ers? The answers to such questions can be only speculative. What appears plausible is that such alternative ways of achieving similar diversion and recycling outcomes would come likely at a higher cost to taxpayers and not likely at a similarly efficient use of energy resources. For policy, encouraging and supporting this entrepreneurship may be the economic winner and almost certainly the environmental winner.

Understanding the recycling entrepreneurs of the informal economy as agents who advance the cause of urban environmental sustainability opens up possibilities for legislation and policy that do not pitch economic interests against environmental interests. Recycling entrepreneurship in the informal economy shows that we may be able to enhance the sustainability of urban environments while at the same time possibly integrating this one sector of the informal economy into the formal economy.

Last but not least, recognizing the currently misunderstood collectors of refundable value beverage containers of the informal economy for the recycling entrepreneurs that their actions suggest they really are promises to benefit general social well-being without adding to the costs of social welfare: When we recognize that the recycling entrepreneurs are entrepreneurs, we will have restored dignity to their economic activity.

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History of Migration and Contributions of Indian Women in Zambia

Comparison with South African Indian Women

Kamini Krishna

Introduction

The history of Indian women's participation in Zambian economy, from their inception, has somehow received no attention from scholars. It is important to note that researchers and historians who wrote on the Indian Diaspora in Africa either neglected or overlooked an important part of the diaspora history. Women who gradually joined contributed in economic sectors first indirectly and then directly. As such, it can be argued that the Indian women in the economic sectors of Zambia have been largely ignored. Hence, this article looks into Indian women's contribution in Zambia from the beginning and the growth through time of their contribution in the economic sectors both directly and indirectly. Due to the absence of written records, this article is based

on interviews with Indian women whose families came to Zambia before the 1960s.

The region constituting India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka is broadly termed as the Asian subcontinent. The word Asian is generally used to refer to the people from this region. However in Africa, Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, and Sri Lankans are widely addressed as Indians and scholars use the terms Asians and Indians interchangeably. This is partly because most of the migration into Africa, especially East Africa, from these regions took place during the British rule, when India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh were collectively ruled as India (Delf 1963: ix). Sri Lankans, despite being from a country of their own even during the British rule, were easily absorbed into this term due to the relative smaller migrant proportion and also due to their similarities in physical appearance and culture. This article focuses on Indians from India.

Eminent scholars like Ghai, Dotson and Dotson, Mangat, Virmani, Bhatia, Phiri, and Mfuzi have researched the topic of Indians in Zambia. They have generally examined the arrival of Indians and their economic activities in the eastern province of Zambia, and their gradual advancement into other parts of the country. The above scholars have highlighted the problems faced by the Indians in their business. Dotson and Dotson, for example, have focused on the tireless working Indians in jobs like vegetable hawking, mending shoes, and market gardening. Concerning their work, Indians who competed in business with white settlers were often treated with hostility by them (Dotson and Dotson 1968: 37). Phiri (2000: 4) also discusses Indians who faced racial discrimination during the colonial period and emphasizes the neglect of the Indian diasporas in the historiography of Zambia. Gregory mainly focuses on India's relationship with East Africa in the period 1890–1939, essentially studying race relations within India, Africa, and Britain. He alludes mostly on East Africa where the interaction between the three was most intense (1971: 2).

Historical Background

This section presents a brief history of the Indian presence in the Eastern part of Africa and in Zambia. It is important to note that the arrival of Indians in Africa during the colonial period was not a new phenomenon since their migration dates back to centuries before colonization. In fact, according to Delf (1963: 1), a small number of Indians have lived in the coastal regions for centuries, arriving long before the days of European settlement. Coupland has drawn attention to the long-standing Indian facility for trading along the eastern coast of Africa. He writes that much of the ocean shipping was Indian-owned and -manned, and since Arabs in general seemed never to have shown much bent for the techniques of business, it is probable that the Indians were from the earliest days the masters of finance, the bankers, the money-changers, and money-lenders (Coupland 1938: 27). Notably, Marco Polo,[1] a merchant from the Venetian Republic (1254–1324) wrote of Indian ships to have visited the island of Madagascar and that of Zanzibar (Polo 1818: chap. 26).

During the era of European rule, the workers, called "indentured laborers," were uprooted from their native countries to work in the mines, sugarcane farms, construction of building or railways, etc. in other parts of the colonized world. The manual laborers from India that worked for the British colonies were called "Coolie Workers".[2] Gregory argues that in developing East Africa, companies utilized the laws and personnel of the Government of India as well as the Indian indentured labor (1971: 48). Delf highlights that the Kenya-Uganda railway was the foundation of East African development, which could not have been built, at least for many years, without the Indian labor (1963: 14). Gradually the same laborers adopted a business venture, and, of all people who were at one time or another involved in the East Africa trade, indeed the Indians showed themselves the most persistent and more resilient (Ghai 1965: 1).

The first Indians made their appearance in Fort Jameson (now Chipata), a cultural extension of Nyasaland, where Sir Harry Johnston (by this time commissioner and administrator of Nyasaland – now Malawi) encouraged Indian immigration to get clerks, telegraphists, and traders into the country (Gann 1964: 146). Prithuish (1977: 64) highlighted that the first migration of Indians took place in 1904 in Fort Jameson and, with the Europeans, they settled in Livingstone in 1905. Phiri alludes that almost all Indians in colonial Zambia came from the Gujarati [Gujarat] province in western India or were descendant from the immigrants there (2000: 1). In northern Rhodesia (later to become Zambia) the

1 Marco Polo was a merchant from the Venetian Republic whose travels are recorded in "Il Milione," a book which did much to introduce Europeans to Central Asia and China.

2 As "indentured laborers" Indians were surveyors, clerks, masons, carpenters and draught men, whereas "Coolies" in a short sense were unskilled laborers; and even professionals were also indentified with this derogatory moniker, e.g., Gandhi was called the "Coolie Lawyer" in apartheid South Africa.

