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Migration : challenges and experiences Somali refugees face in Johannesburg.

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Abstract

Somali refugees living in South Africa are the most recent targets of xenophobic attacks in African townships across the country. However, who are these new immigrant entrepreneurs? This report presents material from research on Somalis living and working in small shops in Mayfair, Gauteng. From their various reasons for leaving Somalia, the report explored their experiences of settling into the host country. The study looked at the experiences and challenges they meet while in Johannesburg. The study considered also the reasons why Somali refugees seem to be the primary target of xenophobia in South Africa.

The research was based on interviews that were conducted with Somali refugees. The study considered the livelihoods of Somalis living in Mayfair. It explored the issue of clans that divide the Somali community. It also explored how these refugees access their legal documentation, health care and education in the country of asylum.

The Somali community seems to be united however due to different clans that are found here in Johannesburg the study showed that they are not homogeneous. Somali refugees experience so many challenges in trying to make a living. They come to South Africa for safety and protection only to find that their lives are in danger just as it is in Somalia. They mostly involve in informal sector and this has made them become primary target of crime especially in poverty stricken areas. Somali refugees work and live in informal settlements where they face a lot of hardships. Moreover, Somali refugees experience a host of challenges because they lack integration in the local community.

The study also looked into the Refugee Act that stipulates that safety and basic services should be provided to all including refugees; however, in reality this has not been implemented because Somali refugees face a host of constraints in accessing those services.



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Research Report submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Master of Arts Degree in Development Studies, School of Social Science, and University of Witwatersrand.

Declaration

I, Delphine Niyigena, declare that this research report is my unaided work.

1. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in this essay that I have taken from the work(s) of other people has been attributed and has been cited and referenced
2. I have not allowed or will allow anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his/her own work
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The study also looked into the Refugee Act that stipulates that safety and basic services should be provided to all including refugees; however, in reality this has not been implemented because Somali refugees face a host of constraints in accessing those services.

List of Abbreviations /Acronyms

ADF- African Diaspora Forum

DHA- Department of Home Affairs

DOH- Department of Health

NGOs- Non-Governmental Organizations

IS- Islamic Institution

SASA- Somali Association in South Africa

SCOB- Somali Community Board

TNG-Transitional National Government

UN-United Nations

UNHCR- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNOSOM- The United Nations Operation in Somalia

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Chapter one

Introduction

Migration is a concern for most countries today. South Africa is seen as an attractive country in Africa for migrants at the moment. This is observed in the migratory flows that South Africa receives every year. Due to this influx, South Africa has accepted migrants in its constitution. In this regard the Refugee Act No. 130, which was passed first in 1998 but became effective only in 2002, recognises migrants' rights. This policy is progressive and integrative. It shows that all people living in South Africa are to be protected including migrants. It also encourages refugees to settle and integrate in the mainstream community. The Act affords particular rights through protective legislation to refugees and asylum seekers. This includes the right to employment, education and social services. This means that migrants can access free basic services however; this has not been implemented yet. The lack of implementation is seen in the challenges that refugees and migrants face when accessing health care, education and other services around Johannesburg.

It is in this light that this study looked into the experiences and challenges that Somali refugees face despite this available policy that accommodates them, offering them the protection of their rights but has not been put in practice in real life. This study will investigate the livelihoods of Somali refugees that live in Johannesburg using in-depth interviews in order to establish the challenges they face. These interviews were conducted in Mayfair.

1.1 Historical background

Somalia lies in the horn of Africa. Moreover, this country has been torn for about two decades by civil war that occurred in 1991, as a result homes and businesses were demolished

and people were killed. Despite all these problems the country was also affected by a major drought that took place in 2011 which made millions of people to flee. For over 20 years the country has had different presidents and in 1991 Siad Barre's government collapsed. The people have endured a stateless environment, for some however it has been an opportunity to accumulate wealth and for others it has been a complete nightmare. Due to the atrocities that are committed some have to defend themselves against brutal warlords. Most of the problems are caused by the different tribes found in Somalia. Somalia has about 4 major clans and each clan has different sub-clans which compose a family lineage for many generations[1].These main clans are Hawiye, Darood, Dir and Rahanweyn. Within the sub-clans there are also lineages and groups. The clan system is the most important constituent of social factor among the nomadic and pastoralist Somalis. There exists also segmentary lineage system that can be differentiated into categories of clan-family, clan, sub-clan, primary lineage and mag-paying groups as divisions of different sizes (Gundel, 2009). Among these clans, many Somalis are said to have origins in Arab countries these are tall, lean with soft hair. They also constitute 35% of the whole population.

However, we also find Somali Bantu that are physically different from the latter. They are short, with strong hair and they are always mistaken for people that come from other African countries like Tanzania. These Somali Bantu are farmers and are found in the area of Juba River. They constitute about 20% of the population. They are suppressed, hidden away and marginalized because Somalia favours the nomadic clans and Somali Bantu are a minority group (Bradbury, 2008)[2]. Even though all Somalis speak the same language, have a same culture and worship one God yet they are significantly different. And this is because they

[1]Lewis, I.M. (2004) shows 6 main clan-families and these are Digil, Rahanweyn, Dir, Darod, Isaq and Hawiye.
[2]Gundel, J. (2009) provides also more information about Somali Bantu.

come from various regions of Somalia and belong to different clans.

Since the collapse of the state, things have not been the same in Somalia. Millions fled and went to the neighbouring countries such as Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti. Others have managed to go as far as South Africa where they meet a lot of challenges. In September 2012 they elected a new President Hassan Sheik Mohamed. With the new government however, it is reported that things have not stabilized yet, there are still many problems of insecurity and more 1.3 million are internally displaced. Moreover, it is reported that still there exist problems of insecurity, harassment, fear of being recruited by armed groups and lack of food (ISS, 2013). All these problems have made people migrate looking for better conditions and security although they come to South Africa and face difficulties in the host country.

1.2 Aims and objectives

The principal objectives of this study are as follows:

- To investigate the lives of Somali refugees living in Johannesburg.
- To assess the kind of challenges Somali refugees face and
- To explore their experiences in acquiring legal documentations, accessing basic services, education and entry into the informal sector for economic survival.

It is believed that in most host countries, migrants find it hard to integrate in the main stream society and sometimes they deliberately maintain distinct cultures and religion (Castles & Miller, 2009). This study explored how this applies to Somali refugees in Johannesburg. The study also considered how they participate in the South African society and how they integrate into localcommunities.

1.3 Rationale

The reason I focus on this topic is that migration has come to be an important aspect of development. It has become a serious situation affecting most countries whether on the receiving or on the sending side. Moreover, I have a particular interest in Somali population

because they are listed by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) as the third largest group of refugees in South Africa, the first and second groups being DRC and Zimbabwean migrants and refugees (IRIN, 2012)[3]. Another reason for my interest is the fact that South Africa is considered as the preferred destination for such migrants due to its relative political stability.

It is essential to conduct this study because forced migration is a major concern for receiving countries; for South Africa in particular, there have been concerns that the government cannot cope with the influx of migrants. Moreover, much has been researched on migration in general and on Somali refugees. However there are gaps found in studies of the Somali experiences in Johannesburg. They are targeted above all the other refugees and they face more hostility than any other migrant groups in South Africa (IRIN, 2012). It is with this understanding that the researcher feels that this study has contributed to the existing body of knowledge in that it will show the reasons why Somali refugees seem to be targets of crimes compared to their migrant counterparts living in South Africa.

Some Somali refugees think that the reason of this hostility could be because of their flourishing informal trading but looking at the Ethiopian and Bangladeshi refugees and migrants who also engage in the same informal sectors, one finds that the former carry out their business activities without much disturbances from the local South Africans (IRIN, 2012). Furthermore, this study have unpacked these challenges that seem to be different from other migrants and occur on a more heightened level to Somali refugees compared to other migrants living in South Africa.

The central question that guided this study is as follows:

[3]Crush, 2008, provides more information on the Somali refugees in South Africa.

- *What are the experiences and challenges of Somali refugees living in Johannesburg?*

And the sub questions are as follows:

- *Why are Somali refugees a target of crime in South Africa?*
- *Do Somali refugees integrate in the mainstream society?*

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Since migration is a growing phenomenon for South Africa, it is important to consider the challenges and consequences that accompany it. Migration is defined as "the movement of people across a specified boundary for the purpose of establishing a new or semi-permanent residence" (Crush & Williams, 2007:23). It is mostly said that Somali migrants have made this movement in search for better conditions and opportunities. They leave their homes also due to the upheaval that started in 1991 in Somalia and being a failed state there are lots of conflicts, political instability and lack of security (Buyer, 2008). Therefore, many of Somali people find it especially important to migrate to other countries where they can get physical security for themselves and their families.

A refugee is seen as " an individual who, owing to a well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality or membership of a particular social group or political opinion, are outside the country of their nationality and are unable or owing to such fear, are unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of that country or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of their former habitual residence as a result of such events are unable or owing to such fear are unwilling to return to it" (World Bank, 2008: 240).

In this study, the researcher made use of this term refugee referring to Somali people as they have been forced to flee their country of origin and might not feel safe to return home due to

the instability and insecurity that still prevail at home. With regard to the scope of my participants some are still asylum seekers and others have been recognised as refugees that have been granted this status by the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) section 22/24 of the Refugee Act.

2.1 Migration Policy

With the history of South Africa under the regime of Apartheid, migrants were not permitted to stay in the country. It only recognized migrants in 1993. However, it was with democracy in 1994 that they were finally allowed to come in the country. The arrival of migrants in South Africa caused a widespread panic among South Africans. The problem however, is that South Africans remain extremely hostile to immigration as a principle. This raises many difficulties for the refugees and migrants. In South Africa, although the Immigration Act commits the government to root out xenophobia, this has not been achieved. This Act should be inclusive and accommodative towards refugees but it does not in reality; otherwise migrants would be protected from such violent acts that are committed against them. Xenophobia is defined as "hatred or fear of foreigners" (Harris, 2002: 170). It is a deep and pervasive phenomenon that the government has not fully addressed and acknowledged. Till today the effects and scars of xenophobia are still felt among refugees living here in South Africa.

2. 2 Social Networks

With regard to their social networks, it is well known that Somali refugees keep strong ties wherever they are with their families. They keep contact with members of the family and use any available means of communication to do so. Relatives play an important role in each other's lives and livelihoods even over large distances (Horst, 2006). The aspiration to migrate in itself can be seen as a culturally defined notion of pro-activity. This needs and carries a series of embedded obligations to elaborate networks and insists on solid support for

migrants and refugees (Simone, 2003). It is for this reason that Somali refugees throughout the world keep their culture, their religion and preserve their language wherever they go. This is mostly true for Somali refugees worldwide and it has been argued that Somali people have a special religious, linguistic and ethnical bond with their relatives (Jaenem, 1957). This is also observed among the Somali refugees living in Johannesburg.

The role of social networks is important as it binds migrants together in a complex web of social roles and interpersonal relationships. This is seen through the channels of information, social and financial assistance. Social networks provide information and facilitate migration chains. Therefore, studying these networks that are linked to family and households is imperative as it allows us to understand migration as a social product. Migration should not be understood as" a sole result of individual decisions made by people, not as a sole result of economic or political parameters but as an outcome of all these factors in interaction" (Boyd, 1989: 642). What shapes its composition, direction and persistence is determined by historically generated social, political and economic structures of both the sending and receiving societies[4].

People maintain social ties as continuing series of transactions. This is very important for the accumulation and the use of various forms of social capital. This is understood as the capacity of the individuals to command scarce resources using their membership in social networks or even in larger social structures. This can be in the form of information on jobs in the destination country (Buyer, 2008; Boyd, 1989). Immigrants in every location help each other the way they can. This is done through the associations they form or through their own communities. They provide assistance to members of their community and support each

[4] Boyd. M. (1989). Family and Personal Networks in International Migration: Recent Developments and Agendas in *International Migration Review*, Vol 23, No. 3 pp 638-670

other. The Somali community operates in a similar vein. They have built a strong community and associations like the Somali Association in South Africa (SASA)[5] and the Somali Community Board (SCOB)[6] that support every Somali migrant with any problems and challenges. This is observed in the different branches that they have around South Africa: Durban, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, and the headquarters in Johannesburg. They have established these branches in order to reach their members with needed support but also because Somali refugees are found in various cities around South Africa and they meet lots of challenges.

2. 3 Informal Sector

Migrants are known to involve themselves in unskilled labour and informal sector for their survival. Informal sector is described as a sector that encompasses all types of jobs which are not recognized as traditional income sources and on which taxes are not paid.[7] It is a part of the economy represented by people involved in trading not covered by normal business legislation[8]. For Somali migrants, it is mostly known that they are found in informal trade because of language barriers, lack of skills and job opportunities. It is argued that migrants prefer engaging in the informal sector due to the benefits they receive, for example the evaluation of the job characteristics, income and greater independence for being self-employed (Sender & Pontara, 2011). For Somali refugees, due to the war back home most of them have had no opportunity to go to school therefore; they lack education and life skills. However; it is important to note that with all the challenges they meet in life they learn survival skills. These skills and ability to run a business are utilised for their own benefit or

[5]SASA is a Somali organization that deals with issues of Somali refugees in South Africa. Issues like human rights, social and local integration of refugee communities into South Africa through capacity building

[6]SCOB is a Somali organization that helps Somali refugees with problems they face. It focuses mainly on the integration of the community in the mainstream society.

