The reasons that promote the resilience of a Somali community residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg

by

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SUPERVISOR: DR M A GUMANI

NOVEMBER 2016
DISSEPTION ARANGEMENT

This dissertation consists of:

• The introduction to the study
• Literature review
• Research design
• Results
• Discussion, conclusions and recommendations
• References
• Appendices
DECLARATION – PLAGIARISM

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Title: The reasons that promote the resilience of a Somali community residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg

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Signed, 15 November 2016

………………………………………………………………………………
Rosalind Florence Sigamoney
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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my husband, Edwin Sigamoney, and my handsome sons, Jabez Hanson, and the Late David Sigamoney and my beautiful daughter Josephine Tanya who gave me their time, love, support, while I worked on my masters’ dissertation.

ABSTRACT

Since 2012 more than 295 676 migrants have arrived in South Africa. Somalis form one of the most visible migrant minorities in the country. Since various studies have been conducted into the mistreatment of migrants and its psychological effects, this study aimed to investigate the reasons that led to the resilience of the Somali community residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg despite the challenges they encountered. The sample for the study was selected using the purposive sampling technique. Data were collected through the use of face-to-face semi-structured interviews and subsequently analysed following Colaizzi’s (1978) descriptive phenomenological method of data analysis. The findings of the study show that the participants experienced several challenges en route to South Africa and once they reached the country. Their resilience can be attributed to reasons such as individual determination to achieve change, the Somali communal culture, religion and spirituality, the family spirit, gender role adaptation and hard work.

Keywords: community support, culture, descriptive phenomenology, education, language, migrants, religion, resilience, Somali, xenophobia
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<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACMS</td>
<td>Centre for Migration a Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBD</td>
<td>Central Business District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoRMSA</td>
<td>Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DoHA</td>
<td>Department of Home Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IOM</td>
<td>International Organisation for Migration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRIN</td>
<td>Integrated Regional Information Networks</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISS</td>
<td>Integration Support Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
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<td>SADC</td>
<td>Southern African Development Community</td>
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<td>SAPS</td>
<td>South African Police Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>SASA</td>
<td>Somali Association of South Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>SCOB</td>
<td>Somali Community Board of South Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
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<td>USA</td>
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provided a background to this study focusing on the reasons that promoted the resilience of a Somali community residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg. In addition, it explained the research problem and provided the purpose, significance, and scope of the study. The aim and objectives of the study were also outlined, as well as the definitions of key terms used in the study. The chapter was concluded by providing a synopsis of the chapters that followed.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.2.1 The Somali political environment

Somalia is a country positioned in the north-eastern corner of Africa in a region normally called the ‘Horn of Africa’ (see figure 1 below) (Google Maps, 2016). The countries that make up the ‘Horn of Africa’ are Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya, South Sudan, Yemen, Eritrea, Djibouti, and Sudan (Besteman, 1996b). In 1961 civil war broke out in Mogadishu, one of the areas in Somalia, and in most of southern and central Somalia. Because of this turmoil, Parliament had to be shut down after the President was slain by the armed forces (Powell; Ford & Nowrasteh, 2008. This effectively shut down the government. The constitution was subsequently abolished and General Siad Barre became dictator (Coleman, 2006). Shortly after taking power, Barre announced that the new regime’s goals would be to put an end to tribalism, nepotism, corruption and misrule, and that those goals would be achieved through the application of scientific socialism (Besteman, 1996b). In 1991, local rebel groups toppled the government of Somalia (Gundel, 2009).

During 1980, food intake in the country was the lowest in Somalia (Besteman, 1996b). The positive aspect under Siad Barre’s rule was that the Somalis learnt to rely on traditional clan networks and informal markets to survive (Jinnah, 2013). Tribalism was one of the major causes of the Somali civil war (Coleman, 2006). To this day, the first thing a Somali wants to know about another Somali is to what clan he or she belongs (Powell, Ford & Nowrasteh, 2008). If Somalis are to recognise a government or a political party, they need to have a clan representative
in it that will take care of their people. These clan networks, which had existed for generations, and the new informal markets that emerged during the 1980s would play an important economic role in Somalia (Powell et al., 2008). After Barre’s government collapsed in 1991, rival warlords plunged the country into civil war. As refugees displaced northern farmers and the government confiscated ever-larger tracts of land to resettle them, fighting broke out between the malnourished refugees, the Somali Armed Forces and the evicted farmers (Coleman, 2006).

According to Gundel (2009) the country was also affected by a major drought in 2011, which made millions of people flee. For over 20 years, the country had different presidents and in 1991, Siad Barre’s government collapsed (Putnam & Noor, 1993). The people have endured a stateless environment for some time. For some of them it has been an opportunity to accumulate wealth. For others, it has been a dreadful situation that affects their livelihood. Because of the atrocities that are committed, some have had to defend themselves against brutal warlords. Most of the problems are caused by the different tribes found in Somalia (Powell et al., Putnam & Noor, 1993). There are four main clans in Somalia, namely the Hawiye, Darood, Dir and Rahanweyn, and each clan has different sub-clans, which compose a family lineage for many generations. Within the sub-clans there are also lineages and groups. The clan system is the most important constituent of the social structure among the nomadic and pastoralist Somalis (Powell et al., 2008). In addition, political, economic, and social problems are some of the root causes of the Somali civil war. Somalia is a country that has known war after war and famine after famine (Gundel, 2009; Putnam & Noor, 1993).
Figure 1: Map of Somalia

Last updated on 18 August 2016 (Google Maps, 2016).
Since the collapse of the state, things have changed in Somalia. Millions have fled to neighbouring countries such as Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti (Gundel, 2009). Others have managed to go as far as South Africa, where they met many challenges. In September 2012, Somalia elected a new president, Hassan Sheik Mohamed. Despite the new government, however, it is reported that things have not stabilised yet (Besteman, 1996b). There are still many problems of insecurity and more than 1.3 million Somalis have been internally displaced. Moreover, it is reported that problems of insecurity, harassment, fear of being recruited by armed groups and lack of food persist. All these problems have caused people to migrate, looking for better conditions and security (Immigration Services Society - ISS, 2013).

1.2.2 History of Fordsburg/Mayfair in Johannesburg

The Fordsburg and Mayfair vicinities in Johannesburg have been referred to as cultural melting pots (Beavon, 2004; Kok, 1994). (See figure 2 above, Google Maps, 2016). This was the locale where different races, traders and workers lived alongside poor, working class Afrikaners (Zwi, 1980). Because of the Anglo Boer War in 1899-1902, many Afrikaners experienced setbacks and insufficiency and faced agricultural predicaments at the turn of the century and consequently moved to Johannesburg in search of work (Giliomeer, 2003). Rental was lower in
Fordsburg/Mayfair, attracting people to the area. These working class Afrikaans-speaking people, who settled in urban areas, were known as ‘bywoners’, since many of them had been resident farm labourers (Gelderblom & Kok, 1994). After World War I in the early twentieth century, Jewish migrants from Russia escaped discrimination and settled in the “white working class areas of Johannesburg such as Fordsburg and Mayfair” (Giliomeer, 2003; Zwi, 1980). The Fordsburg synagogue was built in 1906. The places of worship in the area reflect diversity: they vary from a synagogue and mosques to a Hindu temple and churches (Zwi, 1980).

Currently, Fordsburg/Mayfair is characterised by a contradiction between prospects and negligence. The endorsed metropolitan policy describes it as a possible heritage site, worthy of renovation and protection (Jinnah, 2013; Sadouni, 2009). At the same time, its new inhabitants, many of whom are migrants, are excluded constitutionally and socially from mainstream society (Amit, 2012).

The social networks found in Mayfair and Fordsburg have attracted many Somalis entering the country for the first time (Jinnah, 2010), and the presence of Somali-owned cafes, restaurants and shops, often alongside homes, has created a distinct Somali atmosphere in the area (Polzer, & Jinnah, 2014; Sadouni, 2009).

For many years unrest, government influence, and ambiguity have been part of Mayfair and Fordsburg (Jinnah, 2013), account of the policing of the Oriental Plaza describes conditions similar to the invasions and provocation to the apartheid government rule. Police exploit the community’s fear of tax evasion, fake permits and money laundering to launch brutal, unlawful incursions on traders in the Somali-owned Amal shopping centre (Sadouni, 2009).

1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM

1.3.1 Concerns of the International Organisation for Migration Southern Africa

According to the regional director of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) in Southern Africa, Bernardo Mariano Jr., the IOM in this region focuses on increasing understanding of migration issues and trends, and upholding the human dignity of migrants. As a result, he raised several concerns in his foreword to the IOM regional strategy for Southern
Africa 2014-2016 (IOM, 2014), which support the current study’s focus on the resilience of the Somali community in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg.

In order to meet the social and financial challenges of globalisation, migrants are becoming more mobile within and across borders. In addition, people are travelling more quickly and frequently to find security and peace, as well as pursuing better prospects (IOM, 2014). According to the IOM (2014) South Africa’s migration policies should be informed by their impact on the countries they affect most, namely its neighbouring states. Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries struggle to issue identification and travel documents (Palmary, 2002). This creates significant challenges for managing migration, because in the absence of valid documents, all cross-border movements become illegal (Polzer, 2007). Poor control in neighbouring states also create legitimate national security concerns in South Africa, because documents might be acquired by people who are not entitled to them but intend to use them to enter South Africa (Stevens, 2014). It also means that South Africa is forced to manage a population of migrants whose presence in the country is illegal largely because their own countries do not provide them with travel documents (Musuva, 2014). In Africa, this mobility affects and often overwhelms existing policies and systems, not only those related to migration and development, but also other policy domains such as human security and public health (IOM, 2014; Musuva, 2014).

The important feature related to migration in Africa is the vast interregional movement by undocumented migrants and seasonal labourers (Polzer & Segatti, 2011). In the Southern African region, there are approximately 4 million economically functioning individuals and an unstipulated number of undocumented migrants, comprising numerous vulnerable populations, including women and children (IOM, 2014). Apart from the inflow of economic migrants in search of employment, the migration process is marked by problems such as human trafficking (Polzer & Jinnah, 2014). Numerous challenges are experienced by the host communities owing to mixed migration, including humanitarian concerns, legal and human rights matters, law enforcement competences, national and regional security, as well as planned interests concerning inter-country support for collective results (IOM, 2014; Polzer & Jinnah, 2014). In light of these concerns, Mariano Jr. stated: “It is critical to address these complex issues in a sustainable results-oriented manner that serves the best interests of both migrants and host communities in the region” (IOM, 2014, p. 5).
Furthermore, a large majority of migrants in mixed migration shows that children may migrate to other Southern African countries unaccompanied by adults and males often face exploitative working conditions in South Africa, among others those working in fishing (IOM, 2014).

On the basis of all these concerns, the IOM shows that there is a current need to address issues concerning emergencies and transition. These issues include reducing chronic vulnerability and enhancing migrant communities’ resilience by ensuring stabilisation in communities (Pursell, 2007). Therefore, one of the focal points for IOM in South Africa is to address challenges faced by migrants in all the stages of their migration, as well as their needs in the host communities in which they eventually settle. These are some of the reasons that motivated me to conduct this study and to find out how the Somali community in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg manages to survive regardless of the challenges faced and what could be helping them to show resilience amidst such challenges (IOM, 2014).

1.3.2 Lack of implementation of migration legislation in South Africa

Migration legislation in South Africa is not implemented, which leaves the Somalis who migrate to this country unaccommodated (Harris, 2002). Migration is a concern for most countries today, but 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 (Chigeza & Roodt, 2012). Because of this influx, South Africa has accepted migrants in its Constitution. In this regard, the Refugee Act No. 130 of South Africa, which was first passed in 1998 but became effective only in 2002, recognises migrants’ rights (Palmary, 2003). The contents of this Act make it sound progressive and integrative because it states that all people living in South Africa, including migrants, are to be protected (DoHA, 2015). It also encourages migrants to settle and integrate into the mainstream community. The Act recommends particular rights through protective legislation for migrants and asylum seekers (DoHA, 2013). This includes the rights to employment, education and social services (Palmary, 2003). This means that migrants are, by South African law, supposed to have access to free basic services.

However, the Act described above has not yet been implemented (Landua, 2010). The lack of implementation is seen in the challenges that migrants face when attempting to access health care, education and other services around Johannesburg (Freemantle, 2011; Palmary, 2003). South Africa has experienced considerable challenges with the influx of Somalis and asylum seekers (Landua, 2004), and since the country is plagued with problems of rising unemployment,
insufficient housing, inadequate service delivery and continuing corruption (Shaffer, 2012) it has been extremely difficult for South Africa to cope with the influx of Somalis (Crisp & Long, 2011).

According to the Centre for Development and Enterprise (2011) the issues facing policy-makers in South Africa are similar to those affecting their counterparts in North America. South Africa encounters similar challenges, while at the same time looking to stabilise its security matters to achieve potential economic benefits and integration. Moreover, there are many policies and procedures that increase the cost of cross-border movement; this may encourage migrants to move into the country illegally. Likewise, this reduces the authenticity and efficacy of the borders and the South African border management policies. South Africa is, however, reviewing its migration policies (DoHA, 2013; 2014).

In Handmarker’s (2001, p. 29), opinion, “ensuring adequate protection of Somali communities in South Africa has been no easy walk”, as both the Act and its regulation made a number of promises, but also contained many deficiencies. In addition, the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA) states that through systematic design and practice of improper documentation, foreign nationals encounter institutional discrimination and in many cases migrants are excluded from accessing education, housing and health care (Amit, 2012). This means that for the poor cohorts of foreign nationals the cost of accessing this is higher than for South Africans, and in many instances this leaves them vulnerable and in an even poorer economic state (CoRMSA, 2012; Jinnah, 2013).

Numerous factors have contributed to the complications associated with the processing of applications for asylum (De Wet, 2014; Government Gazette, 1997). One of those factors is the apartheid system. It is claimed that the apartheid government left no legacy for Somali community protection (Crush, 2011). Niyigena (2013) also cites prejudice and discrimination as other factors. It is shown that prejudice and discrimination against migrants continue to operate within the law enforcement and police practices in this country (Palmary, 2003). These factors exacerbate the challenges of communities like that of the Somalis (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010; De Wet, 2014; Defrain, 2014).

During the apartheid era, migrants were not allowed to stay in South Africa (Government Gazette, 1997). Before 1994 foreign workers were recruited under agreements between the
employing organisation, which in most cases were the big mining conglomerates, and the
governments of the supplying countries (Government Gazette, 1998; 2001; Handmaker, 2002). Contracts were usually of limited duration (two years) and upon completion thereof, the migrants were transported back to their countries of origin as a group. Foreign workers were not allowed to bring their families to South Africa while working in the country and their movement was restricted to the area of work (farms or mines) (Handmaker, 2002; Hammond, 2014). Migrants were only recognised and allowed to come into the country after democracy in 1994 (Jinnah, 2013). The South African Constitution recognised the importance of the human rights principles and took cognisance of the fact that historically in South Africa under the regime of apartheid; migrants were not permitted to stay in the country (Government gazette, 2001; IRIN, 2011).

Since the end of apartheid in 1994, South Africa has implemented a Constitution built on sound human rights principles that allowed those who lived in the country to experience basic rights and services regardless of nationality or legal status (Crush, 2011). Furthermore, South Africa is a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention, the 1976 Protocol relating to the Status of Migrants and the 1969 Organisation of African Unity Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of the Refugee Problem in Africa. These agreements outline the rights of forced migrants (Crush, 2011). Despite the extensive and comprehensive legal framework in South Africa, in practice, many migrants do not receive significant state support to integrate into the country socially or economically (Chengezi, 2012). As a matter of fact, lesser-skilled migrants face recurrent challenges to obtain permits to stay in South Africa (Crush, 2008; Harris, 2002; Hunter & Skinner, 2003; Polzer, 2007), which affects various areas of their lives, including income generation.

There is also no policy that allows lower-skilled migrants to bring their families into the country. This has resulted in many low-skilled migrants living in single-sex hostels provided by their employers, with little or no opportunity for social integration or family life (De Wet, 2014). For migrants who are in South Africa with their families, the lack of any social security resources and the essential confines related to public service delivery hinder their ability to access social services in the public (health, education) or private domain (housing, employment) (Nicolson, 2015). In other words, the migrants depend on collective groups for access to market places for social goods and services (CoRMSA, 2008; Hunter & Skinner, 2003). Jinnah (2010) and Kleist (2007) affirm that South Africa does not provide inclusive orientation to migrants when they
arrive; consequently, it offers only minimal and selected grants. For the same reason, most of the migrants share many of their barriers with South Africans, such as high unemployment (Palmary, 2002). In addition, Somalis encounter many challenges in applying for documentation in this country. An identification document with a 13-digit identity number is paramount to attaining opportunities and resources in South Africa. Lack of such a document hinders the migrants from applying for higher education, housing, bank accounts, driver’s licenses, business entrepreneurship and formal employment (DoHA, 2013). This lack of documentation results in a form of exclusion from a sense of belonging and identity (Kiwanuka, 2010).

1.3.3 Negative public opinions in South Africa

An increase in African migrants to South Africa has been evident since the dawn of democracy in South Africa in 1994; the country has attracted more asylum seekers than any other country in the world (Crush, 2011). South Africa continues to draw more migrants than other African countries (Crush, 2011). This is because though South Africa is a developing country with widespread poverty, its perceived wealth and stable economy compared to other countries still attracts African migrants from the rest of the continent who enter the country legally or illegally (McConeell, 2009). Consequently, public opinion about the Somali community in South Africa varies (De Wet, 2014). Many Somalis view these opinions negatively. Somali communities and migrants are viewed in South Africa with a degree of negativity, which has led to intense social and political debate. This stems from the assumption that there is a Somali community “problem” in the country (Landua, 2005).

Being displaced has posed many challenges to this community (Landua, 2005). The majority of them travel to countries in Africa such as Mozambique and Zimbabwe (Crush, 2001; 2008; 2007) where there is civil and political strife. In South Africa, specifically, many Somali communities experience hostility from South African citizens who do not welcome them freely into their context and culture (Shaffer, 2012).

One noteworthy form of hostility is xenophobia. Xenophobia is said to be the morbid dislike of foreigners, Amit (2012) defines it as intense dislike, hatred or fear of others. For some, xenophobia is a fear that is a natural biological reaction to strangers (Adjai, 2010). The adjustment to democracy helped in the formal removal of racial discrimination that had formed obstacles to people gaining their political, social and economic rights (Landua, 2005). Building
on this, the African National Congress (ANC) in 1994 centred its election manifesto on meeting basic needs, strengthening the economy and democratising the state (Polzer & Jinnah, 2014) This meant that in the first democratic elections South Africans voted in hope of a better life for all; the very essence of society was built on principles of tolerance, equality and respect for human rights (Adjai, 2010). However, the reality of life in South Africa has not been a better life for all (Hayem, 2013).

The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation held a debate on ways to move forward to ascertain the root causes of xenophobia, because this problem is so rife that many citizens of South Africa realise that parliament must address this situation (Crush, 2008; Dodson, 2010). Fear and hostility towards foreigners are related to the widespread perception in South Africa that illegal immigrants are ‘flooding’ into this country (Crush, 2008). Consequently, xenophobic violence against foreign nationals in South Africa has become widespread since 1994 in provinces such as Gauteng, Western Cape, Free State, Limpopo and KwaZulu-Natal (De Wet 2014; Haymen, 2013). The following xenophobic events have been documented in South Africa:

**2008 May 11:** An outbreak of xenophobic hostility in Alexandra Township, Johannesburg triggered more xenophobic violence in other townships. After two weeks, the violence spread to other urban areas across the country, mainly Durban and Cape Town. However, it also emerged in townships in more rural areas such as Limpopo Province confirms that the violence entailed both verbal and physical attacks by inhabitants of the townships on other people. The victims, predominantly Zimbabweans and Mozambicans, were called foreigners. Many houses were burnt, 342 shops were looted and 213 were burnt down. Hundreds of people were injured, thousands deported and the death toll stood at 56 (Hayem, 2013).

Spaza shops owned by Pakistanis, Somalis and Ethiopians were attacked, resulting in looting of their stock. Further looting took place in the Sebokeng, Orange Farm and Evaton areas south of Johannesburg. From 14 to 17 November 2009, 3 000 Zimbabwean citizens living in the rural community of De Doorns, an informal settlement near Breede Valley Municipality in the Western Cape, were evacuated as a result of xenophobic violence (Hayem, 2013; Misago, 2009).

**2013 February 27:** Eight South African police members in Daveyton, east of Johannesburg, South Africa tied a 27-year old Mozambican man, Mido Macia, to the back of a police van and
dragged him down the road with the police vehicle. He subsequently died in a police cell due to head injuries (Hayem, 2013).

2015 January: A Somali shop owner shot and killed a 14-year-old boy, Siphiwe Mahori, during an alleged robbery in Soweto Township, south of Johannesburg. The boy died within 15 minutes after being shot in the neck. Lebogang Ncamla, 23 years old, was another victim; he was shot three times in the arm. The incident triggered waves of attacks and looting of foreign-owned shops. An estimated 120 spaza shops owned by Somalis and Bangladeshis across Snake Park, Zola, Meadowlands, Slovoville, Kagiso, Zondi and Emdeni in Soweto were looted. It was reported that police were actively involved in raiding shops and stealing goods (Daily Maverik, 12 January, 2015; Nicolson & Simelane, 2015).

2015 March 5: Xenophobic attacks occurred in Limpopo Province. Foreigners on the outskirts of Polokwane left their shops after protesting villagers threatened to burn them alive and then looted their shops. Violence erupted in the Ga-Sekgopo area after a foreign shop owner was found in possession of a mobile phone belonging to a local man who had been killed (Nicolson & Simelane, 2015). Violent disputes erupted with villagers, driving all the foreigners away from 11 villages in Ga-Sekgopo. One of the shop owners reported loss of stock (Daily Maverik, 5 March; Nicolson & Simelane, 2015).

2015 April 21: Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini declared that foreigners should go back to their home countries because they were changing the nature of South African society with their goods and enjoying wealth that should have been for local people (Hans, 2015; Wicks, 2015). King Zwelithini made these comments at a moral regeneration event in Pongola, KwaZulu-Natal Province. The King’s statement came while Congolese nationals were mourning deaths caused by a series of xenophobic attacks. Noel Dinshistia from Congo, a bouncer at a local nightclub, was doused in a flammable substance before being set alight while on duty (Mail & Guardian, 21 April, 2015; Letsoalo, 2015).

2015 April 08: The wave of xenophobic violence increased. On 10 April 2015 two Ethiopian brothers were critically injured when their shop, in a shipping container, was set alight while they were trapped inside. One of the men died in hospital (Wicks, 2015).

2015 April 14: Attacks on foreign nationals continued in KwaZulu-Natal when shops in Umlazi and KwaMashu, outside Durban, were torched. In V Section a shop owned by a foreign national
was set on fire by a mob. Another fire was believed to have been started by local people at a foreign-owned property in G Section. Almost 2 000 foreign nationals from Malawi, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Burundi were displaced as a result of the violence. Five people were killed (Associate Press Johannesburg, 14 April, 2015).

Looting of foreign shops spread to Verulam, north of Durban following a day of clashes between locals, foreigners, and police in the city centre. About 300 local people looted foreign-owned shops, but only two people were arrested. A 14-year-old boy was shot dead during looting in KwaNdlanzi, allegedly by two security guards. In Durban's central business district (CBD), a car was set alight and police fired rubber bullets, stun grenades and teargas canisters in clashes between looters and foreigners (Associate Press Johannesburg, 14 April, 2015).

According to Duncan Alfred, a series of dramatic newspaper headlines and the dissemination of false information on social media contributed to the deadly outbreak of xenophobia-related violence in 2015 (Carien du Plessis, 2015).

When xenophobic attacks occur, migrants are confronted with the challenge of protecting themselves from crime and xenophobia, while seeking opportunities for livelihoods (Amit, 2012; Crush, 2008; Harris, 2002; Hunter & Skinner, 2003; Pelzer, 2007). Landau and Jacobsen (2004 p. 20) explain that the legal rights that migrants are supposed to have in South Africa are restricted in practice by a “lack of institutional capacity to translate rights into entitlements, and a civil service and host population that lacks attitude to outsiders.”

Most Somalis in South Africa possess a refugee, migrant or asylum seeker permit, which nevertheless gives them no protection from state- or citizen-led discrimination or violence; furthermore, it does not provide access to resources or services and places restrictions on their ability to travel outside the country (Jinnah, 2010). All these factors contribute to a sense of uncertainty and stress. The refugee permits that many Somalis in South Africa hold, give them freedom to live, work, trade, study and move within the country hold (Landau & Jacobson, 2004; Vearey, 2012; UNHCR, 2008). However, despite this provision to ensure their protection, they face considerable risks from xenophobic-related violence from the public and state organisations (Misago, 2009). To counter this threat, and in part to preserve a sense of community, Somalis have launched several community associations in South Africa (Jinnah, 2010; Johnson, 2010; Segatti, 2011).
It is in light of the Somali community background and the migration situation in South Africa that this study looked into the Somali migrants’ experiences of living in this country. The study specifically sought to investigate the livelihoods of Somali migrants that live in Johannesburg in Fordsburg/Mayfair to ascertain how they survive in this country and what makes them survive, thus the reasons for their resilience.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTION

Based on the research problem outlined above, the research question asked in this study is:
What are the experiential reasons that promote the resilience of the Somali community in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg?

The subsidiary questions are as follows:

- What is the kind of challenges the Somali migrants endured during relocation to Fordsburg/Mayfair.
- How do the Somali community adapt to living in Fordsburg/Mayfair Johannesburg.
- What are the qualities that facilitated their resilience while living in Fordsburg/Mayfair

1.5 AIM OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study was to explore the reasons that made the Somali community survive their stay in Fordsburg/Mayfair despite the challenges encountered.

1.6 STUDY OBJECTIVES

The specific study objectives were as follows:

- To describe the kind of challenges Somali migrants endured during relocation to Fordsburg/Mayfair.
- To explore the adaptation of the Somali community living in Fordsburg/Mayfair Johannesburg.
To describe the qualities that facilitated their resilience while living in Fordsburg/Mayfair.

1.7 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

The reason I focused on this topic is that migration has become a crisis globally, particularly in South Africa. Moreover, I have a particular interest in the Somali population because they are listed by the United Nations High Commission for Migrants (UNHCR) as the third largest group of migrants in South Africa, the first and second groups being migrants from the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Zimbabwe (Integrated Regional Information Networks - IRIN, 2012).