1904 principle of literacy testing in European language was introduced administratively. At first, this effectively reduced immigration, but after 1939 the test requirements ceased to operate as any real obstacle (Ghai and Ghai 1971: 7).

Like in other parts of Africa, Indians gradually established their own businesses and saved a bit to support their families back home (and even sponsored their relatives to join them in the new settlements). According to Ghai and Ghai, Indians were never a dominant power in Eastern or Central Africa and "they have never had any strong support from the governments of their countries of origin." They further argued that Indians had no ambition of aggression and annexation (1971: 5). Gann noted that in Nyasaland (Malawi) there were no poor White traders comparable to those in northwestern Rhodesia, and Indians soon made some headway there. He summarized the conditions of Indians and their work in these words: no profit is too small, or inconsiderable, no time too long to devote to the successful driving of a bargain (Gann 1964: 146).

Some Indians came on their own initiative and were different from those who came as indenture laborers and who were extremely poor, with limited education, and with little subsequent mobility. These people came for the purpose of trade and set up small businesses, such as general stores known to this day as the *duka*, originating from the Hindi word *dukan* meaning a shop. The storekeepers, known as the *dukawalla*, were instrumental in opening shops in remote parts of the country (Ghai and Ghai 1971: 6). It is admirable to read a comment from a former British Consul of the Asian of the time: His (Indian's) manner of life, domestic in the extreme is nevertheless so thrifty, so fugal and his wants, bounded by a little curry and rice, are so inexpensive, that few there are who cannot remit a rupee to India at the end of the year, to add to the store (Gann 1964: 147). The above statement gives us a glimpse of the commitment and hard work required by the new Indians in this new country to survive and establish themselves.

It is mandatory to look at the reasons for the migration of Indians to Africa. According to the founders of the Imperial British East Africa Company – Sir William Mackinnon, Sir Donald Stewart, and Sir John Kirk –, the British rulers hoped to provide an outlet for India's surplus population (Gregory 1971: 47). Lugard, Macdonald, and Gerald Portal argued chiefly that the railway would promote Indian immigration to East Africa and provide release for the congested districts of India (*Bulletin* 1923: 17 f.). As Delf pointed out, the Indians left for a better life outside India and noted that they knew that life, for example, in Kenya held more hope of prosperities than it did in India (1963: 29). On the other hand, the economic situation under the British rule in India was very poor. The British policy towards cottage industries in India, for example, brought most of the factories to near shut down. Farmers were forced to grow cash crops that contributed to hunger and some even lost their land to heavy taxes. Kuper reports that village life in some parts of India was harsh; the country was underdeveloped, periodically famine-stricken and ravaged by disease. The hope of industries had decayed with the imposition of British goods and textiles, whilst peasants were in need of land (1960: 10). These reasons largely contributed to people looking for opportunities outside their country. With Africa sharing the same colonizer, who favored such migration, it became an easier choice for the Indians to migrate.

Indians in northern Rhodesia occasionally faced resistance, both from the Europeans and local Africans. Virmani argues that the Asians, Africans, and Whites in northern Rhodesia were all perched at different angles with nothing in common in their approach. Africans disagreed to the imposition of Federal Government (controlling all the important economic sectors) and boycotted Asian and European shops (1989: 93). Prior to this, the Europeans disliked Indian traders due to the stiff competition they faced by the Indian traders. According to McCulloch, towards the end of the Second World War, Asians had ousted European traders from the African trade (1956: 3). Dotson and Dotson argued that Indians competed with pioneer Whites and, therefore, invoked hostility from them (1968: 37). These statements clearly prove that within a short period of time the Indian traders faced two different groups of competitors; the European ruling and settler minorities and the African majority.

The conflicts between Indians and Africans were deep rooted. Apart from economic rivalry, it will not be out of place to argue that comments from the European rulers on India's involvement in Africa to a large extent negatively provoked the African sentiments. In the 1920s, Sir H. Johnston described East Africa as the possible America of Hindus and contemplated the growth of Entebbe (Uganda) as the future Calcutta, a new capital on the Mau plateau as the Simla, Mombasa as the Bombay, and the Fort Portal as the Darjeeling of the new East African Empire (Mangat 1966: 63). However, the European rulers boasted of themselves as remaining the rulers of Africa, and lowly categorized Indians as developers and the African as laborers. The lack of racial integration between the three communities, imposed indirectly by the British rulers, facilitated

this to some extent. Ghai and Ghai observed that members of the three different races were forced to go to different schools and lived in different localities, unable to share social and cultural amenities, and it is not surprising that they remained ignorant of one another's customs, needs, and aspiration (1971: 8). Europeans also maintained their superiority amongst the Indians and Africans, and stirred up conflict amongst them.

It has been alluded by few historians that initially those, who were benefiting from the federation, were been blamed to be collaborating with the colonial rules aiding it in suppressing and delaying African independence (Mfuzi 2000: 40). Due to this reason their shops from the mid-1950s and early 1960s were targeted in politically motivated boycotts. During such a boycott in Livingstone, which started on the 1st of June 1956, having been declared by the African National Congress, Asian shop owners on Queensway lost between £ 2,000 and £ 3,000 in sale during the first four days of the boycott. There were between 25 and 30 Asia shops on Queensway at the time (*Livingstone Mail* 1956: 1).

Apart from business, Indians gradually got involved in the political sector. By the 1940s, Indians in Fort Johnson were already involved in politics at the local level. Previously, they had been accused by the Africans nationalists as being collaborators. Indians generally kept a low profile in nationalist politics. However, there is much evidence that suggests that Indians politically were not inactive as suggested by early nationalist historiography of the independence struggle (Phiri 2000: 46).