[7] Business Dictionary. 2013. "What is the Informal Sector?" found at http:// www.businessdictionay.com/defintions

[8] Definition provided by the Oxford dictionary, 2002

profit. They succeed in the informal sector because of willpower and energy (Buyer, 2008). It is crucial also to mention that Somali refugees engage in this sector due to lack of job opportunities. It is difficult for most people in South Africa to find jobs and that makes it hard for Somalis refugees to enter into the formal sector. Migrants are known to involve themselves into unskilled labour and informal sector for their survival. It seems that refugees and migrants do engage in informal business wherever they go. A good example that crystallizes this is Bangladeshi migrants living in Rome, they sell cigarettes on the streets, in parks, they sell umbrellas and roses, and at the tourists' sites they sell roses and jewel (Knights, 1996). This is a similar case with migrants in South Africa, whereby they are found on the street selling vegetables and other small goods. Somali refugees moreover do involve in informal trade and often open shops in townships wherever they are able to make money.

It is viewed that migrants live in informal settlements because when they get in the host country they often have no money to sustain themselves, therefore they look for places where they will be able to pay less according to their means. Somali refugees tend to live in townships where they are a minority in community of locals. At times they live in one room of four or five people in order to afford the rent. For Somali refugees, the number goes even higher sometimes to ten or fifteen people in one house (Breytenbach, 2006). These conditions are not conducive at all for any person and it shows that although Somali refugees migrate searching for safety and better living conditions, they still face a lot of challenges in the receiving country. Newly arrived refugees avoid the congested cities like Johannesburg and prefer venturing in rural towns where there is no significant interaction with foreigners.

2.4 Xenophobic Issues

Xenophobia is characterised by negative attitudes towards non-citizens in general. Xenophobia could be the results of the long lived apartheid regime that was deeply engraved in minds of people in South Africa. In South Africa, xenophobia results in intense tension and

violence towards migrants. Furthermore, we find that those migrants that live in informal settlements become victims of xenophobia because South Africans are less tolerant to immigration and migrants in general. This is explained by what happened in 2008 when xenophobic attacks occurred in South Africa. It led to 62 migrants losing their lives, 670 were wounded and thousands of others were hounded out of their communities by the locals (Crush, 2008)[9]. This affected negatively on all migrants living in South Africa. Xenophobic attacks continued after the major ones that occurred in 2008. South Africans still show that they are not happy about having foreigners in their country and this is shown in their actions. Xenophobic attacks are still being carried out all around South Africa especially in locations and townships.

Looking at the links between Somali refugees and xenophobia, Breytenbach (2006) argues that they are most vulnerable among the other migrants to crime and xenophobia in townships. They are victims of crime, robberies and death. They are not safe at all everywhere they live in South Africa. Although these cases of violence are reported to the authorities there is nothing that is done to the perpetrators, they go unpunished. It is said that Somali refugees isolate themselves which leads to being misunderstood by the locals and become victims of most criminal activities by South Africans. They are under threat because they have done little to integrate in communities where they live and build their businesses. One Somali refuge admitted this saying "we have just come in and set up our shops without seeking to understand the culture of the area in which we have settled" (UNHCR, 2008).

Migrants in general are perceived to take opportunities that are rightly available for the local people. All this increases the tension and the hostility that South Africans have towards the

[9] Landau, L. 2010. Shows that many more were verbally assaulted, thousands were displaced, women raped and most of those that came from neighbouring countries returned home.

migrants. Studies have shown that migrants are perceived as people that come to South Africa to compete for resources that are already scarce. However, it is argued not to be true because most refugees are willing to do any type of job in order to survive since they know well that they cannot rely on the host country to provide them with everything (Buyer, 2008). Therefore, they do all they can to support themselves be it working in low paying, unskilled and very demanding jobs. This is true for some of Somali refugees who engage in informal sector activities because they do not find employment whether they are skilled or not.

It is imperative to note that Somali refugees still continue to live with struggles in the host country of a different kind from what they fled from in their home country. They face all these challenges despite the Refugee Act, which claims to protect the rights of all refugees. These protective policies have not been transformed into protective practices (Freemantle, 2010). Furthermore it becomes difficult for forced migrants to support and care for their families within the constraints of poverty, criminal attacks and their refugee status (Buyer, 2008).

Since migration is a global phenomenon, it is of a great interest to consider what the issues that come with it are. Migration is defined as "the movement of people across a specified boundary for the purpose of establishing a new or semi-permanent residence" (Crush, 2006:23). It seems that Somali refugees have made this movement in search for better conditions and opportunities. They leave their country also due to the upheaval that started in 1991, with a failed state there are lots of conflicts, instability and lack of security in the country. Therefore, many of them find it especially important to migrate to other countries where they can get physical security for themselves and their families.

Throughout this study the use of words like asylum seeker, refugee and forced migrant will be utilised. An asylum seeker is “a person that has crossed an international border in search for protection but whose claims of refugee have not yet been decided upon” (Castles & Miller, 2009: 189).

A refugee is seen as “ an individual who, owing to a well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality or membership of a particular social group or political opinion, are outside the country of their nationality and are unable or owing to such fear, are unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of that country or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of their former habitual residence as a result of such events are unable or owing to such fear are unwilling to return to it” (World Bank, 2008: 240).

With regard to the scope of my participants, some interviews were conducted with those that are still asylum seekers whereas the majority are already refugees that are well recognised by the South African refugee law. A migrant on the other hand is defined as a person that has lived outside his home country for over a period of 12 months. It can be a person that has left his home country in search for employment and better living conditions.

In this study, the researcher has made use of the term refugee referring to Somali people as they have fled their country of origin and might not feel safe to return home due to the instability and insecurity.

Migration is a global phenomenon that has raised lot of issues in terms of development and poverty. Migrants might find it hard to integrate in the new country due to language barriers, different social norms and culture. However, it is interesting to note that Somali migrants that have fled war and instability from their country to Kenya have been able to integrate easily. Although Kenya has got formal camps for refugees, some Somali migrants have been able to

escape the life of camps and are able to find legal documentation or papers that allow them to live in the city of Nairobi and are able to engage in various businesses (Chebichi, 2009).

Looking at Somali people's background, we see that they are used or familiar with harsh conditions, insecurities that they deal with on a daily basis in their home country. Therefore, they become more hardened with life and the most shocking things that they experience or experienced finally start becoming part of their ordinary lives (Horst, 2006). This might be the reason for their coping mechanism under cruel conditions at home or in camps as refugees.

With regards to their social networks, it is argued by Horst (2006) that Somali migrants keep strong ties wherever they are with their families. The physical distance does not affect their closeness of relationships. They keep contact with members of the family and use any available means of communication to do so. Relatives play an important role in each other's lives and livelihoods even over large distances[10] . It is for this reason that Somali refugees throughout the world keep their culture and preserve their language wherever they go. This is true because it is argued that Somali people have a special religious, linguistic and ethnic bond with their relatives (Jaenem, 1957)

Historically Somali people are described as fanatically religious and proud of their race. The foundation of Somali society is the kinship group. Here loyalty is important and gets extended to the whole tribe of which the kinship group is a part (Jaenem, 1957). In this we see how they form ties with family members and friends which work for them as a coping mechanism and support system especially when they find themselves away from home. When they meet with difficult circumstances these ties allow them to cope and overcome whatever situation they face.

[10] Ibid

For some migrants around the world, they leave their home country in search for employment and better conditions. However, it is common that they face difficulties in terms of getting legal documentations and this leads to not accessing any type of employment. Therefore, they struggle to make ends meet due to lack of proper documents. A research done by Khalaf & Alkabaisi (1999), shows that at times migrants and refugees spend years without finding a job. However, to cope with such stressful situations they live together sharing a room for them to be able to pay the rent. If they find jobs, they bring other family members and this also is an indication of the support system needed.

Adaptation is another way that migrants use to cope with their situation (Khalaf & Alkabaisi, 1999). Use of kinship is a strategy to adjust to new environment in the host country. Friends, relatives and other established networks contribute to refugees being able to adapt to wherever situation they go through. Most Somali refugees have been able to adapt to the situation in the host country because they have no other option in that they find it better to have fled their country in order to live despite other forms of challenges they face. Social networks they formed here enable them to deal with all the constraints they meet in the receiving country.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

3.1 Lee's Model

The theoretical framework that the study will draw on to understand international migration will be Lee's push-pull factor theory, the instrumental systems theory and the network theory. The push-pull approach argues that people migrate because of a degree of perceived difference between one's home and the intended destination. And so the push factors are unfavourable things about one's environment. These can include drought, primitive conditions, famine, political fear, natural disasters, and wars. The pull factors however, are

things that attract an individual to another area. This includes job opportunities, better living conditions, political freedom, and security (Constantinou & Diamantides, 1985). Lee (1966) moreover, argues that there exist intervening obstacles that lead to migration. Migration tends to take place largely within well defined streams. People that migrate from home use well defined routes and use already established routes of transportation because of the opportunities that they perceive in the host country. It is important to note that as soon as migrants become aware of opportunities that were not previously exploited they utilized them to their advantage. Moreover, people who decide to leave home due to the intervening obstacles may take on the characteristics of the population in the host country but will never completely lose some which they share with the population of their home country[11]. This is because they share much more with the people back home. This approach explains best the conditions of Somali refugees because they have faced social and political upheaval, insecurity and war in their country; most of them have fled in order to seek peace and security elsewhere. As political refugees this model clearly shows the reasons that push them migrate. The distance should not mean that people would change and forget their relatives that they left in the country of origin[12].

3. 2 Instrumental Systems Theory

The instrumental systems theory explains migration on a higher level. It focuses on how migration decision making comes to be coordinated in groups of people rather than being carried out by isolated individuals. Migration decisions are taken collectively by families and households jointly seeking to alleviate misfortunes or advance the interests of their family members. The role of families and kin group in sustaining migration once it has started, it is also identified as an important phenomenon in perpetuating migration (Do Mar 2012). This is seen in the way families sit down and discuss the way they would leave their country and

[11] Ibid
[12] Horst, 2006

where they should go in order to escape the instability they face. Once the individual settles in the host country then the information flow begins between the receiving and the sending societies which lead to a chain of migration. Circumstances external to both societies facilitate the migratory flow.

3.3 Network Theory

The Network Theory focuses on social ties and networks. Migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants or refugees, former migrants and non migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendships and shared origin. This increases the likelihood of transnational movements and constitutes a form of social capital that people can draw upon gaining access to foreign employment. Once the number of migrants reaches a critical threshold the expansion of networks reduces the costs and risks of movements, which causes the probability of migration to rise and causes additional movements and further expands the networks (Massey et al, 1993: 448). This applies to refugees from Somalia because most of them often migrate after they have had communication with friends or other family members that have already left the country. Social ties are formed even before they decide to migrate and after they have reached the destination such bonds are strengthened. Most of them find work or start businesses because of the connections established between families and friends.

After the first migrants have left, however, the potential costs of migration are substantially lowered for friends and relatives left behind. Because of the nature of kinship and friendship structures, each new migrant creates a set of people with social ties to the destination area. Migrants are inevitably linked to nonmigrants, and the latter draw upon obligations implicit in relationships such as kinship and friendship to gain access to employment and assistance at the point of destination. Once the number of network connections in an origin area reaches a

critical threshold, migration becomes self-perpetuating because each act of migration itself creates the social structure needed to sustain it (Massey et al, 1993). Every new migrant reduces the costs of subsequent migration for a set of friends and relatives, and some of these people are thereby induced to migrate, which further expands the set of people with ties abroad, which, in turn, reduces costs for a new set of people, causing some of them to migrate, and so on[13]. Somali community has established very strong networks in almost all countries that they migrate to. They have fled Somalia knowing well about these networks that offer assistance to newly migrated ones. So they look for such established networks in order to decide which country they would migrate to.

Methodology

In carrying out this study, a qualitative method was utilized because it allows a detailed description of something or events. Qualitative approach is a method that "produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures" (Strauss & Corbin: 1990: 17). This method is used to study the lives of people, behaviour and attitudes. And since the researcher was investigating the experiences and challenges of Somali refugees, this method was best in gaining useful information. Therefore, I have used interviews in order to gather detailed data.

A qualitative interview approach allows the researcher to get more understanding on the subject matter. Interviews enable the researcher to collect a large amount of data. Moreover, I have used semi-structured interviews in order to allow room for probing and gathering as much information as possible. I have also made use of an interview schedule to guide me with important questions to ask that could provide answers to my research topic. Other questions were asked as the discussion unfolded and following the answers that were given by the informants. By doing this it has allowed the researcher to probe where necessary to

[13] Ibid

understand well the issues at hand. Interviews are useful for collecting a substantial amount of data.