Another reason for my interest was the fact that South Africa is regarded as the chosen destination for such migrants owing to its relative political stability (Crush, 2012). It was essential to conduct this study because forced migration is a major concern for permitting countries; for South Africa in particular, there have been concerns that the government cannot cope with the influx of migrants (Amit, 2015). Moreover, much has been researched on migration in general and on Somali migrants. However, gaps are found in studies of the Somali experiences in Johannesburg. For instance, Pursel (2005) sought to identify and analyse the obstacles faced by forced migrants when trying to access basic health care services in South Africa and how, if at all, they negotiated such constraints creatively in order to gain improved access. This study explored this issue with reference to a particular forced migrant community in a part of the City of Johannesburg, South Africa (Sigamoney, 2017). It reports and analyses the findings from detailed qualitative interviews with a sample of Somali migrants living in Mayfair, a suburb in the western part of the inner city of Johannesburg (Sigamoney, 2017; Shaffer, 2012). (Sigamoney, 2017) examined how Somalis make sense of their world and the contradictions that affect gender relations for women and men as they interact with one another and the larger South African community. This study observed how the backgrounds and experiences Somalis bring to Mayfair influence gender ideologies in the community and complicate gender relations as women and men construct and negotiate new identities in South Africa (Amit, 2014; Brubaker, 2005; CDE, 2008; Sigamoney, 2017).

The current study makes a contribution to understanding the resilience of the Somalis residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg. The study looks at the Somalis’ experience of resilience, as migrants, during their relocation to and settlement in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg.
Secondary to this are the reasons for the choice of Fordsburg/Mayfair as their relocation destination. Based on the identified research problem, the study also explores the challenges they encounter during their relocation to and in their settlement in this area. This is mainly because this community has been identified as the most targeted above all the other migrants and they face more hostility than other migrant groups in South Africa (IRIN, 2012; Jinnah, 2010; 2013; Sadouni, 2009).

It is with this understanding that I decided that this study could contribute to the existing body of knowledge in that it provides an elucidation of three sets of information on the Somalis’ resettlement experience: i) the Somalis’ experiences when they leave their country to resettled in South Africa in Fordsburg/Mayfair; ii) reasons for Somali migrants to be targets of crime compared to their migrant counterparts living in South Africa; and iii) aspects that promote resilience despite the challenges encountered.

1.8 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significance of this study is that it fills in gaps in the knowledge of Somali community populations’ migration experiences and adds to the psychological understanding of this community’s resettlement experience. The findings of this study will subsequently be disseminated to the relevant interested parties. In addition, this information may be used by migrant communities and agencies that assist with the social welfare of migrants and Somali communities. Non-profit agencies such as Lifeline and psychology practitioners may find this information useful, as it will enable them to be more effective in undertaking their daily task and understanding the challenges, including psychological challenges, with which the Somali communities are faced and ways that can be implemented to provide relevant psychological interventions, specifically since one of the objectives of the IOM in Southern Africa is to provide migration assistance to address the health vulnerabilities of migrants (IOM, 2014).
1.9 **SCOPE OF THE STUDY**

The study focused on a small Somali population residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg, which was sampled purposively in order to include participants who were able to understand the purpose of the study and would be willing to provide information on their experiences and inner feelings. The study explored and described the lived experience of the Somali males and females residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair in terms of integrating into this area and being resilient to the challenges encountered. Based on the purpose of the study and the belief that scientific knowledge is more than mere information (Hutchinson, 2012), I employed a descriptive phenomenological approach to examine the uniqueness of the participants’ lived situations and subjective realities.

1.10 **DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPTS**

1.10.1 **Asylum-seeker**

An Asylum-seeker is an individual who is seeking international protection. In countries with individualised procedures, an Asylum-seeker could also be someone whose claim has not yet been finally decided on by the country in which he or she has submitted it. Not every Asylum-seeker will ultimately be recognised as a refugee or migrant, but every refugee or migrant is initially an Asylum-seeker (Landua, 2011).

1.10.2 **Culture**

Culture can be defined as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and … it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, tradition and beliefs (Hopkins, 2010).

1.10.3 **Diaspora**

This is the Greek word for "dispersion" of a people from their homeland. It was used collectively for the dispersed Jews after the Babylonian captivity and later for Jews outside Israel. Nowadays the term diaspora is applied in an almost inflationary way and is used synonymously with
immigrant population, displaced communities and ethnic minorities (Brubaker, 2005; Vertovec, 2007).

As migration patterns have changed, given globalisation and social transformations, the conceptualisation of diaspora has shifted as well. According to Vertovec (2007) more people are now moving from more places, through more places, to more places, leading to a diversity of immigrant backgrounds and experiences. In addition, there is differentiation within immigrant populations of the same origin, in reaction to multiple waves and patterns of migration, ranging from forced migrants to those seeking labour, education and family unification. As a result, members of diasporas face different social, economic and political circumstances and conditions in the destination country that, along with different trajectories of displacement, shape identities, political orientations and their capacity for engagement (Matlou & Mutanga, 2011).

1.10.4 Displacement

Displacement refers to forcing people to leave their homes, villages or countries through a direct threat to their lives (UNHCR, 2013). Displaced people themselves are likely to experience extreme lack of control, given that they were forced to move from their homes for whatever reason, and may not have had any choice about where they moved to. They might also wish to return home, but be unable to do so because of continuing conflict in their home area or country of origin (Ferris & Birkeland, 2011). The experience of displaced people prior to moving can also be instrumental in how well they cope with the stresses of involuntary movement, and how successfully they coexist with the receiving community when they arrive (Lindeley & Haslie, 2011).

1.10.5 Empowerment

Empowerment is a process that allows people to take greater control over the decisions, assets, policies, processes and institutions that affect their lives. One form of empowerment referred to in literature that is relevant to this study is psychological empowerment. Psychological empowerment refers to the psychological aspects of processes through which people, organisations, and communities develop critical awareness of their environments, build social networks and social movements, and gain greater control over their lives (Perkins, 2010). Importantly, these processes are most often accomplished through participation in empowering
community settings, which are guided by democratic decision-making. Psychological empowerment has been theorised and studied as an ecological construct, meaning that processes of psychological empowerment are interconnected with organisational and community-level processes (Bennett; Cattaneo & Chapman, 2010).

1.10.6 Immigrant

An immigrant is someone who has moved from his or her country of origin (his/her homeland) to another country, for example South Africa, to become a citizen of that country. Just visiting a country, even to work for a few months, does not make one an immigrant. Immigrants are people who permanently live somewhere other than in their homeland (Chigeza & Roodt, 2012).

1.10.7 Internal displacement

Internally displaced persons (IDPs) are among the world’s most vulnerable people. Unlike migrants, IDPs have not crossed an international border to find sanctuary but have remained inside their home countries (Ferris & Birkeland, 2011).

1.10.8 Migration

Migration is a global phenomenon, which is defined as the movement of people from one location to another within and beyond a country of normal residence, and migrants are seen as people who move from their original country of residence in search of a better life (Kok, 1999; Oucho & van Zyl, 2006).

1.10.9 Migrant

A migrant is defined as a person who has lived outside his home country for a period of over 12 months. It may be a person who has left his home country in search of employment and better living conditions (Matlou & Mutanga, 2010). In addition, a migrant is described as anyone who was born in a country different from the one in which he or she currently lives. Some migrants are forced to relocate because of conditions beyond their control in their home country, such as war, poverty and political unrest (Chigeza & Roodt, 2012). According to the migrant policy, migrants are described in terms of their status as permanent versus illegal. Permanent migrants
are migrants who intend living in the new country and have no intention of returning to their own country of origin (Musuva, 2014).

Temporary migrants are migrants who want to return to their country of origin when the circumstances that precipitated their initial movements have stabilised. Migrants may also be legal or illegal. Legal migrants are those in possession of documentation to stay in the country (Mawadza, 2008). Illegal migrants are those who do not submit legal permits at the official port of entry into the country. In addition, illegal migrants do not have valid travel documents or authorisation, to remain in the new country of residence after their permits have expired. Illegal migrants face deportation, as they are not permitted to reside in the particular country without the necessary documentation (Crush & Dodson, 2007 cited in Chigeza & Roodt, 2012).

In this study, I have made use of the term migrants to refer to the Somali community, as they have fled their country of origin and might not feel safe to return home because of the instability and insecurity experienced there (Pursell, 2007).

1.10.10 Non-refoulement

This is a fundamental principle of international refugee law that prohibits states from returning migrants/asylum seekers in any manner whatsoever to countries or territories in which their lives or freedom may be threatened. The principle of non-refoulement is part of customary international law and is, therefore, binding on all states, whether or not they are parties to the 1951 Convention (UNHCR, 2011).

1.10.11 Refugee

The UNHRC describes a refugee as a person who, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (UNHCR, 2010).
1.10.12 Remittance

Remittance is described as capital, which migrants earn abroad and send back to their home countries, mainly in order to support families left behind (Hammond, 2014; World Bank, 2008; 2013). Remittances play a vital role in providing income in maintaining the source of revenue for Somali families at home and in the diaspora, with an estimated 1.6 billion dollars being sent to Somalia a year (Hammond, 2011).

1.10.13 Resettlement

Resettlement involves the selection and transfer of migrants/asylum seekers from a state/country in which they have sought protection to a third state, which has agreed to admit them (UNHCR, 2013).

1.10.14 Resilience

The following description of resilience directed the study:

In the context of exposure to significant adversity, whether psychological, environmental, or both, resilience is both the capacity of individuals to find their way to beneficial sustaining resources, including opportunities to experience feelings of well-being, and a condition of the individual’s family, community, religion and culture to provide these beneficial resources and experiences in culturally meaningful ways (Ungar, 2008; Ungar, 2012). In addition, it enables a person to bounce back from harsh conditions and challenges and produces inner strength, competence, optimism, flexibility and the capacity to cope efficiently when faced with adversity (Ungar, 2013).

1.10.15 Xenophobia

Xenophobia is a deep dislike of foreigners by nationals of a recipient state. This definition is also used by the South African Human Rights Commission. Xenophobia is a demonstration of a form of racism. Racism and xenophobia support each other and they share prejudiced discourses. They both operate on the same basis of profiling people and making negative assumptions. The
profiling in the case of racism is on the basis of race, in the case of xenophobia on the basis of nationality (Misago, 2009).

1.11 OUTLINE OF SUBSEQUENT CHAPTERS

Chapter 2 focuses on the review of literature and earlier research studies on Somali migrants and resilience. In addition, the theoretical framework is discussed. Chapter 3 outlines the qualitative research method and the phenomenological research design used. The selection of participants, data collection, analysis methods, procedures to ensure trustworthiness and ethical considerations applied are discussed. Chapter 4 presents the results of the study. In this chapter, the research questions and objectives of the study are answered. The results are also related to the data analysis methods used. Chapter 5 concentrates on the discussion, conclusions and recommendations of the study. The results are related to previous research studies. The limitations of the study and challenges encountered in the course of the study are discussed and possible future studies are suggested.

1.12 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented an overview of the foundation of the research. The chapter provided the background of Somalia as one of the countries that see their citizens migrating to South Africa. The historical overview of Fordsburg and Mayfair in Johannesburg was also explained. The research problem and rationale of the study, which led to the research question asked, were presented, and the aim and the objectives of the study were outlined. Key terms forming the basis of this study were defined.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a discussion of the literature pertaining to the topic of this study. It focuses specifically on the following themes: theories that underpin this study, a brief description of Somalia as a country and the current migration status of the Somalis and other nationalities in the international and local contexts. The new migration policy in South Africa is explained.

2.2 THE PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES UNDERPINNING THE STUDY

There are four important theories that explain the phenomena of migration, survival and resilience in this study. These theories are used as part of the theoretical framework to understand the topic under study in relation to the Somali community as migrants and their efforts to achieve resilience. The theories also position the topic within the field of psychology. These theories are: (i) Bourdieu’s theory on habitus and capital, which provides an in-depth comprehension of difficulties experienced by migrants (Bourdieu, 1986); (ii) Kunz’s typology, which provides an understanding of the classification of migrants (Kunz, 1981); (iii) Honneth’s theory on “legal recognition”, which will reflect on the recognition of the struggle of migrants (Honneth, 1995); and finally (iv) the metatheory of resilience and resiliency, which help one to understand the process of resilience among survivors (Richardson, 2002).

Before discussing the various theories that are used to underpin this study, it is necessary to mention that there are no specific theories on migration upon which social scientists concur, and consequently, they draw upon a number of theoretical views to understand this phenomenon (Neuman, 2007). In this case, I have decided to limit this discussion to the four theories explored here. Even though the theories may have been developed some years ago, their historical basis may still shed some light on what is happening today.
2.2.1 Bourdieu’s theory on habitus and capital

Bourdieu’s (2001) concepts of habitus and capital assist with understanding the manner in which the Somali community may try to adapt in host countries. For the purpose of this study, a brief overview of Bourdieu’s conception of habitus is discussed. To start with, Bourdieu (2001) maintains that habitus engenders a series of ‘choices’ constituting lifestyles. The inequality in social positions related to risk or privilege may restrict or influence the opportunities and options available to people as migrants. Bourdieu (2001) also indicates how lack of access to resources may influence options and choices taken, as well as opportunities that are accessible.

According to Bourdieu (1986) economic capital is at the root of all other types of capital, and the universal equivalent that can be uniformly applied to quantify capital is labour-time. Bourdieu (1986) suggests that the concept of transferability of different types of capital was designed essentially as an analytical tool. This instrument is employed in the study of the social world to gain better understanding of social class reproduction, which is defined in terms of access to resources.

Bourdieu (2001) also talks about capital and its influence on a disadvantaged group. According to Bourdieu (1986), there are three key kinds of capital – cultural, social and economic capital. Cultural capital pertains to the information and knowledge that individuals may possess to influence options and behaviour (Navarro, 2006). Social capital may be interpreted as social networks and relations, particularly the ability to produce and reproduce lasting, useful relationships that can secure cultural or symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). These forms of capital may be equally important and can be accumulated and transferred from one arena to another (Navarro, 2006). Cultural capital and the means by which it is created or transferred from other forms of capital play a central role in societal power relations, as this provides the means for a non-economic form of domination and hierarchy, as classes distinguish themselves through tastes (Gaventa, 2006).

The shift from material to cultural and symbolic forms of capital, to a large extent, is what hides causes of inequality. Bourdieu (1986) ties social and cultural capital into the overall picture of class reproduction so as to illustrate that class is constantly being reproduced not only through the transfer of economic resources, but also by means of resources conceived as social and cultural capital and thus showing the complexity of class divisions (Cederberg, 2012). Therefore,
in this study, social class is placed at the core, social relationships and classifications of groups at the core of the circle as a critical predictor of the process of capital reproduction in the Somali community and as its primary outcome.

Bourdieu’s framework of capital, field and habitus has a means to capture and examine the processes underlying the narratives (Boudieu, 1977; 1998). Becoming a migrant in South Africa has placed the Somalis firmly into symbolic structures of inequality and disadvantage. The narratives presented depict the struggles of migrants to accrue and convert capital in order to claim a positive identity (Bourdieu, 2001). The next theory is that of Kunz’s typology.

2.2.2 Kunz’s typology on asylum seekers and migrants

Kunz’s (1981) typology on asylum seekers and migrants’ attitude to their displacement may also be used to classify a community into three categories. The categories are as follows: (i) the “majority identified community”, who are those community members who oppose political and social events in their home country; (ii) the “events-related community”, those who feel isolated and estranged from their countrymen as a result of discrimination and violence; and (iii) the “self-alienated community”, those who feel alienated because of some individual beliefs such as philosophical and spiritual beliefs. The second theory discussed is Kunz’s 1981 typology.

The Kunz’s typology is important to this study because it provides a potential construct to understand the attachment of a community to their host country, the local community in the host country and their native country. Although Kunz in his work did not specifically address the issue of asylum seekers and migrants’ attachment to their host country (Kunz, 1981), it can be inferred from the three categories described above that those forming the “majority identified community” would have the least attachment to their host country. Because of their strong political conviction and patriotism towards events in their native country, unlike both the “events-related community”, who may lose interest in what happens back home when they have found a place to settle in a host country, and the “self-alienated community”. According to Kunz’s classification, those who are the “majority identified community” would most likely return to their native country and their former lives when the situation at home becomes safer (Kunz, 1981). This theory will help to classify the Somali community in Fordsburg/Mayfair in terms of their relation to the host and native countries after their relocation to South Africa. Furthermore, Kunz (1981) identifies with the Somali migrants who have left their home areas
because of discrimination against the group to which they belong, as they belong to many different tribes (Kunz, 1981). This typology recognises the belief systems of the Somali migrants, which creates ethnic conflict among them. Their religion is intertwined with their culture, causing alienation from the host country and suspicion. Displacement gives rise to uncertainty for the migrants, as they have to become accustomed to the policy of the resettled country, where they are labelled as foreigners (Kunz, 1981). The third theory that is discussed is Axel Honneth’s recognition theory.

2.2.3 Axel Honneth’s recognition theory

Honneth’s (1995) work on the struggle for recognition emphasises the significance of “legal recognition” among asylum seekers and migrants and those who have been granted equal rights in the host country. He presents a scheme of love, solidarity and rights, which contributes to the growth of self-confidence, self-esteem and self-respect. Honneth argues that it is necessary to have these three attributes in order to have a standing in society and the level of these attributes that an individual possesses could contribute to or impede his/her ability to cope in the host country.

He describes love as successful affectionate bonds to other people. In his opinion, love is a key prerequisite for self-confidence, which is based on strong sensitive bonds among a specific group. In his discussion of solidarity, Honneth points out that the basis of solidarity is positive social reception, which builds self-esteem. Finally, he sees rights and self-respect as impossible to separate, since rights facilitate the recognition of an individual as a legal person (Honneth, 1995).

Honneth’s theory thus helps to understand a community’s political or legal recognition, self-identity and freedom in the country of resettlement. Honneth’s work places emphasis on the importance of legal recognition and broader humane factors that facilitate and enable coping, self-confidence, self-esteem and self-respect. Based on Honneth’s postulation, rights and self-respect are inextricably linked in that rights enable one to raise and defend claims, illustrating to the individual that he/she is legitimately respected by others and society (Honneth, 1995). According to this theory, the extent to which a community such as the Somali community experiences these elements in the host country can enable or inhibit their coping capacity.
The Somalis’ resilience is based on their coping mechanism, namely the self-esteem they build despite the challenges they face during their relocation. Adaptation in the area of Fordsburg/Mayfair will require rights and self-respect for the Somalis. While Somalis without rights can have self-respect, Honneth (1995) argues that the fullest form of self-respect implies the recognition of rights. The attribute of love will be discussed in the analysis to indicate how it allowed them to bounce back, thus building a stronger self-concept, allowing integration to be flexible (Honneth, 1995). The findings and analysis of the study will demonstrate the effect of love and basic self-confidence, solidarity, self-esteem, rights and self-respect (Honneth, 1995). The following theory is the Metatheory of resilience.

2.2.4 Metatheory of resilience and resiliency

There are three waves of inquiry on resilience. The first wave of resilience inquiry concerns what features connect young individuals who succeed in the appearance of high-risk factors or adversity, as opposed to those who yield to destructive performance. The second wave of resilience inquiry is intended to ascertain the course of bringing about the recognised qualities that pertain to resilience. The third wave of resilience inquiry is what the energy source or motivation to reintegrate resilience is and where it exists (Richardson, 2002).

The first wave of resilience inquiry pays attention to the change from viewing risk factors that lead to psychosocial struggles to recognising the strengths of an individual (Richardson, 2002). In addition, it is described as the phenomenological descriptions of resilience, which are the abilities of individuals and supports systems that envisage social and personal achievement (Richardson, 2002). The abilities or characteristics of an individual are determined by the situational foundation of resiliency. These resilient features have been insinuated as protective factors. Thus, the resilient qualities are identified to help people overcome adversities. The characteristics gained through resilient states are the virtues of self-regulation, optimism, self-esteem, responsibility, being solution-orientated, acceptance, network orientation and future planning (Richardson, 2002).

The second wave of resilience inquiry is to find the solution to enquiry. Resilience is the process of coping with stressors, adversity, change or opportunity in a manner that brings about a solution in the recognition, strengthening and enhancement of defending factors (Richardson, 2002). Flach (1988; 1997) indicates that resilient qualities are attained through a law of interruption and
restoration. Resilience is presented as a simple linear model for the purpose of education and counselling that represents an individual or group moving towards the different stages of biopsychosocial spiritual homeostasis, interactions with life prompts, disruption, readiness for reintegration and the choice to reintegrate resiliently, back to homeostasis, or with loss. This results in growth, knowledge, self-understanding and strength that resemble resilience. Recuperating with loss means that people give up some motivation, hope, or drive because of the demands from life prompts. Dysfunctional reintegration occurs when people choose substances, destructive behaviour or other means that give them satisfaction. One claim that the resiliency theory assumes is that individuals are predisposed to genetics, and therefore, have greater potential, which is revealed through the conscious mind (Richardson, 2002).

The third wave shows that resilient restoration entails greater energy to grow, and the basis of the energy, according to the theory, is spiritual or inborn (Richardson, 2002). Wilber (998) records the disciplines of philosophy, physics, anthropology, psychology, sociology, and theology, and masterfully expresses the views of life from a multidimensional hierarchy. The great chain of being is viewed as a core of matter (physics) with successive circular and interdependent layers described as life (biology), mind (psychology), soul (theology), and spirit (mysticism). Resiliency and resilience integrate and encompass most of the theories of life. The resiliency process is a life-enriching model that suggests that stressors and change provide growth and increased resilient qualities or protective factors (Richardson, 2002).

Resiliency and resilience can be seen as simple and practical applications to everyday living. Skills such as meditation, Tai Chi, prayer, yoga, Aikido, and other alternative therapies can also be used to access resilience. Resiliency and resilience can provide hope and with practice, increase (Richardson, 2002). This theory identifies the resilience by highlighting the internal sources namely, the personal qualities of optimism, adaptability and perseverance.

2.3 THE BACKGROUND OF SOMALIA

Somalia is a country located in the Horn of Africa with a population estimated at 10.8 million in 2015 (World Population Review, 2016). The country is rapidly expanding, with almost 3% annual population growth and a high fertility rate of 6.26 children per woman, which is the fourth highest in the world (World Population Review, 2015). Over 70% of Somali migrants are under the age of 30 years and the country has one of the lowest development and humanitarian
indicators in the world, with a life expectancy of below 50 years and an estimated unemployment rate of 67%, 74% and 61% among the youth, women and men, respectively (World Population Review, 2015). Because of political instability and economic uncertainties, over 60% of youth in Somalia intend to leave the country for better livelihood opportunities elsewhere (World Bank, 2013; World Population Review, 2016).

2.4 GLOBAL CONTEXT OF SOMALIS IN THE DIASPORA

There are over 1 million Somalis living in the diaspora and working around the world. Sending money home is a focal point of the lives of Somalis living abroad. It is estimated that between US$750 million and US$1 billion enters Somalia each year, making it the fourth most remittance-dependent country in the world, with remittance contributing between 20% and 50% of the country’s gross domestic product (Hammond, 2014). The importance of the funds sent to Somalia by Somalis in the diaspora cannot be overemphasised. It is estimated that about 40% of all households in Somalia depend on funds sent by Somalis in the diaspora (World Bank, 2008; 2013) and two-thirds of the urban population relies on remittances from people in the diaspora, with 80% of start-up capital for business often coming from remittance from the diaspora (Hammond, 2014). Remittance flowing to Somalia strengthens the livelihoods for hundreds of thousands of families and contributes to the development of the private sector in the country (Hammond, 2011).

It is complex to discuss the issue of social networks, streams of income, remittance, diversity, integration and discrimination against the diaspora Somalis outside the context of their experiences in the host country (Jinnah, 2013). However, countries and regions of the world are unique in their cultural and political views of immigrants; it could be argued that the welfare, social network, resettlement, integration of and discrimination against Somalis in the host country could be country- or region- dependent. For example, while studies of Somali migration in North America have focused on the role and motivation for remittances (Hammond, 2014) as well as community organisation (Hopkin, 2006) integration studies of Somalis in Europe have focused on the interplay between migration and the welfare state, ethno-religious discrimination faced by Somalis, social and economic integration, transnational engagement and the effects of migration on identity and changing gender roles (Hammond, 2014; Jinnah, 2013; Kleist, 2008; Sadouini, 2009). Therefore, the literature review addresses these important themes in the context of the country or region where Somalis in the diaspora reside.
2.4.1 **Somalis in the United States**

Even though official figures of Somalis in the United States (US) are being debated, with statistics ranging from 56,000 to 150,000, there are distinct pools of Somalis, including settlements in Ohio, Minnesota, Washington State and California (UNHCR, 2013). Horst’s (2008) study in Minneapolis found that most Somalis have many streams of income and that the group includes different socio-economic strata, ranging from low-skilled migrants who find work in factories where they can work overtime, and middle-class, skilled professionals such as social workers and teachers, to more affluent groups who are businessmen and better paid professionals. An interesting feature of Horst’s (2008) study relates to integration and social networks. For instance, factories in Minneapolis entered into an agreement with the Somali community stating that Somalis who did not speak English fluently could work under a team leader who acted as an intermediary between management and non-English-speaking Somali workers (Hammond, 2011; Horst, 2008).

2.4.2 **Somalis in Europe**

There is a large Somali diaspora of about 1 million people spread across Europe. There are significant numbers of Somalis in Scandinavian countries. In 2007, Norway had about 20,000 Somalis; Germany, the Netherlands, Italy and Britain had smaller numbers and France and Switzerland had between 1,000 and 10,000 Somalis (Horst, 2008). One of the challenges that Somalis face in Europe is discrimination, particularly the effect of labour market discrimination on social integration. This has received particular public and academic attention in Denmark (Jinnah, 2013). Broader social discrimination and barriers to accessing opportunities or livelihoods (Shaffer, 2012) and linking livelihoods to the welfare state (Jinnah, 2013) are also recurring themes in the literature on Somali migration and livelihoods in northern Europe. As a result, many Somalis in this region rely on state grants to support themselves and, in turn, use these to remit to their families in Somalia and Kenya (Hammond, 2014).

In Denmark, Somalis are generally dependent on welfare grants from the state (although a small number are self-employed). This observation is said to fuel the rhetoric of anti-immigration sentiments in Denmark. Horst (2008) warns against isolating economic activities of migrants from the broader social environment that affects migrant integration, this broader social environment suggests that the motivation to find work is linked to social networks and ties with
the host country. In particular, Horst’s (2008) study draws attention to learned norms in relation to finding work. Kleist (2008) argues that Somalis are used to finding work through social networks and connections at home and are, therefore, not adequately prepared to compete for work in an open market.

2.4.3 Somalis in Africa

Figure 3: Countries in the SADC (Southern African Development Community) Region (Google Maps)

The countries which represent the Southern African Development Community (SADC) are, Angola, Botswana Democratic Republic of the Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. In addition, the countries in East Africa are: Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya; Malawi; Mauritius, Mozambique, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Southern Development Community

Africa remains a continent with complex migration dynamics. It is generally characterised by dynamic migratory patterns and has a long history of intraregional as well as interregional migration flows (Hammond, 2014). Conflict, income inequalities and environmental change can
result in very low levels of human security that act as push factors for migration. At the end of 2013, it was estimated that approximately 232 million people globally were migrants, of who 19 million were estimated to be in Africa. At the time, about 42.5 million people internationally were displaced owing to war (Al-Sharmani, 2010).

