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INFLUENCE OF PATRIARCHAL TRADITIONS ON WOMEN DECISION TO MIGRATE

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ABSTRACT

The study was done in four selected villages in Dodoma region and three selected streets from Dar es Salaam city and Dodoma town. The intention of the study was to find out how patriarchy ideology influences rural-urban migration for women. Specifically this paper uses some of the findings to explain how patriarchal traditions influences women decision to migrate. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and in-depth interviews were employed in data collection in rural areas and towns respectively. It was found out that though women are facing patriarchal constraints in rural areas, migration is not a solution they can easily undertake. Patriarchy traditions become influencing factors on how women evaluate themselves for migration. The socialization process which is patriarchal oriented has influenced the way women evaluate themselves as not meeting the society requirements in migrations decisions they make. Within patriarchal system there have been traditions that deny women their right to control natural resources and what they produce. Consequently, women have ended up poor. Poverty has been an obstacle on women desire for migration but also a problem woman think they can get rid of through rural-urban migration. On the other hand patriarchal marriage arrangements have been unfavorable to women, marriage life has denied women of their freedom and a desire for marriage life has made women dependants over men. Such scenarios have made marriage in general an obstacle on women's decision for migration but also a cause for women rural-urban migration.

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Key words: Patriarchal tradition, women decision to migrate, women socialization to migrate, women social images.

1. INTRODUCTION

There are different reasons for peoples' movements. People may move searching for a higher quality of life (Mabogunje, 1980), livelihood or refuge or just escaping disasters. Such migrations can take place within their own countries, mainly from rural to urban areas, as well as across borders. There has been an increase of women as migrants moving on their own since 1980s. The number of female migrants grew faster than the number of male migrants between 1980 and 1990. Developed as well as developing were the most important receiving countries. Among other factors that may contribute significantly to the decision to migrate are for example, increasing labour demand on the service market in countries of destination, unemployment, low wages, limited social and economic opportunities and the desire to expand their horizons. Women generally face more drastic decision-making and financial earning restrictions to increase income than men.

Female migration is also motivated by other non-economic factors, including surveillance by communities and patriarchal traditions that limit opportunity and freedom, getting out of a bad and abusive marriage, fleeing from domestic violence; and desiring equal opportunities. Discrimination against certain groups of women –single mothers, unmarried women, widows or divorcees, also drives many to move elsewhere.

Women also migrate for the purpose of marriage. Arranged marriages are quite common in some cultures, especially among emigrants from the Indian subcontinent, where both men and women migrate for this purpose. For many, arranged marriages can lead to a lifelong supportive partnership, but some of them can be accurately described as forced. Therefore, women's decisions to migrate depend on many factors: labour market conditions, discrimination and exclusion, unfavorable legislation, risks and the impact on people left behind to mention a few. When one closely scrutinizes the women migration processes he may find the way patriarchal traditions circumvent women migration decisions on one side, but become a major pushing factor on the other. There are different patriarchy practices that push Gogo women to migration.

These range from attribution of gender roles for men and women to practices backed by stereotypes and Cultural Scripts among the Gogo people. In all the above three aspects, inequality becomes vivid at the disadvantage of women that become a pushing factor for women migration.

However, not all women who see potential reasons for migration do actually do so: some do not move at all, others delay the movement, and others move. So, the question is: why do other women move and why do others not move? What is the influence of patriarchal traditions on decision to move? This implies that besides the strategies deployed to make sure that women move, women themselves are involved in something else, evaluations, in order to come with a definite decision to migrate or not. There are three areas in which patriarchal traditions are embedded from which women base their evaluation on either to move or not. These areas are socialization process, one's economic status, and the marital status of women. Further, Presser and Sen (2003) observed that the cause of immigration among women is mainly moving away from oppressive control of patriarchal tradition and improve their socio-economic status. It is further argued that the decision to migrate is mostly personal initiative rather than family decision. This paper therefore intends to find out how patriarchy ideology influences rural-urban migration for women among Gogo communities of Dodoma.