Structured interviews "involve tight control over the format of the questions and answers", whereas semi-structured interviews involve a clear list of issues that will be addressed and questions to be answered (Greenstein & Sitas, 2003: 56). Moreover, there is more flexibility around the sequence in which they are asked and the researcher allows the participants to speak more broadly about the topics being discussed[14]. Therefore, the answers are open-ended and there is more scope for the respondent to provide greater detail on points of interest. Semi-structured interviews were used to collect data. They were done with willing participants living in Mayfair. This method enabled the researcher to collect useful information from all the respondents.

As shown by Greenstein (2003), semi-structured interviews allow space for respondent's to speak more broadly about the topic. This allowed the researcher to probe where necessary in order to understand fully the matter at hand or the topic being discussed. Interviews are often time consuming and depend on the knowledge and willingness of the research participants. With the respondents I had some were willing to provide the researcher with the needed information but others were not comfortable enough to share about important things that affect the individuals and the community.

With regards to finding participants, a snowball sampling approach was used. Snowball sampling refers to reaching people through referrals, through people they know, persons out of personal networks. A disadvantage of this approach however, is that one tends to find the same people, since they would have similar characteristics and the informants that one finds

[14] Ibid

might be of the same kind (Liempt & Bilger, 2009). The researcher used this method because gaining access in the Somali community is not easy. However by using the Somali associations I was able to be referred by their representatives to people who could participate in the study. Since I was not able to find many participants with this method I had to utilize another one to complete my field work. Another instrument that was used to find respondents is the random sampling. Random sampling was used in order to get more participants. Random sampling refers to "a sample of size drawn from a population of size in a way that every possible sample of size has the same chance of being selected" (RGS, 2013). This method enabled the researcher to select every willing participant from the Somali community. With this method I was able to find different tribes that are seen in the Somali society.

Therefore, before conducting interviews I had to apply for permission to enter into the community and conduct my study. When the permission was granted I then made arrangements with the president of SASA and SCOB for me to get access into the community but also to refer me to some refugees that will be able to participate in this study. A total number of twenty-six adult Somali refugees were interviewed. This included both genders in order to understand their challenges from different perspectives. Among the participants 14 male and 12 female were interviewed. All these informants were found in Mayfair. There was no language barrier because most of the Somali refugees that I interviewed were fluent in English only three were comfortable using Swahili. There was no interpreter used because the researcher understands the language. Therefore, these interviews proceeded very well as those that were conducted in English. Somali refugees that have lived in Kenya were interviewed and these ones know English well. However, even those that come straight from

Somalia were well versed in the language which made the interviews to take place without much language barrier.

Background information of the participants

Respondents	Gender	Age	Occupation	Area
1	Male	32	Business Owner	Mayfair
2	Male	50	Guard	Mayfair
3	Female	27	Office Manager	Mayfair
4	Male	29	Business Owner	Mayfair
5	Male	33	Business Owner	Mayfair
6	Male	37	Shop Owner	Mayfair
7	Male	35	SASA	Mayfair
8	Male	29	Business Owner	Mayfair
9	Male	35	Shop Owner	Mayfair
10	Female	27	Shop Owner	Mayfair
11	Female	30	Assistant	Mayfair
12	Female	33	Shop Owner	Mayfair
13	Male	26	Student	Mayfair
14	Male	25	Assistant	Mayfair
15	Male	40	Unemployed	Mayfair
16	Male	43	Interpreter	Mayfair
17	Male	54	Shop Owner	Mayfair
18	Female	29	Shop Owner	Mayfair
19	Female	32	Unemployed	Mayfair

20	Female	30	Shop Owner	Mayfair
21	Female	28	Unemployed	Mayfair
22	Female	35	Nanny	Mayfair
23	Female	22	Unemployed	Mayfair
24	Female	27	Unemployed	Mayfair
25	Female	46	Unemployed	Mayfair
26	Male	29	Assistant	Mayfair

After gathering all required data, I did then undertake an analysis of the findings. A unit of analysis was utilised in order to do this. Unit of analysis is a "unit that constitutes the basis for the measurement of a concept or event" (Van Hook, Glick & Bean, 1999:111). It is important to have a unit of analysis in order to measure the concept of migration being studied and the problems that accompany it. In order to accomplish this, I have considered and put together all the recurrent themes from the raw data in order to understand the experiences and challenges of Somali refugees.

Ethical Considerations

Somali community is reported to be the third largest refugee community in Johannesburg. I did not anticipate encountering problems with ethics because I interviewed adult Somali participants. An information sheet was provided to the informants highlighting what my research entailed and its purpose. This information sheet[15] clearly showed that their participation would be voluntary and that they could withdraw from participating anytime whenever they do not want to carry on with the interview. This had to be read to the participants to understand fully what the study was about and it helped them comprehend that the researcher was not sent by the Immigration Department because most were reluctant to be

[15] Refer to Appendix B

interviewed thinking that I was sent by the officials. By explaining what the study entailed to them helped understand that it was strictly for school purposes had nothing to do with the Immigration department.

A consent form[16] was provided to the respondents for their participation in the study. The reason of this form was to get permission of the participants. This clearly showed their acceptance to participate in the study. A tape recorder was needed to record all the interviews in order to have the discussions as spoken by the participants; this also helped me to transcribe the interviews as spoken by the informants. Therefore, another separate form that was given to the participants is the consent form for audio recording[17]. With this form, I was enabled to ask permission for their being recorded during the interview.

When there was information that they did not feel comfortable to be recorded then they were free to ask not to be on tape. Therefore, during the field work, one informant refused to be recorded but was willing to participate in the study. Another one accepted the use of a tape recorder but there were certain instances that he asked not to be recorded for the purpose of protecting the individuals of his community. For both cases their wishes were granted. Other informants did not have a problem to be recorded.

Confidentiality and anonymity were guaranteed. The participants were informed that the information they would provide me with will be kept confidential and nowhere in the final report will their names be used. This is because Somalis refugees live according to their clans and families. It would be easy to identify them by their names if they were to be used. So respecting their anonymity pseudonyms instead were utilised. There was no need for an interpreter because most of the Somali refugees that are in Johannesburg who do not know

[16] Refer to Appendix C
[17] Refer to Appendix D

English speak Swahili. This is an advantage for me since both my supervisor and I do speak Swahili. After gathering the data, the transcripts that were typed as a verbatim and the recorded interviews will be kept safe at home out of reach from other people.

Own Experience

In approaching the Somali community I had to go through the established Associations in order to obtain permission to interview people. Doing this research has been a great experience. The community is very conservative and the people are nice once they get to know a person. When you are still a stranger to them they are very reluctant to speak to you. As I conducted the interviews the people spoke to me with respect and we had a mutual understanding. Starting from getting access to the community was a difficult process. This is so because Somali community is a very hard one to get into and be able to find participants that will open up to a researcher who is practically a stranger to them. I had planned to use a person that I knew from their association and hoping that he will refer me to others. However, things did not work as I hoped. As I started doing interviews using a snowball sampling I only got one or two referrals and others were not willing or ready to refer me to other Somali refugees in the area. Therefore, I had to think of another way that would work because things had not turned out as planned, therefore, I tried to introduce myself to people in the area and some were very nice and helped me.

Random sampling helped a lot. After doing about ten interviews it was difficult to move forward as I had a setback. Meeting the participants become almost impossible something that I really understood because most of the Somalis run businesses and others work every day of the week. So I had to adjust my schedule in order to meet theirs whenever they were available. Thus, I had to use Sunday afternoons in order to meet those that run their business and rest on the day. After much persistence and hard work I was able to meet others that were available almost every day. It was with these ones that my field work was completed. The

interviews went well and the people were wonderful. The only little problem I faced was my Identity as a female Christian researcher speaking to male Muslim participants. Since the entire community is Muslim going there being a non-Muslim affected how they perceived me. Therefore, I changed my attire, I covered my head every time I went there and the reception changed. I tried as much as I could to make them feel comfortable so that they could communicate with me without any reservations. Some participants were very open and others were not which I completely understood.

Since I was speaking to people that have experienced traumatic events in their lives especially in Somalia most of the time I found myself empathizing and sympathizing with them because I was deeply touched by their stories. In one case, I was speaking to an older person with a high rank in the community and expressing his concern about the horrible things the members of his clan face in Somalia and South Africa, he become very emotional and I felt so helpless. I was in a situation where I did not know what to do; since it was a male and older participant it was even worse for me. So I thought that silence would help in order for the respondent to calm down and be able to continue. We kept quiet for about 5 minutes and I assured him that it was fine to take some time to collect himself. The same thing happened again when I was speaking to a mother of nine children who was saddened by the situation at home and the struggles she faces in South Africa. Moreover, I did assure her that it was fine to take time and start again whenever she felt ready. Those were moments that really made me think deeply about the study and how participants have suffered much in their lives. It made me draw closer to them as I felt compassion for them.

The study allowed me to reflect much on the lives of Somali refugees but also as they related their experiences back in Somalia it brought back memories of myself and what I endured during the genocide in Rwanda. Every interview was unique and the experiences were different and similar at the same time. So I treated every single experience as unique in order

to grasp fully what Somali refugees go through in South Africa as an individual but also on a collective level. I was impressed by their resilience and perseverance that they show once they get in the host country. What they have suffered back at home has made them strong that they do not see all the challenges they meet here as obstacles to life but part of their lives.

This enabled them to cope with any circumstance be it poverty, crime and violence. Throughout the study I found myself relating more and more to female refugees especially when they spoke of how some have become victims of rape in Somalia as a consequence of war but also in South Africa it is like the battle continues. This is a topic that brings much pain but I was deeply shocked to find out that Somali women cannot report such crimes due to their culture. Since there is nothing that is done about it, I was afraid this crime would escalate. Somali men do not even care about it at all; most of them showed no compassion about what was being committed to their fellow people. So women will continue to suffer emotional pain and alone because of fear of being outcast but also due to the stigma that is attached to being raped not only in South Africa but also in Somalia.

Chapter Four- Findings of the study

In this section findings from the raw data will be discussed. The information that was provided by the respondents was coded and divided into smaller units in order to give descriptive analysis. Here I provide information as it was given by the informants when explaining their lives, experiences and challenges that they meet in South Africa, the country they seek refugee to. Doing this research has been a great experience. Getting to know the culture of the participants was very good, the community is conservative and the people are nice once they get to know you. As I conducted the interviews the people spoke to me with respect and we had a mutual understanding. Starting from getting access to the community was a difficult process. This is so because Somali community is a very hard one to get into

and be able to find participants that will open up to a researcher who is practically a stranger to them. This was really challenging. This chapter is divided into nine parts

4. 1 Family ties

Most of the participants showed that they came to South Africa because of the connections they had with family members that had already migrated. Information is normally shared between the refugees with those that are still at home in Somalia and those who have already migrated maybe to neighbouring countries. Before they come they are informed of how things are and work in South Africa. This allows people that contemplate migrating to make informed decisions. Although most of them come with high expectations once they get here all the dreams they had before become a nightmare. This is because their expectations are not met; reality seems to be something unexpected for most Somali refugees.

Somali refugees support each other in the host country to the point of forming social networks to help those in need. There is much unity and communication that happen among them; once they get here they are directed to their own clans and tribes for help and support. Some have come because of the unity they have among themselves or because SCOB had promised them help and support. Respondent 9 mentioned the following:

"*I came here because I had heard that there was a big and strong Somali community in South Africa and that there were opportunities for business and education"*.

The Somali community in South Africa is well known, that refugees come knowing that they will not be alone in the host country. So the attraction of having other Somalis who already are established here helps them to migrate to South Africa.

Connections are made throughout the community but more importantly among the same clans and tribes. As brothers they would help one another no matter what. However, those ties do not go across the entire community. Due to tribalism that goes way back into Somali history,

different clans will not see eye to eye. They do not have any contact or dealings with different tribes although they are all Somalis worshipping the same God. As they migrate, it is apparent that most of them come here because their uncles or cousins have already established themselves because they are very business minded and as they get here they start working straight for their family members.

Participant 26 mentioned the help he got when he first came to South Africa saying:

"When I came to South Africa, my mother had already arranged with my cousins to do business with them, so the next day I started working with them in one of the locations in Cape Town".

The mother contributed much to the decision of migrating to South Africa. This is exactly what the instrumental systems theory shows that the decision to leave home is not solely taken by one person but other individuals influence it (Do Mar, 2012).

To add to this participant 5 said that as soon as he came to South Africa he joined his cousins in the family business. They put their money together to even open bigger shops where they could all work together and share the profit. Somali refugees are very organized and connected to each other that as they come here they know what they will do in terms of business. For those who do not have family members in South Africa they associate with friends and they do business together.

