clarify the questions sometimes in English and other times in French in an effort to overcome this challenge. Further, because the participants ordinarily speak in Wolof[5], I could not understand their discussions while conducting participant observation. Even though some of the participants usually attempted to translate what was being said, they only translated what they thought was important for me to know and their translations were often fragmented. The possibility of miscommunication in some of their translations cannot be ignored. I also noticed that this interrupted the natural flow of their conversations. This shows that not being fluent in (or at least having a basic knowledge of) the local language of the participants imposes a limit to the efficiency of data collection by means of participant observation.

Similarly, reflecting on the research process equally allowed me to come to the realization of how my gender identity, personality, the knowledge and skills I possess as well as my subjectivities can turn out to be very intrinsic to the research process and as such influence the data that is collected as well as the manner in which it is analysed. This realization enabled me to be sensitive to the ethnocentric manner in which I judged the practices of the participants and as such a great effort was made towards achieving cultural relativism.

Finally, maintaining a balance on boundaries was another challenge in this study. Keeping a suitable level of difference and distance was not an easy task. Sometimes I became too involved in their activities to the extent that they also sometimes forgot that I was a researcher. Whilst participating in the daily activities my participants sometimes made me to 'fall forward into the other'. The participants also became so used to my helping out in their stores that at times it

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[5]"Wolof is a language spoken in Senegal, the Gambia, and Mauritania, and is the native language of the ethnic group of the Wolof people. Like the neighbouring language Pular, it belongs to the Atlantic branch of the Niger-Congo language family. Wolof is the most widely spoken language in Senegal, spoken not only by members of the Wolof ethnic group (approximately 40 percent of the population) but also by most other Senegalese" Diop and Peace Corps Senegal, 2012:3).

posed a challenge. With this in mind, I had to constantly negotiate and renegotiate my role, identity and boundary throughout the duration of the field work.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

The concept of migration is a complex and multifaceted subject of study for several disciplines such as psychology, economics, geography, sociology and anthropology. This interdisciplinary nature of the phenomenon of migration has led to it being analyzed at different levels from diverse theoretical angles (Brettell 2003). This means that, as rightly articulated by scholars such as Appadurai (1999), Pessar (2003) and Portes (1997), there is a need for more sophisticated and nuanced research studies on the subject matter that will lead to a more complete theorizing of migration. Therefore, this shows that there is no distinct definitive theory of migration (Massey et al., 1993). The implication, therefore, is that scholars engaged in migration research need to be amply flexible since the context on migration research is diverse. Every study of migration in a bid to explain this phenomenon thus necessitates specific theoretical standpoints.

For the purpose of this study which unravels the complexity of current Senegalese migrancy in Durban showing how solidarity through brotherhood membership assist these migrants to relatively thrive as a migrant group and in negotiating their l identities, I anchored my arguments within a transnational theoretical paradigm. Transnationalism as a theory looks at increased interconnectivity between people around the world. Glick et al. (1992:22) state that transnationalism entails processes by which migrants forge and sustain multi stranded social relationships that link together their societies of origin and settlement. Scholars like Koser (2007), Levitt (2001) and Smith (2005b), have also shown that the notion of transnationalism encompasses the building and sustenance of solid, social, cultural, economic and manifold political connections that incorporate both migrants and non migrants since it spans across political borders, bringing about migrants multi-positionality across time and space.

Although migrants have always maintained links with their countries of origin, the magnitude and intensity of this link increased with increasing globalization and the progress made in the

realm of communication and transport (Riccio, 2001a, 2001b; Snel et al., 2006 and Van Der Veer 2002). As a theoretical paradigm, the concept of transnationalism discards the view that people are territorialized and bounded by national borders and that migration entails estrangement and long-lasting displacement and the uprooting of people from the home country (Appadurai, 1999; Beck-Gernsheim, 2007; Glick-Schiller et al., 1999 and Leonard 1997). Instead, it offers a diverse, multiple and 'fertile hybridity' (Van Hear 1998: 253). McAuliffe (2007) and Smith (2005) argue that transnationalism is a heterogeneous way of living in a world in which transnational bonds and practices are incessant, varied, multilayered, expressive and meaningful.

Transnational involvement includes a range of cross border activities like participation in political (and religious in the case of our Senegalese participants) activities, remittances, investments and communication with people in the home. Riccio (2001b) contend that transnational identification is different from transnational activities in that the former involves the degree to which the migrants' identity with other fellow migrants (from the same sending community) in the host context and also the extent of their identification with the home. Furthermore, it has been argued that transnational networks are not essentially between the host and home countries but also extend to manifold bulges in the world (Coe and Bunnell, 2003). Such an argument is true for the Senegalese migrants in Durban who participated in this study as is discussed in the subsequent chapters where the participants intimate that their transnational links are not only with those in their home country but that they also maintain such links (especially trade links) with other Senegalese migrants in other countries like Spain and Italy. However, it is worth noting that the nature of these links differs from one level to the other.

While Riccio (2004: 21) emphasises that many migrants now live their lives simultaneously across different nation states being both 'here' and 'there', Grillo et al. (2000) and Guarnizo and Smith (1998) argue that Senegalese Mouride migrants provide a good example of the phenomenon of transnational migration. Against this backdrop, this study of brotherhood solidarity and the renegotiation of identity among Senegalese migrants in Durban is positioned within a transnationalist theoretical framework because such a paradigm is pivotal in providing a more nuanced understanding of how the Senegalese migrants in Durban profoundly anchor their

experiences in the cultural and religious elements of the Muridiyya brotherhood both in the sending and the receiving context. I argue that the nature and quality of these migrants' movements and practices need to be understood in the light of the nature and quality of their membership in the South African and Senegalese contexts as well as in relation to the degree of their links with other Senegalese migrants in other countries. In light of this, this transnational approach was then utilized to guide the entire research process.

However, the complexity of transnational migration cannot be sufficiently explained through one single theoretical framework. Thus, I agree with Vertovec that "rather than a single theory of transnationalism, we will do better to theorize a typology of transnationalisms" (2001: 11). Other theories such as Social network, social constructivist, cultural endowment and social identity theories are the major theoretical lenses that informed the study. Such a multi-theoretical approach gives a more nuanced, complete and holistic understanding of the complex nature of the experiences of Senegalese migrants in Durban and how they negotiate their identity in Durban aided by their being embedded within a distinct social network of solidarity and trade provided for by their membership to the Sufi order of Muridiyya brotherhood.

1.7.1 Social Network Theory

Even though the theory of transnationalism provides a useful explanation of the multiplicity of contemporary migration, it fails to take into consideration the reasons informing the migrants' retention of their cultural capital in the process. For example, the theory of transnationalism does not explain why the Senegalese migrants preserve and uphold their social networks in the migratory process. By this I mean that while the transnational paradigm aids in the theorization of the larger or macro aspects of migration it fails to explicate the micro features that are characteristic of Senegalese migration. Therefore, I utilize the social network theory to describe the significance of their micro features such as the importance of cultural capital in the process of Senegalese migration and why it is retained.

Although Social network theory has been covered extensively in migration literature and may sometimes be seen as an overused used, it constitutes a form of social capital which is unique,

fluid and flexible albeit difficult to define. Having emerged in the 19th century and still holding validity in the present day, the theory stresses that the networks (social relationships) created by migrants helps them to find accommodation and employment and also help by providing both emotional and economic support as well as social information in the host context (Vertovec, 2002). According to Henry and Mohen (2003) social networks helps migrants in gaining and sharing resources and information for the common good of its members. While some networks are formed for particular reasons, others are created casually with no definite goal. As such, they are developed out of the necessity to find a place of shared values and common beliefs as well as the need to construct a sense of belonging. Nielsen (2004) then argues that while struggling to adapt to life in a new environment, creating or joining networks of their compatriots is an essential resource for migrants. Through social networks migrants are connected to both the sending and the receiving societies and eventually create a web of conduits through which significant information in the migratory process is transmitted.

This study, therefore, argues that Senegalese migrants in Durban possess a robust religious, social and economic network which has as a linchpin for the Muridiyya brotherhood. This network fundamentally impacts on their experiences as migrants in Durban. The structure and function of the Muridiyya brotherhood is an important source of cohesion for this group of migrants. As posited by Tostensen et al (2001), these brotherhood networks are catalysts that enable Senegalese Mouride migrants to cope with the challenges of migration. As indicated by the participants, such brotherhood networks are the cornerstone of their stay in Durban and how they negotiate their identities. The network of the Senegalese Mouride migrants in Durban is rooted in webs of interactions that expedite their adjustment and adaptation in the host community and also provides them with financial help, accommodation, a sense of belonging to a social group, trade opportunities, employment and solidarity with one another in a novel environment as discussed in chapters five, six, seven and eight. Membership to this Sufi brotherhood as well as the Islamic religion is the sine qua non for establishment of this highly complex and flexible transnational social network through which these Senegalese Mouride migrants receive economic, spiritual, social and emotional support, generate trust and acquire information. This made an analysis of the findings of this study grounded in social network theory very fundamental.

According to Mitchell (1969:53) one of the pioneers of this theory defined social networks as " a set of points defined in relation to an initial point of focus (ego) and linked by lines (relationships) either directly or indirectly to this initial point of focus". Given the common national identity and the common religious affiliations such 'links' which Mitchell talks about becomes quite dense among our Senegalese participants in this study. However the participants also maintain connections with other migrants in Durban as well as with the local South Africans but as Mitchell further stipulates the strength of such links with the 'other' in Durban largely depends on other dynamics that impact on the nature of these linkages. Using network analysis approach in this study provides a more profound understanding of the lived experiences of the Senegalese migrants as well as how they are able to make meaning of the migratory process through these networks.

1.7.2 Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory seeks to understand the experiences of subordinate and minority groups. The approach constitutes a useful prism through which migrant identities can be described since it facilitates the understanding of how migrants form and maintain their identities. According to Rogers (1987) identity is molded from the interactions with 'significant others' and the environment, and comprises of a set of norms, beliefs and values that make up an individual's sense of self. Dolby and Cornbleth (2001) take the argument a bit further by showing that social identities are often constructed and reconstructed relative to the identities of other social groups. I utilize this social identity theory as a useful lens through which to understand how the Senegalese Mouride migrants in Durban construct their identities and also how they view themselves in relation to the local South Africans as well as other migrants in the host community.

Identity is a social construct and as Tajfel (1987) rightly contended, multiple forms can exist. Many scholars have theorized that the meanings often connected with interactions are linked to the construction of self and group identity. This by implication means that why and how an individual interacts with others is closely linked to that individual's sense of self. Theorists such

as Ojong (2002) have opined that migrants often exhibit features of host and home communities contingent on the circumstances at a particular time. She further adds that the same interaction can have different meanings for different people. This means that two people can engage in the same activity with the same social group but may produce different meanings from that interaction based on their specific needs. Moeran (2003: 27) takes up the argument and goes on to state that these "beliefs and meanings held by an individual in turn shape the nature of the interactions between the person and others." I therefore argue that, migrant identity is not singular, simple or stable but rather tends to be fluid, multiple and complex. Thus these Senegalese migrants who have moved between spaces and communities attempt to retain an identity that accurately reflects who they are and at the same time be at ease with the novel environment.

1.7.3 Social Constructionist Masculinity Theory

This theory attempts to uncover the ways in which individuals and groups participate in their perceived reality and posits that masculinity is not a set of innate characteristics. Instead, it is constructed within a social and cultural context. According to Leach (1994) masculinity is a form of identity, a means of self-understanding that structures personal attitudes and behaviours. As such, masculinity becomes a cultural ideology which defines the appropriate role that a male must fulfil. Chu et al. (2005: 95) argue that the social constructionist perspective of masculinity expands on 'the more neutral construct of attitudes towards male roles and conveys the internalization as well as endorsement of cultural belief systems about masculinity and the male gender'. In such a perspective the male gender is practised in social interactions and is signified by beliefs and behaviours, like being hard and strong.

Each society assumes that 'given' attributes are fixed, although they vary across cultures and between individuals. Social constructivist theories of masculinities recognise that gender is achieved through and by people and their context. The supposed distinction between sex and gender disappears. Gender is not something we are, but something we do in social interactions. Individual social beliefs about masculinity are plural and dynamic. In Senegal as elsewhere there are indigenous definitions and versions of manhood, defined by tribal ethnic group practices as

well as historical newer versions of manhood shaped by Islam. Anchoring the arguments of this study within a social constructivist masculinity perspective was quite crucial since it offers a profound explanation of how Senegalese men's desire to migrate is linked to the different versions of manhood that they ascribe to. I also utilize this framework to explain how the gendered subject position of the woman as nurturer and the man as provider constitute an important facet of Senegalese identity construction and is a fundamental determinant of who migrates.

Such an unequal ordering of society with a high level of specificity about the role of women and men constituted important proxies that were used to analyse the masculinisation of migration in Senegal. Travelling out is a means by which men reinforce a traditionally masculine identity or a means to affirm masculinity since it enables them to fulfill the provider role. Having carried along such notions of identity, their maleness and gender relations, Senegalese migrant men react to, negotiate and counter the difficulties and challenges enforced and necessary changes that they are expected to make in the South African context which has different sets of perceptions and practices about masculinity as well as gender relations.

1.7.4 Cultural Endowment Theory

Culture forms an integral part of human existence. Cultures are the building blocks of social life. Each and every grown up individual was nurtured into a particular culture and this contributes tremendously towards his/her level of socialisation and the choices he/she makes. The cultural endowment theory stipulates that, the situations and environment to which a people are exposed to exert an influence on their choices in life. The cultural milieu in which individuals are nurtured is crucial in explaining the kind of activities they engage in. This is similar to the concept of cultural capital developed by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in which he argues that people accumulate a set of competence and cultural resources during the course of socialization into their designated class stratum and that this crystallized and embodied knowledge about, and the ability to correctly consume cultural objects operates as a sort of social currency that can be transformed into other types of material and social benefits and resources (Bourdieu, 1984).

Bourdieu (1984) further adds that cultural habits and dispositions inherited from the family comprise a fundamentally important resource capable of generating profits. It applies to the advantages that one is given due to the environment they grow up in (Lareau and Weininger, 2003). Culture is one of the most important factors which determine the Senegalese migration pattern making this theory very useful for this study as it constitutes the prism through which the cultural factors that influence migrant's experiences, adaptation and choice of sources of livelihood are understood. I argue that the involvement of the Senegalese migrants in entrepreneurial activities is to a larger extent due to the type of environment into which they were nurtured.

1.8 Outline and Structure of Dissertation

Chapter 1: Introduction

This introductory chapter provided the background to the study which foregrounds the research problem and objectives highlighting the main research statement as well as the key research questions underlying the study. All these culminate in the rational and significance of the study. Lastly, the chapter discussed the limitations of the study and provided an overview of the thesis structure and evokes frameworks such as social identity, social network, cultural endowment and social constructionist masculinity theories upon which the research was grounded.

Chapter 2: Research Methodologies and Methods

This chapter discusses the methodology and the methods used in collecting and analysing the data. It equally provides the sampling procedures, how informed consent was sought and the actual data collection. The chapter closes with a profile of the research participants.

Chapter 3: Behind the Scenes: Reflexivity and the Fieldwork Experience

This chapter highlights the experiences of the researcher during the course of data collection for the study and documents the ways in which the researcher had to navigate the complexities of otherness and identity. The chapter also considers how reflecting on the fieldwork experience

can lead to personal growth and development for the researcher. This chapter equally discusses the different challenges that the researcher faced during the course of field work.

Chapter 4: Literature Review

The chapter reviews relevant literature on the topic, situating the study within migration discourses in anthropology. It discusses the major trends in Senegalese migratory patterns and uses the South African example to highlight the history of and current trends in Senegalese migration, the reasons for Senegalese migration and how the Senegalese migrants typify the phenomenon of transnationalism.

Chapter 5: Mouride Brotherhood and Transnational Networks

This chapter explicates the structure of the Mouride brotherhood looking at how the brotherhood was formed, who constitutes its members and how membership is attained. It expounds the religious aspects of Senegalese migration and considers the cultural and religious element of belonging to the Mouride brotherhood and how this in turn provides Senegalese migrants with a sense of community and identity. The chapter equally offers an analytical insight on how Mouride transnational social networks are created and the benefits of belonging to this brotherhood both for the individual migrants and the host and home societies.

Chapter 6: Defining Maleness in the context of Migration

This chapter elucidates the importance of migration for masculinity looking at how migration paves the way for Senegalese migrants to lay claims to their masculine identities. It examines the masculinization of migration, the patriarchal nature of migration and migration as a rite of passage. The chapter also explores how the Senegalese migrants in Durban attempt to re-negotiate their position in the new gender regimes in Durban and what accommodation has occurred as they have been incorporated into both the masculine and also the feminized sectors of the economy. Finally, the chapter shows how these young men construct their social identities in the context of migration and masculinity.

Chapter 7: The Role of Food in Senegalese Identity Construction

This chapter examines the role that food plays in the construction of identity among Senegalese migrants in Durban. It analyses the social and cultural meanings of food and food habits in the process of identity construction. The chapter emphasizes how the Senegalese in Durban transcend ethnic and religious differences through the consumption of home food as a common ground for a broader Senegalese national identity. It also probes into food and eating rituals as significant identity markers of difference between Senegalese and South African culture.

Chapter 8: Migrant Entrepreneurship in South Africa

This chapter discusses the livelihood patterns of Senegalese migrants in Durban focusing specifically on their entrepreneurial activities, the driving forces behind their choice of this livelihood pattern and the strategy behind their success. The chapter further highlights the significance of Senegalese migrant entrepreneurship arguing that besides opening up avenues for migrants to attain upward socio-economic mobility, entrepreneurship also offers migrants a good opportunity to better integrate themselves into the host community and produces benefits for South Africa through the creation employment for others and the passing on of entrepreneurial know-how. The chapter equally illuminates how Senegalese migrants see their involvement in entrepreneurial activities as fulfilling their religious destinies.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

This closing chapter presents an overall résumé of the research findings and the important contributions that the research has made. It equally offers suggestions for further research on migration and identity issues that are deemed necessary but were not possible for me to cover given the scope of this study.

CHAPTER TWO
RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES AND METHODS

2.1 Introduction

It is very essential that a researcher designs not only the research methods suited for his or her study but also the methodology if he or she is to realize the objectives of the study and to sufficiently provide answers to the research. Research methods refer to all the techniques and procedures that a researcher utilizes in conducting research (Brewer, 1994).Brewer further adds that research methodology on the other hand is the means by which a researcher solves his/her research problem systematically. It has been referred to as the science of understanding the process by which research is done scientifically. This chapter describes both the methodology and the methods used in carrying out this study. It spells out as well as motivates for the research design, sampling frame, data collection techniques and methods of data analysis chosen in the attempt to provide answers to the research questions. The chapter further discusses the ethical issues that were considered, how informed consent was sought and profiles the research participants.

2.2 Setting the Pace for Enquiry: Preparation and Planning

Prior to carrying out the actual interviews and the participants' observations which served as the primary source of data for this study after the idea had been conceived, a preliminary literature survey was conducted on different issues related to the topic such as the history of brotherhoods in Senegal, factors influencing out migration (push/pull theories) from Senegal, constructions of masculinity and the masculinisation of migration as well as other related readings which were essential to the study. I conducted a series of observations in Senegalese shops in Broad Street, sites surrounding point road and the workshop in Durban before the actual interviews. I went to these shops as a client and then tried to create a rapport with the Senegalese in these shops. I visited these shops frequently for a while and only when I had established a good rapport with

the Senegalese men did I reveal my intention of conducting the research among the Senegalese community as well as sought their consent to participate.

These observations were preceded by an onward point of entry into the 'field' and subsequently the actual field work was conducted using interviews and participant observation.The table below summarizes the different stages that characterised this study:

Figure One: Stages that Characterised the Study

STAGES	TASK DESCRIPTION
Stage One Preparation and planning	The conception of the idea for this study was foregrounded by my interest in identity politics in contemporary Africa. I identified the Senegalese migrants in Durban with whom I had conducted a previous study for my honours thesis. I then did a preliminary literature review on the topic after which I wrote and presented my proposal. Ethical clearance was obtained from the University of KwaZulu-Natal (see Appendix). This was followed by the construction of research tools such as Informed consent sheets and Interview guides. The sample was selected using purposive and snowball non-probability methods. Twenty-five Senegalese migrants were selected to make up the sample. Their ages ranged from 30 to 55. Informed consent was sought from the participants.
Stage Two Data collection through Participant observation	

and one on one in-depth semi structured interviews	25 interviews were conducted and each one lasted between one hour and four hours. 5 follow-up interviews were also conducted with five key participants. Most of the interviews took place in the shops owned by the participants and as such were often interrupted when a client walked in.

I observed and participated in the daily activities of the participants. Most often I assisted in attending to clients especially when they were more than one at a time. I also attended and participated in their social and religious gatherings such as the celebration of the grand Magal and Eid-Al- Fitr. I attended and observed their Dahira meetings and its proceedings on Saturdays. I also visited some of the participants (who allowed it) in their homes listening, observing and participating in their daily experiences. The data was collected over a period of seventeen months. |
| **Stage Three**

Data transcription, sorting and entry | All the information gathered was transcribed and those that were recorded in French were translated into English. The data transcripts were then coded and similarities as well as differences in the interview combinations were identified. |
| **Stage Four** | The data collected was then analysed using content and discourse analysis and anchored on different theoretical frameworks as was suited |

Data analysis	for each for the ideas as articulated in the chapters.

2.3 The Research Design

According to Durrheim (1999: 29) a research design is a strategic framework for action which serves as a 'bridge between research questions and the execution or implementation of the research'. For the purposes of this study, I employed the qualitative and descriptive research design. The choice of this design enabled me to provide in depth description of the participants' responses to the research questions and this is discussed in detail in the next section.

2.3.1 Qualitative Research Methods

This research was ethnographic and utilized the qualitative approach to data collection and analysis to gain depth. A qualitative research is concerned with qualitative phenomenon involving quality. This research method is very vital to anthropological studies aimed at understanding the nature of phenomena (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002). With qualitative research the aim is to get both the feeling and the meaning as well as to describe the situation. It is non-numerical, uses words, applies reasoning and is descriptive. According to Bryman (2004:266) qualitative research is a "research strategy that usually emphasizes words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data". Babbie and Mouton (2001:270) further add that qualitative research is a 'generic approach in social research according to which research takes as its departure point the insider perspective on social action'. With this approach the researcher sees the world from the perspective of the research participants.

This research sought to discern patterns of shared understanding among Senegalese migrants as well as the variability in those patterns which makes it suitable to explore cultural and social practices and the different responses to such practices. Congruent with these goals, a qualitative

research design generates knowledge of social events and practices by probing into what they mean to the people involved, how they interact with and interpret the world around them and detailing how they interact with each other which allows for a systematic discovery. This made the use of the qualitative design very useful for this study. In qualitative research, greater insights are gained through examining the qualities, characteristics or properties of a phenomenon (Henning et al., 2004). Qualitative research does not rely on the numerical strength of the study phenomena; instead, it interprets meaning through a simple representative sample. This approach gave a much clearer, natural and a "complete" picture of how Senegalese migrants in Durban negotiate their identity through their membership to the Mouride brotherhood.

The qualitative research design employed in this study enabled me to explore how the Senegalese migrants in this study create and give meaning to their lived experiences. With the understanding that 'what is talked about' cannot be separated from "*how* it is talked about" (Henning et al, 2004), I focused on the social constructionist approach which postulates that the natural context of peoples' lives and the socio-cultural and interpersonal fabric impact on their actions and perspectives which meant asking the 'what, why and how' questions (Chu et al., 2005). I strived for rigour in this qualitative study by paying particular attention to the language used by the participants as they shared their subjective experiences and perspectives on the different research questions posed. Patton (2002) shows that qualitative inquiry is principally turned towards discovery, exploration and inductive logic. This inductive design strategy gives room for the significant dimensions to crop up from patterns of analyses established in the cases under study without presuming in advance what these significant dimensions will be. In this regard, this study attempted to understand behaviour from the frame of reference of the Senegalese participants.

In a qualitative research design the researcher attempts to construct a full or complete picture of the phenomenon under study by examining diverse aspects of the data making it holistic. In this study, I attempted to understand the different aspects of the experiences of the Senegalese migrants. In doing so, I was able to obtain a rich, thick and deep description and interpretation of behaviour as evidenced in the narratives of the participants rather than quantity (Henning et al., 2004). Taylor (2001b) concurs with this argument but adds that in order to achieve this, every qualitative research process must be flexible, iterative and emergent. This implies that there is a

constant relationship between this kind of study design and discovery which corresponds with Babbie and Mouton's (2001) argument that the research method is not inevitably a straight development through the various stages in the process, but is rather a movement back and forth. In line with Durrheim (1999), I obtained regular feedback from the participants' responses in an attempt to get fresh insights which sometimes led me to clarify or modify certain questions, adjust the techniques and explore new leads to ensure data saturation. Examining and reflecting on the fact that I was the researcher formed part of this iterative and flexible process of revision and interpretation that moved the data collection process in this study towards its objective.

Perspectives of experience as well as personal knowledge usually influence interpretation in qualitative research although many qualitative researchers suggest different descriptions. This, therefore, explains why there are multiple realities in qualitative research (Terreblanche and Durrheim, 1999) as opposed to the assumption in traditional quantitative research that there is a single objective reality. The emphasis in qualitative research is not on making predictions but rather on understanding a given social setting. A method giving room for the emergence and exploration of these multiple realities was indispensable given the nature of the topic under investigation namely, Brotherhood Solidarity and the renegotiation of identity among Senegalese migrants in Durban.

It has been suggested that for researchers to ensure the relevance of this research design, they need to engage in three generic and interconnected activities namely ontology, epistemology and methodology (see Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Patton, 2002 and Terreblanche and Durrheim, 1999). Ontology is a manner of specifying the nature of reality that is being examined which involves probing into the likelihood of a single definitive truth and reality as against certainty that there is a multiple socially constructed reality. Different ontologies propose different theories about the nature of reality since they offer different beliefs about social existence. Researchers who hold this view believe that people's subjective experiences should be seriously considered because they are real. Epistemology specifies how 'we know what we know' and thus lays emphasis on issues such as subjectivity, objectivity, generalizability and causality. This is based on the assumption that one can understand the experiences of others just by listening to and interacting with them. Methodology, according to Ramazanoglu and Holland (2002), implies

connecting certain ontology to certain epistemology in an attempt to provide guidelines that stipulate how to create valid knowledge of social reality. It involves the researcher exploring what he or she believes can be known.

A paradigm is the net that comprises the researcher's ontological, epistemological and methodological premises. It is the primary set of beliefs that guides action (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Paradigms greatly impact on the research questions in terms of what is studied and how it is studied making them very crucial to the research design. Different perspectives and paradigms employ different sets of methodologies. For example, while positivists claim that the clearest possible ideal of knowledge that has facts which are context free are provided by science, the anti-positivists espouse a subjective standpoint in dealing with the experiences of people in a particular context. This thus rendered the interpretive paradigm quite appropriate for this study as is discussed in the next section.

2.3.2 Interpretive Paradigm

The interpretive paradigm perceives the world as constructed, experienced and interpreted by individuals in their interactions with one another as well as wider social systems. It has been argued that the epistemology of social science has a strong affinity with textual interpretation (Patton, 2002). 'Verstehen' is a method of understanding which seeks to understand reality from the perspective of the research participants anchored on the premise that reality is socially constructed (Cohen et al., 2000). This explains why Babbie and Mouton (2001) argue that the real meaning of a practice can only be understood when placed within a particular social context. Similarly, Friedl et al. (2002) highlight that a people's behaviour and practice can be understandable and meaningful to a researcher if he or she places such behaviour and action within the context of the people's lives and the lives of the people around them. Since this research was conducted among Senegalese migrants in Durban, it was very essential for the research to consider this context throughout the research process. Interpretive researchers try to understand the world from the 'outside in' and the 'inside out' (Kelly, 1999: 402). Such an approach involves the researcher describing a particular cultural system from within thus 'going emic' by allowing the data to talk for itself. The etic in its reference to the outsider's perspective,

allows for the use of theory in understanding a particular phenomenon. In this study, I endeavoured to incorporate both the etic and the emic perspectives. The central features of this paradigm can be summed up in the following table:

Figure Two: Features of the Interpretive Paradigm

Criteria	Features of the Interpretive Paradigm
Basic assumption	The social world is constructed of symbolic meaning observable in human acts, interactions and language. Single events are open to multiple interpretations (Potter and Wetherell, 2002; Cohen et al., 2000; Terreblanche and Durrheim, 1999). Reality is multi-layered and complex (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Friedl et al.,2002)
Sources of evidence	Meanings are derived from perceptions, experiences and actions in relation to social contexts (Friedl et al., 2002 and Crossley, 2002). Many events are not reducible to simplistic interpretation hence thick descriptions are essential rather than reductionism (Patton, 2002 and Cohen, 2000.)
methods	Semi-structured, open questions and observation enable participants to express thoughts and action in natural ways. Data collection methods include in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (Patton, 2002).
Research intensions	Semi-structured, open questions and observation enable participants to express thoughts and action in natural ways. Data collection methods include in-depth interviews

	and focus group discussions (Patton, 2002).
Level of participation	Participants are active partners in data collection and respond spontaneously to semi-structured questions.
Impact on study participants	Participants are aware of their engagement in the research process. They may gain insight into their own perspectives and behaviours, as well as the topic of the research.

(Adapted from Ulin et al., 2002: 28-29)

2.4 Data Collection Techniques

In order to obtain a more holistic, nuanced and contextual understanding of how Senegalese Mouride migrants in Durban exploit networks of solidarity and brotherhood through dahira membership to survive as a migrant group in South Africa, in-depth interviews and Participant observation were utilized. Combining multiple data collection methods in an effort to elicit rich information has been strongly suggested by a number of scholars (see Bloor et al., 2001; Brewer and Hunter, 1989; Henning et al., 2004). The use of a combination of in-depth semi-structured one on one interviews and participant observation was employed in this study because it allowed for a detailed exploration of the behavioural attitudes and experiences of the Senegalese migrants. This mix method approach enabled me to compare, cross-validate and cross-fertilise the data collected from the in-depth interviews with that collected during participant observation in a bid to elicit rich qualitative data. The interviews and participant observation were conducted over a period of 17months that is from August 2011 to January 2013.

2.4.1 The Interviewing Technique

In qualitative research, interviews are the most common method of data collection. The primary means through which data for this study was gathered is in-depth semi-structured one on one interview. Various scholars have shown the nature and purpose of interviewing as a research

method and their views were quite instrumental in the choice of this technique of data collection. According to Patton (2002), for example the feelings, intentions, thoughts and meanings that people attach to their lived experiences cannot be observed. So, to understand such issues one has to question them. Questioning is meant to give one an entry into the way others perceive their world. Such perceptions are assumed to be meaningful and knowable. This explains why interviews have been described as the primary method of collecting information on attitudes and beliefs (what a person thinks), knowledge (what a person knows) and values and preferences (what a person likes or dislikes) (Cohen et al., 2000). This helps in understanding how a person constructs his or her frame of mind.

In-depth interviews are essential for understanding the lived world of the participants and have the potential of eliciting information that might not have been gained otherwise. Babbie et al. (2006) define semi-structured interview as a data collection technique consisting of a clear list of issues and questions to be addressed. Such a method is quite useful in that it is characterised by a high level of flexibility which allows research participants' responses to be unrestricted. This in turn gives room for new questions relating to the research to be generated based on participants responses (De Vos, 2005). The choice of this method was thus reliant on Babbie et al. (2006) contention that it allows research participants to open up and speak freely on the issues raised which leads to a fuller or complete understanding of the phenomenon under study.

The in-depth semi-structured interview in this study focused on probing into the experiences of the Senegalese migrants and the meaning they ascribed to such experiences, and how they perceive their lived world. It also provided the opportunity for me to explore their reactions to other findings such as those obtained from participant observation. Semi structured in- depth interviews are an interactive process involving the researcher and the researched which leads to a clear understanding of how both the former and the latter construct meaning (Rossman and Rallis, 1998). This implies that the researcher does not only listen and record the participants' perceptions of their lived experiences since the interactive nature of the interview process is fundamental in the way the researcher will interpret the data that he or she gets. Interviewing is thus a process through which the content of the interview is being made and not just the content (Babbie and Mouton, 2001 and Patton, 2002).

Being able to maintain a balance between consistency and flexibility during the process of data collection has been pointed out by Greef (2002) as a major challenge in interviewing. During the course of the interviews I employed a great deal of flexibility in an attempt to elicit valuable information from the participants and I also ensured that I maintained a high level of consistency in the kind of questions I asked the participants, as well as in the depth and extent of exploration in an effort to give ample room for comparison. This was in line with Cohen et al., (2000) argument that interviews can be prone to the interviewer's bias and subjectivity. The researcher's flexibility in wording and sequencing questions can lead to significantly dissimilar responses from the participants and it can also reduce comparability.

An interview guide was utilized to ensure consistency. This interview guide consisted primarily of open ended questions (See Appendix). The interviews were a social interpersonal encounter which allowed me to do probing when certain interesting issues were raised by the participants. The interview guide was formulated with specific focus on the research questions in an attempt to gain in-depth information on each of the questions. The questions were worded bearing in mind the participant's level of education. In constructing the questions, I followed Fontana and Frey's (2000: 660) argument that in constructing interview questions, it is very necessary for the researcher to construct a 'sharedness of meanings' wherein both the researcher and the participant understand the contextual nature of particular ideas. However, despite the fact that I had pre-determined questions, the interview process was guided by and not dictated by it.

The questions were open ended to enable the participants to speak widely on the different issues raised and thus allowed intensive probing and depth. This system of open ended questions also enabled me to explore the beliefs of the participants, cementing the rapport that had been established and thus encouraged cooperation. Following Henning et al.'s (2004) suggestion that it is useful to have a single interview because it is hard gain the same quality in a subsequent interview, I conducted a single interview with 18 out of the twenty-five participants. The interviews lasted from one hour to one hour thirty minutes during which content was sufficiently covered. I consistently referred to the interview guide and the content of the interviews to ensure that I had elicited the relevant information for the study. However, I conducted follow up

interviews with seven key participants (Mustafa, Diop, Mbacke, Mapate, Ayesha, Wade and Gora).

The interviews were audio-taped with the consent of the participants and were transcribed verbatim to avoid the loss of information. Using a tape recorder enabled me to listen more and to observe non-verbal cues which led to an extensive amount of data being collected. However, not all the participants allowed the use of a tape recorder as they felt uncomfortable with it. In such cases where permission for tape recording was not granted, notes were taken in a fieldwork notebook. The voice recorded data were transcribed verbatim. Verbatim transcriptions of interview data have become a common strategy for data management and are considered in research as an integral part of analyzing and interpreting verbal data (Halcomb and Davidson, 2006). This method of transcription was vital in this study because it assisted me in fully capturing the kind of words and expression that the participants used as they described their understanding of the issues that were raised. This gave me a natural trend that aided me in analyzing the findings within specific conceptual frameworks.

Request for interview was addressed directly to the participant; date, time and venue were agreed on between the participants and me. Since Senegal is a French speaking country, the participants were allowed to express themselves in French in cases where they could not articulate themselves in English. Because I have a working knowledge of French, I was then able to transcribe and, where necessary, translate the data into English. Some portions of these transcribed interviews are extracted and given in the form of excerpts in the write up. A short profile of each of the twenty five participants that were interviewed is provided in section 3.8 below.

2.4.2 Participant Observation

As suggested by Dewalt and Dewalt (2002) using participant observation with other research methods such as interviews helps in ensuring the validity of the data. This is so because participant observation enables the researcher to better understand the context and this leads to a holistic and objective understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. In line with this

argument, participant observation was employed in this study to reinforce the interviews. Observation has been defined as the systematic description of behaviours, events and artefacts in a particular social setting under investigation (Marshall and Rossman, 1989). Erlandson et al. (1993) further add that observations allows one to provide a kind of 'written photograph' of what the individual is studying through a description of such situations using the five senses. Through observation and participation, I was able to learn about how solidarity and brotherhood facilitate the process of Senegalese identity construction in Durban in their natural setting. Participant observation involves the immersion of the researcher in the daily activities of the partcipants and participating therein as well as interacting with the research participants with the aim of gaining a deeper understanding of their life world. It has been defined as "the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day to day or routine activities of the participants in the research setting" (Schensul et al., 1991: 91).

Participant observers are expected to maintain objectivity through distance and impression management (Bernard, 1994). This is because to him, participant observation involves not just observation and participation but also unobtrusive methods like interviews, natural conversations and checklist. He further notes that participant observation is the process of learning to behave in a manner that will allow the researcher to blend well in the community that he or she is studying. It enables the research participants to act naturally as well as aid researchers in developing a good and friendly rapport with the research participants and to be able to detach himself or herself from the research site and then immerse himself or herself in the data in a bid to get a good understanding of the phenomenon under investigation and to objectively write about it. According to Dewalt and Dewalt (1998) participant observation involves a myriad of actions such as being a good listener and a careful observer, having knowledge of the propensity for making mistakes as well as culture shock, to have a non-judgemental and open attitude and having an interest in learning about others as well as to expect the 'unexpected' about the phenomenon being studied. Fine (2003) concurs with this argument albeit referring to participant observation as 'peopled ethnography' which involves labour intensive observation in the field for a long period of time which enables the researcher to become part of the group that he or she is studying.

I adopted the stance of a child who knows nothing and who is willing to be taught so that my participants could teach me what I wanted to know about their culture. This was congruent with Dewalt and Dewalt's (2002) argument that ethnographers should be apprentices who take the attitude of a child who needs to be taught about the cultural mores to enable them to enculturate. Such an approach was quite beneficial in that the Senegalese migrants who participated in the study felt that they needed to explain the different things which they presumed I was supposed to know about them. Because of this they were also able to invite me to those events and gatherings from which they believed I would learn a lot about what they were trying to teach me. For example, Mor invited me to the 'Parallel Magal' that will be discussed in chapter five and alos went the extra mile of arranging for his sister in Senegal to buy a video CD of the 'Grand Magal' celebrations in Touba and send to him so that he could give me because he believed that if I watched that Video, I would be able to get a better understanding of how the Grand Magal is celebrated as well as what it means both for the Senegalese Mouride talibes in particular and the Senegalese society in general.

I participated in the daily activities of the participants. For example, I spent most part of my days in their shops interacting and chatting with them when there were no clients around and when they had many customers at the same time I often assisted in attending to these clients. Sometimes when there were no clients they all came out of their shops and chatted and joked with one another. 'Hanging out' with them at this time helped me a great deal in establishing a friendly rapport with them. However, during such times they always talked to each other in Wolof a language which I have no knowledge of. Sometimes some of them opted to play the translator role attempting to translate all that was being said into English so that I could understand what was being said. I also observed and participated in their religious (celebration of the grand Magal and Eid-Al- Fitr) as well as small social gatherings (visiting them in their homes which is usually a shared space accomodating from two to sometimes five men on Sunday evenings) reflecting on the opinions and views that are transmitted among the group so as to discover the nature of social reality by understanding participants' perception, understanding and interpreting their daily experiences. Again, I attended the Mouride Durban Dihira meetings on Saturdays at the third floor of the Commercial city Building, during which I observed and recorded their activities.

Observing and participating in these activities enabled me to understand how these men communicate with one another and to check for non-verbal expressions of feelings. It also gave me the opportunity to observe the situations that the participants talked about during the interviews and as Marshall and Rossman (1995) argue this could lead to the discovery of inaccuracies or distortions in the information provided by the participants. This method was useful in this study as it enabled me to understand the cultural parameters that define how the Senegalese construct their sense of identity, how they interpret it as well as how they organise and prioritize things (Schensul et al., 1999) which in turn lends useful credence to 'back stage culture' and to the researcher's interpretation of what he or she observes (Bernard, 1994).

With the understanding that the degree of participation affects both the quality and amount of data collected, I adopted the stance of observer as participant as suggested by Gold (1958) in his four observational stances. Such a stance allowed me to observe and participate in the activities of the Senegalese migrants while keeping a conscious distance at the same time to enable me 'see things clearly' (Henning et al., 2004). The role of 'observer as participant' involves the researcher observing and participating in the activities of a group which he or she is not a member in a bid to generate a more nuanced and complete understanding of the activities of the group being studied (Gold, 1958). According to Adler and Adler (1994: 380) such a role allows the researcher to "observe and interact closely enough with members to establish an insider's identity". Here the researcher's emphasis is on collecting data and not so much on participating in the activity being observed. In line with Merriam's (1998) argument, I participated in the activities of these migrants but did not allow myself to become too absorbed in these activities so as to avoid obstructing simultaneous observation and analyses. All the observations were recorded in field notes and later collated and analysed for content. I also did photographic observation thus utilising photographs in an effort to illustrate the different aspects of the activities that I was describing. This approach was very useful in that it helped me remember the sequence of the activities through careful numbering and organising the photos as they were taken during the course of a particular event.

2.5 Sample Population and Sample Selection

The study was conducted at the South Beach neighbourhood and the sites surrounding point road, Broad Street and the Workshop area in Durban where there is a high concentration of Senegalese migrants involved in entrepreneurial activities. Selecting a study sample is a significant step in any qualitative research process because it is seldom practical, ethical or efficient to study entire populations. Sampling is the specific technique that is used in the selection of a small subset of a particular population. In qualitative research the meaningfulness, validity and insights generated depend on the richness of the sample selected as well as the analytical qualities of the researcher and not on the size of the sample. For this study which was designed to examine how Senegalese migrants through their membership to the Muridiyya brotherhood negotiate their identity and sense of self in Durban, Senegalese Mouride migrants constituted the core sample. Semi structured one on one interviews were conducted with twenty-five Senegalese migrants (24 of them males and one female) who were all Mourides.

These twenty-five participants were selected using the Purposive and snowball nonprobability sampling techniques. Atkinson and Flint (2004) refer to snowball sampling as a system for getting research participants through the identification of an initial participant who is used to get the names of other potential participants. This method is often utilized when the desired sample characteristics are rare (Brink, 1996). It is a referral method which takes advantage of the social networks of already identified participants in that the participants with whom contact has already been made then refers the researcher to other potential participants. Suggested participants were interviewed through a purposive selection. The purposive method allows for a selection of a sample based on your own judgment (Babbie et al., 2007). The initial participants were purposefully selected from among the Senegalese migrant entrepreneurs that I had established a rapport with during a previous research. These initial participants were then utilized to generate additional participants.

All twenty five Senegalese migrants that were part of this sample were Mouride Muslim and were between the ages of 30 to 60. It transpired that a substantial proportion of the migrants was

part of the younger age group. As with age, their marital statuses differed with 20 migrants being married and five unmarried. Access to these migrants was relatively easy and they were generally willing to cooperate partly because of the Senegalese culture of 'Terenga' as evidenced in chapter five and six. This made the researcher's task much easier and lent itself amply to the concept of qualitative data gathering.

2.6 Methods of Data Analysis

Insights were gained from the several steps suggested by Friedlet al. (2002), Henning et al. (2004), Silverman (2000), and Ulin et al. (2002) in an attempt to organise and analyse the data for this study. The first step in analysing the data that I had acquired away from the field was managing it. In this regard, I transcribed all the recorded interviews verbatim and where necessary translated the data into English. I then arranged these data transcripts together with the field notes that I had taken during participant observation into file folders. Subsequent to this I then coded the data using both number coding and markers and converted all the files to appropriate text units like a sentence, a word and sometimes even an entire story. In line with Friedlet al (2002) argument, I combined these transcriptions with the preliminary knowledge and literature review and this constituted a fundamental part of the data analysis. Such an approach was quite useful in that once it had been organised in this manner, it became very easy to retrieve as well as manipulate the data.

The second step in the data analysis process for this study was immersing myself in the data in a bid to understand and develop a sense of the characteristic language used by the participants (Friedl et al., 2002; Henning et al., 2004 and Kelly, 1999). To achieve this, I read through the data transcript many times to familiarise myself with it, making notes and editing (Friedl et al., 2002). It is only after this had been done that I could attribute meaning to any unit. I then coded the data. With coding units of meaning were labelled within the data enabling the researcher to attribute meaning and make judgment about the chunks of text. According to Friedl et al. (2002) and Taylor (2001b) the coding process is regarded as the soul and heart of text analysis. I coded paragraphs, phrases, sentences and lines using both numbers and colours. By doing this, I was

able to identify the similarities and differences between the narratives of the participants as suggested by Kelly (1999) that researchers need to continually look for differences and commonalities in an effort to understand what is unique about the cases and contexts of the participants. I utilized the inductive approach in this coding process which implies that both the themes and the different categories of meaning had to emerge from the data (De Vos, 2005). I identified significant categories grounded in the meaning that the participants held. I also tried to understand the 'subjective' meanings and to relate these to 'objective' structures.

In an attempt to reduce the data into small manageable themes, I identified broad or general themes and then went further to reduce the identified units into sub-themes and this facilitated the process of interpretation and write-up a great deal. According to Ulin et al., (2002) this process involves distilling the data to render the most vital concepts visible and also to sort the crucial ones from those that are not important. For Friedl et al. (2002) this inductive coding approach is quite useful in that since it entails identifying and refining themes, before the coding process is completed the researcher would have done considerable interpretive analysis. To thoroughly examine and note all the data I repeatedly read the data transcripts. In this way I sometimes noticed some recurring features which I had not noticed during the previous readings. This concurred with the argument that in the process of categorizing and coding data the researcher might overlook uncategorized actions (Silverman, 2000). I then moved on to compare portions of the text that seemed to fit together which sometimes offered me the opportunity to capture the tinges not included in my first coding and thus revised the coding as suggested by Terrablanche and Durrheim (1999). I continued this process until I reached the point of data saturation where I could no longer identify important insights.

In analysing the data I also used the triangulation and interpretation techniques. I compared the data derived from participant observation to that derived from in-depth semi-structured interviews and this allowed me to define conceptual similarities, refine categories and discern outstanding thematic patterns. Henning et al (2004:102) point out that "processed data do not have the status of findings until the themes have been discussed and argued to make a point and the point that is to be made comes from the research questions". De Vos (2005) takes this argument a step further by stating that this means that the researcher has to critically look for

other rationalization for the data that are plausible, how they are linked and to show why and how the explanation that he or she has offered is the most likely. In this regard, I therefore identified the means through which I was able to merge the themes and sub-themes and also to show how the contradictions and connections fitted together, a process that has been referred to as interpretation.

The interpretation and analysis of the data were done congruent with the research questions and buttressed by the body of prevailing literature. Adopting this approach meant that the discussions presented had to show both the strengths and the weaknesses of what had been theorised about the Senegalese brotherhoods. It showed how the networks of this brotherhood provide members with structures through which they survive in transnational spaces and helps them in the negotiation of their identity.

2.7 Ethical Issues

Research ethics are very essential particularly when studying minority groups. In line with the argument that the desire to partake in a research work is dependent upon a participant's readiness to share his or her experience (Orb et al., 2000) I followed certain ethical procedures in an effort to get participants for this study. A protocol describing the proposed study as well as the methodology was presented to the Culture Cluster and then submitted to the School of Social Sciences higher degrees and ethics committees. The proposal which was titled '*Brotherhood solidarity and the negotiation of identity among Senegalese migrants in Durban*' was approved by the Higher Degrees Ethics Committee of the University of KwaZulu-Natal in 2011. I have not altered the title of the project in any form.