Historians have argued that initially the political involvement of Indians was motivated by economic gain. Hence, it is not unexpected that during the African nationalist struggle against the impeding Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland a number of Indians supported the federal cause against Africans will on economic grounds. They expected the Federation to provide major economic opportunities and also to stipulate an expanded market. Gradually, when they realized that in the near future the Federation would be demolished and that the African nationalists would take over the country, they switched sides and began to support the nationalists. Both the African National Congress (ANC) and the United National Independent Party (UNIP) received financial support from Indian traders (Phiri 2000: 49). By the 1950s, Indians formed two organizations whose objectives were to help Africans in their struggle for political independence (*Public Record Office* n. d. a).

There is evidence that several Indians became associate members of the ANC in the 1950s and extended their financial and moral support to the nationalist struggle.The General Secretary of the Associated Chamber of Commerce, Chunibhai Chitabhai Patel was also an associate member of the ANC. In Lusaka, the ANC meetings were taking place in Narain Bhagga's shop in Cha Cha Cha Road, where Harri Nkhumbula and Kenneth Kaunda were president and secretary respectively. A significant number of Indians were actively involved with Zambian freedom fighters, namely Vithal Pragji Ranchhod[3] (his father Pragji Bhagwanji Ranchhod was also active in the Zambian nationalist movement), Kantilal Pragji Ranchhod, Rambhai Levabhai Patel (popularly known as Kanjombe), Kalidas Naginbhai, Chhaganlal Dahyabhai Naik, Suleman Limbada, Sally Bhayyat, Mr. Badatt, Chhotubhai Baberbhai Parmar, Sumanlal Dalpathbai Naik, Narain Bhhaga, and many more. It is of particular importance to note that the number of Indians who were associated with the ANC grew to thirty-five by the year 1950 and the ANC constitution granted associate membership to the Indians (*Public Record Office* n. d. b). According to Kantilal Pragji Ranchhod, 60% of Indian Hindus were members of the UNIP by 1964.[4]

As time passed, Indians joined either the ANC or the UNIP, but their participation in African nationalist politics had little effect on Asian businesses as a whole. This was mainly because their participation was a clandestine affair. A major contribution by Ratilal Vallabhai Kapadia (who owned a dressmaking business) cannot be overlooked. He donated a house called the "Freedom House," for UNIP activities in Freedom Way, opposite Limbada shop. His grandson, Dilip Kumar Kapadia,[5] confirmed that the same was later donated in the name of the "People of Zambia" to convert it to a museum or as memorial house. When Kaunda was jailed, Kanjombe was the one to provide him with food. One can undoubtedly infer from this act that he was a devoted nationalist.

There was a time, when non-Europeans were sold postal tickets through windows of a post office; in the years 1948–49, many Indians protested and entered in the post office close to Cha Cha Cha Road. Author gathered information different Indians that when Kaunda was going to Britain, the woolen cloths were provided by late Lalbhai Patel of Kabwe who owned a retail shop. In the years 1962–63, a cultural programme was organized by the Hindu Association of Kabwe to entertain the na-

3 Interview with V. P. Ranchhod, August 29, 2013.
4 Interview with K. P. Ranchhod, July 23, 2012.
5 Interview with Dilip Kumar, August 25, 2013.

tionalist leaders and to initiate an arrangement of providing food to all of them.[6]

The Asians contributed to the nationalist cause through moral and most importantly through financial support, which was done in a discreet manner. Consequently, their contribution remained unnoticed by the colonial authorities and was misguided as they saw most members of the Asian community as sympathizer of the colonial ruler. Hence, they were left alone to transact their business unimpeded.

Men became gradually involved in Zambian politics, especially after the independence. After Zambia achieved independence, the government started looking to India for material and moral support and since then the Indian community has played a meaningful role in the Zambian economy. By the 1968–70 reform, Indians faced a setback when both retail and wholesale trade were reserved to Zambians and many Indians were forced out of the business along with same Whites and non-Zambian Africans but gradually things changed. Since independence, Zambian citizenship is open to all races and undoubtedly most non-Africans who have adopted it, have prospered. At the time of taking the office, Kaunda assured the people of Zambia that Zambia would became an exemplary country where people of all races, beliefs, and opinion would be able to live happily (Virmani 1989: 195). Girish Mistry, son of Vallavbhai Dayabhai Mistry, notified that in the 1960s his father was nominated as the MLC. By the end of the Kaunda era, many Indians who were born in Zambia joint political parties and were elected as members of Parliament, for example, Deepak Patel, Suresh Desai, Yusuf Badat, Naeem Gai, Hamid Hammer, etc. Yusuf Badat served as the Deputy Minister of Health until 2001 and then as Minister of Commerce and Trade under President Chiluba. Suresh Desai, also of Indian origin, was Minister for Agriculture under Chiluba's Government. Deepak Patel was elected as an MP in 1991 while he was also a member of the Multi Movement Democratic (MMD) Party's National Executive committee. He was appointed as Deputy Minister of Trade, Commerce, and Industry from 1991 to 1992; he then went on to hold a succession of cabinet positions in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (1992), then the Ministry of Youth, Sports, and Child Development (1992–93), and then again in the Ministry of Trade, Commerce, and Industry (1993–96). In the 1996 election, he ran without any party affiliation and was reelected to his seat representing Lusaka Central. Though he was almost arrested in 2001 owing to his less popular comments on the late Levy Mwanawasa (the then President) he was later appointed to the position of Cabinet Minister of Trade, Commerce, and Industry in February 2003. During the late Mwanawasa's term, Patel served as chair-co-coordinator for the Least Developed Countries' with World Trade Organization negotiations in 2005. Hamir was elected as MP in 2006 before being appointed as deputy Land Minister by the late President Mwanawasa in 2007. He was later reappointed by President Banda in 2008 to serve in the same capacity. Mr. Ziad Gai and Mr. Nasin-ul-Gary Hamour are among a few upcoming political leaders from the Indian diaspora community. In the last elections, Kiran Ranchhod, who is an active member of the UPND, contested from Matero constituency.