4.2 Language barrier

Somali refugees struggle due to language problems in the host country. They are used to speaking their own language. Therefore, having the knowledge of only one language they go to other countries and it becomes a bit difficult for them to learn other languages because they have not been exposed to other languages. This is a big problem for the community because it hampers them to integrate in the mainstream society. One of the reasons that were given as to

why they struggle to learn the most spoken language is that most of them struggle to make a living that they put all their effort into being able to survive in South Africa. Therefore, the most important thing for them is their lives first, having good living conditions and being able to support their families in South Africa and Somalia.

Therefore, there is really no other time left for them to learn the language that will enable them to communicate with the other communities. One participant 10 explains that as follows:

"*Language barrier is the biggest challenge for Somali refugees. It is number one, two and three problem that we face in South Africa. If you cannot understand what a person is telling you then there is nothing you can do with him. They come from a country where English is no spoken there, just a few people that are educated that can speak it. It is always difficult for them to learn it"*.

However, they are business minded so they can easily learn the business language and adapt fast to the new business environments. With this ability they are reluctant to learn English because they can easily get the business language.

For most Somali Bantu however, it is even harder because they have no basic education. Therefore, for them it is very difficult to learn any language because they would need to know first how to read and write which most of them do not have. They are however, willing to go to school and learn how to read and write but the circumstances do not allow them. Respondent 16 who owns a business expressed his feelings towards learning something in these words:

" The biggest problem we face here is the language barrier, like now I cannot write or read my name. I would like to study but I have a big family to care for. The only thing I am able to do is to educate my children so that they can be different from me and have a good future".

Another one mentioned that even finding a job that will enable Somali Bantu to sustain their families is a challenge because of lack of language skills. The respondent 24 says:

"I had found a place where they needed someone who could do admin work but I could not because I do not know the language well but also because I never had an opportunity to learn how to read and write, so how can I do anything that could help my family? It is very difficult".

This is a big challenge for Somali Bantu especially since they do not own big business like the other Somalis do. They struggle to find work because of not knowing English or having basic education.

So far there is no apparent solution to this barrier although the community has identified the problem. This is because the community has tried to have English lessons for those who could study and the UNHCR also got involved in helping the community in this regard. However, most of the Somali refugees are busy with their businesses or jobs trying to make ends meet that they cannot find time to go to school and learn. The lessons were offered freely but still it was only a few people that joined. Due to lack of people enrolling on the program the lessons were stopped after two months that the program ran. Majority of Somalis are bread winners for their families so they cannot commit to anything else other than business or work even if they know well that they would benefit greatly.

4.3 Integration

Somali refugees have problems integrating in the South African community. One of the reasons why they find it difficult is that their culture and religion are different to what they

find in South Africa. The culture does not permit them to socialize with other nations. In Somalia they are accustomed to one language, one culture and one religion. When they get into other countries adapting to various lifestyles and differences that are found with the local people becomes a huge challenge for them.

Participant 10 explains: *"Somalia is a homogenous country; Somalis know Somalis and they all speak Somali that is all they know"*

This is true because by nature Somalis do not really get in touch with other nations. Therefore the integration is difficult in that sense. It is not easy for Somalis who have never co-existed with other communities to come to South Africa and actually embrace change and integrate with others. Therefore, integrating with people of different ethnicity and language will take time to take place. Another point that hampers the integration of Somali refugees is the language barrier that they face. So without knowing the language of the local people it is hardly possible to have any interaction with them. The mere fact that Somalis refugees stay in one place where all Somalis live does not help to break the barrier either because as they live together they continue to speak only their language and get comfortable with it that they find no need to learn other languages including English the most used language in Johannesburg. This contributes to their lack of integration because they stay with their own people only.

Respondent 4 mentioned that it is difficult for them to integrate due to the differences in religion they just do not click with other people. Also due to the fact that in Johannesburg they do business that service only Somalis therefore they get no interaction with South Africans and other nationalities, only those that work for them in their shops. At times they employ other nations like people from Malawi for cheap labour not because they want to integrate with them.

It becomes hard also to integrate with other people because Somali refugees consider themselves as non Africans. Some of them look down upon people that are African and consider them as their slaves. Respondent 13 showed that "Somalis are racist in their own ways. They look down on black people and if they discriminate their own Somali brothers how much more from the other nations?" Moreover, it is really difficult to have Somalis integrate with South Africans that they consider as blacks, people they cannot even hire in their shops. Therefore, they always employ other nationalities like people from Malawi and Tanzania but not South Africans. Respondent 4 explains that the reason they do not hire the local people is purely for safety purposes, they are afraid that South Africans will bring robbers and thugs. This hampers any form of integration that could take place by working together. The experiences that they have had especially in the townships are what make Somali refugees to be reluctant to hire South Africans.

However, there are those that have been able to integrate with South Africans without a problem. Participant 1 tells how possible it is to integrate with others: "*being able to integrate with South Africans or other nations for that matter is an individual choice. I have no problems with that and I have many friends that are local"*. Therefore, it is possible for people that are open minded, people who do not cling to one thing that are able to embrace other people. Moreover, integration really depends on the attitude of the individuals towards the other nations.

Interestingly Somali Bantu embrace all nationalities not only South Africans, they socialize with other people and they do not look down upon others. This is understandable because they are considered by Somali Gelah[18] to be black as well. They socialize with all people and are comfortable working with other nationals. The other difference between Somali Gelah

[18] Somali Gelah refers to non Bantu Somalis.

and Somali Bantu is that Bantu people can marry from any other nationality. Somali Gelah would not do something like that especially with any black people.

4.4 Daily stresses

Refugees in general face multiple challenges just because they are not citizens of the host country therefore they do not enjoy the same rights and benefits as the local people get. Somali refugees make no exception when it comes to challenges that come with migration. Since all do not have businesses, most of them struggle to make ends meet just like any other refugees. Their daily stresses are hunger and constant fear of crime in South Africa. It is interesting to note though that the daily stresses are different among Somali Bantu and Somali Gelah. This is very common especially among Somali Bantus because they do not study at all and they possess no skills. At home; they are farmers and are used to cultivating the land in order to survive. Due to lack of education and skills, when they come to South Africa they mostly look for domestic work to be able to care for their families.

Due to language barrier also Somali Bantus struggle to find work with other people this makes them stick to working for Somali Gelah. They worry about finding food for their children in most instances and they accept the mistreatment from Somali Gelah in order to put something on the table. Respondent 23 shed some light on that:

"*I live here with my uncle and aunt, there is no enough space for the 3 of us I sleep in the kitchen at night, but being together like this helps us because when I get money I am able to buy food that we can share and life carries on like that".* Since she has not studied the only job she can do is domestic work for Somali Gelah. This is because they can at least communicate in Somali language or Swahili. Otherwise Somali Bantu in general experience a lot of mistreatment because of their tribe or clan.

It is really a very difficult situation for most Somalis that get here and find it hard to get a job but also because of their background that affects their livelihood in South Africa. Another stressor for Somali Bantu is not being able to take their children to school. The fact that Somali Bantus do not get the opportunity to study in Somalia due to the discrimination they suffer, once they come to South Africa then education for their children becomes a priority because now they have a chance to educate their own. They truly understand the importance of education.

However, because they do not get good jobs or be able to do business since they are poor, they constantly stress about the education of their children. One respondent that has taken the lead in fighting for education among Somali Bantus said:

"*The only thing that we mostly worry about is to take our children to school. Ever since I came here I work so hard to take my children to school and give them what we never had. I have started a good partnership with our Ambassador in South Africa to see if they can help Bantu children to get education here. Even if they can sponsor just 15 Bantu children it will mean a lot to all us as Bantu people. We have never had that opportunity at home but we hope that it will be possible soon".*

Similar sentiments were expressed by most Bantu parents for their children to get a chance for education something that they did not get in Somalia. Moreover, they all work hard just to get money for education. They sell tomatoes on the streets to achieve this. The situation comes with many more challenges as they become street vendors. Respondent 20 explains in these words:

" As I was selling on the street metro police would come and take my stuff. Since I had a baby at that time and 2 year old, I had no choice but to take them both to where I would be selling fruits and vegetables. One day, on a cold morning, struggling with 2 children on the

street was not easy, so I put my baby in a box that normally would have bananas. So when the metro police came they took that box that had the baby inside and I screamed out please do not take my baby. They felt pity for me because they understood the struggle I was going through on street with my small children. All this I was doing happily in order to survive and make sure that I was able to take the older ones to school".

It is really sad to see the situation that some Somali refugees find themselves into but most of them prefer being in South Africa because they consider it as being better compared to how things are in Somalia.

Somali Gelah on the other hand; mostly involve themselves in businesses. There are some of them that have been able to go to school so they understand the importance of education, they speak English and they are able to flourish materially. Therefore their daily stressors are different from those discussed of Somali Bantu. Somali Gelah are the ones that have been treated well from home over the Bantus; some of them have money that can go around in helping their relatives all over the world. They start businesses and prosper because they are very business minded when it comes to running their own shops. These ones stress over constant fear of harassment from the police and crime. In Mayfair, most of the time the police come and raid their shops without any search warrants and this has really put them in a tight situation. Although they still run their businesses there, it is always on their minds. They feel harassed about it and they say that it does not happen to other traders in the area. One respondent lamented saying:

"*They come and search you as if you have done something wrong, one thing I know for sure is that Somalis would do anything to advance with their business but never will they do drugs. So the police raids are done like we are selling drugs and we are under the impression that they are sent specifically just to disrupt what we do"*.

Another one said that it is done maybe by the other traders that are jealous of Somalis. They suspect that these ones send the police in order to reduce their business activities because sometimes the police go to Mayfair and ask Somalis to close their shops. *"When we ask why they do that they do not really have concrete answers so we think that it could be coming from the other traders around the area"*.

For those who live in the location however, not only they are constantly under the police surveillance they also live in fear. In Limpopo for example, some shops have been closed just because the police went to ask Somali traders to close down their businesses. They claimed that Somali traders in the area do not possess the correct registration papers for their businesses. This was later clarified that South Africans did not want Somali traders in the area.

Another stressor is caused by the lootings that happen almost every day. Moreover, these ones are constantly in fear of crime and harassment from the local people that live with them. Not only have they feared for their lives they also fear for their businesses which is the only source of income that enables them to support their families. Therefore, for those who have something to do like a business, they are worried about what they have and for those who do not have worry about how they could get something to support their families. It is a big contrast of what happens between the different tribes because of what they have or what they do not have, but for both it is a constant struggle.

4. 5 Clans

Somali society is divided into different clan-families and under these ones they have also sub clans that fall under the major ones. They sub-divide into smaller kin-based clans, sub-clans and primary lineage big ones are four the Majartheen, Ogaden, Hawiye and Dir. Under these ones there exist many sub clans and tribes. But all these ones are called Somali Gelah those

that are tall, dark with soft hair. These are the ones that own cattle and camels are very valuable to them as they are given as a dowry for marriage. Moreover, most of the fights that happen among these people are caused by the fact that every clan wants to own more and more camels no matter what the costs are. However, also they want to have power over the minority clans. And so one clan would steal camels from another clan and they would start fighting one another to get their camels back. This has been happening for so long that it is part of their history now.

On the other hand they also have Bantus that are physically different. They look different from the Somali Gelah, they have different facial traits and different type of hair. These ones look just like other Africans sometimes they are even mistaken as Zulus or people from Malawi. Somali Bantu as a minority clan are undermined and marginalized by the other Somalis. In Somalia they are considered as their slaves. Somali Bantus are farmers and live in Kisumayo and the areas near River Juba. They get killed in Somalia and they are still mistreated by the other Somalis in Johannesburg as they are in Somalia. This is how one of the respondents put it: *"the other Somalis look down on us and take us as outcasts. They just do not like us"* Respondent 15. Looking at how Somali Bantu fair in Johannesburg, the situation is very dire. Therefore to survive they have no choice but to work for the other Somalis and suffer abuse and mistreatment.

Respondent 24 explains this: *"You see those Somalis do not like us, you do not know. Like people around here they call us donkeys or Adhon if you work for them. They say we do not want adhon here so they call the other type of their own to work for them. I tell you, they still call us donkeys but me I do not care, even if I work for them all I want is money, they say you Jareere do this do that, I do without a problem. They also say that we do not know how to speak Somali like them. There was a day I fought with another mama here, she called me donkey. I told her please do not call me that name because I am working for you for money. I*

do not work for free. She said I will put a knife in your stomach. So I said this is South Africa not Somalia you see, there is police station here it is not like Somalia where you kill me and leave me there they will arrest you".

So if it was not for the laws that South Africa has, Somali Bantu would still be killed just as it is in Somalia. It is noteworthy to know that they are aware of the laws in South Africa and they know that if anything happens to them they can easily go to the authorities. They also showed appreciation for these laws that protect all people.