I sought the consent of the participants at all levels during the course of the research. I explained what the study was about to all the participants, read the informed consent form to them and opened up an opportunity for them to ask questions if they needed clarity on anything. I told them that they reserved the right to choose to participate or not and that they could withdraw at any stage without prejudice. I also sought their permission to use tape recorders at the beginning

of every interview. I assured all the participants that confidentiality would be maintained by replacing their names with pseudonyms and any characteristics that could distinguish them would be disguised so as to maintain anonymity. I explained to them from the onset that there were no financial rewards for participating. I sought their consent to attend religious and social gatherings. For example, when I was informed during the interviews of the Durban Mouride Dahira meetings on Saturdays and asked for the name and contact of the president, I explained the study to him and sought his consent to attend and observe their meetings. He took me to the meeting on Saturdays very early and we waited for the members to come and I explained the purpose of my presence to them before their meeting commenced. The transcribed data were saved on my personal computer and locked using a password. However, with the consent of the participants, recognisable photos have been included in certain places in the write-up.

It has been argued that manipulation, deception and pretense are unethical and should be avoided by ethically informed researchers (Muzvidziwa, 2004). There is a need for a researcher in accordance with one's principles to avoid pretense. Muzvidziwa further contends that a discord between one's inner feelings and outward expressions constitutes pretense and deceitful behavior as shown in the Malinowski diaries. Contrary to this view, Bourdillon (1997) posits that such discord is a natural part of fieldwork and of social life. A person need to be oneself even during fieldwork settings as this minimizes pretense. During the course of this fieldwork, I was not myself at all times. For example I, a non-Muslim was expected to cover my head and wear long clothes that cover me to my feet. This in other words meant I had to pretend to be a Muslim woman so as to be admitted to the religious gatherings of my participants. Even though a researcher one should never lie, this was what the participants wanted because in their context, dressing otherwise is unacceptable. Like other researchers have shown, participation in a community's activities sometimes confers some responsibilities and expectations on the researcher. This type of pretense was likely to have given rise to role conflict. But following Muzvidziwa's (2004) argument that the basic guiding principle in fieldwork research should be a search for an understanding about what people do and the value of people's actions to their well-being, as well as Marzano (2007) contention that researchers need to unpack assumptions behind people's actions and in the process arrive at informed judgments regarding human behavior. I learned by taking part in the activities and dressing like a Muslim woman without

imposing my values and beliefs on my research participants. It was the cultural setting that marked out the boundaries within which the research was possible. If I ignored this principle I would have seriously prejudiced the possibility of completing my research. Thus as Marzano (2007) opines, the wider cultural context decisively influences the researcher's methodological and ethical options.

2.8 Introducing the Participants in the Study

All of the Senegalese migrants in Durban who participated in this study come from the Wolof ethnic group principally from the groundnut basin in the North-Western regions of Senegal and belong to the Mouride Sufi brotherhood. Some of the participants namely (Mustafa, Diop, Mbacke, Mapate, Ayesha, Wade and Gora) were quite knowledgeable on the subject matter and also felt very comfortable opening up and talking to me. They were, therefore, utilized as key participants in line with Burgess (1984) suggestion that key research participants should be selected based on their knowledge. The distinct personalities and dispositions of these seven participants as well as their willingness to open up and talk freely made me to select them as key informants. My own personality as a researcher and that of these selected participants naturally warmed to each other resulting in their willingness to talk freely and at length on the different topics raised congruent with Burgess (1984: 31) argument that "much will depend upon the researcher [and] those being researched." It was from these seven participants that I ultimately learnt the most.

Participant One: Mustafa

33years old Mustafa who is married and has a daughter is a Muslim and Mouride talibe who has been residing in South Africa since 2008. He is an entrepreneur and owns a shop in Broad walk where he sells fashion items such as clothing, handbags and shoes. He came to South Africa five years ago because life in Senegal was generally difficult and he was looking for a way to make ends meet. Prior to coming to South Africa he was working for a family friend in his provision business as a salesperson. From the little money he made he was able to assist his parents in the

up keep of their family. During all the years he worked as a shop keeper, he was waiting for an opportunity to travel abroad. South Africa was not his first choice but he found out that securing a visa to go to Europe or America was proving to be very difficult and required a lot of money. So, he decided to come to South Africa because he had friends living in South Africa already who told him that life in South Africa was not as difficult as it is in Senegal and it woul be much easier for him to make money in South Africa. Through the help of his family he was able to finance his trip to South Africa. Mustafa become a Mouride largely because his parents are also Mourides, so he had been introduced to this Sufi order since he was young. Mustafa prefers this brotherhood to other brotherhoods such as (tijaniya) because he believes that the sheik Amadou Bamba was a very devoted and prayerful man and as a result God answers all his prayers. So, if one is a Mouride follower God answers their prayers because of his servant Amadou Bamba. Mustafa's wife and child are in Senegal and they live with his parents. He sends them money every month to cover their expenses. He says for now he tries to visit once every year but adds that he wants to have another child and therefore intends to make is wife pregnant on his next trip which will be in January. Mustafa prefers traveling during this time since December is a peak season in his business and thus he cannot travel at that time but during January and February 'business is usually quiet'.

Participant Two: Codou

Codou is a thirty seven years old Wolof speaking Senegalese male. He is married and has two male children. His wife and children live with his mother in Senegal. Codou came to South Africa some nine years ago (2004). Prior to coming to south Africa Codou was employed to work as a sales person in a business owned by his uncle. He has always dreamt of owning his own business but did not have the capital to enable him to do this. From the money he saved from working for his uncle for several years, Codou was able to make the trip to South Africa. He had entered the republic clandestinely through Swaziland because he was bent on making this trip that was very important for him as a man, even though he was aware of the risk involved in travelling without proper documentation. Codou still decided to embark on his journey because to him 'being a man is not easy, you have to take the risk, other people even use boats to go to

Spain because they need to make money for their family. In Senegal men have to take this risk. If I stay at home I wouldn't make money, I will be a laughing stock.''

Participant Three: Malik

Malik is a 42 years old Mouride talibe who arrived in South Africa in 2007. Prior to migrating to South Africa, Malik had lived in Italy for four years before being deported. During his stay in Italy Malik said he was engaged in paid work which is not what he had hoped for. However, he thought that working and saving up would give him the opportunity to be able to set up his own business. Malik is married and has two children (one boy aged 9 and a girl aged 3). His wife lives in their home in Senegal and takes care of the children and his parents. Malik does not want his wife to come to live with him in South Africa because 'it is not a woman's thing, they are weak'. According to Malik if his wife travels to South Africa she will be influenced by the South African way of life which in his opinion will affect their relationship and their marriage.

Participant Four: Diop

Diop is a Mouride disciple. He became a Mouride because his father, grandfather and great grandparents were Mourides and strong followers of Amadou Bamba's philosophies. To this 36 years old Senegalese Muslim being Mouride is the best thing one can think of. His grandfather was a marabout before he passed away. He is married and has a son. He lives in South Africa while his family is in Senegal because he has to provide for them and this was seemingly impossible if he remained in Senegal so he decided to migrate. South Africa was not his choice destination but getting a visa to go to Europe was very difficult. So, he decided to come to South Africa because a friend had told him that if he travels to South Africa it will be easier for him to get a visa to go to anywhere from South Africa. So, before coming he did not intend to stay in South Africa for long it was only going to be temporary to enable him get a permit to travel to Europe. But when he got to South Africa he found out that the reality was not what he had expected. So he decided to remain in South Africa.

Participant Five: Mbacke

Mbacke is a thirty- three year old Senegalese Mouride migrant living in Durban. He is single and is hoping to go back to Senegal to get a wife as soon as he gets his papers. He is currently living in South Africa as a refugee but has applied for a work permit and is waiting for the response from the department of Home Affairs. Mbacke came to south Africa because he needed to make money and he knew that travelling out means that a person will become rich because all his friends who had travelled were sending so much money home to their families and they have cars and others are building houses. But doing business in Senegal one cannot make enough money to do all these things which is what a man must do. He is currently managing a shop in point road owned by his uncle who had been responsible for his choice of South Africa as a preferred destination. His uncle does not pay him as they have an arrangement wherein he takes thirty to forty percent of the profit that they make from the shop.

Participant Six: Niang

Niang came to South Africa because he is a man and he has to take the risk and venture everywhere that he thinks will make him get enough money to do what he has to do as a man. He is 37 years old, is married and has two children who are both girls. Niang is of the opinion that migration is not a thing for women but is a male preserve. He says he cannot bring his wife to South Africa because to him it is not a good idea. Besides that, his parents are old and need someone to take care of them and that is what she is doing. It is her duty to nurture and take care of them as his wife. He claims that even if he were to bring his wife to South Africa, 'she will not like the kind of life style here and will want to go back to Senegal'. Niang is confident that his wife cannot cheat on him due to his long absence because he trusts her so much and trust is the only thing they can rely on at this point. However, he states that, the situation is out of his control and there is nothing he can do in that regard. He adds that even if she does cheat on him with another man, she is not to be blamed because in his religion 'a man is not supposed to leave his wife for more than six months' (quoting the Holy Koran).

Participant Seven: Kane

33 years old Kane resides in a flat with his brother Hamidou and his wife. His brother is married to two wives, one South African and the other Senegalese. Kane himself is yet to be married but has a betrothed in Senegal. He is making necessary arrangements and saving up money to go to Senegal and marry her but will not come with her to south Africa but will let her stay with his parents together with his brother Hamidou's first wife. When he arrived in South Africa in 2009, he worked for his brother in his shop until such a time when he had adjusted well to the host environment and was able to start up his own business. Then with the money he had saved up and what his brother gave him, he was able to start up his own business, but because the money was not that much finding a shop and paying the rent meant spending some of the money so he decided to get a space at the workshop flee market where he now has a shop. His choice of South Africa as a migration destination was informed by the fact that his brother was already living in South Africa making it easier for him to get the necessary documentation.

Participant Eight: Ayesha

Ayesha is 32 years old and is the only Senegalese female that participated in this study. She came to South Africa in July 2012. She is married and has three children. Her children are in Senegal but she plans to bring them to South Africa at a later stage. She wanted to come to South Africa and study the place before bringing her children because to her such change of environment is not ideal for children. She lives with her husband and helps him to run one of his fashion stores in the South Beach neighborhood while he runs the other ones. She came to South Africa basically because her husband lives here and so she wanted to join him. She says she was tired of living alone without her husband around her and of her mother in-law watching her like a hawk - "J'etais fatiguee de vivre seule sans mon mari et ma belle mere me surveillait beaucoup comme un faucon".

Participant Nine: Hamidou
Hamidou is 44 years old and comes from a family of six. He lives in South Africa with his younger brother and his second wife who is a South African. His first wife with whom he has

three children lives in Senegal together with his parents. He has a son by the second wife. Hamidou claims that it was never his intention to marry two wives but that when he arrived in South Africa things were very tough and he could not do anything without genuine documentation regarding his stay in the Republic. He then decided to marry a South African lady as advised by other migrants 'for convenience'. The purpose of the marriage was to enable him get a permit to stay in South Africa but he later fell in love with the lady and they decided to make it real. His first wife was not happy about his decision but later accepted it because their religion (Islam) permitted it. Hamidou says he is building a house at home in Senegal and when he completes that, he will build another for his parents. He believes that if a migrant does not build houses and own property in their home country and instead rents, buy houses or drive expensive cars in the host country 'then that person is stupid' because he is not doing what is expected of him.

Participant Ten: Mapate

Mapate hails from Louga in Senegal. The 43 years old young man who is married and has two children migrated to South Africa in 1998 in search for greener pastures because as he puts it: *'I had to do something, there are no jobs, and business is not doing well in Senegal'*. Prior to migrating to South Africa, he had hitherto migrated to Mauritania where he lived for two years before returning to Senegal because things were not moving well as he had hoped. Mapate chose South Africa because at the time, everyone was talking about the new South Africa and the many opportunities that one could have there so he thought it was good for him to 'try his luck'. His wife and children live in Senegal with his father because his mother is late. He claims that his wife needs to be there in order to take care of his father. And he does not want her to migrate to South Africa to be with him, he visits them once every year and also sends money to them every month and that is the most important thing. He also claims that there are too many problems associated with migration that women cannot handle. Before coming to South Africa Mapate was working in a grinding meal and that is where he also met his wife who came there to grind mealie meal and groundnut and they later got married in 2002.

Participant Eleven: Sayad

40 years old Sayad is a Mouride from Thies in Senegal. He migrated to South Africa in 2002 because he needed to make more money. He is an entrepreneur and says that before he migrated to South Africa he was also an entrepreneur in his home country. Business is his passion and that is what he is good at. So, he does it to the best of his ability. His wife and children live in Senegal with his family. According to him, bringing his wife to South Africa will be very costly for them so it is better that she stays in Senegal, when he has made enough money he will set up a major business at home and then he will move back there to join them, thus letting his wife to come to South Africa is not such a good idea. Besides that, he adds that, what if his wife comes to live with him in South Africa and something happens or his business does not do well, how will they cope or raise the money for air tickets for all of them to go back home. He says 'you must think of the future, we are getting old, what will happen?

Participant Twelve: Dame

Before migrating to South Africa, Dame had lived in Gambia for four years. He came to South Africa in 1999. He is married and has a three years old baby boy. Originally from Louga in Senegal, Dame became a Mouride because 'it is the best brotherhood', his parents and grandparents were Mourides and so it was only natural for him to become one. He worked previously in Senegal as a sales person in a Quincaillerie (hardware store where they sold building materials). Even though he was doing this job, Dame was not happy because as he puts it 'I have always wanted to be my own boss, to own my own business and manage it by myself'. He tried to save as much money as he could while working, with which he was going to start up his own business but when the opportunity of going abroad came he took it. When he came to South Africa he joined the Mouride dahira for a number of reasons namely, because he was a Mouride, because he needed a space where he would feel a sense of belonging and lastly because he knew that he would find other Mouride brothers there who might be able to help him establish himself in this new space.

Participant Thirteen: Cheikh

Cheikh is 45 years old, married and has two female children. Cheikh entered South Africa illegally in 2004 through Swaziland. While in South Africa he got married to a South African lady to enable him get the necessary documentations to allow him stay and work in the Republic. Cheikh is a Mouride and belongs to the Mouride dahira in Durban. His wife and children live in Senegal with his sister and her husband because that is the only immediate family he has after his parents' death. Cheikh claims that he has not brought his wife to South Africa simply because he has not made enough money to enable him do that. However, rather ambiguously he adds that if his wife comes to South Africa and finds a job she will no longer respect him and he cannot allow that to happen. Cheikh has not gone back to visit in Senegal since he came to South Africa some nine years ago and therefore has not seen his wife and children since then but only talks to them on phone. He sends them money regularly to enable them to buy food and pay for other expenses. Prior to migrating to South Africa, Cheikh was a taxi driver. The taxi was owned by his late father's friend.

Participant Fourteen: Faye

37 years old Faye who hails from Dakar in Senegal is single but has a fiancée whom he is planning to marry as soon as he is able to. He came to South Africa in 2009 because of the way migrants are respected in Senegal (moudo moudou). He says that people who do not migrate are seen as failures, especially in the event where a non migrant man is not rich or is struggling to provide for his family. Faye says: "the way they treat you is not good, people do not respect you, sometimes, it is like you do not even exist and that is very painful". Faye says the last straw that broke the camel's back and led to his migration decision was when his cousin (who is four years younger than him) came home for a visit from Italy. One day during his cousin's stay at home, he (cousin) was sitting and chatting with his friends while he (Faye) was busy mending his cloths and his uncle asked him to drop what he was doing in order to wash his cousin's car because his cousin was to later go out with his friends and the car was not clean. This to him was very belittling as his cousin's friends laughed at him, as he washed the car. From that day he decided to travel and did not attempt to get visa to go to Europe because it was quite costly. He sold part

of the land his father left for him to enable him raise the money to finance his trip to South Africa.

Participant Fifteen: Wade

Wade came to South Africa in 2005. He is from Dakar. He was an entrepreneur in Senegal before migrating. He says he owned two different shops, one in Dakar and the other in Thies. From these businesses they (he and his family) were able to eke out a living. When his friend came back home for visit from South Africa, he gave him the impression that business was far better in South Africa than Senegal. So he decided to come to South Africa. Before coming here he was prepared to set up his business since he sold one of his shops and also took all the money he had made with him ready to invest it and reap the profits as his friend had advised. He however, left one of the shops, the one in his home town Dakar in case of the unknown happening. This was under the care and management of his younger brother even though he has a wife he said his wife could assist his brother but should not manage the business because she has to take care of his children and also his aged parents. The proceeds from this shop is used to provide for the daily family need of the family. He agrees with the friend that doing business in Durban is more profitable but add that 'sometimes it is very tough'.

Participant Sixteen: Mamegor

Mamegor came to South Africa in search for greener pastures and was prepared to hinge on anything to get what he wanted. Prior to migration, Mamegor was a hawker. He started hawking when he was quite young (13) continued with it into adulthood. He intimated that he and his friends hawked petty things like fruits, sweets, cigarette and boiled groundnuts at bus stations, street corners, garages (filling stations) and road junctions. There was usually competition amongst them to see who will accumulate up to one hundred thousand francs CFA first. They usually gave the profits they made from this to their parents to keep for them. When he was twenty years of age his father gave him 150 thousand francs CFA and he started a much bigger business though it was still street vending. He says he is a Mouride and Mourides believe in business because if one does not get into business and relies on paid work, they cannot become

rich that is why when he came to South Africa he had to do everything possible to start up his own business. The 37 years old Touba man is married but prefers to leave his wife in Senegal with his family while he looks for money because it is his duty.

Participant Seventeen: Birima

Birima who was born in a small village called Koki in the Louga province of Senegal in 1973, is a Mouride and an entrepreneur. He lives in the south Beach neighborhood with his wife Ayesha. He owns three clothing stores and one is run by his wife. Birima brought his wife to South Africa not because it is ideally what he wanted but because he was tired of the fighting between his brother's wife, his own wife and his mother. He wanted to put an end to it. His children are in Senegal with his mother and he does not want to bring them here because they might grow up to 'behave like South Africans and not know their own culture'. He plans that his wife will later go back there to cater for them because they cannot abandon their children. Birima came to South Africa because he had decided to travel out of the country so as to make money because it was becoming a norm. Everyone had travelled out of the country and came back very rich so he wanted to do the same. South Africa was not his preferred destination but it was a last resort after three failed attempts to secure a visa for Italy and Spain.

Participant Eighteen: Osman

Osman is a Mouride from Thies and an entrepreneur and migrated to South Africa in 2006. He is married but does not have any child as yet. His wife is in Senegal with his parents and he does not plan to bring her here because 'it is not right'. The 35 years old Muslim intimated that he had always dreamt of being an entrepreneur because he knew that was what will make him rich. Osman studied in an Arabic school for six years, his father was a teacher in the school. Before he completed his studies, his father had retired and so he also started teaching in the school in place of his father. He hopes to accumulate the money he was paid to enable him establish his own business because to him business was the only way through which he could become rich or make enough money needed to shoulder his responsibilities. He was teaching at a salary of fifty thousand francs a month and he taught for three years, during those three years he saved thirty

thousand francs from his salary every month. He used that money to get a venue, bought male shoes and hand bags and started his business. When he indicated his intention to travel abroad, his father and uncle decided that they would put money to support him. But all they could get was 1.5 million CFA. And so he could only come to South Africa since going to Europe which he would have preferred required much more money.

Participant Nineteen: Gora

38 years old Gora from Louga - Senegal related that he did not like South Africa and did not dream that he would one day migrate to South Africa because of the stories he heard about Apartheid in South Africa and how the black South Africans suffered. These stories notwithstanding, he ended up coming to South Africa because life in Senegal was very difficult. He is an entrepreneur and claims that his entrepreneurial skill is what he has been groomed in. He explained that he was taken to Dakar by his aunts' husband when he was fifteen and he lived with them for seven years, assisting his 'uncle' in his business. Before the man took him from his parents to assist in his shop, the man had an agreement with his parents that, he (Gora) will live and work with the man for five years after which the man will give him eight hundred and fifty thousand francs CFA (850, 0000 FRS) which implies that his salary was fifteen thousand francs a month. He added that the man did not settle him as agreed because he was sick and bed ridden for a long period during the time he was meant to pay off Gora. Gora could not leave the business at that time he had to wait till the 'uncle' was well and strong enough to manage the business on his own or get someone else, so he spent two more years making seven years in total. During that time Gora acquired all the business skills he needed and was later able to start up his own business when he was aged 22 with a capital of one million franc CFA. He decided to close up the business and migrate because he was told he would make more abroad like his friends were doing. So he left Senegal in 2002 and migrated to South Africa. He does not regret it because during his stay here he has been able to build a house back home and also do many other projects which he is not sure he would have done if he remained in Senegal. Gora is married and has three children.

Participant Twenty: Modou

Modou is 30 years old and is single. He came to South Africa in 2009. He obtained a visa to come to South Africa from Ivory Coast. Modou comes from a family of six (three boys and three girls). Modou's brothers who live in Italy (two) financed his trip to South Africa because they were unable to get him a visa to join them. Some friend advised them that if he came to South Africa it would be easier for him. But when he got here and it proved difficult, they had to send him money with which he started up his business.

Participant Twenty-one: Mor

Mor speaks Wolof and French and went to an Arabic school for five years, from 1980 to 1985. He is married and has a son. His wife and son live in Senegal with his family. When he finished school, he was introduced to business at the age of ten in 1985. He and his friends began hawking petty things because 'as men' they had to take charge so that in future when they grow up they will be in charge. Mor's father is an entrepreneur who trades in foodstuff such as rice, groundnut, millet, maize and yebe while his mother is a house wife, who does not work but she takes care of the home and every one of them. Mor says when he marries his wife cannot migrate because she must follow his mother's example and be a good woman who respects her husband and takes care of the family. He is supposed to work and provide for them not her.

Participant Twenty-two: Abdul

40 years old Abdul from Louga who has been living in South Africa for nine years has a history of migration. Before coming to South Africa he had been to different countries. for example with the help of a friend he had a visa to go to Spain, travelled there but unfortunately he only lived in Spain for four months and was deported. He started a business in Senegal and lived there for two years and again migrated to Ivory Coast together with two other friends. Things were not as easy as he thought it would be in Ivory Coast, where he ran a fashion business selling shoes and bags. This business was not yielding enough money to sustain him. Worst still he had to remit home especially to his wife and two children since they had no one to provide for them. He folded up

the business and joined his friends in a partnership business where they sold electronics like television, radio and electronic spare parts imported from Singapore. He lived in Ivory Coast for six years and the business was going on well until the outbreak of the war in 2002. Then he went back to Senegal as a result. While he was at home he was informed that South Africa was a new country and was no longer what it used to be and there are lots of opportunities there. So, he decided to come with this friend to South Africa. Because he was unable to get a visa, he entered the country illegally through Mozambique. He came to Durban of all the places in South Africa because his friend lived there. He says that he is into the fashion business because the 'fashion business chose him as he did not chose it'.

Participant Twenty-three: Sall

Sall a Mouride Muslim from Kaolack came to South Africa in 2009 in search of greener pastures. He is working in a shop owned by another Senegalese migrant (Birima). He hopes to save up enough money and starts up his own business soon. The 34 years old Mouride is yet to be married and is very certain that God will make a way for him. He says he was born a Mouride and only death will stop him from belonging to the Mouridiyya brotherhood.

Participant Twenty-four: Usufa

From Kebeme in Senegal, Usufa migrated to Durban South Africa in 2008. His friends who had been living in South Africa assisted him in getting a visa. When he got to South Africa he did not know the environment well so even though he had money to start up a business he decided to work for his friend in his shop for five months and adjust to the environment before starting up his own business. He was hawking in Victoria Street but always had problems with the police before his permit had expired and each time they caught him he had to lose money before they could release him. He got married to a South African lady and after that he was able to get a temporary resident permit and as such do his business successfully. His wife is in Senegal and he will join her there once he has accumulated enough money but he cannot allow her to come to South Africa, because he might be influenced by the women in South Africa and she might start behaving and dressing like them.

Participant Twenty-five: Sédar

41 years old Sedar comes from Kebeme in Senegal. He is a Mouride and says a being aMouride is very beneficial to him because it gives him the spiritual guidance he needs. When the marabout prays for and blesses him it is very important to him because it is what determines his success in business. He says that from the very first week he came to South Africa in 2000 till now, he has always joined the other Mourides in praying in their dahira every Saturday except when he travels home to Senegal or when he has travelled to Thailand or China to buy his goods. He says when he first came to South Africa things were really tough for him but now he owns two shops and he is able to send money home to his wife to take care of his children every month and also to his parents and siblings.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the methodologies and methods that have been used in this research study. It motivated the use of the qualitative research method in an attempt to understand reality from the perspective of the participants. The chapter highlighted several research methodological tools that were used in collecting the information. It also gave an account of as well as motivated the research design, sampling techniques, methods of data collection, procession and analysis and ethical issues that were considered for this study. The discussions in the chapter situated the study within a critical and interpretive perspective where both the researcher and the participants are involved in creating meaning. The chapter concluded by giving a profile and a brief background of the research participants in order to acquaint the reader with them so as to facilitate a better understanding of the discussions in the following chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

BEHIND THE SCENES: REFLEXIVITY AND THE FIELDWORK EXPERIENCE

3.1 Introduction

With ethnographic anthropological fieldwork the researcher uses himself or herself as a major research tool. This means that both the researcher's identity (gender), personality and the knowledge and skills he or she possesses turn out to be very intrinsic to the research process and as such influences the data that is collected as well as the manner in which it is analysed. This chapter discusses the experiences of the researcher during the course of data collection for this study. It discusses the fieldwork experience as a rite of passage where issues such as gender, religion and identity affect the intimacy of anthropological fieldwork method in terms of how the body, thoughts, voice, movement, and actions of the researcher impact on the research process. The chapter equally documents the ways in which the researcher has changed as a result of undertaking the research as well as highlights how the researcher in an effort to build trust and develop a good rapport with the participants was able to navigate the complexities of difference and 'otherness' in the construction of identity.

This chapter also reflects on the security concerns that the researcher encountered during the course of the fieldwork being a female researcher doing fieldwork among male participants. It considers issues like the possible amorous interest of men, the language barrier, being the 'other' with different religious beliefs and cultural values and how such an experience led to personal growth and development for the researcher. Since it is a record of the researcher's personal reflections, it is written in the first person. It is anticipated that including this reflective piece will add a few different aspects to this study and as such enhance its richness, reaffirm, reinforce and crystallize learning over time. While reflecting on these experiences a number of ideas were generated and have been included as part of the limitations to the study.

3.2 The Significance of Reflexive Ethnography

Reflexivity has been defined as the process of reflection in which the 'self' is taken as the object. Basically, it denotes reflecting on the self as an object of unrelenting provocative thought and contemplation, it is 'self-reference' (Davies, 2008: 8). However, according to Trevshick (2005) reflexivity goes beyond just self-reference or thinking things through more carefully because the act of reflection enables one to recognize that one equally experiences the circumstances that one seeks to apprehend and as such are a part of the interventions. He goes on to contend that if one perceives reflexivity in this manner it means that it stimulates learning. This aligns with Leech and Trotter's (2006: 175) contention that "reflection is an active process, which allows the examination of difficult thoughts and feelings at sufficient depth for significant learning to be achieved". Reflexivity thus enables the researcher to reflect on how ethnographic material is produced and prompts increasing cognizance of how the researcher influences those under study. Reflexivity involves the ethnographer turning back on himself or herself, which allows the reader the opportunity to witness the production and development of knowledge.

Gouldner (1972) and Seale (1998) rightly contend that reflexivity allows one to reflect on one's values and actions for the duration of the fieldwork as well as during the production of data and the writing up of the ethnographic accounts. It equally has the capacity to enable one to view one's own beliefs in the same way one regards the beliefs of others. A feature of good ethnographic imagination which establishes the researchers' integrity is reflexivity (Brewer 1994). Reflexivity is multidimensional and as such has usually been connected to the 'looking glass metaphor' because it does not leave the subject lost in its own concerns but rather pulls one away from isolated attentiveness towards the other to oneself (Babcock, 1980).

According to Bandura (1986), individuals have a measure of control over their feelings, thoughts and actions because they possess self-esteem. This self-system houses the person's affective and cognitive structures as well as takes into account the abilities to learn from others and then control one's behaviour, symbolize and engage in self-reflection. Bandura further shows that such self-system is equally fundamental in offering reference machineries for understanding,

regulating and evaluating behaviour which emanates from the inter-play between the external-environmental sources of influence and the self-system.

While reflecting on my personal experiences during this field work process I found out that, the fieldwork process, challenging though it was, has enriched me in a myriad of ways. Through the process I was able to get a much deeper appreciation and understanding of the lived experiences of the 'other' (in this case the Senegalese) especially as it relates to issues of identity construction, masculinity and femininity, solidarity, religion and 'tradition'. Being a migrant like the participants in the study, I also face several challenges ranging from adjustment and adaptation, loneliness and alienation to means of survival and livelihood in this new context. Through listening to the narratives of the participants as well as observing and participating in their activities I was able to witness their valiant efforts to succeed amidst the difficulties faced. Their dignity and courage were both fortifying and heartening. From this experience my appreciation and knowledge (of the struggles of some migrants as they make courageous attempts to set up and run businesses in order to earn a living as well as make adaptive changes) has expanded both in breadth and depth.

3.3 Fieldwork Experience as an Avenue for Personal Growth: Rite of Passage

Baszanger and Dodier (1997) opine that it is necessary for researchers doing participant observation to consciously observe and apprehend the transformations which they undergo during the process of field work through their being in the field and their relationships with their participants. I therefore describe my research journey and the changes that occurred as a result of the interactions and personal relationships with the research participants. This is so because through my experiences during the entire fieldwork process a different self (identity) was shaped (though not fixed) since I had to constantly define and redefine my identity thus revealing the flexible and fluid nature of identity (Coffey, 1999).

Conducting this fieldwork just as Burgess (1984) stipulates can be considered as a rite of passage for me because of the personal meaning and significance it had. Being a Christian my perception of Islam and certain Islamic practices changed (as will be specified later on in the

chapter). From the findings of the interviews, the observations during participant observation and from reviewing a profusion of scholarly literature, I learned more about Senegalese cultural origins, traditions and religious beliefs which (through reflection) gave me a platform to question my own customs, ancestral and family rituals or habits in which I had been conditioned and which I blindly accepted.

Similar to most of the participants in this study, I am a migrant who migrated to Durban in 2008 to further my studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Born to a Christian family, I grew up in Bali and was nurtured in the Christian faith. My cultural root dictates unconditional respect for parents and older relatives and members of the community but does not have injunctions as to what career I should or should not engage in because of my feminine gender. I was conditioned to dress decently and especially when going to church. I was equally inured to absorb and accept as truth without questioning all my family as well as community's cultural traditions. This means that these teachings should go unchallenged and as such coming from this background I have never reflected on or question my own beliefs and practices. Even if a particular practice did not make practical sense to me I would not dare to be more inquisitive, and ask questions. Within my community which is principally multi-cultural, family upbringing and educational traditions espouse the sanctity of obedience, co-existence, social cohesion and learning is by rote.

Furthermore, within my community, the notion of brotherhood is commonly construed as a 'secret cult' which is something inherently evil in that it is believed that members usually sacrifice human beings as a way of making money. Thus, if a person is identified as a member of such an occult society or brotherhood members of the community and even their family members tend to keep away from them and anything that is associated with them for fear that they might be used for money rituals. It is also believed that people get initiated into these secret cults unknowingly. The common ways through which it is assumed people join such occult groups is through voluntary associations. That is, you can find a group of people who meet as friends with a common purpose of mutual aid to one another, but it is only after you have joined and become a member that you get to understand the true nature and purpose of the association, after which the initial sacrifice you are expected to make is to kill a close member of your family (wife, children, father, mother, brother or sister) so as to become rich. Failure to do so, you are killed in

place of the family member. Once this is done, you are expected to renew your sacrifice every year by killing different people. Such activities are believed to be carried out at night.

As a result of this, when growing up children are made aware of all these beleifs and are constantly advised to stay away from people (and their families) who have been identified as belonging to such secret societies as well as to guard against joining or accompanying people to meetings of voluntary associations whose nature they are unsure of or an association that any person identified as a cultist is a member for fear of the unknown. Having been socialized and nurtured in this context, I upheld this belief and practice of course without questioning it because like I said before these teachings should go unchallenged.

Trying to understand the lived experiences of Senegalese migrants and how they construct and negotiate their identities in Durban exposed me to some of their customs and beliefs. Even though as an anthropologist I am required to be non judgemental, I tended to question/judge most of the practices especially those that related to me. For example, during the one on one interviews, my participants intimated that they have dahira prayer meetings on Saturday evenings. When I heard this I was very enthusiastic about attending this prayer meeting to observe their activities and its proceedings. When I asked Mapate one of my key informants if it was ok for me to attend, he was very hesitant (which was unlike him given that he had been very cooperative and helpful to me during the entire fieldwork process, notifying me of their functions and inviting me to come and participate) and finally he told me that I would have to wait for him to inform their president and bring me his response. Finally, the president accepted my request. I was very happy and excited when Mapate broke the news to me. However, my excitement was short-lived because when I asked what time the meeting begins so that I would be there in time, I was told it commences at 9pm. At that point the memory of my grandparents cautioning us to guard against night meetings (because of their tendency to be occultist) crept into my mind. I started having mix feelings of whether or not to go to this meeting. I questioned Mapate again on a few things about the prayer meeting, even though he clarified me; I still had my doubts and fears.

When I got home that day, I talked about the meeting, the possibility of attending as well as the fear that my siblings, some of my colleagues who were also conducting research at the time and I had. My fears were aggravated by the fact that these participants had also talked about using magical portions and charms in an effort to succeed in their entrepreneurial endeavors because of intense market competition and the role that the marabouts (spiritual leaders in this brotherhood) play in it. To me, this could very well mean that the Mouride brotherhood dahira meeting truly has an occultist undertone. After talking with my siblings and some colleagues about my fears as well as praying about it I was encouraged and motivated to continue with the observation process. When finally I attended the first and second meeting and gained some level of understanding of what was going on which tallied with what I had been told during the interview process, I really felt bad that I had judged the participants' practices based on my own background and had not been able to separate the two. The manner in which I had perceived the brotherhood was not appropriate since I was letting my own identity to influence my understanding of the lived experiences of my participants.

My perception of the brotherhood as occultist due to my background was not the only incidence where my own identity proved to have an influence on how I understood and made sense of the world of the participants. During my first visit, I wore a suit (very formal and descent dressing) as I had been nurtured from my childhood since I knew I was going for a religious prayer meeting. When I got there, I was a little early and there were only a few Mouride talibes (8) three of whom were standing outside. I greeted and managed to start up a conversation with them. We talked about different issues as the other members arrived. When it was time for them to commence their prayers they went in and I fearfully followed them. One of the talibes immediately stood up and murmured something in Wolof language to their president who had already begun his prayers. I noticed this had to do with me when the president called Mapate who had introduced me to him and had solicited on my behalf for them to allow me there at their dahira as a researcher. He equally whispered something to him. At this point fear gripped me (at this point I was still under the conviction that the dahira meeting might be occultist) as I tried to follow nonverbal cues so as to figure out what they were talking about.

Mapate immediately walked up to me and asked me to follow him outside. Then he informed me that they have decided that I cannot be allowed in the dahira meeting because of the way I was dressed. So if I want to be allowed, I had to go home and change my clothing before coming back or come another time but aptly dressed. I looked at myself and did not understand what was wrong with my dressing. He then explained that women are not allowed to come to their meetings without covering their head or wearing long clothes that covers them to their feet and apologized for not having told me about it earlier on because he assumed it was a basic practice and as such I should know. I was a bit astonished because although I had an idea of how Muslim women dress, it did not occur to me that I, a non-Muslim was expected do so, the more so when it was not at a Mosque. I, however, made an apology for my ignorance and promised to come back the following Saturday 'appropriately dressed' as he had requested.

What is portrayed above came to me as a surprise as I did not expect it. As I left the place, I felt angry and frustrated whilst reflecting on what had happened. As I reflected on this, I could not understand the rationale of their acceptance of the culture in question given their random dressing. For example, some of the talibes wore short trousers, which to me was inappropriate for a prayer meeting, yet they saw nothing wrong with it. However, I could not stop the data collection process and I searched for a dress that would suit the purpose and that had a scarf with which I could use to cover my head. Once this was gotten, I waited eagerly for days to go by. On Saturday I had to 'become a Muslim female' through my dressing in order to attend the dahira meeting as seen in the image below:

Figure Three: Image of the researcher 'falling forward into the other'

How I would normamally dress   The change

As I pondered why these talibes despite their level of exposure to other cultures through their migration experience still held on to such an 'odd' practice (for so it seemed to me then), I came to the realization that, I have similar migration experiences with them yet I have also not questioned my own cultural beliefs, values and behaviors which I had taken for granted and they seemed so natural to me. This realization enabled me to become aware of the ethnocentric manner in which I had tended to judge this cultural practice in terms of my own cultural values. I became conscious of the fact that I also experience the conditions that I sought to understand. This awareness and insight gained was only achieved through reflexivity. Reflexivity for me was thus a learning experience as I tuned back on myself. My reflexive act in this regard tallies with Babcock's (1980) suggestion that reflexivity draws the researcher away from remote attention on the other to himself or herself.

My identity engendered oscillating uncertainty about their beliefs and practices. This situation that I was subjected to is described by scholars like Jarvie (1969) as identity crisis in the

fieldwork process which charactetisitcally produces tension within the researcher. Jarvie (1969) equally suggests that such a crisis can be dealt with by putting oneself and one's identity aside and letting their practice supersede one's so as to understand reality from their perspective which is the very essence of participant observation. Thus, when I came to the realization that my identity and background was impacting on the way I interpreted my relations with my participants and their experiences and might consequently lead to a subjective and biased analysis, I became more conscious of that and had to constantly remind myself of my role as a researcher in an effort not to let my own beliefs and knowledge interfere in the way I understand the lived world of the participants.

Even though authors like Myerhoff and Ruby (1982) argue that the approach of reflecting on the self can be counterproductive, it is contended that through becoming more conscious of the 'self' the researcher may purposely decide to place himself or herself within the context and by so doing become a part of the study (Davies, 2008). Davies (2008:5) further shows that self-examination through reflexivity is a kind of self-preoccupation, which muffles the boundaries between the researcher and the researched in such a way that the researcher (object) disappears and 'the one becomes the other'. Some authors have maintained that the increased use of reflexivity in ethnography is becoming a novel type of self-expression in which the underlying nature of their own community and motivations about themselves feature in what they study and the results from the research methods used (Davies 2008:9). This implies that as Scholte (1974:431) opines "anthropological activity is… of a supposed cultural world of which it is itself an integral part." Such activities convey innovative meanings to ethnography thus making reflexivity a method suitable to feed the hermeneutic circle of thinking about knowledge and processes. This led to the conclusion that researchers are fused with the object of their study and as such anthropological studies must not be treated as a remote realm wherein the observer does not have links with the observed but rather as an important instrument in the politics and production of representation (Kanaaneh, 2002 and Nordstrom, 2004).

3.5 Language as an Obstacle to Participation and Understanding

One of the major skills that a participant observer needs to develop is language. During my fieldwork, language did not pose as a major problem when conducting the interviews since some of the participants could articulate themselves in English while those who could not were interviewed in French which is Senegal's official language and is a language that we had a shared understanding of. Language only became a barrier when I was observing and participating in the activities of the participants. For example, I generally 'hung out' with them in their shops, because the shops are very close to each other, they will all stand outside of the shops and engage in chit-chats on several issues when there were no clients. Even though I was with them I could not understand the discussions as they typically spoke in Wolof. Sometimes some of them felt bad that I could not understand and attempted to translate and explain what they were talking about to me in either English or French. Such language barriers were also experienced during the dahira meetings and other Senegalese functions which I attended such as the grand magal.

Even when they tried to translate or explain what was being said, it was often fragmented and the possibility of miscommunication in some of their translations cannot be ruled out, since I was not sure whether they were translating correctly or not. This is due to the fact that although they could speak English and sometimes French, it is not their first language and they sometimes had problems expressing certain ideas in English or French which constituted a major drawback in the research process. I figured out that they only translated what they thought was important for me to know since their translations were frequently very short. One day as I observed Mor, Hamidou, Mbacke and Adul[6] conversing with each other, they talked about something which was humorous, and this was evidenced from the fact that they were all laughing and I felt out of place because I heard them mention my name but did not know what they were talking about. When they noticed that I knew they were talking about something that had to do with me, Mor then tried to explain what they had been saying in these *words: "you see my sister what we are saying is that one of our brothers need to take you to Senegal".* I construed this translation to be quite short considering the fact that they had been discussing for over five minutes. My construal in this regard made me wonder as to whether I was being openminded in my observations as

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[6]Research Participants Number 21, 9, 5 and 22

suggested by Dewalt and Dewalt (2002) as opposed to letting my subjectivity interfere with the interpretation of facts from a detached stance. However, drawing from Ojong's (2013:113) contention that it is possible for researchers (especially those who adopt the empathic role in their fieldwork) to understand the standpoints of their participants 'without necessarily believing everything they are told' helped me in dealing with my subjectivity. Durrheim (1999) also points to the possibility of participants lying to researchers or telling them what they (participants) 'think the researchers want to hear'. Bearing Ojong and Durrheim's ideas in mind, I came to the conclusion that by perceiving Mor's translation as an inadequate reflection of what they had been talking about, I was not being judgemental or allowing my own context and understanding to influence my interpretation but rather as suggested by Spielberg (1975 cited in Ojong, 2013) I was simply imaginatively projecting myself into their discussions in an effort to view the reality through their eyes. I therefore asked him (Mor) what other things they talked about but his response was that: *"it is the most important thing that I have told you, the other things are not important, we are just talking…"* Before he could even finish off his sentence Mbacke said *"Fatima there are certain things that women cannot know, it's only for men".*

This shows the important role that language plays in observation and participation in the lived world of research participants. Not being fluent in (or at least having a basic knowledge of) the local language of the participants' local language imposes a limit to the efficiency of data collection by means of participant observation. Through the nature of their translations I became aware of the possible challenges that using an interpreter or translator might pose to research findings. Again, this is not just confined to its effect on the research but also extends to the fact that the time in which I waited for someone to translate what they were saying usually interrupted the natural flow of their discussions. It is also possible that the brevity of their translation might have been due to this effect that translating had on their conversation.

In some cases where the language became a serious problem I had to switch roles by moving from the observer as participant role to becoming more of a participant. For example, during events such as the grand magal I was able to participate as well as understand even though I had no knowledge of Wolof. This was because before attending this function members had during interviews explained the proceedings of magal celebrations as well as the meaning of everything

that is done during the occasion to me. They had also given me videos of previous magal celebrations which I watched. So, when I finally attended this function, even though I could not understand the language I understood what was going on and participated in the activities of the day.

3.6 Difficulties of Maintaining a Balance on Boundary

Assuming the observer as participant role requires that even though the researcher participates in the activities of the researched, the role of a researcher seeking to gather data so as to obtain a nuanced understanding of the lived experiences of the participants is more important. This was the role that I took up during the research within the Senegalese community in Durban. While Junker (1960) argues that with such a stance observation if preferred over participation and is utilized mostly by overt researchers who are not members of the groups which they study, Adler and Adler (1994) assert that taking up the observer as participant role allows the researcher to witness and carefully relate with his or her participants in a manner that he/she can attain an insider's perspective without necessarily participating in the core actions that members must participate in.

Additionally, adopting such a stance implies that the researcher needs to be able to maintain a balance on boundary (Frank, 2004). During the research process maintaining this balance and keeping a suitable level of difference and distance was not an easy task. Sometimes I became too involved in their activities that they also tended to forget that I was a researcher, which is a situation Frank (2004) describes as very common in participant observation since researchers may sometimes 'fall forward into the other' and other times 'fall back into themselves'. I usually hung out with my participants in their shops. When they had many clients I often attended to some of them. Gradually the participants became so used to my help to the extent that they sometimes took me for one of the sales ladies that they employed. This was seen from the manner and authority with which they frequently asked me to attend to some clients. One day, while I was at Niang's shop in Point Road, the temperature was so hot in the shop that I decided to go and stand outside for a while for some fresh air. It happened that many customers came into the shop at that time and I was standing at the entrance of the shop. His employee did not

come to work that day because she was sick. Realizing that he could not assist all of them at the same time because he needed to go and look for shoe sizes for some of the clients from his store room while other clients wanted to try their clothes on and needed the correct sizes he shouted out to me in the following words:

> *Fatima what are you doing outside, standing there like you have no work to do, didn't you see the clients come in? Come here and get size 38 of the blue jeans for the customer.*

I was so angry, and wanted to talk back at him, remind him that I was not his worker but a researcher, but before I could say anything, the clients having heard him beckoned me to hurry up because they were in a rush to go somewhere. I got inside and assisted them. But I was so angry that I could not keep quiet about it. When all was quiet again I went to Niang and talked to him about the manner in which he shouted at me, reminding him that, that is not the way to ask me for help since I am not an employee. It was only then that he realized that what he had done was not right. He apologized for his actions. In this way I was able to fall back to myself as a researcher.

In another instance, when one of the key participants Mapate[7] who had been very instrumental in this research received news that his younger sister back in Senegal had died (I was with him when he received the phone call), he cried bitterly, I was also moved in tears by witnessing 'a man' cry in that manner. After about an hour of sobbing and silence he explained that he did not have any money at that point since he had just bought new consignment of goods the previous day and as such might not be able to travel to Senegal for his sister's funeral. Being a migrant who had also lost a brother, I could understand his pain and predicament. This situation created conditions for empathic relations and I found myself adopting an emphatic role of consoling and encouraging in an effort to soothe his pain. I had to adopt an empathic role as a researcher in this situation visualizing what it feels like to loose a loved one. I had the impulse to help him but because I am a student with no fixed source of income I could only afford the little sum of money which I brought to him the following day. This shows how I fell into the 'other' due to my empathy and the urge to support him.

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[7]Research Participants Number 10

According to Bondi (2002) adopting such a stance helps in understanding the experiences of others.Ojong (2013) espouses this idea but adds that the social reality created in this context turns out to be a mixture of the experiences of the participants and the feelings as well as disposition of the researcher during the time of the research in such a way that the data becomes an exchange of experiences. This was found to be true since in trying to console Mapate I shared my experiences of loosing a brother with him which shows how my empathic tendencies permeated the fieldwork.This idea is supported by Ojong (2013) as she recounts how she took up the role of a counsellor in advising Bridget who was one of her respondents (a Ugandan migrant) during a research on African migrants in South Africa. Ojong (2013) describes how she empathised with Bridget and advised her to concentrate on building her selfesteem, her children and her career when Bridget related the story of how she came to South Africa as a way of escaping being stigmatised given that she had married a poor Anglican Priest, and the frustrations she is facing in south Africa as a result of her husband's inability to provide their family with the quality of life she wants. Ojong (2013:115-116) further shows that such situations of empathy allowed for a continuous process of shifting perspectives of separation and immersion into the lived experiences of her participants in a manner that both the researcher and the researched relate to the particular experience in the same way as if "it were one person with whom one might alternatively be merged empathetically or from whom one might be separated and individuated."

The difficulty in maintaining a balance on boundaries can also be seen in the fact that sometimes I had to 'convert' to complete participation as during the magal celebration as discussed above due to the language barriers or in attending to customers in their shops. This means that sometimes I fell into the other and at other times I pulled back to my role as an observing participant. This explains why Tedlock (2000) argues that every interaction with research participants in the field often entails moral choices for the researcher because their lives are typically entrenched in their fieldwork experience. By extension such an argument is suggestive of the fact that the social realities of researchers (during the period of fieldwork) are principally fashioned by unanticipated situations that arise from the relationship with their participants. This implies that their everyday social reality during this period is delicate, flexible and fluid (Cruise O'Brien, 2006). They, therefore, have to look for ways through which they can deal with

circumstantial ethical challenges that may arise (Etherington, 2007). The field, as Kloos (1969) shows, is very complex in terms of the shifting roles adopted by researchers in such a way that these roles are often conflicting and as such researchers need to be very sensitive. With this in mind, I had to constantly negotiate and renegotiate my role, identity and boundary throughout the duration of the field work.