2. METHODOLOGY

This was a qualitative study that was conducted in four selected villages of the Gogo rural communities in Dodoma region in combination with urban areas of three streets in Dar es Salaam city and Dodoma town in Tanzania.

Research design for the study was descriptive design because the study aimed at describing the state of patriarchy and inequality through classification, analysis, and interpretation of data. Descriptive survey was adopted as a method of collecting information by interviewing a sample of individuals. The study aimed at collecting information about people's attitudes, opinion, habits and other social issues related to patriarchy ideology and negotiations over women rural-urban migration.

The methodological approach for the study was ethnographic. This approach implied concentrating its enquiry in the Gogo ethnic group, trying to interpret and understand meanings of reality from the perspective of the Gogo themselves in matters pertaining to patriarchy ideology and negotiations over women rural-urban migration.

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

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

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

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Patriarchal traditions and Women's Decision to Migrate

Patriarchal traditions have been influencing women decision for migration. This has been in terms of how the socialization process has been taking place while enhancing patriarchal

ideologies among individuals. The patriarchal traditions have also been a determining factor on the economic status of women which becomes a base of their decisions they make over migration. On the other hand, the way women enter into marriage life, the type of relations they have in marriage and the marriage opportunity available for them, are all controlled by patriarchal traditions which hardly favor them. All in all, the decisions women make over migration are in one way or the other influenced by patriarchal traditions that surround socialization process, their economic status and marriage opportunities and relations.

3.1 Socialization and Decision to Move

Cultural values are internalized in the society through socialization and become points of reference in judgments that people make. Such values are what the society at large is based its expectations on what individuals are doing. As socialized members of society to specific values, prospective women migrants do evaluate themselves as either meeting or not meeting the expectations of the society in decisions they make about migration. Thus, there are two primary elements that are points for evaluation by prospective women migrants. The first element is about whether or not meeting the expectations of the society. The second element is about the social images of a woman in the urban society. The role of patriarchy ideology on the creation of these two aspects is very significant among the Gogo as it is explained in the following sections.

3.1.1 Meeting the Expectations of Society

Patriarchal structure lays a foundation of the cultural values in the Gogo society from which several expectations are drawn over women. A woman is expected to work in the house, in the farm, and has some off-farm activities. Although going beyond such expectations is just going astray for women, some women try to go beyond such expectations and others not. A woman, who had gotten an opportunity to go to town and did not do so, gives the following account:

"I was asked to go to town to work for my uncle. However, I decided not to go because I had to ensure good up bringing to my children. In case my children developed bad behavior, I, as the mother was to be blamed first. In my absence the children were likely to develop bad behavior since in most of the time their father was away from home".

"I was worried that in my absence, my children might have started looming around the neighbor's houses seeking for help; they would get ignored or abused; they would get nobody to provide them with enough food. This might have led my children to begin developing bad behavior. ... And I was afraid that people might have started complaining that my children are suffering due to their mother's prostitution in town".

"So, much as I did not have enough, I decided to continue in poverty, but making sure that my children are safe. We say in my language that Chimandi chafa na-lulelo" (meaning: Chimandi dies with its children). (Hombolo Makulu FGD, Women, Feb 2010).

Chimandi is a type of a bird that raises its chicks on open ground. It can keep guarding its chicks on the ground even if one steps on it. With this proverb, it is implied that some women choose to suffer from poverty, rather than leaving their children and going to work in town. Such are women who have internalized their role as mothers and responsible for taking care of the children as a result of socialization within patriarchy ideology. It is a shame, among the Gogo people, for women to leave children with their father and go to town. The same perception was discussed by Presser and Sen (2003) with regard to women migration in Uttar prudish and Tamil Nadu in India where the role of taking care of child is to a great extent belonging to women. It is thus unrespectful for a woman in India to leave children with the father and migrate to town for work. On the other hand, it is believed that women know children than men thus leaving children to men connotes escaping of responsibility among married women. This however, is changing among the wealthier and educated households in India where decision making for migration is jointly done among family members. This as a result influences changing of family members' roles including fathers assuming mother's role when she is migrating.