In a study by Sadouni (2009), it was found that Somalis in Africa have been greatly obstinate about living in refugee camps in Kenya and Uganda. Al-Sharmani (2010) has drawn attention to the fact that there is a diverse settlement of Somali migrants in Egypt. According to the UNHCR (2011), there are an estimated 970 300 Somalis in Kenya, making it the country with the largest Somali diaspora, and Jinnah (2013) shows that the Somali movement and settlement in Kenya must be understood in the broader geo-political context. For example, Kleist (2008) points out that many Kenyans and Somalis have a similar ethnicity and language, which are divided by colonial borders. Therefore, there has been a sustained pattern of connection between the two countries and many Somalis have relatives who live in Kenya and whom they can rely on for temporary support when they first leave Somalia. Furthermore, a significant number of Somalis are Kenyan citizens and have political and economic power, which has also created tension in the political debates in that country, yet for most Somalis who leave their country, Kenya is the first and easiest option for refuge. Somalis either live in refugee camps or opt for an undocumented life in cities. Regardless of what they choose, they face numerous physical, economic and psychological challenges in their attempt to live a normal, full and productive life, and many spend their time and money in Kenya planning their journey onward (Jinnah, 2013).

2.4.4 Somalis in South Africa

According to the Integrated Regional Information Networks, which is a humanitarian news agency covering sub-Saharan Africa, the population estimates of Somalis living in South Africa range from 20 000 to 40 000 (IRIN, 2007; Jinnah 2010). Most Somali migrants in South Africa are those who left their country in search of security after the collapse of the government in 1991. According to the UNHCR (2009), South Africa received 8 500 Somali asylum applications in 2008, and more than 3 800 of those were filed in Gauteng. The Somali Community Board of South Africa estimated the majority of Somali migrants to be between 15 and 40 years of age and mostly without formal education. Most of the Somali migrants in South Africa reside in Johannesburg (Jinnah, 2010; 2013; Sigamoney, 2017), particularly in Mayfair/Fordsburg (Jinnah, 2010; Shaffer 2012). Johannesburg is South Africa’s largest metropolitan area, and it is
the biggest focal point for cross-border migrants. Somalis were drawn to the Mayfair area by its existing South African Indian Muslim communities that had established mosques, Muslim cultural services and halal butcheries (that is, religiously permissible food shops) (Sadouni, 2009; Vigneswaran, 2011).

In Mayfair, Somalis have developed an ethnic market to sustain their business networks and Mayfair’s proximity to the city centre was important for developing successful businesses and trading schemes (Jinnah, 2010). Many Somali shopkeepers who work in townships come to Mayfair to purchase bulk goods that are sold in their shops, and most of the Somalis who live in Mayfair work and interact within the confines of the community in order to maximise the use of their networks and employment opportunities (Perkins, 2010). However, the Somali community is vulnerable to social and institutional discrimination and has struggled to acquire adequate accommodation that is conducive to productive lives (Palmary, 2002). Many Somalis believe that they are targets for xenophobic violence because of their entrepreneurial prowess; consequently, the Somali community is insular and individuals prefer to live and interact in Mayfair where they feel safe (Nicolson & Simelane, 2015). Moreover, Somali migrants in Johannesburg receive little, if any, humanitarian assistance, which forces them to carve out their own economic niches, such as working in townships in order to survive (IRIN, 2012; Landau & Freemantle, 2010).

In addition to pervasive discrimination and an incessant fear of xenophobic violence, Somalis hold different and conflicting visions of an ideal community in Mayfair. Each person brings his or her individual experiences to Mayfair, and community ideology evolves as the population grows (IRIN, 2011; Nicolson & Simelane, 2015). Despite this heterogeneity, specific patterns emerge among the Somalis in Mayfair, even with temporal and historical trends. Women and men struggle with power structures and negotiate the realities of gender conflict and survival needs (Johnson, 2015; Palmary, 2010). Moreover, the Somalis in the expanding Mayfair community carry the signs of prolonged conflict in their homeland with them to South Africa. As Somalis established themselves in Mayfair and built their own “Little Mogadishu” (a city in Somalia similar to Fordsburg/Mayfair in its setting, community and culture), old Somalis are confronted with the challenge of cohabiting with their ethnic kin even though they share few commonalities (Shaffer, 2012). This means that old Somalis who enjoyed the perceived rights and freedoms of living in a constitutionally progressive, democratic South Africa found themselves at odds with newer migrants who brought their religious and cultural ideologies with
them (Jonsen; Siegler & Winslade, 2010). These are the reasons the current study sought to investigate the current Somali community members’ experiences of resilience while residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair in Johannesburg.

### 2.5 INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION TRENDS

Europe is at present initiating positive steps regarding the biggest migrant and refugee crisis since the end of World War II. After a global outcry over the inadequate response, some governments are pledging increased support for migrants. This translated into a European Union (EU) pledge to “relocate” 160 000 migrants over the next two years. By 2017, the US will also increase the annual number of asylum visas its offers from 70 000 to 100 000. Expecting 800 000 people this year alone, Germany passed a policy package expanding state support for migrants and accelerating proceedings for asylum seekers (World Population, 2016).

Between 2006 and 2012, South Africa received the highest number of asylum seekers of any country in the world, peaking in 2009 with 222 300 claims; in comparison, the US received 47 900 in the same year. South Africa’s appeal is manifold: it offers relative political stability and prosperity in a region of fragile states mired in poverty and conflict. Moreover, South Africa boasts some of the most progressive asylum laws in the world (Government, Gazette, 2008). Instead of being forced into sprawling camps, once migrants apply for asylum, they can live and work anywhere in the country until the state determines whether or not they qualify as a refugee. For the most part, asylum seekers and migrants are entitled to the same public services as citizens. While few have gained citizenship, the law allows them to do so if returning “home” looks impossible (IRIN, 2011). Nevertheless, the premium placed on refugee status and the resulting backlogs have created corruption within and outside government offices, producing a market for fake documents, and delegitimised the asylum system (Vigneswaran, 2011). Khalid Koser, executive director of the Global Community Engagement and Resilience Fund, pointed out that the influx of migrants to South Africa was approximately as great as that to the entire EU (World Population, 2016). These recent findings emphasised the need to conduct the present study to determine how, with these challenges emanating from the top, the Somalis are surviving at the bottom.

The World Bank 2016 statistics report reveals that approximately 244 million international migrants are living abroad worldwide. According to this report the number of international
migrants has risen faster than the world’s population (IOM, 2014; 2016). In November 2015 the UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon, announced a roadmap to address the issue on migrants. The General Assembly responded by agreeing to a high-level meeting on large movements of migrants (Eigen-Zucchi & Plaza; Ratha, 2016).

The increase in the number of international migrants indicates the significance of international migration, which has become a vital part of economies and societies (IOM, 2005; IOM, 2016). Migration that is managed well will benefit the countries of origin and destination, including the migrants and their families in host countries (Honneth, 1995). This was observed by the UN Under-Secretary-General for Economic and Social Affairs, Mr Wu Hongbo (UNCHR, 2016).

The new UN dataset, “Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2015 Revision,” shows that the number of international migrants has grown faster than the world’s population. As a result, the share of migrants in the global population reached 3.3% in 2015, up from 2.8% in 2000. There are, however, considerable differences between large regions of the world. In Europe, North America and Oceania, international migrants account for at least 10% of the total population. By contrast, in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean, less than 2% of the population comprises international migrants. The UN’s data over the last five decades shows that the trend in international migration has been upward, in keeping with the process of globalisation (UNCHR, 2013; World Population, 2016).

By the end of 2013, more than 232 million people globally were estimated to be migrants, of which 19 million were estimated to be in Africa (IOM, 2015; World Population, 2016). At the same time, some 42.5 million people worldwide were considered to be displaced owing to conflicts (36% of which were migrants; 62% were IDPs; and around 2% were individuals whose asylum applications remained to be adjudicated). Nearly 2.7 million migrants were in Africa, roughly 25% of the world’s refugee population (International Organisation for Migrants (IOM, 2105).

In 2013, the Southern African region recorded over 4 million migrants, excluding irregular migrants, of which 44% were female and 20% were under 19 years of age. By far the largest number of migrants is found in South Africa (2.4 million), including some 1.5 million from Zimbabwe; followed by the Democratic Republic of the Congo (447 000) (IOM, 2014). Among the 4 million migrants are approximately 200 000 registered migrants, are primarily in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and South Africa. The Southern African region continues to
experience a significant rise in mixed and irregular migration flows (McDonald, 2000; Zlotnik, 2003). These flows originate mostly from the Horn of Africa, particularly Ethiopia and Somalia, and consist of migrants, asylum-seekers, economic migrants and victims of human trafficking, including women and children (IOM, 2014).

The large majority of these migrants attempt to reach their destinations through established smuggling and human trafficking networks. At least 20 000 migrants travel through the Great Lakes and SADC regions to try to reach South Africa each year (IOM, 2015). Human rights violations and the lack of protection of migrants, leading to extortion, abandonment and to a certain extent sexual abuse and violence, remain a harsh reality for these mobile populations. In addition, relatively large mobile populations move between Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as well as from Zimbabwe to South Africa, and often prompt the affected governments to take measures to promote the departure of irregular migrants (IOM, 2005; 2015).

The East and Horn of Africa region registered the largest increase in the number of migrants globally in 2012. By March 2013, there were over 9 million migrants and IDPs in the region. Climate change and environmental degradation, armed conflict and political, economic and food crises continue to force people to flee, resulting in a growing need for assistance (World Report, 2013). Armed conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia and South Sudan forced people to leave their homes and seek protection in neighbouring countries in 2012, leading to an increase in the refugee populations of Burundi, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan and Uganda. In relation to the size of their economies, Kenya and Ethiopia are respectively ranked as the second and third leading host countries in the world for migrants. At present, Kenya hosts approximately 600 000 migrants, making it the fourth largest host country in the world, with the vast majority of migrants and asylum seekers originating from Somalia. As the political situation in Somalia continues to improve, the repatriation of Somali migrants becomes a possibility. However, issues of safety and the dignity of migrants need to be taken into account (IOM, 2015).

The International Humanitarian Standards mentions the main routes of migration, namely the Northern Africa route (from sub-Saharan Africa to North Africa and Europe); the Gulf of Aden route (from the Horn of Africa to Yemen and beyond). Yemen is the only country of the region that has signed the 1951 Refugee convention (Convention Relating to the status of Refugees) and the 1967 Protocols. Although it has no domestic asylum or refugee law, a refugee policy is currently under deliberation but there is no sustainable practice in place (Al-Sharmani, 2010;
Landau, 2007). In July 2009, the Yemeni government confirmed its intention to initiate a database of all Somali refugees, stating that all those left unregistered will be deported (Al-Sharmani, 2010; Landau, 200). Furthermore, migrants and refugees do not have citizenship rights and require work permits to be granted formal employment. In addition, migrant identity cards grant them access to health care, education, travel, and limited forms of informal employment, but issuance of IDs is limited due to lack of resources. In like manner, the government, with the support of UNHCR, has pledged to open six registration canters to aid in the issuing of IDs. None of the Gulf countries are signatories to the Refugee Convention, and most follow a policy of detention and deportation of irregular migrants. However, increased pressure from Western states to curb irregular migration from Africa and the Middle East combined with perceptions of migrants and refugees as taxing already strained resources have rendered many states less willing to accept and integrate new arrivals (IOM, 2015). In Turkey, for example, Somali irregular migrants and refugees are typically detained and deported. In 2006 alone, 3,468 irregular Somali border crossers were apprehended while trying to enter Turkey (Al-Sharmani, 2010). Syria is not party to the Refugee Convention or Protocol, and lacks a formal legal refugee framework. However, because Somalia is a member of the Arab League, Somalis do not need pre-arranged visas to enter, but are given a “permission of entry” on arrival. Despite no formal arrangements, access to assistance, basic education and primary health care to a large number of refugees, including Somalis (IOM, 2015). While Egypt is a signatory to the 1951 and OAU Conventions, it has no national refugee legislation, and all protection responsibilities fall to UNHCR. Somalis enjoy high refugee recognition rates (IOM, 208). Libya has no asylum procedure or protection plan, and does not distinguish between legal and illegal immigrants. It has, however, taken measures to combat trafficking (spurred largely by pressure from Italy and Malta). (IOM: 2008).

All of Somalia’s African neighbours have encampment policies. Similarly, In Djibouti, all registered refugees live in camps, as well as in Kenya. By the same token, life in Kenyan camps offers few opportunities, and due to restrictive refugee policies, residents are not allowed to work or travel freely outside the camps (UNHCR, 2011). In like manner, some migrants are reported to have lived in Kenyan camps for nearly two decades with little opportunity to improve their living situations (IOM, 2014). Mixed migration flows, which include migrants, asylum-seekers, displaced persons and migrants pursuing family reunification, education or employment, put a strain on governments in the region as they struggle to cope with the large number of migrants crossing their borders and moving through their countries (Horst, 2006).
The men, women and children making up these migrant flows frequently resort to unsafe modes of transportation and smuggling networks during their journey, exposing themselves to injury, violence, detention, exploitation and abuse (IOM, 2015; World migration report, 2015)

2.6 MIXED MIGRATION

Mixed migration is known as unregulated human movement (Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat) (RMMS, 2012). The UNHCR has a similar interpretation: “Persons with different objectives move alongside each other using the same routes and means of transport or engaging the services of the same smugglers” (UNHCR, 2011, p. 8). Both definitions include important and complementary components for understanding and responding to this type of migration.

The interface between managing mixed migration and refugee protection is crucial. Immigrants and migrants are treated differently under international law, as immigrants typically choose to move voluntarily while migrants are forced to move to preserve their lives. This technical dichotomy traditionally fed into humanitarian agency mandates for assistance, resulting in gaps and inefficiencies (RMMS, 2012). The establishment of the mixed migration paradigm is partly recognition that providing humanitarian assistance to people on the move has become increasingly complex, and those individual legal categorisations, for example, immigrants and migrants, and agency expertise must be merged into a coordinated, holistic response (Bonfanti & Martin, 2015). The concept acknowledges that although immigrants choose to move, the circumstances of their journeys rarely preclude them from abuse. Similarly, the mixed migration policy regime does not limit protection to migrants and asylum-seekers, but, rather, enhances it. Mixed migration is a necessary expansion and merging of concepts and humanitarian responses to keep pace with the dynamic way in which populations move (Bonfanti & Martin, 2015).

2.7 FORCED MIGRATION

Forced migration occurs when people are forced to leave their homes by violence, severe rights abuses and civil war. People abandon their home environments, evacuate their places of habitual residence and break their social networks and economic livelihoods only with great hesitancy (Landau, 2010). Conflict, climate change and environmental degradation are the key drivers of forced migration within the Horn of Africa and have resulted in large populations of both migrants and IDPs. Over the past several decades, the Horn of Africa has seen some of the
world’s extreme conflicts, and populations in the region have moved across international borders seeking refuge from violence, poverty, famine and natural disasters. Nearly 1 million Somali migrants are currently hosted in nearby countries and an additional estimated 1.4 million Somalis are internally displaced. Conflict has long been a key driver of forced migration in Somalia, but the recent drought has contributed significantly to displacement (Palmary, 2010).

Armed conflicts, natural disasters and infrastructure projects force people to migrate. While international refugee flows have dominated the attention of the Western world, most forced migrants are displaced within their home countries. According to the World Population, (2016) it is estimated that more than three quarters of the 67 million people forced to move at the end of 2007 were internally displaced. Sadly, forced migration is unlikely to cease. If anything, new causes, such as global warming, may increase the number of displaced persons. For instance, a one metre rise in sea levels would permanently inundate the land currently hosting 11% of the Bangladeshi population (Crisp & Long, 2011). Even if such scenarios are far-fetched, ordinary peace-time public policies sometimes lead to large-scale forced migrations. According to the World Commission on Dams for example, dam construction alone has displaced between 40 and 80 million people in the past half a century. These displacements are likely to have important consequences for those who are forced to migrate, as well as the receiving and the sending areas (Mansouri & Marotta, 2012). They also create a major policy challenge. Understanding the consequences of human displacement and the mechanisms leading to these consequences would be essential for developing effective programmes to assist people uprooted from their homes. Yet, the topic has been subject to relatively little economic research (International Organisation for Migrants - IOM, 2015), hence the importance of the current study focusing on the psychological effects of the migration of the Somalis in Mayfair/Fordsburg.

2.8 SOUTH AFRICA: MIGRATION LAWS AND POLICY


According to the IOM, which provides an annual update of country programmes in Southern Africa on migration, the Regional Strategy for South Africa for the period 2014-2015 presents a holistic approach that focuses on two priorities (IOM, 2014).
The first is to emphasise the fact that various aspects of migration challenges are interrelated. For example, the humanitarian needs related to migration are linked to development opportunities, and both issues need to be seen in the context of overall security and transnational organised crime trends. The second is to tackle migration problems increasingly at the regional level rather than through a country-by-country approach. Keeping in mind these two overarching priorities, and based on the growing needs and emerging trends in the region, the following key areas of intervention for the next two years (2014-2016) have been identified by IOM South Africa (IOM, 2016).

- Supporting better management of mixed migration flows, in order to provide greater protection to vulnerable migrants;
- Strengthening systems to support well-organised labour migration, including by engaging the diaspora to promote South African circular migration;
- Enhancing protection-sensitive immigration and border management to facilitate migration through open but secure borders;
- Reducing the health vulnerability of people affected by migration;
- Building resilience and strengthening the response to natural disasters and man-made crises in the region; and
- Strengthening the regional response to migration management through stronger intra- and interregional coordination among member states and regional economic communities.

In addition, across these key areas, IOM will work with member states and other stakeholders to develop reliable migration-related data in the region to guide policymakers and ensure targeted and effective interventions; and through the Regional Strategy for South Africa 2014–2016, will seek to strengthen its organisational effectiveness (IOM, 2014-2016).

2.8.2 The old migration policy in South Africa

The model of migration in the Southern African region has changed considerably since 1994. By 1995 the New South African government had raised some restrictions on migrants entering South Africa for refuge (IRIN, 2012). At present, the largest number of migrants arriving is from other African countries, whether they are migrants as defined by the UN Refugee Convention, forced or economic migrants or simply job-seekers. As South Africa is recognised by many to
be economically prosperous, at a time when European asylum policies are becoming more and more restraining, South Africa is recognised as people’s only hope (ISS, 2011).

2.8.3 The Refugee Act No 130 of 1998

The Refugee Act No 130 of 1998 enforces the right to apply for asylum in South Africa and makes provision for a hearings-based determination procedure. A most controversial clause prohibited asylum-seekers from accessing employment and education services during the application process (Government Gazette, 1998). This was a contentious position, given the lack of subsistence or welfare support for asylum-seekers from either the UNHCR or the South African government (Sharmani, 2006). Officially, this clause has been scrapped, instead allowing asylum applicants the right to study and apply for employment if their status is not determined within six months. However, the law is silent on how other public services such as housing or health care can be accessed during this time. The Constitution states that every person is entitled to welfare rights, but it refers mainly to permanent residents (Amit, 2015). The Bill of Rights enshrined in South Africa's Constitution clearly affirms that equality means the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms, although no constitutional jurisprudence yet exists on the rights of asylum-seekers (Amit, 2015).

The Refugee Act of 1998 also stipulates that a refugee is entitled to the same basic health services and basic primary education as the inhabitants of the Republic. Not surprisingly, there is incongruence between the law and its actual implementation, enforcement, protection and provision of these rights. Many South African citizens lack access to even the most basic of rights, freedoms and services. It is, therefore, inconceivable to imagine that migrants will fare better in accessing these restricted services (Crush, 2011; Landua, 2009; Palmary, 2003).

Immigration, as administered by the Department of Home Affairs (DoHA), establishes an individualised refugee status determination system that features the right to freedom of movement, the right to work, and local integration as opposed to refugee camp settings commonly found throughout the African continent. Under this system, individuals lodge applications at designated refugee reception offices (RRM) and receive documentation to legalise their sojourn while they await final adjudication of their claim (Department of Home Affairs, 2015).
While refugee law and immigration law are separate regimes, they do overlap at certain points. One of the most critical junctures is where an asylum seeker receives a final rejection of his or her asylum claim and is termed a “failed asylum seeker”, transitioning from the refugee to the immigration system (DoHA, 2015). In South Africa, the state has struggled to implement effective failed asylum seeker policies in the context of high numbers of asylum seekers, many without legitimate protection claims, and lack of capacity within the DoHA to administer both the refugee and immigration systems (Birkland & Ferris, 2011).

2.8.4 The Immigration Act No 13 of 2002

South Africa’s Immigration Act No 13 of 2002 is the main part of legislation dealing with the permissibility of allowing foreigners into the Republic. According to this Act, immigrants who are in a situation to add to the expansion of South Africa’s economic base are welcome to apply for residence (Amit, 2015). In the same way, applications by skilled workers in occupations for which there is a shortage in the country are encouraged, particularly applications by industrialists and other entrepreneurs who wish to relocate their existing businesses or start new interests in South Africa, whose legal rights are often ignored or complicated by indifference and corruption (Landau, 2010). I used the information from the Immigration Act No. 13 of 2002 to discuss the migration laws and policies.

2.8.4.1 Admission and departure

Subject to this Act, no person shall enter the Republic at a place other than a port of entry. A citizen or a resident shall be admitted, provided that he or she identifies himself or herself as such in the prescribed manner and, in the case of a resident, the immigration officer records his or her entrance. No person shall leave the country unless in possession of a passport, or a certificate issued by the Department upon application in lieu thereof; unless, if he or she is a person under the age of 16 years who does not hold a passport, he or she is accompanied by his or her parent who holds a passport in which his or her name was entered in terms of the provisions of the South African Passports and Travel Documents Act, 1994 or on behalf of any government or international organisation recognised by the Government of the Republic; and except at a port of entry, unless - in possession of a certificate by the Department granting permission upon application to leave the Republic at a place other than a port of entry within a certain period not exceeding six months at a time, provided that for good cause an immigration officer may
withdraw such permission; or exempted by the Minister, as he or she deems fit, on recommendation of the Director General, which exemption may be withdrawn by the Director-General at any time; and unless, in the case of a resident, the departure is recorded by an immigration officer” (The Immigration Act No. 13 of 2002).

A foreigner may only enter the country by producing to an immigration officer his or her passport to be valid for no less than 30 days after the expiry of the intended stay, and if issued with a valid temporary residence, as set out in this Act, and may only depart as set out in this Act. Subject to this Act, upon application and upon prescribed examination at the port of entry, one of the temporary residences set out in Sections 11 to 23 may be issued to a foreigner (The Immigration Act No. 13 of 2002).

2.8.4.2 Temporary and permanent residence

Upon admission, a foreigner may enter and sojourn in the Republic only if in possession of a temporary residence permit. Subject to this Act, upon application and upon prescribed examination at the port of entry, one of the temporary residences set out in Sections 11 to 23 may be issued to a foreigner. If issued outside the Republic, a temporary residence is deemed to be of force and effect only after an admission. A temporary residence is to be issued on condition that the holder is not or does not become a prohibited or an undesirable person. For good cause, as prescribed, the Department may attach reasonable individual terms and conditions to a temporary residence. Subject to this Act, a foreigner may change his or her status while in the Republic (The Immigration Act No. 13 of 2002).

South Africa has been regarded as one of the most unfriendly countries towards immigrants in the world. Anti-foreigner views among South African citizens have remained uncertain in the last decade (Crush, 2011; Landua, 2009; Palmary, 2003) Although, South Africa has reformed its national immigration policies since 1994; the country continues to regard migration as a threat (Segatti, 2011). Large migration flows are believed to decrease wages and increase unemployment, burden public security, jeopardise national identity and impose severe health risks (Landua & Freemantle, 2011). On the other hand (Crush; Ramachandran; & Pendleton, 2013) suggest that South Africa’s migration policy is fixated on control-oriented policies, in which the focus is on identity documents, detention and deportation. Landau and Freemantle,
(2010), Palmary (2003) acknowledges that there are no rights protecting migrants in South Africa’s national migration policies, with particular reference to refugees and asylum-seekers.

The perpetuation of apartheid through strict migration policies into the new South Africa has also been regarded as a reason for South Africa’s continued nationalistic migration regime (Boyton, 2014). Furthermore, major concerns about border control in view of increased flows of undocumented migrants and the threat of diseases spread by migrants are other arguments offered to explain South Africa’s securitised migration regime (Klotz, 2013). Moreover, Ragab, Siegel and Vanore (2015) have identified the incompetence of South Africa’s government to make suitable social provision for its citizens as another reason for the country’s attempts to slow down migration through protective policies.

Few of these studies focus solely on explaining why South Africa has adopted a nationalistic migration policy in contradiction with its commitment to liberalise its economy and reinstate a progressive and rights-based government (Klotz, 2013; Polzer, 2007.) Furthermore, Boyton, (2014) has attempted to look at this “liberal paradox”, examining South Africa’s pledge to promote human rights while it fails to protect migrants and asylum seekers living in the country.

What is more, national migration laws have failed to address societal xenophobia, particularly in respects to the recent violent and widespread xenophobic attacks on foreigners in 2008 and more recently in 2015 (Musuca, 2014; Polzer & Segatti, 2011). Immigration lawyers have emphasised that the most recent changes to South Africa’s migration policies are “unconstitutional”, “arbitrary” and “far-reaching” and have cautioned of the detrimental effects the laws could have on South Africa’s economy, regional image, and ability to hire much needed skilled labor (Boynton, 2014).

2.8.5 Permanent residence

The holder of a permanent residence permit has all the rights, privileges, duties and obligations of a citizen save for those rights, privileges, duties and obligations which a law or the Constitution explicitly ascribes to citizenship. Subject to this Act, upon application, one of the permanent residence permits set out in Sections 2 and 27 may be issued to a foreigner. A permanent residence permit is to be issued on condition that the holder is not a prohibited person, and subject to Section 28 of this Act. For good cause, as prescribed, the Department may attach
reasonable individual terms and conditions to a permanent residence permit. (The Immigration Act No. 13 of 2002).

2.8.5.1 Exclusions

Prohibited persons

The following foreigners do not qualify for a temporary or a permanent residence permit:

- Those infected with infectious diseases as prescribed from time to time;
- Anyone against whom a warrant is outstanding or a conviction has been secured in the Republic or a foreign country with which the Republic has regular diplomatic relations in respect of genocide, terrorism, murder, torture, drug trafficking, money laundering or kidnapping;
- Anyone previously deported and not rehabilitated by the Department in the prescribed manner; a member of or adherent to an association or organisation advocating the practice of racial hatred or social violence; and
- Anyone who is or has been a member of or adherent to an organisation or association utilising crime or terrorism to pursue its ends. After consultation with the Director-General, for good cause the Minister may declare a person referred to in subsection (1) not to be a prohibited person (The Immigration Act No. 13 of 2002).