3.7 Terenga and Gaining Access

I received maximum cooperation from the research participants which was partly due to the Senegalese culture of terenga and my identity as a migrant. Being a migrant made me an 'insider' and this positioning was quite instrumental in gaining access during the course of the field work. A shared migration experience and knowledge of the French language enabled me to develop a relationship of trust with them very easily as they felt that I could not possibly be a spy for the South African government. As such they were very willing to share their stories with me. Sometimes some of the participants wanted me to share my migration experiences with them and asked me questions relating to issues like when I came to South Africa, whether I intend to go back, how I get money to pay my fees and for my livelihood and so on. Such a scenario depicts what has been written by authors like Merriam (1998) showing that sometimes the researcher can become the researched.

In addition, through the terenga culture I did not have a problem getting participants for the interview. This terenga culture as I have discussed in other chapters requires Senegalese people to be very hospitable to strangers as well as maintain good relations with everyone. It is believed that if you treat people well when you or any member of your family is in need, others will come to your aid. This means that even though terenga is an act of good will there are some (though not direct or immediate) expectations of reciprocity. Such a cultural practice greatly facilitated the process of sourcing participants, and participant's willingness to cooperate by participating, giving information and allowing me to participate in their activities. For example, usually before I even went to most of the participants to solicit their participation they already knew me. This was due to the fact that being a very close-knit group who met often, the participants already contacted and spread the news of my visits and request for interviews. Even when I told them my

name the participants still chose to call me Fatima, a name they had previously bestowed on me. They urged me to become a Muslim and to visit Senegal to see what a 'beautiful' place it is. They were very open and welcoming to me and did not hesitate to say yes when I sought their consent to participant in my study although despite several explanations, they did not cease asking me why I chose to study the Senegalese migrants only and what I am going to do with the information I was writing.

Equally, some of the participants even went out of their way to ensure that I got what I wanted. For example, Mor[8] and Mapate went an extra mile trying to get the others to understand what I was doing and to encourage them to participate. They even identified and showed me members of their community who were fluent in English and very knowledgeable on their culture and experience to explain to me. Some of the members took upon themselves to educate me about certain things such as the history of the brotherhood, why it is important to be a Mouride and its significance for members.

This cultural practice of maintaining a good relationship with everyone facilitated the process of establishing a good and friendly rapport with them and also in gaining their trust. They had a keen interest in maintaining good relations with me. This was attested to by the fact that one day Faye invited me to his shop and expressed concerns about the fact that I only called them when I needed to make arrangements regarding when and how I envisaged either interviewing them or participating in their activities. He went on to educate me on how to them (Senegalese) it is very important to relate well with the people around you, to check up on them and ask not olny about their health but also their families. This made me realize why Curran et al., (2006) commented that for every ethnographer, it is important to consider how your participants understand your relationship with them. Nevertheless, this is usually not an easy task especially when the researcher is researching on groups other than their own.

Although I knew the significance of relating well with the participants and befriending them, being a female and single working with male research participants posed an ethical challenge to this research as I became very cautious of the nature of the affiliation I maintained with my

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[8]Research participant number 21

participants due to the possibility that my interactions with them might give them an idea of amorous relationships. When Faye expressed his concerns, I became more conscious of how I related with them. I was also caught in a dilemma in trying to understand whether his concerns were genuine or it was arising from something else. Reflecting on the expectations of reciprocity that are embedded in the teranga practice and how well I had been received by these Senegalese migrants complicated the matter even further. Finally, I resolved to go by Faye's suggestion and called them sometimes just to ask how they were doing. When I began doing this most of the participants became very happy and I equally felt (somehow) that in a way I was reciprocating their hospitality.

Furthermore, even though the shared migration experience made me an insider they (to some extent) still saw me as an outsider because I was a female, not a Senegalese and a non-Muslim. I felt this sense of 'outsiderness' when very often than not they asked me to become a Muslim, to marry a Senegalese man, or to visit Senegal. This could imply that if I did these things which they suggested, I might become an 'insider'. My gender and identity as a female Christian researching Muslim males meant that gaining access to certain strategic information became an uphill task. Most of the participants were quite articulate about the explicit information about themselves and their community which they wanted me to know but getting them to open up and talk about certain strategic information was not easy. This was evident very often when I asked them why there were no female Senegalese migrants in Durban or why they chose to keep their wives back in Senegal and lived here in South Africa. Their response was usually that women do not like to travel out of Senegal and that if these women came here (South Africa) they would not like the country and would want to go back to Senegal. It was only after a long time participating in their activities regularly that they opened up and told me some of the reasons for Senegalese female invisibility in the migration project. This included among other factors the fact that migration is not perceived as a thing for women due to their culture of migration as a rite of passage for men, the fear and uncertainty about women's behavioural change that might occur as a result of working in South Africa and becoming independent and also the possibility that their wives might be influenced by the host environment and start behaving and dressing like the women in South Africa.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the researcher's fieldwork experience showing how the method of reflexivity is important in portraying the manner in which individual perspectives as well cultural and social identities impact on how researchers relate with, react to, understand their interactions with their research participants and consequently on how they document and produce research accounts. The arguments in the chapter reveal how I was able through the process of reflexivity to perceive my own beliefs in the same manner in which I perceived those of my Senegalese research participants and became motivated to reflect on my own sociocultural identity. This made the process of reflexivity a kind of initiation process through which the researcher gains knowledge, personal growth and development. The chapter equally discussed the tensions and feelings that arose during the researcher's interactions with the participants as well as the difficulties of maintaining a balance on boundaries. The chapter also depicted how the researcher had to constantly define and redefine her position within the research process as well as how her positioning both enhanced and impeded the fieldwork process.

CHAPTER FOUR
LITERATURE REVIEW

4.1 Introduction

Migration in Senegal as elsewhere (e.g. South Africa) has a long history and has played and continue to play a meaningful role in the sending and receiving communities. This means that any study of migration necessitates historical contextualization. This chapter reviews prevailing literature on migration in Senegal in general and Senegalese migration to South Africa in particular. A major aim of the review was to build an understanding of the major trends in Senegalese migratory patterns by highlighting the history of and current trends in Senegalese migration, the reasons for Senegalese migration and how the Senegalese migrants typify the phenomenon of transnationalism where they forge and sustain 'multi-stranded social relationships' across borders. To this effect, much of the literature that was reviewed focuses on the factors that propel Senegalese migration, how Senegalese migrants negotiate their stay and identities in host societies as well as issues of how networks of solidarity and brotherhood facilitates this process.

This literature review chapter is very essential as it delineates the interconnection between Senegal and the global market from the period of slavery to colonization and then to globalization which also helped to produce a kind of friction between 'traditional' and 'modern' practices and discourses which, according to Perry (2009), brought with it several strategies for socioeconomic advancement such as migration. The review of this literature also revealed that migration is constructed in the interchange between the global structures of economics and politics and individual practices. As such migration could be regarded either as a direct result of these structures or as a way in which individuals oppose the structures into which they were born. It also shows that while at the macro level migration results from the global reality of inequality in relation to accessing resources, at the micro level migration is regarded as an opportunity for an individual to act as an agent of change even though this in turn is shaped by the socioeconomic and cultural realities.

The literature reviewed in this chapter includes Senegalese Migration as a Colonial Heritage, Senegalese migrancy in South Africa, Modou Modou and the Development of a Migrant culture in Senegal, Factors Impelling Migration from Senegal such as Migration as Investment towards a Better Life and migration as a family Strategy for Sustainable Livelihood.

4.2 Senegalese Migration as a Colonial Heritage

The Senegalese have been described as a people on the move fraught with stories of incessant migration. Located on the West coast of Africa, bordering Mali to the east, Guinea and Guinea-Bissau to the south, the Atlantic Ocean to the west and Mauritania to the north,[9] migration constitutes an essential part of its culture. This continuous large scale migration which dates back to the pre-colonial era till to the present as documented by numerous scholars (see e.g. Cordell et al., 1996; Konseiga 2005; Riccio, 2005; Swindell 1995; Zachariah and Conde, 1981 and Zinn 2005) was principally promoted at the time by pastoralism, slavery, warfare and religious conquest, natural disasters and trade. Myths and legends of the pre-colonial period show that these factors rendered migration an integral part of the social and cultural life of the Senegalese (Swindell, 1995). Before the period of slave trade and colonialism extensive Islamic trade networks were created with merchants in North Africa and those undertaking the pilgrimage to Mecca which heightened this long history of migration (Cordell et al., 1996).

During the colonial period Senegal became a significant destination country and cradle for labour migrants from countries like Togo, Mali, Guinea, and Burkina Faso following the formation of the industrial production of groundnuts (Nkamleu 2006) and other cash crops like cotton until the late 1980s and 1990s when it became a country of emigration (Arthur, 1991). The French colonial government established a host of administrative institutions and enacted a wide range of policies to facilitate rule beyond their borders in Senegal. For example, they introduced new economic structures which changed the character of migration in Senegal. The French colonists in an effort to find a steady source of income for its new territory experimented with several agricultural products before ultimately settling for groundnut due to the sandy

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[9]Refer to appendix four for a map of Senegal

nature of Senegal. These new structures caused the nation of Senegal to become heavily dependent on the global market through the cultivation of groundnut for export purposes. Cruise O'Brien (1975:7) reveals that throughout the 20th century groundnut then provided "for a viable colonial economy, [accounting] for the great bulk (90%) of Senegal's export value". The economy of the country at the time was booming relative to other African countries and the political climate was stable.

In the mid 1970s Senegal experienced decades of drought that plagued the whole of the Sahel region and put severe pressure on the natural environment. This resulted in the near collapse of the agricultural sector due to enormous cut backs in the groundnut production which had for years been Senegal's major export and foreign exchange earner (Riccio 2001b). According to Cruise O'Brien (2006) this placed the nation in a precarious socio-economic situation which led to the country being placed under the control of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). For a country whose population growth rate was high and who largely relied on agriculture (groundnut production) being vulnerable to desertification, declining rainfall and changes in the world commodity prices meant that the future was bleak and there was little prospect of economic growth (Fall, 2003). Correspondingly, from the 1980s onwards such changes steered adaptive strategies where many Senegalese people started migrating away from this environmentally degraded and poverty stricken lands to urban areas and later on to other international destinations that could offer improved economic prospects.

In an effort to better the economic condition of Senegal and other African countries, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Bretton Wood instituted the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). This programe had a myriad of negative effects on the African countries in general and Senegal in particular. This was because instead of improving this precarious economic condition, the situation worsened. SAP's mission in developing nations was predominantly to assist in bailing them out from their debts and make a way for the economic recovery of these nations. According to scholars like Adekanye (1998; Adepoju, 1998 and Zinyama, 2000) SAP initiated a number of reform policies among which were rigid controls of money supply, devaluation of the currency, reduction of public employment, trade liberalization, privatization of state-owned enterprises, cutbacks in social expenditures such as housing,

education and health and the removal of food subsidies. Senegal's government at the time as well as the governments of most African countries implemented these reforms which proved to have severe economic ramifications for these nations. For example, employment circumstances deteriorated since many workers in both private and public sectors lost their jobs following the retrenchments that resulted from the reforms introduced by SAP. Those who did not lose their jobs suffered rigorous salary cuts and this impacted seriously on household and family incomes. In the face of this worsening employment conditions many Senegalese young men considered migration as an inevitable lifeline. Consequently, there was an increase in international migration among the Senegalese people, seeking better employment opportunities in countries thought to have relatively buoyant economies.

As mentioned above, the devaluation of currencies was among the reform policies instituted by SAP. Senegal's currency - the Franc CFA[10] - was devalued by France in 1994. France decided to stop shoring up the currencies of its former colonies in West Africa. This decision had serious consequences for the economy of Senegal as it aggravated the economic malaise that plagued Senegal as well as the whole of the CFA zone.[11] The CFA that was produced in 1945 after the Second World War, in an effort to distinguish the currency of the colonies from the French franc that was depreciating, was very stable from the 1960s to the 1970s (Elounded-Enyegue et al., 2000). The fact that it was guaranteed by France made it relatively successful in terms of growth rates. The CFA zone experienced a chain of exogenous distress to its mining-base and agricultural sector which plunged these countries into a long depression. A desperate measure in trying to salvage this situation that could possibly lead the countries into an inescapable cycle of debts was a 50% devaluation of the CFA by IMF. This also came with its own consequences, for example, in a bid to ensure that the devaluation was successful, money supply was reduced and

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[10]CFA stands for Coopération financière en Afrique centrale (Financial Cooperation in Central Africa) or Communauté financière d'Afrique (Financial Community of Africa)

[11]The Franc CFA Zone is actually made up of two monetary unions – the West African Economic and Monetary Union (known by its French acronym, UEMOA) and the Central African Monetary Union (CEMAC). UEMOA countries include Benin, Côte D'Ivoire, Togo, Guinea-Bissau, Burkina Faso, Niger, Mali and Senegal, while Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Republic of Congo (Brazzaville), Equatorial Guinea and Gabon make up the CEMAC.

government deficits were constrained which in turn had implications such as inflation and increase in the prices of goods.

Senegal's deteriorating economic circumstances impacted (and continue to do so) greatly on the day to day lives of all its citizens. Molenaers and Renard (2006) contend that owing to this precarious economic condition the average income of all Senegalese people has been steadily dropping since independence to the extent that its economy has one of the lowest per capita incomes in the world at large. The statistics from UNEP (2002) and UNDP (2006) point at this situation as it reveals that even though the per capita income of Senegal was 1/8 of the per capita income of Spain in 1975 that of Senegal has since dropped to the extent that the income gap between Senegal and Spain doubled to the factor 15 by 2005. ESAM-ll (2004 cited in Fall, 2007) also shows that 48.5% or one in every two families and households in Senegal live under the poverty line. The country was ranked 156/177 on the HDI per country listing right before Rwanda and Eritrea and after Haiti and Mauritania (UNDP 2006).

These declining socio-economic circumstances around the late 1960s and 1970s became undoubtedly the root of Senegal metamorphosing into an emigration country due to the excalating poverty and misery it brought about. Fall (1998) contends that this reversal of trends in Senegalese patterns of migration emanated from the negative net migration that affected all of Senegal's regions stemming from sustained expatriation. Many Senegalese then embarked on overseas exodus as a means of extricating themselves from this socio-economic pressure. Migration became so deeply engrained in the Senegalese society that it triggered Senegal's former president Abdou Diouf to remark that 'Senegalese were becoming the nation of Senegal's strongest export' (1994). This statement is buttressed by the strong presence of trans-migrants from Senegal across Africa and Europe whether New York City, Abidjan (Ivory Coast), Durban (South Africa) or Milan (Italy).

The first wave of this new migratory pattern was to France. During this period Europe meant France for the Senegalese people and just like most of their African counterparts they migrated to France. All those who wanted to migrate so as to find employment saw France as the 'answer'. It was their preferred destination. This was enforced by the good relationship that

France had with Senegal owing to the colonial ties between them (Adepo, 1995). It has been well documented in literature that African migration in the past was tied to their colonial roots; with Anglophone countries moving to the United Kingdom and francophone colonies migrating to France. However, most Senegalese also migrated to other African countries such as Gabon, Ivory Coast and Mauritania (Robin et al., 2000). Destinations gradually became diversified with Italy and Spain becoming preferred destinations for Senegalese migrants. For example, Jettinger et al. (2007) has shown that during the 1980s Italy specifically played host to an increasing number of migrants from Senegal. According to EU (2006) this change could be explained by the fact that Italy was thought to have become more tolerant towards Senegalese migrants than France. Newer preferred destinations such as the USA also developed.

Soon after this new wave of migration, most western nations in an effort to curb the number of migrants entering their countries tightened up their borders. Ong (1999) opines that nation states were continuously refining their immigration laws in such a way that it would attract only capital bearing subjects while at the same time restricting the entry of unskilled migrants. It thus became very difficult to obtain permits to enable Senegalese to migrate to Europe or America. Most Senegalese did not relent and instead sought alternative ways through which they could travel even if it involved boat migration (Nyamnjoh, 2010). Some resorted to newer destinations within the African continent such as South Africa since the stiffening of these borders in the 1990s coincided with the official collapse of apartheid and the country's subsequent reinsertion into the global world economy (Crush and McDonald, 2002).

Those who were mostly involved in this new emigration trend from Senegal were principally from the River Basin of Senegal. For the most part it involved those from the Serer, Toucouleur and Soninké regions. Gradually, those from the Diourbel (specifically from Holy city of Touba, which is the head quarters for the Muridiyya brotherhood) and Dakar areas joined in the process and soon after became the leading figures in this migratory process providing over 40% of the total number international migrants from Senegal (EU 2006). According to Ammassari (2004) the majority of these migrants travelled abroad between 1988 and 1997. Ammassari further highlights that 8.8% of the entire Touba population as well as 6.5% of the inhabitants of Dakar migrated during this period. Reports by ESAM-II (2004, cited in Fall 2007) regarding the current

composition of Senegalese migrants show that 67.8% of the migrants at the time of leaving Senegal are between the ages of 15 and 34 years of age. The Soninké ethnic group makes up 3.7% of the migrants, Mandingues 3.4%, Diolas 3.8%, the Serer 5.8%, the Peul 28% and the majority being Wolof with 46.7%. Only 16% are women and 46.3% is not married.

If one were to disaggregate the migration data with reference to destination countries, it would appear that up to 75% of the people undertaking the migration project from Senegal prefer the United States, Europe and Canada and as data from ESAM-II (2004 cited in Fall, 2007) reflects only a percentage (about 39%) chose to migrate to other African countries such as Ivory Coast, Gabon and South Africa. Scholars like Schoorl et al. (2000) stipulate that the principal motivating factor for this preference is solely economic. Most of these migrants see their success and prospects for upward financial and social mobility in terms of the economic buoyancy of the economies of these nations that are deemed to be far more developed and better placed in terms of job opportunities for migrants than destination countries within the African continent. For those who decide to migrate to African countries such as South Africa, it is either because they have been unable to secure visas to go to their preferred destinations or because of financial reasons not because it is the preferred destination. The instances of Mustafa and Modou[12] below exemplify this situation:

> *Before I came here, I wanted to go to Italy because my brothers live there and they told me things are good that side. They also wanted me to join them. We were told that if I travel to South Africa or Swaziland, I will be able to get the visa from there easily. I then chose South Africa from the two because from what I was told there are also many Senegalese people leaving in South Africa. They also did did not give me the visa to come here, so I decided to go to Ivory Coast and get it from there. I finally got it and came here 2009. But here, ah ah ah! It was not at I thought at all. It is very difficult to get the visa too as foreigner, they just told me to go and apply from my country so I had to stay in South Africa.* **Modou**

> *I came here that was 2008 life was not easy I needed a change, I had to make money, I was working there but the money was too small and too many things to do. I wanted to go to America or some where in Europe where people make real money, but I didn't have the money because to get the visa for that side is very*

[12] Research Participants number 20 and 1

expensive. I came here to make money and I was hoping that once
I make much money I will be able to travel to America or Europe.
Mustafa

Thus, movement to these African countries is perceived as transit migration and as a last resort where it is hoped that migrants will make the money needed to continue to their preferred destinations in cases where finances was the barrier. For others, it is expected that in the country of this transit migration they will have easy access to procuring visas to migrate to their preferred destinations such as Italy as suggested in the excerpts from Mustafa and Moudou above.

Furthermore, migrants prefer these European and American destinations over destinations in the African continent because of the differences in the money or wealth that is acquired by the migrants already resident in these destinations. This is reflected in the remittances sent home from these destinations by the migrants. For example, Fall (2007) reveals that only 27.7% of Senegalese migrants living in host countries within Africa are able to remit home regularly while 37.7% do so inconsistently but the case is different for those living in first world destinations. ESAM-II (in Fall 2007) again points out that 55.7% of Senegalese nationals residing in Europe send remittances home to Senegal on a regular basis while 25.1% do so though not consistently.

This new wave of migration in Senegal became so strong that it led to the emergence of a migrant culture as discussed in the next section. Everyone wants to migrate especially the youth. Robin et al. (2000) opine that up to 34% of Senegal's total population between the ages of eighteen to twenty-five have migrated out of the country or are intending to do so. In a survey that was carried out in the area surrounding Touba and Darkar (Pikine specifically) it was found that 89% of the Senegalese people cited the intensifying poverty as the primary reason for wanting to migrate and added that because this is their reason for opting for migration their choices of destinations are therefore countries with buoyant economies in which case in the order of preference they listed the United States, Italy and France (Van Dalen, 2005: 45). The reason cited in this study as informing both migration as well as the choice of a migration destination omits the effects of social networks in the selection of migration destinations by arguing that it is the migration culture that has emerged that pressurizes Senegalese young people to migrate and also in a way informs their choice of destinations. Van Dalen (2005) shows that the pressure on

young people to migrate is very high in Senegal relative to other African countries. He equally adds that the factors that contribute highly to migration decision relate to the optimism that they would find employment in the receiving context and the subsequent financial gains that come with it.

Out migration from Senegal gradually became so common place and frequent that the government of the nation created a 'ministry of Senegalese abroad'. According to Fall (2010:5-6) this ministry created in 1983 was in charge of managing emigrants and again in1995 in response to the demands of migrants the High Council of Senegalese abroad was created. All these institutional efforts were in a bid to acknowledge how important out migration from Senegalese had become due to the economic potential of migrants. This again led Senegal's former Abdou Diouf (1994) to remark that 'the Senegalese were becoming the nation of Senegal's strongest export'. The government of Senegal adopts a proactive approach to migration. For example, the government enters into agreement with governments of other countries in an attempt to moderate irregular migration and to regulate migration flows. It also attempts to reinforce the development of governmental capabilities relating to managing migration by including the community of Senegalese abroad in its institutional reach expansion and also by organizing border controls and labor migration flows (Fall 2010). Migrants are regarded as highly important because of their economic influence on the nation. According to Dahou and Foucher (2009) this was made poignant during former president Wade's election campaign in the year 2000 as he decided to make his first campaign launch in the Diaspora. Scholars such as Some (2009) and Gerdes (2007) have equally highlighted the importance placed on Senegalese migrants by stating that all migrants are encouraged to engage in developmental activities in Senegal so as to help the nation to grow. As a result of this proactive attitude, Senegal received new inflows of foreign aid especially after the year 2005 (Dahou and Foucher 2009).

4.2.3 The South African Context

The history of South Africa is fraught with several streams of migration and diverse categories of migrants. The long history of cross border migration which dates back to the time when the

European colonists carved out these borders has been well documented by several scholars (see Adepoju, 2003; Anderson, 2006; Croucher, 1998; Hunter and Skinner, 2003 and Posel, 2003). This shows that migration has always been occurring in this context. However, as Wentzel and Tlabela (2006) show this labour migration was mostly undertaken by people within the SADC region. Following the discovery of diamond in Kimberley many people migrated to work in these mines. It has been argued that the labour migration soon became a "key distinguishing feature of South African industrialisation" (Crush et al., 1991: 1). Migration in South Africa was however, not limited to this mine labour migration as it has been argued that there were also other types of emigration to South Africa such as refugee migration, informal migration (for study, tourism or shopping), white settler migration and contract mine migration (Crush, 2000: 13).

Throughout the period of apartheid, South Africa depended on a fixed source of low-skilled migrant labour from all its neighboring states to enhance its output in strategic segments like agriculture and mining. Since the official demise of apartheid in 1994, South Africa's ascendency to democracy and the subsequent reinsertion of South Africa into the global world economy, the republic has turned out to be a destination country for transnational migrants both from the SADC region, the rest of Africa and the world at large. This new wave of migration has been largely due to the relative economic buoyancy of the country as well as its geographical positioning within the continent and political stability. The nation of South Africa has therefore become a prime home to a groundswell group of migrants (Adepoju, 2003). It has been shown that among these migrants are temporary and seasonal migrants, asylum seekers, refugees as well as undocumented migrants. Crush and McDonald (2000: 4) also remark that "One of the most notable shifts in post-apartheid South Africa is the sheer volume and diversity of human traffic now crossing South Africa's borders."

Senegalese migrants were part of this new wave of post-1994 African migration to South Africa. These young Senegalese men were attracted to South Africa because they hoped to make a quick fortune and consequently a way out of Africa to their preferred destinations. It has been shown that South Africa is regarded as the 'USA' of Africa due to the better opportunities it may offer compared to the migrants home countries (Nyamnjoh, 2007). There are also opportunities to

continue to the other European and American destinations which were the objective of most of the Senegalese participants who related that South Africa was not their preferred migration destination. These migrants have been classified by the South African government as:

- Asylum Seekers: this is a liminal category which comprises those migrants who are fleeing from persecution in their countries of origin but are yet to be accessed by the DoHA.
- Refugees: comprising asylum seekers who are recognized by DoHA
- Temporary Migrants: this category includes those who hold work or study permits, those visiting for touristic purposes, contract labour etc.
- Economic Migrants: those who are seeking better economic opportunities
- Permanent Migrants: people who are permanently resident in South Africa as well as those who have naturalized.
- Undocumented Migrants: this involves those migrants who have no legal right to enter or work in the country.

This shows that migration has both policy and legal implications (Landau et al., 2005). While these categories are not all incorporating they also have the possibility of imposing boundaries which have become porous.

4.3 Modou Modou and the Development of a Migrant culture in Senegal

In Senegal migrants are perceived as modern-day heroes because even though they reside away from home in another country they remember members of their families and communities left behind and as such display their loyalty to them through the remittances they send. These migrants are thus celebrated within the Senegalese community. The well-known Senegalese musician Youssou N'Dour depicts this scenario in his famous music 'immigres' in which he sings about how the Senegalese people are grateful for what these migrants are doing and that they (Senegalese people) are continuously praying for the success of these migrants. This symbolic construction of migrants as contemporary heroes has become one of the motivating

factors that lead Senegalese young people to migrate. This was clearly articulated in the narratives of the participants as exemplified in the case of Faye below, who decided that he will travel at all cost because of the way he was treated after his cousin returned home:

> *I came to South Africa in 2009 because of the way those who travel out of the country are respected in Senegal. People who do not migrate are seen as failures especially when you do not have money to do most of the things that you need to do as a man like taking care of you family and you do not travel out. The way they treat you is not good, people do not respect you, sometimes it is like you do not even exist and that is very painful. For me even though this was happening I was still struggling to make ends meet at home not minding all those things and whether all my age mates had travelled and were making big money and sending it home. But finally when my cousin came to visit home from overseas the way I was treated made me to resolve that I was going to travel out of that country at all cost so that people could celebrate me as well. I was even ready to use the boat like others do if I was unable to get a visa to travel. During my cousin's stay at home from Italy, even though he is four years younger than I was busy mending my cloths while my cousin was sitting idle, just chit - chatting with his friends but my uncle asked me to drop what was doing and wash my cousin's car. He did not even say this in a polite manner: he said don't I have eyes anymore to see that the car is dirty and that my cousin will be going out soon, or do I expect my cousin to drive in a dirty car. When my cousin and his friends heard him shouting at me they started laughing, as I washed the car I decided that I must travel by hook or by crook.* **Faye**[13]

The above excerpt shows how Modou-Modou fuels migration in Senegal. Originally the word Modou-Modou was used in Senegal to refer to seasonal migrants who left the groundnut basin in search for greener pastures in the major cities such as Dakar. The term is particularly applied to migrants from Kebemer, Touba and Diourbel who were involved in these seasonal movements but that more commonly the word depicts the image of all migrants. From the early 1990s the usage of the term was extended to incorporate international migrants and has now become the buzz word among the Senegalese youth. According to Fall (2003:16) this word is currently utilized in the Senegalese context to designate the 'obsession with migration' among the youth (fifteen and more). Riccio (2001a) shows that a migrant's return is usually a grandiose event which may lead to bitterness and jealousy among the family or community members who have

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[13]Research Participant Number 14

not migrated especially involuntary non-migrants. This Modou-Modou culture among the Senegalese can be likened to the 'bushfaller' image among Cameroonians described by Pelican et al. (2008; Fomunyam, 2011; Atekmangoh, 2011 and Nyamjoh, 2011) where the term 'bushfalling' has become a popular parlance for metaphorically referring to the process of migration. Nyamjoh (2011) explains that just as one goes to the bush to hunt and to gather, countries overseas are seen as a bush better still a forest and therefore a source of livelihood for those without such forests. Both bushfalling and Modou-Modou have become a process through which many Cameroonians and Senegalese are convinced is the pathway to an upward social and economic mobility.

Carling (2004) in his model known as 'aspiration ability' distinguishes between two clutches of non-migrants voluntary and involuntary non-migrants. Voluntary non-migrants are those people who do not aspire to migrate while involuntary non-migrants are those people who seek to migrate but who lack the required abilities. Non-migrants, whether voluntary or involuntary, usually do not attain a social position within their communities as adults especially if they find it difficult to fulfill the provider role. Scholars like Gavin (2007) have shown that this position which inhibits a person from attaining the social status needed is usually characterized by a truncation of the social being, marginality and stagnation. The narrative of Faye in the above excerpt which is similar to that of most of the migrants reflects the humiliation and shame that comes with non-migration as opposed to the social status and recognition that the returnee receives.

This new culture of migration has increasingly cropped into the Senegalese society in such a way that people have become obsessed with it. It has become a 'do or die' thing. Everyone wants to migrate. Not even the tightening up of borders by nation states making the process of securing a visa very difficult has been able to curb this growing culture. The difficulty associated with obtaining a visa does not affect people's decision to migrate. Rather, it makes them even more determined to do so and as such they look for alternative means through which they can obtain these visas or travel out of the country through illegal routes. The participants in this study reported that even when they attempted to secure visas and did not succeed , they sought other options either by changing the choice of destinations or by looking for intermediaries who could

assist them get these visas even though at very expensive rates. This scenario is vividly explicated in the following excerpts:

> *I tried to get a visa but they did not give me, so I went to see the people who help us to get visas, they are many of them in Senegal. They charge big money but we still go because we don't have a choice. The man told me he could get a visa for me to go to Swaziland and that he has people there who will help me cross over to South Africa if I am ready to pay and to take the risk. He assured me that he had done it for many people and they are ok in South Africa. I paid half of the money upfront, and after he brought the visa I paid up the balance. I did not go to the embassy. I took the visa and travelled to Swaziland together with three other guys. It was not easy for us but we had to do it, we are men, and men must take risk, we couldn't stay at home and become a laughing stock among the people. At list our risk was not as high as those who travel by boat.* **Codou[14]**

> *I wanted to live out of the country because I wanted to make so much money like the others were doing and build houses, buy a good car for myself and take good care of my family. With the help of my friend whom I paid, I secured a visiting visa to go to Italy. When I traveled I though all my worries were over, I lived there for four years without and permit and finally I was deported. When I got home my family was not happy, people did not recognize my presence or celebrate me as they do for the others because I had not made a lot of money and I was deported. I felt like if I stay there I would be able to bare the shame and the humiliation so I decided to look for a possible way through which I could be able to travel again. So finally in 2007 I was able to secure a visa to come to south through the intermediaries.* **Malik[15]**

The above narratives from Malik and Codou substantiate the fact that even in the face of tight visa policies, Senegalese young people struggle against all odds to embark on migration due to the deeply engrained culture of migration. Even when they do not succeed in their first attempt as was the case with Malik, the aspiration to travel out of the country does not dissipate. Some of the participants even reported that they were robbed of their money by these so called intermediaries whilst they were attempting to secure a visa. They added that those who do not

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[14]Research Participant Number 2
[15]Research Participant Number 3

succeed to get a visa end up using the route by land through the Sahara desert as Niang[16] one of the participants in this study puts it:

> *They need to travel, it is the new norm, our culture, men must travel, so if the route across the Sahara is their last option let them take it, otherwise they will be left behind.*

There are other well established sea routes through Mauritania and Morocco to the Canary Islands which had long been well-known that some of those who travel to Europe take (Riccio, 2001b). But more recently these well-established routes that had led to clandestine migration for decades have given way to other alternative routes southwards along the coast of West Africa due to the increased patrolling done in the coastlines of Mauritania and Morocco by the police. The route that leads to Andalusia from the coast of Morocco across the stretch of the Mediterranean is now tightly monitored as well as the route that usually involved mounting the security fences into the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla (Fall 2007). Fall further shows that despite the high level of danger and risk that are involved in using these migratory routes (from three to seven months) Senegalese youth still got on with it because of the modou modou culture that had developed.

According to Hernández (2008) Senegalese young people refer to migration as Yéeg which means 'to climb'. The climbing process is not just about climbing fences as is the case when they use the route from morocco to Spain which requires them to climb security fences but it also means climbing up the social ladder and receiving recognition. Yéeg which is used to designate migration is a symbol of upward socio-economic mobility. To these young men, it is better to experience physical death by undertaking migration no matter how dangerous it may be than not to migrate and experience social death by not being accepted and recognized by one's community. Fall (2007:8) likens this Yéeg slang among the Senegalese young men to another slang which is commonly called tekki. Tekki means social recognition and is very fundamental in the life of every Senegalese young man.

According to Riccio (2005:105) the Modou-Modou figure which he also refers to as 'Baol Baol' describes "rural migrants who only know how to trade but nevertheless manage to earn enough

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[16]Research Participant Number 6

money abroad and come back showing off new houses, clothes, big weddings and all the symbols of success". Many Senegalese youth regard migration as a means through which they can be able to associate themselves with a 'place' that will enable them to earn prestige in their community and which also have the potential of allowing them to acquire both financial and symbolic capital (Fouquet, 2007). Dougnon (2008) takes this argument a step further by highlighting that even though this 'place' can enable them get the financial capital, it is only upon their return to their home context that they can attain the social recognition after showing proof of having acquired wealth. Previous studies by Stoller (1997) also reveal that migrants are only revered when they return home with enough money as well as goods to allow them to retire as esteemed elders. This possibly explains why most of the Senegalese migrants who participated in this study expressed the desire to acquire enormous wealth and then to return to Senegal. When returnees parade the success they have achieved through their migration by means of material gains it has great implication for non-migrants migration aspirations as they begin to imagine their own success in the unknown. As Riccio (2005:102) puts it, it then becomes a 'symbolic push factor' that propagates exodus from Senegal. Mor, one of Riccio's participants in his (2001a) study points out that migrants are a point of reference in Senegal and they are used as good examples by fathers to their children while Diallo another participant adds that 'without Moudou-Moudou, Senegal will be on its knees' because the remittances sent by them are becoming the bread basket of the country.

Owing to this developing migrant culture and the symbolic construction of Modou many Senegalese are even ready to leave their jobs in order to travel out of the country. Riccio (2001a) shows that people are influenced by the illiterate traders who have migrated and are making money and building big houses to quit their jobs in an effort to travel out. He uses the example of the director of a social worker's school who relates about a friend who had been influenced by the Modou-Moudou culture and as a result leaves a very good job and travels to America to become a street peddler so as to make money because he believed the white collar job in Senegal will not earn him as much money as street peddling in the USA to clarify the major features of this migrant culture. As Guarnizo and Smith (1998) rightly contend, migration (even from the same country) is informed by a myriad of factors and migration from Senegal cannot be explained by a singular factor as will be discussed in subsequent sections

4.4 Factors Impelling Migration from Senegal

The 21st century has witnessed an unavoidable upsurge in migration prompted by several socioeconomic, political and cultural factors. Migration theories are very essential in understanding why and how people migrate. Most theories of migration stipulate that people migrate for economic advancement. Within discourses on migration scholars have generally theorized these factors into push and pull. This model which takes into account the economic instruments of demand and supply originates from neoclassical theories. It is a macro level theory which contends that migration is the means through which the balanced between the greater labor demands in richer nations with the poverty in poorer countries is achieved (Massey et al., 1993). Such an approach does not take into account the personal circumstances of the migrants.

For the purposes of this study, therefore, such an approach suggests that Senegalese migration to South Africa is a reaction to economic imbalances that exist between Senegal and South Africa. This by implication means that migrants are objective rational individuals who undertake migration to South Africa in an attempt to gain a better net income. By extension, such theorizing implies that there are high levels of migration within all countries with lower per capita earnings and that this will only end when wages across the world are harmonized. Nevertheless, this is not the case. Massey et al. (1993) argue that such a theory fails to capture the complex dynamics of migrant behaviors and patterns and is therefore outdated because it is a system of classifying and not of theorizing migration.

Other anthropological studies of migration have also noted that this theory is too simplistic because usually the reasons for migration given are often entrenched in different systems of power and meaning which require further probing. In attempting to explain the simplicity of this push-pull theory, Petersen (1958: 256-257) alludes to Fairchild's four-tier model of migration namely: Invasion, Conquest, Colonization and Immigration and argues that such categorization which is founded on benchmarks like whether movement was principally peaceful or happened between low and high cultures does not fully explain the phenomenon of migration. He argues

that the factors that propel migration are neither universal nor simple. To him Fairchild's four-tier model is evolutionist and ethnocentric in character.

Petersen (1958) provides his own model of migration which he considers to be more refined. To him migration is either primitive (which occurs due to ecological factors), force (when people are compelled to move with no decision power of their own), impelled (for example when people fled from invasion and conquest meaning that they retain at least some decisive power), free (individually motivated migration) or mass-free (migration which results from collective behavior). Petersen further adds conservative and innovative migration to his list. By the former he means migration which occurs when people in an effort to retain what they have and thus respond to the changes happening around them by migrating. In relation to the latter (innovative migration) Petersen (1958) argues that it is the type of migration that takes place when a person wants to achieve new things. If Petersen's typology is anything to go by, then one can argue that Senegalese migration is possibly innovative in part. This can be justified by the cultural character of migration in this part of the world where migration is perceived as a means through which knowledge of the world can be gained, an adventure and a rite of passage by which boys can attain manhood as discussed in chapter six.

Hammar and Tamas (1997) like Petersen also argue that categorizing migration following the push pull paradigm is simplistic at best. But unlike Petersen, they propose that migrants are faced with elements of both compulsion and choice in their migratory decision although with differing degrees of each. This means that there exists a high level of ambiguity in this push-pull theory. It has been argued for example that economic want is a pull factor wherein the economic buoyancy of the economies of the host countries are pooling people to migrate and are fantasised to be 'an Eldorado, alluring and auspicious' (Kohnert, 2007:7). On the other hand other scholars like King (1993) perceive both political instability as well as economic want in the sending countries as push factors. This reveals the kind of ambiguity that exist in this push –pull theory and as Cohen (1996:15) rightly contends it does not fully explain the factors influencing migration but is "rather mechanical and there is little room left for the study of the 'intervening obstacles' […] and institutional, structures and interactional considerations that make the study of migration so subtle and so rewarding".

According to Kearney (1986) the migrant is not exclusively a rational economic agent who is reacting to the inequality in the world labor markets by migrating to places where he will be able to get higher remunerations but he also constitutes part of the sociocultural systems of the increasingly globalizing world of today. Kearney further states that it is only when a person understands migration in this light that he/she can achieve a more complete understanding of migration. Bloch and Parry (1989) take this argument a step further by arguing that the migrant is a social being who roots his choices on the ideals that he was nurtured and deems it fit to mold his future which implies that he is not simply in an economic sense a worker and consumer. Access to resources is very intricate to the human being and when people are unable to access these basic resources which are very important in that they give meaning to life, they resort to movement as a remedy that will enable them achieve what they want. Such is the case with the Senegalese participants in this study. When people migrate they become part of the community which they encounter in the same way that they are still a part of the community that they left behind. This generates a transnational link between the latter and the former communities. In the subsequent chapters (five, six, seven and eight) I discuss in-depth how the Senegalese migrants typify this phenomenon of transnational migration showing how the host context of Durban impacts on the migrants' social and economic lives as informed by the new culture they encounter and how this in turn influences their gender identity.

Even though migration is perceived as a rational economic action and part of a livelihood strategy, one cannot ignore the fact that it is equally influenced by the structures of meaning and social norms within the particular context in which it occurs. In his writings of the Jola people of the Casamance region in Senegal, Lambert (2002) depicts how migration from Senegal is not simply for economic reasons but is much more than that. He highlights that West Africans in general and Senegalese in particular have:

> *Through their mobility, [......] long been crossing boundaries,*
> *redefining their communities, and imbuing the spaces into which*
> *they move with new meanings. The peoples of West Africa have*
> *been speaking with their feet (Lambert 2002:22).*

This study argues that migration is propelled by several criss-crossing and intersecting processes contained in all scopes of life which thus produces converging and circular movements. Even though the reasons advanced by the participants in this study have some commonalities, each participant's narrative can be understood schematically since each possesses unique stories of how it occurred. Such an approach can be likened to Moore's (1994) process of discourse production. This study therefore probes into the relationship between structural causation and individual motivation as described by Cohen (1996). I pay particular attention to the interplay between the agent's embodiment of and actions upon this and the 'structuring structures' through the common belief in his social and cultural reality as stipulated by Bourdieu (1977). I therefore agree with scholars like Fagertun (2009) and Lambert (2002) that in the Senegalese context migration even though it is an economic behavior, is embedded in a mutual connection with both social and cultural practices. I also agree with Tsing (2005) that it is the interaction between the sociocultural dynamics and global processes that produce change.

4.4.1 Migration as Investment towards a Better Life

From the interviews with the participants in this study, it was quite apparent that an important factor influencing their decision to migrate is the increasing poverty and the lack of alternative ways through which to acquire the finances that they need to take care of their families. Even though the participants mentioned other reasons, the economic and monetary issues were always foregrounded as informing their decision to migrate. The poverty that they experienced along with the stories they hear from the returnees make migration something they all yearn for since they begin to see their own success only in that light. The migrants pointed to this as a motivating factor.

Cheikh and Niang migrated to South Africa for economic reasons. Both of them had the desire to support their families financially and to do away with poverty from their families. However, providing financial support to their families was secondary to their own personal financial development. They regarded the movement to South Africa as a form of investment towards a better life for themselves. Owing to the precarious economic situation in Senegal as discussed

earlier, there appears to be no possibility for financial development of these young Mourides in their country. Consequently, they decided to embark on the migration project because 'it was their only hope'. Prior to migrating to south Africa Cheikh was a taxi driver. He related that his earnings were too low and he could not achieve his dream of acquiring money for himself and also fulfil the provider role by shouldering his family's financial responsibilities. The cost of acquiring visas and travelling to Europe was too high for him even with the little money that he had saved from his taxi business and the amount his family could raise to support his travelling. South Africa then became his option because of the cost and also the relative ease with which he could acquire the visa.

Similar to the reasons advanced by Cheikh and Niang, Mapate intimated that he migrated to South Africa in 1998 in search for greener pastures. In his own words: *'I had to do something, there are no jobs, and business is not doing well in Senegal'*. Prior to migrating to South Africa, Mapate had hitherto migrated to Mauritania where he lived for two years before returning to Senegal. Depite the hardship he faced in Mauritania, he did not cease to view migration as an investment. On the contrary, he believed that the hardship that he experienced was because he had chosen a wrong destination. He was convinced that if he travelled to the 'right place' his story would change. He chose South Africa because according to him, everyone at the time was talking about the new South Africa and the many opportunities that *'one could have there'*. So, he thought it was good for him to 'try his luck'.

From the narratives above, one can see that the socio economic setbacks that Senegal has continuously suffered played a fundamental role in fueling outmigration from the country. These migrants who are principally young men undertake migration as a means to a more fulfilling economic life as seen in the stories of Cheikh, Niang and Mapate. One can see the commonality in their tales which is similar to the narratives of most of the participants. The difficulty and economic hardship that is characteristic of life in Senegal together with auspicious impressions of South Africa push these young migrants to South Africa. Migration theories like Sjaastad (1962) who utilize the human capital approach have suggested that for the most part migratory decisions are fundamentally an investment decision. By this he means that the migrants invest in the costs of migration hoping to obtain a greater profit to the costs sustained during the process.

Sjaastad further adds that the cost comprises both the money spent and the opportunity cost of lost earnings in the current job (1962) such as is the case with Cheikh who had to forgo the money he was earning from his taxi business to travel to South Africa.

Such theorizing on migration is a useful prism through which contemporary Senegalese migration can be understood. Some of the participants were entrepreneurs back in Senegal while a host of others were working for these entrepreneurs as shop keepers or salespersons or were employed in paid work as was the case with Osman who was a teacher earning 50.000 (Fifty thousand) francs CFA prior to migration. There were also a few who were helping out in family owned business. However, they all chose to forgo all these in favor of migration. They argue that with the wages they received they could never 'take proper care' of their families, not to mention building their own houses like others did. The wage differential between the home and host societies contributes in driving the emigration of Senegalese. Largely, migration is undertaken as a means to better their economic and social lives.

4.4.2 Family Strategy for Sustainable Livelihood

Closely connected to the quest for economic advancement, migration has also come to be conceptualized in Senegal and elsewhere as one of the strategies that families, Households and even communities adopt in a bid to augment their livelihoods. Every family endeavors to send at least a member abroad in a bid to gain economically from the migration project. In most cases the decision to migrate is not made by an individual rather it is a social process which involves an entire family. This is so because it is perceived as something that will lead to the betterment of the whole family. During this social decision making process, discussions are conducted at household level and the process is facilitated by family networks. The decision is usually reached regarding who will migrate following a range of social, economic and cultural dimensions. For example, the participants reported that from a cultural dimension a Senegalese family wanting to embark on this family livelihood project will not send a female member abroad because migration is considered to be a masculine thing and possibly poses many different challenges to

women and these have the potential of preventing them from succeeding as a male member would.

In this social project (Migration) it is expected that the remittances sent home by the migrants will better the economic lives of Senegalese families. Hernandez (2008) as well as Cotula and Ahiadeke (2004) posit that migration in Senegal is regarded as an economic capital since the remittances that will be sent home from the host countries will assist the economy of families and households and make them stable. Migrant remittances are an essential source of income, a means of livelihood and subsistence for many Senegalese families. It has been shown, for example, that the remittances sent by migrants account for 90% of the income of families and households in the province of Louga.

Generally, the participants in this study appeared to be very committed to living up to this ideal of migration by making every effort towards remitting home regularly. The participants related that even though they were active agents in the decision making process that eventually led to their movement to South Africa, their families also played a crucial role either by initiating the decision to migrate or by supporting the decision by pulling resources together to ensure that the person migrates. The examples of Sall and Gora in the following excerpts typify how migration in Senegal is not only perceived as something that gives hope for the young people involved in the movement but is equally utilized as a mechanism through which families can attain a better source of livelihood:

> *My father was the one who came up with the idea that I should travel out. Even though I had thought of it before then, I couldn't mention it to my family because I knew there was no money to finance the trip. But when I father suggested, I agreed and we discussed it with my younger brother and informed my sisters. He sold his piece of land to enable him raise the money that I used to travel. Sall[17]*

> *I wanted to travel but not to South Africa, because of the bad things people were saying about South Africa. In Senegal I own my own business but I was small, I was managing, things were very difficult. I left the business when my family decided that I should go to darker and live with my aunt and help them after which they*

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[17]Research Participant Number 23

will give me some money and I will use it to start a business or travel which was my desire. I did that and after seven years, I was given eight hundred and fifty thousand francs CFA and my family helped me to raise sum and that was how I managed to travel. **Gora[18]**

The participants further intimated that, in Senegal, a family's sustainability is dependent on how much remittances the family receives. This is often determined by the number of members that the particular family has living abroad as well as on the migrants' willingness and ability to remit home regularly. Riccio (2008) argue that migration is thus an investment in family welfare wherein migrants trail paths fashioned by kinship, social and religious networks. Drawing from Bourdieu's (1977) argument one can see that having a migrant within the family is very essential both for economic security and it is also an investment in symbolic terms and also a social capital that has the capacity of raising the 'value' of the household in relation to its links overseas.