Undoubtedly Indians' positive contribution to the Zambian political history has been, conspicuously, kept out of the mainstream of academic discussion. Phiri eludes it differently; in his opinion, Indians generally lead a private and closed life and generally do not want to bring their economic and political affairs together.[7] As such they are uncomfortable to discuss their political affiliation openly. On top of this, Colonial Office records do not produce much, regarding Indian political participation during the colonial period.

The Appearance of Indian Women on Zambian Soil

In what follows I examine the arrival of Indian women on Zambian soil and their gradual involvement in the economic sectors. No doubt, Indian women played a remarkable role in the social, economic, and the politics in their own country and even where they settled and were seen devoted to raising their families.

According to the national census records, there is no evidence of Indian women in Zambia until 1909. The arrival of these women was perhaps noticed only after 1911.

It is of paramount importance to brief here that the first group of women who came to Zambia lacked adequate education due to traditional biasness. Being from humble families, they did not take part in economic or in any other sector, openly. However, they undoubtedly firmly support their spouses and in the course of time took part in nationalist causes, albeit in a small but impressive scale. It was also not possible to gather enough firsthand information due

6 Interview with Jayaben Premji Patel, August 20, 2013.

7 B. J. Phiri is a professor at the University of Zambia, Department of History.

Table 1: Northern Rhodesia Report of the Director of Centers, 1911, 1931, 1931, 1946 and 1951, University of Zambia (UNZA); Library Special Collection.

Year	Male	Female	Total
1911	37	2	39
1921	55	1	56
1931	144	32	176
1946	835	284	1,119
1951	1,673	856	2,529

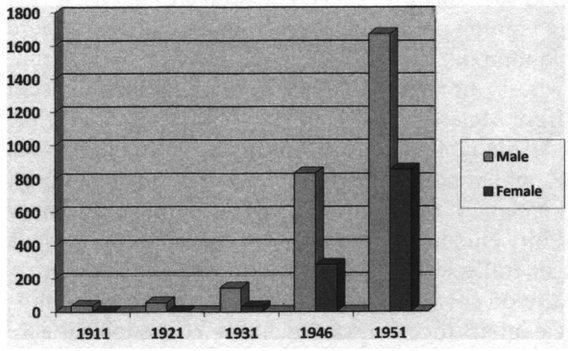

Chart based on data given in Table 1.

to their demise, but important information has been obtained from their families and friends.

In the next step I will be looked upon the women who arrived in Zambia from the period of 1911 to 1920. Kashiben T. Patel (probably among the first women to come to Zambia) arrived with her husband Thakurbhai Patel between 1908 and 1920. The couple gradually set up their own shop in Livingstone. Kashiben was deeply involved in raising their children and was active in supporting her husband indirectly. The family eventually moved to Lusaka in time. Similarly, Kusum L. Patel, wife of Lalbhai Patel, supported her husband's business in Kabwe but remained behind the curtain. There were a significant number of women in this period who played an important role in their husband's business silently (details could not be gathered). It further was noticed that a few women, who migrated to Zambia as the very first generation after 1940s, had stepped out of isolation and were seen in shops. Examples can be drawn from such families where the author gathered information from their siblings, like Bhikinen V. Patel who accompanied her husband to Zambia in the late 1940s and was active in running her own business in Kabwe initially, then in Lusaka, since her husband was working for a Rukhiben D. Patel of Choma. Kiran Parmar's mother, Personben L. Nayee Bikhiben B. Mistry indirect vital contributions led to her earning a lot of respect within the family. One would appreciate that the above women had difficulties in communicating with both the local African and the White rulers. The above information indicates that women who left India before 1940 had lesser exposure and more traditional bound than the women coming after 1940. If we analyze the situation of their home country, we learn to know that women came out to participate in different sectors, after the 1940s more than ever before. Zulekha Mahdhu migrated to Zambia in 1947 with her husband Kasamtalab (served in the Burma front during the Second World War) and gradually settled in Luanshya and opened a shop called "Durbar Commercials and Sons," where Zulekha was actively supporting her husband.

This section contains information from women who by then were the second generation, a generation who was more educated than the earlier generation and who were not shy to leave the house and who gradually ended up owning their business. These women were born in Zambia and got married to Indians within and contributed in their family business. They were seen participating in social work within their capacity. Worth mentioning is Phuliben P. Ranchhod who was trained and educated in Bulawayo and took a keen interest in her husband's business and was an equal partner of P. Ranchhod and Co. and West End Outfitters. Alongside this she was deeply involved in social work. Under her leadership many other women, namely Bhikiben Patel, Taraben Dullabhai, Bhulliben, and Shantaben Mistry, actively participated in social work. Late Fulliben joined the Red Cross Society (actively taking classes) in 1950 and later joined the Girl Guide Association and became a troupe leader. In 1960, she was appointed to the Hospital Advisory committee and by the Zambian Government (1964–68) to Central Welfare Assistance Committee. She also was a committee member of the Agricultural Show Society and a member of Business and Professional Club for Women. She was successfully selected as a committee member of the YWCA and organized many charitable shows and cultural programmes that raised money for the orphanages. She was honoured by Dr. Kaunda in 1971 for her overall involvement in various sectors. Her husband, late Pragji Bhagwanji Ranchhod, generously but silently supported the nationalist movement, a move much favored by their three sons, namely Vithalbhai, Kantilal, and Ashok, who like their parents contributed immensely to Zambia's independence.