2.8.5.2 Exemptions

Upon application, the Minister, as he or she deems fit, after consultation with the Board, may under terms and conditions determined by him or her … allow a distinguished visitor and certain members of his or her immediate family and members in his or her employ or of his or her household to be admitted and sojourn in the Republic for a period not exceeding six months, provided that such foreigners do not intend to reside in the Republic permanently; grant a foreigner or a category of foreigners the rights of permanent residence for a specified or unspecified period when special circumstances exist which justify such a decision; provided that the Minister may exclude one or more identified foreigners from such categories; and for good cause, withdraw such right from a foreigner or a category of foreigners; authorise any person or category of persons to enter the Republic at a place other than a port of entry, in which case the
Department shall issue to such person(s) the prescribed written permission or passport endorsement, provided that such authorisation may be withdrawn at any time by the Minister; and for good cause, waive any prescribed requirement or form, provided that if such consultation requirement would unduly delay an urgent action, the Minister may inform the Board after the fact of any action taken under this subsection and of the reasons for the urgency (The Immigration Act No. 13 of 2002).

2.8.5.3 Enforcement and monitoring

The Department shall control the entry and exit of people through the borders of the Republic in order to ensure compliance with this Act, and may do so with the assistance of other organisations of the country. The Department may receive a delegation from the South African Revenue Service or the Commissioner therefore, the Department of Safety and Security, the Department of Defence or the Department of Finance enabling and mandating it to exercise powers and perform functions exercised or performed under any law by any of such Departments relating to the control of movement of people or goods across the borders, including ports of entry. By proclamation, the President may order that certain assets and human resources of the Department allocated to the control of entry and exit be placed under the control of the Minister of Defence to be deployed as determined by the President in terms of section 201 of the Constitution (The Immigration Act No. 13 of 2002).

2.8.5.4 Illegal foreigners

Any illegal foreigner shall depart, unless authorised by the Department to remain in the Republic pending his or her application for a status. Any illegal foreigner shall be deported.

2.8.5.5 Employment

- No person shall employ an illegal foreigner;
- A foreigner whose status does not authorise him or her to be employed by such person; or
- A foreigner on terms, conditions or in a capacity different from those contemplated in such foreigner's status. An employer shall make a good faith effort to ascertain that
no illegal foreigner is employed by him or her or to ascertain the status or citizenship of those whom he or she employs.

- An employer employing a foreigner shall - for two years after the termination of such foreigner's employment, keep the prescribed records relating thereto; and report to the Department . . . the termination of such foreigner's employment; and any breach on the side of the foreigner of his or her status (The Immigration Act No. 13 of 2002).

2.8.5.6  Duties and obligations

Any illegal foreigner shall depart, unless authorised by the Department to remain in the Republic pending his or her application for a status. Any illegal foreigner shall be deported. An employer employing a foreigner shall for two years after the termination of such foreigner's employment, keep the prescribed record relating thereto; and report to the Department the termination of such foreigner's employment; and any breach on the side of the foreigner of his or her status. (The Immigration Act No. 13 of 2002).

2.8.5.7  Obligation of foreigners

A foreigner shall abide by the terms and conditions of his or her status, including any terms and conditions attached to the relevant permit by the Department upon its issuance, extension or renewal; and depart upon expiry of his or her status (The Immigration Act No. 13 of 2002).

2.8.5.8  The new immigration policy for South Africa

During the World Economic Forum on Africa in 2015, Presidency Minister Jeff Radebe spoke on the revised immigration policy for South Africa. According to him, a draft policy on immigration had already been developed and it was due to be presented by an inter-ministerial commission, headed by Radebe in Cape Town, and later presented in Cabinet. Rabede indicated that the new draft policy would deal with everything relating to migrants and economic migrants (Africa News Agency (ANA), 2015). To date, the new policy on migrants is still in the pipeline. This leads to questions about how migrants in South Africa, including the Somalis, are accommodated and protected during this transition (The Immigration Act No. 13 of 2002).
Responding to these desired outcomes, the Department aims to manage migration effectively through a few key strategies:

South Africa seeks to encourage skilled migrants into the country. Risk-based immigration controls should be made compulsory to strengthen national security. This includes the use of technology and applying best practices of other countries that use integrated systems to monitor migrants’ movements in and outside the country. In addition, Africa has to be advanced economically so that the region can develop and grow. Furthermore, migration policies and systems need to be consistent so that trade and services, people and capital can be advanced. The main aim of the policy is to be able to coordinate visas and permits expeditiously for refugees, migrants and asylum seekers who relocate to South Africa (Centre for Development and Enterprise, 2011).

2.9 CHALLENGES FACED BY THE SOMALI COMMUNITY IN MIGRATION

2.9.1 Different cultural values

The Somali migrants faced numerous challenges. As soon as they reach South Africa, they struggle for their survival. Somali migrants have to adapt to the new location, which is very difficult for them because most of them find themselves with different people from different backgrounds and they struggle to interact and integrate with other communities (EL- Bushra, 2004). Because of their culture, religion and simply because they came from what used to be a homogenous society, it was certainly challenging to adapt to all the differences. They encountered many problems of insecurity, crime, poverty and mistreatment just because they are foreigners. When it comes to accessing legal documentation, they encountered numerous problems posed by the officers of the DoHA, including corruption and abuse (Correa-Velez; Barnett; & Gifford, 2010; Kiwanuka 2010).

ISS (2011; 2013) maintains that migrating to a new country disrupts families’ cultural practices and required the rebuilding of communities around cultural practices and ethnic identities. According to Ansell & Van Blerk, 2007; Afshar; Maynard; Frank and Wray (2008), migration displaces people on cultural, emotional and social levels. The transmission of family values and traditions were threatened, as migrants inevitably experienced differences between the cultural
values of their country of origin and those of the host country (King, & Vullnetari, 2006).

2.9.2 Language as a barrier

The challenge of language became a huge barrier, as the Somali migrants are exposed to different languages in the host country. A rich oral tradition is an important part of Somali culture (Mire, 2007). Poets were the protectors of the clan history, including their interactions with other tribes. Poets often acted as a linking form of mass media, sharing information and public opinion (Mire, 2007). The Somali Constitution was written in 1972 and the Barre administration began a massive literacy campaign across rural and urban Somalia, purporting to have raised the literacy rate to 55% (from 5% prior to the campaign) (Putnam & Noor, 1993). Koshen (2007) observed that younger generations of Somali people are more likely than earlier generations to be literate in Somali and English, whereas older generations of Somali people are likely to be illiterate in both Somali and English. Moreover, people born after 1972 were less likely than their older counterparts to speak only one language (Putnam & Noor, 1993).

Among all the social problems that the Somali community encountered, language was one of the major challenges experienced and a barrier to communication (Shaffer, 2012). Somalis experienced challenges when they were expected to communicate in a foreign language. Being unable to communicate in the languages of the host country excluded the Somali community from full participation and access to the way of life that was followed in the host country (Kumpfer, 1999; Mackay, 2011). Somali communities who had access to international education was able to communicate in the language of the host country. However, the majority of Somali communities in South Africa experienced difficulty speaking English (Mackay, 2011). English is the most commonly spoken language in South Africa, apart from the 10 other official languages. Most of the Somali community speak their native language and are not fluent in English. Access to education in war-torn countries is minimal and consequently most members of the Somali community have a low level of education on arriving in the host country (Landau, 2004). Education is a necessity in any country and access to education among migrants remains a problem (Freemantle, 2011).
2.9.3 Access to education for migrants

Because of low levels of education in their home country, many Somali communities encountered problems when attempting to secure admission to educational institutions in the host country (Hlatshwayo & Vally, 2014). The Somali community’s children invariably experienced difficulty in adapting to school life in the host country and the language of instruction at school is a challenge, as these children were unable to speak English and in some cases are unfamiliar with the idea of attending school (Baatjes, Hlatshwayo, Mackay, Sibanda, Spreen & Vally, 2012). Despite this problem that Somali refugee children experienced, they are expected to adapt to the educational system of the host country. Spreen and Vally (2012), states that many Somali children who come from war-torn countries found attending school constraining and confining. In addition, since a number of the Somali community’s children and youth had taken on major life responsibilities prior to fleeing their home countries, their experiences and knowledge of life differ from those of children in the host country (Hlatshwayo & Vally, 2014). Therefore, it was erroneous for teachers to assume that the Somali community’s children’s development was the same as that of the children of the host country (Landua, 2006). As a result of war and strife in the host country, children experienced the negative effects of displacement. Certain migrants lacked understanding of new environments and they did not realise that certain behaviours are embedded in cultural beliefs, norms and ethnic backgrounds. They accordingly found it difficult to adapt their behaviour to that of the host country (Baatjes, 2011; Rohmann, Florack & Piontkowski, 2006).

2.9.4 Displacement through war and strife

War and strife have displaced people and forced them to flee from their home countries, and this creates problems with resettlement in the host country because of racism and discrimination (Schweitzer; Greenslade & Kagee, 2007). Thus a displaced population is a sample of the wider community devastated by the indiscriminate violence and destruction characteristic of most internal conflicts, often compounded by racial, ethnic and religious animosities that provided political entrepreneurs with tools for manipulation (Schweitzer; Melvill; Steel & Lacherez, 2006). The Somali community was relegated to the bottom of the social ladder and is not given recognition for any skills and abilities (Portes, 2010).
A study conducted in Norway of different Somali community groups revealed that mental health problems were evident in the Somali community as a result of loss and family members being looted and killed during relocation to the host country, specifically among Somalis who claimed to suffer from nervous symptoms (Sue & Sue, 2012). The Somali community found in Canada also experienced extensive problems during the first part of their resettlement period (Masten, 1994). Somali communities are usually treated as pariahs in host countries through being excluded socially and they experienced several types of hardships, which included unemployment and overcrowding (Stevens, 2016). In South Africa, migrants were often perceived as rivals for jobs and scarce resources, which lead to attacks on them and verbal insults by local citizens (Dodson, 2010; Nell, 2008).

2.9.5 Xenophobia

Xenophobia is defined as hatred or fear of foreigners and strangers, which is expressed in murder, violence, discrimination, verbal abuse and public hostility by residents towards migrants (Crush, 2008). The xenophobic attacks of 2008 should be seen in the context of the transition to democracy in 1994, which led to many migrants from other parts of Africa flocking to South Africa in search of employment. These migrants believed that they could share in the new freedom after the end of apartheid (Adjai, & Lazarua, 2013; Cornsigh, 2015; Dodson, 2010; Nell, 2008). However, black South Africans in particular saw them as competition for the available resources and employment opportunities and used them as scapegoats for the continued social and economic hardships they experienced (Crisp & Turner, 2007).

Xenophobia is one of the major obstacles to the migrants and asylum seekers’ resettlement in a host country and considered a negative attitude to non-citizens in general (Corea-Velez; Gifford & Barnett, 2010; Nicolson & Simelane, 2015). In South Africa, xenophobia could be the result of the long-lived apartheid regime that was deeply engraved in the minds of people in South Africa (Hayem, 2013). This phenomenon results in intense tension and violence towards migrants (Polzer, 2010). Furthermore, it has been found that those migrants that live in informal settlements became victims of xenophobia because South Africans are less tolerant to immigration and migrants in general (Sigamoney, 2017). This is explained by what happened in 2008 when xenophobic attacks occurred in South Africa. It led to 62 migrants losing their lives, 670 being wounded and thousands of others being hounded out of their communities by the locals (Dodson, 2010).
Looking at the links between Somali migrants and xenophobia, Breytenbach (2006) argued that Somalis were the most vulnerable of all migrants to crime and xenophobia in townships in South Africa. They were victims of crime, robbery and death in this country. Furthermore, the migrants may be abused by the police (Crush & Ramachandram, 2010). Although these cases of violence are reported to the authorities, usually nothing is done to the perpetrators, who go unpunished (Breytenbach, 2006; Palmary, 2002).

It is said that Somali migrants isolate themselves, which leads to being misunderstood by the locals, and consequently become victims of most criminal activities perpetrated by South Africans. They were under threat because they have done little to integrate into communities where they live and build their businesses (Steenkamp, 2008; UNHCR, 2008). Landau (2010) shows that many were verbally assaulted, thousands were displaced, women were raped and most of those that came from neighbouring countries returned home (Burns & Mopapatra, 2008). Migrants in general are perceived to take opportunities that are rightly available to the local people. All this increased the tension and hostility that South Africans have towards the foreigners (Hlatshwayo & Vally, 2013).

Xenophobic attacks continued after the major ones that occurred in 2008 because South Africans were unhappy with foreigners in their country (Landua, 2010). According to researchers from the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACM) at the University of the Witwatersrand, increased awareness of xenophobia as a social problem has been noted, where Somali traders are the targets of looting, intimidation, arson and murder (Landau, 2008; Robinson, 2013). Such xenophobic acts were reported still to take place all around South Africa, especially in locations and townships where businesses belonging to non-nationals are looted and burnt (Hlatshwayo & Vally, 2013). It was noted specifically that people were driven out of their homes and spent time in refugee tents (UNHCR, 2015). The information reported and scenes portrayed in the media and broadcast on local and global television networks were horrifying and appeared to be similar to the incidents that occurred in 2008 (UNHCR, 2015). During the xenophobic attacks in April 2015 President Zuma mentioned how various sectors can work with government to review the migrant policy with the objective of promoting orderly migration and good relations with citizens and other nationals. Recent public comments by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, and President Jacob Zuma's son, Edward, are thought to have played a role in starting the attacks on foreigners (Haslie, & Lindley, 2011).
2.10 UNDERSTANDING RESILIENCE

2.10.1 Explanation of resilience

Resilience suggests a sense of control over one’s life in personality, cognition, and motivation. It expresses itself at the level of feelings, at the level of ideas about self-worth, at the level of being able to make a difference in the world based on one’s potential (Masten, 2014; Ungar, 2008). With regard to migrants, resilience is seen as an individual having control over his/her life and lends itself to emotions such as self-worth and having the ability to change one’s life and environment (Ungar, 2012). Change is an important aspect of resilience and it is necessary for transformation to be perceived before resilience may be evidenced.

A study of resilience in children was initiated in 1970 with a group of researchers who directed their attention to the investigation of children capable of progressing through normal development despite exposure to significant adversity (Masten, 2008). Resilience is a concept that is intuitively understood (Brom & Kleber, 2009); however, it is defined in many systems. Generally, resilience refers to positive adaptation, or the ability to sustain or regain mental health, despite experiencing significant adversity (Sue & Sue, 2012). Although the number of definitions evolved as scientific knowledge has grown, there is still little consensus. Discrepancy exists in the conceptualisation of resilience as a personal trait versus a dynamic process. If resilience is a personal trait, its absence might lead to stress-related psychopathology, and resilience can be measured even in non-trauma-exposed individuals (Masten 1994; Masten, 2014a). Ungar (2008) warns against using the term “resiliency” in such a way because it paves the way for perceptions that some individuals simply do not “have what it takes” to overcome adversity. Besides, such a term does little to illuminate processes underlying resilience or to guide the design of appropriate interventions (Best & Garmezy, 1990; Masten, 1990).

2.10.2 Development of resilience

Resilience and what shapes resilience has been widely challenged since the concept started to receive attention in the 1970s in psychology and the developmental sciences (Masten, 2001; Rutter, 1987). Although a variety of definitions and ways of operationalising and measuring resilience have been employed (Masten, 2014a), the body of research and literature has indicated some areas of consensus. The first of these is the growing awareness that resilience is not a
quality or a trait of the individual (Rutter, 1987), although certain dimensions of personality might be consistently associated with resilience (Cicchetti; Becker, 2000; Rutter, 2012). Agreement has also developed on the importance of the environment in fostering or hindering the ability of individuals to survive or to thrive (Rutter, 2006; Ungar, 2004a) and, consequently, understanding of resilience as a dynamic process involving interaction between the individual and the environment that enables positive adaptation following adversity (Luthar et al., 2000).

However, resilience is a complex concept, not least because it is dependent on judgments about degrees of risk and adversity and also about the criteria for assessing positive adaptation and what would count as being good or adequate adaptation (Masten, 2001). It thus opens to examination values and beliefs about what represents normative individual development, making this a challenging area of enquiry, especially in diverse cultures and locations (Masten, 2014; Ungar, 2008). Over time, concepts of resilience have been applied across disciplines and Masten (2014) has recently suggested that it can be broadly defined as the capacity of a dynamic system to adapt successfully to disturbances that threaten system function, viability or development (Luthar et al., 2000).

2.10.3 Reasons for resilience among migrants globally

Social networks

It has been found that the role of social associations is vital, as these connect migrants collectively in a multifaceted network of social stances and relational associations (Chile; Elliot; Live & Tito, 2007). This is seen through the channels of information, social and financial assistance. Migration chains are facilitated by social networks that provide information for migrants. With regard to their community setups, it is recognised that migrants maintain strong connections wherever they are with their families and society. Kinsfolk play an integral part in each other’s lives and livelihoods, even over significant distances (Horst, 2008).

Combination of qualities

In addition, distinct personal qualities, collective identity, supportive primary relationships and religion are maintained. Throughout the world migrants maintain their culture and religion and preserve their language. This is very significant for the expansion and use of various forms of
social capital. This is implied as the role of the people to direct scarce resources, using their affiliation in social networks or even in larger social structures. This can be in the form of knowledge on employment in the destination country (Boyd, 1989; Buyer, 2008). Migrants in every region assist one another in the best way they can. This is done through the relationships they form or through their own societies. They provide aid to associates of their community and encourage one another (Graber, Pichon & Carabine, 2015).

2.10.3.1 Resilience in the Somali community

Since this study is focussed on a group of Somalis living in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg and explored the reasons that contributed to the resilience of this particular Somali community, the remaining part of this section focussed on reasons that have been found in previous studies to shape the resilience of the Somali community.

Resettlement of Somalis continued over the past two decades between 1995 and 2010 (Hammond, 2014). The United States (US) hosted the largest number of Somali migrants. In addition, Austria, Canada, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom have hosted Somali asylum seekers (Hammond, 2014). The Danish Refugee Council reported in mid-2012 that 16 000 Somalis in Kenya had been processed for resettlement (UNHCR, 2013). Countries in Africa with substantial Somali asylum seekers included South Africa, which was estimated to host 30 000 by December 2013, and Egypt, which had 8 000. Many Somali asylum seekers/migrants experienced extensive hostility from the counties in which they resettled and other migrant populations, who viewed them as a threat to employment opportunities and whatever social support is available (UNHCR, 2013).

Research revealed that despite the trauma of leaving their countries and resettlement in an alien country, many Somalis are resilient and are able to become self-sufficient in the host country (Fernando & Ferrari, 2011; Sigamoney, 2017). However, Sue and Sue (2012) pointed out that the Somali community’s resilience was often negated as a consequence of the over-emphasis on the trauma experienced by many Somalis. Nevertheless, the following are the reasons that have been found so far globally for the Somali community’s resilience in times of resettlement:
2.10.3.2 Personal qualities that build resilience among the Somalis

General personal qualities that play a major role in building resilience are internal resources such as optimism, adaptability and perseverance, which assist with coping and surviving in the host country. Similarly, the Somali community has been found to take control instead of being the victims in host countries (Hammond, 2014). When the Somali community predicts the trials that they may encounter in the process of resettlement, its resilience becomes stronger (Shakespeare-Finch & Wickham, 2009). When an individual depends on his/her principles, he/she is strengthened to confront the difficulties and challenges that accompany resettlement, thus enabling the Somali community to view the future positively in the host country (Khawaja, White, Schweitzer & Greenslade, 2008).

Firstly, I would like to discuss optimism as one of the internal resources that are necessary to build resilience in migrants. According to, Hall, Murray and Zautra (2010) resilience is best defined as successful adaptation to adverse circumstances. Personal characteristics would determine resilience processes if those characteristics led to healthy outcomes after the stressful situations (Hall; Murray & Zautra 2010)). In general, it seems that the concept of resilience reflects the desire for great optimism under adversity (Rutter, 2006); in other words, optimism accompanies resilience in stressful situations (Zaaiman, 2003). Optimism appears to be an individual difference variable that reflects the extent to which people hold generalised favourable expectancies for their future. Optimism has a major role to play in adaptation to stressful conditions (Al-Sharmani, 2010).

When confronting a challenge, optimists show more resilience, even if progress is difficult and slow (Synder & Lopez, 2002).

Secondly, adaptability played an important role in the resilience of migrants in a host country. People influence their environment while simultaneously being influenced by the environment (Green & McDermott, 2010). Communities promoted the well-being of individuals based on principles of interdependence, adaptation and distribution of resources (Flach, 1988). Thus, in the context of migration, migrants as well as citizens have the potential to facilitate change through reciprocal interactional relationships with the environment as people involved in the environment (.Brom & Kleber, 2009). Adaptation can consequently produce new outcomes that none of them ever imagined (Green & McDermott, 2010).
Thirdly, perseverance permitted the migrants to share commonalities in that they were driven from their home countries by political and economic problems. They left familiar geographical and cultural contexts; their shared goal was ensuring the survival of their families (social context) (Kumpfer, 1999; Werner, 2006). In addition, they were exposed to risks and adversity in the host community (social and cultural contexts) (Flach, 1997).

The fact that second-generation Somali migrants in Kenya identified themselves as Somali and not Kenyan was a testimony to this argument. Among those interviewed, their Somali identity was formed and reinforced by their place within a strong Somali community and not by their presence in a specific place or land. Being born into a Somali family and raised in a Somali community was enough for them to identify themselves as Somalis (UNHCR, 2013).

2.10.3.3 Self-concept

Self-concept was one’s perception or image of one’s abilities and uniqueness. At first, one's self-concept is very general and changeable. As one grew older, these self-perceptions became much more organised, detailed, and specific (Brom & Kebler, 2009). In addition, it is a collection of beliefs about one’s own nature, unique qualities and typical behaviour. Equally it is a mental picture of one’s self and a collection of perceptions (Dunn, Hammer & Weiton, 2012). Moreover, the collective self-reflected membership in social groups (Crisp & Turner, 2007; Green, & McDermott, 2010). The contention was that migration contributed to the richness in diversity of cultures, ethnicities and races in the host countries. Migrants experienced numerous stresses that can influence their mental well-being, comprising the loss of cultural norms, religious customs and social support systems, adjustment to a new culture and changes in identity and concept of self (Dunn; Hammer & Weiton, 2012).

If the Somali community had a good self-concept, it was easier to cope with challenges. Studies conducted by McDonald (2010) and Toth (2003) with Somali community women stated that qualities such as optimism, adaptability and perseverance as part of a self-concept assisted the Somali community to deal with challenges and ensured endurance. What helped the Somali community women to cope was the fact that they believed in their own inner strength to face trials, as well as the fact that they had a positive attitude and looked forward to a good future (Dunn, Hammer & Weiton, 2012).). The fortitude of these women that allowed them to deal with their situation was viewed as stemming from taking charge instead of being victims.
2.10.3.4 Community protection

Apart from some Somali community members having the innate ability to be empowered, support from family and friends is closely related to resilience. The Somali community also relied on its own ethnic communities to assist members with adjusting in the host country (Schweitzer, Greenslade & Kagee, 2007). The Somalis’ relatively secured life in Mayfair in Johannesburg, South Africa was mainly based on a Muslim ethic of solidarity and mutual protection. In fact, a Somalis were more of a stranger in a black township than in a South African Muslim zone where religion has played a major role in their integration into society. The wave of anti-immigrant violence in Johannesburg in May 2008, 2011 and 2015 did not affect Somalis in Mayfair, with the exception of one Somali who was murdered in Newtown, near the CBD (Landau, 2010). The South African police were asked to patrol the area at different times in order to prevent the incursion of violent mobs. In this case, the support given to Muslim co-religionists in the name of Islam superseded ethnic, migrant and national identities (Sadouni, 2009). It was in the name of Islam that Somalis were able to rent houses in Mayfair owned by South African Muslims without entering into complicated administrative procedures for renting a property (McMichael, 2002) However, the community protection that was enjoyed by the Somalis in this area sometimes leads to patronage politics and abuses by landlords who charge high rent (Kumpfer, 1999; Werner, 2006). This did not prevent Somalis from settling in Mayfair, since it was considered a Muslim area that was well equipped with mosques, Islamic schools, Muslim butcheries and shops (Al Sharmani, 2010).

2.10.3.5 Social support

Support by the Somali community played an integral role in building resilience (Kumpfer, 1999; Werner, 2006). Besides personal qualities associated with building resilience in the Somali community, support from family, friends and the community played an important role in enhancing resilience. Reciprocity included unconditional generous support in resettlement of the Somalis in a foreign country. According to a qualitative study, Sudanese women claimed to receive support from close family such as their spouses and children (Shaffer, 2012). Likewise, the Somali community in Fordsburg/Mayfair in Johannesburg appeared to be strong because of extended support from family, friends and the community (Al-Sharmani, 2006). Apart from receiving support from friends and family, migrants took advantage of their own ethnic community to assist them to survive and adapt to their new way of life in a host country.
Chetty (2002) asserts from the Christian view that young fledgling families are very vulnerable on an urban tempestuous bed without their previous support from their extended families. This allowed for the development of a rich culture of interpersonal relationships (Chetty, 2009).

Polzer (2007) highlight that a person’s interaction with the environment plays a role in building resilience rather than being linked to static, individual-inner traits. Pulvirenti and Mason (2011) confirm that the fact that the Somali migrants were exposed to violence by the war in their country strengthens them, because they have already encountered atrocities before resettling in South Africa (Carver; Scheier, & Segerstrom, 2010).

2.10.3.6 Religion

A key factor that played a part in the Somali community’s resilience was religion. Religion enriched the lives of the migrants and asylums seekers (Green & Elliot, 2010). It was for this reason that Somali migrants throughout the world kept their culture and religion and preserved their language wherever they went. Chetty (2011) elucidates that the church functioning as an oikos (household) can be mobilised to respond adequately to this dire need.

This was normally true for Somali migrants worldwide and that the Somali people possess a special religious, linguistic and ethnical bond with their relatives. This was also observed among the Somali migrants living in Johannesburg (McMichael, 2002). In like manner, the critical role of religious support for the Somali community from the local Muslim sector has been highlighted throughout this study. Chetty (2002, 2009 and 2011) has written substantially on this theme but from within a Christian context.

The majority of Somali practised Islam. Islam taught that all events are God’s willed and are not controlled by the individual (McMicheal, 2002; Palmary, 2011). Therefore, certain Somalis equated their sufferings and social turmoil to God punishing the people for moving away from the Islamic faith (Koshen, 2007; Sadouni, 2009; Wilbher, 1998).

The concepts of church and family in the Gospel of Luke and in the Acts of the Apostles were similar to the manner the Somalis in Islam value family as their network in migration. It was found that the first church community was constituted on the pattern of the extended family in
the Greco-Roman world of the first century. This allowed for the development of a rich culture of interpersonal relationships. It was within this environment that the love taught and exemplified by Jesus found its first concrete expression (Chetty, 2011). Similarly Islam values culture and religion as the basis to nurture in spiritual care (Sadouni, 2009).

An individual’s psychological and physical well-being was enhanced through religion (Green & Elliot, 2010). The Somali community relied on the religious convictions, which in turn strengthened them to bounce back from their struggles (Schweitzer, Greenslade and Kagee (2007) and Robinson (2013). The Somalis’ acknowledgement that spirituality was a priority in their lives assisted them with fostering self-esteem and the influence the Somali community needed to survive in challenging situations (Poisnos, 2007).