Massey et al. (1993) show how migration minimizes the risks of unstable income for families. However, the participants did not claim that the migratory decision is obviously collective as their individual ideas, choices and preferences also contributed enormously. They clearly indicated that they have a degree of agency in the process and that even though they were supported by their families and are consequently expected to remit home, nobody forces them to do so. It is voluntary as they chose to send money and other material things to their families out of reciprocity as well as their sense of responsibility. Cheikh[19] stated that:

No, they don't force you, but you feel like you have to do it, if you don't you feel bad. So when they call you that they need money for something, you have to send it because they are your family. You cannot abandon them, and also if something happens to you and you lose all you money, you go back home they will still be the ones to support you. So even when you don't have money, you still try to send them something.

This shows how the sense of commitment that the migrants have towards their family members in their home informs their decision to continue remitting home even in the face of economic hardship in the host context. Cheikh's narrative replicates the central migrant discourse of the

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[18]Research Participant Number 19
[19]Research Participant Number 13

sacrifice that migrants make for their families. This is attested to by the fact that even in the midst of the hardship that he is facing in Durban he still manages to send the little he makes home hoping that things will get better. This shows the ambivalent nature of the involvement of families in the migration project and why Riccio (2008) describes it as being double edged.

4.6 Conclusion

The discussions in this chapter delineated the phenomenon of Senegalese migrancy to South Africa showing the long history of migration that has been characteristic of Senegalese society from the past to contemporary times. The chapter has displayed the major trends in Senegalese migratory patterns arguing that Senegal was predominantly a significant cradle and host country for labour Migrants from other African countries until after independence when there was a reversal of trends and Senegal transformed into an emigration country due to the untold poverty and misery. The worsening economic situations led many Senegalese young men to embark on overseas exodus as a means of extricating themselves from this socio-economic pressure. Apart from this quest for socio-economic advancement and the quest for a better life there were other related factors which impelled Senegalese young men to migrate and this involved the perception the migration could be utilized as a strategy through which families and households in Senegal could get a secured source of livelihood through the remittances sent by migrants. The chapter again argues that despite this reversal of trends it was not until 1994 after the official demise of apartheid and South Africa's ascendency to democracy and its subsequent reinsertion into the global world economy, that Senegalese migrants joined the new wave of migrants entering South Africa.

Furthermore, the arguments in this chapter depict how Modou-Modou or the symbolic construction of migrants in Senegal as modern-day heroes has led to the development of a culture of migration. This migrant culture has become one of the motivating factors that lead Senegalese young people to migrate out of the country. The chapter argues that even though the Modou-Modou resides away from home in another country, he remembers his family and community members left behind and displays his loyalty to them through the remittances he sends to them and they in turn celebrate him as their hero and pray for him to succeed. Owing to

this culture of migration, many Senegalese are even ready to leave their jobs in order to travel out of the country.

CHAPTER FIVE

MOURIDE BROTHERHOOD AND TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS

'Pray as if you will die tomorrow and work as if you will live forever'– Mouride maxim

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explicates the structure of the Mouride brotherhood by focussing on how the brotherhood was formed, who constitutes its members and how membership is attained. It expounds the religious aspects of the Senegalese migration and considers the cultural and religious element of belonging to the Mouride brotherhood and how this in turn provides Senegalese migrants with a sense of community and identity. It further illuminates the particular religious dynamics influencing the form and extent of migration among the Senegalese. The chapter offers an analytical insight on how Mouride transnational social networks are created and the benefits of belonging to this brotherhood both for the individual migrants and the host and home societies.

5.2 The State of Islam and Religious Brotherhoods in Senegal

Senegal is a country that has been described as being rich in culture and religion with Islam as the principal religion. It is estimated that about 95 percent of the country's population is comprised of Muslims who largely belong to the different Sufi brotherhoods namely, the Qadiriyya, Tijaniyyah, Muridiyya and Layene (Piga, 2003). Islam in this country has blended with cultural practices in such a way that it becomes difficult to differentiate a cultural practice from a religious practice making Islam in this part of the world very distinctive. The Islamic faith in this country is expressed through religious orders or brotherhoods, Sufism as well as culture.

Lapidus (2001) points out that there is no definitive version of Islam but that much diversity occurs in the practice of Islam. Horrie and Chippendale (2007) argue that Sufism is a subset of

Islam in a bid to explain this diversity within the religion. According to Gerholm (1997) in Sufism followers are organized into monastic orders called brotherhoods and Werbner (2003) adds that these orders emphasize detachment from pleasures of the world. The word Sufi means wool and is symbolized in the woolen garment that Sufi mystics wear (Gerholm, 1997). An-Na'im (1997) contends that Islam in Africa tends to be Sufi oriented. In Senegal, in particular, Sufism is a central element of Islam and the popularity of this form of mystical Islam is due to its ability to house local beliefs and customs, the division between the urban and the rural, the educated and the less-educated (Lapidus, 2001). All the Sufi orders share an underlying and deep set of ideas even though they are distinctive. Werbner (2003) points out that this is so because they are embedded in different cultural contexts.

This religion is believed to have been introduced in Senegal in the 11th century as a result of the trade encounter between the West and North Africans (Grillo 2004). However, it was only around the 18th century that it began to thrive (Cruise O'Brien, 1975). These traders found Islam as a common ground through which they could build trust for their trading partners. Thus, everyone who wanted to flourish in business needed to be converted to Islam to enable them to have many trading partners. This, by implication, meant that Islam became a strong mechanism for bonding and solidarity between trading partners (Levtzion and Pouwels, 2000).

Senegal has been described as a world of brotherhoods. The history of brotherhoods in Senegal is a very long and complicated one. With the penetration of Islam into West Africa in the 15th century brotherhoods began to emerge (Grillo, 2004).Vikor (2000) points out that etymologically the word brotherhood derives from the Arabic word tariqa which has a twofold meaning. Firstly, it denotes the way or the method that a Muslim is to follow in order to attain personal religious experience and secondly, it also signifies an outline that transmits knowledge about the Way. According to Horrie and Chippendale (2007) brotherhoods are organizations that emphasise detachment from the pleasures of the mortal world. Such organizations are seldom revolutionary or militant.

Brotherhoods are very significant in that they cater for the spiritual life of its member as Mbacke (2005) explains that brotherhoods are perceived as necessary in keeping a straight path of

religious purity because they provide support systems to Muslims who search for guidance and religious teaching. He adds that brotherhoods often have two components; the Sheikhs and disciples. The link between the disciples and the Sheikh can be likened to that of the relationship between students and teacher even though in this case the Sheikh plays a bigger role in the life of his disciples in that he is obliged to lead and advise his disciples both in their religious and private lives. The disciples on the other hand are expected to have reverence and respect for as well as relinquish their personal will to the Sheikh.

According to Mbacke (2005) the Qadiriyya was the first Sufi brotherhood that was established in Senegal. He further opines that the history of the Qadiriyya can be traced back to Baghdad to Sheikh Abdal Qadiri al-Jilani. After the latter's death, his teachings led his disciples to create the institution of the Qadiriyya in an attempt to perpetuate his teachings to the next generations. Barbali (2009) posits that the creation of the Qadiriyya order in Senegal was mostly facilitated by the historical interactions between the Senegalese and Mauritanian people and that the brotherhood penetrated Senegal in the late eighteenth century, mainly through the eminent Mauritanian spiritual teachers Mukhtar al-Kunti, Sheikh Sidiyya al-Kabir and Muhammad al-Fadil. However, records show that the latter and his family have played a special role in the popularization of the Qadiriyya brotherhood (Vikor 2000).

This was followed by the Tijaniyyah whose arrival led to the decline of the Qadiriyya which had already suffered internal divisions at the time. The Tijaniyyah on its path dates back to the 18th Century and it emerged in Algeria and later spread throughout Africa and the Middle East. It was founded by an erudite and charismatic leader, Ahmad al-Tijani and was later extended to the rest of the world by a Senegalese leader Al-Hajj Ibrahim (Vikor, 2000). He succeeded in his lifetime in establishing his branch outside his native Senegal, into Gambia and northern Nigeria, where it has become the dominant brotherhood (Vikor, 2000). The brotherhood is distinguished by its 'modernist' leanings towards the education of women and the founding of schools, and its desire for both educational instructions. Sheikh Ibrahim also claimed to be the 'possessor of the spiritual flood' predicted by the brotherhood's founder, under whose direction many people would join the Tijaniyyah (Barbali, 2009)

The European colonial conquest of Africa also played a strategic role in the evolution of Islamic

brotherhoods in Senegal. Europeans in their quest to introduce Christianity in Africa and civilise the 'the Dark Continent' met with resistance from the Muslims. In light of this, much of the Islamic activities in Senegal were truncated by the French colonial government which led to a backlash to the restrictions of the French colonist as the Senegalese Muslims reacted. All forms of cooperation with the colonial government were disallowed and this was spearheaded by Sheikh Amadou Bamba who founded the Muridiyya brotherhood. Mbacke (2005) posits that Bamba was deeply religious and spent much of his time in meditation and prayer with the aim of developing and increasing his religious knowledge. He became very popular and posed as a threat to the French colonial government in Senegal and as such was exiled twice; first to Gabon between 1895 and 1903 and later to Mauritania between 1903 and 1907 (Coulon, 1999). In 1907 Bamba returned to Senegal and founded the Mouride brotherhood (Kane, 2002). By the time of his death in 1927, Bamba had an estimated 70 000 Mourides in Senegal (Coulon, 1999).

The fourth brotherhood according to (Mbacke 2005) is the Layenne. It is not as big as the others but also exerts an undisputable amount of control over a reasonable number of followers who are concentrated on the Cape Verde peninsula.The central core of these four major brotherhoods in Senegal is the prayer ritual which is often communicated from Sheikh to the disciples through a chain of transmission known as silsila (Kane, 2002). This chain of transmission is believed to go from the founder, and back beyond him to the Prophet Muhammad, to the present day. Before a person becomes a disciple, that individual goes through an initiation ritual called baya which is orchestrated by the Sheikh (Kane 2002). The prayer ritual is performed daily and during regular gatherings.

These brotherhoods go beyond mere religious fraternities in that they have often been vital political, economic and social organisations which perform many functions. These brotherhoods are organised around a lodge called zawiya, which is the centre of religious practice and learning, where disciples in search of spiritual realisation may seek initiation. It may also serve as the site of a holy shrine, and provides shelter for migrants and housing for both disciples and masters (Kane 2002:4).

5.3 The Muridiyya (Mouride) Brotherhood

As has been mentioned earlier the Muridiyya brotherhood whose members constitute the participants in this study was founded in the 1880s in Senegal by the Sheikh Amadou Bamba (Stoller, 2002). This Sufi order is different from all the other brotherhoods in that it is exclusively Senegalese (Villalon, 1995). Born around the 1850s in the Baol region of Senegal Amadou Bamba received a solid Islamic education (see Cruise, 1975 and Coulon, 1999). His family was very religious and as such he grew up to be profoundly holy. Initially a member of the Qadiriyya brotherhood, Bamba maintained a close relationship with his former brotherhood (Villalon 1995). The picture below is the only suriving photograph of Bamba.

Figure Four: Photograph of the Founder of the Muridiyya Brotherhood, Amadou Bamba
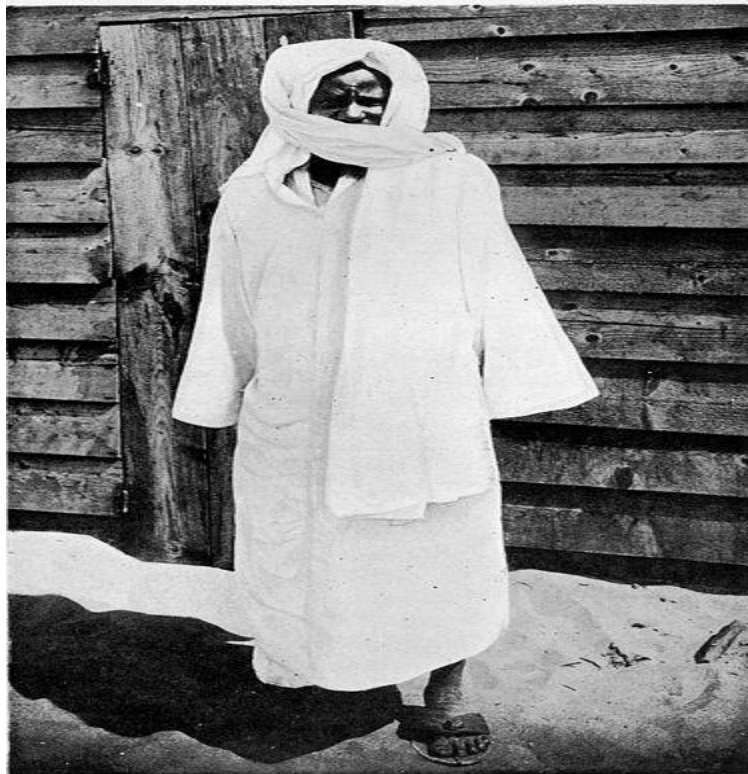
Source: http://www.international-sufi-school.org/cab_en.html

One of Bamba's extremely fervent followers called Ibra Fall was detested by Bamba's other disciples to the extent that they forced Bamba to choose between "us or him" (Cruise O'Brien,

1975). Cruise O'Brien goes further to say that Bamba chose Ibra Fall which led to the foundation of 'the new Mouride brotherhood' because after the establishment of their settlement in Baol, Ibra Fall began recruiting new disciples. Villalon (1995) posits that in contemporary Senegal, there is a sub unorthodoxbranch of the Mouride brotherhood known as the Baye Fall. The Baye Fall adherents are called soldier monks because they try to emulate Ibra Fall's dedication in their discipleship to Bamba (Coulon, 1999). Coulon further adds that, the adherents of this subset of the brotherhood are characterized by their long flowing robes and dreadlocks.

The aftermath of the defeat of the Wolofnation by the French colonial army in the late 19th century was a Wolof nation that was in social and political disarray (Cruise O'Brien 1975). Islam became increasingly important as the Senegalese people turned to their religious leaders for guidance. Due to his close connection with the Wolof leaders who fought against the French colonial rule, his charisma as well as his virtuous nature, Cheikh Amadou Bamba, attracted an increasing number of followers or disciples. The French colonial government became concerned about his increasing popularity and exiled him to Gabon in 1895 and Mauritania in 1903 during which time he demonstrated his devotion to his followers. He was released and returned to Senegal in 1912 after constant petitions by his followers (Coulon 1999).

After his return, the colonial government then strategically established a partnership with the brotherhood. They gave vast tracts of land to the principal Mouride followers in Diourbel found in Baol and Amadou Bamba moved there. This land was utilized for agricultural purposes with mainly the production of groundnut which later became Senegal's central cash crop. Bamba founded the village of Touba which is now the spiritual capital of the Mourides. Bamba fashioned a hierarchical organization for the brotherhood in that disciples are expected to submit totally to their marabouts while the marabouts in turn guide the talibes both in their spiritual and private lives which led to group solidarity among the Mourides. Bamba died in 1927 and before his death he had about seventy thousand disciples in Senegal (Coulon, 1999). Salzbrunn (2004) opines that the only left over picture of Bamba is exhibited everywhere in Senegal such as offices, homes and taxis. This is not only true in Senegal but also in Senegalese residence places since a majority of the participants in this study just like the ones in Barbali's (2009) study

portray this photograph in their homes and use it during all their religious gatherings such as their weekly Dahira meetings on Saturdays and the grand magal. Hamidou[20] related that:

> *This picture is very important; it makes you to remember the Sheikh and to know that he is still guarding you through the marabouts. He was a very good man and he perform the miracles so when you look at his photo you know that miracles can still happen to you because you are his talibes.*

The Mourides continue to regard and venerate Bamba as their saint and a powerful symbol of legitimacy and authority for the group. It is argued that the cohesiveness of the group can be attributed to the devotion to his memory as a spiritual foundation. This kind of commitment and loyalty is also transferred to his successors.

Bamba being a hard worker preached and emphasized the importance and ethics of hard work and submission to the sheik. As such in colonial Senegal the brotherhood was divided into areas or communities where they cultivated different cash crops. The French who were in need of these cash cropsps supported the Mourides and aided them to build houses around the farms to increase their production (Westerlund, 1997). These Mourides were organised into groups of about twelve unmarried men who would show their devotion to the sheik by cultivating and harvesting groundnuts. This work was also considered as part of initiation into the brotherhood. When the harvest was due, the Mourides would take all to the sheik who would then in turn provide the supplies the men needed (Vikor, 2000).

This strategic loyalty with the French colonial Government spun around trade and groundnut production, which led to the Mourides gradually leading this trade sector at the time since they made two thirds of the production (Cruise O'Brien 1971). The Mourides remained principally rural and continually grew groundnuts which were thriving in Senegal's soil and climate until the late 1970s. After Senegal attained independence from the French colonial government in 1960, the Mourides transitioned from strong connections with the colonial government to close ties with the ruling party in an effort to maintain their political influence. Lambert (1996) posits that this political tie with the ruling party was very economically beneficial to the Mourides since it

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[20]Research Participant number 9

resulted in easy access to farm credits for planting groundnut which they often did not reimburse. Lambert (1996) further adds that this link with the ruling party helped them to enjoy considerable de facto control of the groundnut trade and transport.

Among the Mourides distinct systems of group organization around the groundnut trade were developed. Young Mouride men organized themselves in farming teams and worked under laborious conditions. These teams supplemented their religious training and took possession of unoccupied land which led to the extension of the Mourides domain. The life of these Mourides as workers was characterized by hard work. According to Copans (1980) the talibes worked for the Sheikhs and the remuneration was very minimal. Cruise O'Brien (1971) adds that after many years of hard work for the Sheikhs the talibes were then given a plot of land of their own. The sense of purpose, cohesiveness and political support from the ruling party led to the displacement of other groups by the Mourides even though their farming method was not geared towards conserving Senegal's delicate ecosystem. This unsustainable farming system coupled with the increasing population, deforestation and the natural disaster (drought) contributed to the desertification and deteriorating quality of land resulting in a reduced income for farmers. This was exacerbated by the fact that the government reduced the number of subsidies which was given to these farmers due to the structural adjustment policies which were further aggravated by declining groundnut prices. Babou (2007) opines that these trends gradually spurred an increasing migration of the Mourides talibes to urban areas in the 1970s. The recent history of the Mouride is marked by an increasing urbanization of the brotherhood. The Mouride brotherhood has been spread or transported by the Senegalese Muslim migrants to different parts of the world.

Mourides who migrate to urban centres or to international countries do not abandon the brotherhood but develop new networks while maintaining their links to the powerful rural organisations (daaras). The migrants group themselves into networks called dahiras (Villalon, 1995).These dahiras are organised by the neighbourhood or city and is sometimes characterised by allegiance to a specific marabout. Since the formation of the first dahira in 1946 in Dakar, dahiras have become a lasting part of the socio-religious landscape of Senegal (Villalon, 1995) and Senegalese residence places (Ebin, 1996).

5.4 Organization of the Mouride Brotherhood

Within the Muridiyya brotherhood a monarchic method of succession has been formed which follows a pyramid-like hierarchical structure. In this structure according to Coulon (1999) the Caliph-general is the supreme leader since he holds the highest position. Usually, this Caliph - general is the eldest and closest surviving male kin of Sheikh Amadou Bamba. Presently, the Caliph -general isSerigne Sidi Al Moukhtar Mbacke, who took over the leadership of the brotherhood in July 2010 following the death of his predecessor Serigne Lamine Bara Mbacke the eldest grandson of Bamba who in December 2007 succeeded his uncle Serigne Saliou Mbacke. Serigne Sidi Al Moukhtar Mbacke is the 7th Caliph general of the Muridiyya brotherhood. Directly under the Caliph-general, there are the other Caliphs who are either Bamba's descendants or offspring of his principal talibes. Below these Caliphs are Sheikhs or the marabouts. These marabouts have varying numbers of followers as well as prestige. This structure of the brotherhood has been very robust even though sometimes there are rivalries among the marabouts which could lead to fragmentation of the power and authority. A hierarchy of the sheiks exists based on family hereditary and personal skills. As such, the amount of grace a sheik carries determines the level of influence he commands and this is directly proportional to the following he will have (Villalon 1995). And these sheiks more often than not come from reputable families of learning and scholarship. Sheikhs are believed to be the link between the living and Allah or the natural and the supernatural and they are imbued with supernatural power or grace with which they are able to connect with Allah and which also acts as a pointer to their special relationship with Allah and their positions as religious elites (Levtzion and Pouwels 2000). This grace also provides the sheiks with the power to redeem souls and to effectively use magical and spiritual powers to bless his Mourides. As such, a sheik as a patron and protector is responsible for the wellbeing of his Mourides (Coulon, 1999). Finally, at the bottom of this feudal-like structure are the talibes also known as the disciples or followers. This organizational structure is depicted in the diagram below:

Figure Five: Mouride Organisational Structure
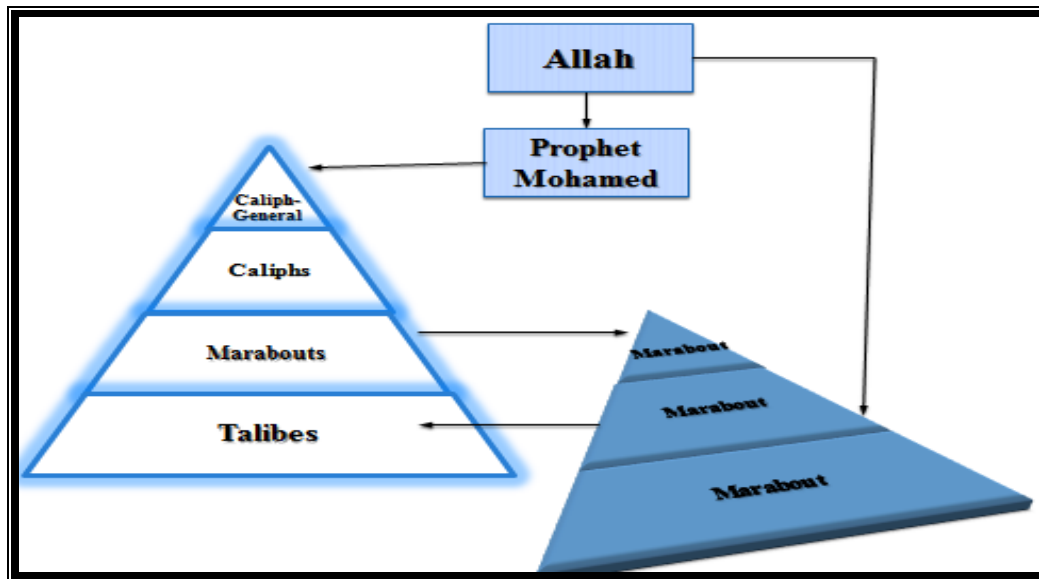
In the Sufi orders and the Mouride brotherhood in particular, the internal organization or structure comprises a relationship of dependence between the talibes and the marabouts (Villalon, 1995). Commitment starts with a talibe declaring his adherence and submission to his marabout and the relationship between the two constitutes the core of the brotherhood's structure (Riccio, 2004). According to Cruise O'Brien (1975:44) a talibe declares his discipleship to the marabout in the following words: "I submit to you in this world and in the next. All that you order me I will do. Everything you forbid me I will abstain from doing."

Hard work is the central tenet of this brotherhood and this is attested to by the fact that Bamba in the words of Cruise O'Brien (1971), urged all his disciples to 'go and work'. This emphasis on work is further reflected in a Mouride cliché on faith and work which goes thus: "Pray as if you will die tomorrow and work as if you will live forever". There is a relationship of mutual obligation between the Sheikhs and the talibes. The marabout acts as a spiritual guide to the talibes and ensures that they receive Baraka (grace) from Allah. His responsibility to the talibes goes beyond the spiritual in that they also utilize their political and economic powers to assist the talibes on different practical matters. The Mouride talibes donate money to their Sheikhs and in return they obtain blessings, a promise of paradise, an extended social safety network and a sense

of belonging. The Sheikhs are also expected to provide for those of their followers who are ill, aged or are unable to work. It is also expected that they offer affordable credits to traders since through the numerous gifts they receive from the talibes they are able to accumulate a substantial amount of wealth (Diouf, 2000). This kind of asymmetrical yet reciprocal relationship between the marabout and the disciples constitute the core of the Mouride organization and morality and it is this tight system of faith and solidarity that enables the Mourides to maintain their group identity as well as their growth. For those Mourides who live in Durban, it is imperative that they receive the blessings from their marabout if their enterprise is to succeed. One of the participants Niang[21]intimated that:

> *As Mourides we give to the marabout because you receive Baraka when you give. However it is not obligatory that we give money to the marabout if we don't have because you can only give what you have. You are not forced to give, it is your freewill, you know you have to understand that when you give is just like prayer and it will be answered so you will receive more.*

Thus, one notices from the above comments where Niang stresses 'giving' as voluntary that even though this reciprocal relationship of giving is foundational to the brotherhoods, it reveals the very dialectical nature of this relationship.

5.5 MEMBERSHIP

The participants in this study were all members of the Muridiyya brotherhood. Most of them reported that their membership to the brotherhood has been attained by birth given that their parents and great grandparents have been Mourides. When asked how they became Mourides and why they chose this particular brotherhood of all the brotherhoods in Senegal the participants' responses mirrored this idea exemplified in the following excerpts from the responses of Dame and Sheikh[22]:

> *My father was a Mouride, my grandfather was a Mouride and his father was also a Mouride. In short all my ancestors as far as I know have been Mourides and I was introduce to it from the time I*

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[21]Research Participant Number 6

[22] Research Participants Number 12 and 13

*was small. We are all Mourides because it is good, Bamba was a very good, powerful and spiritual man, and the marabouts follow him, so when they pray for you their prayer is answered. So I can't choose another brotherhood, only Muridiyya.***Dame**

*I am a Mouride that's who I am, I cannot go to another brotherhood, because am comfortable being a Mouride. You can trust the Mourides but others you cannot be so sure. Everyone in my family is Mouride. Even my father was a Mouride before he passed away. And he brought me up to know that it is good for me to be a Mouride so that I live my life my imitating the way the sereign Bamba lived. My father even took me to the marabout of the Daara that he belonged to and I lived with the marabout for several years so that I could be able to learn how to be a good Mouride by working hard and praying. I like being a Mouride and I cannot change from being a Mouride.***Cheikh**

From the two excerpts above from Dame and Sheikh which are not limited to them as they typify the case of all the participants in this study, it is clear that most of the young Mouride talibes are members of the brotherhood because of familial influence. Most parents initiate their children to the brotherhood. They believe that the Mouride order is a 'way of imitating their founder', which means that if their children become Mourides they would model their lives to reflect that of the prophet. Thus, rather than giving them a sound education, parents sometimes prefer to send their male children in particular to reside with their marabout so that they can be instilled with the dogma of hard work and also obtain strong Islamic teaching. Faye, one of the participants highlighted that they are taught that as Mourides two things should be very important for them: 'hard work and prayer'. They are to pray ceaselessly as Bamba did and be highly spiritual and at the same time they have to work very hard so as to be able to provide for their families. Being able to understand these two principles and adhere to them is better than going to school and attaining all those certificates because 'once you can do these two things, you will be fine'.

This manner in which membership is attained is quite different from the past in that a person had to decide to be a follower and then declare his total submission to the Sheikh. Bamba being a hard worker preached and emphasized on the importance and ethics of hard work and submission to the sheik. As such, in colonial Senegal membership in the brotherhood was divided into areas or communities where they cultivated different cash crops. The French who were in need of these catch corps supported the Mourides and aided them to build houses around the farms to

increase their production (Westerlund, 1997). These Mourides were organised into groups of about twelve unmarried men who would show their devotion to the sheik by cultivating and harvesting peanuts. This work was considered as part of initiation into the brotherhood and confirmation of one's membership.

For the Mourides in Durban who were not born into the brotherhood like the ones above, their reason for choosing this particular brotherhood and for becoming members were tied to economic as opposed to spiritual reasons.They believe that Mourides are rich, possibly because of the blessings they receive from the marabouts. For Mamegor[23] who was born into a tijani family but who crossed over to the Mouride brotherhood when he was seventeen, the miracles that the founder of this brotherhood is said to have performed while he was still alive was his reason for joining the Muridiyya brotherhood. He related that most of the rich people who own big houses and drove expensive cars in his community back in Senegal at that time were Mourides, and so he wondered why the tijanis like his parents were not as rich. So when he learnt of these miracles that Bamba had performed, he then realised that it is still Bamba working miracles in the lives of the Mourides. Owing to this realisation, he decided to join this brotherhood. Even though his decision met with a lot of opposition from his family, he stood his ground because to him he wanted to be part of these miracles and blessings.

Such experience could be understood from a strategic essentialist perspective as coined by Spivak the self-defined practical Marxist-feminist-deconstructionist theorist in describing "the ways in which subordinate or marginalized social groups may temporarily put aside local differences in order to forge a sense of collective identity through which they bond together in political movements" (Dourish, 2008: 10). This is so because just as Spivak suggests, it could be said that the muridiyyah brotherhood extricates a core element of the order which in this case are the 'supposed' miracles performed by its founder as well as its riches, publicise and emphasize on them with the aim of strengthening their presence within their community and creating solidarity. An almost essentialised homogenised identity of the Mourides as rich and blessed by Allah which ignores the nuances among members of the group (for example Riccio, (2001a) points out that there are extremely rich and extremely poor Mouride talibes) is what led Mamegor to leave his own brotherhood to join the muridiyya tariqa. However, these essentialist

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[23]Research Participant Number 16

ideas which presuppose that a particular group of people share some defining features exclusive to members have been heavily contested by social scientists.

5.6 Durban Dahira

The Mouride migrants in Durban organize themselves in a religious association called a Dahira. According to Bava (2002) a dahira is an association that groups Mouride followers either on the basis of allegiance to a particular marabout or on the basis of their location. Following Bava's definition, the Durban dahira is an association of Mouride talibes based on their common location which is Durban. They do not have allegiance to a common marabout but different marabouts often visit them from Senegal from time to time. The dahira is somewhat a voluntary association that groups together Mouride talibes who live away from home but who constantly maintain links with home. It is, however, different from other migrant voluntary associations. Dahiras are quite fundamental in maintaining a transnational identity for migrants. The Mouride dahira in Durban was created in 1998 by the new wave of migrants that arrived in South Africa following the official demise of apartheid in 1994 and the subsequent democratization of the nation. This dahira has since grown rapidly in numbers.

According to the narratives of the Mouride disciples in the study, it was formed by four talibes (Birima, Hamidou, Mapate and Abdulaye[24]) who were anxious to have a central place where they could pray and commune together as Mourides. Being in touch with and praying together was very significant since it would allow them the opportunity to foster a sense of belonging and oneness, expedite their participation in special Mouride religious events such as the magal, exchange both spiritual and material help to one another and host marabouts. This implies that the Durban dahira was created in a bid to provide Senegalese Mouride migrants with the means of fellowship. It equally functioned as a site of a holy shrine (like the mosque in Touba) for all Mouride migrants living in Durban.

These four talibes did not have enough resources at the time to allow them to rent a space for the

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[24] Research Participant Number 17, 9, 10 and

dahira meetings. So, one of them (Abdulaye) offered his house as a venue for the meetings. This was a single room apartment around the South Beach area. These four talibes who started this initiative took upon the management of the dahira until the membership grew. When the numbers had greatly increased owing to the increasing number of Senegalese migrants that were migrating to South Africa and taking up residence in Durban, it was decided that the leadership of the dahira will be in the hands of the eldest member at any point in time since they were regarded the most legitimate for the duty. Mapate[25] intimated that:

> *Myself, Hamidou, Birima and Abdulaye (who in 2011 returned to Senegal settle and grow his business there) started the first dahira in Durban. It was 1998, then there were not very many Senegalese people in Durban and the Mourides were small. We started like that, we had meetings every Saturday at 9pm in the evening because at that time everyone will be back from their business, and because we cannot close the business for meeting, if we do that some people will not come. During the meetings we prayed and sing khassaides, after which we will then chat and get to know each other, know the new people who have come and other things that are happening. Gradually, many of our brothers were coming and once we told them of the zikhr they joined because as Mourides they already know what they the zikhris for every dahira and what it is all about and that they need to join because it is the same at home. Dahira is always the same as they do it in Senegal, no changes…….. We are now very many. And we have been able to rent a flat where were can host marabouts and new talibes who do not have where to stay and also hire the conference venue, at commercial city where we have our Saturday meetings.*

The narrative of Mapate above is reflective of Little's (1974) contention that even though Dahiras are similar to migrant voluntary associations they are very different in terms of its structure and membership. With regard to the structure, unlike every other voluntary association that creates its own structure that of the dahira is transplanted from the one in Senegal. Mouride talibes do not create a structure for the dahira in the host communities. Membership on the other hand is somewhat automatic, once in a host community Mourides endeavor to locate the dahira and to join it. What makes their situation different and unique is that unlike other voluntary associations where members of a particular sending community are many in the particular host community, all of them are not part of the association as it is the case with the Cameroonian

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[25]Research Participant Number 10

migrants in Durban as described in Fomunyam (2010) and also the Nigerian Migrants discussed in Sausi (2009). All Mouride migrants are members and actively participate in the activities of the dahira. This explains why Riccio (2002) describes the Mourides as a people with a unified and consistent group-centric association and strong sense of solidarity.

The talibes sometimes do not have time to say their prayers five times a day like every good Muslim should (Stoller, 1997) given the nature of their business. Sometimes, when it is time for prayer, they have clients and cannot abandon their businesses.This makes the Saturday dahira prayer meetings very crucial for them even though they go to the mosque on Fridays at midday to pray. Vikor (2000) has noted that the weekly meeting of the members of a particular brotherhood is known as dhikr. For the Durban dahira, the zikhr is Saturdays at 9pm and during this time, the talibes spend time reading the Koran, praying, reciting or singing the khassaides, receiving marabouts, organizing special upcoming events like the magal. During the zikhr the talibes sometimes also listen to sermons and messages from the khalipha-general to the Mouride followers living abroad. The zikhr also provides the Mourides with the opportunity to socialize exclusively as a group as well as advice new migrants about living conditions in South Africa and what they should and should not do as good Mourides and Muslims. For example, during one of the zikhr Gora introduced his friend Demba to the group indicating that Demba had just arrived from Senegal the previous day. The talibes all welcomed Demba and their president encouraged him to maintain the 'good nature and attitude' that he was taught at home, pointing out to him that every good Muslim does not get involved in 'nonsense' or anything that is haram. He assured Demba that they will support him if he needs anything but also added that they will watch him closely to ensure that he does not get entangled in the kind of activities that other migrants get into. This metanarrative of proper behavior and faith illustrates how dahira membership as well as the zikhr assist Mouride migrants in coping with the migration conditions which Van Deer Veer (2002:106) describes as "entailing an encounter with the multiplicity of the 'other' and with 'foreign' conditions on their own terms".

It was also during this time that the talibes discussed the reason for my (female, non-Mouride, non-Muslim and non-Senegalese) presence in their zikhr and also gave me the opportunity to address them. After my first and second visit to their dhikr, most of the participants started opening up to me during the one on one interviews. Every Saturday evening during the zikhr

after the talibes had finished reading the holy Koran, praying and singing the khassaides, a donation bowl is sent round where everyone donates whatever amount of money they can. As reflected in the photograph below.

Figure Six: 'Bowl' of Money Collected During a Dahira Meeting

Some of this money is usually sent to Senegal for different projects such as building of a mosque, a hospital, providing food for the poor people or for the caliph-general. Furthermore sometimes they have to donate money twice during a particular zikhr in cases where someone is in need of help or they are being visited by a marabout. In such instances, they do the routine donation first afterwhich they then do a second round of donation for that particular purpose. It was observed that when making a contribution towards the visit of a particular itinerant marabout, talibes gave much more that they usually do in terms of the amount of money being bequeathed.

Scholars such as Riccio (2001a and 2004) have reasoned that Mourides disciples usually contribute money towards a marabout's visit because such visits are very significant to them in that it functions to impart advise and Baraka on the talibes who are away from home and also to keep the 'ethno-religious scape' alive. In so doing, the marabout's visit is fundamental both in replicating the image of transnational Islam and in reiterating the connection between the Mouride migrants and Senegal. Van Der Veer (2002) stipulates that such transnational religious

movements help migrants to understand and to deal with the demands of migration as they negotiate their daily life in a transnational context. Grillo (2004) opines that marabout visits to talibes are both significant and symbolic since they function across borders and connect the Senegalese Mouride migrants to their home country. The marabouts become some sort of guarantors of the legitimacy and continuity of the different spaces invested by the talibes as well as a link with the holy city of Touba.

During the last fifteen years (from 1998-2013) since its inception the structure of the Durban dahira as well as the day for the zikhr sessions (where the talibes gather ritually in prayer) has not changed. However, the spaces for the zikhr sessions have been moved from Abdulaye's one room apartment in South Beach to the conference room in commercial city building. This is due to the fact that membership has expanded. Also, the talibes no longer host itinerant marabouts in hotels but in an apartment which is rented and paid for by the members of the dahira. Even though the structure has not changed, the function of the dahira has. While the talibes have endeavored to maintain the original purposes of the dahira such as for continuing Mouride religious rituals, having a place to gather and exchange ideas and help one another and for collective monitoring of Senegalese Mouride migrants in Durban, the dahira have also become a cultural space. This is so because apart fromt its other activities the dahira has become a space where people can go and learn about the life and history of Amadou Bamba and Mouridism. The talibes who have just been converted to Mouridism learn and benefit from this novel function of the dahira to gain knowledge of their new faith and the Mouride religious thought. For the talibes the dahira is a place that has to allow for the growth and expansion of Bamba's work abroad. Although this is not their main focus, it is believed that it is of the utmost significance for them to leave a legacy of Mouridism in Durban.

The talibes who participated in this study pointed out that the dahira is very significant for them in that it offers a means by which they can remain knowledgeable about the brotherhood and through which they can sustain ties with their culture. This makes the dahira both a religious and a cultural space which again supports Riccio's (2004) idea that religion in Senegal has fused with the local culture to the extent that it becomes very difficult to state where one ends and where the other begins. Below are photographs of mouride talibes who belong to the Durban dahira praying and singing the khassaides during one of the zikhrs.

Figure Seven: Photographs of Talibes Praying and Singing the Khassaides a during Zikhr

5.7 Dahira Apartment: Safety Net and Transnational Junction

As mentioned in section 5.6, the Senegalese Mouride migrants in the Durban dahira have rented a two bed room apartment at Prince Street around the South Beach neighbourhood in Durban. The purpose of this apartment is to accommodate marabouts when they come to visit them and also to provide shelter for those talibes who are newly arrivals from Senegal and do not have a place to stay. One of the talibes has been assigned to live in his bedroom permanently so that he can take care of the place and also when they have itinerant marabouts he can do housekeeping for them. This talibe usually prepares Senegalese home food and the talibes come there very often in the evenings just for a chit-chat and to socialize especially those of them who reside around the South Beach neighbourhood. During such visits by other talibes he shares the Senegalese food he has prepared with them. For most of the Mouride migrants who participated

in this study, this apartment is regarded both as their 'home' abroad in Durban and they relate to it in various ways as well as a symbol of identity.

Modou[26] one of the participants related how the apartment was particularly useful to him when he arrived in South Africa in 2009 and ended by saying that it made him realize how important it is to be a Mouride and how proud he was that he belonged to the Muridiyya brotherhood. He noted this in the following words:

> *When I came to South Africa in 2009, it was not easy for me because I did not have anywhere to stay. I did not arrange this before coming because I was not coming here with the intention to stay; I just wanted to get a visa to go to Italy to meet my brothers that's why I came here. I was told it was very easy to get the visa from here. I thought I would stay in a guest house or a backpackers for a week or two obtain my visa and go away, when I got here and was refused a visa, the reality began to set in, I could not go back home, people would laugh at me, I went to see the other Mourides who took me to the president, the president then took me to that apartment it was on Wednesday, I stayed there until Saturday and during the zikhr I was introduced to all the other Mourides. From then I would follow one of them to his shop everyday so as to get to know the place after four months my brothers sent me money and I started my own business and was able to get my own place then I left the apartment. If I were not a Mouride I would not have had a place to stay neither would I have found someone to explain to me how things work here and to show me where and how I can establish and start my own business. I would have been very lonely but because I am a Mouride, my brothers were able to assist me, by offering me a home, a training opportunity and the friendship that I needed at that time. It made me to know that it is good to be Mouride and I am very proud to tell you that I am Mouride.*

The narrative of Modou in the above excerpt is not peculiar to him alone as his story is similar to the narratives most of the participants who arrived Durban after 2003. The majority of them intimated that they have lived there at some point before they were able to find a place to stay somewhere else especially at the initial stage of migration when migrants are said to face a myriad of challenges. The apartment is very significant to the Mourides not just because of it offering them shelter when they had non but also because at this apartment they meet and

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[26]Research Participant Number 20

socialize with fellow Mourides and in so doing the pain of being away from their families in a strange land is minimized. The participants in this study related that in the evenings when they have closed their shops they often go to this apartment for a chat with fellow Mouride talibes. Malik noted that as they sit there chatting with each other, watching RTS (Senegalese Broadcasting Service), commenting on the events that are happening at home and sharing Senegalese food following the same eating rituals as they do at home, he as well as all of them, feel as though they were actually in Senegal. During this time some talibes usually remember some events that happened in their lives back at home and as they share it with the others they have the feeling of home and they 'feel like they are truly Senegalese'.

This apartment can be regarded as a 'transnational junction' and a 'safety net' where Mouride disciples feel welcomed and are able to deal with feelings of alienation and loneliness that often accompany migrants when they leave their families in their home countries. This is so because they meet other Mouride disciples who have also migrated and are living in Durban. Some even intimated that it is in this apartment that they had Senegalese food for the first time after migration. In this apartment the Senegalese Mouride migrants are offered a sense of 'home' through the system of solidarity that it offers. For most of these migrants when they close from their shops in the evenings they prefer to come to this apartment and stay there till they are ready to go to bed because they feel safe there. Most of them reported that they do not have friends who are not Senegalese whom they visit or who visit them except for those of them who have girlfriends. Even those that have girlfriends prefer to be at the apartment when the girlfriends have not visited. They reported that for them it was very difficult to make friends with South Africans because to them their cultures are different. Thus, it is more comfortable and safer for them to remain with the compatriots, where they know the rules, know what to expect, meets no xenophobia or discrimination and where one is 'at home'. Faye who migrated to South Africa in 2009 because he had been humiliated by his cousin (younger than himself) who had returned to Senegal from Italy intimated that:

> *When I got to South Africa, I had nothing, I was broke, and I didn't know what to do. When I explained my situation to the other Senegalese I first met in Durban but who were not Mourides, they advised him to go to the apartment, because there they will help*

*me and I will find 'home'. So I did, and just as I was told I was helped and truly I found 'home'. **Faye**[27]*

One can, therefore, see that the dahira apartment indeed works as a transnational crossroad where newly arrived migrants and already resident migrants 'find a home'. From the chitchat that the talibes engage in in this apartment migrants get the latest news from Senegal find out who is travelling home and if they have something or money to send to their families back home, they can send it through the person. The talibes have nicknamed this apartment 'Touba'. Notaby, Touba is the spiritual home of Mourides in Senegal which has also been named Senegal's Mecca. This highlights the religious aspect of this apartment for the talibes. All the marabouts that arrive from Senegal to visit the talibes are received in this apartment. It is worth noting that these visits are for religious purposes. Also the Mourides celebrate the grand magal as well as other magals in this apartment. According to Riccio, (2004) the grand magal is the biggest feast for the Mourides which commemorates Bamba's departure to exile in Gabon. Magal is any Mouride festival that celebrates an important event in the brotherhood (Bava, 2002).

The apartment or 'Durban-Touba' as it is called has been shown to be a very fundamental and vital space for the Mourides. Here, they get a place to sleep, a meal and they always have companions around which sets them apart from other groups of migrants in Durban. It is a space where they feel protected as some of the participants reported, during the 2008 xenophobic attack on foreigners, they were all so scared and it was only when they were together in Durban-Touba that they felt somehow safe. Even for those migrants who do not have the proper documentation and as such are always afraid of any encounter with the police, Durban-Touba becomes a safe haven for them because there they reported that they feel protected and supported by the other talibes and that should anything happen the other talibes will not desert them. It is also here that they had the correct information on how to acquire proper documentation. Durban-Touba is, therefore, a major reference point, a safety net, a place where one feels at home, point of identification and a transnational junction. It is a place where Mouride migrants can find hope and inspiration for themselves within a transnational context and as such it is where they can find pride. Below is an image of Mourides at the Dahira apartment, praying after listening (watching) to a recorded message from the Khalipha- General.

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[27]Research Participant Number 14

Figure Eight: Photo of Mouride Talibes at the Dahira Apartment

5.8 Benefits of Belonging and Dahira Membership

For the Senegalese migrants membership to the Mouride brotherhood has a myriad of advantages. It plays a very important role in the lives of its followers both in and out of Senegal. Mbacke (2005) points to this fundamental role of the brotherhood in the lives of the members by highlighting that the Mouride brotherhood was and is still catering for all its members. As such, they cater for the spiritual life of its members by showing them how to forge and sustain a straightforward conduit of religious purity. The brotherhood offers a support structure for Mouride talibes to search for religious coaching and direction. Their religiosity as well as their desire for personal rewards in the form of blessings from Allah is often reflected in their activities such as solidarity to one another and charity giving. However, it is worth noting that this brotherhood goes beyond a mere religious fraternity given that they often fulfil vital social,

economic as well as political functions.

Both the structure and functioning of the brotherhood offer these migrants horizontal and vertical ties through which mutual solidarity is safeguarded. On the one hand, the vertical ties here refer to the kind of reciprocal relationship that exists between the marabout and his talibe. In this marabout-talibe relationship the talibe submits to the marabout and is also expected to give generously (giving being an integral part of his prayers) while the marabout, on the other hand, aids the talibes in their spiritual lives by offering them spiritual guidance and direction and showing them 'the right path to God' as well as 'how to be a true Muslim'. The marabouts are also actively involved in the community and equally offer considerable help regarding their businesses. For example, they provide them with charms needed to protect their businesses, fight market competition and succeed in business. This idea is exemplified in the following excerpts:

> *You know the Muridiyya is good, when you belong to the Muridiyya you can get the help you need. They marabout the pray for you, they make you to get the customers, and then you can make the money. Sometimes when you are sick they can give you medicine to become well.* **Mor[28]**

> *The marabout they help us too much. We cannot joke with the marabout. We give to them we contribute lots of money and give to them they bless us. When a marabout comes here you find even the Senegalese people who are not Mourides coming to give him money because they need his blessing and protection. He can protect your business and make you to have many clients. So we don't joke with him, you see here many people are doing the fashion business and they are selling the same things and the Chinese people have also come and they are selling things cheap, so if the marabout does not protect our business we can't succeed.* **Modou[29]**

This line of argument is suggestive of the fact that for the Senegalese Mourides membership to the brotherhood is very important because the vertical ties with the marabouts possessing spiritual powers and are expected to be their link to God enables them to be successful in business. These embedded religious (or may be cultural given the level at which Senegalese

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[28]Research Participant Number 21
[29] Research Participant Number 20

Islam has fused with the local Culture making it difficult even for the Senegalese themselves to separate religious from cultural beliefs) beliefs and values are assumed to impact tremendously on the entrepreneurial success of these Mouride migrants. From the narratives of the migrants it is evident that without the help of the marabout, they are doomed especially because and not limited to the fact that they are away from home. Also, the market of the fashion business which they are into is almost saturated leading to fierce competition. Such a benefit that they get from their relationship with the marabouts which in turn emanate from membership to the brotherhood was clearly articulated by all the respondents.