Jayaben P. Patel was born and studied in Kabwe and continually participated in her husband Premjibhai Patel's business. Presently she is Director of

Hospice under the Human Service Trust[8] in Lusaka. She remembers taking part in the cultural programmes in Kabwe (1962–63), as discussed earlier, which was organized by the Indian women (Girl's Guide) movement in Kabwe, under the leadership of Lackhamiben Pant. Jayaben recalls the zeal most Indians had then. It was the zeal for *independence*. Another example is Kanchan Parmar who was born in Livingstone and took a keen interest in running the tailoring business with her husband Prabhudas Parmar in Livinstone them shifted to Lusaka. Her husband came from India who knew less than Kianchan about Zambian situation, hence she held more responsibility in their business.

There were few women who came as adults and then married Indians in Zambia, as, e.g., after the 1970s, happened to Indiraben R. Patel. She established, alongside her husband Rameshbhai Patel, a small but successful pharmaceutical shop in Kabulonga Road. She now is Director of ITR Pharmaceutical and actively involved in the medicine wholesale business. Another similar example can be drawn from the Director of Book World, Parul Bharatkumar Nayee, who established "Book World" in 1991, initially in Lusaka, and which has spread over whole Zambia. As Director of Book World her busy schedule in running the business never goes unnoticed by her customers.

The author only met few women who were born in Zambia but were educated in India or in the United Kingdom, like Nita Paresh Patel, Rita Ishwarbhai Patel, and Smriti Kiran Ranchhod. It was interesting to learn about the reasons behind them getting educated outside of Zambia. All of them revealed that after Zambia gained independence, military education was a compulsory segment of education for both male and female students. Indian families did not feel the necessity (mostly due to traditional prejudice) to allow women military training and, thus, according to their economic capacity, they sent their daughters either to India or the United Kingdom. These young ladies represent the late second generation who is well-equipped with education and has much more exposure than the other previously discussed Indian women in Zambia. Nita, who was born in Choma, graduated in Applied Chemistry in the United Kingdom and is now actively and almost independently managing her business called "Paresh Fashion." Paresh, her husband, is mostly engaged in his construction business. Like Nita, Smriti Kiran Ranchhod also studied in the United Kingdom and married Kiran, a son of Vithal Ranchhod, members of a prominent Indian family in Zambia. After contributing to the family business, she now has her own shop, "Top Notch" in Chiparamba Road, off the Cairo Road. Similarly, Rita Ishveralal Patel, owner of a BP Service Station on Cairo Road, was born in Choma and had studied at Harrow School in the United Kingdom, later pursuing a diploma in radiography at the Evelyn Hone College in Lusaka.

A few examples now will be presented of those who were born in other parts of Africa and settled in Zambia after getting married. Anjana Mistry, born in Tanzania and graduated from Aston University (Birmingham, U. K.), is owner of the Phoenix Studios in Manda Hill and on Cairo Road. Her late husband Arvindabhai Mistry's sudden death in an accident left her with the responsibilities of managing his business. Anju's mother-in-law, Bhikiben Mistry, now more than 80 years of age, was born in South Africa and had not taken an active part in her husband Balubhai Mistry's business directly, but her daughter-in-law Anju can be seen very busy in her studio, running a successful business. Another prominent Indian woman in business is Rekha Parmar, Managing Director of Fortune Food Ltd. Rekha Parmar was born in Mauritius[9] and after having married Ketan Parmar, the Regional Director of FEDEX, she settled in Lusaka. She is the fifth generation of Indian migrants who had migrated from Bihar to Mauritius. Her father, Vijay Mohur, runs a business in Mauritius. Rekha is the consul of Mauritius as well. After completing her degree in Marketing in the U. K., she opened her business in Zambia.

Another example is Zaheda Mandhu, who is running a catering service from home. She was born in Chinoy (in Zimbabwe). Her father Ibraham Abdul Latif shifted to Zimbabwe in the early 1950s and opened a shop in Chinoy. Zaheda was working as an accountant in one of the banks there after having finished a secretarial course. She moved to Lusaka after she had married Imtiaz Mandhu who has a construction business.

8 The Human Service Trust was established in 1982 under the Society Act by the Indians in Zambia. It is a nonprofit, charitable organization and, e.g., runs a primary school in Makeni, Lusaka (HST Primary School), with around 350 pupils receiving free education. It also runs a hospice where free medicine is provided. The plot of 50 acres for both school and hospice was donated by Randhibhai Patel.

9 The British captured this island in 1810 and when slaves were set free in the 1830s, most of the Africans working in the plantations were replaced by hired workers from India, mostly from a province called Bihar. The British used to describe the Bihari migrants as physically and mentally strong. It was the Bihari migrant, who laid the first roads in Mauritius. Mauritius has two prime ministers from Bihar, namely Sir S. Ramgoolam and his son Navin Chandra Ramgoolam. Many Indians chose to remain in Mauritius and, thus, the country obtained a large Indian population.

In this context, the author wishes to highlight a few women (from the third generation of Indian women) who are more successful than their mothers and grandmothers. Nadia Bhana, a travel consultant in the main office, was born in Lusaka, completed her A-levels, and then passed the IATA examinations. A few more names of women, such as Fatima Mandhu (lawyer and lecturer at the University of Zambia), Dr. Mumtaz Khalpe, Anjali Paresh Patel (working in the UN for the ILO), Dr. Naina Mistry (dentist), Dr. Fatima Umerji, Farah Ticklay (accountant), and many more could be mentioned particularly.