2.10.3.7 The influence of culture

Closely related to religion was culture, to which the Somali community observed tenaciously. One Somali community received support from fellow Somali members, which is a reciprocal process among family, friends and the community, who assisted in fostering hope to meet the prerequisites of the host country (Schweitzer et al., 2007). A strong bond with their ethnic community contributed to the Somali community coping with resettlement (Correa-Velez, Gifford & Barnett, 2010). Besides the support that members of the Somali community received from friends and family, they had confidence in their own ethnic group to assist them to familiarise themselves with the host country. (Burns, & Mohapatra, 2008; Kumpfer, 1999; Werner, 2006) Young Somali communities are able to integrate and have strong bonds with their own ethnic community. This developed their psychological well-being in times of inadequacy and trauma during their relocation within the environment and society. (Sadouni, 2009, Shaffer, 2012; Sue & Sue, 2012).

2.10.3.8 Self-sufficiency

Resilience requires self-sufficiency, as Crisp and Long (2007) maintains that the notion of integration is a necessity and claims that there are three main procedures to resettlement with the purpose of becoming legal. Firstly, are eager to receive similar rights to that of the citizens of the host country Secondly, the Somali community becomes integrated if its members are included in the economic functions where they are allowed to access resources that permit them
to take part in the labour market and are in a position to be self-sufficient without relying on assistance from the host country. Lastly, there is the social process where the Somali community is not discriminated against but encouraged to socialise with the host community (DeFrain & Asay, 2014). Jinnah (2010) indicates that the Somali community residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair regarded the mosque as a meeting place where information was shared on housing, work and documentation. The Somali-dominated area, namely Mayfair/Fordsburg, was marked by shops, restaurants, internet cafes, delivery services, a mosque and religious schools and financial facilities, and it is perhaps this tendency to self-sufficiency that resulted in a perception that they are unwilling to integrate (Jinnah, 2013).

2.11 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have laid out the theoretical and scholarly groundwork for this dissertation by positioning this study on the Somali community in Fordsburg/Mayfair in the global discourse on migration. Migration is a changing process and holds opportunities for change, both negative and positive. For forced migrants in particular, migration can be a life-changing and traumatic event, yet this chapter showed that the ways in which migration was perceived, undertaken and experienced, and the decisions relating to it by migrants, determine how they will fare in the host country.
CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter elucidates the methodology employed in conducting the study. It explains the research design, procedures and techniques used to achieve the objectives of this investigative endeavour. The research followed the qualitative, descriptive phenomenological approach and used semi-structured, face-to-face interviews to gather data on the experiences of the Somali community residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg, focusing on the motivations for their resilience as migrants in South Africa.

3.2 THE ONTOLOGICAL POSITION ADOPTED

Ontology is the science, conception or theory of being or existing, focusing on how our background, world or surroundings are constructed and shaped. The initial percept of this comprises the real world, which is extant, independent of mankind’s knowledge and endures autonomously, constituting the foundation upon which life is built (Mertens, 2009). The second ideology posits that there is no real world; instead the world or our environment is socially and discursively constructed, denoting that it is dependent on a particular time, circumstance or culture (Ponterotto, 2005). The second ontological position of relativism was adopted in this study, which considers that social reality is diverse and relative (Ritchie, 2009; Snape & Spencer, 2003), with various actualities framed, created and developed through experiences, encounters and occurrences people have undergone in the context of their interactions (Creswell, 2013).

3.3 THE RESEARCHER’S EPISTEMOLOGICAL POSITION

Essentially, epistemology is the theory of knowledge. Epistemology constitutes the philosophical conception of knowledge, concerning how individuals noetically ascertain and perceive what is true (Snape & Spencer, 2003; Creswell, 2007) asserts that research conducted within the epistemological dimension is deemed the pursuit of valid knowledge (truth). Epistemology is the relationship of researchers to reality, in conjunction with the avenue they will follow in the search for truth (Creswell, 2013).
The epistemology of this study relates to interpretivist. It concerns my exploration, elicitation and interpretation of the research participants’ social world, through drawing, within the context of the conditions, situational status and circumstances of their lives, their experiences and noesis (Snape & Spencer, 2003). This means that, from and within the research findings, I had to be cognisant and conscientious of the manner in which I framed the experiences lived by participants, as elicited from the semi-structured interviews utilised in collecting data (Rubin, 2010). As the researcher, my intent comprised evaluating and describing the subjective experiences people underwent, which contributed to the resilience of the Somali community as migrants in South Africa.

3.4 QUALITATIVE APPROACH

A qualitative approach was used in this study to describe the phenomenon of resilience, within the contextualised perspective of the Somali community residing in Mayfair/Fordsburg in Johannesburg. Qualitative research constitutes a method of inquiry that answers the research question using non-numerical data (Ashworth, 2003; Merriam, 2009; Trainer & Gauer, 2013). Creswell (2013) categorises qualitative research as an approach to an investigative endeavour that provides a description and comprehension of social action and processes.

I deemed the qualitative approach appropriate for this study; I focused on the portrayal, delineation and interpretation of characteristics and meaning (Punch, 2009; Neuman, 2011). Experiences, knowledge and perceptions cannot be quantified. This made the qualitative approach most suitable for this study in view of my objective of exploring and describing the participants’ lived experiences of developing resilience during their time of settling in this country (Cresswell, 2013; 2014; Neuman, 2011).

The use of the qualitative approach provided a detailed analysis of a particular topic, in which it intended to give a rich and comprehensive description of the particular phenomenon being studied through a small sample (Neuman, 2011; Ritchie, 2009). Creswell (2011) and Willig (2001) state that this type of research incorporates a natural, holistic and inductive process, which is normally associated with exploring, describing and interpreting the personal and social experiences of participants. The approach used qualitative methodologies with several desirable attributes, which do not feature prominently in quantitative methods (Cresswell, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Patton (2002) maintains that the selection of a qualitative approach is useful.
when the overall research study is purposed to achieve certain goals, namely to describe, explain, explore, interpret and/or build theory, which may be achieved through descriptive, exploratory and explanatory research methods.

In social sciences, qualitative research emphasises the study of human behaviour within people’s normal setting (Punch, 2014). Creswell (2013), Trainer and Graue (2013), and Punch (2014) emphasise that the richness and complexity of this type of investigative approach enables distinct manners by which a study may be appraised. Kumar (2011) confirms that qualitative research constitutes a comprehensive approach to a study, which uses various interpretive techniques designed to explain and interpret meanings of naturally occurring phenomena in the social world. This means that this is an approach, rather than a particular design or set of techniques. Kvale (2009) provides patterns of qualitative research, inclusive of describing an observed situation, giving a historical account of events, as well as a narration of the varied opinions and perceptions individuals possess.

This is aligned with this study’s objective of describing the Somali community’s experience of the living conditions in Fordsburg/Mayfair, relating to their resilience as migrants. The study involved conducting careful observations and detailed description of this phenomenon based on the participants’ narration of their lived experiences of coping with the challenges encountered (Leavy, 2014; Denzin & Lincoln. 2005; 2008). In qualitative research, the researcher is rendered the primary data collection instrument, to bring forth the noesis of participants’ experiences of social phenomena (Creswell, 2014), hence my active involvement in the interpretation and description of the meaning of this lived experience.

3.4.1 Disadvantages of qualitative research

The knowledge and findings gathered through qualitative research may not be generalisable to other individuals, groups, circumstances or settings, as the determinations may be exclusively unique to the small sample of people who participated in the study. However, qualitative studies are not concerned with generalising findings. Rather they focus on explaining the occurrences among a specific group of people in a particular context (Neuman, 2011); hence the selection of this approach did not affect the results of this study negatively.
Furthermore, credibility in qualitative research may be perceived as compromised or inferior, considering the researcher’s personal characteristics and biases (Creswell, 2014). I, therefore, had to consciously maintain neutrality during data collection and analysis. Nevertheless, as I could not separate myself from the aforementioned topic, which is characteristic of qualitative research (Punch, 2014) I had to adhere to the principles of ensuring the trustworthiness of qualitative research findings, which will be discussed in detail later. I also created and kept a subjectivity journal, which enabled me to be aware of my individual opinions, sentiments and preferences in relation to the topic under study, and to be aware of and accept the multiple perspectives and interpretations of the participants regarding the development of resilience during difficult times of settling in this country (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

3.4.2 Interpretivist paradigm

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) is a qualitative method that is attaining acceptance within the field of psychology (Lindegger, 2004). IPA is phenomenological, in that it is associated with the individual’s lived experience and explores the personal discernments and meanings attributed to an object or an experience (Lopez & Willis, 2004). According to Smith and Osborn (2003), IPA particularly aims at exploring how participants make sense of their personal and social world. Additionally, IPA maintains a phenomenological thought in that it explores in detail intimate experiences and takes into account the person’s personal perceptions of the situation, as opposed to attempting an objective view of the situation (Smith & Osborn, 2003).

This approach emphasises the significance of language as interpretative and not just descriptive. Similarly, Giorgi (1992) explains that descriptive language is used to describe events or actions as they occur without any manipulation from the researcher. Furthermore, descriptive language adopts an “attitude of phenomenological reduction” (Giorgi, 1992, p, 121). In contrast, an interpretation of a phenomenon takes into account the meaning attached to the phenomenon (Giorgio, 1997; Lopez & Willis, 2004). An interpretative view maintains that different individuals may attach different meanings to the same phenomenon. Phenomena form part of the individual’s lived experience (Giorgi, 2006).
IPA views the research method as a dynamic process. In this process the researcher aims to get as close to the participants’ lived experience as possible. It is not possible to achieve this explicitly and subsequently the process is never complete (Creswell, 2013; Giorgio, 2008). However, this is important in order to comprehend the personal world of the individual through a process of interpretation (Smith, Jarman & Osborn, 1999). Such an interpretative stance requires the acknowledgement and application of the researcher’s own insights as well as the interaction between participant and researcher (Neuman, 2011).

In summary, IPA pays attention to cognitions and endeavours to comprehend how the Individual reflects on the event under discussion (Smith, Jarman & Osborn, 1999). Smith and Osborn (2008) enhance that IPA posits a connection between the way people communicate, think and feel. However, because people may find it difficult to convey their thoughts and emotions the researcher must interpret their thoughts and feelings from their narratives (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

Willig, (2001) asserts that The IPA researcher must maintain a reflexive attitude. Reflexivity refers to reflecting, or thinking critically, sensitively, sincerely and candidly, about the research experience and process (Patton, 2002). Correspondently, reflexivity acknowledges that meanings attained from the analysis of transcripts are influenced by interpretation (Kvale, 2009; Punch (2014). Although IPA aims to gain a better understanding of the participants’ world, this can only be done through the researcher’s intimate engagement with the participants’ transcripts Creswell, 2007; 2011; 2013 &Willig, 2001). Therefore, IPA is both “phenomenological (that is, it aims to represent the participants’ view of the world) and interpretative (that is, it is dependent upon the researcher’s own conception and standpoint)” (Willig, 2001, p.67). I concentrated on the lived experience of the participant. I endeavoured to provide the essential meanings of the participants’ life experiences through sincere and honest descriptions.

3.5 RESEARCH DESIGN

Research design entails a succession of coherent processes conducted throughout the investigation, intended to connect the empirical data to a study’s initial research question, consequent to the findings gathered (Neuman, 2011). Fundamentally, it comprises the preparation and formulation of a structured programme of activities, focused on the systematic collection, analysis and interpretation of observations. Burns and Burns (2008) assert that the
selection of a specific design is primarily reliant on both the nature and the extent of the information required.

3.5.1 Phenomenological approach

Phenomenology constitutes an approach to inquiry, arising from a philosophy in which the researcher explains and describes the perceptions of participants pertaining to their lived experiences of events, circumstances and occurrences of a phenomenon (Kruger, 1988; Creswell, 2014). The explication and description rendered culminate in the essence of many individuals’ experience of the phenomenon. The founder of phenomenology is considered to be the German philosopher and mathematician, Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), who believed that this design should be rooted in specific philosophical premises, along with typically incorporating interviews (Giorgi, 2009; Kruger, 1998; Moustakas, 1994, as cited in Creswell, 2014).

3.5.2 Phenomenological premises and the experiential resilience of participants

I selected to base the description of the experiences of resilience of the Somali community on the following main principles of phenomenology:

- Studying the participants’ lived experiences

Phenomenology involves assembling and delineating the lived experiences of individuals. Giorgi and Giorgi (2008) assert that phenomenological research is intended to evaluate and account for situations experienced by people in their daily lives. Consequently, to explain a specific phenomenon, phenomenology focuses on attaining direct, primary descriptions of individuals’ experiences of the phenomenon (Ashworth, 2003). This type of research centres on actual life events that occur in the real world, involving the study of a phenomenon in all its sophistication (Karlsson, 1995). Therefore, the phenomenon of resilience under study had to be portrayed in its comprehensive form, considering the narrated dimensions of the phenomenon (Giorgi, 1992; 1994; Trainer & Graue, 2013).

Since this study was aimed at describing subjective experiences and explaining the meanings of these, a phenomenological approach was deemed the appropriate methodology to research the realm of the specified Somali community’s human experience of adaptation and resilience
This approach portrayed the uniqueness of the individuals in this community without attempting to dehumanise their experience, and showed respect for the reality and authenticity of their individual actualities and experiences (Seidman, 2013; Trainer & Graue, 2013). In addition, this methodology was selected in view of the exploratory nature of this study to generate hypotheses relating to the Somali community’s resilient nature (Patton, 2002).

**Accessing participants’ consciousness**

Phenomenology has been presented as a philosophy that is able to access the consciousness of an individual, along with all the objects, events and processes of which one becomes aware (Karlsson, 1995; Willig, 2001). Karlsson (1995) shows that this can be achieved by acknowledging the personal views of the individual experience and activating the freedom of communicating the events that have occurred in their domain. Supporting this view, Willig (2001) shows that phenomenology centres on the substance of consciousness and the individuals’ experiences of the world. Moreover, phenomenology explicates how individuals relate to the environment, constituted by the context of experience in which they live (Giorgi, 1997).

To access the consciousness of the participants, I allowed the participants to describe their lived experiences following a semi-structured, in-depth, face-to-face interview schedule (Giorgi, 2008; Horrocks & King, 2010). Through their reflections on their experiences, I was able to access their thoughts, feelings, perceptions and associated behaviour relating to attaining resilience while living in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg (Giorgi, 1992; Willig, 2001). It is important to bear in mind that phenomenological analysis is a cognitive process and each researcher has a different thinking style. One investigator’s way of thinking and making sense of the world may seem clear to some individuals with similar ways of thinking, yet somewhat confusing to others. For instance, those who tend to see similarities in human experiences and look for patterns and universal features of a phenomenon, and who aim at moving their programme of research toward designing therapeutic interventions, may be more suited to a descriptive mind-set (Giorgi, 1994; 2006; 2009), which I adopted in this study.

**Consideration of the participants’ context**

Neuman (2011), Punch (2014) and Creswell (2014) show that a significant, outstanding characteristic of qualitative phenomenological research, which is reflected in its strategies and designs, is being naturalistic; therefore, studying people, things and events in their natural
settings. The influence of the context in which the Somali community in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg conveyed their descriptions of the factors that contributed to their resilience as migrants was consequently considered.

3.5.3 Descriptive phenomenological approach

Phenomenology uses various approaches, which are dependent on the aim of the study (Giorgi, 1997; 2006). I deemed the descriptive phenomenological approach most relevant to this study because it entailed exploring, interpreting and describing the experiences lived by the participants in relation to understanding how they made sense of their personal and social world of being resilient in the midst of adversity (Moustakas, 1994). In trying to provide an explanation of the participants’ lived experiences, I applied the following principles, as emphasised in descriptive phenomenology:

- **Description of the common essence of the experience**

  The descriptive phenomenological approach provided a description of the common essence of the categories of the lived experiences of resilience within the Somali community in Fordsburg/Mayfair (Giorgi, 2008). While the participants’ individual experiences were studied, the common meaning of resilience as migrants in this country was described. This method enabled me to preserve the participants’ ‘voices’ in the study, as I did not leave out their viewpoints when analysing data. Marshall and Rossman (2010) emphasise that it is the subjective-psychological perspective of the participant that captures the interest of the researcher. This means that the ‘reactions’ and ‘behaviours’ of the participants are included in the data, supplemented by the thoughts, impressions, feelings, interpretations and understandings of the articulated participants’ experiences analysed.

- **Consciousness as intentional**

  Phenomenology understands consciousness as intentional. This entails raising the particular experience under investigation to one’s consciousness and then expressing the object of consciousness at that moment. This can achieve phenomenological reflection, thereby engendering the reliving of the experience within the consciousness and as it is expressed, thus made explicit (Giorgi, 2009). Therefore, the self is recognised as a bearer of the immediate, direct
experience that has been encountered (Giorgi, 1994). The experience of things or phenomena includes different modes of awareness; for instance, sense perception, namely seeing, hearing and touching, and alternate forms of perception, including believing, remembering and imaging (Husserl, 1938). The theme of language comprises a vital facet of experience. For instance, Denne and Thompson (1991) contend that language, along with an individual’s capacity for symbolisation, must be taken into account to understand human beings comprehensively from the phenomenological perspective. Phenomenological research emphasises meaning and thus demonstrates preoccupation with linguistic communication as the primary vehicle for intent, understanding and interpretation, whether articulated or written (Osborne, 1994).

The interest of Husserl (1938), a supporter of descriptive phenomenology, primarily centred on the epistemological question of “what we know as a person”, thus eidetic in nature. Conversely, Heidegger, the follower of interpretative phenomenology, highlighted the ontological question of “what is Being, along with and what are the foundations for philosophising in the midst of it?” Morse (2003, p. 51). Interpretative phenomenology creates a transformation of the phenomenological foundation from the eidetic or essential, to being. This divergence symbolises the contrast of the descriptive, non-presupposition stance of transcendental phenomenology to the interpretive, ontological attitude of hermeneutical phenomenology (Morse, 2003). The focus in this study was, therefore, on what the participants knew about their experiences.

• **Person as a representative of the world**

As phenomenology views consciousness as intentional, the self is recognised as the bearer of first-hand experience and the one who can describe the world in which he/she lives (Giogi, 2009). Experience of things or phenomena includes different modes of awareness, including sense perception (seeing, hearing and touching) and alternative forms of perception (believing, remembering and imagining) (Morse, 2003). Any act of consciousness encompasses these multiple modes of awareness. The participants in this study were viewed as the ones who had the knowledge of their world and who could describe it.

• **The use of language**

Language is an additional important component of experience, which, according to Denne & Thompson (1991) along with one’s capacity for symbolisation, cannot be ignored if one is to
understand human beings from the phenomenological point of view. As phenomenological research focuses on meaning, it shares a preoccupation and colligation with language as the primary vehicle for meaning in any form of expression (Osborne, 1994). This provides a frame of reference for understanding the context of experience, based on Husserl’s philosophy (Trainer & Graue, 2013). While the existential phenomenology approach, another subtype of phenomenology, emphasises total, continuous unity or interrelationship between individuals and their world, and views the person as having no existence apart from the world, and vice versa, Husserl in descriptive phenomenology acknowledges consciousness, in addition to the world in which the individual lives (Denne & Thompson, 1991).

This links to describing the essence or structure of a phenomenon using language. Seidman (2013) maintains that descriptive language is used to explain events or actions as they occur without any manipulation from the researcher. (2009) asserts that the human being is never merely conscious, but always conscious of something; thus, consciousness always has an object. This implies that to describe constitutes the ability to give linguistic expression to an object of consciousness. Conversely, through the language medium, humans are able to communicate to others the objects of their consciousness of which they are aware, as they are experienced (Giorgi, 1999). Essence signifies the intent to find the constant identity that holds together and limits the variations by which a phenomenon can be experienced (Giorgi, 1999). Furthermore, the phenomenological context enables free variation, aiding the researcher to alter components or facets of a phenomenon, which connotes the investigator becoming more aware of the characteristics that cannot be separated (Giorgi, 1999). Therefore, I paid attention to the use of language by the participants in this study to describe their lived experience of resilience.

- **Radical autonomy**

Husserl (1970) highlighted the idea of radical autonomy. To him, individuals should be seen as free agents who bear responsibility for influencing their environment and culture (Cohen & Omery, 1994). He therefore claimed that culture, society and politics do not have an influence on an individual’s freedom to choose. This means that individuals can choose how to behave in a particular context (Lopez & Willis, 2004). This choice in decisions and behaviour is what this study wanted to describe.
• Phenomenology reduction (bracketing)

This refers to suspending the usual, typical or scientific viewpoints of the researcher regarding the experience under study, to focus on describing the experience from the participants’ point of view (Trainer & Graue, 2013). Reduction in phenomenology methodology is rendered, according to Husserl, to generate more accurate research findings (Giorgi, 1997). The significance of reduction in descriptive phenomenology permits the researcher to bracket prior information concerning a phenomenon being experienced, to wholly present the situation in which it was encountered by the participants. In addition, the researcher does not assume that the object is absent, or that theories are not true to the phenomena, but suspends or brackets the knowledge for the sake of the descriptive inquiry (Ahern, 1999; Gearing, 2004). Furthermore, transcendental subjectivity, which refers to constantly checks one’s biases about the experience under study, brackets the empirical subjects, as well as the world (Polkinghorne, 1989). This is regarded as the minimum condition necessary to claim phenomenological status for one’s research (Giorgi, 1997). This is the reason I had to keep a subjectivity journal before and during data collection and analysis, to be aware of and note my individual opinions, sentiments and preferences about resilience in a host country as a migrant, and to check that these did not influence my interpretation of the participants’ experiences.

• Ensuring rigour

In scientific research, the criterion for validity is determined by whether or not another researcher would use exactly the same words and expressions or arrive at an identical exposition of the phenomenon (Giorgi, 2008). However, in phenomenology, authenticity of findings is indicated by the extent to which these differences in wording and expression are understood inter-subjectively to reflect an identical meaning, or to indicate similar themes to those which emerged from the data as explained by the original researcher (Kruger, 1979). This refers to the bridge between a construct and the data, which therefore has a direct bearing on the trustworthiness of a study. It distinguishes the degree of confidence that may be conferred to the outcomes of a study and aims to provide truthful claims that are plausible and authentic, by means of providing a fair, honest and balanced account of the phenomenon being scrutinised from the perspective of the research participant (Creswell, 2009).
As an element of providing credibility, this study provided transparency by offering clear explanations as to its purpose, aims and methods employed. The rationale for selecting the phenomenological approach was delineated in the context of the study. Furthermore, the study provided a comprehensive explication of the process of data collection, in relation to the process through which it was analysed. The transcripts were presented in their original form, for potential scrutiny by another researcher, thereby inviting personal judgement on the credibility of the study.

Giorgi (2008, p. 40) emphasises the requisite for a “certain directness and flexibility when using descriptive phenomenology”. Furthermore, the essential criteria for rigour must be applied and taken into account. Any ascertained meanings that arise from the research should be considered as based on data and achieved through a systematic process of free imaginative variation, which activates a type of internal validity check. A rigorous application of this eidetic variation involves freely changing aspects of the phenomenon, in order to distinguish essential features from particular or incidental ones (Seidman. 2013).

Table 3.1 below shows the differences between descriptive and interpretative phenomenology, to make clear the principles of the descriptive approach that were applied in this study:
Table 3.1: The differences between descriptive and interpretative phenomenology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH</th>
<th>CENTRAL POINTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DESCRIPTIVE</strong></td>
<td>i. The essence or structure is what makes the phenomenon in the description unique, that is, the essence or structure brings out these essential characteristics of the phenomenon without which it would not be that phenomenon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proponent: Husserl</td>
<td>ii. Viewing a person as a representative of the world in which they live.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii. A belief that the consciousness is what humans share.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv. An assumption that self-reflection, and conscious ‘stripping’ of previous knowledge helps to present an investigator-free description of a phenomenon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. The assumption that adherence to established scientific rigour ensures description of universal essences or eidetic/descriptive structures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi. The assumption that bracketing ensures that interpretation is free of bias on the basis of transcendental subjectivity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTERPRETATIVE</strong></td>
<td>i. Understanding the phenomenon in context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proponent: Heidegger</td>
<td>ii. Self-interpretive being defines how people understand their lives and make meaning of their experience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii. A belief that the contexts of culture, practice, and language are what humans share.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv. The assumption that as pre-reflexive beings, researchers actively co-create interpretations of a phenomenon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. The assumption that one needs to establish contextual criteria for trustworthiness of co-created interpretations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi. The assumption that pre-understanding and co-creation by the researcher and the participants are what makes interpretations meaningful.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Reiners, 2012, p. 1)
The objectives of applying the descriptive phenomenological approach

The motive behind a research study is dependent on what the researcher is attempting to accomplish (Reiners, 2012). This study explored and described the reasons that promoted resilience among the Somali community residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair as migrants. While both the descriptive and interpretative phenomenological approaches highlight the significance of human lived experience, the objective of applying the descriptive approach in this study was to describe the structure and develop concepts of migrant resilience from the perspective of this Somali community (Lopez & Willis, 2004; Reiners, 2012). The concepts were presented in the
form of themes and categories to describe the organisation of those concepts (Creswell, 2014; Neuman, 2011).

3.6 STUDY SETTING

In Gauteng, Somalis have settled in Mayfair and Fordsburg, two neighbouring suburbs adjacent to the western part of the inner city of Johannesburg. During the two decades prior to Somalis arriving in South Africa (1970-1990) Mayfair was a residential suburb with some commercial trading around the high road, Church Street. Fordsburg, located closer to the city centre, was primarily a trading area with some residential facilities nestled between and on top of shops and offices. Although this distinction between residential and commercial has faded in the last two decades and is now fuzzy at best, it still has important considerations in understanding how space is utilised by Somalis and how locals have responded to this use of space, thereby impacting on notions of integration (Jinnah, 2010).

Over the last century Fordsburg has established itself as an important urban node that attracts the transfer of money and goods, and has become a space that lures people to its boundaries; due to the economic opportunities it presents (Jinnah, 2013).

The migrant community investigated in the current study encompassed the Somalis who settled in Fordsburg and Mayfair in Johannesburg. These suburbs are located close to the city centre, which was a hub of trading for South African Indians, a significant number of whom are Muslims (Jinnah, 2010; Sadouini, 2009). The closeness of mosques was a decisive factor in their settlement in this locale. In recent years, the city landscape has changed (Shafer, 2012). Currently, migrants from across Africa and the sub-continent live and trade in these suburbs, giving the area a distinct identity as a migrant trading space. The location spans approximately one square kilometre on Central and 8th Avenues, between Mint Road and Bird Street in Mayfair, and is marked by a distinct Somali presence (Niyigena, 2009).
3.7 SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS

3.7.1 Study population

Giorgi (2009; 2008) asserts that when using the phenomenological approach, it is important to ensure that the participants are all individuals who have experienced the phenomenon being explored, to guarantee accurate and relevant articulation of their conscious experiences. For the purpose of this study, the population was the Somali men and women between the ages of 20 and 55 years residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg. This population was chosen because they had inhabited the locale for a period of at least five years.