All the participants confirmed that the marabous help them to secure customers and their businesses due to competition. The marabaouts imbue them different magical charms and concoctions which then ensure that each one will have his own clientele and business will be profitable for all the Mourides. Sedar,[30] for example, intimated that the marabouts have powers but that they do not use such powers to perform an evil act or harm someone. They utilized these powers for the good of their talibes. According to Sedar, because of the level of market competition even among brotherhood members, one can have a good and well equipped shop but have no clients. He went further to say that this rarely happens to them because of the help given them by the marabouts. These marabouts give them these magical portions which they either eat, drink, bath with, sprinkle around their shop area or hide in a hidden corner in the shop. This shows that to them entrepreneurship in the fashion business is 'survival of the fittest' and they are 'the fittest' thanks to this vertical marabout-talibe relationship. This argument concurs with Villalon's (1995) contention that in addition to the marabout's spiritual responsibilities, it is the duty of marabouts to help the talibes find employment and wives and to feed them in times of need or scarcity.

The talibes are very devoted to their marabouts and expect spiritual reciprocity in return even though sometimes they switch allegiance (Cruise O'Brien, 1975). The size of a particular marabout's followers determines his influence within the brotherhood (Levtzion and Pouwels 2000). Devotion to a particular marabout (especially the most influential and powerful ones) gives the talibes access (though indirect) to the Caliph-General as well as to the broader network of that particular marabout. Villalon (1995) stipulates that such ties are very fundamental and

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[30]Research Participant Number 25

results in concrete material benefits for the talibes. More often than not, these marabouts use their spiritual wealth and their powers as well as their 'grace' to exert political and economic power (Levtzion and Pouwels 2000). This means that this brotherhood becomes a vehicle through which growth, relative social advancement and economic emancipation are attained.

On the other hand, the horizontal ties relate to inter-Mouride correlation which is the bond that exists between a Mouride and other fellow Mourides. This inter-Mouride relationship is the base on which all Mouride transnational networks are anchored. The emphasis in this horizontal relation between Mouride talibes is a relationship of reciprocal solidarity. Mouride migrants exploit this strong sense of reciprocal solidarity to their advantage in host societies. This sense of solidarity is very fundamental as it then provides members (particularly migrants in this context) with support, resources, help, empowerment and a strict sense of belonging. For the Mourides, members see each other not just as co-Mourides or co-believers but as their relatives. Riccio (2001a) has shown that regarding one another as relatives offers strong ties which become very effective specifically for migrants who live away from their families.

To begin with support, the participants intimated that 'people need people'. So, in the migration context of Durban where they have left their families and friends behind, membership in the brotherhood means that they still have people they can turn to for support. Since as one of the respondents Osman[31] puts it:

> *We can only endure all the problems we go through in this country and still survive by supporting each other, that is what we the Mourides do, but if you don't belong to the brotherhood and you are here alone and your family is in Senegal, you will always be lonely, even in your business you can't succeed because you need people and the people from here (referring to south Africa) can't support you because they don't even know you. That's why the Muridiyya is very good, they support you, they give you what you do not have. You see when I came here I didn't have where to stay because the rent is very expensive so if I used the little money I had to pay rent I wouldn't have had food to eat, but because am Mouride, my brothers (referring to the other talibes) allowed me to stay in the transit flat that they rent and keep in case a marabout visits. I lived there four months till I was ready to move and usually when I didn't have food they would give me money.*

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[31] Research Participant Number 18

This shows that membership to the brotherhood is very beneficial for the talibes. The members of the different Dahiras provide newcomers with advice, accommodation, financial help and they constitute an important source of information. Most importantly, they provide each other with a sense of community and belonging. Being part of it is a very essential human need. Being a member of this brotherhood, therefore, help migrants who are members to re-territorialize their space. Through Dahira membership, they are able to find as well as support each other in a novel environment. This support in turn empower the migrants in that they are given strength, courage and power to face the challenges of migration and of adapting to this new place. Brotherhood membership thus offers Mouride migrants an opportunity to adapt into the new environment more easily and safely as opposed to those who do not belong to this brotherhood. When new Mouride migrants enter Durban they get assistance from the already established Mouride talibes. The new migrants are usually warmly welcomed and they begin to establish ties with all the talibes in the Dahira. They do not typically experience the loneliness and feelings of nostalgia that other migrants ordinarily go through at this stage of the migration process.

In addition to Osman's narrative above, Gora[32] intimated that new comers can count on already resident Mourides for assistance. For example, he related that he often supply his fellow Mourides (who have just come from Senegal and who do not have capital) goods on credit at wholesale prices so that they can resell it and make their own profit from it and repay him later. He added that sometimes he even takes out time to teach some of the newly arrived talibes the techniques of street vending in Durban especially when the newly arrived do not have the necessary papers so as to enable them to avoid problems with the police. This shows that new Mouride migrants are better placed as they can rely on a well organised fraternity of countrymen as opposed to other migrant groups.

This kind of solidarity displayed by the Mouride migrants in a migration context has a twofold importance. Firstly, the group solidarity that characterizes this horizontal connection between Mouride talibes means that the migrants do not feel a sense of having been 'uprooted', given that they still feel at 'home' though in a place which is completely unfamiliar to them. They are quite conscious of the integration difficulties and, therefore, as a group equip themselves to negotiate their way through in a manner that cannot lead to conflict. Secondly, it is also very useful for the

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[32]Research Participant Number 19

host community in that due to the cohesive nature of the group, they do not have to face people who do not have social control. Dahira membership prevents Mouride talibes from engaging in potentially deviant behaviour. Sall[33] one of the participants exemplified this situation by intimating that:

> *When you come here as a Mouride, they help you. They are your family, they even give you money which you can use to start your business, they give you place to stay, so you cannot do bad things because you do not have money or where to stay like other people do. Some people from other countries they end up selling drugs and doing illegal business because they don't have a choice, they do not have someone to help them. But the Mouride you get the help, we contribute the money and we give you, if you do something wrong, they call you to order.*

The ideas exemplified in the above excerpt come out strongly in the narratives of most of the participants who articulated the importance of Dahira or brotherhood membership to their material and social well-being as migrants and also for the host community. In a psychological sense, being a member of this brotherhood is equally fundamental in that their faith constitutes an important source of strength to deal with the challenges posed by migration such as discrimination and xenophobia. The participants reported that they are all very proud to be Mourides and that they cannot give that up for anything. It is this attitude towards Mouridism albeit their strong sense of dyom (self-respect) that enables them to disregard prejudices and ignore them when others regard them as inferior. Riccio (2001a) has shown that some of the Senegalese Mouride disciples in his study only became Mouride after they migrated to Italy and this was due to the fact that they had witnessed how the Mourides as opposed to other Senegalese migrants were able to deal with discrimination and racism and how they cope with other difficulties very confidently by stimulating and supporting one another. This possibly explains why the Mourides have been heralded for adapting to all circumstances, conquering the world and for 'being African winners' given the strength of the solidarity and ties that exist between them.

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[33] Research Participant Number 23

All in all membership to the Mouride brotherhood provides training, guidance and a solidarity structure well-adjusted to crisis and change situations. Mouride networks possess self-sustaining bonds of belonging and are characterised by a well-established trading network based on reciprocity and solidarity. Due to such networks, belonging to the brotherhood offers members both material and spiritual benefits. The presence of this strong trading network, therefore, explains why Mouride are found to be involved in business in most major cities in countries around the world such as Italy, South Africa, Ivory Coast, Spain and America (Riccio, 2001b). These trading networks offer Mourides powerful and influential backing and have also steered niche formation in Senegalese residence places. This led Coombe and Stoller (1994: 260) to brand Mouride migrants as "the aristocracy of African merchants".

5.9 'Trust' and 'Giving' as Key to the Success

Trust and giving are the two essential weapons that the Mourides require in order to succeed in addition to prayer and submission to the marabout. The participants in this study all pointed to trust as being pivotal to their success as entrepreneurs. They operate as a close knit group and the fact that they are all doing the same kind of business means the competition is among network members. To be able to succeed in this kind of scenario they need to trust each other. But it does not end at the level of trust as these men intimated that giving is also very fundamental to the business because 'when you give you receive blessing'. Blessing on the other hand, is sought after because when a person is blessed the person's business is expected to flourish. This, by implication, means that for a Mouride to succeed they need these two weapons. This is exemplified in the following excerpt by one of the participants:

> *If you don't trust people you cannot do business with them, because you will not know if they are going to eat your money or not. But when you can trust the people around you, you can do anything you want knowing that nothing will happen. Like for us the Mourides we trust each other, that's why I can leave my business under the care of another Mouride and go to visit my family at home in Senegal and also I can go somewhere to buy the goods, but if I don't trust them thinking that they will eat my money, I will not succeed because I won't be able to go anywhere or if I have to go in means I will close my business before going and in so doing I will lose my clients and the money I was supposed to make. When you don't trust people you cannot grow.*

We trust every Mouride and we know that they cannot betray that trust and so we can do business together. Sall[34]

In another case Usufa narrated that:

You know without trust we cannot stand, we come here and leave our families in at home so we can only rely on our fellow Senegalese to be able to do anything. We have to trust each other because it is very important. You know for us the Mourides we follow God like the Sheikh did and what he wrote for us to do in the khassaides that we should work hard follow God and that we should learn to trust people and not to provoke anyone. We also try to give as much as we can, to help those around us who need help. So because you are trying to follow his example we try to leave by these principles.

The narratives from the participants in the above excerpts reveal that the Mouride brotherhood with its close-knit and highly organized network possesses important commodities which underlie their entrepreneurial success in transnational spaces. This commodity which according to participants is lacking among all other migrant communities in South Africa is trust and their ability to give. Even though a good business foundation or grounding is necessary for a person to succeed in a business venture, (Serrie, 1998) the Senegalese in this context believe that in a migration context a good business model is not enough to enable an individual to succeed but rather giving and trust are very instrumental in transnational entrepreneurial success. 'When you give you receive'.

The underlying belief behind the notion of trust is that if people are able to trust each other, everything else in life will fall in to place. Given that no one will then provoke the other or does something that will make him lose the trust of the others. The actual implication of this code of behavior is that the services of police men or lawyers and courts and even banks are not needed. For example, because of trust no one will provoke the other, if a Mouride migrant needs to buy goods from another country such as Italy, he simply calls up the other Mouride migrant living in Italy and places his order. The goods are then sent to him and he in turn pays the money to the trader's family in Touba. This deep-rooted culture of trust renders Mouride economics secure

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[34]Research Participant Number 23

and fluid as it eliminates business bureaucracy and saves time and money. If the Mouride needing goods were to travel to Italy to buy those goods himself he would spend days and even weeks in addition to the cost of traveling to Italy. This is replaced by telephonic transactions. This kind of transaction is not limited to international business transactions but also internal ones. Most of the Mourides in Durban buy goods from those in Johannesburg through the same means. This deeply engrained culture of trust facilitates success and entrepreneurial activities and success means that they have 'to give' in a bid to receive more blessings.

While trust is very vital, giving is also one of the underlying principles of the Mouride brotherhood. Usually, the Kalipha-general records video messages which are sent to all Mourides especially those living abroad. These messages are meant to remind Mourides of their duty to give and very often they carry appeals for donations. It is expected that they donate charitably to different projects in Touba, the brotherhood's capital city. The talibes upon listening to these messages devote their energy in upholding it. They support the different projects being carried out by the marabouts wholeheartedly. Through this medium of giving the brotherhood is able to accumulate large sums of money. This is used not only for running of the mosques and different projects but much of it is also reallocated to the poor Mourides in rural areas and also those who come to Touba seeking for help. Also, it is used to administer healthcare, education, water and sanitary infrastructure and agriculture given that Touba is an autonomous city state that independently runs its own affairs based on its somewhat vague socialist philosophies. This weapon of giving which is lacking among other migrant communities works to the advantage of the Senegalese migrants. For example, due to this culture of giving newly arrived migrants are provided with an immediate social network, accommodation and sometimes they are given credits or loans to use as initial start-up capital for their own businesses. Such philanthropic acts explain the success of Mouride migrants. This by no means is suggestive of the fact that the brotherhood is an economic venture.

5.10 Conclusion

The narratives in this chapter did not go without showing the centrality of brotherhoods within

the Senegalese society which has been described as a 'world of brotherhoods'. The chapter depicted that for the Senegalese these brotherhoods go beyond mere religious fraternities in that they have become vital political, economic and social organizations performing a plethora of functions. The discussions in this chapter also reveal that the Muridiyya brotherhood to which all the participants in the study belonged provides training, guidance and solidarity structure well-adjusted to crisis and change situations. The networks of this brotherhood possess self-sustaining bonds of belonging and are characterized by a well-established trading network based on reciprocity and solidarity. Due to such networks, belonging to the brotherhood offers members both material and spiritual benefits. The arguments also denote that it is the presence of this strong trading network which explains why Mourides are found to be involved in business in most major cities in countries around the world and these same networks have led to their branding as 'the aristocracy of African merchants'.

The chapter also argued that dahira membership is very essential for the Mouride. Being in touch with and praying together is very significant in that it gives them the opportunity to foster a sense of belonging and oneness, expedite their participation in special Mouride religious events such as the magal, exchange both spiritual and material help to one another and host marabouts. The chapter equally showed how the Durban dahira provides Senegalese Mouride migrants with an avenue to continue Mouride religious rituals, a place to gather and exchange ideas and help one another, collectively monitor Mouride migrants and is also a cultural space where talibes gain knowledge of and rekindle their Mouride religious thought. The discussions equally highlighted how the Durban dahira has created a safety net and a transnational junction called Durban-Touba where they 'find home' and which is their major point of identification and of reference. In this transnational crossroad they find hope and inspiration and as such are better able to deal with the challenges posed by migration. Finally, the chapter depicted how 'Trust' and 'giving' are the two essential weapons that the Mourides require in order to succeed in addition to prayer and submission to the marabout.

CHAPTER SIX

DEFINING MALENESS IN THE CONTEXT OF MIGRATION

6.1 Introduction

The Senegalese people, especially those from the Soninke communities, are characterised by a "culture of migration". Senegalese men since the 1950s have supported their families and contributed enormously to local development by travelling. Travel for these men is associated with knowledge, adventure and 'becoming a man'. This chapter explicates the importance of migration for masculinity focussing on how migration paves the way for Senegalese migrants to lay claims to their masculine identities. It will discuss the masculinisation of migration, the patriarchal nature of migration and migration as a rite of passage. It further explores how the Senegalese migrants in Durban attempt to re-negotiate their position in the new gender regimes in Durban and what accommodation has occurred as they have been incorporated into both the masculine and also the feminized sectors of the economy. The chapter shows how these young men construct their social identities in the context of migration and masculinity.

6.2 Gender and Identity

One particular theory cannot adequately explain every facet of an individual's life. A useful starting point in attempt to understand constructions of masculinity and maleness is to explore questions of gender and identity. Scholars such as Wetherell (1996) suggest that if one has to get a more nuanced understanding of men and masculinity then on has to adopt an interdisciplinary approach. Others argue than any suitable theory of men and masculinity must have power as a core concept (see Cohen, 1995; Kaufman, 1994 and Kimmel, 2004). Identity is a concept that is utilised to designate peoples' sense of self. According to Harris (1995:9) gender Identity is "an individual's own feelings of whether he or she is a woman or man, a girl or a boy. In essence, gender identity is self-attribution of gender."

Usually, boys construct their gender identity based on biology which greatly influences the kind of information they receive from their communities about how they should behave. However, this is done at individual levels. It is argued that individuals have multiple identities and therefore, the term identities and not identity should be used (see Hearn, 1998 and Reid and Walker, 2005). Reid and Walker (2005) takes the argument a step further by arguing that using the term identity in the plural form is better because it captures how people identify themselves. They can be different things at different times which can be contradictory or interrelated and can also concurrently identify with different social groups. It is this multiple identities that make up both the dilemmas and complexity of peoples' sense of self. This, by extension, implies that there is a multiplicity of gender identities such as different masculinities as well as femininities which can be seen within individuals and across cultures.

When people learn about gender identity they also learn about what has been termed gender competence. Gender competence refers to learning how to assume a particular gender identity, produce a certain performance and at the same time distance oneself from others (see Connell, 2002; Frosh et al., 2002; Mac and Ghaill, 1994 and West and Zimmerman, 1991). From a poststructuralist perspective of identity, people cease to exist as grounded, self-knowing and concrete individuals and are replaced by discursive subjects that have been formed and framed in by several contrasting subject positions that provide the means of social interaction as well as sense of self (Whitehead, 2001). According to Petersen (2003) such a poststructuralist approach which focuses on the complex connection between knowledge and power as well as on how people are constituted as subjects and given unified identities draws attention to difference, subjectivity and everyday life. A person's sense of self is somewhat imposed on him by his social group and his culture. According to Caputo (1997) when people fight for their identity they should consider the fact that their own identity is open to other identities since it is not exclusive of another identity.

Identities are multiple and are constructed in daily interactions. It is the particular everyday performances of identity that gives the substance of that specific identity. Identity is something that we do in relation to others. An individual's sense of self is achieved by working hard to belong to that particular world or context. It is argued that the components of identity intersect in

a number of ways to form the masculine identity. Belonging is not an automatic thing making masculine performance for men very fundamental to gaining entry within a particular community of men. Such a desire for belonging creates a person's self of self and a gender. An individual's sense of identity is thus influenced by the fact that that individual was born in a particular community with age-old cultural discourses which then position him in a way that acquiring a particular identity is more likely than others.

Among the Senegalese, the construction of gender identity appears to follow a particular path. The subject positions that men and women hold in the society constitute part of their gender identities. These gendered subject positions such as that of the woman as nurturer and the man as provider is a widely accepted norm. The concept of 'tradition' in this society is very important and is a determinant of the gender identities of Senegalese men and women. The participants in this study articulated that 'tradition' defines what a 'good woman' and a 'real man' is. If an individual deviates from this definition of gender identity anchored on 'tradition' he or she is sanctioned. Tradition becomes a tool of ensuring that individuals adhere to or maintain the gender roles ascribed to them. The Senegalese men in this study sought to preserve 'tradition' so that they can preserve their gender identity. Most of the narratives from the participants reflected this as exemplified in the following excerpt:

> *In our tradition a man must provide and the woman must take care of her husband and children. That is how it is and it is very important because that is what makes us who we are. If I cannot provide for my family then am not a man, because a man must be able to provide. We cannot forget our tradition because we are here. We must practice it and pass it on to our children when they grow up. You see other people from other countries when they come here they start behaving like the people here and forget who they are and the good way of behaving that they were thought which is not right, you cannot forget your tradition.* **Diop**[35]

Migration can lead to change because migrants are placed in a different context. As Senegalese people migrate to another context, their encounter with this context can lead to novel understandings of identity and a new sense of self. Being in a different gender regime can, therefore, influence the Senegalese migrants to renegotiate their gender identities. Migration is a

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[35]Research Participant Number 4

very important element in the construction of Senegalese gender identity. According to Beck-Gernsheim (2007) such an identity is shaped between gendered individuals and is essentially attained and not ascribed. For example, it is by migrating, gaining knowledge of the world and making enough money to fulfil the provider role as will be discussed later on in the chapter that Senegalese men can aspire to achieve their sense of self-worth and gender identity.

6.3 Masculinity and Maleness Defined

Gender is defined as a socially constructed difference between men and women which can change over time (Wodak, 1997:3). Gender identity can be described as the self-concept of a person being male or female and attributes that are considered appropriate in a specific society, for males and females respectively (Stanley and Wise, 2002:273). Broadly, masculinity relates to the acquisition of gender identity and practice for men. Defining masculinity and what it means to be a man has been a highly contested issue among scholars interested in gender identities. According to Jeffords (1989) masculinity is a set of images values, interests and activities held important to the successful achievement of male adulthood. Morrell and Makhaye (2007) point out that masculinity is not 'owned' by a particular group of men over others but is rather dynamic and fluid. This, therefore, implies that masculinity is not something which is attained momentarily or inherited but is constructed over time based on a myriad of issues. According to Leach (1994) masculinity is both a form of identity and way of understanding the self that determines individual attitudes and behaviours. In this regard, masculinity is thus perceived as a cultural ideology that delineates the right values and roles that a man should fulfil.

Even though it is argued that men's masculine nature emanate from physiological biological and genetic make-up (Whitehead, 2002), one can clearly see that such an approach does not account for the differences in the ways in which masculinity is defined in different cultures and contexts. Some social constructionist theorists have rather provided an approach which focuses on masculinity as a learned behaviour where boys learn how to be masculine through socialising agents such as the media, peers, the family as well as educational facilities (see Connell, 2005; Datta et al., 2006; Hopkins, 2006, Leach, 1994 and Morrel et al., 2002). Connell (2005) opposes

the fact that certain scholars define masculinities in relation to femininities and argue that masculinities should not be construed in this manner but rather if scholars are to achieve a better understanding of masculinity they need to look at both the processes and interactions by which males and females achieve their gendered identities instead of trying to explain masculinity as a natural thing. 'Men are not just men' in the same way 'women are not simply women' rather both femininity and masculinity mean different things in different cultures and is often braided with a range of other identities (see McIlwaine et al., 2006 and McKay, 2007). This, therefore, explains why one can talk of masculinities and not just masculinity (Kimmel, 2000 and Morrel et al., 2002).

This study adopts Imms (2000:155) definition of masculinity as "a complex set of behaviours with different meanings culturally and historically and regulated by interactions with other men, women, and power structures in society." Masculinity is a socially constructed gendered ideology that is fashioned by the cultural context and defines the appropriate role that a male must adhere to. Chu et al. (2005: 95) points out that the social constructionist perspective of masculinity brings to the fore approaches on the male gender and masculinity that calls for neutrality in the construction of attitudes towards male roles.In such a perspective the male gender is denoted by beliefs and behaviors, like being strong and is practiced in social interactions. In every society there are 'certain' attributes which are fixed even though they differ in different societies and among individuals. Masculinity theorists, especially social constructivist, ones believe that gender is not what we are, but rather it is what we do in social interactions thus it is achieved through and by people and their context.

According to Connell (2005) all masculinities are not equal in the gender hierarchy given that some tend to dominate others. This means that there are several competing values and images of maleness accounting for why there is dominant or hegemonic masculinity as well as secondary or subordinate masculinities. Hegemonic or dominant masculinity is a form of gender identity that occupies a dominant position over other forms of masculinity. This kind of masculinity, according to Kimmel (2000), offers an ideological model which defines what a 'real man' should be. Jackson and Scott (2002) point out that with hegemonic masculinity it is assumed that real men are at the top of the gender hierarchy of power because they have greater mental and

physical proficiency than women and other men. Connell (2005) defines hegemonic masculinity as 'the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations, a position which is always contestable'. Adams and Savran (2002) further add that hegemonic masculinity is thus a cultural model and the prevailing position in any given society compared to other women and other masculinities such as subordinate, complicit, and marginalized masculinities.

Hegemonic masculinity is not a form of identity given that it can change over time based on both cultural and social influences. It is fundamentally assertive, all-conquering, tough and aggressive (Wetherall, 1996). It is associated with risk taking behaviours such as risking one's life like in a boat to travel which is a manly thing that will define a man's level of masculinity. Individual social beliefs about masculinity are plural and dynamic. In Senegal there is no single version of manhood, instead the construction of masculinity is diverse and complex with several indigenous definitions of masculinity which are shaped by the beliefs and customs of the different ethnic groups. Also, these different versions of manhood are currently defined by historical newer versions of manhood fashioned by Islam (Riccio, 2001b). This, by implication, means that for the Senegalese men there are significant variations in the definition of manhood across generational, cultural, ethnic, religious, socioeconomic and geographical context. However, for the Senegalese migrants who participated in this study, there was a singular definition of masculinity given that they all come from the Wolof ethnic group and are all Muslims and belong to the Muridiya brotherhood. To them, attaining manhood is very important and a man is not a man if he cannot provide. So, in order for them to become 'real men', they have to do whatever it takes to ensure that they get the finance needed to fulfill this provider role.

6.4 Migration as a Rite of Passage for Men

Migration in Senegal is a complex and multifaceted enterprise which has become an integral part of the people's cultural and social lives. For the Senegalese people, migration is not solely for economic or political motives, but also for cultural and social reasons. There is a high level of inequality between men and women propagated by tradition and religion, chiefly Islam. In this

unequal system, the man is the head and is responsible for the economic wellbeing of the family while the woman is subjected to him. This unequal ordering of society with a high level of specificity about the role of women and men constitute interesting proxies for analysing the masculinisation of migration in Senegal. This is so because these social norms reinforce the importance of migration for men in this society which has been described as being characterised by a 'culture of migration'.

In Senegal, constructions of masculinity are influenced by religious and cultural beliefs, through which men are able to reconcile hegemonic masculinity and migration. Out migration from Senegal cannot be explained simply by the push-pull economic model. This is so because among Senegalese men manhood is part of a triad that includes travel and knowledge (Zinn, 2005). For them, the experience of being away from home for the first time and facing the challenges posed by migration such as having to adjust and adapt in a new environment, learn a novel language and build new social circles forge masculinity. This, therefore, makes the migration process an initiation process and a rite of passage that boys must undergo to become men. This experience and the challenges that they face in the process makes them gain knowledge and because they are away from home they have to work and provide for their families which again means that the migration process does not only make them gain knowledge and experience but they are also enabled to perform the duties assigned to them by stereotyped gender roles enforced by hegemonic masculinity.

Migration in Senegal is something more than just a family strategy for improving economic status. It is quintessentially a masculine activity because it allows men to work hard and earn the money needed to meet the provider role and is also imbued with masculine traits such as risk taking, adventure and knowledge. It has become a kind of macho culture which is highly regarded as a manly pursuit. The participants in this study seem to adhere so much to this gendered identity. According to Arthur (1991) and Ba (2007) migration as a cultural prerequisite for attaining manhood is a value that has become deeply engrained in Senegalese communities. In the Senegalese tradition, the beginning of a boy's transition to manhood is marked by migration, it is a sign that the boy has come of age. When this rite of passage is performed or

when migration occurs, the migrant 'modou modou' is highly admired and respected among his peers and is a source of pride to his family.

As Riccio (2005: 99) asserts, migrant remittances are the cornerstone of the national economy of Senegal and provide subsistence for many families. So, working hard in the host community and remitting home so as to provide for their families thereby fulfilling the breadwinner role makes a Senegalese male to pass from boyhood to manhood. Remittances are symbolic of the migrant's masculine role. Mapate,[36] one of the participants, related that when he was at home things were very difficult for him and his family. But ever since he migrated to South Africa and is working, things have changed for his family and for him because he is now the man that he should be. He has worked so hard to ensure that as 'a man' he makes his family comfortable. He sends money home every month and has also been able to build a house at home which is what according to him every true Senegalese man must do. He believes that if he had not travelled this would not have been possible at home'. From the experience of Mapate which is similar to that of most of the participants in this study, it is clear that there is an intersection between the economic and the socio-cultural implications of migration in Senegal. Senegalese men's aspirations to migrate relate to different versions of manhood that they ascribe to.

Barbali (2009) and Zinn (2005) argue that for the Senegalese migrants in Bari in Italy and Port Elizabeth in South Africa, movement from their country of origin to the host countries is not referred to as migration but rather as travel. Zinn (2005) further adds that the Senegalese migrants in her study see themselves as tourists. The Senegalese migrants in Durban who participated in this study did not refer to their migration as travel for touristic purposes. However, they explained that their movement to South Africa was to find better economic opportunities which will enable them to fulfil the duties ascribed to them by their hegemonic masculinity. Below are excerpts from Gora and Abdul[37] two participants who pointed this out quite glaringly:

> *'I decided to travel out of Senegal because things were no going*
> *the way I wanted. I first went from my village to Dakar I was there*
> *for three years and still things were slow because of the crisis,*

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[36]Research Participant Number 10
[37] Research Participants Number 19 and 22

business was no moving smoothly and I had to put food in the table for my family since my father is old and I am the only male child. It was really tough but I had to be a man. I did not have enough money so I decided to go to Ivory coast, I stayed there for a year and saved up some money and came to south Africa because I knew I could make a lot of money from South Africa than in Ivory Coast and when I do I will be able to provide for my wife, my father and my mother who are old and my sisters. A man is not a man if he cannot provide.' **Gora**

'Je suis venu en Afrique du Sud, parce qu'un homme doit voyager et savent des choses. Il faut savoir beaucoup d'endroits différents, parce qu'à partir de là, il sera capable d'apprendre de nombreuses façons différentes et choses que l'on peut faire pour obtenir l'argent dont ils ont besoin. J'ai déjà vécu dans trois pays différents, et encore, je prévois de déménager d'Afrique du Sud en Italie, avant que je rentrer à la maison.
Mon grand rêve est de gagner assez d'argent pour que je peux investir dans l'entreprise, j'ai à la maison et construire d'autres maisons parce que celle que j'ai déjà construit est pour ma mère.'
Abdul

My translation:

'I came to south Africa because a man should travel and know things. He has to know many different places because from there he will be able to learn many different ways and things that one can do to get the money that they need. I have lived in three different countries already and I still plan to relocate from South Africa to Italy before I go home. My big dream is to make enough money so that I can invest in the business I have at home and build other houses because the one that I have already built is for my mother.' Abdul

It can be inferred from the excerpts above that the migration experience for the participants is not just to get money and as such fulfil their duties as men but it also accords them the opportunity to learn and gain knowledge about the world and other things as such making them 'real men'. Migration and travelling are as such very important in the life of the Senegalese men because for them they would rather go through the hurdle and challenges of migration which will enable them to provide for their families as men rather than to stay at home and not be able to do what a

man should do. Migration in this context is a means to achieve an end which is manhood. This concurs with Zinn's (2005:59) argument that "masculinity, knowledge and travel are a triad, a grand tour realm composed of home, stop-overs, and seasonal moves" that imbibes migration in the contemporary world. The travel tradition for the Senegalese is an art, a means of self-fashioning and world making (Ardler, 1987) and not simply an economic endeavour.

When these men travel out and 'become men' and are thus able to perform the duties of a man through the remittances they send home, they are seen by those left behind and members of their communities as heroes who are far away from home but who always remember their families and do 'as real men should'. Riccio (2005) highlights this when he quotes the song by Youssou N'Dour 'we thank you and we pray for you' that these people sing for the migrants who have travelled and attained what is expected of a man. Mbacke,[38] one of the participants, pointed out that:

> *When we return home, we are often treated with respect. we are seen as heroes, we are often at the centre of every discussion in our community and as such many men who have failed to travel and become real men either take it as a challenge and as such become resolved to travel at all cost or sometimes they become very jealous and can become harmful to you or do something that might hurt you so you need to treat them with caution. Mbacke*

This, therefore, is indicative of the fact that male identity in Senegal is bound up with work. Men's masculinity and perception of self-worth is most often defined in terms of their work and their ability to be providers for their families. Male breadwinners are portrayed as real men. Traveling out, having a job and earning a good income are essential for men to gain power and prestige, maintain a family as well as attract women. The role of the bread winner becomes an important source of authority for men within the context of masculinity and patriarchy. Migration to the Senegalese is seen as a training experience for men and they go through all the ordeals it brings so as to become men. It is 'conquering' these difficult situations and thus being able to provide for their families that create the masculine self 'real man'.

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[38]Research Participant Number 5

Migrant men in this study like Hamidou, for example, migrated because he is a risk taker and an adventurer who had to take the risk of coming to South Africa even without valid papers because taking this risk is very important and is part and parcel of being a man.

> *Taking the risk and migrating is very important for men, and has to be done. You shouldn't care about what will happen if Christopher Columbus did not take the risk he wouldn't have discovered America. A man has to do something not be bothered about the risk if he does then he is a woman. So it is better to take the risk and go over there because your family will know that you are there looking for something, they will say you have courage and they will be proud of you even if you can't send anything to them yet they will pray for you that God should help you.*
> **Hamidou[39]**

Hamidou's narrative typically reflects what most Senegalese men think. It is a way in which men explain migration relating it to personal initiative of risk taking and attaining manhood.

He was not oblivious of the difficulties and hardships that he might face because of lack of proper documentation yet what was important to him was taking the risk. He argued that even if he stays in Senegal he will still face hardship and shame of not being able to provide for his family and down plays the possible hardships that migration might entail. He links his migration to masculine gender social expectations which are imbued with important symbolic values. Ideas of manhood, courage, honour, responsibility and pride intertwine with risk taking accounts for these men's decision to migrate to South Africa. Migration is something heroic that every Senegalese boy must do if they are to become real men.

6.5 Non migration and Subordinated Masculinity

According to Cohen (1995), subordinate masculinities refer to gender interactions specifically related to dominance and subordination between groups of men and between men and women. Within the hierarchical masculinities constructions, specific to gender relations, a system of dominance and subordination between groups of men exists. Subordinate masculinities refer to those masculinities that are viewed as 'inferior' to hegemonic masculinity in terms of status and

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[39]Research Participant Number 9

prestige (Demetriou, 2001:341). Further, subordinated masculinities are not only established relationally to dominant masculinities but also as being symbolically assimilated to femininity (Connell, 2000). Gilmore (1990) argues that manhood is 'earned' and 'achieved' and, therefore, there are various practices which can be performed in order to gain status as a man. Migrating out of the country is one of them. Travelling out is a means by which men reinforce a traditionally masculine identity or a means to affirm masculinity since it enables them to fulfill the provider role. Barrett (2004) argues that achieving a social position as adults is a key theme in the lives of young men in Africa.

Many studies make reference to the widely held knowledge that if a man does not fulfill the gender roles assigned to the male gender by hegemonic definitions of manhood, he often inhabits a marginalized and often painful position within a system of gender relations that carries a host of derogatory labels for any boy who dares to deviate from normative masculinity. In a society tied together by inter-generational transfers such a Senegal, adults are distinguished from children or boys from men by being providers as opposed to receivers. A decline in this role- for example through immobility or unemployment- has been reflected in the loss of self-esteem among many men and associated with problems such as loss of respect and self-esteem. This intolerance may lead to economic, cultural, political and legal discrimination of these men (Demetriou, 2001).

The accounts of the Senegalese migrants in this study revealed that, most men who do not live up to this stereotype are seen as lacking in masculinity and are thus not 'real men.' One of the participants Mamegor[40] explained that:

> *As a man, when you are poor and cannot provide people often insult you, which is really hurting. They see you as a misfit and a failure, so every young man does everything possible to travel outside because it is believed that when you travel you can make money easily*

In his words another participant narrated that:

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[40]Research Participant Number 16

'I tell you it is difficult, if you don't have money people will often undermine you, sometimes you lose your respect and self-esteem as a man. The women can even talk to you in any manner they want and nobody will say anything or call her bad or disrespectful as it is supposed to be because she will not be the only one but everyone in the community will see you as 'half man.' So you have to accept that being a man means that life must be tough for you and you are to go out and work hard and bring money. You have to be strong, be able to go out and survive anything anywhere this is what makes others respect you and know that you are a real man. You see that is why you hear that many Senegalese people they die in the sea while trying to travel out of the country, because getting the papers are hard and also no money so they pay the money to the boat men and try to go there. Because want to be men.'
Birima[41]

It becomes obvious that in the Senegalese communities where these migrants come from, if a man does not attain the ideal stereotype gender role, his masculinity becomes subordinate. This kind of masculinity is viewed as 'inferior' to the hegemonic masculinity in terms of status and prestige (Demetriou, 2001:341). These men are subordinated in a variety of different ways including economic, cultural and religious prejudices. They are seen as failures and are often subject to ridicule and name-calling because they have not lived up to the ideal role that hegemonic masculinity puts forward. These men are subordinated not only by other men who have attained hegemonic masculinity but also by women and elderly people in the community. When the socio-economic context inhibits young men from establishing an independent livelihood, they are excluded from 'being men' that is characteristic of social adulthood. This concurs with Chant's (1992) argument that if a man due to certain circumstances is unable to meet this culturally prescribed role of 'breadwinner', that is, he does not travel and cannot provide for his family, he is likely to become particularly vulnerable to insecurity and marginalization. Vigh (2006b:37) describes this situation as 'a social moratorium on youth, a predicament of not being able to gain the status and responsibility of manhood'. He further adds that, it is a social position that people seek to escape as it is characterized by 'marginality, stagnation and a truncation of social being.'

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[41]Research Participant Number 17

These representations of what is considered to be a real man are generally an unattainable ideal to some of the Senegalese males. Most men find it hard to live up to this ideal because they do not have the necessary resources to enable them to travel and, therefore, they feel alienated since they cannot fully attain that identity in terms of hegemonic masculinity. When this happens, masculine gender-role stress occurs. Gender role-strain refers to the inconsistency between the real self and the gender role and this can be a result of either conforming to or rebelling against the traditional male role (Capraro, 2000). This strain occurs when men feel they cannot live up to the social and cultural group ideals of what is considered to be a 'real man'. Looking at the excerpt from Mbacke above and also from what most of the participants related, one finds that failure to achieve these standards of hegemonic masculinity creates the gender-role stress. The person either becomes hostile or violent towards others in the community or resolves to go against all odds and travel. This, therefore, explains why as Barbali (2009) argues, many Senegalese men risk their lives in the ocean in a bid to travel out of the country.

6.6 Male Perceptions of Female Migration

Owing to the fact that migration is seen as a rite of passage through which a man attains 'real manhood', migration has thus remained a male preserve in Senegal until recently where relatively fewer Senegalese women participate in worldwide migration. The Senegalese men in this study view female migration as going away from the norm or tradition. The interviews point to the fact that women, whether they really want to migrate or not, do not have the same autonomy as men to decide to migrate, especially given the stigma often attached to migrant women. Twenty out of the twenty-five Senegalese men who participated in this study were married but only one has 'braved all odds' and has brought his wife to Durban in 2012. The other 19 have their wives in their home country and occasionally visit them. To them migration is not a thing for women, but it is for the men. Most of the participants clearly affirmed their opposition to women's migration and which, therefore, partly accounts for women's invisibility as migrants. Concurring with the rest of the participants Mamegor[42] explained that:

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[42]Research Participant Number 16

'You don't find the Senegalese women here because women do not need to travel. They don't have to go looking for money, as a man I should be the one to go and look for the money not her. She has to take care of the kids. Ok if we all travel who will look after our family? also the women are weak, if they come here soon they will forget all the things that they were taught and they will start behaving like these women here who don't have any respect for a man and they just dress in any manner, what if you bring your wife here and she starts doing all these things, what will you do? I can never bring my wife or my sister here and I cannot allow them to come on their own either. No, they will stay at home, I will go to visit them often until I have made enough money then I will go back home finally'

This is indicative of the fact that female migration is non-normative behaviour and something which is not welcomed in this context. This explains why the Senegalese female migrants in the US described by Collier (2006) were stigmatised as wayward women despite the fact that some of the women looked up to them as role models and wished they could be like them. Since migration is a male preserve men leave their wives at home in Senegal and only come back regularly to their home town, once a year if possible, for several weeks or they build a luxurious family house to show their financial and social success. This way in which Senegalese men perceive migration is reinforced by the precepts of the Mouride brotherhood in which men and women's roles are precisely defined. These precepts stipulate that women are restricted to the domestic sphere and reproduction while the men are bread winners and should be able to support their families.

This male perception of female migration can be seen to transcend the gender role of provider and nurturer discourse. It could be related to the 'male crisis' discourse where the men feel that allowing women to migrate might lead to the collapse of conventional men and women's roles since women who have conventionally been seen as weaker will work and earn the money needed which can allow them to also fulfil the provider role. Furthermore, these women will also have taken the risk of migration and will also gain knowledge which was considered as solely the right of men and what makes them men. By so doing, they will not be able to dominate women again. This is problematic to the men and so refusing female migration is thus a way through which these men can maintain their privileged dominant position (Wetherell, 1996).

If they allow their wives to migrate it would imply that men have to forge a novel and more flexible self of the masculine self. Men have usually derived their identity by fulfilling the provider role. When women become providers as well, men lack alternative meaningful roles in the family to earn them the position of the 'head'. Many gender and identity scholars have called this lack of alternative roles a crisis in masculinity (see Coates, 2003; Connell, 2005; Cleaver, 2002; Frosh et al., 2002; Kermode and Keil, 2003; Reid and Walker, 2005 and Whitehead, 2001).The Senegalese men think that women migration might water-down their position in the family because they are uncertain of their position and identity if that were to happen. They believe that with female migration their masculinity is under threat. Thus they attempt to maintain it by arguing against women migration, attributing it to waywardness. When asked why he thinks that if a Senegalese woman migrates to south Africa she will change from the normative way she is expected to behave or dress while a male would not Mor responded that:

> *Women are weak and can be easily influenced. They will come here and do what these girls are doing soon you will even here them start talking about this fifty-fifty nonsense. But a Senegalese man knows what he wants and he cannot be influenced by anything.*

Even though this crisis of masculinity cannot fully explain why Senegalese men perceive female migration in this way, it is evident that men experience some level of uncertainty. The perceived loss of power that might result from women's migration to some extent explains why men perceive women migration in this manner.

6.7 Female perspective on women's non-migration and managing the absence

Senegalese female migration has been of interest to researchers who are attempting to understand the subject matter for which data is scant. This section teases out the complexity of Senegalese transnational migration looking at the female perspectives of female migration and women's invisibility in the Senegalese migration as well as the impact of male migration on the women left behind. The discussion presented in this section is drawn from a detailed examination of a

single female's (Ayesha)[43] perspective in an effort to get a comprehensive understanding of women's invisibility in the Senegalese migration process. Given the fact that most of the information already discussed came from a male perspective it was fundamental to get an understanding of how women perceive this phenomenon of migration. It is worth noting here that I do not claim to present a representative female perspective given that there was only one female participant in this study. Rather, I suggest that further research is needed if one is to get a holistic picture of this phenomenon.

In qualitative anthropological research, detailing the life of a single individual (life history) to understand that person's life within its social context has the potential of providing a perspective that is more holistic than what can be inferred when using other methodologies like observation (Roberts 2002). Many feminists and migration scholars have utilized this method to study the multiplicity of women's experiences and to project women's voices into areas where they have previously been ignored (Kothari and Hulme, 2004). Therefore, because the perspectives of women in Senegalese migration have been flouted due to their invisibility in the migration process, detailing Ayesha's experiences in this context is quite useful in understanding the masculinisation of migration in Senegal. This is so because life history interviews allow individuals to discuss not only themselves and their lives, but also the social, economic, and political spaces that individuals inhabit (Kothari and Hulme, 2004).

In Senegal, migration has remained a male preserve until recently where relatively few Senegalese women presently participate in worldwide migration though the number is currently growing (Ricio, 2002). This relative invisibility of the Senegalese women migrants has been attributed to the system of inequality where women customarily are economically reliant on the men (Sakho et al., 2011). Similar to the Senegalese men's responses, Ayesha related that Senegalese women are not allowed to migrate. She claims that most of the women want to travel out and do things for themselves but are scared to do so because of the problems as well as the stigma attached to it. When I asked her why there are no Senegalese women in Durban but for herself, she responded that:

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[43]Research Participant Number 8

oui, tu ne trouverais jamais les sénégalaises ici. Ce n'est pas parce que les femmes ne veulent pas imigrer ou voyager mais plutôt par ce que leurs maris ne les permetra pas. Aussi, quand une femme imigre les gens dans la communauté particulierement hommes et les vieulles femmes vieulles femmes, croira qu'elle n'est pas une bonne femme, la treate comme une moins seriuse, et parle de n' import quoi contre ca personalité. Mais les autres femmes voir en elle un modèle de rôle, comme tous mes amis, chercher pour moi, ils souhaitent qu'ils étaient dans ma place, mais ils ne peuvent pas parce que leurs maris ont refusé. Et c'est notre tradition, que nous ne pouvons pas désobéir à nos maris. Je remercie Dieu que mon mari est un homme libéral, donc il ne soucie pas de ce que pensent ou disent c'est pourquoi il m'a permis de venir. Quand il a dit a sa famille que je devais venir ici à se rejoindre à lui qu'ils ne souscrivaient pas, il y avait beaucoup de combats à ce sujet avec toute la famille et les amis, certains ont dit même que je lui avais donné une partie de l'amour. Malgré toutes ces choses il encore m'a permis de venir.

My translation:

Yes, you do not find the Senegalese women here. It is not because the women do not want to migrate but rather because their husbands will not let them. Also, if a woman travels out the people in the community especially men and elderly women, belief that she is not a good woman. They say all sorts of things against her. But the other women see her as a role model, like all my friends, look up to me, they wish they were in my shoes, but they cannot because their husbands have refused. And it is our tradition we cannot disobey our husbands. I thank God that my husband is a liberal man so he does not care about what people think or say that's why he allowed me to come. When he told his parents that I will come here to join him they did not agree, there was a lot of fighting about that, some people even said I had given him a love portion. Despite all those things he still allowed me to come.

The above excerpt points to the fact that women, whether they really want to migrate or not, do not have the same autonomy as men to decide to migrate, especially given the stigma often attached to migrant women. Both their husbands and their community members disapprove of female migration making it difficult for these women to migrate. The argument for these women's predicament is again anchored in tradition and religion. Like Ayesha said, it is their tradition and they have to adhere to it. This reveals that female non migration is a result of male control and dominance

Within the Senegalese discourses on subject positions migration is highly gendered and is principally pursued by men. Through Ayesha's accounts marriage appears to be the correlating activity for women. She noted that the reason for women's invisibility is 'tradition'. She claimed that as women they are taught that finding the right man to marry should be their primary concern because the men are expected to provide whatever they need. Marriage becomes a possible correlating strategy for women because in the same way migration is supposed to enable a man provide for himself and his family so too is marriage seen as what will enable a woman get whatever she needs. She, however, pointed out that this is gradually changing. Senegalese women do not necessarily like this gender position but are left with no choice. Ayesha reported that the majority of Senegalese women really wish to join their husbands but these men do not allow it.

According to Ayesha, within the Senegalese community, when a man migrates, living behind his wife, the woman is envied by people in the community because it is believed that having migrated means they will become rich and will be able to take care of their families, providing for their every need. Others see them as wives of heroes who have become free from all financial worries or at least are in a much better situation compared to the other women whose husbands have not migrated. However, she intimated that the reality of the situation for the women themselves contradicts this perception. This is so because; as she says 'vivre avec une belle-mère n'est pas facile' (living with a mother in law is not easy). She exemplifies the situation of the women in the following excerpt:

> *Il pas assez que vous manquez votre mari, ils vous donnent beaucoup de mal, parfois si votre mari n'envoie pas d'argent pour eux, alors ils agissent comme si c'est votre faute. Les épouses ont de sérieux problèmes parce que les gens pensent que vous avez tout. Et vous avez personne à se tourner vers lorsque vous avez des problèmes parce qu'ils disent que votre mari a migré et est un homme riche. Il suffit de trier vous-même les choses et mettre en place avec tous les problèmes. Les gens disent que votre mari envoie ceci et cela, envoie alors qu'en fait, il n'est pas le cas. Lorsque vous avez votre mari à vos côtés, de que vous pouvez toujours appuyer sur lui en cas besoin. Si votre mari est en retard envoi d'argent vous ne saurait demander quelqu'un d'autre pour vous aider. Et si vous vous présentez à quelqu'un d'autre*

personnes commérages à votre sujet. Les gens pensent que quand votre mari envoie de l'argent vous perdez. Généralement parce que vous résidez avec sa famille, sa mère décide comment l'argent de que votre mari envoie seront dépensés parce que c'est son fils, et si vous vous disputer avec elle, vous êtes considéré comme...