Among the same clans, or sub clans they help each other very much. It is an important aspect to Somalis. Respondent 12 says: "*when a Somali person gets here and does not know other Somalis, they will ask him which clan he is and he will be taken to the leader of that specific clan to be helped. Everything centres on clans. You do not just get help"*

With Somali Gelah they get married among themselves not from Bantus because they consider them as black and slaves. However, it does happen that Somali Gelah marries a Bantu woman or vice versa. There exists about one percentage that marries each other but they face vicious challenges from their families. One Bantu woman that was married to a Somali Gelah that was interviewed mentioned that she and the husband were living well together without a problem at the time they were far from the family.

When they came to South Africa, however things started changing because they were living in an area that had other members of his family. They opposed their union and his mother urged him to divorce her before she could bear children for him because the family did not want to have Bantu children. They ended up divorcing because there were many problems caused by the family of the husband that she could not bear on her own. This participant was here alone so she did not have much support from other Bantu people. Another case is for a Somali Gelah married to a Bantu man. She explained that as soon as she married him, her

family disowned her completely. She is not allowed to contact them, and this has been going on for over 20 years she has not been able to speak to her brothers and sisters. The only person she is in touch with is her mother who is in Somalia at the moment. This is how she puts the way she feels about what has happened to her:

"It is a shame for me they say, they do not like it, they always ask me why I do not divorce this guy and go back, why did I accept to have black children you know, there is a problem coming inside my family, but they do not like Bantus for sure. They will never help Bantus they will never come together they show no shame nothing, even here and in Somalia. My mom also she says why did you marry these people? I have another daughter, my brother my family had accepted the other man that I married before because he is Gelah and I got a daughter with him. My mother took my daughter when I married this Bantu man, she said it is her child because she is not Bantu". It is really difficult to unite Bantu and the other Somalis in South Africa or back home in Somalia because of the engraved hatred between the various clans.

4. 6 Corruption in South Africa

All the participants lamented about the corruption they face especially when they are applying for refugee papers. Despite the fact that the situation in Somalia is well known they still struggle to get these papers from the DHA, they sit in long queues and many times they are not served. The officers there ask for money in order to make the process faster, if the refugee wants to be served he has to pay a certain amount of money otherwise he will sit and wait till he does not get anything. Respondent 2 says: "*before it was easy for us to get asylum and refugee papers but of late things have changed due to corruption"*. This is not seen by one person that goes to DHA but all refugees face the same situation. Somali refugees did acknowledge that it is not only them alone who have given bribes to get their papers but also the other nationals complain about the same problem.

Respondent 4 explains further: *"when you do not give them money there give a stay of 1 month so they make you go back many times till you will understand that if you give money then you will get a longer stay"*. There is so much frustration that refugees get from the way things are handled at the DHA that shows the relevant government agents are slacking when it comes to doing what is right for the benefit of all. Respondent 5 mentions*:" it is really difficult to apply for anything from the DHA because of the corruption there. All the application forms get piled up there and nobody processes them, if you want yours to get anywhere you have to pay R15000 in order to get any permit"*. Another participant came to South Africa and had to wait for 2 months to get his document. For 8 weeks he went there without missing one day, at the end because he was asked to go back every single time he went there, on the last day he was asked to pay them money to help him. When asked if he paid in order to get his papers this is what he had to say:

"*These people are so corrupt that if you do not pay money they will never help you, so I had to pay R3500. Actually the officer that had my file told me openly that if I wanted to stay longer I have to give him money. So when I went the third time I went prepared"*.

It is really difficult for the refugees to access legal documents that would allow them to study and work in South Africa. Some complained that even once they find such papers, they cannot do much with them because they cannot open a bank account with such papers or start a business. So with those papers they are only able to live anywhere in the country as recognized refugees and that is it. And sometimes they are just harassed by the police having the refugee papers just because they look different from the rest of the refugees. Respondent 5 tells how he was treated by the police when he had no problem with his papers:

"When he stopped me and I showed my papers he said that they were not valid that he would take me to jail unless I made a plan for him. And he mentioned that he would take me to jail

just because he can. He can always say that he suspected that my papers were not valid". The participant had to bribe the police officer in order to avoid being in jail. Therefore, it is really stressful for foreign nationals living in South Africa whether they have or not have legal papers that recognize them as refugees.

Police misuse their power to harass foreigners especially because they do not know their rights. Therefore, it becomes easy to take advantage of them using the power police has and knowing well that refugees have the fear of being deported and they become victims of people who should be protecting them.

4. 7 Xenophobia- crime

Besides corruption that is rampant in the DHA, refugees go there and they get mistreated by the guards and officers because they have xenophobic attitudes towards the foreigners. Respondent 3 explains this: "*there is a Somali that went to home affairs and the security guards beat him up, a woman, a pregnant woman gets pushed there and nobody helps because and at the end of the day they tell them to go home and come back another time*". And what happens if they do get arrested? And sometimes they do get arrested so that is what happens, right now they are those that are in Lindela because their papers have expired, and when they ask Home Affairs for help the department does not even offer the needed assistance. And some refugees have to use transport money because they come from far like Durban or another province and when you get there they tell them to go back and come back the following week for instanceand the person has to go all the time.

Xenophobia in South Africa is a big challenge that refugees face. In many places be it in location or townships Somali people are victims of crimes. Those that run businesses in locations in particular are primary target to crime and xenophobic attitudes of the local people. Somalis are targeted mostly because of their businesses. They work in areas that are

stricken by poverty and they flourish so it is with reason that the local people become jealous of them because they do well and obtain success with their business.

Respondent 2 says: "*the most difficult challenge for Somalis is jealousy of the South Africans; you find that foreign people come here and work hard, they make business and they make money. The problem is most of the South African people, they got jealousy, I mean foreigners come to their country and work hard, then they start driving nice cars and that jealousy can create enmity"*.

As they do business they do well in locations and townships because they are able to sell on cheaper prices and make a little profit that will go a long way. Therefore, their success has become also their problem. Moreover, Somali refugees showed that their businesses flourish faster in the townships not in towns.

Respondent 5 explains: "*the only reason Somalis are a target to crime in South Africa is because they do business no other reason*".

They get robbed and their shops often are looted. This does not discourage them though at times they start a new shop in order to support their families. The challenge that goes with xenophobia and crime against foreigners is that even if they tried to report the problems the police do nothing about it. This makes it hard for Somalis to report any other crime that is committed against them because they know that it will not be processed anyway. Due to this problem Somalis continue to be killed in locations and no one gets held accountable for it. Till today Somali refugees get killed and the cases are not reported. One of the participants that was shot three times by the local people due their negative attitude towards the foreigners explains:

"I have worked in various townships and locations and we faced horrendous things from the local people. Looting, robbing and burning our shops down became part of our daily lives. We managed to restart with the little money we would have saved somewhere but after I was shot for the third time I understood that I could not continue there so I moved to Johannesburg".

He spoke with a smile and emphasised that he is not bitter towards the local people but feels pity for them because they lack awareness about refugees living in South Africa. This surprised me to see that despite all the challenges the participant has gone through he maintained a positive attitude towards the local people and understood clearly that it is just how life is.

4.8 Challenges

Challenges that Somali refugees face are numerous. As soon as they get to South Africa, they have to strive hard for their survival. Somali refugees have to adapt to the new environment which is very difficult for them because most of them and find themselves with different people with different backgrounds and they struggle to interact and integrate with the other communities. Due to their culture, religion and just because they come from what used to be a homogenous society it is really challenging to adapt to all the differences. They meet up with so many problems of insecurity, crime, poverty and mistreatment just because they are foreigners. When it comes to accessing legal documentation they face a lot of problems coming from the officers of the DHA, corruption and abuse.

Participant 8 clarifies how the expectations of some people might never be realized because reality is just something different. He says:

"Everything that glitters isn't really gold, when I came here I had high expectations about South Africa but I later realized that things are not how people say they are. I realized that

South Africa is very cold and unfriendly. Struggling and sweat would mean earning a living". The expectations and reality become two opposing concepts for many Somali refugees. The system that should be helping the refugees leaves them unattended in the cold for months before they are able to get refugee papers. Due to this challenge at times they get arrested by the police and the DHA cannot assist them in that regards. Respondent 3 talked about this saying:

"*Due to lack of papers or not being extended by the DHA some Somalis get arrested and the organization (SCOB) has to help them get out. Some of them their cases are so bad that they have to stay in prison for months just because DHA does not do their job well"*. This is the biggest challenge for Somalis but even the other refugees in general and there is not much one can do. The organization tries to help those that get imprisoned because the DHA does not extend people's papers but there are just so many cases.

Somali refugees also experience problems while trying to access health care services. The reason for this is the language barrier. When the nurses call them at times they do not understand because they do not speak English and it creates serious challenges to be helped but also due to the xenophobic attitudes the local people have towards the foreigners. Somali women really are the ones who experience bad service from the local nurses, they get shouted at and do not feel good about it because they go there to be treated as patients just like any other people but they get a different service. They stay in long queues especially at the clinics and at times do not get the right medical attention needed. Respondent 12, although she had not had a bad experience personally she has seen how Somali patients get treated by the nurses at Mayfair clinic and Coronation hospital. She mentioned the following:

"*As Somali women get shouted at, they ask them why do you have so many babies? One pregnant lady went to the clinic because she had headache and she was given antibiotics*

which one is not supposed to be taken once pregnant. There were two nurses at the counter, and the good one complained saying that she cannot take antibiotics just because she is pregnant but the other one insisted saying that it was a mild one that it would not have any side effects".

In such instances what can refugees do? It is a challenge and it is not something easy to cope with. Many Somali women complained about the treatment they get at the clinics and hospitals and they think that it is because they are foreigners but also due to their religion because of the way they dress they are easily identified. At Mayfair clinic especially they reported that they do not like to go there because they get treated differently maybe because the staff there is used to Somalis women and hate them just because they are non South Africans. Others mentioned that the other Muslims women from other countries like Malawi or Tanzania do not experience the same problems as Somalis do. Respondent 23 shed light on that and she mentioned that the bad treatment Somali women get could be because they do indeed get many children because their religion does not allow them to use preventative methods or take contraceptives. Therefore, they find themselves falling pregnant almost every year and clinic staff gets to see them every time they visit the clinic.

Some Somali refugees also struggle to find schools for their children. Although education in South Africa is accessible to most people, Somalis face problems because of their refugee papers that are not well recognized to the South Africans. And so when they present those papers they get asked for a green ID that they do not have, otherwise for those who go to private school and are able to pay for their children's education find no problem in that. One respondent mentioned that it is very difficult for her to find a school that will accept her 4 children, she explained the situation.

Respondent 26 mentions: "*I have gone to all schools in the area, public schools that it is. But they are asking papers that I do not know. So I went to HA for South Africans I showed the papers for my babies as a child is born here and these people are telling me to get a study permit where must get it? You know go call your embassy? If I have embassy I would not be here, they say I do not care they passed me and called other people and ignore me there. We come back we tell the school and they told us that they do not care, so now I have 4 children that cannot go to school"*.

It is therefore understandable that for some it is really challenging to access these services that should be provided to all as long as long they are in possession of their legal documentations. However, it is not the case for all and it is proven that having refugee papers does not help them much, because they are not able to open bank accounts for example or open businesses. We know well that Somalis involve themselves in informal sector and it becomes challenging to keep money on themselves and it endangers their own lives and safety.

Another serious challenge that affects Somali women is that for those that use taxis in Mayfair get victims of rape by the drivers. Once they climb on they get taken to other places in the locations where they get raped and robbed. The problem with this is that they cannot report it to the police because of fear of being stigmatized by their own people. It is said that Somali women are given in marriage being virgins and so if they reported the rape then people will get to know about it and they will be talking about that in the whole community which of course would jeopardize the life of the young women. So women are very much afraid of that and the label that goes with being raped. Respondent 23 spoke about that and mentioned the following:

"*No they would talk at all they feel shy because they know others will swear at them. And at times they will not believe them, they start saying other stories instead. They do not believe women like that. Yeah, there was a Somali girl that was actually raped like that by a taxi driver; she only told her best friend what happened. Apparently the taxi drove to Soweto and she was raped there. Due to shame and fear of stigma attached to being raped, she moved and went to a different area".*

To make the matter worse because rape is not reported by Somali women due to their culture and the community cannot help either. Women do not come forward and therefore, there is nobody who can help to make women understand that they are just victims of crime. The biggest problem here is that the Somali men do not believe their sisters or wives when it happens. Somali society is very patriarchal; therefore, it becomes very difficult to even talk in a society like this where women are undermined by men and considered as inferior.

Respondent 11 explains that because of their culture women are taken differently and therefore it is difficult to believe them when they get victimized in this regard. The respondent mentioned this:

"We *are very afraid of what will be the result of the rape. A good example is of a woman who was raped, she was married but unfortunately she became victim of rape. Now her husband disowned her completely, divorced her and she was under so much stress that she become very sick and died as a result of the lack of support from the husband .*

It is really difficult for Somali women because they do not have support of their own relatives and the community. When I asked a Somali man about this issue the response was shocking.