3.7.2 Purposive sampling of participants

A sample is a subset of the population selected to participate in a study. It defines the selected groups of elements, namely individuals, groups or organisations (Patton, 2002). This study employed a non-probability purposive method of sampling. Purposive sampling is a method acceptable for specific situations with an explicit purpose (Neuman, 2007), in this instance, describing the reasons for the resilience of the Somali community as migrants in Fordsburg/Mayfair. The purposive sampling method was appropriate, as the participants in this study were unique, possessing particularly informative noesis about the resilient nature of the community. Seidman (2013) states that in order to conduct an in-depth investigation and obtain profound insight within a community, it is necessary to use purposive sampling.

The choice of the sample for this study was deliberate and subjective. The criteria for selection were prepared and delineated prior to commencing the sampling process (Giorgi, 2006). As previously indicated the participants had to be Somalis who resided in Fordsburg/Mayfair in Johannesburg, male or female, between 20 and 55 years old, having lived within the locale for a minimum of five years, as well as being involved in a vocation.

Homogeneous sampling was used to identify the participants for the study, that is, a sample whose units share the same or very similar characteristics and traits (Neuman, 2006). In this instance, the sample shared the attributes of nationality and number of years of residing within the Fordsburg/Mayfair Somali community, with subsets of various ages, genders and occupations. Homogeneous sampling was chosen, as the research question that was posed was
specific to the characteristics of the particular group of interest, which were subsequently examined in detail (Seidman, 2013).

Although non-probability samples may or may not represent the population well, with this frequently difficult to discern, it was not practical or theoretically sensible in this study to conduct random sampling, as the focused community was identified prior to the onset of the study (Creswell, 2013). Therefore, participants were selected with the assistance of the leaders of the Somali Community Board in Fordsburg/Mayfair. They formed a homogeneous sample of men and women, with the previously described attributes (Moustakas, 2004). The participants who were chosen met the eligibility criteria set for the study relative to their nationality, ages, number of years of residing within the specified Somali community and belonging to diverse vocations. These eligibility criteria constituted the reason for including the sample in the study (Neuman, 2011).

**Inclusion criteria**

The criteria for including participants in the sample were as follows:

- Somalis between the ages of 20 to 55 years;
- Residing in the Mayfair/Fordsburg community in Johannesburg for a minimum of five years;
- Both male and female participants; and
- Being in a vocation.

Permission to conduct the study of the identified group was obtained from the chairperson of the Arabian Migrant Community. The research participants were selected through the Migrant Community Centre Register in Fordsburg/Mayfair, after ethical clearance to conduct the study had been obtained from the Unisa ethical clearance committee (See Appendix A). Written consent was obtained from the individual participants, utilising an informed consent form (See Appendix D).
3.8 DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

Data collection is an important part in conducting research. Interviewing is a way to collect data as well as to gain knowledge from individuals (Kvale, 2009). Interviews are processes for participants to get involved and talk about their views. In addition, the interviewees are able to discuss their perception and interpretation in regards to a given situation there is many reasons to use interviews for collecting data and using it as a research instrument (Punch, 2014).

An interview guide is also an essential component for conducting interviews. Moreover, the interview guide is the list of questions, topics, and issues that the researcher wants to cover during the interview. The interview guide should be clear and avoid ambiguity (Marshall & Rossman, 2010).

3.8.1 Research instrument

Semi-structured interviews are non-standardised and are frequently used in qualitative analysis (Patton, 2002). The researcher used a list of key themes, issues, and questions to be covered. In this type of interview the order of the questions could be changed depending on the direction of the interview (Kvale, 2009). The researcher used additional questions in the beginning of the interview, which was unexpected, took notes and used a digital recorder to document the interview. The strength of this type of interview offered the choice to probe for views and opinions of the interviewee. The researcher considered probing, as this offered the opportunity to explore new paths that were not initially considered. The average interview took 90 minutes, depending on the way the interview went (Rubin & Rubin, 2012).

Patton (2002) confirms that semi-structured interviews permit the researcher to explore, probe, and ask questions that will elucidate and illuminate that particular subject and to build a conversation about a particular subject area, to word questions spontaneously, and to establish a conversational style, but with the focus on a particular subject that has been predetermined.

A combination of interviewing techniques was used. Individual, at times repeated, interviews with Somali men and women were conducted using a combination of life histories, narrative questions and open-ended interviews. For the open-ended interviews, a questionnaire guide was used, which appears in appendix (E).
The main interview question was: Can you describe your journey from Somalia to being a resident of Fordsburg/Mayfair in Johannesburg? The themes that guided the discussions were the three main themes of settlement, values and resilience, which are reflected in the above main research questions. Men and women were interviewed separately at the offices of the Somali community centre in Fordsburg and Mayfair. Biographical details of participants were used; these appear in Appendix (F). Age, gender, nationality, marital status, religion, residence, number of years in Fordsburg/Mayfair, whether working or a student, level of education and type of work were mentioned in the biography.

3.8.2 Data collection plan

The data collection process included the following activities:

I designed, formulated and developed an interview schedule. Thereafter it was important for me to establish a relationship with the gatekeeper within the specified Somali community. The gatekeeper facilitated the attaining of participants from the Somali community residing in Fordsburg particularly in the area of Mayfair. I then went to debrief the gatekeeper on the study and the purpose of the interview. In addition, I requested permission to conduct face-to-face interview in the Somali community. The application of ethical clearance was granted by the University of South Africa during my coursework. Before the interview with the participants I handed the ethical clearance certificate to the gatekeeper who gave me the permission to conduct the interviews. The consent forms were developed with me and Unisa, I thereafter explained to the participants that, they are not compelled to participate if they have hesitations about the study. The interview was voluntary and they can leave at any time if they chose to. The gatekeeper then assisted me with distributing the consent forms to the participants. I organised a pilot study to find firstly, problems and barriers related to participants' recruitment. Secondly, I was engaged in research as a qualitative researcher. Thirdly, I assessed the appropriateness of the interview guide, and fourthly, I determined the epistemology and methodology of the study. I explored the limitations of the recruitment such as the limited access to participants due to the cultural sensitivities, stigma and gender related issues. I needed to find out how I could refine the sampling strategy and thereby using the most effective way to recruit participants, finding a suitable place for interview, and even protection him/herself and participant from physical and emotional risks. Therefore, a pilot study leads to identification and management of these ethical and practical problems which could jeopardize the main study or violate human rights of
participants. Two participants were interviewed for the pilot study. I interviewed one male and female to test the suitability of the interview schedule. I then conducted face-to-face interviews with individual participants. My supervisor and I revised the interview schedule to incorporate comments from participants from the pilot study. I then went on to interview the 8 participants. Thereafter I compiled and analysed the interview results. I linked the results to the existing literature and provided feedback to participants based on the interview results.

3.8.3 Pre-testing

A pilot or preliminary study is referred to a small-scale of a complete survey or a pre-test for a particular research instrument such as a questionnaire or interview guide. Pilot studies could be conducted in qualitative, quantitative, and even mixed methods research (Creswell, 2013).

In order to determine that the interview met the research aims, a pilot interview was undertaken involving two of the selected Somali participants from Fordsburg/Mayfair, to determine the suitability of the interview schedule. The participants in the pilot study comprised one male and one female Somali from the locale. Their ages are 20 and 40 years. A bilingual translator was assigned by the gatekeeper, who spoke the participants’ first language more fluently, and was able to translate the participants’ responses into English. The interviews took place in Mint Road, at the office of the Arabian Migrant Centre. The interviews took 90 minutes each. The head of the Migrant Community Organisation was involved in choosing the venue for the interviews, selecting the gatekeeper and participants.

There were difficulties in answering the questions at the beginning of the interviews, as the participants found it difficult to begin expressing their life history and chronicling it to their present experiences in Fordsburg/Mayfair in Johannesburg (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). The translator from the Somali Community Board aided in translation of the interviews. Questions that confused the participants had to be rephrased. The first question I asked concerned the life history of the participants aligned with the research aim. I also encouraged the participants to talk as much as possible about themselves, spanning from prior experiences to the present.

The comments of the participants were used to revise the interview schedule subsequent to the pilot study. The revised interview schedule was employed to conduct face-to-face, in-depth...
interviews with the principal sample of the study, which consisted of eight Somali community members residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair (Kvale, 2009).

### 3.8.4 Data collection procedure

In general, there are two ways of collecting data if one requires information about the lived experience of a phenomenon from another person. The first is the traditional face-to-face interview, and secondly, one can ask for a written (or recorded) account of the experience (Giorgi, 2009). There is no prescriptive quality to a good interview; however, according to Giorgi (2009, p. 122), there is one main criterion: “What one seeks from a research interview in phenomenological research is as complete a description as possible of the experience that a participant has lived through.” The face-to-face interview is often longer and thus richer in terms of nuances and depth.

In this study, each participant was interviewed for 90 minutes, at the Somali Community Board offices in Mint Road, Fordsburg/Mayfair. Three participants were interviewed each day, over a total period of seven working days, excluding days in between for analysing individual transcripts of participants. The interview schedule was semi-structured in nature (See Appendix E). The purpose was to provide a greater wealth of information, an assertion reinforced by Kvale (2009; Neuman, 2011; Seidman, 2013). I set the general theme of discussion during the in-depth, face-to-face interviews and further questions were posed, as they arose in the course of the interaction (Giorgi, 2009). The primary interview question that was asked of all the participants to initiate a conversation and provoke discussion on the topic under study was phrased as: “Can you describe your journey from Somalia to being a resident in Fordsburg/Mayfair in Johannesburg?”

I had a preliminary meeting with research participants prior to the actual interview a week before. I did this to establish trust with the participants, review ethical considerations and complete consent forms. This initial meeting with the participants helped me to review the interview question based on the limited information I gathered about them as I tried to get to know them. I approached the study in this manner thereby creating a richer description during the actual interviews without having to ask too many questions.
I involved the community leaders, as well as the head of the Migrant Community Board, to represent the members of the Somali community, who experienced difficulties in communicating in English. The head of the Migrant Community Board assisted with translation. Data from the interviews were captured using a voice recorder (Kvale, 2009; Seidman, 2013) and were subsequently transcribed and set aside for analysis.

In-depth, individual face-to-face interviews were deemed the most appropriate method for data collection, as they ensured confidentiality (Giorgi, 2009; Patton, 2002). This in-depth, face-to-face interviewing was considered the primary method of data collection in this descriptive phenomenological study, providing a situation where the participants’ descriptions of their resilience in Mayfair/Fordsburg were explored, illuminated and gently probed. Kvale (2009) and Creswell, (2007) asserts that the aim of the in-depth, face-to-face interviews is to enter the worlds of people actively, rendering those worlds understandable from the perspective of a premise, grounded in the behaviours, languages, definitions, attitudes, and feelings of those studied (Creswell, 2014).

I used an interview schedule to prevent the participants from feeling that they were being interrogated about their opinions on the study topic during the interactions (Trainer & Graue, 2013). Patton (2002) shows that to gain understanding of the meanings attributed to particular experiences in the real world, qualitative researchers employ data collection methods conducive to collecting verbal data elicited through an interview. Furthermore, according to Kvale (2009), Patton, (2002) and Seidman (2013) interviewing the participants individually enabled the induction of the most ‘honest’, genuine or dependable data, as the participants had the ‘freedom’ or unrestrained ability to speak without fear of threats or being ridiculed.

The employment of open-ended questions allowed participants the opportunity to share their experiences and revealed circumstances and perceptions relating to the phenomenon under investigation (Trainer & Graue, 2013; Punch, 2014). During discussion of the first question, which focused on the life history of the participants, I encouraged them to say as much as possible about themselves, from the past to their present experiences. Secondly, I probed into details of current experiences and participants articulated perceptions on their present lived experience in Fordsburg/Mayfair (Merriam, 2002). The participants’ language was in English; therefore I conducted all the interviews in English and transcribed them.
3.9 DATA ANALYSIS

I used Colaizzi’s (1978) descriptive phenomenological method of data analysis as a guide to analyse the data gathered in this study. This entailed the following steps:

3.9.1 First step

I reread the transcripts several times to understand the overall content and to gather a ‘sense’ of the interviews.

3.9.2 Second step

I analysed important statements and phrases pertaining to nonverbal gestures.

3.9.2 Third step

I wrote down the statements on different pages and coded them, based on the transcript number, page number and line number, assessing each line of text, which entailed hand coding conducted by thoroughly evaluating the transcriptions and assigned codes (Creswell, 2014). In addition, meanings were formulated from important statements and each principal meaning was coded into a separate, individual category. Thereafter, I commenced adding all the themes, in consort with grouping the meanings into categories showing a distinctive structure of themes (Colaizzi, 1978). Correspondingly, I coded every theme that was clustered, to incorporate all the themes that were associated into meanings and connected to the group of meanings.

3.9.4 Fourth step

I integrated the groups of clustered themes, which clearly portrayed a specific construct of themes. Thereafter, I categorised the themes that were formed from meanings into clusters common to all participants, referring to the original transcriptions relative to these clusters for validation and confirming consistency between my emerging conclusions and the participants’ original stories and articulations.
3.9.5  Fifth step

I described the distinct, emergent themes in a comprehensive manner, intending subsequently to assemble and associate the themes, thereby providing an entire, overall and whole structure of the phenomenon promoting the resilience of the Fordsburg/Mayfair Somali community. I then employed an expert researcher to review the findings, based on the richness, integrity and entirety of the findings, ensuring the provision of sufficient descriptions and verification of the comprehensive demonstration of the reasons for the resilience of the Somali community as migrants in Mayfair/Fordsburg.

3.9.6  Sixth step

I reviewed the findings, sorting the repeated, misrepresented or overrated themes in the general structure. In addition, I made amendments to remove any ambiguous connections between clusters of themes.

3.9.7  Step seven

Finally, I focused on authenticating the emergent themes by using the member checking technique. I reviewed the research findings with the participants and telephonically discussed the results with them, permission for which was obtained during the initial participant interviews (Colaizzi, 1978).

I went through all the transcribed interviews and coded each one with an individual identification number. The coding process was conducted separately by me and a co-coder (a lecturer holding a PhD from Nelson Mandela University in Port Elizabeth). We then discussed the codes to reach consensus. I looked for themes and concerns as data were examined. Ongoing analysis was done to define the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis told, generating clear definitions and names for each theme. I viewed each interview participant as knowledgeable and having valuable information because of their lived experiences of resilience.

Figure 3.1 illustrates the process of descriptive phenomenological data analysis recommended by Colaizzi (1978).
IDENTIFYING SIGNIFICANT STATES AND MEANINGS

TRANSCRIPTS
Identifying significant statements and phrases

FORMULATING MEANINGS
Aggregation of the formulated meanings

CATEGORIES, CLUSTERS OF THEMES AND THEMES
Integrating all resulting ideas

EXHAUSTIVE DESCRIPTION OF THE PHENOMENON
Reduction of the exhaustive descriptions

FUNDAMENTAL STRUCTURE
Returning to the participants

VALIDATION OF EXHAUSTIVE DESCRIPTION AND ITS FUNDAMENTAL STRUCTURES

Figure 3.1: The process of descriptive phenomenological data analysis (Colaizzi, 1978)
3.10 TRUSTWORTHINESS

Effective research must ensure the attainment of the legitimacy and consistency deemed most important in evaluating the data collection tool of a study. Consistency means that the operations of a study, for instance the data collection procedures, can be repeated to reach a similar outcome. Authenticity designates the representation and presentation of a fair, honest and balanced account of social life or circumstances, portrayed from the vantage point of an individual who experiences the situation daily (Creswell, 2013). Qualitative research should be authentic and attempt to create an association between understandings, perceptions, ideas and statements relative to the social world, along with its actual reality and occurrences (Neuman, 2011).

Johnson and Gill (2010) contend that to enhance the uniformity of findings gathered in research, they may be tested by asking the same questions in dissimilar ways, at different points, in the questionnaire or interview. This study was consequently designed to ensure consistency, with the same questions presented in differing manners and using different linguistic construction (Anney, 2014).

Accurate measurements can be obtained when measuring instruments are consistent. This indicates that in order to achieve legitimacy, there must be consistency. Therefore, the greater the legitimacy and consistency of the data collection instrument, the more likely it is to render the ability to obtain appropriate conclusions from the collected information (Anney, 2014; Creswell, 2013).

The research interview schedule for this study was designed to reflect the preceding factors in an endeavour to enable the capturing of all necessary information required to achieve the objectives of this study. A pilot study, in the form of a face-to-face, in-depth interview conducted with two members of the sample population was undertaken utilising the interview schedule. These foregoing elements were applied to conform to Guba’s (1985) model of trustworthiness, which identifies four criteria for establishing trustworthiness, namely credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability.
3.10.1 Credibility

Credibility is demonstrated when the research participants recognise the reported research findings as their own, actual, individual experiences (Patton, 2002). It represents the truth and actuality of how the participants know and experience the phenomenon under scrutiny (Anney, 2014; Krefting, 1991). Activities that increase the probability of credible findings include prolonged engagement, reflexivity, triangulation, peer and participant debriefing and member checks (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I applied the ensuing strategies to ensure credibility:

3.10.2 Prolonged engagement

Prolonged engagement provided ample time to complete certain objectives, namely learning the ‘culture’; testing for misinformation, introduced by distortions either of the self or of the participants; and building trust (Lincoln & Guba 1985). It was crucial, therefore, that I spend sufficient time orientating myself to the situation of the participants before I started with the interviews. In this case, prolonged engagement required that I be involved with the site before the interviews for a satisfactory period to enable me to observe, notice and describe distortions, which could potentially affect, misportray or change the findings. I also achieved this by being immersed in the data. In addition, I had to interpret and identify personal distortions and bias within the interviews. The simple fact of being ‘a stranger in a strange land’ places undue attention on the inquirer, causing an attendant over-reaction or misunderstandings (Lincoln & Guba 1985 p. 302). I also ensured prolonged engagement during the interviews, by spending 90 minutes with each participant to develop a credible, open and trusting relationship, together with additional time spent with the participants during member checks (Krefting, 1991).

Patton (2002) asserts that the credibility of the researcher is particularly significant in qualitative research, as the individual conducting the study is designated as the key instrument of data collection and analysis. Despite my desire for extended interaction with the participants, to learn more about their perceptions and way of life, the time constraints, as a master’s degree student completing this study, limited my ability to do so.
3.10.3 Persistent observation

The purpose of persistent observation is to identify and elicit those characteristics and elements of the situation that are most relevant to the problem or issue being pursued, focusing on them in detail. This meant I had to focus in addition on certain issues and facets, discerning irrelevancies or those elements deemed not important (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This entailed cautiously observing and distinguishing the participants’ behaviour during the interviews, to satisfy this criterion of trustworthiness. This enabled me to isolate and eliminate irrelevancies (Krefting, 1991).

3.10.4 Reflexivity

I was part of, and connected to, the scrutinised phenomenon as the principal research tool in the study. I explored my personal feelings and experiences, which I felt had the potential to influence the study, bracketing my own understanding as much as possible, to increase my understanding of resilience from the participants’ perspectives (Anney, 2014; Kvale, 2009). This process of bracketing may be referred to as the first phenomenological epoch (Creswell, 2013). To ensure prevention of my influence as much as possible, I had to allow the interviews to unfold naturally, thus enabling the participants to describe facets and areas of the topic under discussion they considered essential (Seidman, 2013). Furthermore, during the interactions I had to ensure constantly that I did not lead the participants or introduce new topics. I achieved this by encouraging a great deal of discussion and explication of statements and questions. Initially, I found bracketing a very difficult, but an extremely important skill to master. Therefore, I had to practise by making continuous entries of my presuppositions in my subjectivity journal until I was aware of them and ensured that they did not influence my data collection and analysis skills.

3.10.5 Peer debriefing and member checks

I debriefed the participants before conducting the interviews (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), informing them of the purpose of the research. Furthermore, I addressed the procedures and routines of the research, the risks and benefits and the voluntary participation of the participants. Moreover, I emphasised that the participants were entitled to cease their participation in the research at any time. In addition, I guaranteed confidentiality, assuring each that it would be maintained throughout, as well as subsequent to the research (Kvale, 1996). Furthermore, I presented my
investigative work to my research supervisor for constructive criticism, while ensuring confidentiality.

Member checks involved returning to the participants and substantiating and documenting the findings (data, analytical categories, interpretations and conclusions) with them, to confirm that the capturing and representation of their experience were true (Patton, 2002). The participants reviewed the categories that emerged from the data, and subsequent to the themes being finalised, I discussed the interpretation and conclusions with them (Cresswell, 2013). Krefting (1991) asserts that if researchers are to maintain that their reconstructions are recognisable to audience members as adequate representations of their realities, it is essential that these individuals be presented with the opportunity to react to them.

3.10.6 Transferability

Transferability refers to the probability that the study findings have meaning and can be conveyed to others in similar situations. Transferability may alternatively be termed ‘fittingness’, as it determines whether the findings fit in or can be transferred to similar situations (Trainer & Graue, 2013). Lincoln and Guba (1985) contend that the potential user, not the researcher, should determine whether or not the findings are transferable, which concerns the extent to which the findings from the data can be applied to other settings. Generalisability is irrelevant in qualitative research, since the researcher is focusing on describing a specific, particular phenomenon (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The following technique was used for this purpose:

3.10.7 Dense description

It was my responsibility to provide a detailed description and explication of the research context, in conjunction with sufficient descriptive data, to enable the reader to assess and evaluate the applicability or transferability of the data to another context. I was required to elucidate the data sufficiently to permit comparison (Marsall & Rossman, 2010). In addition, the explanation and description of the procedures and techniques used are deemed significant. Detailed description in this area may comprise an important provision for the promotion of credibility, rendered by its facilitation of the conveyance of the actual situations investigated and, to an extent, the circumstantial context that surrounds the scrutinised Somali community (Patton, 2002).
Cardinal information described in-depth incorporated, inter alia:

- The interviews were conducted in the offices of the Somali Board in Mint Road, Fordsburg/Mayfair.
- The interview process involved eight participants, comprising four males and four females, aged between 20 and 40.
- The sample was selected purposefully.
- The data were gathered through individual face-to-face, in-depth, semi-structured interviews.
- Descriptive phenomenological analysis was undertaken, employing analysis steps adopted from Colaizzi (1978).
- Confirmability was ensured through the process of member checks, which enhanced the possibility that the findings had the same meaning for other Somalis in Fordsburg/Mayfair.

3.10.8 Dependability

Dependability is another criterion used to measure trustworthiness in qualitative research. Dependability was ensured by securing the credibility of the findings (Creswell, 2009; Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This constitutes the stability of data over time, obtained with stepwise replication and inquiry audit (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Dependability is a criterion achieved through obtaining credibility and cannot be present without this factor (Trainer & Graue, 2013).

Since there can be no validity without reliability, and thus no credibility without dependability, a demonstration of the former was sufficient to establish the latter (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Dependability is related to the consistency of findings. This connotes that, if the study were repeated in a similar context, with analogous participants, the findings would be consistent. In qualitative research, the instruments assessed for consistency comprise the researcher and the participants (Krefting, 2001). External checks are requisite to appraise and audit the findings of a research project for them to be considered dependable (Creswell, 2013).
3.10.9 Stepwise replication and audit trail*

Stepwise replication constitutes a process that builds on the classic notion of replication as the means of establishing reliability. The inquiry audit is metaphorically based on the fiscal audit. The inquiry auditor examines the product (that is, the data, findings, interpretations and recommendations) and attests that it is supported by data and is internally coherent so that the ‘bottom-line’ may be accepted. This process establishes the confirmability of the inquiry. Thus, a single audit may be applied to simultaneously determine dependability and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This technique is explained under confirmability below.

3.10.10 Confirmability

Confirmability comprises a neutral criterion for measuring the trustworthiness of the study. If a study demonstrates credibility and fittingness, it is, in addition, deemed to possess confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This constitutes a construct for evaluating data quality, referring to the neutrality or objectivity of the data through an agreement between two or more independent persons that the data were similar (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Trainer & Graue, 2013). This indicates that the findings are free from bias. Confirmability should also occur in the presence of credibility, transferability and dependability (Trainer & Graue, 2013), which were achieved in this study.

In qualitative research, neutrality refers to data neutrality, not to the researcher’s neutrality or impartiality. Confirmability enables another researcher to corroborate that the evidence and thought processes rendered the same conclusions as in the research context (Marshall, & Rossman, 2011). The supervisor of this study was responsible for examining the data, findings, interpretations and recommendations in order to attest that they were supported by the information gathered, which constitutes a means of establishing confirmability for this study’s research.

3.10.11 Audit trail

The use of audit strategies for this study comprised a systematic collection of materials and documents to allow independent or external auditors to establish comparable conclusions relating
to the data (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002). Creswell (2013) advocates that the following auditing criteria be used for examining the information gathered in a study:

- The raw data, namely tape recording and field notes;
- Findings of the study gathered through the analysis of data;
- The manner in which the significant statements, themes, codes and categories were reconstructed;
- The research process, designs and procedure used;
- The initial intentions of the study, for instance, proposal and expectations; and
- The development of the data collection instruments, for example, open-ended questions and early interviews.

I used the following auditing criteria recommended by Lincoln and Guba (1985):

- Collect the raw data through audio recorders.
- Analyse the raw data and findings of the study, gathered from the semi-structured interviews.
- Prepare a synthesis of the analysed data by extracting and extrapolating them from their original context.
- Carefully plan each phase of the research process, namely the research design, sampling design, data collection process and data analysis.
- Ensure that the conclusions drawn from the study’s findings based on the data are correct.

3.10 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Respect for culture

While conducting individual interviews, cultural appropriateness was maintained at all times (Shaffer, 2012). Since in certain cultures men do not shake hands or cannot be in the same room with a woman who is not a family member, the face-to-face interviews were conducted separately and individually with each participant, to maintain traditional values, with the inclusion of a ‘chaperone’ where it was required. Jonsen, Siegler and Winslade (2010) advocate that researchers need to take into account traditional and cultural concerns when dealing with
communities whose members are participating in a qualitative study. Furthermore, community leaders were consulted in matters pertaining to these issues.

Ethical concerns in research are centred on the appropriateness of the researcher’s behaviour, relative to the rights of the research matter or individuals directly affected by the research. The significance of researchers in ensuring the protection of, and respect for, participants’ rights to autonomy and self-determination is of vital concern in any research (Creswell, 2013). Although it was anticipated that no serious ethical threats would be posed to any of the participants, this study used various precautions to ensure protection of and respect for the participants.