My translation:

It is not enough that you miss your husband, they give you a lot of trouble, sometimes if your husband does not send money home to them, then they act as if it is your fault. The wives have serious problems because people think you have everything. And you have no-one to turn to when you have problems because they say that your husband has migrated and is a rich man. You just have to sort things out yourself and put up with any problems. People say that your husband sends this and sends that, whereas in fact it's not the case. When you have your husband by your side you can always lean on him in case of need. If your husband is late sending money you can't ask anyone else to help you. And if you do turn towards someone else people gossip about you. People think that when your husband sends money you waste it. Usually because you reside with his family, his mother decides how the money your husband sends will be spent because it is her son and if you argue with her, you are regarded as a bad woman and people talk about you. She doesn't even want you to use the money for yourself she will say you are wasting her sons money. If you have a problem or quarrel with her, your husband will not support you. He always supports his mother. You just sit there and there's nothing you can do. Because you are his wife and you have to respect him....

From the description in the above excerpt, one finds that, the women often feel isolated when their husbands migrate yet they are not allowed to migrate with him. In the Senegalese context, the husband's absence does not lead to the reversal of roles by their wives taking over as heads of the family as other scholars have indicated is the case in other contexts (Fall, 2003). In this case, the mother and not the wife becomes the head of the household, emphasising the importance of the mother figure in Senegal (Barbali, 2009). The mother manages and controls the family budget and in cases where the mother is late the brother takes on this duty. This scenario leads to family feuds and tensions between the wives and their in laws. If a woman attempts to question this practice or express her frustrations, her action is often construed by

members of the community as an attempt to question the social norms an act which is seriously frowned at. This forces women to adopt an attitude of acceptance and in their conjugal lives. They structure their minds in ways that will enable them deal with the situation. So, even before getting married they have it in mind that their husbands will be visitors who will visit once in a while instead of living permanently with them.

According to Ayesha, most of these arguments and fights between a migrant's wife and her husband's family are not only related to money. She intimated that more often than not the man's family is suspicious that the wife might be tempted to commit adultery due to her husband's prolonged absence and as a result they tend to mount a kind of surveillance around her which usually ends in tensions. She says these strains and feuds often intensify in the case where the woman does not have a child for her husband as yet since getting a child or children helps to reinforce her position within her husband's family. This means that childbearing constitutes a fundamental marker of a woman's status as well as her femininity. The arguments in this section have, therefore, shown the entrenched gender inequality that is characteristic of the Senegalese society where women are expected to be obedient and submissive. Women's position is bound to the kitchen. Senegalese culture and tradition place them as subordinate to men and thus restricting their freedom to pursue their own personal aspirations and desires.

6.8 Interrogating Maleness Identity in a Migratory Context

Not much has been documented on how migrant men react to, negotiate with as well as counter the difficulties and challenges enforced and necessary changes that they are expected to encounter in the new cultures. However, scholarship on men as men in the migration process is burgeoning making this study a significant contribution. As has been discussed above, Senegalese migrant men who participated in this study did not come to Durban bereft of ideas and perceptions about their manhood. They carry along fixed ideas and well established beliefs about gender relations and their manliness. In South Africa, they encounter different sets of perceptions and practices about masculinity as well as gender relations. This implies that coming from a different cultural background where their cultural identities have already been formed and

their sense of manhood and gender identities fashioned in a particular way, the Senegalese migrant men in Durban are faced with having to reconstruct their masculine identities in this novel cultural context. It has been argued that the migration context presents migrant men with an opportunity to change their beliefs and perceptions about being a man and gender relations and it is often assumed that this is 'for the good of the migrants and for their betterment' (see Gutman, 2007; Hammer et al., 1997; Kufman et al., 2000; Morrel et al., 2002; Petersen, 2003 and Willis and Yeo, 2000). By reflecting on the narratives of the Senegalese migrant men in this study, I address the extent to which the migrants either unsuccessfully or successfully renegotiate their masculine identities and whether or not the perception of manliness and gender relations that they had prior to migration remain unchanged, changes or is strengthened in this section.

When people migrate they lose their social support systems and have to reassess their sense of self as well as renegotiate their identities. As they move from one gender regime to another, they are faced with complex realities. The home and host countries according to Remennick (1999) might differ significantly in the manner and extent to which they divide gender roles and the forms of patriarchy attached to this. Like all other migrants, the Senegalese migrants in Durban become incorporated into both the masculine and feminized sectors of the economy and, therefore, have to re-negotiate their position in the new gender regimes in the host country. The migrants are faced with the challenge of maintaining a hegemonic masculinity which accords them patriarchal privileges while at the same time immersing themselves in a new gender regime. It is held that as the lives of the migrants change, so do their perceptions and identities.

Morell (2001) argues that living in the migration context has the potential of impacting on the migrants' sense of self. It can either act to change or help reinforce the gender ideologies of migrants. Even though it has been argued that migration presents migrants with the prospect of changing their gender perceptions and challenging unequal gender relations, this situation is slightly different in the Senegalese context. This is so because the phenomenon of migration is seen, as has been discussed above, as a rite of passage that will enable Senegalese boys to become men. So, it is expected that living in the migration context will give these men the opportunity to attain and enjoy the privileges of unequal gender relations accorded to the masculine gender by patriarchal structures. In the South African context liberal feminism has

made a lot of inroads and the issue of gender equality is practiced living the migrants at a cross road in these two gender regimes. They have to struggle to meet the demands of 'stereotype gender roles' as well as fit in in this new context as they strive to understand what it means to be 'a man'. This is exemplified in the following excerpt from one of the participants:

> *In Senegal it is different, and here it is also different, we have to try to be like them, but we have our culture and also we are Muslims and be must do what we supposed to do, because if you do what we do in Senegal, people here will complain and they might even make trouble for you or take you to the police. So we just try to do what they do but if we go home we cannot behave like that, we behave like we normally do because we are Senegalese people and not south Africans, the Senegalese people they know how to treat the women nicely and take care of them and the women also respect the men but here is not like that people just do what they want to do.* **Mustafa**[44]

As illustrated in Mustafa's words in the above extract, the Senegalese migrant men straddle between the gender regimes of the host and host countries in an attempt to find a place of belonging. The situation depicted by Mustafa above is not unique to him as Gora[45] also noted that:

> *Here women are equal to men, fifty –fifty and the law supports the women, we when we come here we have to be careful the way we relate with women because here is not Senegal, they lady can just reported to the police that you assaulted her if you shout at her, but in Senegal my country my wife cannot do that, if she does something wrong and I will slap her, she will not go to the police but we don't do it because the Muslims respect their women, we don't maltreat them. So here if my girlfriend does not respect me, I will I can't do anything, the only thing I can do is end the relationship. So we are very careful here how we deal with women'*

In Senegal, there is a high level of inequality between men and women propagated by tradition and religion, chiefly Islam. Both Gora and Mustafa above mentioned culture and religion (them being Muslim) as determinants of how they relate with women. In this unequal system, the man is the head and is responsible for the economic wellbeing of the family while the woman is subjected to him. This is reinforced by the fact that the Wolof people follow a patrilocal form of post marital residence where the married couple lives with the husband's family. This system of

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[44]Research Participant Number 1
[45]Research Participant Number 19

patrilocality goes a long way in underpinning such inequalities and places women in a subordinate position. They are not ready to give up this privileged position in favor of the gender equality learned in the host community. This, however, seems paradoxical given that, these same men attribute migration as part of a triad including knowledge and adventure. This means that when they migrate they are expected 'as men' (since migration is essentially a male preserve) to gain knowledge about the rest of the world and consequently bring back such knowledge to their home community.

It is argued that even though many societies are deep-rooted in gender distinctions, principally of female subordination and male hegemony (patriarchy), both gender roles and identities usually undergo certain changes in the host community. For example, Glick-Schiller et al. (1999) argue that migrants renegotiate their gender identities based on the different gender regimes and contexts in both the sending and receiving countries. In this context, the Senegalese in this study attempt to forge, sustain and reinforce their gender identities through their actions. Every effort is made towards retaining their perspectives of gender from their home country. They hold onto the past and this explains why all but one of the twenty married men who constituted part of the participants for this study explained that they cannot allow female migration. Living in the host context has exposed them to other perspectives of gender but they are not willing to embrace it.

Instead of adapting and acculturating into the new gender perspective, these men utilise the migration context as a place to showcase their culture. This is seen in their entrepreneurial skills. All the Senegalese men who participated in this study are entrepreneurs. Engaging in small scale businesses in the migration context is expected to fetch them the money they require to take care of their families and as such they gain the 'power and position' they need. These men believe that the labour market is a space for men since women belong to the domestic sphere. They believe that it is in this sphere that they can act out their masculinities as well as showcase themselves and their culture to others. To this effect, all the Senegalese, migrants therefore, aspire to establish themselves as entrepreneurs in Durban as a means through which they can foster their masculinity. This is so because being able to compete and succeed with others in a line of business which is almost saturated requires a 'real man' who is strong, innovative and different from others. For the Senegalese migrants, setting up a business in the migration context

is paramount for the construction of their masculine identities. When I asked Birima[46] why he decided to establish himself as an entrepreneur by setting up a fashion and clothing store his response was that:

> *I had to because a man has to do what a man must do and that is to play his part by doing business and providing for the family. when he does this the result is that he gets respect from the family and the community but If a man does not play his part well as a man, he will be seen as a fool who is incompetent and people will not respect him. So that's why when I came here I start my business so that I can get enough money and do all the things I have to do. If I don't do business tell me how will I get the money here when there are no jobs? Except you want me to sell the drugs like the others do, which I can never do because it is bad.*

Engaging in entrepreneurial activities in the host context is seen as being very fundamental for the construction of masculinity for men from Senegal. This is so because setting up and managing a business in the host context implies that the migrant has the capacity to fulfil the ideals of responsible manhood in his family as well as the home community at large. Thus, being business owners and making enough profit is very essential as it constitutes a key element in their manhood. This contrasts sharply with what they expect of women since it is believed that women should sacrifice their own careers given that their responsibility is to cater for men's emotional and physical needs and their children as well as the household at large. These men believe that though owning and managing a business is not an easy task the more so in a migration context where their wives are not there to fulfil their own duties. Despite this challenge, the Senegalese migrants are very committed to protecting their manliness by providing for their families no matter what it takes. To them it is 'their lot' and they are, therefore, proud to do it and are not ready to relinquish it. If they are unable to establish this business, finding a different job might be very difficult especially given their skill levels which might in turn impact significantly on their sense of manhood. It is worth noting that it is not the business that they own that gives them the dignity they deserve 'as men' rather according to the migrants it is being able to embrace the challenges of life in a migration context for their families' sake and managing the business successfully that accords them the position they deserve and self-sacrifice for one's family is noble.

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[46]Research Participant Number 16

The philosophy of gender equality promulgated by the South African government and which is often talked about by everyone in South Africa leads the Senegalese migrant men in the study to believe that women in South Africa have power and are free to do whatever they want which is not the case in their home country Senegal. To them, South African women are 'more independent' and that this gender equality is to the detriment of the male gender. Codou[47] one of the participants related that:

> *The women here they are same as the men, they have rights and they are always talking about the rights. They do not respect the men too much like our women. Our women are good, they stay at home take care of the family and they respect you as the husband. They are not serious even in the relationships, they are always moving from one man to the other and they have many boyfriends at a time. because of this equality thing you find that most of the women are not married like our women and also the divorce rate is high, they marry and divorce and you find a woman as old as 45 – 50 still talking about a boyfriend and women are not like that they respect themselves and the men, they do not jump from one man to another and they stay with their husband, not divorcing them. I cannot think of marrying a South African lady. I have a girlfriend who is South African but I have my wife at home, I only keep the girlfriend because a man has needs……*

From the above excerpt, it is evident that these migrants enjoy unequal gender relations but feel threatened by gender equality advocated for in the migration context. It is believed that such equality in gender relations propagated in South Africa works to the detriment of men because to them such a system marginalises men. Even though these men are into relationships with South African women, it is held that these women are 'good for fun' but cannot be taken seriously as potential wives given that they believe in gender equality which to them undermines their masculinity as well as disempowers them from their patriarchal privileges.

Interestingly, when they are in a relationship with the South African women which they claim to be for fun, these men are able to allow gender equality since the South African women are more articulate about their rights. In such relationships they tend to renegotiate their relations of authority and are more accommodating. But when it comes to their relationship with their wives

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[47]Research Participant Number 2

and other Senegalese women they expect to be obeyed unquestionably. The Senegalese women are expected to adhere to their separate and distinctive functions for women in the gender division of labour whilst they do the same as men and they are not ready to accept or accommodate anything short of this or change this perception. Ironically, they are accommodating towards the South African women and this can only be explained by the fact that they do not have any other options since the system has been structured in that manner. In his explanation of this scenario Sayad[48] reported that:

> *If my wife is here, there is no way I would date a south African woman, because my wife would respect me and do whatever I say without arguing with me, but my girlfriend most times when I tell her things she argues or she does not agree, like one time I asked her to learn how to cook the Senegalese food so that she can always prepare it for me, she said she does not like it and she does not know how to make it, that anytime she wants to cook for me she will cook what she can if I don't want to eat it, then that's my business because she is my girlfriend not my cook or my maid. My wife or the Senegalese women will never talk to me like that if I want to eat anything it is her duty to prepare it for me. I was very angry and when she later asked me for money to pay her transport back to her house in Umlazi, I told her that 'I am her boyfriend not her bank'. Because if she cannot do what I want and play her role why should I do mind? She should not also expect me to do mind.*

In another scenario Malik[49] narrated that:

> *I have a girlfriend in South Africa, my wife is not here and I am a man you know what that means (laughs). She doesn't behave like the Senegalese women, but I don't blame her that is how South Africa is, that is why I cannot bring my wife here because she too might start behaving like that. They can do anything that a man also does, for example if I have two girlfriends she also has two boyfriends and sometimes even when I am faithful to her she still keeps other men. but there is nothing we can do this is their place (their country) if it were in Senegal I would not tolerate something like that but here you just have to do what everybody is doing. Those are some of the things that you get when you travel that's why women should not travel. But when I will go back home things will be different because I will not practice what I learnt here but I will do what we do there because it is good a man must know his place and a woman must know her place too.*

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[48]Research Participant Number 11
[49]Research Participant Number 3

As seen in the accounts of Malik above which tallies with the narratives of most of the participants in this study, the migrants are not in favour of the gender equality advocated for in South Africa because to them this only creates problems between men and women. They strongly believe that migration cannot change their stance on gender identity. Thus, even though changes in gender relations in the migration context can lead the men to alter their perceptions of gender roles given that the structures in the host context gives women the opportunity to challenge men's conception of themselves, such changes are temporary. One can say that migrating to South Africa exposes the Senegalese men to or gives them the opportunity to change their perceptions of masculinity and gender relations between men and women but these men chose to retain their sense of gender identity from the home country when they deal with Senegalese women and become more accommodating when dealing with South African women thus making gender identity and masculinity problematic, shifting and fluid. Despite having been exposed to empowering gender ideologies, these men were quite unwilling to let go their already internalised sense of self and identity to embrace the new offered by the host context.

These Senegalese migrants are able to keep the traditional patriarchal gender relations between men and women by remaining insular to the gender ideologies in the host context of Durban. Only one was able to go against the norm and bring his wife while the rest of the participants remained resolute against their spouses migrating and maintained their gender perspectives as well as identity as men. Even the few men, who claimed to understand the importance and necessity of gender equality, only did so with their South African partners and were ambivalent and had negative attitudes about extending it to their Senegalese women in their home context. These Senegalese men placed a lot of emphasis on gender identities and this South African concept of gender equality according to them was 'western' and should not be applied in the African context. It had little applicability for them especially regarding their identity as men and their masculinity. Instead, the sense of masculinity of these migrant males is reinforced through their brotherhood networks that underscore hard work and accumulation of wealth through entrepreneurial activities to cater for their families.

6.9 Conclusion

The discussions in this chapter have illustrated that migration in Senegal is a complex and multifaceted enterprise which has become an integral part of the people's cultural and social lives. This chapter has revealed that the 'Senegalese culture of migration' is one of the major determinants of international migration in Senegal and that the push-pull theory of migration does not sufficiently explain the phenomenon of migration in Senegal since from the discussions one can infer that migration in this context it is not solely for economic or political motives, but is deeply embedded in the cultural and the social. The chapter did not go without showing that Senegalese men's desire to migrate is linked to the different versions of manhood that they ascribe to. The gendered subject position of the woman as nurturer and the man as provider constitute an important facet of Senegalese identity construction and is a fundamental determinant of who migrates. The gender identity of both Senegalese men and women is rooted in the concept of 'tradition' which defines what a 'good woman' and a 'real man' is. Fixed in this cultural context, Senegalese men socially construct their masculinity and maleness reinforcing the importance of migration for men.The unequal ordering of society with a high level of specificity about the role of women and men constituted important proxies that were used to analyse the masculinisation of migration in Senegal. Travelling out is a means by which men reinforce a traditionally masculine identity or a means to affirm masculinity since it enables them to fulfill the provider role. The arguments depicted that it is by migrating and fulfilling this provider role that Senegalese boys become men and failing to do so through non- migration or immobility for example results in alienation, loss of respect and self-esteem which sometimes lead to masculine gender-role stress.

Owing to the fact that migration is seen as a rite of passage through which a man attains 'real manhood', migration has thus remained a male preserve in Senegal. Women do not have the same autonomy as men to decide to migrate especially given the stigma often attached to migrant women. The chapter showed that Senegalese men view female migration as going away from the norm or tradition and it is for this reason that they are opposed to it. However, the chapter argued that male perception of female migration can be seen to transcend the gender role of provider and nurturer discourses since it could be related to the 'male crisis' discourse where the men feel that

allowing women to migrate might lead to the collapse of conventional men and women's roles since women might work and earn the money they need. From a female perspective, Senegalese culture and tradition place women as subordinate to men and thus restrict their freedom to pursue their own personal aspirations and desires (migration) in which case they adopt an attitude of acceptance and patience since they cannot go against the norm.

The chapter then went further to show how having carried along such notions of identity, their maleness and gender relations, Senegalese migrant men react to, negotiate and counter the difficulties and challenges enforced and necessary changes that they are expected to encounter in the South African context which has different sets of perceptions and practices about masculinity as well as gender relations. The discussion revealed that the Senegalese men are not ready to give up this privileged position in favor of the gender equality learned in the host community which is paradoxical considering the fact that they attribute migration to (part of a triad which includes) gaining knowledge about the world. This means that when they migrate they are expected 'as men' to gain knowledge about the rest of the world and consequently bring back such knowledge to their home community. They attempt to forge multi-stranded relationships where they are constantly negotiating their identities. This is seen from the fact that they are more accommodating when relating with local South African women and can allow gender equality but when relating with their fellow Senegalese women they expect them to adhere to their separate and distinctive functions in the traditional gender division of labour and to be obeyed unquestionably. Instead of adapting and acculturating into the new gender perspective, these men utilise the migration context as a place to showcase their culture as manifested in their entrepreneurial skills. Engaging in entrepreneurial activities in the host context is seen as being very fundamental for the construction of masculinity for men from Senegal. This is so because setting up and managing a business in the host context implies that the migrant has the capacity to fulfil the ideals of responsible manhood in his family as well as the home community at large. Thus, being business owners and making enough profit are very essential as these constitute key elements in their manhood.

CHAPTER SEVEN
THE ROLE OF FOOD IN SENEGALESE IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the role that food plays in the construction of identity among the Senegalese migrants in Durban. It analyses the social and cultural meanings of food and food habits in the process of identity construction. This chapter also emphasizes how the Senegalese in Durban transcend ethnic and religious differences by using the consumption of home food as a common ground for a broader Senegalese identity where all internal differences are muzzled. It also probes into food as a significant identity marker to the Senegalese in terms of eating rituals as an essential difference between the Senegalese and the South African culture. The chapter also delineates how the Senegalese' construction of identity is tied to the notion that Senegal is their motherland and, therefore, just as a mother feeds, nurtures and sustains all her children irrespective of their sex, age, colour, size or ideas and beliefs. So, in the same vein, food from their motherland is expected to nourish all the Senegalese migrants, be they Mourides or Tijanis thus leading to the formation of a wider Senegalese identity.

7.2 Food and Cultural Identity

As humans we need food in order to survive. However, food is not just good in terms of the energy and nourishment that it provides to the human body for its wellbeing. Notably, it transcends this since it is reflective of the complexity of different cultures. While food is fundamental for its nutritional value to the human body, it also has a socio-cultural dimension through which individuals choose what they eat based on religion, social, historical, economic, environmental as well as cultural factors (Sutton-Brady et al., 2010). This view echoes Foster and Anderson's (1978) earlier argument that food is both a symbol and a substance of social life as much as it is a means through which people are able to communicate with others thus making

it an embodiment of communication. Food is perceived as one of the principal means through which a people are able to acknowledge their origin as well as an embodiment of cultural identity (Counihan and Van Esterik, 1997).

From looking at what people eat and how they eat it, one can understand how such people are socialized and how they develop a sense of self and personality. Thus, food offers a significant window through which the concept of identity can be interrogated. Levi-Strauss (1997) asserts that food is 'good to think with'while Gibson (2007) adds that food is good to objectively think mobilities with. Like every cultural practice food habits are learned. These culinary habits are absorbed from childhood such that people grow up having developed specific food ways which usually have lifelong impact on their food choices and preferences. Lupton (1996) posits that once food ways have been acquired and established in the early stages of human life through learning and socialization, they become lasting and are resistant to change. This somewhat explains why for migrants, it becomes an uphill task for them to adjust and adapt their eating habits to that of the host society.

Food and eating habits are very essential in every culture. Food plays a very vital role in the production and reproduction of identity and social ties. This important role of food has been of interest to many scholars who have written extensively on food as a means through which difference can be communicated and where groups as well as individual similarities can be understood and expressed (Levi- Strauss, 1997). Many scholars interested in food and food ways have written enormously on how food choices are fashioned by different cultural, social, economic, historical and individual influences and the impact of food taboos as well as the identification of otherness through food (for exmaple Avakian, 1997; Bell and Valentine, 1997; Bordo, 1993; Fieldhouse, 1995; Gabaccia, 1998; Warde, 1997).

Eating is not only a biological action and food is not only good for the nutritional component it provides to the human body but it is also a very important constituent of human social existence imbued with meaning other than nutrition which is usually understood in several ways. Both the preparation of the food, whether simple or elaborate, and the eating process have symbolic meanings.Barthes (1997) reveals that both ingredients and methods of preparation become part

of a system of differences in signification. People can communicate by way of food. They learn their cultures, values, norms and 'who they are' as they learn what to eat, how to eat and when to eat. Jean-Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, a popular French Lawyer and politician in his famous book 'The Physiology of Taste' wrote "Tell me what you eat, and I will tell you who you are".

Cornbleth and Doldby (2001) point out that identity is usually shaped as a result of interaction with significant others as well as the environment. Identity is socially constructed and comprises of a set of beliefs, norms and values that form a person's sense of self. Social identities are often constructed, adapted and reconstructed relative to the identities of other social groups (Cornbleth, 2001). Some theorists of Social identity posit that meanings associated with interactions are connected to the construction of self and group identity. Moeran (2003: 27) for example, states that "beliefs and meanings held by an individual in turn shape the nature of the interactions between the person and others." Food and food ways are some of the elements that people use in constructing their sense of self. When people migrate they struggle to find a place of emotional and physical belonging thus making their identities complex, multiple and fluid. For Senegalese migrants in Durban, eating home food becomes the means of maintaining their identity. Also, through the different food they consume they are able to develop a new sense of self and identity that reflect on themselves and thus become at ease with their host environment. This explains Tajfel's (1987) argument that migrant identities are multiple. Food is thus a cultural product that plays an essential role in defining who we are. It can be utilized to create borders between 'us and them' or as a useful instrument blurring such boundaries and bringing people of different backgrounds together.

Cook and Crang (1996) show that food has most often been universally utilized as a means through which forms of inclusion and exclusion as well as different social relations between people can be expressed. Despite the fact that the significance of food has been broadly conceded among anthropologist, it seems to have been for the most part underplayed in the field of migration and transnational studies (Caplan, 1997; Fieldhouse, 1995; Goody, 1982; Lupton, 1996). This, therefore, makes a study of the role that food plays in the construction of Senegalese identity in Durban very useful as it adds to the body of knowledge on food and migrant identities.

Food in the Senegalese culture is perceived as an element of pride and identification. The manner in which food is prepared and consumed is very fundamental in regulating social relations in Senegal. According to Fischler (1988) the manner in which a people eat helps emphasize its oneness and otherness or its diversity, hierarchy and organization. Food is a signifier of belonging or difference and the way any given human group eats, helps assert its diversity. The manner in which food is prepared, served and consumed varies from one culture to another and greatly influences both social and familial relationships. Also, the communal sharing of food is an important social act and recognition of fellowship. It is usually accompanied by specific rituals in any given group. When people eat different types of foods or similar food in different manners, they are believed to be different.

I began noticing the significance of food for the Senegalese migrants during the fieldwork when I first attended the celebration of Eid-al-fitr marking the end of the Ramadan for the Muslims in 2011. This was, however, not the first time the Senegalese migrants were talking of food and trying to compare what they eat to what other people eat and indicating how different and unique they were in their food ways. This can be exemplified by the case of Adul,[50] one of the participants who one day during the course of the field work as we chatted, indicated that he was so hungry and needed to go to his house to eat. When I asked him what he was going to eat he said 'tie bou jenn' which isa traditional Senegalese dish made of rice and fish. I then asked him why he could not buy rice from any restaurant around the area where his shop was located and eat and his response was that he would never do that as he does not want to eat 'nonsense' food but would rather go to his house and prepare 'tie bou jenn' and eat because it is the best. In another instance, Kane[51] related to me that:

> *Mafel and tie bou jenn are the best because it is what we eat, enjoy it, my mother use to tell my brothers that if we do not eat these food we would not be energetic and enterprising. Because the secret ingredients that she puts in it is meant for that purpose. Even though we did not believe that if we ate it would be energetic, we however ate it all the time as long as she prepared it because it is who we are*

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[50]Research Participant Number 22
[51]Research Participant Number 7

Mentioning that eating home food such as tie bou yapp, tie bou jenn, mafel or drinking bissap is 'who we are' was a recurrent theme among the participants in this study when we talked about food. This is indicative of the fact that food is a very vital identity marker and is utilized to indicate 'who they are' and by extension 'who they are not'. By so doing they mark a clear distinction between 'them' and 'others', given the fact that the 'others' do not eat tie bou jenn or mafel. Their sense of identity here is thus defined in terms of collective or group as opposed to individual identity. This explains why some social identity theorists do not consider individual identity but rather talk of group identity because to them it provides the basis for shared social action. In this case, this social action is food. Food preferences become an identity marker that distinguishes the Senegalese migrants from their host nationals as well as other migrant communities in Durban.

Warde (1997) shows that patterns of change and resistance in food choices provide valuable insights into the migrant's propensity to acculturate, integrate, adapt and assume social distancing. Food, as an important element of culture, is very pivotal in the construction of identity (Fischler, 1988).The cultural implications of food on identity are manifold. All groups describe themselves and denigrate others by stressing the supremacy of their food and culinary habits. Whatever they eat is defined as good while what the 'other' eats is bad. Food signifies social and moral values and the ways of preparing, serving and eating reveal a lot about the personality or identity of the people.

Food can be used as a medium through which people unite themselves and solidify group membership as much as it can be used to separate them. Food ways are different in different societies and different societies utilize their culinary habits to attain social cohesion. In the same time these ways act as their boundaries to keep others away. Thus, Sutton-Brady et al. (2010) argue that identity includes and excludes and that it is anchored on moral propositions that help regulate behaviours and values. This, by extension, implies that a people's identity is guided by certain values and these values need to be upheld at every given time. These values thus become very vital for social cohesion within a group since it constitutes an important yard stick through which they are categorized by others. This highlights why scholars like Mintz and Du Bois (2002) contend that food helps solidify group membership and also sets groups apart

7.3 Migrant Identity and Food in a Transnational Context

As has been discussed earlier, identity is not a fixed concept. Instead, it is a social construct which is continually constructed and reconstructed within certain social formations which reflect both imagined and existing structural constraints and lived experiences of the people concerned. The fluidity of identity can be observable in the relationship between migrant behaviours and food. Through migrant food choices and preferences one can get a glimpse into the complexity of identity construction particularly as it relates to the retention and incorporation in terms of enculturation. According to Bouchet, (1995) and Cook and Crang (1996) the food ways and eating habits of migrants need to be contextualized within an international or transnational framework where food choices are not limited to the cultural and social contexts of the home and host countries. Hall and du Gay (1996) argue that the mixture of the food ways of the migrant's country of origin and that of the host country has often resulted in creolized or hybridized identities which usually contain a bit of the host and home identities.

Food and travelling often go together. Usually one of the reasons for migration has been explained in relation to the search for food or a better life which will enable migrants to provide food for themselves and their families. Food can be utilized as a conceptual valuable for explaining different phenomena. Food is fundamental to the articulation of migrant identity and it invokes both inclusion and difference (Fischler, 1988 and Sydner and Fjellstrom, 2005). Food is sometimes an indicator of hospitality and acceptance while at other times it could be a marker of distinct difference. Human identity is often fashioned by the place where people are socialized and groomed. Migrant identities are thus circumscribed to the geographies of the home and host spaces. Migrants reinvent in their memory their home country while turning to their host community for many things thus redefining their identities.

Food becomes a metaphor of the self, a cultural feature and a non-verbal form of communication through which migrants construct the space in which they find themselves. This space is characterised by two kinds of identity, one which is that of the host community where the migrants are and the other a remembered or imagined identity which is that of the country of origin. This, by implication, means that migrants need to cultivate new ways of eating to allow

them to adjust and adapt properly in the host countries. Such novel food ways are hybridized because they combine aspects of the sending and receiving cultures. Food, therefore, plays a very important role in the construction of Senegalese identity in Durban. The process of identity construction for these migrants has different dynamics.

7.3.1 Food as a marker of identity

The consumption of food has both social and cultural meanings for the Senegalese Mouride migrants in Durban. Cuisine and culinary ways are essential forms of expression and vital outlets through which Senegalese migrants assert, sustain and reconfigure their identities in Durban. For Anthropologists studying consumption and economic relations, food has been documented as being very essential in highlighting the production and reproduction of key social categories such as social and economic status (see Appadurai, 1988; Bourdieu, 1984; Cheung, 2005 and Douglas, 1997). Among the Senegalese Mouride migrants in Durban two categories of food came out quite clearly as being frequently consumed by these migrants. The first category was referred to as traditional food. To these migrants this traditional food consisted of Senegalese home food (food that the migrants would usually consume in their country of origin) such as tie bou jenn and tie bou yapp. The second category of food that these migrants consume is referred to as South African food such as spaghetti, pap and braai, Nandos, and KFC. This so called 'south African food' differs significantly from their traditional food in the perspective of these migrants. Usufa,[52] one of the participants explained:

> *Our food is more healthy and traditional, this food here; the South African one is nonsense junk, but we do not have a choice but to eat it. I am sure if we keep eating all this junk we will soon be made of junk or become junk ourselves. Laughing*

Although the categorization of tie bou jenn and tie bou yapp as traditional can be contested, the utilization of these two categories of food is widely accepted by all of the participants such that these food categories have been so much blended into their daily lives and thus constitute important facets of it. From the interviews, it is quite evident that most of the migrants prefer home or traditional food over 'South African food'. This preference was clearly articulated by all

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[52]Research Participant Number 24

of them. When they are able to decide what to eat, they all go for home food – tie bou jenn or tie bou yapp which is a choice they cannot make always. The nature of their job gives them limited time to be at home and to prepare this much desired meal and the absence of their women (wives and mothers) go a long way to exacerbate the matter.

However, most of the migrants have South African girlfriends who usually prepare meals for them. Most of these Mouride men tend to eat this 'south African food' prepared by their girlfriends only because, as they put it, 'they do not have a choice'. Given that these girls are not Senegalese, they do not know how to prepare the tie bou jenn or tie bou yapp thus leaving the migrants with no choice but to eat whatever they prepare. Thus, although all these men expressed dislike for South African food, they eat it regularly. They explained their preference in terms of their taste, what is best for them and who they are, because it is what they grew up eating. It is thus obvious that food plays a fundamental role in the construction of the self. The representation of their food preferences as stemming from 'their own taste' and 'who they are' reinforces an understanding of the role that food plays in the formation of identity.

As it clearly emerged from both the interviews and the casual discussions with these migrants during participant observation, their preference of traditional home food over South African food, because the former tastes better than the latter, stresses the symbolic value of traditional food among the Senegalese. They have limited access to this home food for which they long because they are not in Senegal but in a migration context and also because some of them articulated that they do not know how to cook or to prepare these meals. Mbacke[53] reported that

> *When I was at home I never cook, when I was not married my mother usually cooks for us and my sisters would sometimes help her out. When I got married my wife cook for me, I have never learnt how to cook that food, because it is the duty of the woman and not that of the man to cook. so when I came here it was very difficult for me, because I had to be buying south African food every day to eat, but sometimes when my friends prepared our food they will call me to come to their place in the evening when I close from the shop so I can eat. My girlfriend can only prepare South African food she can't cook our home food and I don't blame her, she is not from my place.*

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[53]Research Participant Number 5

In the case of Mbacke above, it is apparent that traditional Senegalese food is a means to remember and to define home. It is mostly the ingredients used in cooking these meals and the method of preparation that are closely linked to home. It is discernible that his is a 'remembered identity' which only exists (in this instance) where his current self and his past collide. He is only able to construct his current sense of self based on events in his past such as his mother, sister or his wife cooking for him that helped him form his sense of self. These events are touchstones which have inevitably left a great impact in his life. With his robust sense of self-worth, he tends to mind his past for the good food that was prepared for him. He allows these episodes to define his identity. But this remembered identity does not match up with his current identity or who he is today as he is in a different context and these women are not there to fulfill this role. There is seemingly a remembered identity severed from the home country while there is a different identity embraced though not willfully in the host country.

Food preferences thus play a great role in the construction of identity and self. In this regard, the preference of traditional home food is, therefore, a powerful tool that the migrants utilize to assert their resistance of the host identity or acculturation and assimilation to a remembered identity. Through the food that their South African girlfriends prepare for them, they are able to switch from traditional food towards South African food. This is reflective of the fact that although this is against their desire, these migrants gradually construct a new knowledge of themselves and who they are. Eating South African food induces changes in their behaviour and identity, thus explaining why Usufa above noted that 'I am sure if we keep eating all this junk we will soon be made of junk or become junk ourselves'. Their construction of what is good for the body and what is healthy stem from their construction of who they are. Thus, even though they accommodate South African food and food ways, they still yearn for traditional Senegalese home food. This shows that identity construction often relies on the dialectical connection between "us" and "them", in relation to the negotiations of meaning between migrants and host natives. The Senegalese migrants in Durban reinvent their identity in relation to how they view the South African culture and identity. It is thus the representations created with the South African context that determines the migrant's identity.

Most Senegalese migrants in Durban insist on proving their identity as Senegalese which assists in understanding how representations of the "self" and of "others" are built among the migrants. Asserting their belonging to their home country Senegal, and even reassuring themselves of the fact that they will always be Senegalese, they strive to achieve this through respecting their culinary practices. The migrants believe that by eating home food or Senegalese food they are being 'real Senegalese'. At the same time refusing South African food is a sign of belonging to the Senegalese community since this 'bold gesture' is a means of asserting devotion to the home identity.

When one person is going home, these migrants usually request that they bring food items for them from home. Sayad related that in February 2011 when he was going home 'every one said bring me bissap'. Food items are the most important things that migrants often request from their home countries despite the fact that there is plenty of food in the host country. The fact that they ask for food is not because they are particularly hungry. The quest for this food goes beyond a simple nostalgia for home to how they construct, assert and reaffirm their identity. When they drink Bissap, for example, they feel they are Senegalese once again. Thus, drinking Bissap and eating other Senegalese home food help the Senegalese migrants assert their identities and their sense of belonging.

Another means through which the Senegalese migrants manifest their bond to their home country through food is the critical point they adopt concerning the food quality in Durban. South African food is referred to as 'junk', 'unhealthy' and 'unnatural' and as such is not good for consumption by the migrants. Even when they consume it they argue that "we do not have a choice". Because South African food is categorized in this way allows them to celebrate and yearn for their home food which is 'natural quality' and is 'healthy'. Such a critical stance on the part of the migrants concerning their own way of cooking and eating enables them to reassert their sense of belonging while eating South African food on the other hand might alter 'them'.

It is important to note that just as food is an important marker of cultural identity for the Senegalese, it is also a fundamental part of their religious observance and spiritual ritual and as such their food choices are informed by their religion. According to Sayeed (2010) central to the

Muslim way of life is to be moderate in all things including eating and dietary habits. Daily acts like eating are considered a form of worship and should be done according to the way of Allah. Islam provides specific regulations about what followers can and cannot eat. The stipulations, derived from the Quran as well as the Hadiths, the Prophet Muhammad's sayings, specifically prohibit some foods and drinks, while encouraging practitioners to follow a healthful way of living (Syeed and Ritchie, 2006). From fasting to feasting, and accepted to prohibited foods, it is these religious doctrines that inform Senegalese Muslims eating habits. This has been exemplified earlier in this section by the case of Adul[54] who would rather go hungry and wait till evening when he gets to his house to eat instead of buying food from any restaurant around even though he could afford it. This was not only because of his belief that Senegalese home food is healthy and tastier compared to the food in South Africa which he called 'nonsense food' but his preference as I later found out was largely informed by the fear that most of the food sold around there might not be Halal (lawful or permitted) for Muslims.

In Islam, the concept of Halal is applied to all areas of a person's life and includes regulations surrounding food. Muslims are allowed to eat what is 'good' (Qur'an 2:168) - that is, what is pure, clean, wholesome, nourishing, and pleasing to the taste. In general, everything is allowed (halal) except what has been specifically forbidden (Haram) because it is considered harmful. In the Qur'an (2:173, 5:3, 5:90-91, 6:145, 16:115) such haram includes: pork, any food or drink with alcohol in it, meat that is not slaughtered in the prescribed Islamic way or meat coming from a lawful animal which died before being slaughtered, blood (direct or indirect), any human substance or part, all carnivorous animals and birds of prey, meat of an animal that has been sacrificed to idols or that died from strangulation or blunt force. Muslims are equally enjoined to slaughter their livestock by slitting the animal's throat in a swift and merciful manner, reciting God's name with the words, "In the name of God, God is Most Great" (Qur'an 6:118-121). This is in acknowledgement that life is sacred and that one must kill only with God's permission to meet one's lawful need for food. The animal is then bled completely before consumption. Meat that is not prepared in this manner is haram. Many Senegalese Mourides just like Adul abstain from eating food that is not prepared by Muslims or meat if they are uncertain of how it was slaughtered. Thus, Abdul's refusal to buy food from the restaurant was not solely cultural but

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[54]Research Participant Number 22

also had a religious undertone because Muslims are discouraged from eating in a restaurant which serves forbidden food and alcohol or to buy anything from it. Eating becomes a matter of faith for the Senegalese Mourides as they explained that they must obey God in everything even in their dietary habits. Sedar,[55] for example, noted that:

> *We Senegalese don't eat everything we see, we only eat halal food and we stay away from or avoid haram food. We only eat small quantity because God doesn't want a person to eat too much. If you do that it is a sin. Because also you see, when we eat we must remember the poor people who don't have food and if possible we must share our food with them. We must also pray and thank God for the food.*

This excerpt reveals the complex meaning and role of food in the religious beliefs of the Senegalese migrants in this study. God's commandments relating to food are very crucial and as such inform their food choices and eating rituals which are an integral part of who they are and how their identity is constructed. They are enjoined to recite the name of God (Allah) before eating and thank God after finishing, to think and contemplate about every item of food they eat by remembering God as the 'creator, designer, Organizer and provider' (Tapper and Tapper, 1987: 76). They further add that it is equally important to eat only when one is hungry, not to eat in excess and to remember the hungry when eating (because in so doing they could avoid going to hell) just as it is related in Sedar's narrative. Renard (1996) points out that they are advised by the Prophet, to divide their 'stomach into 3 parts - a third each for food, fluid, and respiration.

The findings of this study also revealed that for the Senegalese migrants, fasting from food is considered an opportunity to earn the approval of Allah, to wipe out previous sins, and to understand the suffering of the poor. Malik[56] intimated that fasting for them is an enabling means to control their appetite and to avoid food addiction which in his opinion leads to obesity and overweight. He explained this in the following words:

> *The Senegalese we don't eat too much, we fast that's why you see we are not fat with big tummies like other people from other*

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[55]Research Participant Number 25
[56]Research Participant Number 3

countries and here in South Africa. The people they eat too much, too much meat and junk and the unhealthy food and so they get fat. But for us we only eat what is right, because God doesn't like people who eat too much.

One of the ritual observances in the Five Pillars of Islam is Fasting which includes abstention from all food and drink from dawn to sunset (Bowen, 1993). Among the Senegalese migrants in this study fasting is not only done during the prescribed times such as during Ramadan[57] but also voluntary fasting is often done on Mondays and Thursdays (it is undesirable to fast on certain days of the months and on Fridays).

7.3.2 The Mystery of Mum's 'Tie Bou Jenn': Emotions and Memories

Every day food experiences evoke the memories on which identities are formed for Senegalese migrants. Such memories allow them to connect to past events in their lives, recall the habits and skills they learned as well as shape who they are. They carry along specific feelings and memories which to a certain extent is conditioned by emotional discourses and practices learned in their home country. Holtzman (2006) asserts that through memories migrants re-experience their past events. These memories intensify migrants' longing for home and constitute one of the major reasons for maintaining a strong link or connection with their country of origin. The following photos are examples of Senegalesehome food (tie bou jenn and Mafel) that the talibes share at the dahira apartments in the evenings:

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[57]The ninth month of the Muslim calendar is a mandatory fasting period that commemorates the period when the Qur'an was first revealed to Prophet Muhammad. During Ramadan, Muslims abstain from food and drink (and sex) from before the break of dawn until sunset.

Figure Nine: Photo of Tie bou jenn and Mafel

Both the smell and the taste of the homeland often accompany migrants through food. Wade one of the participants in this study noted that 'When you are cooking, Mafel it smells like Senegal'. This Mafel inspired memory was not restricted to Wade's experience but was commonly talked about by most of the participants in this study. Through the smell of Mafel as well as other Senegalese home food these migrants are transported back to their country of origin with fond memories. They remember different people like the family and friends and different occasions in their past where they ate that specific food whether individually or collectively.

Food just like other things expresses emotions. This was depicted in the narratives of the Senegalese migrants in this study through their emotional behaviour. They did not say that food evokes emotions but the way in which they recounted their stories about food highlighted the relationship between food, memories and emotion. Food triggers emotions in people. Eating Tie bou Jenn away from home in Durban prepared by a fellow migrant because he does not know how to prepare it caused Mbacke to remember his mother and sisters who usually prepared it for him. This triggered emotional responses to the memory and this was seen from the fact that the memory of his mother and sisters made Mbacke both happy and sad at the same time. He was happy he has them and he knows they love him and sad because they are not here with him and he has not seen them for the past four years because he does not have the necessary papers to permit him to go to Senegal and visit them. This is in line with Lupton's (1996) assertion that the thought of certain foods or its taste and smell if associated to joyful or idealized memories of the past can stimulate nostalgia.

This scenario was not limited to the case of Mbacke, as most of the migrants reported that the mere sight of certain home foods in particular elicits emotional responses to the memory. However, such emotions are not directed at the food but at the mother and sisters like in the case of Mbacke. The food in itself is just tasty tie bou jenn with no emotional tinges. This concurs with Gibson' (2007) argument that the unique smell, taste and texture of food induces memories of eating food itself as well as setting place and people. Thus food initiates the memory which initiates emotions. It is argued that food is a very good means through which memories of feelings and emotions are reconnected (see Fieldhouse, 1995; Holtzman, 2006 and Lupton, 1996).

Food experiences shape memories and emotional responses to memories. Mbacke's memory of his mother's and Sisters' Tie bou jenn is influenced by the tie bou jenn in front of him prepared by his friends. The impact of the particular flavors like the tie bou jenn at home prepared by either his mother or sisters elicit emotions which is a response to an 'imagined' form of his mother's or sister's tie bou jenn that relies on present experience. Therefore, the emotion can be about the food as much as it is about his mother and sister. There is a connection between people's memories and the emotions as well as social feature of food (Warde, 1997).

Lupton (1996) shows that love and maternal love in particular is one of the major emotions that is always related to food. As mothers feed and nurture their children to grow, they tend to get used to the taste of her cooking which becomes the best. Warde (1997) reveals that this is often the reason why people express strong preferences for their own mothers cooking. The narratives from the participants in this study reflected this preference exemplified in the excerpts below from two of the participants:

> *When I eat this food here I am not happy. I miss my mother's food. She cooks very well no one can beat her. Sometimes when I am hungry I just feel like I should pack my things and go back to Senegal because there I will never be hungry, my mother will prepare good food for me. Gora[58]*

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[58]Research Participant Number 19

Usually when I close from here (referring to his clothing shop which is his work place) I go to my flat where I stay with my brothers, we all eat together the three of us because that's how we were trained at home. My mother use to say we must eat together. Even though the food that we eat here is not good because we prepare it ourselves, not like the one that my mother would prepare for us in Senegal. We still eat together because that's what our mother would want. When we eat like that sometimes we remember her and other people at home and we talk about them while we eat. **Mor[59]**

Motherly love is frequently linked with the comforting feeling of home. Hence, Senegalese migrants tend to desire their mothers' food over any other cooking. They feel that their mothers are the people who cook the best meals. The food in front of them evokes a sensory memory and a burning desire for the mother's food. Holtzman (2006) argues that despite the fact that there are obvious links to memory; food has not been directly employed to understand memory processes. This explains why scholars like Douglas (1997), Narayan (1995), Seremetakis (1994) and Sutton (2001) have revealed that cultural memory precisely relating to food remembrances has not received ample theoretical attention in Anthropology, food and memory studies. In his study of Kalymnian culinary habits, Sutton points out the significance of food sensory memory in the construction of identity and places where people find themselves. For migrants, food evokes memories of home, family community and cultural definitions.

Through the combination of the senses and emotional elicitation a symbolic transfer takes place, where embodied food memories prompt past experiences of home and of past self. Thus, food narratives become critical elements in the reconstruction of self and identity. Both individual and collective identity intersects since through food these two become deeply entangled. Culinary ways become affectively invested in the basic aspects of everyday life and in memories of the past. Spitzer (1999) argues that for migrants the distance from home is minimized by narrative memories of the home land through food. This distance is problematized for memory investments in food practices given that the physical food is present (they are still able to eat tie bou jenn, tie bou yapp and mafel), even though they are a proxy and migrants do not derive the same kind of satisfaction from eating the same foods. These Senegalese Migrants are always

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[59]Research Participant Number 21

complaining about the food they eat. For example, to them, the 'south African food' is not healthy. Also, the Senegalese traditional food which they eat in this migratory context does not taste exactly as it would at 'home'. This is due to a myriad of reasons which range from the fact that the seasonings are not always available to the fact that being'men'they are unable to cook well as it is the duty of women to cook. Finally, they also believe that the home food prepared in this context does not taste the same because it does not have their mother's 'special touch'. Food is very significant for nourishment and as a memory site and index of migrant home.