3.1.2 Social Images of a Woman in Town

There is a way in which the Gogo people look at a woman in town. There is an outlook that defines a woman in town as a prostitute. Such women are considered outcasts and useless for the Gogo men. That is a perspective that discourages women from going to town. Such social images on women are based on patriarchy ideologies through which a woman is considered to be meant for a man, so a woman has to keep herself acceptable to him as husband and leader. This

supports the findings by Karlekar (1995) who affirms that in India there is exaltation of the married status as the only desirable or socially acceptable state for women. Right from childhood, little girls are taught to pray for the long life of their husbands to be (whom they do not even know yet); because widowhood is seen as the worst possible punishment a woman could suffer. Young schoolgirls observe fasts so that in later life they may be spared the indignities of widowhood. There are no corresponding fasts observed by boys for their wives' longevity. 'Deergha sumangali bhava' (may your husband live long) is the traditional blessing uttered by elders every time a girl prostrates herself before them on ceremonial occasions.

Again, when Gogo women are in the village, they are able to get some little money that stems from off-farm activities. However, the women are able to survive as they can have the food they have grown and live in the homes of their parents or husbands. In contrary, life in town for women is so hard because everything has to be paid for.These two elements about socialization are very important for a woman to decide to migrate to town or not. For women whose evaluation leans towards how they have been socialized, migration implies loss of social credibility. Such women would be afraid that they might be cursed if they moved away and they would likely lose social ties with their relatives. Due to the acceptance of social expectations and belief in the negative image of a woman in town which stems from the patriarchy ideology, some women have decided to remain in rural areas, much as the negotiations happened in favor of them.

3.2 Economic Status and Decision to Migrate

The economic status is another angle for evaluation of whether to move or not for women. This aspect of the economic status has two primary elements that are points for evaluation by prospective women migrants. The first element is about the expectations of prospective women migrants in town. The second element is about the actual economic situation in which women live in rural areas. Socio-economic powerlessness among women in patriarchy societies pushes them into disadvantaged side when it comes to decision making and negotiations on migration. This has well been manifested even in decision making in sexual reproduction, resulting into derisory access to family planning information, sexual violence, unwanted pregnancies and sexual transmitted diseases (Presser and Sen, 2003). The cultural context in patriarchy society

also has influence on how migration is negotiated at family level controlled by masculine power where submissiveness and obedience among women is highly adhered to basing on cultural norms. Access to resources such as land, domestic animals and family farm income (FFI) is thus determined by the male in the family where women are largely at the losing side. Self-identity is therefore a reflection of how power relations are shared among male and female in the family. Poverty disparity and lack of identity among women at family level as a result becomes an inevitable factor for women rural-urban migration especially in Sub-Saharan Africa (Gracia, et al, 2004).

The patriarchal ideology's influence on women migration negotiation is also witnessed in Uttar prudish of Northern India. Autonomy in control over resources is limited. In fact, negotiations on access to resources are particularly influenced by not only religious but also traditional context. In Most cases and especially in patriarchal societies including Uttar prudish and Tamil Nadu in India women mobility and decision making in choosing what to do and where to go is shaped by social institutions influenced by gender and religious background. For instance, decision making over resources among Muslim women is constrained compared to Hindu women in South India (Presser and Sen, 2003).

3.2.1 Expectations of prospective Gogo Women migrants over town life

The hard life that women face economically in the rural areas make them find urban areas as promising where on one can run to. However, they have reservations in decisions they make on migration. Women find town significant if one gets into it with specific objectives.

Town is so nice for work: you just have to know what you want to do in town. You should have a program and there you will have money. ... And you do not do so many things as you do in the village, and you still get money and enjoy life. ... (Hombolo Bwawani Women FGD Feb. 2010).