3.11.1 Informed consent

Informed consent means that adequate information is provided to participants regarding the study, namely the objective of the research, the advantages and disadvantages to which participants may be exposed, as well as the procedures to be followed during the study (Mertens, & Ginsberg, 2009). This means that participants understand the significant implications in deciding to participate in the research before agreeing to be involved. For the purpose of this study, I sought permission from the chairperson of the Somali Community Board and the leader of the migrant community for the voluntary involvement and participation of the Somali community residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair. The purpose of this research, along with its potential benefits and losses, was made explicit to participants prior to commencement. This was achieved through a written consent form and verbal explication of the content of the consent form. All potential participants received an informed consent form, which clearly stipulated strict confidentiality and requested their voluntary participation.

Subsequently, the participants were provided with the opportunity to give informed consent as to whether they wished to participate in the study. Those who agreed to participate signed the consent form to signal their voluntary decision. Moreover, they were made aware of their right to withdraw from the study, at any time, without providing any reasons (see Appendix D).

3.11.2 Anonymity and confidentiality

The importance of maintaining confidentiality is emphasised by Trainer and Gauer (2013), who assert that all participants have the right to privacy, anonymity and confidentiality. All
information gathered from participants during the interview process remains confidential. The maintenance of anonymity entails that the names of participants and other significant identity characteristics of the organisations involved are considered private and may not be disclosed. In this study, all participants were given numbers by which their interview responses in the findings are referenced (Mertens, & Ginsberg, 2009; Kvale, 2009).

For confidentiality, the recorded audio tapes and interview transcripts will remain in my possession in a secured location for five years (Trainer & Gauer, 2009). The data and all materials collected are located in a locked cabinet in my home office and nobody other than me and the study supervisor has had access to this material. After a period of five years, the materials will be destroyed (Lincoln & Guba, 2005).

3.11.3 Beneficence

Although there were no direct benefits from the study to the participants, the participants had an opportunity to share their migration experiences, including experiences in South Africa as their country of resettlement. The information gained will also be of benefit to other parties interested in the well-being of the Somali community (Jonsen, Siegler & Winslade, 2010). Furthermore, the findings may inform immigration policies to ascertain the most effective manner in which to foster ways of ensuring resilience, specifically among the Somali migrants.

3.11.4 Non-maleficence: do no harm and justice

These two principles are closely related; however, there is a significant distinction between the two. Treating people fairly denotes treating everyone equally. This meant that I was obliged to offer the same explanations and treatment to all research participants irrespective of their status (Mertens, & Ginsberg, 2009).

Certain procedures undertaken for research purposes may cause discomfort or a degree of ‘harm’ to the research participants (Jonsen, Siegler & Winslade, 2010). The benefits of any research must always be weighed against prospective damage or harm affecting participants. By conducting the interviews in a safe environment and maintaining confidentiality at all times, this factor was deemed to have been minimised. Furthermore, I had to avoid any inconvenience due to the time commitments of the participants (Jonsen, Siegler & Winslade, 2010). In addition, I
had to be careful of stress resulting from the discussion of sensitive questions from one’s past
that were emotionally and psychologically damaging. Moreover, I did not allow the participants
to be apprehensive about what they shared and what I might disclose. I had to guard against
humiliation and loss of pride and dignity, if the participant’s identity should be compromised or
made public (Mertens, & Ginsberg, 2009).

In order to deal with distress that could have resulted due to participating in the study, I informed
the participants of counselling services that were available. I had made arrangements to refer
them to non-governmental organisations (NGOS) such as Lifeline, Voice for the Voiceless, and
many others that are available for migrants. However, few of the participants showed a need for
such intervention, and they were subsequently referred.

3.11.5 Competence

The Master’s Degree in Research Consultation (Marc) programme, for which I have enrolled at
the University of South Africa, has enabled me to carry out the study in a more systematic manner
based on the research methodology work that I covered during my coursework. I had the
privilege of attending various workshops during that year, both nationally and locally. The
opportunity I gained as an intern at two different universities has extended my cognisance and
allowed me to apply the knowledge accumulated when engaging with the research
methodologies. The feedback I received from my supervisor, as well as my mentor, contributed
to shaping the quality of this study.

3.12 CONCLUSION

The methodology used in conducting this research was explained in this chapter. In addition, the
justification for the selection of the use of the descriptive phenomenological approach was
provided, in conjunction with the description of the population, sampling technique, the sample
itself, data collection and data analysis processes. Issues relating to trustworthiness and ethical
principles applied were discussed. The succeeding chapter presents the findings of the study.
CHAPTER 4
RESULTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter presented an elucidation of how data were collected and analysed with the aim of answering the main research question: What are the experiential reasons that promote the resilience of the Somali Community in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg? The objectives of the study were:

- To describe the kind of challenges the Somali migrants endured during relocation in Fordsburg/Mayfair
- To explore the adaptation of the Somali community living in Fordsburg/Mayfair Johannesburg
- To describe the qualities that facilitated their resilience while living in Fordsburg/Mayfair

This chapter therefore presents the results arrived at on the basis of this research question and the objectives.

4.2 DEMOGRAPHICAL DATA OF PARTICIPANTS

Numbers have been used to refer to the participants in order to preserve their identity. Eight Somalis, four males and four females, with ages ranging from 20 to 50 years, volunteered to participate in the study. These participants included students who attended a private school and a university, shopkeepers, a chef and business owners. All the participants resided in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg. Table 4.1 below provides a summary of the participants’ characteristics.
Table 4.1: Participant’s background information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTICIPANT NUMBER</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>OCCUPATIONAL/EDUCATIONAL STATUS</th>
<th>RESIDENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Student – grade 11 private school</td>
<td>Fordsburg/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mayfair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Shop owner</td>
<td>Fordsburg/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mayfair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>University student</td>
<td>Fordsburg/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mayfair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Student – grade 12 private school</td>
<td>Fordsburg/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mayfair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Clothing business</td>
<td>Fordsburg/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mayfair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Teacher, madrassa</td>
<td>Fordsburg/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mayfair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Chef/shop owner</td>
<td>Fordsburg/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mayfair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Chef/business owner</td>
<td>Fordsburg/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mayfair</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3 EMERGING THEMES

Table 4.2 below provides a classification of the themes and subthemes that emerged relating to the migration experiences of the Somali community in the study.
Table 4.2: A typology of migration experiences of the Somali community in the form of themes and sub-themes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THEMES</th>
<th>SUB-THEMES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theme 1</td>
<td>• In search of peace in a new country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The reasons for migrating to South Africa</td>
<td>• Academic and professional advancement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Education as a community-valued asset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Maintenance of the Somali identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Encouragement from family and friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Theme 2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The experiences of Somali migrants en route to South Africa</td>
<td>• Long journey to South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• A difficult and stressful journey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Theme 3</strong></td>
<td>• Exploitation by people in authority and locals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Challenges in the country of resettlement</td>
<td>• Accessing legal documents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Xenophobia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Absence of husband’s support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Language barrier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Theme 4</strong></td>
<td>• Coherence within the Muslim community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The survival of the Somali community in South Africa</td>
<td>• Amalgamation of culture and religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Adapted roles of males and females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Determination contributing to self-sufficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Spiritual care</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The themes and subthemes are presented together with extracts from the participants’ transcripts. The quotations have been presented without editing to maintain the participants’ exact words.
4.3.1 Theme 1: The reasons for migrating to South Africa

In search of peace in a new country

The participants experienced corruption and tribal conflict in Somalia. They reported that these were some of the factors that incited the civil war in Somalia, leading to the death of some of their family members. Participant 2 indicated, “you cannot live in that place. Living in a war torn country is very difficult. ... Was killed and two of my brothers”. This affected the peace and well-being of the Somalis. For these reasons, they relocated to and resettled in South Africa. The participants mentioned that they were pastoral people, which indicated that they were used to farming and doing business in Somalia. Because of the war the situation changed; the farms were burnt and the females reported that their husbands and brothers had been killed. Their cows and goats were stolen and people’s homes were burnt. Participant 2 reflected, “The cows and goats were stolen and also a local house was burnt”. The participants also mentioned: “I come for peace and education. I ran away of the invasion of the Ethiopian troops because of the civil war that was taking place there”. Most of the younger participants agreed that their desire was to complete their tertiary education, which was their primary reason for relocation. That life in Somalia was critical as participants confirmed that her sisters were raped: These were some of the participants’ responses:

*From 1989 the central government was corrupt and all had a farm and the warlords were fighting since 1991. My father got a farm around the Somalia a forest a city. My father got cows. You cannot live in that place. Living in a war torn country is very difficult. ... Was killed and two of my brothers. The cows and goats were stolen and also a local house was burnt, the house made of grasses where we plant, they steal our cattle and goats. Also they raped two of my sisters. So gave us some shelter and food. We came to Haredera. So when we came there, one of my brothers did not come to Haredera but ran away to Kenya; he was supporting the family by going in Rvidia.*

Participant 2

*I come for peace and education. I ran away of the invasion of the Ethiopian troops because of the civil war that was taking place there.*

Participant 3
... because of the civil war that was taking place there. That was the only reason I left Somalia. Only reason was the civil war. Civil war in Somalia and my brother was also killed there.

Participant 4

I came to South Africa to get peace ... And stay here until my country has peace and settled. I came for better life and to work here ... I came to South Africa to get a peace place and to work hard to check how Somalia is and stay here until my country has peace and settled. I came for a Better life and to work here ... because of the civil war that was taking place there. That was the only reason I left Somalia. Only reason was the civil war. You cannot live in that place.

Participant 5

I came to South Africa to look for peace because of the fighting in Somalia.

Participant 6

I ran away from Somalia; they killed my husband and kids. Now I have a second husband for this baby ... children I left back in Somalia.

Participant 8

Academic and professional advancement

According to the participants, migrating from Somalia to South Africa provided an opportunity for them to continue with their schooling and get the necessary qualifications. That qualified them for further opportunities, such as employment and starting their own businesses to realise their dreams, which they could not attain in Somalia owing to circumstances such as war and living in poverty. Fulfilling the dream of becoming prosperous depended on their completing their education, whether tertiary or higher education. This is what participants 1 and 2 declared: “Here I can go to school. I go to school here, one day I go back to my country so I can say I can go to work, in my certificate my own business, go to university”. Apart from devastation, upheaval, famine and loss of life, war also caused loss of opportunities in life. A participant stated that, “I must influence as much as I can to invest in the youth to take them into education”. It was sad for the younger Somalis to leave their aged, single parents to venture to the unknown, with just knowing they were going to improve their life and well-being. This was what some of the participants said in this regard:
Here I can go to school. I go to school here, one day I go back to my country so I can say I can go to work, in my certificate my own business, go to university …

Participant 1

My background, my family no one finished school. I want to be the first in my family to be educated. I won’t be poor. So actually I was graduate of grade 12 student from that time and ran away of the invasion of the Ethiopian troops … My aim was to get peace and education … In order to further my education and require my certificate from Somalia for official for it, then become a University of Johannesburg member … I struggle to get education but my aim is I must influence as much as I can to invest in the youth to take them into education. I’m not going to get tired, till I die to get the Somali youth to the education … Then we can overcome our weaknesses … I study Human Resources Management and Psychology at UJ. I am in my third year. I am doing extended programme and do one more year next year. It’s my last year and I hope I do my MBA in business.

Participant 3

Before I was not having experience because I was in my home country and we never travel but one where there is no peace, there is no work, there is no education.

Participant 6

I want to get more experience and learn how to work and learn how to live in people because I was sad at home when I was in the country.

Participant 8

Education as a community-valued asset

Two young Somalis participant 1 and 2 spoke of the importance of education in their community “East London doesn’t have colleges like Johannesburg. I have a friend here which is why I come here. I cannot go to a public school because my age is over twenty years’. This was so important to them that one of them pushed for education opportunities in the country despite being over the age. It was shown that the Somali community helps others to the extent of stepping in to assist Somali students who found it difficult to pay school fees. Education was thus seen as a way for them to improve their community during their stay in South Africa and after they graduated, the participants would like to work in their native country or give back to the community. Education was further seen as a ticket to a better life. My aim is to learn, to study
law and become a professional lawyer. Then fight for any human being that is suffering in this world but first I need to do law.

Several participants stated that Somalis do not get the opportunity to study in Somalia because of the discrimination they suffer; once they come to South Africa, education for their children becomes a priority because now they have a chance to educate their own “Then fight for any human being that is suffering in this world but first I need to do law”.

They may also opt for private schools that are run by Ugandan migrants in order to achieve this goal. The participants travelled from East London to Johannesburg in search of a private school that could enrol them, because they could not meet the criteria for government schools, which have a cut-off age. Their motivation to succeed was due to the suffering they had experienced in Somalia. The following quotations were extracted from some of the participants’ responses:

*East London doesn’t have colleges like Johannesburg. I have a friend here which is why I come here. I cannot go to a public school because my age is over twenty years. Here there are a lot of private schools. In Eastern Cape could not attend school. The private schools in Johannesburg cater for students who are over the age of school attendance. It’s the Somali community who help me to pay fees for school … A good benefit. I started to make friends and be with the Muslim community. (Hmm), I also got people at the study place where go to when I need help … For example; we have a teacher who teaches us. They help us lot. We have everything in the office. So if there is no community here, I don’t think I will get this benefit … I see those people in Mayfair who don’t have background education. I still have opportunity to go to school that’s why I used to feel like that and go to school and finish this things coz later on I can become like those who don’t have certificate to work.*

Participant 1

*Yes a free Somali person. I help. I struggle to get education but my aim is I must influence as much as I can to invest in the youth to take them into education. I can fight for the right of my people in this country or in another world you know. My aim is to learn, to study law and become a professional lawyer. Then fight for any human being that is suffering in this world but first I need to do law.*

Participant 3
Maintenance of the Somali identity

The participants mentioned that since relocating to Fordsburg/Mayfair they had become familiar with the environment. Moreover, many Somali migrants reside in this vicinity. The Muslim community, including Indians who follow the same religion, have enabled them to be free and exercise their culture “My home is Fordsburg/Mayfair because most of the Somali community lives here. The mosque and madrassa are here. I get to have meals when I am unable to cook my food”. Also, the practice of Islam has been a tool for the Somalis to pray and seek spirituality. The presence of the mosque (a building in which Muslims worship God, which also served as their compass to Johannesburg) enabled them to pray and the madrassa (an institution for the study of Islamic theology and religious law) helped the younger Somalis to be taught to understand the Koran (Holy Book). All these aspects in Fordsburg/Mayfair helped them to maintain their Somali identity. The restaurants provided food that the Muslims usually ate, according to the regulations of the Muslim religion. In addition, the Muslims helped the Somalis who learnt that it was difficult to integrate when they arrived in Fordsburg and Mayfair. “When we have problem we have the Indian Muslim they help us they take us hospital”. During the religious holidays, especially in Ramadan they help you not any other days”, this participant 2 revealed that especially during the time of festivities of Ramadan (a time after the 40 day of fasting, a religious ritual the Muslims practice), they are taken care of in a special manner.

Furthermore, it is easier for the Somalis to manage businesses in Fordsburg and Mayfair. The responses from participants confirm this:

My home is Fordsburg/Mayfair because most of the Somali community lives here. The mosque and madrassa are here. I get to have meals when I am unable to cook my food. The restaurant is near.

Participant 1

Muslim and has an Indian community, the Indians help me. I feel safe. When you ask the Indians job they going to give you job, we are related because we are Muslims, because we are same religion so it is a good community when we have problem they may help you. They help to prepare for funeral and look for you a job.

Participant 2

So Fordsburg, when I came to Fordsburg, I feel I’m at home. When I’m at Soweto campus sleeping, I’m depressed. When I come Fordsburg, when I come every time Fordsburg I feel I am
at home. In terms of the food you eat, in terms of the people you speak with. No matter how they think, they still normal people. So you feel like your home. You feel belonging here.

Participant 3

It’s nice the only place I like is the Fordsburg/Mayfair. I get peace I enjoy it, sometimes I don’t cook I eat in the restaurants and even I walk, in Fordsburg is perfect for me ... It’s just like my home ... The Muslim people we have mosque, we have madrassas. When we have problem we have the Indian Muslim they help us they take us hospital. I get help from the Muslim community. They help us too much. I go for counselling for the stress ... the nurses are very nice, it’s free. I’m getting better to do business and work ... the mosque and madrassa, they help us. Also during the festivals, they give us food. They help us with food and clothing.

Participant 5

I know Somalis who live in Fordsburg, that why I chose this place. I am happy living here. I am self-employed ... I am a shopkeeper and a cook. I have a partnership in the shop where I work. I am happy; I earn well to help me.

Participant 7

The Somali people are here. Food, rent, mosque, especially in Ramadan they help you not any other days.

Participant 8

**Encouragement from family and friends**

Most of the participants stated that they had come to South Africa because of the inspiration they had from family members, acquaintances and friends who had previously migrated to this country. “Actually my uncle was here and his friend said I must come to South Africa “Information is normally shared between the Somali migrants - those that are still at home in Somalia and those who have already migrated to South Africa. Before their arrival they were informed of the situation in South Africa. This allowed people who contemplated migrating to make informed decisions. Although most of them come with high expectations, once they get here all the dreams become a struggle to achieve. The participants asserted that when a member of the family relocated to South Africa, they encouraged their extended family to join them. Friends were also encouraged to join the participants because they felt they could achieve their
goals through mutual support. “I know Somalis who live in Fordsburg, that why I chose this place.”

The Somali family members’ aim was to start businesses in South Africa. The participants’ responses confirmed this:

Actually my uncle was here and his friend said I must come to South Africa. I am a scholar to study, passed Johannesburg to Eastern Cape.... I have a friend here which is why I come here.

Participant 1

So my brother said I must come to this country, older brother and uncle in the family business. We put our money together to open bigger shops where we could all work together and share the profit.

Participant 2

So my brother said I must come to this country, so in 2003 I came by the road.

Participant 3

I came for the husband, he come first.

Participant 5

4.3.2 Theme 2: The experiences of Somali migrants’ en route to South Africa

Long journey to South Africa

All the participants spoke about their journey to South Africa and many experienced considerable hardship en route to South Africa. They indicated that the journey was very long. Participant 1 mentioned “When I was there in Somalia I come here not with car. I come here from bus to bus. 23 days, with several stops in various countries. It was also tiring, as it involved overcrowding in some temporary accommodation facilities. Participant described “We come to Somalia to Kenya. Then few months’ time, I come to the Tanzania. We had long walk.” how he was arrested and detained for two months and had to share a room with 90 people, en route to
South Africa. Human trafficking was rife, as the participant confirmed “so I came through human trafficking and I was hiding from the police” that his brother had to pay a few thousand dollars to have documents forged so that they could cross the borders of the countries they had to pass. They used buses, ships and even walked long distances. Some solicited the services of brokers to enter South Africa. They had to travel through many countries to reach South Africa. The participants shared the following experiences:

*My journey was so long. 2011 I arrived. When I was there in Somalia I come here not with car I come here from bus to bus. When I come to Kenya I come here like a ship. Kenya to Mozambique takes me like three days to arrive ... In Mozambique I am there for three to four days. After that I come to South Africa. It takes almost 23 days from Somalia to South Africa. That’s my journey*

Participant 1

*Come here and you see naturally, route to route. Whenever they check point, you only tick the car they work three hour, four hour. Finally arrested in Zambia, been there two month, with up Africa the way we treated there, sleep one room, 90 people.*

Participant 3

*It’s too far, Somalia to South Africa. It’s like almost like four countries half past. We come to Somalia to Kenya. Then few months’ time, I come to the Tanzania. We had long walk. ... One night and half day we had to walk. Then next day, it’s like around 2 o’clock, we enter in the border. After that we surrender ... I was afraid of Kenyan government who will arrest me because I don’t have any papers, so I came through human trafficking and I was hiding from the police I reached safely. No, my brother spoke to man in human trafficking, he paid the money.*

Participant 6

*I travelled by bus, I travelled through Kenya, and travelled with three together with my child. It took one month and a half. I stayed in Kenya for one month, I rested there. Then I went to Tanzania for one week and then Mozambique and it took approximately 10 days.*

Participant 7
Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, South Africa. From Somalia to Kenya, in Kenya I did not stay, I saw the security men, I ran away from Kenya to Tanzania then no permit I had, I ran to Zambia to Zimbabwe … South Africa.

Participant 8

A difficult and stressful journey

Many participants explained that their journey to South Africa was extremely difficult and stressful. During their journey, some migrants, Participant (2) mentioned he had to use human trafficking as a means to continue their journey, as many did not have the correct documentation to authenticate their travel to present to the authorities at the borders of the countries en route to South Africa. A few participants were arrested by the police and imprisoned. Participants revealed how he had paid bribes in the form of thousands of US dollars to human traffickers because of their desperation to leave their country of war. Some had no money at all during their travels. This, along with travelling with young children, complicated the situation stated. “My baby died and after three days get the medicine the baby is coming out … I did not eat for the stress”, participant 5 said. This participant spoke of the risk of being raped as well as having a miscarriage due to the stress experienced. Some were beaten up and had their personal belongings stolen. Participant 6 commented: “They take us whatever we had, clothes, some money and that.”

The police and migration officials apparently often misuse their power to the detriment of illegal migrants. For instance, the participants reported that the authorities received bribes. They also exploited and abused illegal migrants to the degree that they sometimes preferred not to report crimes against them. Some of the participants had to pay police members for permission to enter South Africa. Below are some of the participants’ responses:

No, it was little bit problem, I was going with the human trafficking because I don’t have any documentation. So I was afraid of Kenyan government who will arrest me because I don’t have any papers, so I came through human trafficking and I was hiding from the police I reached safely. My brother spoke to man in human trafficking, he paid the money. He paid around 800 US dollar. No, we get arrested in Lusaka. No, when we got there guy organised for us another guy, who organised a car for us.

Participant 2

It was quite difficult without passports coming South Africa, without plane, without visa, without anything, without pocket money … When I got released they took me back to border between
Zambia and Tanzania but then I asked to face another prison but I jumped and run away from immigration. ... I didn’t like the prison because it was very tough. Then luckily I survived to come here, same route.

Participant 3

Actually it was tough, when you are alone, and new to the place or to the area, you don’t know the people, you don’t know where to go so it was just tough.

Participant 4

... Very bad trip. My trip to Kenya, Mozambique all the streets I was going up and down my baby. People want to rape me when I am pregnant. In the street can health Mozambicans men, I cried and gave them money so that they can help me. Then I jump to the border I came straight to Zimbabwe then to South Africa the border. By the time I came here I don’t have the clothes, shoes, everything. I go to hospital, I became stressed, and some places my baby did not move. My baby died and after three days get the medicine the baby is coming out ... I did not eat for the stress. To come to South Africa it was very hard and a troubled journey to come to this country. I travelled with four boys and two girls only the big people they travelled with me.

Participant 5

In the time, it moved me and him and the baby girl in 2006. We channelled the mountain between South Africa and Mozambique we’d be collecting. This is the way we enter, and then they take us some money. They hit us; they like the taxi drivers. We come out of the mountain and down ... There is people who smuggling others to come to South Africa. They take us whatever we had, clothes, some money and that.

Participant 6

So I was trying my best and I was alone. It was a terrifying experience while travelling to South Africa, my husband was killed. From Somalia to Kenya, in Kenya I did not stay, I saw the security men, I ran away from Kenya to Tanzania then no permit I had, I ran to Zambia to Zimbabwe. I ran away from Somali they killed my husband and kids, now I have a second husband for this baby ... seven children I left back in Somali.

Participant 8

4.3.3 Theme 3: Challenges in the country of resettlement

Somali migrants experienced numerous challenges. As soon as they arrived in South Africa, they had to strive hard for their survival. They had to adapt to the new environment, which was very
difficult for them because most of them found themselves with different people, with different backgrounds and they struggled to interact and integrate with the other communities. Because of their culture, religion and the fact that they came from what used to be a homogenous society, they found it challenging to adapt to all the differences. Specific challenges are discussed below:

**Exploitation by people in authority and locals**

On arriving in South Africa, the Somali migrants continued being exploited by the police and the officers in the DoHA. They often had to resort to bribery as a means of remaining in the country, participants 2 affirms, *“The Home Affairs who are corrupt ... It cost 2 to 3000 rand to renew”*. Hospital staff were also said to play a role in this regard participant 3 had this to say, *“It is very hard the police station. It’s very hard in hospital, the way they treat our family, they get death where the hospital does something very bad to the community”*. Because of their migrant status, they were often intimidated by the locals who sought to make money from them. Since they had no documentation, they had to pay money to be granted legal papers. One woman mentioned being exploited by an employer who did not pay her for work done *“we have no choice, we are foreigners, and we have to endure because we cannot go back to our country Somalia”*. The following statements attest to this:

*I have no document they take advantage ....with the refugee status I can’t open a bank account, can’t travel, I can only stay in South Africa ... The Home Affairs who are corrupt ... It cost 2 to 3000 rand to renew. Instead of four years, they only give seven days ... They call us names and tell us to go back to our country. Stop using our money, you must suffer ...*

Participant 2

*We have no choice, we are foreigners, and we have to endure because we cannot go back to our country Somalia ... The home affairs the discrimination is there. It is very hard the police station. It’s very hard in hospital, the way they treat our family, they get death where the hospital does something very bad to the community.*

Participant 3

*I sell clothes. Sometimes there is no business. What I sell people take long time to give the money and not give the money. Sometimes people take the money and say don’t stress they’ll give but they don’t give you. When you give credit must wait and have patience and when you ask they*
treat you badly. The only reason Somalis are a target to crime in South Africa is because they do business no other reason ... They are robbed and their shops are often looted.

Participant 5

No, I mean I have a right. Why should I be in cell with a small baby? I’m not a criminal. I’m not a robbery or even something illegal. I’m trying to survive and living there I have no one to help. They just come and say some Somalian tells us you don’t have document in middle of the night around 12. Called the cops, they come, I show my leg. I said I want to open a case. They tell me no, you don’t open the case ... When you call us a month ago. I don’t have a car, it’s the night. Please I need your help. They just left me. Police didn’t help me ... I go to home affairs, they tell me; we will arrest you otherwise you have to pay R3000 because your paper is expiring for five months and I was arrested in Messene (Musina) and I show the paper. I did pay, it was R3000.

Participant 6

Yes. There are people who ask for bribes. I pay for it is difficult to get documents. Since there is a problem with the language I pay for translators ... The restaurant was opposite the big shops, when I buy food they steal it and my money. The people steal; the boss did not treat me nice three months I work they steal from me ... The shop was looted, within the community my first husband left me with my child.

Participant 7

Accessing legal documents

When it came to accessing legal documentation, they encountered many problems caused by the officers of the DoHA, such as corruption and abuse. Access to education and employment turned out to be a persistent problem for most of the Somalis because of lack of proper documentation. A few participants stated that the expectations of some people might never be realised because the reality was different from their expectations. They alleged that the system that should be helping migrants left them unattended in the cold for months before they were able to get migrant papers, participant 6 revealed that, “Until the police raided me and took all my money” participant 6.