Analysis of the Interviews

As the author assimilated her thoughts and notes after having conducted the interviews, she gathered from each of the interviewees a sense of an emotional partnership with this country – a unique partnership where the two helped each other to build themselves. We have noticed that women of the first generation contributed indirectly to family business whereas the women of the early second generation, with limitation, did splendid jobs like, e.g., late Fuliben, late Bhikeben, and others. The generation of Jaya, Nita, Rita, Smriti and Nadia, who all were born in Zambia, tend to be naturally attached to this country. Women like Parul and Indiraben, who migrated in their adulthood and then got married, bare similar attachment, whilst Zaheda, Anjana, and Rekha, who were born in Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and Mauritius, respectively, share the same sentiments. Most of these women have lost their close relatives in India; their rare visits to the Indian subcontinent are more for religious, and understandably, for social purposes than emotional attachment. Rekha, Zaheda, and Anjana do not have distant relatives in India whom they could visit, however, they do enjoy the occasional trips. All of these women have a profound feeling of belonging to this country – a country, once a foreign land to their ancestors but now a place that they call with pride and honor as their home.

Indian Women in South Africa and Zambia: A Comparision

It is important to analyze the role of Indian women in South Africa who engaged in politics from early time on. It is significant to know as why the Indian women were active in politics in South Africa but not in Zambia. For this reason the article intends to highlight a brief history of Indian women's arrival and activities in South Africa. The region of Natal where laborers were required for sugar plantations was the area of the Zulus. Zulu men were more prone to being called warriors, hence the agricultural sector was managed by women. Sugar plantations needed man power which was proved to be instrumental for importing labor from India. According to Rajab, the blacks, some of whom belong to martial tribes, were difficult to deal with (2011: 1). Another argument was put forward that local Africans were economically self-sufficient as such they were unwilling to subject themselves to employment by colonial farmers. It is also worth to note that by 1840 there was a vast movement of many people from the Natal area to the north due to various reasons. This phenomenon is known as the "Mfecane." The migration of Indians into the various parts of the gigantic African continent has played a pivotal role. This is an ongoing event for almost a hundred and fifty years. Indians found themselves transported, whether voluntarily or otherwise, mainly following the British Colonial Empire's extension into the numerous constituent countries of Africa. The reasons for migration were different from one part of the continent to the other.

Indians arrived in South Africa in two waves between 1860 and 1911. Since the mid-1870s, around 152,641 workers from Gujarat India in the course of time came to Natal as indentured immigrants and entrepreneurs (Bhana and Brain 1990: 23). According to Winship and Beighton (2011: 481), of the Indians arriving in Natal 62% were men, 25% were women, and 13% were children. Most of the initial migrants were drawn from what today is Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh with some from eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar territories of India. T. R. H. Davenport recorded that the Indians who arrived in South Africa by 1860 belonged mostly to the lower-caste Hindu (1987: 116). Indians of a second wave, who came after 1880, were called "Passenger Indians," because they paid their travel expenses. This was the community of traders mainly coming from Gujarat (*The High Commission*). Another social group comprised of educated and elite Indians migrated, who had emerged as a result of early opportunities provided by mission school in India. Among them were lawyers, teachers, civil servants, and accountants (Swan 1985: 185). The Indians were subjected to an immense hatred from both the White and the native Africans due to their remarkable industrious nature and their ability to compete in both communities. On one occasion, Field Marshal Smut, the then South African leader, labeled them as the Asiatic cancer that had to be eliminated (Rajab 2011: 1).

We see that women also were brought as indentured laborers to South Africa and were engaged in different sectors of the Natal colonial economy and even exploited like men. Exploitation was evident in many ways, e.g., long hours of working, beating (due to slow pace of work), and sexual harassments. Sexual harassment was not confined to employers alone. It was common for planters, for example, to rely on sirdars (supervisors) to oversee the women in the work place and in the barracks, and these men frequently used their position to their advantage, subjecting women to abuse and indignities (Beall 1916: 2).

It was observed that Indian women were forced to work in the fields, but they were the most occupationally stagnant group under the South African racist rule. They fought alongside their men in the Satyagraha or non-violence movement, but the taboos of culture, religion, and societal norms kept them locked in the restrictive duties of domesticity. Although, Indian women have played an important role in the social, communal life of their century, much of their work in the households and in their families, in propping up their men and children has been obstructive and unrecognized. It was Mahatma Gandhi, the revolutionary leader, who brought a dramatic change in the role and status of Indian women in South Africa (Rajab 2010: 2) and in India, when at his bidding they came out in large numbers from the shelters of their homes to play their part in the struggle for freedom of their respective countries. During the first Satyagraha campaign of 1906–1908 in Natal, a movement that protested against a series of discriminatory legislation that restricted the economic, political, and social freedom of Indians in South Africa, Indian women volunteered to actively participate. However, they were discouraged by the male members of their community as those would be derogatory to their manhood, if they sacrificed their women in resisting a law which was directed only against men (Gandhi 1961: 11).

During the second Satyagraha campaign of 1913, Indian women from various religious sects and linguistic groups played a pivotal role and for their men in retaliation to the Searle judgment which invalidated all non-Christian marriages. Through this judicial stock, all Hindu, Muslim, and Zoroastrian marriages were declared null and void (Rajab 2010: 2). This meant that all married Indian women in South Africa were reduced to the status of concubines whilst their progeny were classified illegitimate and deprived of all rights of inheritance, property, assets, and legal claims. The women of Indian origin reacted against such law subsequently on the 23rd of September, 1913: 16 women were arrested, tried, and sentenced to three months imprisonment with hard labor in Pietermaritzburg jail. According to Wells, because women were acting in defense of their religion and their domestic role in 1913, their participation in that campaign was condoned, even encouraged (1991: 30).

In the 1930s and 1940s, Indian women largely still lived very traditionally. However, by the beginning of the 1940s and confronted by the changing social economic conditions, there appeared the first sign of political activity among a small group of educated and political conscious female individuals. During this period a large number of working-class households were depended on female breadwinners because of the high male unemployment which provided a stimuli and platform for Indian women to become politically motivated and which challenged the myth of their being "docile" and "passive."