Women assume that having decided on what one is going to do in town can lead into having a good timetable on activities to be done there. Some activities that were done in the villages are expected to be reduced as either they are not productive or they cannot be undertaken in town life. For example, women do not expect to continue with agricultural activities once they are in town. This conforms to Walby (1990) that women expect to get free of patriarchal mode of

production" in the farm where women's labour is expropriated by their husbands and others who live there. Prospective Gogo women migrants are after paid jobs in town. This makes them get rid of all tedious activities involved in agriculture from farm preparation to harvesting. Women, also, expect that in town social services like water and charcoal collecting are within easy reach, and therefore reduce workload. For women, managing to live in town means self-emancipation from disadvantageous and tedious activities they have been doing for the long time in the village. The issue of enjoyment of life is reference to modern life. This means the use of electricity, tap water, going to pubs and bars, and staying in relatively decent houses; it also means the use of modern foods and modern ways of dressing, plus using modern means of transport such as cars, buses, motorcycles and trains.

All is not that simple in town, but women think that they can manage:

There is quite a lot of things to do in town. And the more you work the more you can get money. Sometimes, actually, you do not have time to do all you would like to do because you are stressed with house work alone or working in a bar or pub. … and sometimes, when you are in town, you start missing home; but this is always part of the story: there is no good life without suffering. Either choose good life in town with some of these small problems, or choose to stay in the village with all the problems. (Life story, Kwa-Mwatano, Dodoma April 2010).

So, much as there are expectations of good life in town, there are also challenges, which women migrants think are manageable.

3.2.2 Actual Economic Situation of Rural Women and Decision to migrate

The economic hardships that women face within patriarchy system in rural areas have made them think of running to town as a solution. However, such hardship has been an impediment on women desire for rural-urban migration. Rural women live with lots of financial constrains. They lack money and property as it is vivid in this narration:

I do have a small table where I sell some food; I also sell some vegetables…. The money I get I use it to buy more food, sauce, and I have to buy books for the children. Sometimes, I have to make sure that my husband gets a drink or I buy him a coat….. So, you have no money left to travel at all (Mvumi Makulu FGD, Women March 2010).

The money that women obtain from off-farm activities may be quite little to sustain their movement to Dar es Salaam city which is their ideal destination area in migration trajectory. The money is used for so many activities. The money could suffice to reach a close town, such as Dodoma, but might be difficult for a woman migrant to move from Dodoma to Dar es Salaam. There are no clear sources of income for rural women as the young adults depicted:

… If you still have your parents, it is difficult that you have a house or piece of land because you have not received inheritance at all; it is also not easy to buy your own land: where would you get the money from? … But even if you had a piece of land or house that you have inherited, selling it is not easy because it is considered as the property of the family. … (Juhudi FGD, Young Adults, March, 2010).

Lack of finance and property becomes a stumbling block to decide to move because if a woman had money, she would pay for herself the journey; and if she had property she would sell and get money in order to move.

Again, having property can be a block to move:

I inherited a portion of land from my father and managed to construct a house. Having a house was for me a good thing because then I would live in the village comfortably at my home. I simply needed to go to the farm, do some small businesses, and come back home to sleep. … And if I moved, who would take care of my land and house? (Hombolo Makulu, FGD, Women, Feb. 2010)

This account gives a story of a woman who got inheritance, but she cannot detach herself from it. She is stuck with the property in the village and she cannot move. And for married women, the situation can be very complicated when one has property, as this woman who is married tries to account why she never migrated, even though she had got a job opportunity in town:

In my marriage, I had got some property. But as a married woman, I did do not have a specific place of my own to live in terms of a house or a room; all belonged to my husband. So, when I got a chance to go and work in town, I had a problem of thinking where I could keep my few

things. For me the properties I had accumulated were important and that was my treasure. I did not like to leave them behind with my husband, who had mistreated me all the time. So, going to town for me would have meant loss of my property. ... Keeping the property with friends was another possibility, but I did not want this because people leave things with their friends and when they come back, the property is not there: it is used or sold or old. ...(Mvumi Makulu FGD, Women March 2010)

So, while a woman without economic power is limited to move as she cannot get even bus fare to move, sometimes even women who have property can fail to move because they cannot leave their property behind.

3.3 Marriage Status of Women and Decision to migrate

Marriage life in general has been a determinant factor decision to migrate or not among the Gogo women. Expectations in marriage may not be met, for example absence of love, cooperation, tolerance, money, comfort, patience, and when partners lose hope. Consequently, there is possibility of separation, and it is at this moment when town life is thought of as an alternative.