The respondent 16 explained: *it is very bad that something like that would happen to the Somali women, but there is no much that can be done. Everyone in the community is busy*

that they do not have time to follow up on such cases, SCOB members do their own things too because here it is about survival. The victims have to turn to their family members for help". Clearly if the community cannot reach out and help the people it is unlikely that the South African community will do something to help the refugees because they themselves are not concerned about this issue and they have xenophobic attitude towards them therefore not much should be expected from the local people.

4.9 Coping methods

Looking at all the challenges and problems that Somali refugees face in South Africa, one would wonder how they manage and continue to come to this country despite such difficulties. They leave Somalia because of insecurity, injustices and other problems but once they get here they face similar conditions. So when asked how they manage to cope and continue living respondent 10 answered:

"*Well these people were born in problems, the country has been in turmoil, so all they have and know is the times of hardships only so they became resilient as they mastered it, so the problem just as it is in the animal world with the survival of the fittest, so they can only do well where there are challenges"*.

It is very difficult to understand that Somalis have grown to live with challenges and that they continue to survive in difficult circumstances. Another participant actually mentioned that all the problems that they face, after he was shot for the second time he understood that is how life is in South Africa, as long as one is a foreigner he will always struggle for survival because the South African culture is as violent therefore it will continue like that without an end he mentioned.

A young mother that has small children living without a job under hard conditions mentioned that she has no other option than staying here. She manages by working for other Somalis in their houses, washing clothes, cleaning and cooking for them. She said:

'I like it because I have nothing else I can do, even if I said I do not like this life there is nothing that I can do to change it. Even if I cried no one will help they will think that I am crazy". She has become resilient and this helps her cope with bad situations that most refugees find themselves into today.

She keeps a good sense of humour which also enables her to keep strong for herself and her family. They are living in dire situations but they have accepted those circumstances because they find that it is better being in South Africa and suffer than being in Somalia constantly waiting for their death. They find themselves stuck without a way out but they persist and endure. Most of the parents worry much about their children that they want to try and see if they can get something better for their children.

Chapter Five: Analysis of Data

In this section findings are discussed using units to critically analyse gathered data. The data was divided into small units and codes then grouped together into categories that contain related codes (Henning, 2005). With the data collected, it shows that Somali refugees face so many challenges. The objectives of this study will guide the analysis done. They experience difficulties in getting legal documentation, health care and education. They face corruption from the DHA officials who ask for money in order to give papers to refugees. Somali refugees living in Johannesburg face problems that are different from what happens in the locations and townships.

5. 1 Lives of Somali Refugees

Somali refugees have strong ties with the community and this is seen in the way they deal with one another. They are very hard working and are accustomed to working for themselves since they left their home country. Most people that have cattle or farms do all things for themselves that even when they migrate to other countries they still work hard for their survival. Somalis are considered to be the most unified society in all Africa. It is homogenous bound together by their religion, Somalis share the same way of life since most of them are nomads their lives centre around grazing lands for their animals (Ganzglass, 1980). There is unity with the community according to their clans. Furthermore, as unified as it is we find acts like back stabbing, jealousy that leads them to get the police to raid their fellow Somalis and there is much competition amongst themselves.

Somalis are very strong and have mastered close ties for generations. These are established according to their clans and clan-families. They support each other in everything even when it comes to starting businesses. Many have gotten money from their relatives that are abroad in order to start shops in South Africa. With regards to their social networks, it is argued that Somali migrants keep strong ties wherever they are with their families. The physical distance does not affect their closeness of relationships. They keep contact with members of the family and use any available means of communication to achieve that. Relatives play an important role in each other's lives and livelihoods even over large distances (Horst, 2006).

Social networks connect migrants and non-migrants across time and space. This allows a network of information, assistance and obligations that develop between refugees in the host society. These are developed with friends and relatives in both the sending and receiving countries (Boyd, 1989). This is very true for Somali refugees living in Johannesburg. They have very strong networks that are established through their organizations like SCOB and SASA. These ties are strengthened among similar clans. Somalis living in Mayfair have

established themselves and stay according to their clans and on every different street they have a specific clan. This is in accord with the Network model which shows how important social networks are to migrants[19]. For instance at the 8th avenue in Mayfair that is where all Majarteen and 9th avenue all Bantus are found. They are clustered like that just as it is in Somalia. This helps them to support each other according to their families.

They have established various cooperatives like the one called Al-Bayaan Islamic Trust which is registered by the Islamic Institution (IS). This was initiated by Somalis for Somalis in need but they help other nationals too. When a person dies information is provided through this institution and they are able to bury the person on the same day. This institution helps all Somali refugees regardless of the clan. This is the most unified and close community in all Africa because they are bound together by their language, culture, and Islam. This was mentioned by respondent 5.

Many Somali refugees that have migrated to South Africa were informed about the situation here, how Somalis are treated and the way they get killed by the local people. At times, though they are not given true information just because the relatives want to make sure that their family members get out of Somalia for their safety. They think that once their relatives are in other countries they can at least escape the atrocities that are being committed in Somalia.

It is for this reason that Somali migrants throughout the world keep their culture and preserve their language wherever they go. This is true because it is argued that Somali people have a special religious, linguistic and ethnic bond with their relatives (Jaenem, 1957). Lee's model showed clearly that migrants maintain close ties with their people and they never lose what

[19] Massey et all. 1993

they share in common in the origin country.[20] Therefore, wherever they are, Somali refugees are able to preserve their culture. Using the Networks Theory we see clearly that family ties or clan ties are very crucial to this community. These networks keep them together and they are able to support each other even if it is mainly done according to their clans. Furthermore, they maintain their culture and language because of these networks.

5. 2 Challenges

Respondents showed that the government agents do no contribute to the wellbeing of the refugees in South Africa. Xenophobic attacks are a good example. To explain that the government does not seem to make an effort to reduce the crimes that are committed towards the foreigners. Although the government has done very little to counter xenophobia the National action plan on racism and xenophobia is now almost 8 years behind schedule the interventions it has taken to counter violence and to promote tolerance also risks entrenching a language of difference through the forms of recognition that they demand (Landau, 2010).

Respondent 4 expressed the lack of commitment on the part of the relevant government agents to protect refugees and migrants although the refugee Act says that all refugees have right to safety just as any other citizen. However, Somalis refugees continue to be brutalized by the local people and nothing is done about it. Somali refugees have reported so many cases but the police do little about them. The cases can be opened but no one will follow up on them.

Respondent 17 whose brother was killed during the xenophobic attacks in May 2008 explains:

[20] Lee, E (1966). A Theory of Migration. In Demography, Vol. 3, No. 1. Pp. 55

"*My shop was completely destroyed just here in Newtown by the local South africans who put fire on it. I reported it to the authorities, I do not know how many cases I opened but till today you cannot have a report of what was done about it".*

This and other thousands incidents have made Somali refugees stop reporting about any crime that is committed against them. It is a waste of time for many as they say.

Due to such disappointment caused by the South African police, some Somali refugees have taken matters into their own hands especially in locations and townships. They make sure that they are armed for their own safety. They do not care about what happens next as long as they are able to defend themselves. This is indeed a country of survival of the fittest. Respondent 5 expressed his feelings towards the matter by saying:

"I found out according to the police report and the mortuary report that in South Africa most of the Somalis were killed the highest number was in 2005 and 2006 is twice as high compared to the Somalis that were killed during the period of 2007 to 2009. Like remember when I say that, that is when the xenophobic attacks started plus 2008, those 4 years we lost the biggest number that no other community has lost in this country. Due to this problem things had to change. That is why we started getting guns for ourselves in order to protect our business and lives".

This shows clearly that crimes have been happening onto foreigners mostly in the Eastern Cape and then they just spread in other parts of the country in 2008.

Xenophobic attacks have ruined so much on the part of the refugees. Crime and violence that are committed against refugees are mainly perpetrated by hatred, jealousy and the legacy of apartheid that local people still have. Another factor that has spread xenophobia is the media. This is shown in the comment of respondent 7 and how he feels about what media covers in terms of xenophobia: "*When the media covers a story on xenophobia it shows the negative side, the bad side of the foreigners and how South Africans feel about them in a negative way*.

The good part is never covered. There are certain individuals that hate what is done to foreigners in this country but when media coverage reports on foreigners only the bad is portrayed and this spreads the hatred even more". The media spread the news regarding xenophobia in a bad light. Respondent 6 also explains:

"When my shop was being looted there was an old lady who took some of the stuff that were left from the shop, she went ahead and sold them without me knowing. When I came back in the area to see if there was something I could use to start over, she came and handed me the money she had gotten from those goods. I could not believe it that a South African person would do something like that for a foreigner".

As the respondent mentions it seems that the media does not report good things that South Africans do to foreigners or vice versa. The positive aspects of the humanity are hidden. If media would cover the good then foreigners would not be hated as much as they are today because it is true that not all South Africans are xenophobic. This made most local people think that they could do this to as many foreigners as possible[21].

However, there are a certain number of the local people that are reasonable and have accepted Somali refugees and other migrants alike in their communities. It is with this reasoning that some refugees feel that South Africans have no reason to mistreat people of foreign nationalities because they are people just like others. They struggle to earn a living just as the local people do. The only difference is that they try to work so harder because they know that the government does not provide for basic needs to refugees. Furthermore, and they become successful in doing their business. If the local people could embrace those that have sought refuge in their country things would be much easier for the foreigners and the host community.

[21] Respondent 6 strongly believes that media coverage makes South Africans continue to commit crime against the foreigners in general.

5. 2. 1 Gender related Challenges

Somali women gained a measure of independence through involvement in small businesses; they sell vegetables on the streets of Johannesburg CBD and Mayfair or own shops sometimes in partnership with Somali men. The ideology of the male breadwinner has been challenged, and the greater financial independence of women has increased their power in the community. Some of them even venture into South African townships in order to earn better income (Sadouni, 2008).

This is true for some Somali women who have started to do their own businesses without depending on men for support. They involve themselves in various activities in order to provide for their families. The interviews conducted showed this. Most of the Somali women that I spoke to are working, some are street vendors selling vegetables and fruits others run their own businesses with or without their husbands. Respondent 12 an owner of a beauty shop mentions:

"*I do my business here; nobody of my tribe has helped me in this regard. I had to do something that will enable me to support my family back in Kenya and a few others that are still in Somalia. My husband also does his own business"*. Having Somali women involved in business activities has obviously contributed much towards the development of their community.

Moreover, recent studies (Soudani, 2008) have shown that Somali women are getting independent in terms of work, finding work in order to care for their families. They do not wait for their husbands to bring in the whole household income but they have taken the lead in entering into the informal sector, findings employment and making a change in their lives. This is seen among some Somali women living in Johannesburg. They do not sit back at home and think that the husbands or the males in the house would be the sole breadwinners. Among the twelve women that were interviewed only four have had any formal education but

this does not prevent them from being able to run a business. I found this quite amazing in this community.

However, the researcher feels that women are still behind in terms of being aware of their rights when it comes to the issue of rape. They are victims but still their culture and religion do not support them much. In a patriarchal society women are expected to be subservient and have to maintain their role in child care and domestic work. In Somalia women are considered as traditionally inferior to men who take a dominant role in politics, religion and society (Gardener & Bushra, 1995) as such women are undermined in every aspect of life. Therefore, the mere fact that they are allowed to work today might be because life in South Africa is difficult for everyone. So for them to survive they have to work hard in order to assume their responsibilities as mothers.

With regards to abuse and gender related violence, in all countries that are war torn there are always consequences of crime that is committed against women and children. Women in particular face much sexual abuse. Sexual violence is a critical issue in many parts of Somalia (Gardener & Bushra, 1995). Therefore women get abused and coerced into doing things against their will. Due to the control of Al-Shabab militia in various areas of Somalia, these people come and select any women they want and do whatever they want with them. Some get raped and are left for death; others are taken as wives under coercive circumstances. Many Somali women moreover, escape the country on the basis of this reason. Respondent 12 showed that women get trapped in such situations with no way out.

Rape is defined as “unwanted physical invasion of an individual’s body that is sexual in nature, unlawful and intentional sexual intercourse with a woman without her consent” (Hirschowitz & Orkin, 2000: 5) This is widely done by the Al-Shabab militia in Somalia

women are forced into marriages or raped repeatedly. While doing the interviews I could feel that Somali women need to be empowered starting with education and awareness of their own rights. The empowerment of women would contribute tremendously on the benefit of the whole community. Once women are educated the society can easily change. So coming to South Africa a country that is well known of its high levels of violence perpetuated against women does not help Somali women that flee Somalia for protection. Since the aftermath of Apartheid is still felt in South Africa, it becomes very difficult for any woman and even more so for Somali women.

South Africa reported about 34, 6% cases of rape by relatives, 64% done at home or near home of the victims in the year 2000 (Hirschowitz, Worku, & Orkin, 2000). And 13 years later we can only imagine that things have gone worse and the numbers have escalated.