Between June 1946 and May 1947 a total number of 1,710 individuals of whom 297 were women served jail sentence, some as many as four times (Bhana 1997: 15) between the ages of 20–25 years. Hiralal reports that the Indian women protested vociferously, challenged legislation countered imprisonment, and sacrificed family relation (2010: 161). They fought outside the confines of their traditional roles as wives, mothers, and daughters. It can even be argued, that mainly due to social and economic crisis during different periods, which affected seriously working-class women, this provided a basis for political protest.

Indians, discriminated against by apartheid legislation such as Group Area Act applied in 1950, were forcibly moved into Indian townships and had their movement restricted. Casual racist expressions were used during the years of apartheid. Indians in South Africa were (and are still) referred to by the racial epithet "coolie." A number of Indian women, both from Hindu and Muslim communities fought against this discriminatory apartheid rule and for women's right. Women's voices were loud and their actions led to their imprisonment in the struggle against apartheid.

The advent of the Second World War had brought in its wake more dynamic changes in the political landscape, which, in turn, encouraged the participation of a small group of emancipated women into leadership positions within the ranks of the movement. The most prominent woman in the South African Indian Congress in the 1940s was K. Goonam, a medical practitioner who was appointed as its Vice-President in a very short time, thus broadening the base of the Indian women's participation in organizational politics. In October 1946, three women were elected to the Transvaal Indian Congress ex-

ecutive committee: Zainab Asvat, Mrs P. K. Naidoo, and Suriakala Patel. Asvat, in fact, was one of the first Indian activists to be placed under house arrest in the 1940s. Elsewhere in Natal, Dr. Goonam began to play a more prominent role in the Congress forgoing links with women activists in the Congress Party of South Africa (CPSA) and in the ANC. In 1950, in a move towards creating solidarity between Indians and Africans, she appeared on the platform at an African women's anti-pass meeting in Durban and pledged the support of Indian women in the fight against passes.

An examination of the historical records of Muslim women's involvement in the freedom struggle brings out the names of Zora Meer, Fatima Meer, and Amina Cachalia (sister of Zainab Asvat). Addressing a gathering of about 800 women at the Avalon Cinema in Durban, in June 1946, Zainab Asvat, who had been arrested the previous night and released later, unwavering in purpose ignited the crowd by such words like: "Let us pledge that we shall continue the task which we have undertaken. We have sown the seed of our struggle; let it not perish; let us water it with our heart's blood; let us pledge: Long live resistance!" The Indian people were virtually at war with the South African Government, declared Dr. K. Goonam. Cissy Gool of Cape Town stated that South Africa was witnessing the real begins of a national struggle which was still in its infancy. Therefore, she pleaded to the women to come out boldly, because without them, their struggle would be weakened.

The Indian community in South Africa has much to thank their womenfolk for the valuable and crucial role they played in the liberation of their people. In relinquishing their traditional role to wear the mantle of resistance, they sacrificed their material comforts for a higher order principle so succinctly captured in the words of the great Valliamah, "who would not want to die for one's own motherland?" The proud heritage of the Indian community has unfortunately been muffled and silenced by a lack of exposure, arising from prejudice and cultural chauvinism. It is time to restore the consciousness of all South Africans, the importance of the Indian struggle against apartheid and, more particularly, to smash the widely held stereotype of Indian women as passive dependents with no mind of their own.

This lavish production is a monument to South African women of Indian descent. They possess shakti and by this time they are an invaluable asset to that amazing country. The role of Indian women in the struggle for freedom ought to be a great inspiration to the future generations. Looking into the overall situation of women in South Africa it can be argued, that socioeconomic and political conditions from their inception prepared Indian women in South Africa in the politicization.

If we compare the status of Indian women and their non-participation in Zambia politics, we get a clear picture. Indian women in Zambia never felt such discrimination as the Indian women got in South Africa. Firstly, women and even men did not come to Zambia as working power, secondly, women were no breadwinners but were the helping hand in their husband's petty business. Thirdly, if we see the number of Indian migrants in Zambia, it was much smaller than the number of migrants who arrived in South Africa. Finally, in Zambia, women were not abused by colonial masters, in any manner. Of course, as it has been discussed earlier, there were few instances where White traders were found not friendly to the Indian traders because they behold Indian traders as competitors. We have seen that Indian men also took time to engage themselves in Zambian politics, but women of Indian origin never did.

Status of Women in Indian Society

The image of Indian women as "dutiful" and "passive" was a common belief regarding women of the subcontinent and the Indian population in diaspora (Chetty 1991). These different images must be analyzed and understood in the context of gender constructions and gender relations in the Indian society. Women were highly regarded/honored both in the Quran and the Holy Sanskrit writing particularly as mothers, but her relationship with her spouse was one of subordination. In the laws of Manu which formed the basis of Hindu laws in the ancient period, it is stated: "A Woman should never be independent. Her father has authority over her in childhood, her husband has authority over her in youth and in her old age her son has authority over her" (Hiralal 2010: 153). Thus Hiralal commented that a dutiful wife was one who followed dutifully and worshipped her husband regardless of his worth or character (2010: 158). These attitudes prevailed amongst Indian immigrants even in the diaspora. Wells highlighted that women were largely confined in their homes and occupied a "particularly lowly status" (1991: 30).

Cultural and Traditional Prejudices

It has been noticed that Indian people preserved their traditional values jealously, no matter where

they migrated to. They were reluctant to change their food habits, dressing, system of marriage, and other cultural practices. Over the time, some changes were noticed in their dressing and their food habits began getting diluted as they adopted new blends from other cultures. By the second and third generation, especially the third generation, one can hardly see them in traditional attire. Traditional outfits are worn mostly in festival, wedding ceremonies, and may be in cultural gatherings by both men and women. The reasons could be many, but it is most importantly that traditional dresses are not convenient for going on jobs and is not designed to suite today's fast pace of life. Even in India, both men and women, especially the new generation, are hardly seen in their traditional attire. Similarly, food habits also appear to be blending. Indian traditional cooking is time-consuming and blended with heavy spices. Since people are increasingly more aware about healthy food habits and women, who are traditionally expected to cook, cannot spend enough time on cooking as they are now holding jobs, a culture of living off fast foods is evolving. In a global world as ours, where people have access to a variety of exotic foods from around the world, most are enthusiastic about developing their own unique cuisine according to their preferred taste. In a country as far-flung as India, a similar trend can be observed. All over India, restaurants advertise continental food which a majority of the population prefers at home.