Mostly, having children brings up security in marriage for women. Failure to get children leads to harassment of women by their husbands and in-laws; in such circumstances, the rural community does not accept such women. In the past, if it happened to a Gogo woman that did not conceive, they would discuss with her husband and agree that the man marries another relative of hers so that they get to raise children in their home. Nowadays, such agreements are hardly practiced.

Among the Gogo people, if a girl stays for long without being married, then different stories are made around her: That her parents do practice fetishism; the girl is boastful; or she was made so by her parents on witchcraft basis so that they become rich. People will call her 'sitawalume' (meaning: the one who ignores men). They can also call her 'sinoni' (meaning: the one who has never been engaged or being approached by any man). Such values have been internalized in the society to an extent that they become an insult to the concerned. They are even portrayed in the traditional songs for marriage or initiation ceremonies to alert the youths:

Si magu gwegwe muhinza mwana-nhendu. Sigwegwe sinoni, ase chimalile sese chowazelelo. Chomtya chomsinhusa yolema sinoni (Gogo language). (Meaning: I don't know you daughter of any man. Is it not you the non-married? Let us understand, we the boys. She thinks we shall seduce her, the non married ignores) (Hombolo Makulu FGD,Women Feb 2010)

Women do opt to move to town as they understand that marriage criteria that favor them in rural areas, may not be the same in town. Traditionally, when a non-married Gogo lady grew up, she decided to set herself apart from the parents and established her own home. Her parents considered her a grown up person and they gave her freedom. Failure to get married at expected age gave worry and one could decide to migrate to town to avoid insulting comments from people. For girls, failure to get married is a pushing factor to town at their early age.

On the other hand, marriage status of women influences their evaluation on migration. A woman is considered an asset of the family due to bride price expected to be paid or paid already. Her migration to town would mean a risk towards losing that bride price for the family. It was narrated:

I was just worried with the situation of separating with the husband and start new life alone. The problem is I, as a Gogo woman, am respected when I am married. I was also worried of the conflict I was going to cause between me and my parents, especially my father. I had to close my eyes and decide to migrate. ... (Life Story Chasimba, Dar es Salaam, April 2010).

Though a woman may be in bad terms with her husband, migrating to town is not given the first priority when she thinks of making her life easy. A husband means security to her and in whatever she does or owns. The ideal Gogo married woman depends on her husbands decisions, so she would always seek consensus with her husband. In most cases, women migrate as the last resort for freeing themselves from the contradictions between them and their husbands; they do take risk and leave their children behind with their husband for sometime before they can decide to leave with them in town. However, when women notice that their husbands have sexual relations with other women that become a source of big conflict that can really make a woman migrate.

Sometimes women are badly treated by the in-laws after her husband's death. They do so in order that she opts to leave the house and the wealth she may have acquired from the deceased. She can normally decide to leave, for her home (at her parents) and later to migrate. In case, however, she has children to care of, children become an obstacle in her decision to migrate. This widow may have nobody to leave her children with and go to town. She is also not used to living alone because the death of a husband can mean a total new life to a woman in caring for children, managing plantations, and in-laws. In such extreme circumstance, some women escape to town in order to make ends meet.

Traditionally a non married Gogo woman is not respected by people in rural areas. She is regarded as a failure. The mother has a hard time when it happens that her daughter has overstayed without getting married. In some families the father may start developing hatred to his daughter and her mother in case she does not get married timely. This is because the mother is expected to socialize her daughter in such a way that she develops good behavior, and then be able to attract a man for marriage. Good behavior include respecting people and working very hard. She must be accompanying by her mother to the farm and sometimes she must have her own farm of maize, millet or groundnuts. In case the society recognizes that she is a lazy girl, men will avoid her for marriage; so rural life will be no longer a happy life for her. She may decide to shift to another village where she has a relative or she may migrate to town. As she shifts to another village, she has an expectation that she may get married as they do not know her background.

Apart from securing a job in town a girl is also expecting to get a husband in town. She can get married even to a non-Gogo man, 'Mkonongo', though traditionally this is not an ideal man for marriage. Being married to 'Mkonongo' may lead to permanent migration to town since one understands that her husband is not accepted by the rural Gogo community.