7.3.3 Food as a Trigger to a Homogenize Senegalese Identity

Bourdieu (1984) posits that food is commonly employed as a tool for underlining the differences between groups, cultures and the social strata. While Gibson (2007) shows that identity is often constructed in relation to otherness. Migrants are characterised by multiple differences such as race, area of origin, religion, language and caste. The Senegalese people belong to different ethnic groups, speak different languages and religions. Even though a large majority of them are Muslims, they belong to different brotherhoods. However, despite these marked differences migrants from a particular country of origin are generally construed by host nationals as a homogenous group of people with no differences. For example, African migrants in South Africa are commonly referred to in terms of their national identity such as Zimbabweans, Nigerians, Congolese, Cameroonians, Kenyans and Senegalese. The internal differences that characterize these migrants such as linguistic, ethnic, cultural, religious and social differences are often muffled or become invisible in the eyes of the local South Africans.

The migrants themselves often overcome these ethnic, cultural, religious and social differences in favor of a wider national identity. They tend to feel united by the migration experience and as such identify with each other regardless of their differences. This feeling of unity promulgated by the migration experience has been held to be one of the bases on which migrants form fictive kin networks (Ojong and Fomunyam, 2011). For the Senegalese migrants in Durban this broader and collective kind of identity which they tend to construct is connected to Senegalese food. Through the consumption of home food Senegalese migrants are able to overcome ethnic and religious differences. Home food offers them common ground for a broader Senegalese identity

where all internal differences are muzzled. For example, when it comes to Senegalese home food, the Mourides no longer see themselves as tied or obligated only to other fellow Senegalese Mouride migrants but rather to all Senegalese migrants whether they are Mouride or not.

Such construction of identity is tied to the notion that Senegal is their motherland. Therefore, just as a mother feeds, nurtures and sustains all her children regardless of their sex, age, colour, size or ideas and beliefs, so too is food from the home which is their motherland expected to nourish all the Senegalese migrants, be they Mourides or Tijanis. This leads to the formation of a wider Senegalese identity and Senegalese migrants belonging to a bigger Senegalese community as expatiated in the words of Kane[60]:

> *We all eat our traditional food, I mean all the Senegalese not only the Mourides because it is what we grew up eating and it is what makes us Senegalese. In Senegal we have different dishes that the different people eat. What I mean is that the Soninke people have their own food, Layene people also have theirs and we the Wolof people also have our food. But here we do not look at all of that. I do not only eat my ethnic food, so far as it is Senegalese food I eat it because it is from my country and it is good food that tastes nice. Even my mother also sometimes prepared the food that is not considered out ethnic food and we eat it because it is Senegalese food.*

In Senegal mothers and women generally are expected to prepare good food for their men and children so as to nourish their bodies. Fall (2007) reveals that preparing tasty food such as tie bou jenn and mafe is a culinary art which is inculcated into Senegalese women from childhood. Just like in every other culture, their role as mothers to nourish children is shaped by the society. The mother figure becomes a very important character in this context because when these migrants eat Senegalese traditional food from their home country or 'their motherland' whether together or as individuals, they feel nourished in the same way they were nourished by their mothers when they were growing up. Thus, eating Senegalese food in the host space of Durban enables these men to feel a strong sense of connection to their motherland Senegal. The nation Senegal becomes the mother that nourishes them in this space. Through food from the motherland they

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[60] Research Participant Number 7

are then able to overcome all the internal differences and to reconstruct and reassert their sense of identity which in this case is a wider Senegalese identity.

It is incumbent on all Senegalese migrants to eat and receive nourishment from their 'mother' through the food that she supplies as this will constantly connect them to her. Consuming tie bou yapp, tie bou jenn and mafe, for example, helps these migrants to stay attached to the motherland. The type of food consumed plays a major role in the construction of identity. This derives from the fact that as a motherland, Senegal becomes a common platform in the construction of a Senegalese collective identity in Durban. Home food offers Senegalese migrants a good avenue or a space for memories where migrants reminisce 'who they are'. As Filippa (2004) contends, food becomes an important identity marker which when eaten reinforces cohesion within a group.

According to Filippa (2004) the evocative power of food enables migrants to feel at home in a foreign environment just from the sight of home food or from its flavor. Habitual eating of tie bou jenn by the Senegalese migrants is a significant ritual which reinforces and forges their identity. The liaison between food and mother is highly essential for the Senegalese people. Just by smelling the simple flavour of the delicious tie bou jenn, the migrants are able to recall how their mothers usually prepared food for their families and how they would gather round a shared meal. Such memories induce motherly love which the migrants nurture into their love for their motherland. The construction of Senegalese migrant identity in Durban is thus a complex process embedded in a sense of attachment to a distant place, the motherland whose culinary ways is associated with feeling of fondness.

7.4 Engendering Senegalese Food Culture in the Migration Site

Human identity is usually fashioned by the space in which people live. Migration juxtaposes two worlds and cultures and such juxtaposition produces complexity and ambiguity given that migrant identity becomes bounded by the geographies of these two juxtaposing cultures. Migrants reinvent in their memories their country of origin and turn to it while trying to

understand their new environment and at the same time redefining their identities given that they have been removed from a different gender regime in their home country and place in another in the host society. Their culture and sense of self and identity are influenced by the tension between the gender perceptions from their home country and that of the host society where invariably liberal feminism has made a lot of inroads.

In Senegal, as elsewhere, food is very important and encompasses all facets of their life. This important position that food occupies is not only because it is a means of sustenance but also because it is a vehicle through which culture and tradition are projected through the different rituals, norms and etiquette around food. They define their relationship with themselves as well as others, their environment and their perception of their roles within their community through food. Gender plays an important role in Senegalese food culture. Cooking is a preserve for women. A woman's gender identity is tied to her role as a nurturer for her family. Bop (2005) in his writings about the role of women within the Sufi brotherhoods in Senegal argues that these religious brotherhoods and the Muridiyya in particular shape the identity construction of both men and women and the ideal woman is the one who is a mother that nurtures.

But among the Senegalese migrants in Durban, the reversal of role is inevitable because the women are invisible in the migration process. The absence of the women means that they have to do the cooking which comprises their traditional identity as men. These Mouride men, therefore, eat South African food partly because their women who traditionally carry out the duty of preparing food are absent in the migration site and also because some of them had not taken out time back at home to learn the art of cooking. Moreover, it is also because they do not have sufficient time to prepare the food. After the day's work from their shops they come back home exhausted and as a result they cannot cook the food that they desire to eat. Thus they have to make do with whatever is available.

In order not to compromise their identity as men, they adopt a forced integration through the South African food way. They have to eat the South African food prepared by their girlfriends who are South Africans. This means that for the most part it is still the women who have to do the cooking, although this time it is not the Senegalese women but the South African women. In

Senegal, once the women have finished cooking, the food is served to the men first. The men shared their meal separately from the women. Women and men cannot share from the same plate. Cooking and eating reinforces gender divisions. However, whilst in the migration context, these men are faced with a different scenario. Despite the fact that women still cook for them, they sometimes have to share the meal with the women or eat from the same plate with their girlfriends which is something they would not do back at home in Senegal.

The eating practices in Senegal are radically different from the ones in South Africa. Senegalese food habits are regulated by both their culture and Islam. Food is usually consumed in a ritualistic context and women eat separately from men. Through the preparation and consumption of food Senegalese are able to define and assert their gender identities. However, eating among the Senegalese migrants in Durban, therefore, lacks that very specific ritual significance and its importance for gender identity that it has in Senegal.

7.5 Terenga: Hospitality in Senegalese Food Culture

Terenga is a word in Wolof (one of Senegal's ethnic languages) which means hospitality and solidarity. Such hospitality for the Senegalese is not just a culture or an art but it has become a way of life which mirrors the spirit of tolerance and acceptance of everybody. This culture of Terenga is specifically extended to guests and people from other countries and all Senegalese people believe in it. Terenga is deeply engrained in the culture of the Senegalese people and this, to a large extent, explains why I was able to easily establish a very good and friendly rapport with the participants. Mapate[61], one of the participants, introduced me to his circle of friends and they all treated me like a sister because of their Terenga culture. When Senegal is advertised to tourists as a nation, the slogan "Senegal – The Land of Terenga" is utilized. This subject of Terenga was proudly spoken about by all the participants as a cultural trope in Senegal. The connection between food and Terenga in Senegal is material, symbolic and gendered.

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[61] Research Participant Number 10

Terenga exist in the food way of the Senegalese people reflected in the manner in which food is eaten. A distinctive Senegalese style of serving food is the use of a big dish or plate which is usually placed on the ground. Everyone partaking in the meal gathers together and sits around the plate and each one of them has their own little corner in the plate from which they must eat. Vegetables, fish or meat are often placed in the middle of the dish in varying quantities depending on the number of people sharing the meal and affordability. The ritual attached to this eating pattern is that a person is not expected to stretch their hand across the plate but they must eat from the portion of the plate which is in front of them. They do not use any cutleries to eat but their hands. This is exemplified in the following excerpt from one of the participants:

> *In Senegal we eat together and we stay together. If you go to Senegal you can never go hungry, the people will give you food. we do not use the spoon or the fork, or the knife we just use our hands and we eat from the same plate, when they finish cooking the food, they can put them in three plates for everybody, the men will have one plate and the women one and then the children. Then we all sit around the plate and eat together. It is our culture, that's how we eat.* **Diop**[62]

Through this communal sharing of the meal, the Senegalese people are able to reproduce their cultural identity. The manner of food consumption symbolizes how Senegalese people help someone in need mirrored in such words and phrases from the participants as 'we eat together and stay together' and 'in Senegal you will never go hungry' which did not just come from Diop above but also from most of the participants. The ritual around food and eating also makes food important. The participants highlighted that this culinary habit is one of the major things that differentiates or makes their culture different from the South African culture as well as other cultures because to them, strangers are welcomed into their homes and they provide them with food, shelter and any other assistance they may require which is within their rich to provide. This contradiction between these cultures from the perspective of the participants is due to the Senegalese Terenga culture.

Since cooking in the Senegalese context is a female preserve, after having prepared the food the women have to ensure that they distribute pieces of the meat, fish or vegies throughout the plate

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[62]Research Participant Number 4

so that each person partaking in the meal gets a share from their little corner in the plate without having to stretch their hand across to another person's corner (Perry, 1997). The woman makes sure that nobody goes hungry and that everybody gets their share. The woman is thus the nurturer of both her household and the guest. While the man has to provide the food, the woman safeguards the Terenga culture. Through this sense of solidarity new social relationships are established while those already in existence are maintained. A family's status is showcased when it manages to extend Terenga towards many people because this signifies economic stability, abundance and goodness. While the woman is the one who materializes the idea of Terenga through her caring sharing and nurturing the family, the man is the indirect cause of her ability to do so through his hard work and ability to provide. Therefore, a man who has enough income to care for many is a good man while the woman who is able to convert his money or financial care into nurture is also a good woman. The food consumption practices in Senegal, therefore, establish not only a meaningful symbolic space but also reflect the gender identities and relationships. The gendered division of labour associated with food is typically associated to masculine or feminine characteristics.

However, in the migration context this Terenga culture is somewhat different given that the migrants reported that they would not just receive anyone into their houses or homes. They stated that they can share food or assist someone in need if they can. But they can only accept other Senegalese migrants who do not have shelter to their houses and not anyone else for fear of the unknown. Also, most of the participants were men who have left their wives in Senegal. Thus, in this context, there are no Senegalese women to do the cooking which is usually 'their duty'. Moreover, communal sharing of a meal is not practiced in everyday life as most participants even though they live together with other Senegalese migrants in a shared space are not usually at home at the same time to share in the meal. Thus, each person eats individually though it is a common meal that is prepared for all by one of them. They only get the opportunity to eat in the same plate during celebrations or after prayer meetings at the Dahira. This means that this culture of hospitality and solidarity is limited in this sphere. Despite such limitations, Terenga helps the Senegalese migrants to detach themselves from individualism and egotistical actions thus upholding solidarity and hospitality which are inherent in the gender identity of Senegalese men. The migrants have to adjust their food ways just as they have to with other aspects of their lives

while in South Africa. They have to maintain certain aspects and modify some such as recipes, methods of preparation and eating and the use of ingredients to make up for the inadequacies in the host community. These migrants are able to remain connected with their home country Senegal through the food prepared.

7.6 The Grand Magal: Dinning Etiquette and Identity

The grand Magal is a very important annual festival for the Mourides which usually consist of a two day pilgrimage to the Holy city of Touba, Senegal's Mecca (Coulon, 1999). Magal is a word in the Wolof ethnic language which means anniversary or celebrations. This religious event is the annual commemoration of the beginning of Amadou Bamba's departure to exile in Gabon. All Senegalese Mouride talibes make the trip to Touba at this time of the year to receive blessings that will be very beneficial to them, as Coulon (1999) puts it, not only in their lives on earth but also in the next life. In the Sufi Islam tradition, when one goes into exile, one faces several trials and challenges which is very beneficial to them in that it helps bring them closer to God. Though a spiritual event, the grand Magal festival is accompanied by celebrations where people socialise and enjoy themselves. Such celebrations are accompanied by communal food sharing.

7.6.1 The Grand Magal in a Migration context

During the grand Magal many Senegalese Mouride talibes travel to Senegal to celebrate and to receive their blessings from the marabout. However, because of financial constraints as most of the participants noted, some of them are usually unable to embark on this pilgrimage. When this happens, the talibes try to recreate the city of Touba in their host community. Thus, in the Dahira that has been created by these migrants in Durban as discussed in chapter four, the migrants organise a parallel grand Magal which gives them a very important opportunity to express their feelings of belonging. According to Gasparetti and Hannaford (2008) such parallel Magal enable the Senegalese Mouride migrants to display their unconscious feelings of belonging which they

experience in their everyday life as individuals and also collectively both as Mourides and as Senegalese.

I participated in one of such events during the fieldwork. The talibes placed a photograph of the Serin in a table at a very conspicuous centre of the room where everyone gets in and can see it. They began with a series of religious rituals after which they shared tea from the same cup. Everyone drank that cup and turned it three times before handing it to the next person. All of the talibes were particularly keen at this moment because they believe that it is at this moment that they receive their blessings from the marabout. When I asked Niang[63] one of the participants why they had to drink from the same cup, he explained that:

> *It is very important, that's why we are here, and we have to do it.*
> *That's how we do it in Senegal, to show that we belong to this*
> *brotherhood and that we care for one another. It is when we do*
> *this that we receive Baraka from the marabout*

This is reflective of the Senegalese values of solidarity and also represents the links that this creates between the talibes, Touba and their Marabout. It gives these Mouride disciples the opportunity to uphold and reinforce their ties with the Marabout. This transnational parallel Magal also helps to underpin a sense of collective belonging and internal cohesion (Coulon, 1999). Again Villalon (1995) asserts that the celebration of the Magal for the Senegalese migrants directs their inward gaze into the world of Islam. Being together in this celebration and drinking tea from the same cup implies that neither distance nor the distance between the home and host communities or their lack of finance to make the pilgrimage to Touba can constitute a hindrance for the Mouride talibes to receive their blessings from the holy city of Touba. They are able to renew a 'unitary, cross-national and religious identity' (Werbner, 2003: 5). This transnational Magal for them becomes a spiritual point of reference.

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[63] Research Participant Number 6

7.6.2 Collective Identity and Food Sharing

The celebration of the Magal in the migration context is also accompanied by gaiety. The Mouride followers share Senegalese food and people eat in a typical Senegalese style. During the Magal celebration that I attended, Gora[64] explained to me that:

> *You will have to eat from the same plate with us. We also eat with*
> *our hands, no spoons, because in Senegal we eat the African way,*
> *not like the white people*

Eating together is one of the significant activities during the Magal festival. This food ritual serves to enable the talibes to celebrate and reinforce Senegalese identity and the Terenga values. The meal was comprised of tie bou jenn and tie bou yapp. To the talibes this traditional Senegalese meal represented their tie to their motherland, where if not because of the financial reasons that they experience, they would have loved to be at this time. Thus, they could not serve any other meal but a Senegalese traditional dish. This home food to them as Lupton (1996) argues is very essential because it represents the link with the motherland.

Everyone had to eat from the same pan which was a big plate. There were a number of such big plates filled with tie bou jenn and tie bou yapp respectively. And up to six men had to share from the same plate. There were four women present at the occasion including myself, Fatima, and two other South African ladies. We (as women) had to share from the same plate because women do not eat in the same plate as men. A washing bowl was passed around for everyone to wash their hands before the meal was served. Food mats were placed on the floor where the food was served. Men sat crossed-legged round the different plates in a manner that their feet did not touch the food mat while the women did the same. Everyone ate from the section of the plate in front of them using their right hand. They all left a little bit of the food on the plate from which they were eating and when I asked Ayesha[65]why they all did this, she explained that:

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[64] Research Participant Number 19

[65] Research Participant Number 8

C'est juste une manière pour eux de montrer qu'ils ont été bien traités par celui qui a préparé le repas. Voilà comment nous avons été formés lorsque nous avons grandi.

Translation

It is just a way for them to show that they have been well looked after by whoever prepared the meal. That is how we were trained when we were growing up

This ritualistic method of food consumption in this process is very fundamental. Secondulfo (2004) contends that for the Senegalese, eating from the same bowl or dish is a very symbolic practice because it makes these migrants feel at home as though they were in Touba. The grand Magal is thus a forum for the talibes to express their piety and Senegalese popular culture. Also, through the different rituals which shape the festival, one is able to understand the manner in which the Senegalese are able to overcome any differences and are able to promote and maintain cohesion within the group. They do this in a bid to put the sheik Amadou Bamba's teaching into practice.

The tea that the siren drinks and passes on to the next so that everyone drinks from the same cup is a very pivotal element in the celebration of the grand Magal in a transnational migration context. This is so because this tea serves as the holy water that was blessed by the marabout. This blessing is very central in the Mouride brotherhood because it represents the power of God which was given to Amadou Bamba and which has also been transmitted to his family. Bava and Gueye (2001) point out that this holy water is a 'vehicle of Mouridism' and everyone must drink it so as to receive blessings from the marabout whose role is to transfer these blessings to the water. It is the blessings by the marabout through this water that connects the Mourides followers the world over and helps underpin their sense of belonging and identity. Riccio (2001a) argues that Senegalese men are able to feel at home when they are abroad because of this holy water while Ebin (1996) adds that by drinking this holy water, their identification and bond with Amdou Bamba and Touba the holy city grows:

Figure Ten: Photograph of Mourides Sharing Food at the Grand Magal Celebrations

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter has revealed that food has many cultural implications on identity and is the principal means through which Senegalese migrants are able to acknowledge their origin as well as an embodiment of their cultural identity since it plays a very vital role in the production and reproduction of identity and social ties. The chapter argued that for the Senegalese migrants in Durban eating home food is a way of developing a new sense of self and identity that are a reflection of themselves and at ease with their host environment. Through the consumption of Senegalese traditional food the migrants express forms of inclusion and exclusion as well as different social relations between them and others. This is suggestive of the fact that food is a vital identity marker and is utilized to indicate 'who they are' and 'who they are not'. Cuisine and culinary ways are an essential form of expression and important outlets through which Senegalese migrants assert, sustain and reconfigure their identities in Durban. The chapter argued that the everyday food experiences of the migrants evoke memories on which their identities are formed and that such memories allow them to connect to past events in their lives, recall the habits and skills they learned as well as shape who they are. The chapter has also depicted that Food is sometimes an indicator of hospitality and acceptance while at other times it

could be the marker of distinct difference. It also showed that the many differences that often characterise migrants such as race, area of origin, religion, language and caste are overcome in favor of a broader kind of identity through the consumption of home food which offers them common ground for a wider Senegalese identity where all internal differences are muzzled.

Also, through the preparation and consumption of home food the Senegalese migrants are able to define and assert their gender identities. The chapter further argued that deeply engrained in the culture of Senegalese migrants is the spirit of Terenga solidarity through which new social relationships are established while those already in existence are maintained. Through the parallel Magal, Senegalese Mouride migrants display their unconscious feelings of belonging which they experience in their everyday life and also on a collective level both as Mourides and as Senegalese. The chapter finally showed that identity is an important aspect of people's lives which is why Senegalese migrants prefer to maintain their home identities because it is 'who they are'. Eating Senegalese food is a means by which they maintain their identities. Food is thus a metaphor of the self, a cultural feature and a non-verbal form of communication through which migrants construct the space in which they find themselves.

CHAPTER EIGHT

MIGRANT ENTREPRENEURIAL NITCHES AND LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

8.1 Introduction

This chapter interrogates the livelihood patterns of Senegalese migrants in Durban focusing specifically on their entrepreneurial activities, the driving forces behind their choice of this livelihood pattern and the strategy behind their success. Anchored on the mixed embeddedness approach (which emphasizes the interplay between the resources available to the migrants entrepreneurs on the one hand, and the business opportunities in the host country on the other hand,) and cultural endowment theory, the chapter opines that Senegalese migrants choose entrepreneurship as well as succeed in it because of a deeply engrained culture of entrepreneurship that they were predisposed to in their country of origin. The chapter further discusses the significance of Senegalese migrant entrepreneurship arguing that besides opening up avenues for migrants to attain upward socio-economic mobility, entrepreneurship also offers migrants a good opportunity to better integrate themselves into the host community and produces benefits for South Africa through the creation of employment for others and passing on of entrepreneurial know-how. The chapter equally illuminates how Senegalese migrants construe their involvement in entrepreneurial activities as fulfilling their religious destinies. Through this religious lens the chapter shows how these migrants conceive of their business activities as Allah's plan and purpose for their lives that was transmitted to them through the example of their prophet.

8.2 Entrepreneurship Defined

Entrepreneurship is a concept that is at times difficult to define and has been a subject of debate among scholars as well as policy makers for a long period of time. Antoncic and Hirsch (2003)

state that, many scholars of entrepreneurship have viewed the concept in a myriad of ways. For example, it has been perceived to mean risk taking, innovation, market stabilizing force and starting up, managing and owning a business venture. The concept denotes the act of business creation and ownership. This, therefore, means that entrepreneurs are individuals who construct novel combinations of the factors of production like new products, innovative methods of construction. They also find fresh organizational forms and sources of supply and are eager to take risk, operate a business, reduce the imbalances between aggregate demand and aggregate supply, as well as explore new market prospects. Etymologically, the term derives from a German word ''unternehmen' and the French verb 'entreprendre'. Both terms mean "to undertake". Anderson (2002) defines entrepreneurship as "the pursuit of discontinuous opportunity involving the creation of an organization (or sub organisation) with the exception of value creation to the participants".

Moreland (2006: 5) posits that 'entrepreneur' as a term was utilized for the first time in 1734 by Cantillon to designate an individual who bears the risk of loss or profit in a business venture. He further argues that entrepreneurs come from all kinds of backgrounds and from all walks of life. Entrepreneurship has essentially been perceived as 'property or quality of the firm itself' (Krackhardt, 1995:53). What is implied by this school is that entrepreneurial businesses are assumed to be typically small, organic, network based and grow fast (Aldrich and Auten,1986; Birley, 1986 and Drucker, 1985). According to Backman (19983) such entrepreneurial businesses are said to have an edge over other forms of organizations due to their distinctive characteristic feature of being flexible, innovative and adaptable. It is, however, noteworthy that owing to its distinctive characteristic already mentioned the business if bound to succeed and to grow, and when this happens, it loses this distinctive character. While Hirsch and Peters, 1998:9) define entrepreneurship as the process of generating a new valuable venture, bearing the psychic, social and financial risks, putting in the necessary effort and time required and consequently getting the resulting benefits, Friedrich and Visser (2005:113) refer to entrepreneurs as individuals who 'undertake, pursue opportunities and fulfill needs and wants through innovation' by starting up a business.

A person identified with one characteristic does not qualify as an entrepreneur since entrepreneurial philosophy combines several features such as risk taking, honesty, disciple, persuasiveness, vision, adaptability, competitiveness, perseverance, understanding, discipline and confidence (Moreland, 2006:6). Bates, et al. (2005) add to this list by stipulating that entrepreneurs need to be creative, determined, motivated and committed to excel, innovative, opportunity oriented, have the ability to handle uncertainty and to see the big picture (conceptual ability). Entrepreneurs are people with confidence and foresight to function in circumstances when rewards are certain even though cost is known (Bridge et al., 1998). More generally then the term is utilized to denote any individual who possesses the ability to identify opportunities, muster resources, takes advantage of the opportunity and successfully implement it.

It is argued that all around the world entrepreneurship substantially contributes to economic and social development (Massey, 1998). Cronje (1996) reason that entrepreneurs contribute to economic development in that they create employment for others. Besides job creation entrepreneurs equally provide services through the new products or novel combination of products that they offer. Botha, et al. (2006) equally highlight that entrepreneurial activities are quite significant because they bring about development, economic growth, political stability, social wellbeing and job creation. Certain entrepreneurs are more successful than others and this can be explained by a myriad of factors relating to individuals' attitude and behaviour. As Gibb (1995) delineates, entrepreneurial behaviour is embedded in specific basic spurs which naturally lie within a particular culture where people are socialized.

8.3 Migrant Entrepreneurship in South Africa

Migrants have been involved in entrepreneurial activities, setting up self –owned business in their host countries throughout history. Particular groups of diasporic migrant populations such as Armenian, Jews, Lebanese, Greek, Italian and Chinese are well known for their entrepreneurial abilities. These entrepreneurial activities have been very instrumental in the facilitation of adjustment and integration into the host community. During the last decades of the 20th century, opportunities for informal sector small business for migrants increased with the

increasing importance placed on migrant entrepreneurship by migrants. However, increasing migrants with higher educational backgrounds are equally becoming entrepreneurs leading to a shift in migrant entrepreneurial activities from informal sector to more highly skilled segments since these migrants are now starting up and managing business in extremely skilled sectors like business consultancy and software services. Nevertheless, the conventional migrant entrepreneur managing a 'mom-and-pop' store is clearly still in existence.

In this day and age, a diverse form of migrant entrepreneurship has become part and parcel of the economic landscape in various host economies. This new wave of migrant entrepreneurs are not unavoidably narrowed to the informal sectors of the markets in the host community due to the lack of employment and the need to earn a living as suggested by scholars who see migrant entrepreneurship as principally necessity based but rather choose entrepreneurship or self-employment because it has become an attractive option. This implies that they are pulled to entrepreneurship and not pushed to it as push/pull theorists would argue. This is due to the possibility that entrepreneurial activities would enable the migrants to attain an upward economic and social mobility. This shift in the importance placed on migrant entrepreneurship is also due to its relevance not just to the migrants themselves but also to the economies of the host countries. Rath (2007) exemplifies the significance of migrant entrepreneurship by highlighting how Chinese and Indians migrant entrepreneurs in Silicon Valley have been boosting the competitive strengths in the economies of advanced nations by establishing global commodity chains in software products. Brandello (2008) has equally shown that migrants' entrepreneurial activities are very significant because they bring in new ideas, contacts, practices, products and markets.

Migrating to South Africa and establishing oneself and finding a new source of livelihood can be a very daunting experience for African migrants. The host context of South Africa is usually not what the migrants had hoped for as the challenges of adjusting to this new space and finding employment sets in let alone the loneliness and alienation often experienced (Fomunyam, 2011). As a result, some migrants then turn to informal sector self-employment as an important earning option through which they can make a living. This type of entrepreneurship where migrants start up their own businesses due to the urgent need to subsist, has been described as necessity-based

entrepreneurship. Ojong (2007) argues that in the past African migration to South Africa was characterized by a myriad of factors and was primarily labour-oriented. For example, migrants mainly came from the SADC region, and were mainly unskilled migrants who worked in the mining industries. On the contrary, post-apartheid South Africa has witnessed a new wave of immigrants with a different character. There has been a shift from labour migration to commercial migration where migrants are increasingly opting for self-employment and entrepreneurship. According to Adepoju (2004) these migrant entrepreneurs are typically vendors and traders making an effort to capitalize on South Africa's relative affluent market.

These informal segment migrant entrepreneurs commonly import various kinds of goods and services ranging from handicrafts to traditional African clothing. They employ and train locals as well as other migrants and usually revitalize the formal sector. Senegalese migrants as a social category have generally been perceived in terms of their entrepreneurial skills and acumen (Coulon, 1999; Fall, 2007; Riccio, 2001a, 2001b and Salzbrunn, 2004). Zinn (2005) argues that the involvement of Senegalese in business activities abroad is not a novel phenomenon but has for many years occurred in other African countries, Asia, Europe and North America. However, it has been shown that in the past Senegalese traders either made repeated trips abroad to purchase items which they in turn sold in their home country or they were engaged in street vending in the main cities of the host countries (Ojong and Fomunyam, 2011). Today, this form of Senegalese entrepreneurship is gradually changing as Senegalese migrants are increasingly establishing formal self-owned businesses abroad in countries like Italy, USA, Ivory Coast and South Africa (Fall 2003). This increasing commercialization of Senegalese migration cannot be explained by a singular factor. Social and economic malaise in Senegal and the lack of proper well-paying employment opportunities in South Africa due to the migrant's lack of skills undoubtedly is a driving factor but does not fully explain this phenomenon. Notably, to be able to own and run a successful business in a foreign land, migrants need to possess certain skills, resources as well as certain characteristics in their nature.

While Serrie (1998) stipulates that necessity-based entrepreneurship is a solid tool for unskilled migrants without education to attain economic advancement and also for their socioeconomic integration into the host country, Peberdy and Rogerson (2002) contend that they probably have

some previous experience of entrepreneurship in their countries of origin. Rogerson (1997 and 1999) points out that in South Africa, for example, foreign African migrants are creating small businesses in Johannesburg and these foreign-owned SMMEs have become very crucial in changing both the landscape and economy of the city. Regarding migrant entrepreneurial activities in South Africa's SMMEs Rogerson (1997) concludes that migrant entrepreneurs are noticeable in a thin band of SMMEs activities, typically in services or retail business ventures involving food restaurants, curios, hairdressing salons, music shops, motor-car panel beating/repairs, cyber cafes, nightclubs, retailing ethnic cloths, foods and numerous import-export businesses. He further points out that several migrant entrepreneurs are clustered in the clothing sector (facilitated by networks) and are involved in a myriad of activities such as general tailoring as well as making wedding and traditional African clothing. Taking this argument further, Rogerson (1999) and Peberdy and Rogerson (2002) contend that migrant entrepreneurs from different countries usually have distinct clusters of the type of businesses that they engage in:

> *Migrants from West and Central Africa often sell sculpture and artworks [antiques – or simulated antiques] and leather goods from their home countries. West and Central Africans also sell commercially made bags (particularly Senegalese and Malians], watches [Congolese and Senegalese], shoes, and fruits [Ghanaians]. Refugees from Somalia and Ethiopia also sell shoes, bags, and watches. Handicrafts, curios, and artwork are also sold by Southern and East African entrepreneurs – particularly Zimbabwe, Malawi, and Kenya. Zimbabwean male traders make and sell wire goods while female Zimbabweans make and sell traditional dresses and crochet work. Southern Africans particularly those from Zimbabwe and Mozambique, also sell fruits and vegetables from South Africa, and female Mozambican cross-border traders may bring specific Mozambican vegetables and nuts, as well as Mozambican cloth called capulanas to sell on South Africa's streets.*

While Ojong (2007) agrees with this argument that because of the important role that networks play, migrant entrepreneurs form distinct clusters of entrepreneurial activities, she, however, points out that Ghanaian entrepreneurs (especially females) are clustered around hair-dressing entrepreneurial activities as they own and run hair-dressing salons in Durban. This is different

from the Ghanaians referred to by Peberdy and Rogerson (2002) who sell shoes and fruits in the inner city of Johannesburg. This leaves much to be desired about migrant entrepreneurial niches in specific lines of businesses. For the Senegalese migrant entrepreneurs who participated in this study, in line with the arguments by Peberdy and Rogerson (2002) above, they have carved a distinct cluster for themselves in the fashion sector selling clothes, bags, shoes and watches. Migrant owned businesses have generally become a distinctive feature of South Africa's SMME and informal sector economy over the past five years.

8.4. The Development of Senegalese Entrepreneurship in Durban

According to the narratives of the Senegalese migrants who participated in this study among the first Senegalese to establish themselves as business men in Durban were four Mouride talibes namely Birima, Hamidou, Mapate and Abdulaye[66]. Birima and Hamidou both migrated to South Africa in 1996 (February and July respectively). Birima entered the country clandestinely and went to Johannesburg. He lived in Johannesburg for one week and due to the police constantly stopping people and asking for their permits he decided to move to Durban. Then, according to him, there were not many migrants from West Africa in South Africa and particularly in Durban. It was difficult to find a job without the correct documentation. After four months of being jobless and trying to understand the environment he decided to begin a small business with the little money that was left from what he had travelled with. He bought shoes and was going about hawking them. One day as he was going around the Durban CBD hawking shoes, he met two Senegalese, Abdulaye (Mouride) and Khadim (Tijanis)[67]. Birima expressed how happy he was when he saw them at the corner of Cathedral Road and Victoria Street selling bags. They told him they did not know that there was another Senegalese in Durban except for the two of them. The three migrants became so close and looked out for each other, helping themselves in their businesses.

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[66] Research participants number 17, 9 and 10.
[67] Both Abdulaye and Khadim who would have been very instrumental in this study did not participate because unfortunately Abdulaye had since returned to Senegal and because Khadim was not a Mouride I struggled to no avail to trace him.

A month later (July 1996), Hamidou also migrated to Durban from Senegal. He came straight to Durban because he had been in contact with Abdulaye. So, as a result of his connection with Abdulaye it was easier for him to join the network of the previous three migrants. He assisted Abdulaye in his bag business from then on till December when he started his own small business of selling bags as well. While Hamidou, Khadim and Abdulaye were involved in hawking bags, Birima continued hawking shoes. As time went by, other Senegalese were also moving to Durban. Going to a place without one's family, friends or wider social network, the new comers usually made all efforts to find their fellow Senegalese migrants. These new comers learnt from those who had come before them and as a result this entrepreneurial niche gradually emerged.

Birima and Hamidou intimated that they chose to become business men (hawkers) because there were no job opportunities available for them at the time. Their choice of what to sell was propelled by the opportunity structures that they saw in Durban as well as their religion as will be discussed later on in the chapter. Mapate joined them in this line of business in 1998 when he came to South Africa. Birima, Hamidou, Mapate and Abdulaye then decided to establish a dahira in Durban which helped to strengthen the ties of solidarity with one another that already existed among them. The establishment of the Dahira played a very vital role in the spread of this trade network as all the Mourides who migrated to Durban found a home in the dahira and from there they were advised and given tips on what business to do and how to do it. For those who did not have start-up capital, the already established traders gave them employment in their business. And during this time they had the opportunity to learn the strategies of the business as well as save up money to begin their own businesses.

8.5 The Strategy behind Senegalese Entrepreneurial success

Senegalese migrants in Durban are visibly successful small scale entrepreneurs. They earn a significant amount of money from their businesses which enables them to take care of themselves and their families. These migrants are on the whole young men (single and married) who are quite dedicated and committed to acquiring substantial amount of wealth from the business ventures. Apart from Adama who owns and runs a Senegalese restaurant where he sells

exclusively Senegalese cuisine such as mafe, tie bou jenn and tie bou yapp, all the remaining twenty-four Senegalese men who participated in this study were entrepreneurs involved in the buying and selling of clothes, shoes, bags, and watches. They either own shops in the sites surrounding Point Road and Gillespie Street in the South Beach neighborhood, the Flee Market at the Workshop area and Broad Street. Several authors and scholars have attempted to understand the strategy behind migrant entrepreneurial success as well as explain why certain groups succeed while others do not. Other theorists have been interested in explaining the distinctiveness in the kind of entrepreneurial activities that migrants engage in and have consequently tried to understand it using a number of different frameworks (Brandellero and Kloosterman, 2009; Engelen, 2001; Kloosterman, 2000, 2010a, 2010b; Kloosterman et al., 1999; Kloosterman and Rath, 2001, 2003; Light, 2005; Rath, 2000a, 2002 and Rusinovic, 2006). This section is concerned with explaining Senegalese entrepreneurial success in Durban using the mix embeddedness approach.

33years old Mustafa[68] arrived in South Africa in 2008. During the course of 2008 when he came, Mustafa worked in a shop owned by another Senegalese for four months. During that time he tried to understand the environment and the nature of the fashion business that most of his 'brothers' (referring to other Mouride migrants) were into because back in Senegal though he had worked as a sales person in a business owned by a family friend and had 'business skills' his know-how was in the Groceries segment and not the world of fashion (clothing) making those four months of training very vital. Mustafa narrated that his start-up capital was four thousand Rands with which he managed with the help of 'his brothers' to secure a place at the Flee market in the workshop area where he sold female clothing only. He managed the business and it gradually grew since he ploughed back all the profits he made. Mustafa intimated that with the help of Allah the business expanded and he made enough money that enabled him to get a bigger shop in Broad walk. He also diversified his services and this time included male clothing, hand bags shoes, watches and sun glasses. As a result, he had to employ someone to work at his shop in the Flee market while runing the one in Broadwalk. He intimated that he now wants to start buying from China and has applied and is waiting for a permit that will allow him to do so. This

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[68] Research Participant Number 1

means he has to employ another sales person who will assist in the shop while he is away. From the little money he makes he is able to assist his parents in their up-keep and also take good care of his wife and daughter back in Senegal.

The case of Mustafa is just an example of the success stories of many Senegalese migrant entrepreneurs in Durban who have succeeded to start up and run small businesses profitably in the host context against all odds. Success in their entrepreneurial activities is not something that comes easily. They have to withstand considerable antagonism directed towards them or their businesses as well as struggle with many different challenges ranging from adjustment and adaptation challenges to prejudiced notions about their behaviour. Despite these difficult local conditions and challenges experienced by the Senegalese entrepreneurs as they struggle to succeed in their business ventures in the host society, these Senegalese entrepreneurs were and are still optimistic about being successful. As such they constantly look for avenues through which they can expand their businesses.

The Senegalese entrepreneurs articulated that one of the difficulties they face especially at the initial stage of their business has to do with finances and the initial start-up capital. As migrants in South Africa (and worst still without genuine documentation) they are unable to acquire bank loans or access finances. It is argued that at the initial stage entrepreneurs usually perceive the idea of acquiring bank loans as the best means to raise the initial capital needed to enable them set up their businesses. Fisher (2005) however, advices novice entrepreneurs who regard securing bank loans as the sole means to raise start-up capital that they need to look for other creative ways to establish their business instead of a bank loan. This he further explains is because if getting a bank loan should occur at all it should be at the final or growth stage when the entrepreneur already understands and knows how well the business is doing and not at the initial or start-up stage. Fisher (2005) further argues that this is very possible since creative entrepreneurs can start something out of nothing. The example of Codou[69] below exemplifies the challenges that Senegalese immigrant entrepreneurs often faced and yet made it through the difficulty.

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[69] Research Participant Number 2

Migrating to South Africa in 2004 in search for greener pastures, Codou has always wanted to be 'his own boss', an entrepreneur who will employ people and not people employing him. He had entered the republic clandestinely through Swaziland because he was bent on making this 'very important' trip that he hoped would enable him achieve his dream and change his life and that of his family for the better. When he arrived in South Africa he did not have anywhere to stay and being a Mouride he was offered temporary accommodation by the 'Durban Touba' in their transit flat. While there, he would assist the other Mouride migrants in their shops until they decided to contribute money for him when he asked for help. They money they contributed was R1200. He used the money to buy ladies hand bags which he hawked around the Durban CBD area. After three months of hawking he found a place by the road side in front of a shop owned by a Pakistani migrant. The Pakistani allowed him to put his things there but he had to give him a token to contribute to the rent at the end of the month, just barely five days after having settled there, the police came by, and because he did not have the proper documents he had to run away and they took his goods away. He was back to zero. He did not give up and he went and worked for one other Senegalese migrant for two months, during which he was able to save R800 with which he started his hawking business again. He worked seven days a week, from 8am to 9 pm his business since thrived and he managed to save up some money and got his papers as well as got a shop around the Point Road Area. He has since employed a South African lady who assists him in his shop. He says employing a South African in his business is very strategic because some clients do not understand English and sometimes if they find out that he does not understand Zulu, they just go away. But with a local South African as a sales person, they will not go away. He is now building a house in Senegal from the money that he makes from his business. Codou intimated that he has worked so hard to be at this level today and it has not been easy but that God has been by his side. He related that he might not have gotten to this point if he was still in Senegal.

The story of Codou is similar to that of most of the Senegalese entrepreneurs who participated in the study. Just as Moreland (2006) contends Codou chose self-employment or entrepreneurship because of his desire to be his own boss even though Moreland further asserts that others choose it as a career. The Senegalese migrant entrepreneurs do not allow either the lack of finances or

the challenges to stop them from achieving their aim. Instead, those challenges motivate them to work even harder. They take advantage of the opportunities in South Africa and the strong market potential to live their dream. To them the only problem a person can have is when the person has not been able to identify the opportunity. Once they identify such, they maximize it. This explains why Timmons (1999) argue that migrant entrepreneurship is very significant because it is innovative and therefore produces wealth and adds value to the lives of the migrants and at the same time creates employment for others.

Mustafa and Codou's stories as well as that of most of the participants reveal that these entrepreneurs do not succeed because they introduce something new or a new product but rather they provide the goods that are not readily available to the local population in that area. Codou chose to settle in front of the Pakistani's shop because even though there were many shops around the area, he noticed as he was going around the CBD hawking that they did not have the kind of bag that he was selling at the time. So, he knew that if he settled for the place he would have many clients. Scholars like Antoncic and Hirsch (2003) opine that most migrants who choose entrepreneurship do so out of necessity because they lack skills to compete for better jobs, lack of resources or simply because of the drawbacks in the labour market of the host context. Such a perspective is suggestive of the fact that migrant entrepreneurship is derived from economic deprivation in the host country even though it eventually yields economic gains for the migrant entrepreneurs. Thus, these Senegalese migrant entrepreneurs can be regarded as a disadvantaged group of entrepreneurs who are opportunists. Such an argument is not entirely correct because even though these migrants identify an opportunity and then start-up their businesses, they require certain skills and traits to be able to succeed in that business endeavour. This explains why scholars such as Waldinger et al. (1990) who use the structure and resource paradigm in an effort to explain the success of migrant entrepreneurship, argue that migrants succeed in their entrepreneurial activities as a result of the interaction between the structure and the resources. On the one hand, by structure here one is referring to those elements external to the migrants such as high unemployment rate in host countries, the existence of a potential market and government policies. While the resource, on the other hand, denotes the features internal to the migrants like previous trade experience, the ability to mobilize solidarity as well as the socio-cultural predisposition for entrepreneurship.

It is argued that the type of business that a migrant start-up as well as the role that his/her entrepreneurial activities play in his/her social integration with the host nationals is obviously dependent on the resources that he or she is able to mobilize. Such an argument emphasizes the role that the individual plays in his/her entrepreneurial success based on his/her personal background and characteristics. According to Blanchflower et al. (2001) and Thornton (1999) entrepreneurship scholars who utilize this perspective to explain migrant entrepreneurial success argue that the reasons why given the same structures and the same resources some entrepreneurs would succeed while others will not is due to certain constraints such as the liabilities of the tax system and the difficulties in getting finance. However, the substantial discrepancy that existed between different migrant groups where neither differential access to finance nor personal traits, could not fully explain the perceived inter-group differences. There was, therefore, a paradigm shift as scholars like Light and Bonacich (1988), Light and Rosenstein (1995) and Waldinger (1986) abandoned this individualistic line of thought and sought to explain migrant entrepreneurial success at the group level.

Furthermore, it was observed that to fully comprehend entrepreneurial success, the wider societal context needs to be taken into consideration. For example, some migrant groups are pushed to entrepreneurship by particular obstacles in the host context such as discrimination.This specific group of migrants might be discriminated against in the host context for a particular reason and as a result they may not succeed in their entrepreneurial endeavours. Another example could be that a particular group of migrants has a specific cultural predisposition for business which is a group feature and as such migrants from these communities will be well equipped for self-employment in the host context since they have a natural acumen for business. Aside from this individualistic and group centered explanation for entrepreneurial success, other explanations related to the kind of networks that migrants have been advanced. Migrants' inclination for entrepreneurship and their success in it or lack of it have been attributed to nature, density and size of the migrant's social networks and their ability to rally these networks for economic gains. Such an approach which has been named social embeddedness is utilized by researchers like Cahn (2008), and Light and Gold (2000) in understanding migrant entrepreneurial success.

Taking the argument of social embeddedness in explaining entrepreneurial success further Granovetter (1995) differentiates between structural embeddedness and relational embeddedness as the two types of embeddedness. He refers to the wider social networks of the migrant entrepreneurs as structural embeddedness while relational embeddedness denotes personal relations with each other as well as economic actors which, by implication, mean that migrant entrepreneurs are rooted in a fairly solid network of social relations with competitors, suppliers, banks, clients and also law enforcement officers. However, Krippner (2001) points out that even though Granovetter distinguishes between 'institutional arrangements' and 'social relations', he fails to mention the opportunities available to the migrants. He then suggests that because the notion of social embeddedness transcends personal and social relations the argument can be made more significant by also examining the relevance of both the opportunities, the social capital and the cultural traits in explaining migrant entrepreneurial success. Such an argument is supported by researchers like Ibrahim and Galt (2003) as well as Thornton and Flynn (2003).

According to Power (2001) the opportunities available to migrant entrepreneurs are fashioned by macro-structures. Other authors argue that in exploring migrant entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial success the 'opportunity structure' should be included (Rath, 2000b and Waldinger et al., 1990). To this effect, other authors opt for a more comprehensive approach by utilizing the concept of mixed embeddedness which takes into consideration both the opportunity structure and the migrant entrepreneurs as actors (Brandellero and Kloosterman, 2009; Engelen, 2001; Kloosterman, 2000, 2010a, 2010b; Kloosterman et al., 1999; Kloosterman and Rath, 2001 and 2003; Light, 2005; Rath, 2000a, 2002 and Rusinovic, 2006). Such an analytical frame puts together the migrant entrepreneur and the resources available to him as an individual (micro-level) and the opportunity structure in the host context (meso-level) and then connects the opportunity structure to the institutional framework (macro-level). This means that the resources available to the emerging migrant entrepreneur are combined with the understandings of the opportunity structure in the host country. Such an innovative methodological frame lends a useful prism in explaining why certain groups of migrants such as the Senegalese in our case succeed in their entrepreneurial activities while others do not.

The Senegalese migrant entrepreneurs in this study are highly eclectic as evidenced from the fact that they are able to draw on their relationships with others and their network connections particularly Mouride networks to maximize the business opportunities in the host context. They rely on these networks of relationships to either generate initial start-up capital in cases where the group contributes money and donates to the individual (as in the case of Codou) or to find employment from which they are able to save up some money which is later on used as start-up capital. Those who migrated with their start-up capitals (like Hamidou[70]) still rely upon these relations to understand the nature of the market, identify the opportunities and to enhance their entrepreneurial success. My encounter and experience with the Senegalese entrepreneurs in Durban revealed that this network of relations was very instrumental in the choice of self-employment, the choice of the fashion business as well as their success in the business. Some of the participants related how their network members gave them goods on credit and they sold them before paying the person and as a result they were able to make profit. Were it not for these network members and the relationship of trust that exist between them these entrepreneurs would otherwise not have been able to start up their businesses even though the opportunities for business were available. As Hu and Salazar (2005) argue, such important functions of networks result in niche formation. Business niches are a phenomenon whereby members of the same network do the same kind of business such as the fashion business in which all the participants in the study are involved. Hu and Salazar further opine that due to this niche formation, market competition is among network members.