Up until the second generation their marriage pattern was the same as that they had come with from India. Since Indian Hindus practiced caste system, at times sub-casts and regionalism played an important role in their marriages. As such they did not go out of their respective casts and regions for their children's' marriages. The Indian Muslim society believed in class system and in marrying within the family. Due to this, the question of marrying a local Zambian or any other outsider was a taboo. Back home, in India, the scenario was almost the same. Intermarriages were seen as degradation of families and if this ever transpired, the families guarded it with secrecy. History tells us that when Indira Gandhi (who later became the Prime Minister of India), the daughter of the first Prime Minister of India, Pandit J. Nehru, declared her desire to marry Feroz Gandhi (a Parsi), it was not taken lightly by her father who belonged to the Brahmin cast (Carras 1980: 7). There are many more such examples, but as time elapsed, people in India started accepting these kinds of marriages.

After the 1970s, few Indian men got married to Zambian women and gradually by the 1990s Indian women also married Zambian men. According to Keshav Prasad, Chairman of Human Service Trust, there are more than 30 Indian men and around 10 Indian women who are married to Zambians. So we can say that due to their being progressive, getting close to the local people, and being more exposed to other cultures Indian and Zambians are now in relationships. As we have discussed earlier, colonial masters kept the three communities, Whites, Indians, and Zambians, apart and due to this it took some time for Indians and Zambians to mix and getting to know one another. The reason was to maintain superiority over the others. It also has been argued, that this was a tactic to prevent Zambians and Indians from uniting, as this would inevitably result in their demanding for independence, a move the colonial masters dreaded. This segregation certainly to a greater extent worked in favor of Europeans.

If we were to reflect on the Indian women's non-participation in politics, it needs to be examined. The reasons may be fourfold. Firstly, if we were to closely examine the situation in India, very few women were active in politics at the time of migration. Secondly, the colonial rulers were not very harsh towards the Indians compared with those in South Africa, since there both, men and women, were taking part in politics from the inception of the political parties. Thirdly, the population of Indians in Zambia was scarce. By the 1960s, there were only 9,000 Indians in Zambia and with regards to women they were fewer than men. Finally, they even feared that their participation in politics (both of men and women) may be considered as intrusion and would result in their being deported to India, where they did not have a future any longer, because they already had lost contact with their families and were now accustomed to the Zambian soil.

Concluding Remarks

The article highlights the arrival of Indians in Zambia from India via Kenya, Mozambique, Tanzania, or South Africa. The reason for this largely can be attributed to the landlocked geography of Zambia, whilst the prevalent mode of transport used by the migrants in those times was the sea. It also points out that many migrants settled in Livingstone first (capital of Northern Rhodesia until 1935) and then gradually moved to Lusaka.

The above interviews clarifies that women who migrated by 1950, did not take part in business openly; however, women of the generation following the first, have been seen to be quite actively involved. The reasons behind their absence from economic

activities in Zambia are to be seen in the context of their cultural bonding and the economic systems, which prevailed in their motherland India and with which they still identify – the British ruled India almost for 190 years and prior to that it was ruled by the Mughals for about 500 years, where restrictions in women's involvement in activities outside their households were a norm. However, if we look into India's history before the inception of the two rulers above, women's position was much better and they enjoyed a higher status in their societies (Krishna and Mulenga 2004: 4). Women had access to education as well as played an important role in the industrial and mercantile sectors in India. The ancient epics of the Hindus reveal their professions as teachers, rulers, and even as traders. Krishna highlights that during the British rule in India, the status of women degraded and their advancement was not a particular concern to the rulers (2008: 16). During the above periods (under Mughals and British), we find that at the elementary education of girls ended at a tender age of eight or nine. According to Edwardes, the British Government did very little to improve this in India (1967: 257). Indian queens of princely states were against British colonial policies and revolted like Rani Lackshmibai, Kittur Chennamma, or Begum Hazrat Mahal. But women from common families were not seen in politics unless until Mahatma Gandhi returned to India from South Africa in 1915. The Indian National Congress was formed in 1884 and not until 1917 it was led by a female president, Anne Besant, and in 1925 by Sarojni Naidu.

We have seen that women who left India before 1920 lacked education, had no exposure to the political arena, and on top of that, their cultural aspects kept them behind the curtain in Zambia. Indian women's situation in South Africa was totally different. In Zambia, Indian women, as has been mentioned earlier, were always supportive in their husband's businesses and worked as advisors as well. It is interesting to note, that they did not lack the skill of business, which, it is presumed, they must have acquired from their families who were actively involved in trade.

The table and chart show that by the late 1930s there were very few Indian women in their migrant population, which could have been one of the factors discouraging them from participating directly in business. Since the 1940s, the numbers grew steadily, and with time, Indian women stepped into the public sector and eventually establish themselves in business. Currently they are holding responsible positions and do not depend on their male partners in running businesses. The article shows that Indian women's face in society has changed and they now have adequate education to aptly handle their business independently. It is also important to note their desire to visit their roots, but they consider Zambia as their home country. As such, the article concludes by articulating that Zambia is their home away from home.

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Tiger Transformation among the Khasis of Northeastern India

Belief Worlds and Shifting Realities

Margaret Lyngdoh

Introduction

Northeastern India, made up of eight states, is endowed with a rich racial diversity and multiple cultural traditions. The "diversity of languages of this