A widow is also tempted to migrate due to a number of reasons. After the death of the husband, a widow loses most of her rights and she may be in conflict with her brothers-in-law. She has no assistance in upbringing the children or she may be in conflict with her children who want to own wealth left by the deceased. Children may give their mother a hard time in such a way that

she finds her home no longer a good place to live. Alternatively a woman finds another place to live; if not going to her relatives in rural areas, she may migrate to town and start a new life there.

After the death of husbands, some women find it good for them to leave the home to another area so that they create an opportunity for being married again. However, the outsiders who find it not good for her to stay there can influence a widow to move. On the other hand her prospective husband, ('*hawala'),* can convince her that she has to find another home so that they get free and if possible they may marry each other.

However, separation in marriage is not something women can engineer but just to avoid. Women do claim that they have to make efforts for protecting their husbands against other women. As one woman (respondent) said:

... If you just leave your husband to talk with different women, you are likely to lose him. You should make sure other bad women know that you are aware of them and you may cause them trouble in case you find them with your husband. Don't you know that a man out of your sight is not yours? (Mvumi Makulu, FGD, Women March 2010).

Consequently, women claim that they hesitate to leave to town due to maintaining security to their husbands. They have an idea that when a man is left alone he loses control. He may even become drunkard or join a bad company. A man can opt to get married to another woman. This indicates that under normal circumstances, a woman never sees a need to migrate to town. She will always aim at maintaining good relationship with her husband and protect him by any means.

Some girls are forced to get married at early ages, and sometimes to old men as second or third wives. When they grow up they realize they are living a hard life and decide to escape. Town becomes an ideal place to run to:

It was due to forced marriage that made me to escape from rural area. I was at 14 when they just forced me to get married to an old man who had another wife. Since I was still young I even did

not get pregnant, so life started to be bad as my husband started hating me. After that I just escaped from that man to Arusha to my sister then to Dar-es-Salaam to work as a house girl at Manzese (Life story, Chasimba Dar es Salaam April 2010).

Thus, a woman migrant has to evaluate her position from the marriage status point of view. This is in line with Phizacklea (2000) who maintains that while migration provides an economic escape route, it provides a social escape route as well. She refers to two studies by Morokvasic (1983) and Gray (1996) on Irish and Yugoslav women migrants when she posits that:

"...migration was not always an enforced response to economic hardship but also a calculated move on the part of individual gendered actors who could see that migration also served as an escape route from a society where patriarchy was an institutionalized and repressive force."

Depending on the circumstances and conditions she is in, a woman can endorse migrating or not. This long section has discussed an important question as to why some women after the strategies in order for them to move actually move and others do not move. The response stays in the fact that besides the strategies deployed to make sure that women move, women are involved in evaluations rotating around their socialization as women, their economic status, and their marital status. At this level of evaluation, the decision to move or not is very personal. Personal decision making on where and when to migrate is also practiced by Philippines and Sri Lankans. With fear of being stopped by male kinship from migration decision on migration is kept as secret until some day to move. Secondly, both Philippines and Sri Lankan women are by traditionally autonomous in decision making (Oishi, 2002). This is quite different with women migrants in West African countries such as Mali and Côte d'Ivoire where extended families are patrilineally headed, working as family and discouraging individual income generation projects. Decision to migration thus belongs to the whole family (de Haan, 2000). However, personal initiative to move as discussed by Presser and Sen (2003) belongs to individual migrants. It is interesting to note that division of labour changes to fill gap of the family member migrating to the extent of family member assuming opposite gender roles of whom Presser and Sen (2003) terms themselves as 'passive victims of migration'.

CONCLUSION

Different strategies may be employed in order to influence women migration. However, strategies are not enough to make a woman migrate; an extra effort of evaluation is needed by a woman herself. Her socialization, economic status, and marriage status are cardinal points for her self-evaluation in order to migrate or not. Such basic areas for a woman's self-evaluation are established within a patriarchy ideology making patriarchy system a major influencing factor on women decisions to migrate or not.

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