These Senegalese migrant entrepreneurs sell goods imported from Taiwan, Bangkok and China. Some who have the necessary documentation and enough capital travel to these places to import whatever goods they want to sell. Others who do not have the same privileges (enough money or right documentation) in turn buy their goods from those who import them from these prices at a whole sale price and the resell at retail prices. The explanations given by the participants regarding their involvement in this particular line of business go beyond this relational embeddedness approach. This is explained by the fact that they also view their involvement in the fashion world from a religious perspective. They distinguish between what they call 'Allah Business' and 'Haraam business.' The participants intimated that as Muslims, there are things

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[70] Research Participant Number 9

that they are not supposed to do, for example, they cannot get involved in any business that is illegal because it is 'Haram'. On the other hand, they are expected as good Muslims to do those things that are good and will bring them honour. As such they see the world of fashion as 'Allah business' because to them it is not illegal. So, even though it is believed that Allah's will is for them to be involved in entrepreneurial activities, they are not allowed to do just any kind of business but rather opt for what they believe is honourable. As discussed earlier on in chapter five, network members look out for one another and ensure that they do no 'go astray' by getting involved in haram business. One of the participants Niang[71] intimated that prior to leaving his home country he had the heart to talk with his father who cautioned him against being involved in haram business and its implications for a 'good' Muslim. He further added that his father advised him to be honest with the people he does business with as well as to his clients because Allah blesses everyone who does genuine business honestly without cheating anyone. To them fashion business is ideal because it is not haram.

Nevertheless, it appears somewhat paradoxical that these migrant entrepreneurs call the fashion business that they are involved in Allah business which is not illegal. Yet, among the clothes and bags that they import from China, Taiwan or Bangkok they buy those with labels such as Gucci, Jimmy Cho and Louis Vuitton which are not original products. Although they know that this is illegal, they still import it because of the nature of the market (they have identified that their clients like labels or designer things but are not willing to purchase it at the expensive prices which they go for). As such they often run into trouble with the law enforcement officers who sometimes confiscate some of these goods. Buying fake designer clothing or bags is illegal and therefore constitutes haram but these entrepreneurs do not perceive it in that way and to them the fashion business which they are involved in is 'Allah business' not like the other migrant groups whom these Senegalese entrepreneurs perceive as being involved in haram business.

Kloosterman and Rath (2001) argue that in the capitalist economies in which we live today, the opportunities that entrepreneurs have to succeed in their entrepreneurial ventures are inherently connected to the market in that if there is not sufficient demand for the goods or services that

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[71] Research Participant Number 6

they entrepreneur offers, he/she cannot succeed. This, by implication, means that an important component of the opportunity structure debate is the market. Migrant entrepreneurs only have the opportunity to do business once they have been able to identify a target market. They have to be able to delineate the target market which is accessible to them with an identifiable group of clients (Swedberg, 1994). Such an argument holds true for these Senegalese migrant entrepreneurs who identify a target market and then identify what their clients need and therefore aim to satisfy this need to the extent that they fail to look at the implications of these actions. This would include even the case of Codou who identified a target market and as such set up his business in in front of the Pakistani's shop since he did not have enough capital to get a decent place for his business in the area. Codou's case exemplifies what Wolff and Rath (2000) illustrate when describing how migrant entrepreneurs usually tend to lack significant funds to start-up their businesses and as a result they largely (though not in all cases) initiate businesses that do not require a huge capital. This, therefore, explains why most African migrant entrepreneurs in South Africa (such as the Senegalese) are involved in small-scale businesses (Peberdy and Rogerson, 2002).

Senegalese migrant entrepreneurs in Durban use what Portes and Sensebrenner (1993) call 'enforceable trust' and 'bounded solidarity' to succeed in their entrepreneurial activities. The former refers to a group of people who fill unified by their common experience while the latter denotes a sense of social obligation which exist among the members and as such provide them with several advantages such as the economic opportunities to succeed in their business. These migrants utilize the Mouride network ties to establish their businesses and to succeed entrepreneurially even though their inter-cultural and interpersonal skills also play a role. Evidenced in this study is the fact that the opportunity structures that are available in South Africa for these Senegalese migrant entrepreneurs are very crucial in their entrepreneurial success. As Kloosterman and Rath (2001) underscore these Senegalese migrant entrepreneurs are not simply reacting to static opportunity structures. Instead, they modify and transform these opportunity structures by their innovative behaviour and utilize it for their own economic gain.

8.6 Reasons Why Senegalese Choose Entrepreneurial Livelihood

Authors writing on entrepreneurship have most commonly attributed migrants' involvement in entrepreneurial activities to lack of employment opportunities in the receiving society and as a result self-employment becomes a significant alternative means of earning an income. It has been documented that for migrants finding a job at the initial stage of migration can be very daunting and is further aggravated by the fact that migrants often lack proper documentation to enable them to secure a good employment. According to Peberdy (2000) migrants turn to the informal sector entrepreneurial activities for a number of reasons such as the need to survive amidst increasing unemployment and diminishing market opportunities resulting from economic recession. This means that entrepreneurship for migrants is a means to an end and a stop gap. This implies that should migrant entrepreneurs find other important earning options they would immediately leave the informal sector entrepreneurship in favour of regular paid jobs.

Such an argument does not hold true for the Senegalese migrant entrepreneurs who participated in this study because all the participants intimated that they were not interested in getting formal paid work. Some said if they had found regular paid work before they started their businesses, they would possibly have used the formal paid work as a stop gap to raise the amount of money needed to start-up a bigger business. The need to survive was only a motivation for them to ensure that they work hard and succeed in their businesses and not the sole or primary reason why they chose self-employment. The Senegalese migrants exhibit higher levels of commitment and involvement in entrepreneurship or self-employment as a means of livelihood and this cannot be explained by a single definitive factor but can rather be understood from a myriad of perspectives such as socio-economic, cultural and religious.

8.6.1 Socio-Economic Determinants for Choosing Entrepreneurship

For Senegalese migrants self-employment and their business activities constitute important avenues through which doors to growth, self-sufficiency and self-esteem can be opened for them as well as for those they employ. Their quest for upward socioeconomic mobility and for economic independence is a major driving force in their choice of this livelihood pattern. They

choose entrepreneurship because business is lucrative. They want to maximize the opportunities in South Africa and amass as much money as they can to enable them meet their needs and those of their families and thereby gain the necessary recognition within their home community. Since opting for international migration was largely economic, these migrants tend to feel obliged to make the best of the opportunities that they get in the host context so as to be able to remit home to their families who are mostly reliant on the remittances that they send for a living. The participants in this study intimated that they saw entrepreneurship as the best possible way through which they could fulfil this need instead of securing formal employment because the wages are not very good. This is exemplified in the following narrative of one of the participants:

> *I am a carpenter; I learnt woodwork as a trade in Senegal before coming to South Africa. I don't like working for other people, I want to work for myself. So I cannot start going to the companies in Durban to look for job. Because they don't even pay nice money. If someone says come and work in my company let me pay you, I will not go because I want to do my business and manage it well so that it can grow because there is money in business. I can make more than what they will pay me in the company from my business if I manage it well. I have too much responsibility and many people to take care of, if I don't try to grow my business and go to look for job I won't be able to do what I have to do. You see if I go to work in the company and my wife gets sick at home what will happen? I will have to wait for month end to get the salary and send, who will take care of her, what if she dies, but since am doing my business if anything happens I can assist immediately with waiting for someone to pay me first. Gora[72]*

Entrepreneurship was regarded as more profitable and a better option particularly because the type of business that they opt for (fashion) is one in which the turnover appears to be very quick given that they provide a selection of eye-catching and good quality goods such as bags, clothes, shoes and watches to their clients at a fairly cheaper price compared to other competitors like Truworths, Woolworths, Foschini, Milady's and Edgars. The first Senegalese migrants who arrived in Durban (between 1995 and 1999) following the demise of apartheid and the new wave of African migration to South Africa identified a potential opportunity in the ever ready market for the world of fashion which they perceived to be quite profitable. These early migrants observed that there were not many fashion stores in Durban at the time but for Edgars, Foschini

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[72] Research Participant Number 19

and Woolworths who sold their clothes at very expensive prices which were not affordable to everyone. As a result of this observation they decided to cease the opportunity by supplying good and attractive clothing to customers in Durban at affordable prices in an effort to attract all types of clients (rich and poor alike). As time went on and many other Senegalese migrants came they followed suit because of the presence of their close knit network.

My experience with the Senegalese participants in this study revealed that they are driven to entrepreneurship generally by the economic dynamics. These migrants choose entrepreneurship because of its viability and the ability to earn the money they need to enable them to discharge their responsibilities. The migrants travel with the 'entrepreneurial know-how' that they obtained from the home country and this enables them to start-up and run businesses with relative ease in the host community. This implies that their businesses are proactive and they tend to engage in the same kind of activities that they were involved in back in Senegal which is self-employment. Prior to migration most of the participants reported that they were entrepreneurs, some owned shops in major cities like Darkar, Touba and Thies and others were into different kinds of self-employment like Taxi drivers while others were part of a family business. Those who reported that they were not self-employed were employed by other entrepreneurs and they hoped to save enough money to start up their own ventures. They carry such a practice with them to their host environment. Some come equipped with the finance to set up their businesses no matter how small while others migrate with the expectation and optimism of finding employment, saving up money from it and starting up their businesses as soon as they have enough money to do so. As a result of this expectation, such migrants are ready to engage in anything from which they could earn a living.

Besides this economic motivation for the choice of entrepreneurship as a means of livelihood, my experiences with the Senegalese migrant entrepreneurs in this study revealed that these migrants lack the necessary educational qualifications that would accord them the skills to secure good well-paying jobs in Durban. Consequently, they are left with no option but to turn to self-employment for survival. So, entrepreneurship in this regard is necessity-based and not simply a matter of choice. Authors such as Adepoju (2004) have rightly posited that the whys and wherefores of migrants' involvement in entrepreneurial activities are by and large rooted in their

low level of education and makes finding descent employment in the new context very difficult. None of the twenty-five Senegalese male entrepreneurs who participated in this study have a good formal education. Most of them had only basic primary education while others reported to have studied in Arabic schools for two to four years where they learnt the Koran, the fundamentals of Islamic religion and Arabic language with no formal training in a particular area of study or discipline. Their lack of skills makes finding employment in the host context of Durban an uphill task and coupled with the familial responsibilities they shoulder 'as men' from their context (see chapter six) they are thus pushed to self-employment as the only alternative option through which they can earn the money needed to discharge such responsibilities.

Furthermore, apart from the profitable nature of entrepreneurship as well as the migrants' lack of skills due to their low level of education, religion stands out as another major determinant of Senegalese migrants' involvement in entrepreneurial activities. Being an Islamic state where most Muslims have a strict adherence to their religion, Senegalese people are exposed to a well-established culture of trade that favours entrepreneurship. As rightly stated by Weber (2005), religion plays a significant role in determining people's economic behaviour. In his essay titled the *Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism* Weber highlights the connection between religion and economic behaviour and argues that the protestant religion offers an auspicious climate for business activities. To him even though individuals are not concerned with religious ideas, they are nevertheless influenced by it due to their commonplace beliefs. Weber further contends that religion calls for specific kinds of behaviours obligatory for all adherents because it is deemed to be pleasing to God. This means that people's religious beliefs impact on their choices and preferences in life and what they do. Other scholars like Bendix (1966) stress that people generally adhere to their religious beliefs and behave in the manner required of them in an effort to receive blessings, prosper and have a long earthly life. Religious practices and beliefs highly impact on people's lives in various sacred spheres such as personal choices on different means through which to eke out a living.

Migrant entrepreneurial behaviours are deeply embedded in and are shaped by religious beliefs even though it has often been difficult to efficiently articulate the link between the two as well as the manner in which people's religious beliefs shape the way in which they run their businesses

(Ojong, 2007). Ojong further points out that the modus operandi by which an individual earns a living are inherently entrenched in his or her religious beliefs and practices. Embedded religious beliefs are a major determinant of the Senegalese migrants' choice of entrepreneurship as a livelihood strategy. The specificity in their choice of a particular entrepreneurial activity as well as the manner in which they manage their businesses further demonstrate how religious beliefs are intertwined in entrepreneurial behaviour.

In this study the Senegalese migrant entrepreneurs related that they chose entrepreneurship because they believe it is what God wills for them. They know this through an example that is believed to have been laid down by the prophet Mohamed and his wife Khadija who were involved in entrepreneurial activities. They are simply following this good example as Muslims because Allah wants them to be entrepreneurs. And thus they endeavour to distinguish between 'Allah' businesses and Haram' businesses and make sure they only get involved in what is considered 'Allah business. They equally reported that they try to ensure that they are not shrewd business men but they are honest and trust worthy business men so as to obtain the favour and blessings of Allah in their businesses to enable them to succeed. According to Islamic religion humankind is required to 'prosper the earth and lead it to the right directions' as well as endeavour to earn a living (Suyitno, and Barat, 2013). In further pointing out how Islam inspires its adherents to be entrepreneurs Suyitno and Barat (2013) refer to several verses of the Holy Qur'an which speaks to this and they state that:

> *..Trading is only like Ribâ (usury), whereas Allâh has permitted trading and forbidden Ribâ (usury)……..The importance of trading which is stated in a hadith: "Beheld trading by all of, in trading there 9 out of 10 doors that will lead to the welfare. (HR. Ahmad). And then, the Prophet had ever been asked by his followers: 'What is the best occupation?" He answered "a people works with his hand in trading and honest." (HR. Al Bazzar). Therefore, "..Then when the (Jumu'ah) Salât (prayer) is ended, you may disperse through the land, and seek the Bounty of Allâh (by working, etc.), and remember Allâh much: that you may be successful." (QS. al-Jumu'ah: 10).....*

In his teachings the prophet Mohamed encouraged Muslims to be entrepreneurs. He himself had been introduced to business when he was 12. At this very tender age the prophet was engaged in buying goods from the local market and reselling them and making profits. Ermawati (2006)

emphasizes that the prophet's business grew rapidly and together with his uncle he started embarking on international business trips to Syria until he met Khadijah his wife who was also a trader. Idris and shahadan (1991) further highlight that his wife was a renowned, influential, respected, successful and wealthy trader in her community before their marriage. The prophet and Khadijah continued their trading as partners who shared profits from their business (Ermawati, 2006). All over Africa, history has it that the development of Islam as a religion was influenced by trade and in Senegal specifically Islam was brought through trade. The arguments above show that trade and Islam are somehow intertwined. Therefore, trade and Islam informed Senegalese migrants' choice of entrepreneurship as a means of livelihood. It is believed that because it is Allah's will for them, they can prosper better in entrepreneurial activities than in other spheres of life. From an Islamic perspective, therefore, humankind is definable in relation to his economic pursuits which render him a homo-economicus whose economic pattern of life is deliberately chosen (Idris and shahadan, 1991).

8.6.2 Culture as a Predisposing Factor for Entrepreneurship

> *The Senegalese, we know how to do the business, we have been thought to do business because the business gives you money but if you go to school you can't get money like the people who do business. From the time I was young I started doing business, me and my friends were hawking small things like fruits, sweets, cigarette and boiled groundnuts at bus stations, street corners, garages (filling stations) and road junctions. Sometimes we even competed to see who will make more money. Later when I was much older (twenty years) my father gave me one hundred and fifty thousand francs CFA to start a business. I used it to start a small business which I was managing till I travelled.* **Mamegor[73]**

> *I start to do business early so business is in my blood. I can't do anything else, I like business, I don't want to work for anybody. You see, where I come men have to work hard do business and so that they can make money. That is what we are taught when we are young and so when we grow up we do what we are taught because it is what we do best. When I was still in Senegal my family did not have money to give me to start a business so because my elder brother had already moved to Thies and had started his business there, I was taken to the Theis to help him in his business and in*

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[73] Research Participant Number 16

*the process I was learning so that when money was available I wiould start my own business. After I got the money I started my own business and later when I had the opportunity to come to South Africa I sold the shop and took the money with me so that I will use it and start my business here because I don't like working for other people. So when I can I started my business. With business you can make money are help your family. **Wade[74]***

Senegal as a nation has long been devoted to commerce. Wade and Mamegor are two Senegalese entrepreneurs in Durban and their stories exemplify how the environment in which a person is nurtured predisposes him or her for entrepreneurship. The narratives of these two participants are similar to those of most of the participants in this study who articulated that they acquired their business acumen from the community in which they were nurtured by hawking petty things at a tender age to assist their parents or other relatives in their businesses.This is reflective of Ojong's (2007) argument that the values of innovation, hard work, achievement, success, profit and personal gain that are linked to entrepreneurs may well be perceived as a learned predisposition. Such entrepreneurial skills are complete embodiments of beliefs and practices of individuals or a group of people.

A people's beliefs and their practices have propensities to make them prefer some things over others (Hofstede, 1994). If one has 'value' it means that one upholds as lasting conviction that a particular end-state of existence or mode of conduct is desirable over other possibilities. This, by extension, implies that different groups of people possess different values or modes of conduct. Therefore, even if people with different values are placed under the same situations they will behave differently because of the different values and beliefs. This means that learned predisposition affects people's preferences. Entrepreneurship requires opportunities, ideas, resources and skills; migrants come from their home countries with particular values, skills, ideas and sometimes resources which in turn impact on their choices of a means of livelihood.

Kottak (2011: 57) drawing for Tylor definition of culture argues that culture is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, arts, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." Such abstract values, beliefs and

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[74] Research Participant Number 15

knowledge determine people's behaviour. The cultural milieu in which people were originally nurtured becomes critical in elucidating their entrepreneurial activities. Even when different groups of migrants engage in entrepreneurship, their culturally constructed notions of business are not the same as such one identifies enormous variations in the manner in which migrant entrepreneurship is practiced and symbolized. This makes it apparent that the cultural matrix from which Senegalese migrants' preference for entrepreneurship emanates cannot be ignored if one has to get a complete understanding of Senegalese entrepreneurship in Durban. However, I do not claim that cultural predisposition can solely explain Senegalese entrepreneurial behaviour notwithstanding the pivotal role it plays.

The Senegalese migrant entrepreneurs related that when they were young they were taught to work hard, dedicate their lives to their business so that they could make enough money to take care of their families and save sum as exemplified in the case of Wade and Mamegor in the excerpts above. They intimated this is the reason why all of them tend to have a mentality that favours entrepreneurship and commercial success. Even though what a person desires is principally his/her own personal idea, this personal idea is largely engrained in a set of desires that the social milieu in which he or she was nurtured inspired in him or her. The cultural environment in which these migrant entrepreneurs grew up is one in which they usually begin business at a relatively young age (between 8 to14) by hawking petty things. Men are regarded as being responsible for the care and provision of their families. The man is the provider while the woman is the nurturer. This provider role is made tedious by the fact that they are highly polygamous (both religion and culture enhance this – as Muslims men are entitled to marry up to four wives). Such a cultural value leave Senegalese men with too many 'mouths to feed' and thus the arena through which they can make as much money as is needed for them to shoulder their responsibilities is entrepreneurship. They are groomed to understand that the primary way through which this can happen is through entrepreneurial activities. As such wherever they find themselves they endeavour to maximize every opportunity for business so as to make money.

Even when a lot of people are attracted to the same kind of business which they do, as is the case with the fashion business in Durban, Senegalese migrant entrepreneurs do not relent because they trust their business acumen. Hamidou[75] explained this in the following words:

> *We know this business that is why we do it. Other people try they don't succeed but we do. Many people are opening the shop now, selling the cloths, which was not like that before. But am not scared because I have the customers, I know what they want and I provide it. The Sheikh's when they pray for us and when they come here they bless our business and we succeed because that is what we are told to do and we do it.*

It is argued that in the early 1990s there were a small number of clothing stores in South Africa like Woolworths, Edgars and Foschini (Adepoju,1995) but currently the fashion market is more or less saturated because many entrepreneurs have been attracted to it because of its potential profitable nature. Adepoju (1995) rightly asserts that when a business is lucrative it attracts a lot of new comers. This is suggestive of the fact that for entrepreneurs in the world of fashion it is 'survival of the fittest' due to the intense competition. The Senegalese migrant entrepreneurs, however, do not seem to be troubled by this as indicated in the above extract. They trust their skills as the help of their Sheikh through prayers and in invocation of magical means to sail through this competition successfully. The participants admitted to using this means to secure their businesses due to competition.

Consequently, this leads one to the conclusion that migrant entrepreneurs who originate from the same cultural background tend to exhibit commonalities in the kind of activities they take part in. Such an argument tallies with Peberdy's (2000) contention that migrant entrepreneurs are united by a set of regular patterns of interaction and cultural connections among people who share a common migration experience or national background. From these discussions it is apparent that cultural factors and the kind of cultural milieu in which Senegalese migrant entrepreneurs were nurtured play a significant role in their choice of entrepreneurship as a means of livelihood and as such should not be ignored as has been the case in the literature on migrant entrepreneurship in South Africa

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[75] Research Participant Number 9

8.7 The Significance of Senegalese Migrant Entrepreneurship in Durban

The involvement of the Senegalese migrants in entrepreneurial activities in Durban is very important both to them as well as the home and host countries. This derives from the fact that their business activities benefit not only them but also local South Africans and their families who have been left behind. The home country benefits from the remittances sent by these migrants (material and financial) and the host country through the transmission of entrepreneurial skills and job creation. The significance of their entrepreneurial activities is summarized as:

1. It creates employment for the migrants themselves and as such offer them a means of livelihood without which it would have been very difficult given the current economic recession and high levels of unemployment that is currently affecting the nation.

2. Through the remittance sent, Senegalese migrant entrepreneurship is equally significant for Senegal. Owing to the high levels of poverty and misery many families are dependent on these remittances for subsistence which made Senegal's former Present to remark that 'Senegalese migrants are fast becoming the nation's strongest export'. When a family member migrates the entire family rejoices because in the person's migration they foresee an end to the poverty and misery in their family. Some families borrow money and go into debt while others sell their valuable property such as land while others pull resources together all in an effort to ensure that a member migrates. The migrant is expected to reciprocate by remitting home and this is made possible through their entrepreneurial activities in Durban.

3. Senegalese migrant entrepreneurial activities are equally significant for South Africa. The importance of this on the host country is manifold:

   a. Senegalese migrant entrepreneurs in Durban employ local South African girls as sales agents in their businesses. This employment creation is not limited to Durban as Kalitanyi (2007) reveal that 95% of Senegalese migrant entrepreneurs in Cape Town employ local South Africans. This shows that Senegalese migrant

entrepreneurship is very significant for the host country in that it reduces the rate of unemployment through job creation. According to Friedrich and Visser (2005:5) entrepreneurs play a major role in economic development in host countries, and they state that "Encouraging the entrepreneurial spirit is the key to creating jobs and improving competitiveness and economic growth throughout the world".

b. Through their entrepreneurial activities Senegalese migrants also transmit their business acumen to South Africans especially those they employ as well as those they do business with. For example, some of their South African employees gain experience while working for them and later start up their own businesses while others endeavour to observe their spirit of commitment, hard work and how they are successful having started from 'nothing' and are inspired to imitate them and start-up their own businesses. Thus through their entrepreneurial activities Senegalese migrants become a source of empowerment to local South Africans.

c. Senegalese migrant entrepreneurial activities in Durban are equally significant in that from it they are able to generate money. They spend some of this money in Durban for their subsistence. They equally pay tax for their businesses which help to boost the economy.

8.7 Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter revealed that migrant involvement in entrepreneurial activities is not a new phenomenon and has been very instrumental in facilitating migrant adjustment and integration into the host community. The arguments showed that despite the challenges of migration, Senegalese migrants are still able to set up and manage informal sector businesses in Durban. The chapter depicted that they succeed in necessity-based small scale entrepreneurship and their success is explained from the social and mix embeddedness approaches through their wider social networks and personal relations with each other as well as the opportunity structures in the host country. The debates raised in this chapter equally opine that Senegalese migrants are

motivated towards the entrepreneurial livelihood pattern by a plethora of factors such as the socioeconomic and cultural dynamics. Through their quest for upward socioeconomic mobility and for economic independence, entrepreneurship is perceived as an important avenue through which doors to growth, self-sufficiency and self-esteem can be opened. Besides this economic motivation they lack the necessary educational qualifications that would accord them the skills to secure good well-paying jobs and this makes entrepreneurial engagement the only alternative for survival. It is further argued that Senegalese migrant entrepreneurial behaviour is deeply embedded in and is shaped by Islamic religious beliefs. The specificity in their choice of a particular entrepreneurial activity as well as the manner in which they manage their businesses further demonstrate how religious beliefs are intertwined in entrepreneurial behaviour. The chapter has also shown that cultural factors and the kind of cultural milieu in which Senegalese migrant entrepreneurs were predisposed and nurtured play a fundamental role in their choice of entrepreneurship as a means of livelihood. Finally, the chapter did not go without showing that Senegalese migrant entrepreneurial activity in Durban is very essential both to them as well as the home and host countries.

CHAPTER NINE
CONCLUSION

9.1 Introduction

This chapter recaps the central findings and arguments of the study showing that the study successfully achieved its primary objective which was to examine how Senegalese Mouride migrants in Durban exploit networks of solidarity and brotherhood through dahira membership in order to survive as a group. The disscussions in this chapter also reiterates issues relating to the migrants' relative economic success as well as how they construct and reconstruct their identities in a novel transnational environment. Notably, my engagement with the existing methodological and theoretical scholarship on the subject matter provided me with guidelines and framework with which I anchored my study. Even though some gaps and contradictions were found in the literature, the framework enabled me to build a critical understanding of how Senegalese migrants in Durban renegotiate their identities aided by the Mouride networks from the data gathered. Adopting a reflexive approach in understanding the field work experience revealed the complex interchange between methods, theory and data collection and this led me to systematically question my own assumptions grounded in the cultural milieu in which I was nurtured. Finally, the chapter discusses the significant contributions of the study in relation to the key questions addressed. The chapter equally provides suggestions for further research on this area of inquiry anchored on the limitations of the study.

9.2 Summary of Findings

The study provided a historical and contemporary contextualization of the long history of movement in Senegal showing how migration has played (and continues to do so) a meaningful role within the Senegalese community. Focusing particularly on Senegalese migration to Durban in South Africa, the study analyzed the reasons for Senegalese migration and how the Senegalese migrants typify the phenomenon of transnationalism where they forge and sustain 'multi-

stranded social relationships across borders. The study revealed that migration is constructed in the interchange between the global structures of economics and politics and individual practices. Historically, Senegal was once predominantly a significant cradle and host country for labour migrants from other African countries until after independence when there was a reversal of trends and the country transformed into an emigration country due to the untold poverty and misery. The worsening economic situation led many Senegalese young men to embark on overseas exodus as a means of extricating themselves from this socio-economic pressure. Apart from this quest for socio-economic advancement and the quest for a better life there were other related factors which impelled Senegalese young men to migrate such as the perception that migration could be utilized as a strategy through which families and households in Senegal could get a secured source of livelihood. The study further outlined how the symbolic construction of migrants in Senegal (Modou-Modou) as modern-day heroes has led to the development of a culture of migration. This migration culture has become one of the motivating factors that lead Senegalese young people to migrate out of the country.

The study also explicated the centrality of brotherhoods within the Senegalese society which has been described as a 'world of brotherhoods'. It depicted that for the Senegalese these brotherhoods go beyond mere religious fraternities in that they have become vital political, economic and social organizations performing a plethora of functions. For example, they provide training, guidance and solidarity structure well-adjusted to crisis and change situations as well as offer members both material and spiritual benefits. The study further illuminated that the networks of this brotherhood possess self-sustaining bonds of belonging and are characterized by a well-established trading network reliant on reciprocity and solidarity. Due to such networks of trade the Mourides have been branded as 'the aristocracy of African merchants'. The study offers an analytical insight into how Mouride transnational social networks are created and the benefits of dahira membership both for the individual migrants and the host and home societies. Being in touch with and praying together is very significant in that it gives them the opportunity to foster a sense of belonging and oneness, expedite their participation in special Mouride religious events such as the magal, exchange both spiritual and material help to one another and host the marabouts. The study revealed how the Durban dahira provides Senegalese Mouride migrants with an avenue to continue Mouride religious rituals, a place to gather and exchange ideas and

help one another, collectively monitor Mouride migrants and is also a cultural space where talibes gain knowledge of and rekindle their Mouride religious thought, thus making it a 'safety net' and a transnational junction where they 'find home' away from home.

The findings demonstrated that migration in Senegal is a complex and multifaceted enterprise which has become an integral part of the people's cultural and social lives. The study revealed that the 'Senegalese culture of migration' is one of the major determinants of international migration in Senegal and that the push-pull theory of migration does not sufficiently explain the phenomenon of migration in Senegal since from the discussion one can infer that migration in this context is not solely for economic or political motives, but is deeply embedded in the cultural and the social life of the migrants. The study did not go without showing that, Senegalese men's desires to migrate are linked to the different versions of manhood that they ascribe to. The gendered subject position of the woman as nurturer and the man as provider constitute an important facet of Senegalese identity construction and is a fundamental determinant of who migrates. The gender identity of both Senegalese men and women is rooted in the concept of 'tradition' which defines what a 'good woman' and a 'real man' is. Fixed in this cultural context, Senegalese men socially construct their masculinity and maleness reinforcing the importance of migration for men.Travelling out is a means by which men reinforce a traditionally masculine identity or a means to affirm masculinity since it enables them to fulfill the provider role. The arguments depicted that it is by migrating and fulfilling this provider role that Senegalese boys become men and failing to do this through non- migration or immobility. For example, results in alienation, loss of respect and self-esteem which sometimes lead to masculine gender-role stress. As a result, migration has thus remained a male preserve in Senegal.

The findings also revealed that women do not have the same autonomy as men to decide to migrate given the stigma often attached to migrant women. The study showed that Senegalese men view female migration as going away from the norm or tradition and as such they are opposed to it. Carrying along such deep rooted notions of identity, their maleness and gender relations, Senegalese migrant men react to, negotiate and counter the difficulties and challenges and the necessary changes that they are expected to make in the South African context which has

different sets of perceptions and practices about masculinity as well as gender relations. The discussion revealed that they are not ready to give up this privileged position in favor of the gender equality learned in the host community which is paradoxical given that, these same men attribute migration as part of a triad including knowledge and adventure. This means that, when they migrate they are expected 'as men' to gain knowledge about the rest of the world and consequently bring back such knowledge to their home community.

In addition, the discussion in this study illuminated how engaging in entrepreneurial activities in the host context is construed as being very fundamental for the construction of masculinity for men from Senegal. This is so because setting up and managing a business in the host context implies that the migrant has the capacity to fulfil the ideals of responsible manhood in his family as well as at the home community at large. Thus, being business owners and making enough profit is very essential as it constitutes a key element in their manhood. In addition to the quest for upward socio-economic mobility and economic independence, the study depicted that Senegalese migrants are motivated to entrepreneurial livelihood patterns by a plethora of factors such as socio-economic and cultural dynamics such as the lack of necessary educational qualifications that would accord them the skills to secure good well-paying jobs, their Islamic religious beliefs and the kind of cultural milieu in which they were predisposed and nurtured. Finally, the study did not go without showing that Senegalese migrant entrepreneurial activity in Durban is very essential both to them as well as the home and host countries.

Finally, this study has further revealed that Cuisine and culinary ways are an essential form of expression and an important outlet through which Senegalese migrants assert, sustain and reconfigure their identities in Durban. Food has many cultural implications on identity and is the principal means through which Senegalese migrants are able to acknowledge their origin as well as an embodiment of their cultural identity since it plays a very vital role in the production and reproduction of identity and social ties. The study has shown that for the Senegalese migrants eating home food is a way to develop a new sense of self and identity that is a reflection of themselves and being at ease with their host environment. The study shows that, food is a vital identity marker and is utilized to indicate 'who they are' and 'who they are not', an indicator of hospitality as well as a marker of distinct difference.

9.3 Contributions of the Study

This study has made the following noteworthy contributions in the area of migration, identity construction, migrating masculinities and migrant entrepreneurship:

By focusing on how Senegalese migrants construct and reconstruct their identities as they attempt to negotiate their stay in the host context of Durban and how a network of solidarity through brotherhood membership facilitates the establishment and success of trade networks, this study has made a significant contribution because a study of this nature has not been done previously and data on the subject matter is scant. Studying Senegalese migrancy in South an under researched migrant group in this context has engendered critical insights into how Senegalese migrants construct a true sense of belonging for themselves by keeping to their membership to the Muridiyya brotherhood which in turn impacts on their choice of livelihood patterns, promotes economic success and how they construct their identities within a transnational context. As such, the study has bridged a significant gap and contributes to a complete and more nuanced picture of international migration research in South Africa.

The important contribution of this study is that it illuminates how male gender identity construction is a major determinant of migration and informs the activities that migrant men engage in within the transnational space. While scholarship on gender within transnational contexts has mainly focused on women, downplaying the fact that men are equally a gendered category since gender is relational, this study has offered a more critical and comprehensive understanding of men as gendered beings and their experience of migration. It is a very significant contribution since it provides an inclusive approach to gender and migration by portraying how Senegalese migrants attempt to re-negotiate their position in the new gender regimes in Durban and how being incorporated into both masculine and feminized sectors of the economy have impacted on their identity.

A further significant contribution of this study is that it provides an insightful understanding of Senegalese migrant entrepreneurial activities in Durban showing how their business acumen is beneficial for themselves, the host nationals and their families left behind. By focusing on how these migrants operate their businesses, the study contributes to an effective understanding of the

strategies for running and efficiently managing small businesses in South Africa; clarify debates on the activities of migrants in South Africa as well as prompt policy makers to reconsider the South African policy on small scale immigrant entrepreneurship. Also, by probing into and describing Senegalese migrant entrepreneurial success, the study offers a more holistic picture and understanding of entrepreneurial success and that the reasons why migrants choose entrepreneurial livelihoods is not solely because of the economic gains, but also because it is deeply embedded in their cultural and Islamic religious beliefs which predispose them to entrepreneurship and their success therein.

The study has illuminated that Food is the principal means through which Senegalese migrants are able to acknowledge their origin as well as an embodiment of their cultural identity since it plays a very vital role in the production and reproduction of identity and social ties. Through the consumption of Senegalese traditional food the migrants express forms of inclusion and exclusion as well as different social relations between them and others. Food is thus a metaphor of self, a cultural feature and a non-verbal form of communication through which migrants construct the space in which they find themselves. Even though research on migration and migrant adaptation has been burgeoning, the area on how home food is utilized to maintain and reassert migrant identity and at the same time constitute a marker of difference still remains under researched. In light of this therefore, this study is a very vital contribution as it offers a new perspective for understanding Senegalese migrant identity construction and as such is a noble addition to the limited available scholarship on the subject matter.

This study has equally made a fundamental contribution in that it expounds the link between Sufi Islamic religious practices and transnational migration. It highlights how through the precepts of the Muridiyya Islamic brotherhood Senegalese Mouride migrants are offered horizontal and vertical ties through which a sense of community and identity as well as mutual solidarity is safeguarded in a transnational space. Through this religious brotherhood migrants stay in touch with each other and pray together which provides them with an avenue to continue Mouride religious rituals, a place to gather and exchange ideas and help one another, collectively monitor Mouride migrants and is also a cultural space where talibes gain knowledge of and rekindle their Mouride religious thought. Through their religion they thus find hope and inspiration and as such

are able to deal with the challenges posed by migration. This study has furthermore made a contribution in relation to the methodology used more especially the reflexive approach which provided a critical understanding of the complex interchange between methods, theory and data collection and which enabled me to systematically question how my own assumptions which are grounded in the cultural milieu in which I was nurtured can possibly impact on the research findings and analyses.

Although migration is interdisciplinary, Anthropology has played a key role in and has a distinguished track record in migration research. An important specificity of the anthropological approach is the ethnographic inquiry into everyday live and the dimensions of individual's experiences and agency (that is the processes by means of which identity and belonging are lived and negotiated, created and transformed by migrants as agents). Ethnographic techniques, such as participant observation, provide a more holistic, nuanced and contextualized understanding of the lived experiences of trans-migrants. The qualitative anthropological approach to migration allows for a greater understanding of the lived experiences of migrants. This approach was demonstrated in various contexts from the 1950s onwards, beginning with a focus on the receiving societies, but later encompassing the entire, transnational process of migration (Brettall 2000). In Africa the major contributions of anthropology to migration studies have been more in the field of internal rural-urban migration (e.g. Epstein 1958, Mayer 1961, Pederson, 1997 Ferguson 1999 and Gugler 2004) than on transnational migration. A transnational focus in anthropology reflects the general move away from bounded units of analysis as the impact of macro-level processes on migration patterns as well as the agency of migrants is being increasingly acknowledged and incorporated into research design. This study built on this already burgeoning anthropological works on migration for its conceptual framework. It made a significant contribution to anthropological studies on migration in that it provides an explanation (of why people migrate and how the migration experience is given meaning to) that goes beyond economistic reasons in changing socioeconomic contexts. The study emphasizes that cultural factors should be taken into account in the analysis of migrants experiences whereby culture is understood as a resource and process of contestations over meaning.

Finally, another major significance of this study to the discipline of anthropology is that, whilst considerable anthropological work has been published on the subject of gender and migration, this study stands out because of its contribution to the analysis of the intersection of masculinity and migration. Additionally, this study is a rich ethnographic tapestry of migrant experiences that covers themes such as gender, identity, social networking, entrepreneurship and food. The study, through these themes shows how Senegalese migrants make sense of their migration experience in a new transnational space. This falls in line with anthropological studies that attempt to understand subjectivity, meaning, consciousness and identity in contemporary times and is thus quite relevant to the discipline of anthropology.

9.4 Recommendations for Further Research

This thesis is the result of a study based on Senegalese migrants in Durban particularly those who belong to the Muridiyya brotherhood. All but one participant were men who articulated their perceptions of migration and the reasons why migration has remained a male preserve. It is therefore suggested that, a further study needs to be conducted on the reasons for female invisibility in the migration project. The study equally revealed that both men and women are gendered beings and as such, the perceptions and experiences of women need to be studied further. Due to the fact that there are no women migrants, studies can be carried out in Senegal interrogating why women do not migrate. This will provide a more holistic picture as well as add academic rigor on the available literature.

Equally, this study highlighted that the migrant activities such as their involvement in entrepreneurship is beneficial for the migrants themselves and also for the host and home community. It was also contended that Senegalese migrant's involvement in entrepreneurship facilitates their integration into the host society. This means that their relationship and interaction with local South Africans is very crucial and impacts on how they construct and renegotiate their identities. Based on this it would have been critical to include the perceptions of local South Africans in the study. However, because of the scope limitation of this study, this was not possible. It is therefore recommended that this study needs to be extended by examining the

perspectives of South Africans on migrants identity construction and the significance of migrant entrepreneurial activities since this will provide a holistic and more nuanced picture of the subject matter.

Furthermore, it would be of interest to academia to expand this research to incorporate Senegalese migrants of other brotherhoods such as the Qadiriyya, Ttijaniyyah and Layene brotherhoods. Comparing the experiences and the process of Mouride identity construction will enhance the rigor of the existing knowledge.

The few studies that have been conducted on Senegalese migrants in South Africa have been conducted by female. For example, Silvanah Barbali's study of how Senegalese migrants in Port Elizabeth experience Xenophobia, Susana Lliteras' study of Senegalese tijanis in cape Town and Ojong and Fomunyam's study on Senegalese immigrant entrepreneurial entanglements and religious/cultural continuities. All these authors are women who indicate in their studies that their participants were all male Senegalese migrants. The only female is Ayesha who participated in this current study. Given that gender often acts as a barrier to obtaining particular kinds of information, it is suggested that male researchers also engage in research with this migrant group so as to obtain a balanced understanding of the phenomenon of migration in the Senegalese context.

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APPENDICES

Appendix One: Ethical Clearance

**UNIVERSITY OF
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1 November 2011

Ms B N Fomunyam (208519680)
School of Anthropology, Gender and Historical Studies

Dear Ms Fomunyam

PROTOCOL REFERENCE NUMBER: HSS/1124/011D
PROJECT TITLE: Brotherhood Solidarity and the (re) negotiation of identity among Senegalese migrants in Durban.

EXPEDITED APPROVAL

I wish to inform you that your application has been granted Full Approval through an expedited review process:

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. **PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.**

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Professor Steven Collings (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

cc Supervisor – Dr Vivian Besem Ojong
cc Mrs S van der Westhuizen

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Appendix Two: Informed Consent

Read out to all participants at the beginning of the interview

Kindly listen carefully to this before deciding whether or not you want to participate in this study. You are free to ask questions at any time before, during or after your participation. My name is Bilola Nicoline Fomunyam, a Phd student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, department of Anthropology. I am conducting a study on "Brotherhood Solidarity and the (re) negotiation of identity among Senegalese migrants in Durban". The purpose of the study is to examine how Senegalese Mouride migrants in Durban exploit networks of solidarity and brotherhood through dahiramembership to survive as a group and how their affiliation to this brotherhood reinforces their relative economic success in a novel transnational environment. This study is significant in that it will enable me to highlight and document critical insights generated in the area of brotherhood solidarity and the importance of migration for masculinity in relation to the politics of migration and identity in post-apartheid South Africa.

This study is solely for academic purposes. Please note that, apart from my appreciation, I do not promise any form of compensation should you participate in the study. Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary and you have the right to withdraw at any point of the study for any reason, you are free not to answer questions you do not feel comfortable with or to stop the interview at any time without any prejudice. The information that you will provide and your identity will be kept in strict confidentiality. The recorded interviews and field notes will be stored away from the reach of others.The results of this study may however be published in journals or may be presented orally.

The interviews will consist of in-depth interviews and life histories to elicit data from you. The questions in the interviews will be open-ended to allow you to express your experiences and views in detail. The interviews will consist of two encounters on different days. Each encounter will last about 45-60mins. The interviews will be tape-recorded with your permission and notes will be taken in order to capture the information as accurately as possible.

Would you like to continue? **Yes** ………; **No** ……. (Mark where applicable)

If the answer to the question above is yes, the participant should sign this document to indicate his or her consent to participate.

Participant Name: …..
Participant Signature: ……………
Date:………………………

Appendix Three: Interview Guide

1. How long have you been living in south Africa
2. Why did you choose to migrate to south Africa
3. Do you belong to a brotherhood
4. How long have you been a member of this brotherhood
5. Why did you decide to belong to that particular brotherhood
6. Are there are benefits you get from the brotherhood
7. Does the brotherhood benefit from you in any way
8. Who constitute the members of the brotherhood
9. What is the criteria for becoming a member
10. When you got to SA who did you first interact with?
11. How were you related to the person? That is, was the person a relative, a friend or a brotherhood member?
12. Where did you get accommodation? How were you able to arrange for this?
13. What were you doing to earn a living? Were you employed/self employed?
14. How did you get to know about the employment opportunity?
15. Why are there no Senegalese women migrants in Durban
16. Do they migrate to other places but not Durban?
17. Are there any cultural or religious reasons why women don't migrate
18. How is migration related to 'being a man'
19. Did migrating to south Africa make you a 'man' in a Senegalese context

Appendix Four: Map of Durban Showing Location of Study
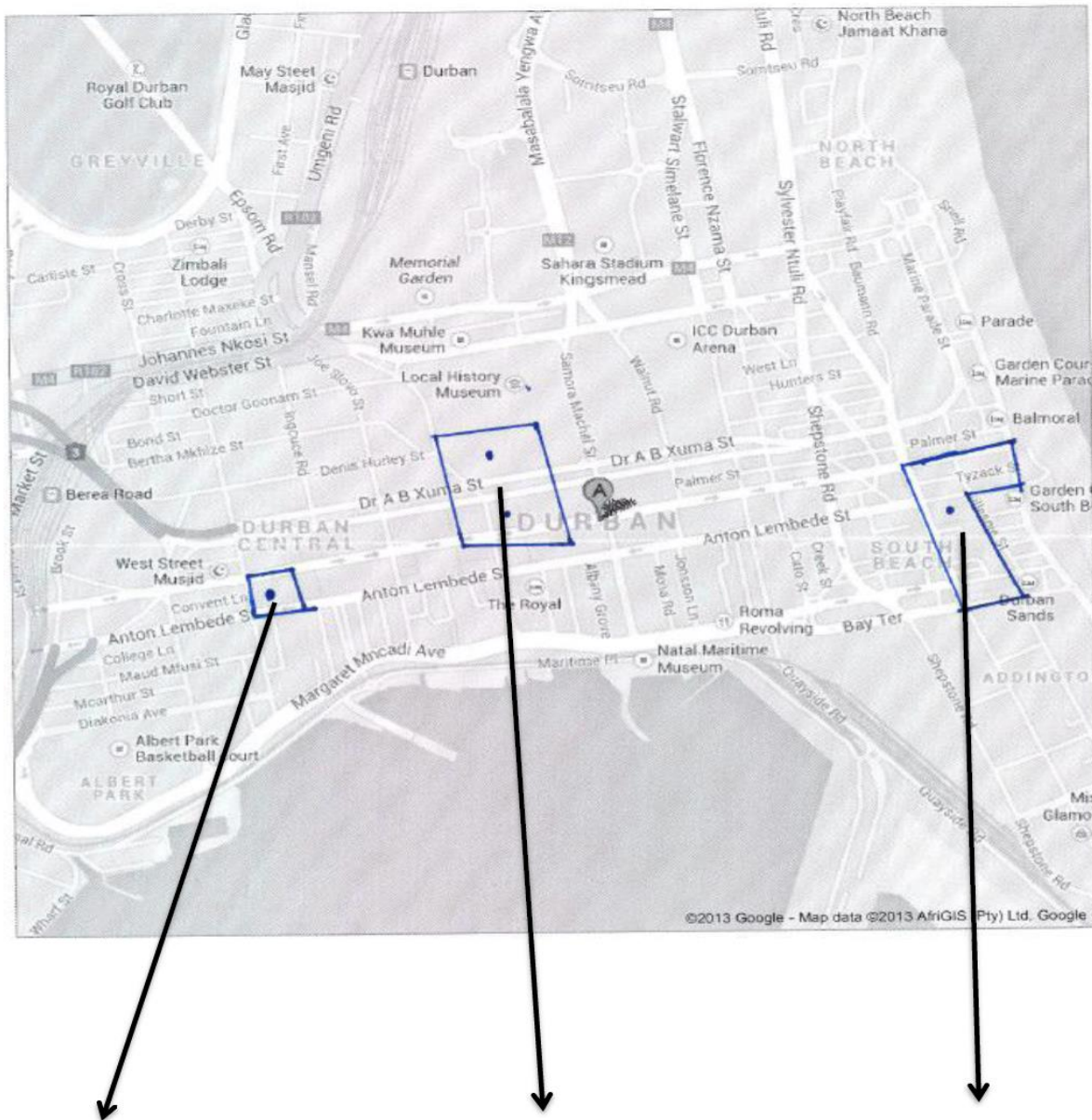
Broad (Dr. Yusuf Dadoo) Street Area

Flee Market at the Workshop Area

Sites surrounding Point Road (Mahatma Ghandi) and Gillespie Street in the South Beach Neighborhood

Adapted from:
https://maps.google.co.za/maps?q=durban&ie=UTF8&hq=&hnear=Durban,+Durban+Meto,+KwaZulu-Natal&gl=za&t=m&z=12&vpsrc=0&ei=03yPUp2RJImE8gPE5YHABg&pw=2

Appendix Five: Map of Senegal

Appendix Six: Photographs

Figure Eleven: Mouride Talibes Praying Together at the Apartment

Figure Twelve: Mourides Talibes at the Durban Dahira

Figure Thirteen: Images Senegalese Businesses