One case of a Somali woman that was raped and the incident was reported due to this act the woman was accused of adultery which is against the Islamic law. She was stoned to death because the incident got to be known (Moszynski, 2008). It is with fear of victimization that women today still do not report crimes of this kind. For fear of being victims of more crime women prefer keeping quiet. This is a big challenge that the community has not been able to deal with properly in order to help women in such situations. As a woman I felt that helping women should be a priority for the community but Somali women have no much power in the two established organizations SASA and SCOB. Therefore, it will take time to handle the issue.

5. 2. 2 Legal documentation

Refugees are allowed to work and to avail themselves of basic social services but in reality it is difficult for them to do so due to the problems of accessing legal documentation. Refugees are vulnerable to crime that afflicts South Africans such as sexual and gender related violence. Detention due to lack of proper documentation is another challenge for most

refugees (UNHCR, 2013). The Refugee Act stipulates clearly that refugees should access basic services and the migration policy shows the same. However, the implementation of it is not there because refugees face many challenges in accessing basic services including getting documentation. Expressions of unhappiness were made by most of the participants with regards to refugee papers. As explained by respondent 9, *"immediately when a person arrives from home, he is given the Section 22 and goes to an RRO, refugee what I do not know what officer and that one for it to give it take 180 days with that a person can be accepted or rejected, after that one has to be given a section 24 which is the refugee status"*.

Therefore, normally the process of getting these papers should not present any challenges at all, because as the Refugee Act shows that it is within the rights of all refugees to acquire their legal documentation. And knowing the case of Somalia about the war and all the atrocities that are committed by the Al-Shabab people and all the badness, one would think that for Somalis would be given their papers without a problem. It is public knowledge what is happening in Somalia and before DHA takes a decision whether a person deserves asylum they have to know the situation in whatever country one comes from.

The situation is well known surely they do not even have to explain themselves at all. However it is not like that, due to corruption of the DHA refugees really struggle. Despite the long queues and the abuse from both the security guards and officers, refugees have to pay for getting their papers. And paying does start with the security guards in order for them to let a person enter DHA R20 has to be given. Once inside the officer will make sure that you do not get your paper unless money is given. DHA workers at times sit around there without doing anything, doing it on purpose despite the fact that there are lots of people waiting for their papers.

Respondent 13 was asked to pay R3500 in order to be given refugee status. He explains that the officers make things difficult for the refugees; doing that on purpose so that you can give

money otherwise you will never be helped. One thing that worsens the situation for Somali refugees is that DHA officials think that since most Somalis do business then they have money and DHA officers take advantage of that. This is a sad situation because it is not everybody who can afford paying to get their papers.

Many refugees go there and queue for days because they do not have money to give to the staff, so their cases would be delayed for weeks even months. Respondent 23 explained how she struggles to even get money to go to Home Affairs because she does not have a stable job. When she was asked to go back for the fourth time, she pleaded with the officer to help her; she used her children and the fact that she does not have money to pay him. This is really a challenge for all refugees in this country. There is so much corruption that occurs. For those who have money they do not mind all they need is their papers without spending or wasting time in the long queues so they pay without a problem. However, it affects badly on the poor ones who do not have much.

Refugees in general have the right to legal documentation provided by the DHA. However, they face a lot of challenges in getting refugee or asylum papers. Despite all the problems they meet like corruption, abuse and assault from the officials and security guards, even when they get them there is not much that they can accomplish with those papers. Respondent 5 said that with those papers they still cannot access a lot of things. Yes without refugee documents they cannot access health care services or any other services for that matter but having them does not mean much. They still cannot open bank accounts where they can save their money; therefore, it becomes again very risky for them to keep money on themselves or at home. It is not safe for anybody. What Somali refugees do is to give the money they make to a trusted person to keep in his account and at times it presents other unnecessary challenges because the person might take it or travel without the owner knowing so it is difficult for them.

5. 2. 3 Informal Sector

For some Somali refugees going into informal sector because of lack of formal education they are not able to find formal employment. However, that does not hamper them from becoming successful as they venture into businesses. Lee's model shows that migrants seize opportunities that have not been exploited by others and this is what Somali refugees do.[22] They have ventured in businesses that serve other Somalis like travel agencies and internet cafes that are used mainly by Somalis. Others however, have gone into locations and townships where South Africans have not fully exploited. They have opened shops in the most distant areas and these help the local people tremendously.

Despite all this, host governments complain that refugees come in their country and compete with the local people for scarce resources like job opportunities, housing and health facilities but reality proves something different. The presence of refugees can increase the overall welfare of the local people in the host community. This is possible by means of their economic activities which contribute tremendously to the living standards of the host community. The local people benefit greatly from the protracted refugee situation by their economic contribution. They bring assets, resources, social capital and remittances from abroad into the host country (Jacobsen, 2002). This is in contrast with what refugees are accused of by the locals. South Africans complain that refugees and migrants in general steal their jobs, women, houses and other opportunities.

However, the reality is different. Somali refugees work so hard in order to support themselves and their families. Taking every opportunity that is available for South Africans is not reasonable because Somali refugees involve themselves in the informal sector. They search for ways and make things work for themselves they do not wait to be helped by the government or other NGOs. They make things happen for them by seizing every opportunity

[22] Lee. E. 1966

to make money. In locations especially they have opened Spaza shops, brought goods closer to people and on lower prices compared to their counterparts. So how can people really complain when refugees try so hard to integrate with them and help the community? They mainly focus on areas that have not been covered by the local people and provide them with what they need. The local people retaliate due to their jealousy, lack of tolerance and acceptance of the foreigners in their country.

It is true that Somali refugees are vulnerable to crime when conducting their businesses. In a previous interview conducted by GroundUp, One Somali refugee said, "*Most of these crimes are happening in townships such as Khayelitsha, Delft, Philippe, and Nyanga. For the past three months, sixteen people were killed. Some are still in hospital critically wounded and some were left paralysed. Thirty-six armed robberies were also reported. The criminals operate as a team. They target Somalis who will be coming from the Cash and Carries or other big wholesalers after buying goods for their Spaza shops. Normally they rob them of their goods and bakkies before they reach their shops, or they attack them while they are busy off-loading"* (Washinyira, 2012).

It is very sad to note that when Somalis come here they will be thinking that they will be protected by the laws that are set by the constitution of the country. They leave home in search for safety and better conditions; however, they get here and face other forms of crime unlike what they have in Somalia.

The secretary of SCOB mentioned the following "*I feel sad that there has been two decades of fighting in Somalia and there is no central government. But Somalis continue to be killed and paralysed here in South Africa. It is a tragedy. We cannot predict our future, but we will continue to engage the responsible authority to help Somalis and other immigrants in this country. The South African Constitution talks about protection of people living in their*

country and not just their citizens. Three days ago, Somalis were killed and action should be taken." (Washinyira, 2012). Somali refugees are successful in doing business but it is this success that makes them a target to crime by the local people. Their doing well brings jealousy and animosity on the part of South Africans hence they target them.

With all the challenges Somali refugees face in the host country, the Somali organization, SCOB has programs that include helping all needy people, the other refugees but also South Africans. They provide assistance to the Mayfair clinic, schools in the area and police. These programs are designed to help South Africans and refugees alike become aware of both communities. So they really help the community; it is just that at times some local people do not see or appreciate the effort of the foreigners. Washinyira (2012), reports "We contribute a lot economically because we pay housing and Spaza shop rental fees. If the community asks for donations we give. Three weeks ago we distributed blankets and clothes to the community. We have tried to liaise with and work in harmony with local businesses and our relationship has improved. The community in townships have shown us generosity and like Somalis because our prices are reasonable. But it is these culprits which have caused too much pain in our lives. I urge all Somalis to integrate and socialise with the community."

It is true that foreign communities try to help where they can in order to show to the local people that they mean no harm being in South Africa. All they want is protection and safety that they cannot get from a war torn country like Somalia. After the xenophobic attacks that occurred in 2008, refugees and other migrants came together in unison to combat the crimes that were being committed against the foreigners. Landau (2010) reported that: Organizations like the African Diaspora Forum (ADF), broader national association and migrant groups became active in entrenching and naturalizing the differences and on terms that are inherently unequal and confrontational. They started programs that would make the local people

integrate with foreigners and also how the refugees can participate in the uniting foreigners and the South Africans to avoid problems that spread in 2008. Another aim for such organizations was to achieve recognition and elicit hospitality from the local people. Therefore, refugees and migrants have put efforts to be accepted by the South Africans.

Some of the local people are ignorant of the fact that other African countries helped South Africa gain democracy. While South Africans enjoy their well-deserved political freedoms, many also choose to remain blissfully ignorant of the situation in neighbouring countries like Zimbabwe, forgetting that only decades ago Zimbabwe had an important role in bringing down the minority government in South Africa (Acuna & Ngubeni, 2010). Moreover, this does not help them understand that since other countries were involved in bringing democracy in South Africa they should basically return the favour and treat refugees and other migrants well that have sought asylum in their country.

Remittances are key sources of foreign exchange. Informal remittance system creates all types of jobs, forms of telephone companies, banks and courier services. Entrepreneurship is something else that the host community benefits from. “Refugee entrepreneurship provides a multiplier effect by expanding the capacity and the productivity of the needed labour. The receiving economy benefits again through local, regional trade and the growth of markets by the refugees” (Jacobsen, 2002: 585). Remitting to Kenya and Somalia is an important issue for the Somalis. They come here to work hard in order to support their families in those countries.

Therefore, they try some means that other foreigners use in order to send money to their home countries. Mpesa is a system of electronic money transfer, which is one of the popular ways that Somalis use to remit money to their families. Most Somali refugees are entrepreneurs; they conduct businesses in areas that have not been covered by the local

people especially in rural places. All those that have a job or hold a business remit but it is only those that are struggling without anything to do that find it hard to send something home. It is obvious that the local community would benefit from the services that refugees and other migrants use that contribute greatly to the economy of the host country.

Remittances are said to be the safety net for relatively poor societies. This system is less subject to political barriers and controls. It is a more effective instrument and income redistribution for people (de Haas, 2005). For Somali refugees living in Johannesburg, this has been the means of sending money home especially because they come here to work hard and support the families that they left home. They have established ways to send money home, the safari.com, a system of money transfer, for instance, is the most common one where they send money through a phone and using this way the person gets the money the minute it is sent. This works with those who are in Kenya. Sending money to Somalia is a bit difficult because they do not have established banks. Therefore, the relatives send money to Kenya and from there it will be transferred to those at home. However, due to the situation in Somalia, they cannot send a large amount of money for fear that their relatives might be in danger. They send about "$50 or 100"[23] a month not more because it would put them in jeopardy.

A research done by Khalaf & Alkabaisi (1999), shows that most of the time migrants spend years without finding a job. However, to cope with such stressful situations they live together sharing a room for them to be able to pay the rent. If they find jobs, they bring other family members and this also is an indication of the support system needed. This does not really apply much to Somali refugees that are in South Africa, because they venture into informal

[23] Respondent 16 mentioned that they cannot send a lot of money to the family because it would raise suspicion and this would lead putting the lives of their family members in danger.

activities. Those that look for formal employment are the ones that have managed to study with higher education, and these are a small number.

Most of refugees that do not have businesses, they do domestic work especially the women. Men Bantu do handy work[24]. However, what is true for Somalis is that they live together in order to afford accommodation and be able to save money. In one of the houses that I went to conducting interviews with participants there were more than twenty people in one house. That is about four different families that stay together. They do that so that they can be able to pay rent together. This is done by those that do not have businesses or young ones that do not have parents here who come to work in order to help their families.

However, they come to face similar problems as they do at home. However, most of the participants admitted that things are better here because they do not die every day that is the only consolation they have. In Somalia, people die randomly because of the bombs that fall everywhere, so they become victims one way or the other. Respondent 23 mentioned how she saw a person dying in front of her by a random bullet while they were walking to the market. It is things like this that make Somalis seek for refuge and protection in other countries.

Having spent much time with Somali participants I came to understand that although they might be targets in townships and locations, in towns especially in Mayfair they mentioned that they are relatively safe. In townships and locations there are a lot of problems they face. However, in Somalia one can die randomly without being a target, they suffer hunger and other problems, but as soon as they get to South Africa, their challenges change. They can manage to do a few things that they cannot do at home. Working hard to support those that are left in Kenya or Somalia motivates Somali refugees. Hence, that is the reason why they are found in townships and locations doing business in most dangerous areas.

[24] Respondent 17 mentioned that most Somali Bantu men do handy work for other Somalis like painting or fixing broken things in their houses.

5. 3 Integration in the South African society

Refugees might find it hard to integrate in the host country due to language barriers, different social norms and culture. Somalis that live in Johannesburg or other parts of South Africa find it very difficult to get into the South African society because of their different culture and they do not feel accepted by the local people. However, the study conducted by Chebichi (2009) shows this: it is interesting to note that Somali migrants that have fled war and instability to Kenya have been able to integrate easily. Although Kenya has got formal camps for refugees, some Somali refugees have been able to escape the life of camps and are able to find legal documentation or papers that allow them to live in the city of Nairobi and are able to engage in various businesses. This is possible for Somali refugees in Kenya because they are able to learn the language easily since they are neighbours with Somalia. Kenya has a large Somali population, hence they are easily integrated. Sometimes, they migrate to Kenya knowing the language already. Therefore, integration is possible for them.

One Respondent[25] mentioned that in Kenya integration is possible because most of Somali refugees live in camps around Kakuma and Dadaab. The UN provides for their needs and they are able to learn the language. They have time to learn and associate with the local people because they have their basic needs met. Those that live in Nairobi also are able to conduct businesses and other things. However, in South Africa, it is a different story. Since the migration policy in South Africa does not accept refugee camps around the country, as refugees get here they have to care for their needs. Therefore, they have to find means for an income because the UNHCR does not provide for their material needs.

This makes it very difficult, for Somalis refugees to even have a chance to integrate in the local community. They, therefore, concentrate on finding something to do in order to help

[25] Respondent 1

them and the family members that are in Kenya or back at home in Somalia. Therefore, integration is very rare, although there are those who feel that it is important for them to have a certain amount of interaction with the local people which will help them to reduce the unnecessary killings that happen almost every month in locations around Johannesburg and in other provinces. UNHCR (2013) shows that recurrent xenophobic attacks on refugees hampers their integration into local community, fear of attack and crime in townships force many to live in towns where they cannot afford.

Respondent 9 mentioned that as long as Somalis refugees do not integrate in the mainstream society they will continue to be target of crimes. Other participants have concern though about how to integrate with people that have killed their family members that have looted their shops and brought them so much pain, it really presents a problem. The situation in South Africa presents a different outlook for Somali refugees. It is really very difficult for Somali refugees to integrate because of what they have suffered in South Africa. However, being fully involved in the local community would help very much in terms of acceptance.

Another interesting factor that makes Somali refugees not integrate is their attitude toward the other nationals. Somali Gelah from the Cushite tribe with soft hair consider other Africans as black. And since they do not see themselves as such they look down upon the black people because they are inferior to them. Furthermore, it is unlikely that they would make any effort to interact with those that they do not take as their equals. For those who try to integrate they get much pressure from family members or others of their clans, being asked constantly why they would have anything to do with blacks. Respondent 11 explains that the problems that happen to Somalis or what they face sometimes they themselves have a part in contributing to bad treatment from the local people. She explains that Somalis are racist in their own way. Moreover, it makes sense that Somalis would be reluctant to interact with other nationalities.

The study conducted by Horst (2006) showed clearly how Somalis everywhere are able to undergo and overcome harsh circumstances. Looking at Somali people's background, we see that they are familiar with harsh conditions, atrocities and insecure situation that they deal with on a daily basis in their home country. Therefore, they become more hardened with life and the most shocking things that they experience or experienced finally start becoming part of their ordinary lives (Horst, 2006). This might be the reason for their coping mechanisms under cruel and precarious conditions at home or in camps as refugees.

5. 4 Information

Many Somali refugees that have migrated to South Africa were informed about the situation, how Somalis are treated and get killed by the local people. At times, though they are not given true information just because the relative want to make sure that their relatives get out of Somalia for their safety. They think that once their relatives are in other countries they can at least escape the atrocities that are being committed in Somalia. .

It is for this reason that Somali migrants throughout the world keep their culture and preserve their language wherever they go. This is true because it is argued that Somali people have a similar religious, linguistic and ethnical bond with their relatives (Jaenem, 1957). Lee's model also showed that migrants maintain close ties with their people and they never lose what they share in common in the origin country[26]. Therefore, wherever they are Somali refugees are able to preserve their culture.

Respondent 26 mentioned that they maintain their culture and language because at home they speak Somali and are taught by their parents the Somali culture. Outside they can use other languages with friends but once they are at home they have to use their own language. This helps to preserve their cultural inheritance. Respondent 9 mentioned that what motivated him

[26] Lee, E (1966). A Theory of Migration. In Demography, Vol. 3, No. 1. Pp. 55

to come to South Africa was the big Somali network that he had heard that was solidly established. He felt that with a big community like that he would adapt quickly with the help of his brothers.

During December time when it is busy everywhere, it becomes very difficult for Somali traders because they carry money on themselves or leave it in their shops. This increases insecurity for many. In 2012, respondent 12 and other Somalis traders in the same vicinity were robbed despite the measures taken for protection. As usual the case was not reported to the police because of the treatment they receive whenever they report any case. Therefore, Somalis among themselves are the ones who carry out their own investigations.

Because of issues of xenophobia, Somalis are scared to even report to the police because there are many cases that have been reported and they get more harassed by the police that they prefer not saying anything at all. The cases are not followed up. Respondent 5 mentioned about the tragedy they face:

"*The police killed one Somali guy in one of the locations, all the witnesses that were there got eliminated one by one. We have to accept reality and reality is that South Africans are horrible to us". N*ot only are they not heard they also suffer more pain by reporting the crimes that are committed against them. It is really difficult for the foreigners to be protected by the relevant agents. One participant was pregnant and during this time she was assaulted by a South African woman. When the problem was reported to the police once the official heard the name of the offender, they neglected the case. Nothing was done about it, so it makes people lose hope in the justice system.

5. 5 Language barrier hampers effective health care

Freemantle (2011) explained that being ridiculed at due to lack of language skills at a clinic makes one feel disempowered which will have an effect on one's ability to cope if he/she

suffers from anxiety or depression. Somali refugees do face difficulties especially when they do not understand the language. Language barrier is a big challenge for these refugees, when accessing health care they face various problems. Due to lack of the English language skills at times nurses talk to refugees in terms of giving instructions for instance and the Somali refugees do not understand the instructions they are given. And when the refugees do not reply they think that they are showing a bad attitude. Due to lack of language skills the nurses and doctors ridicule Somali refugees telling them that they should stop having children because they have had enough of them. Pregnant women especially go through so much pain, when they go to Mayfair clinic instead of getting the help needed they wait in long queues and do not get the proper medication.

Even when a person understands the language Somali refugees still struggle to get help at the clinics. Respondent 20 who was pregnant at the time this study was being conducted explained that it is very difficult accessing health care. She mentioned that during the duration of her pregnancy she had been trying to get help but not even once did she manage to see a doctor. She did not even receive a patient or medical card that she could use. Every time she went to the clinic she was either denied entry because the clinic takes only 10 pregnant women every day. This of course has increased her daily stress because of the lack of prenatal care. She cannot manage to go to a hospital because the instruction is that one should start at the clinic first, if the clinic cannot assist then the patient can be referred to a public hospital. Without the referral letter the patient will not be assisted. These are the obstacles that refugees face in the health care system.

With the new government in Somalia in place since 2012, many Somalis hope that it will bring better changes. After two decades of civil war they do not expect miracles to happen

any time soon it will take many years to come in order to find real peace and security. Somalis just got out from a transitional government, and the elected government is still under the protection of the UN with soldiers from the neighbouring countries. They still cannot do anything for themselves and have to still rely much on the foreign troops. Respondent 2 mentioned that this government is still weak, there are certain elements that are against it and do not have a strong military force, they have to start building everything for the benefit of all the people and this will take quite some time.

Another participant[27] mentioned that so far there are no positive changes that have happened; the government has to first eradicate many obstacles. Rehabilitation has to take place, particularly of young people who know nothing else but fighting and war. Therefore, with all these problems in Somalia, the people that have managed to flee for asylum and protection still need support from the host country. Some of Somalis have made South Africa their new home and have reasons to seek for integration into their local communities. This might lead to acceptance on the part of the local people if both communities came together and unite for the sake of both nationals. This might help and would also contribute in terms of reducing the unnecessary negative attitudes towards Somali refugees and other migrants in general.

5. 6 Conclusion

Somalia has experienced a lot of atrocities because of the prolonged civil war that has destroyed a lot of things in the country. With the situation in Somalia, many have fled in order to seek for refuge and protection in other countries. Some Somalis have gone to neighbouring countries like Ethiopia, Kenya and others have gone as far as South Africa. Focusing on South Africa, however, Somali refugees have experienced so many challenges in trying to make a living. They come to South Africa seeking for safety only to find that their lives are in danger as they are in Somalia. Somali refugees have entered into informal sector

[27] Participant 14

and are able to flourish with their businesses. However, their success in doing business has become their daily stress as they become targets of crime from the local communities. This has been portrayed in this report as Somali refugees venture in business in order to make a living. The report has argued that Somali refugees become targets of crime because of their business skills and lack of integration in the mainstream community.

Although there are other foreign nationals that are found in informal businesses; Somali are considered as primary targets because they work and live into areas that are poverty stricken. Somalis work in areas where most local people do not have jobs and live in informal settlements. Somali participants showed that maybe they are the primary targets because South Africans harbour resentment and jealousy towards them but they are not really sure why it is the case. Unemployment, poverty and lack of basic needs do not really explain well the reason of violence against Somali refugees and other foreigners (Polzer, 2010). This is very true because if South Africans were to accept foreigners in their country and live together things would be different from what they are experiencing today. Somali refugees also should make effort to integrate in the mainstream community maybe this would allow the local people to be more receptive and hospitable instead of being hostile towards the refugees.

This study has shown that there exists a huge gap with what the Refugee Act says in terms of providing safety and other basic services to all including those that are recognized as refugees. The Act stipulates that services should be accessible to refugees as they are to citizens however the implementation of the Act lacks because refugees continue to experience a high level of constraints in accessing services that should be provided freely to all.

Massey et al (1993); have shown that networks are very important for migrants. Network ties formed with people that have migrated and those that are still at home constitute a form of social capital that increases the movements of migration. Therefore, with the study conducted Somali refugees are often motivated to migrate to South Africa because of the established networks and organizations they have. Although these organizations are created by Somalis for Somalis, they face challenges in terms of helping all Somali refugees with their problems. However, they have accomplished much for the integration of the community.

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Appendix A- Interview Schedule

1. Where do you come from?
2. When did you come to South Africa?
3. Did you come alone?
4. Do you have family members in South Africa?
5. How did you make the decision to migrate?
6. Why did you migrate?
7. Why did you choose to migrate to South Africa?
8. What do you do in South Africa in terms of work?
9. Have you tried to search for employment?
10. What types of skills do you have?
11. Do you have any interaction with South Africans?
12. How would you describe your interaction?
13. Do you have South African friends?
14. Do you find it easy/difficult to integrate with South Africans?
15. Who are the other people that you interact with?
16. What are the challenges you face in the host country?
17. What was the process in getting your legal documents? Please explain
18. In terms of accessing health care services, do you find it easy? Please explain
19. With regard to education, do you find it easy to get access?
20. Were you in Johannesburg when the xenophobic attacks occurred?
21. Were you affected? How so?
22. Do you know other Somali migrants that were affected?
23. How do you cope with all the challenges you meet?

Appendix B: Information Sheet

Migration: Experiences and Challenges of Somali Migrants living in Johannesburg

I, Delphine Niyigena, a Development Studies Masters student at the University of the Witwatersrand, request your participation in my research seeking to understand the experiences and challenges that Somali migrants face. I would greatly appreciate an opportunity to interview you regarding my study.

Please note that your involvement in this study is voluntary and there shall be no reward for participating or penalty for not participating. Your participation will be in the form of an interview of approximately between forty minutes to an hour, which will be at a scheduled time and place that is suitable for you. However, you will not be obliged to answer any questions that you are uncomfortable with. You also have the option to withdraw from the study at any stage that you wish to.

All data collected through the interview will be considered with the strictest confidentiality possible. Only my research supervisor and I will have access to the interview transcripts. You will also have the option of remaining anonymous as my report will be appropriately coded to ensure that your request is respected.

The findings for the research will be converted into a research report and will be submitted to the university as a requirement for my degree. There might be potential traumatisation due to disclosing about stressful events in one's life. Should this occur arrangements will be made in order to get free therapy. In this case, participant will be referred to Trauma Clinic in Braamfontein.

If you have any questions please contact me or my supervisor for further details:

Delphine Niyigena

0723912050

Gilbert Khadiagala/Supervisor

0723259432

Appendix C: Consent Form

Please proceed to sign the consent form below if you are willing to participate in the study and thus have noted and accepted the requirements below.

I _____ hereby confirm that:

I have been briefed on the research that Delphine Niyigena is conducting on migration.

- I understand what participation in this research project entails,
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I have the option to remain anonymous,
- I understand that I do not have to answer any questions that I am uncomfortable with,
- I understand that I have the right to withdraw my participation in the research at any time I choose, and
- I understand that any information I share will be held in the strictest confidence by the researcher.

Signed_____ on

_____

Appendix D

Audio Recording Consent Form

I AGREE to allow all of my participation in the in-depth interview to be recorded using an audio recording device.

I understand that this device is being used to accurately record what I say during my participation in this study and will later be transcribed and possibly used in the final research report.

_____ _____
_____

Date **Participant Name** **Participant Signature**