Because of this challenge, at times they were arrested by the police and the DoHA was not able to assist them in that regard. Participant 2 declared that “We took the money, they refuse to open
“a bank account for us, and it was thirty thousand rand they took”. Difficulty in opening a bank account has been a problem for Somali migrants. However, it was not the case for all. It had, nevertheless, been confirmed that having migrant papers did not help them much because they were still hindered from opening bank accounts or businesses. The Somalis encountered increasing risks to their finances and lives. These were some of the reflections from participants:

*To get papers is very difficult.*

Participant 1

*They came to raid the house; six men came, so they beat us. We took the money, they refuse to open a bank account for us, it was thirty thousand rand they took.*

Participant 2

*They took my money in the middle of the night … I was alone … No bank account. Yes. I was a hawker. A hawker, a self-employer … Until the police raided me and took all my money.*

Participant 6

**Xenophobia**

The participants revealed that xenophobia was one of the leading challenges that they encountered in the country. In many instances, whether it was in Fordsburg/Mayfair or the black townships, Somali migrants unvaryingly became victims of crime. Those that undertook businesses in the black townships in particular were prime targets for crime and xenophobic attitudes of the local people. The participant indicated, “*was shot and killed in the location, Sebokeng. I hide behind the counter with my brother’s friend. My brother told him in my language not to tell them about the money, then they shot him, and they sprayed us with spirit*. Somalis are targeted mainly because of their businesses. They worked in areas that were stricken by poverty and they flourished owing to their persistence. Crime towards Somali migrants was common in and around Fordsburg/Mayfair participant confirmed, *“So in 2008 I opened shop in the same place, but xenophobia started, in the same shop, so they take back everything they burnt the shop, they take everything, again we back, the owner said they don’t allow any foreigners because these people are robbing you.”* They encountered looting because of their business acumen. Many were afraid to travel, as they were conspicuous because of their dress and culture. Several participants complained about living in fear because of the violent attacks resulting from xenophobia. This has resulted in them missing school or forfeiting their businesses and in relocation, injury and even death, participant *When I get the difficulty just the one day of*
xenophobia, I did not go to school … because of the xenophobia and the raping and looting. These were some of the participants’ experiences:

When I get the difficulty just the one day of xenophobia, I did not go to school … because of the xenophobia and the raping and looting … Well, well … I was very frightened and did not go to school for many days, but my friends told me I will miss school work and the police are on guard in the streets. I thought maybe I must hide in the flat.

Participant 1

So in 2008 I opened shop in the same place, but xenophobia started, in the same shop, so they take back everything they burnt the shop, they take everything, again we back, the owner said they don’t allow any foreigners because these people are robbing you. He refused to give us our fridge for the cold drink, two fridge with the chicken, four fridge, two for the cold drink and two for the chicken, he refused because that fridge belong to us, we can’t do anything so we left it … When xenophobia took place in 2015 the shop got looted, so I left the shop was demolished, everything was taken from the shop … my brother opened a shop there; he opened a grocery shop there in 2007 …: I was working with my brother; selling in the shop he was selling blankets, and shoes.

After that my brother sold the shop. He had two shops there one, one he sold and the other the agreement was expired. The plaza, the white people refused to renew the agreement. So he sold them, so my brother came to Sebokeng, Vereeniging, my brother opened a shop there; he opened a grocery shop there in 2007 December. He was shot and killed in the location, Sebokeng. I hide behind the counter with my brother’s friend. My brother told him in my language not to tell them about the money, then they shot him, and they sprayed us with spirit. Some people helped us, we call the police. But he died on the road in the ambulance.

Participants 2

When you give credit must wait and have patience and when you ask they treat you badly … All our shops we close in December because they looted. It because they have xenophobic attitudes towards the foreigners … the only reason Somalis are a target to crime in South Africa is because they do business no other reason. They are robbed and their shops are often looted. My brother was looted and killed in Bloemfontein. The xenophobia affected me, because I had to take my children and go to a safe place. No husband to look after us. No business, no money.

Participant 5
Yeah it was the reason I go to Limpopo... they was hitting him, hitting him and he come here and he got sick. He was admitted in hospital. I was struggling. ... I thought like if these people come and kill me or you know, to band you unless it’s somebody. I don’t know half this country. I don’t want anyone to know me. The only one I get to known to him, let him know about me. Even if I die, I was fear. 

Participant 6

The shop was looted, within the community my first husband left me with my child. 

Participant 7

Absence of husband’s support

Household dynamics such as lack of male leadership contributed to emotional and financial challenges, as many women lived with their children in sublet rooms in apartments and houses in the absence of their husbands. Because of financial difficulties, Somali migrants had to separate to look after their family. A participant mentioned, “I feel bad about it, and not staying with your husband my children are alone. ... I explain that having my children with me without my husband is difficult”, the male and female participants answered the question about household leadership differently, which reflected the power and control issued by married couples, who encountered as they built their lives in South Africa. Challenges of gender co-existence are experienced in Mayfair/Fordsburg because of the absence of husbands’ support.

Certain women felt that the Somali culture is a barrier to their employment opportunities. Patterns of participation in the economy for women and men in Fordsburg/Mayfair contradicted customary structures, as economic activities shifted, power was reorganised, and cultural standards are adjusted participant 5 stated, “I feel bad about it, and not staying with your husband my children are alone. ... I explain that having my children with me without my husband is difficult”. For instance, while women were traditionally not expected to work, in South Africa they were forced to get employment in order to look after themselves and their children, either because of husbands who were not working or in the absence of their husbands who went to other provinces for employment. Participants stated the following:

Men aren’t giving women any life. The men aren’t working and don’t have an education either, and they don’t talk nicely to their wives.

Participant 3
I feel bad about it, and not staying with your husband my children are alone. ... I explain that having my children with me without my husband is difficult. I have to pay for nanny to look after the children when there’s trouble. I don’t live like married woman ... I’m staying in a single room with other women; we share a large room with one kitchen and bathroom. I pay two thousand five rand rent a month. The money is not enough for me and my family ... I’m staying two thousand rand a month ... one room but it is not enough I stayed five to ten days for Caesar ... I have to pay for nanny to look after the children when there’s trouble ... I have no life to do my work.

Participant 5

If I go location its raping and looting, killing we don’t want all of us, we stay separate since I’m delivering he did not come.

Participant 6

Language barrier

Somali migrants struggle with language problems in the host country. They were accustomed to speaking their own language. Knowing only one language, made it difficult when they visited another country. This is a big problem for the community because it hampers them from integrating into mainstream society. One of the reasons given for why they struggle to learn the most widely spoken language is that most of them struggle so hard to make a living that they put all their effort into survival in South Africa, after much learning the participant was able to read, participant affirmed, “The biggest problem we face here is the language barrier, like now I cannot write or read my name 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.

They also experienced problems when tried to access health care services participant 1 stated, like now I cannot write or read my name ... Because most women don’t speak English The reason for this was the language barrier. Somali women were said to be the ones who experience poor service from the local nurses. They were insulted and this made them uncomfortable participant 5, reflected when she was admitted to hospital, “I was struggling. I didn’t know another language “The Somalis were treated differently from other patients, because they were foreigners. Moreover, because of the way they dress they clearly identified. Apart from health care services, education has posed a problem for the Somalis; they encountered problems with placing their children in governmental schools because of the language barrier. They arrived
from a country where English was not spoken and the language is less spoke. It is always difficult for them to learn. The participants explained this as follows:

*The biggest problem we face here is the language barrier, like now I cannot write or read my name ... Because most women don’t speak English and some not very well; the men always stay closely to the women.*

Participant 1

*If you cannot understand what a person is telling you then there is nothing you can do with him. It’s true the system of South Africa is very hard to endure, the home affairs the discrimination is there. It is very hard the police station. It’s very hard in hospital, the way they treat our family, they get death where the hospital does something very bad to the community ...*

Participant 3

*During delivery they say no noise, because I’m Somali ... They say “go to your country” ... The hospital is not nice. I was struggling. I didn’t know another language.*

Participant 5

### 4.3.4 Theme 4: Survival of the Somali migrants

**Coherence within the Muslim community**

Somalis encounter problems integrating into the South African community. One of the reasons why they found it difficult was that their culture and religion were different from what they found in South Africa. Their culture did not permit them to socialise with other nations. In Somalia they were accustomed to one language, one culture and one religion participants made known “*I came here because I had heard that there was a big and strong Somali community in South Africa*”.

When they moved to other countries, adapting to the various lifestyles and differences of the local people and it became a huge challenge for them.

However, the Somali community played a vital role in the resilience of the participants. Somali participant’s stated that they had strong ties with the community and this was seen in the way they communicate with one another. In addition, the Somalis in Fordsburg/Mayfair were supported by the Indian Muslim community when they became destitute, participant 2, *it’s*
Muslim and has an Indian community, and the Indians help me. I feel safe ... When you ask the Indians job they going to give you job; we are related because we are Muslims, because we are same religion. Therefore, participants became part of the Somali and South African Muslim family who have become their guardians the participant stated “And accommodation, as it is customary in our community to help”. The Somali migrants met at the local mosque and madrassa to talk about the daily challenges, all the participants’ attested to this, “near a mosque, the Indian place, they help us. It’s Muslim and has an Indian community, the Indians help me. I feel safe”. When a Somali was in need, the community collaborated to assist him/her. If a Somali did not have money to pay for food, food was supplied without any payment. They received help when they had to visit the health care practitioner participant agreed to this, When I’m sick they help me lot. South African Muslims assisted the Somalis when it was necessary. The Somali community in South Africa were well known in Fordsburg/Mayfair area participant 3, noted this, “I came here because I had heard that there was a big and strong Somali community in South Africa”.

Therefore, the migrants came to the country knowing that they were not alone in the host country. Furthermore they also accepted orientation from the Somalis who have relocated earlier. The following were some of the statements made by the participants:

Resettle here ... actually I don’t have any parents here. It’s the Somali community who help me to pay fees for school. Like we have a restaurant if I eat something, they write in book. When I get money I pay. When I get money they don’t tell me when, but when I got money I pay, no pressure. And accommodation, as it is customary in our community to help ... we do not get along with other nations, only Somalis ... My community and friends and Muslim family in Fordsburg help me. My home is Fordsburg/Mayfair because most of the Somali community lives here. The mosque and madrassa are here ... The benefits are as long as I am Somali and live in a Somali community, helping me a lot. I live with my parents there (in Somalia)... Now I live with my brothers in Fordsburg/Mayfair. When I’m sick they help me lot. If I want anything I asked them. No one refuses to help. It benefits me a lot.

Participant 1
Near a mosque, the Indian place, they help us. It’s Muslim and has a Indian community, the Indians help me. I feel safe ... When you ask the Indians job they going to give you job, we are related because we are Muslims, because we are same religion so it is a good community when we have problem they may help you ... They help to prepare for funeral and look for you a job.

Participant 2

I came here because I had heard that there was a big and strong Somali community in South Africa.

Participant 3

Knowing Somalis introduced me to other friends, new friends to meet Somalis, starting with a friend who introduced me to other friends, from Somalia, who are citizens, playing soccer and going to other areas, shops, going with them and playing with them soccer to the mosque and sharing with them when I eat ... also tried finding new friends that are living in this area, ... Fordsburg/Mayfair. I stayed with a friend. We knew each other in Somalia, This made me feel comfortable. I knew I’m going to see my friend. Friends helped me. The mosques help the Somali community in many ways like the .... Imam (imams may lead Islamic worship services, serve as community leaders, and provide religious guidance) will stand and ask for money for the people who need help, like fifty thousand and even a million rand. Mosque is where they discuss our problems to help.

Participant 4

But I feel better because I have brothers and sisters from the community the people in Fordsburg help me. I go to madrassas, they help. I have friends from my community ... I see my people every day when I wake up. The Muslim people ... we have mosque we have madrassas. When we have problem we have the Indian Muslim they help us. They take us hospital. I get help from the Muslim community.

Participant 5

I can only integrate with the Somali community.

Participant 7

Amalgamation of culture and religion

The participants referred to their religion and culture as inseparable. For the same reason, Somalis have been welcomed by South African Muslims residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair. This
merger of culture and religion in the Muslim community gave a sense of shared belonging. The experience of their religion brought the Somali migrants together when they needed assistance, participant 2 confirmed, “Muslims, mosque, madrassa help at night too when I got problem”.

Somali children were taught to read and interpret the Koran. Most of the participants agreed that the religious institutions played an important role in their daily lives. The locations of a mosque also served as their compass to Johannesburg, participant 2, assert, that the, “the mosque and madrassa are here. I get to have meals when I am unable to cook my food”.

Consequently, Islam became the main mark for their existence in Fordsburg/Mayfair. Furthermore, the Somali identity was manifested through restaurant and grocery stores offering Somali food. Several participants recalled how convenient this was for them:

*My home is Fordsburg/Mayfair because most of the Somali community lives here. The mosque and madrassa are here. I get to have meals when I am unable to cook my food.*

Participant 1

*Muslims, mosque, madrassa help at night too when I got problem.*

Participant 2

*Ok, actually my personality is, I always admire, I always believe that if you help people, God will help you and I always believed that try and succeed in myself alone.*

Participant 3

*The madrassa help although there are two or three madrassas there. Young Somali community to know their religion ... The madrassa is a place where we go to learn the Koran, like a school. Religion plays a important role. ... you rituals like ‘Eid, day of happiness assisting the poor’s, sharing with people, should assist the poor’s even if they are non-Muslims ... Mosque is where the Muslim gather it unites the people whether rich or people, in God’s sight we are all the same.*

Participant 4

*My culture is my religion. We help our Muslims when they are in need. We share similar things. We share a lot of food with others. My culture teaches me to wear a scarf for women. I must cover myself. Men go for mosques and children go and learn the Koran at the madrassa and also*
teach education. My culture and religion is the same. We must pray almost six times a day. Women don’t sit with men in the mosque. The culture and Muslim religion keep us unity.

Participant 5

Our religion helps all the time. It’s not one time because we born in religious way. We grow up, we pray, we ask God what we need. If we sick we also ask to help. This is what we do in our religion.

Participant 6

The culture and religion is important. My religion, says I must help, in my heart I’m ready to help to those that are suffering.

Participant 7

Adapted roles of males and females

Many participants stated that their resettlement had defined different roles for them. According to Somali culture, men and women had definite roles. Women stayed at home, took care of the children and maintained the home; while men worked for their families, participant 1, indicated, “But majority Somalian woman one day get married, they sit at home, they look after the kids”,.

However, since relocating, the roles have changed, as both men and women had to seek employment and shared similar roles for survival. In other cases, the men maintained their role of being the providers, depending on the situations with which they were confronted. The following responses were elicited from the participants:

But majority Somalian woman one day get married, they sit at home, they look after the kids, they look after the husband and them self. But like here you cannot sit. Maybe you open a shop, your husband will be selling and few time people get killed. You have to work. You have to learn how to work and you have to survive … Let me tell you something we are Muslim. When it comes to women and men, they (women) stay at home, have babies, and men are the one who works. When it comes to education they are one, one (the women) they can work at the madrassa.

Participant 1

The man work and the woman stay home. She can work in madrassa.

Participant 4
Because most women don’t speak English and some not very well, the men always stay closely to the women because of the xenophobia and the raping and looting. The women also stay home to look after the family when the husband goes for business or work.

Participant 5

Male is in authority. He is the head of the household in the family. He provides.

Participant 6

Somalis woman take care of their children and husband as well. They do tailoring, business, and cooking food, not enough, woman do not work in Somalia community. Got fear ... The role woman play is in the home. They teach also in the madrassa and do small business. The man runs the house.

Participant 7

Determination contributes to self-sufficiency

Participants mentioned that the Somali migrants in Fordsburg/Mayfair are very hard working and have become accustomed to working for themselves since they left their home country. In Fordsburg/Mayfair, the Somali migrants found work in the local Indian Muslim community businesses. However, that did not prevent them from becoming successful as they ventured into businesses. Many participants worked as street traders or hawkers. A number of participants showed determination to earn a living to the point of leaving their families behind to worked in other provinces before resettling in Fordsburg/Mayfair participant 8 confirmed how she was determined to take care of her family “I did not feel good, but I empowered myself through working”.

Participant

Studying and following in the footsteps of others who have survived also helped them to remain mentally strong. Participant 3 reflected on how the Indians showed determination to make their relocation from Indian a success in South Africa, he complimented the Indian migrants, “So I use the Indian minority as one of your role model because they also minority and came from India and also was resilient”.

Several of the participants responded to questions on this aspect as follows:
Actually now we have a lot of problem. Last year started in grade 10 so English was difficult was for me and other Somali people. We used to decide to come together and come together and grade 12 help grade 11 and grade 11 help grade 10. We tutor each other. Working as a team to encourage and motivate one another is another aspect of building resilience in the Somali community.

Participant 1

So I use the Indian minority as one of your role model because they also minority and came from India and also was resilient.

Participant 3

Yes. I was a hawker. I am a hawker, a self-employer. I used to sell. I used to go to the shops and sell tea, some samosas, vetkoek, and some breakfasts.

Participant 6

I work in Port Elizabeth, I work in a restaurant, cooking food and they give money monthly to children.

Participant 7

I did not feel good, but I empowered myself through working.

Participant

**Spiritual care**

The participants showed that in order to keep healthy mentally, emotionally and physically, they had to have a strong Iman (faith) and be strong in prayer. They indicated that doing this ensured that they were taken care of in all three these areas which, according to them, means being healthy holistically ‘We have to respect the elders. The madrassa, mosque, Muslim community help me to be strong ... Madrassa where we are praying.’ To them, commitment to spiritual faith and religious practices ensured freedom from physical and mental illness, a healthy family system and the ability to contribute to the family and the broader community. Prayer emerged as a powerful emotional coping mechanism across contexts, this was the priority as one participant 2, declared, “Madrassa where we are praying”. Families gather at the mosque in prayer and
meditation, each connecting with a higher power and the greater purpose of life. This is what the participants revealed:

*My culture is my religion. Actually I don’t know how to say it. Same thing I don’t know.*

Participant 1

*I receive help from mosque, when I am difficulty I pray to God, to help me and to forgive, this world is going to end but what I believe the year after, wait for the day of judgment, this life is many difficulties, now I’m preparing for the hereafter ... My fear is not about jobless, I am worried about my life, I listen to my mother who told me to listen to Allah.*

Participant 2

*The values in the Somali community are the same in Somalia and Fordsburg/Mayfair. We have to respect the elders. The madrassa, mosque, Muslim community help me to be strong ... Madrassa where we are praying.*

Participant 4

*I get the Islamic education, when I have a problem the mosque help us.*

Participant 7

### 4.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the findings of this study. The chapter considered four themes in which to locate the research findings, namely the reasons for migrating to South Africa, experiences of Somali migrants en route to South Africa, the challenges experienced in the country of resettlement and the survival of the Somali community. Sub-themes were used to explain these themes further. The next chapter will discuss these findings, provide a conclusion for the study, and present recommendations based on the findings and limitations of the study.
CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter provided the descriptive findings collected on the resilience of the Somali community in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg. Similarly, this chapter provides an integration of the findings, based on the themes that typify the Somali community’s experience of resilience. Thus the chapter provides the common essence of the lived experience of resilience of this community.

This study narrated the stories of eight Somali migrants, four males and four females, based on their strengths and capacities to respond to compound challenges they endured every day en route South Africa and in the country. It gave the sense of not only their individual resilience, but of their community as they journeyed to South Africa. During their resettlement in the host country, the Somali migrants experienced many challenges. The findings revealed the challenges that they endured and ways of adaptation, which made their relocation worth their while. Resilience would not have been possible if the trials and tribulations they had to undergo were not present in life. This motivated them to create a better life for themselves and their families, and to bounce back from adversities. Though they were not completely free from those challenges, signs of resilience were evident in their narratives. The results, therefore, showed that from the inception of the migration process to Fordsburg/Mayfair, each participant demonstrated diverse approaches of relating to, responding to and surviving in their day-to-day lives. Regardless of these variations in approach, the following were common experiences for them:

5.2 MOTIVES FOR RELOCATION

The migration process revealed the Somali migrants’ desire to find peace, safety and security, as well as to ensure income generation when their country of origin no longer provided such protection and opportunities. It was clear that the participants, both men and women, planned their migration routes cautiously and sought to manage an otherwise uncontrollable existence (Chigeza & Roodt, 2012). They made the choice to migrate to South Africa with the aim to enhance their lives. Conversely, there were women who followed their spouses and others who
followed their friends, neighbours and family out of Somalia for peace, work and education because of the civil war and tribal clashes (Masten, 2009).

5.3 DIFFICULTY IN INTEGRATION FOR THE SOMALI COMMUNITY

The findings of this study exposed general difficulty in integration for the Somali migrant community in South Africa. Several reasons for this difficulty are outlined below. Literature also confirmed this difficulty in integration as a widely recognised barrier to Somalis’ opportunities and security in South Africa.

For instance, the findings of this study confirmed the finding of other studies and that it did not concern what Somalis executed; they were still loathed by South Africans for various reasons - culture, religion, language and economics, and Somalis suffered at the hands of inhospitable hosts who felt threatened by their very presence in the country (Shaffer, 2012). EL-Bushra and Fish, (2004) and Steel (2006) further argued that Somalis have overstayed their welcome, as hostilities arose when what was perceived as temporary migration became permanent. Others criticised Somalis’ arrogance and unwillingness to integrate into mainstream society; they were regarded as among the least integrated of all immigrant groups in South Africa (Landau & Horst, 2006).

It could be that both sides (the participants’ perceptions and literature gathered on South Africans’ views) were correct, as South Africans and Somalis did not see mutual benefit in building relationships (Buyer 2008). Other migration studies, however, showed that integration and social cohesion are challenges in communities that suffered from exclusive immigration policies and societal hostility toward migrants. However, part of the problem was that, marginalised communities generally did not become part of mainstream society (Portes, 2010).

It was apparent that disruption of established ways of being and doing, and the sense of life’s meaning that the Somali migrant community was used to, exposed them to extremely stressful experiences throughout their adaptation process in South Africa. The risk of relocation stressors was higher when the socio-cultural milieu of the country of origin and the host country were less congruent and could impede adjustment to the new life in the new society and culture (Shaffer, 2012). This was evident in the value-clashes between the Somali migrant community and the South Africans with whom they interacted, which led to various stressors for the Somalis. These included the following:
5.3.1 Lack of support from government departments

Several participants lamented the corruption they encountered, especially pertaining to the application for permits for the migrant status. Despite the fact that the war-stricken situation in Somalia was well-known to the world, including South Africa, the participants still struggled to get these permits from the DoHA, as they sat in long queues and were often not served. The officers in this department asked for money in order to speed up the process, meaning that if migrants want to be served, they had to pay a certain amount of money; otherwise they will be ignored and not given the help they needed. In addition, paying the money did not guarantee the right service and right documents. This challenge was voiced by several participants who went to the DoHA, meaning that this was a real problem. The participants also acknowledged that it was not only they (the Somalis) who paid bribes to get their migration documents organised for them. People from other nationalities with whom they shared the migration journey also complained of the same problem, thus suggesting that the problem was not directed at only the Somali community, but at all migrants. They stated that they were asked to pay amounts up to R3 500.00 in order to receive migrant status.

According to South African law, people qualified for migrant status if they proved that their lives have been in danger in their own countries as a result of any of the following: race, tribe, religion, nationality, political opinion and membership of a particular social group (people persecuted on the basis of their sexual orientation or gender – such as those in danger of female circumcision – fall into this category). People were granted migrant status if there was war in their native country. Furthermore, if one applied for refugee status, one needed to provide proof of how one’s life was in danger because of these reasons and why it was unsafe for one to go back home (UNHCR, 2013).

Numerous Somalis complained that, once they got their documents, they could not do much with them because they were challenged in opening a bank account with such documents or even start legally recognised businesses. So with those documents they were only able to live anywhere in the country as recognised migrants; the documents had no further use (Kiwanuka 2010; Sadouni, 2009; Shaffer, 2012). Sometimes they were harassed by the police even when they had their migrant documents; the reason for this is that they are conspicuous. (Palmary, 2003). Literature supported this, showing that they gave money to the police as bribes, they were robbed of hard-earned money meant for their livelihood (Jinnah, 2013; Shaffer; 2012). Police corruption was
normalised to the point where Somalis expected most encounters with police to end with a bribe or as a negative experience. Police were also known for destroying migrants’ documents (Harris 2001).

Ill-treatment from nurses in government clinics on the basis of the participants’ background was also reported. According to the participants, this affected not only the participants’ psychological make-up, but also their physical health; the manner they were treated determined whether or not they will get the medical attention they need.

5.3.2 Impact of lack of official documentation

Not having legal documents limited Somalis in all aspects of their migrant lives, as their legal rights were often ignored or complicated by indifference and corruption. Several participants noted that Somalis shared many of their barriers with South Africans, such as high unemployment and lack of housing, but Somalis were in a different position because of documentation challenges (Amit, 2015). Identification books and a 13-digit identity number were paramount to accessing opportunities and resources in South Africa, for without these; migrants could secure higher education, housing, bank accounts, driver’s licenses, business entrepreneurship and formal employment (Jinnah, 2013). This also excluded them from developing any sense of belonging and identity as South African residents (Kiwanuka, 2010). Basically, to them, there was no good quality of life without identity documents (University of Johannesburg Centre for Education Rights and Transformation, 2012).

The South African Refugee Rights Act of 1998 grants asylum seekers, defined as those individuals who cannot or will not return to their country of origin for fear of persecution or even death, entry into South Africa and the right to apply for refugee status. To date, according to the findings, many Somali migrants have not been granted the freedom of accessing this right to progress in this country. Several participants complained of how they were detained in police stations because of lack of proper documentation (Bontyn, 2014).

5.3.3 Discrimination and xenophobia

Discrimination and xenophobia were common experiences for all the participants. They revealed that they often experienced a lack of police protection and were, therefore, robbed of their freedom to be in this country (Palmary, 2002; Jinnah, 2013; Shaffer; 2012). Landau (2008)
explained this by showing that government support and social services are critical to Somalis’ ability to integrate into the South African society. This integration was affected, as discrimination against Somali migrant’s resulted in the denial of basic rights (The findings showed that the Somalis faced discrimination not only from South African citizens, but also from the government itself because it did not provide protection or assistance (Crush, 2011). Lack of social support and citizenship further excluded Somalis and ensured their distinction as a foreign group, leaving them with few allies and relying on Muslims and the Somali community in Fordsburg/Mayfair for security, protection and opportunities (Sadouni, 2009). Larger social contexts in South Africa that promoted discrimination forced Somalis to live together (Landua, 2011; Sadouni 2009).

The lack of government support described above is fuelled by xenophobic attitudes from the locals. Literature showed that xenophobia was one of the main challenges with which migrants struggled in South Africa (University of Johannesburg Centre for Education Rights and Transformation, 2012). The participants showed that, such attitudes were displayed, as crime served as an accompanying factor, and it was mainly in the townships where the participants became victims to xenophobia and crime. Historically, black people were driven out from properties that were in locales designated as "white only" and compelled to shift into segregated townships by apartheid era laws (De Wet, 2014). Separate townships were established for each of the three designated non-white racial groups - blacks, coloureds and Indians - in terms of the Population Registration Act of 1950. Legislation that enabled the apartheid government to do this included the Group Areas Act (Hayem, 2014). These were the places where xenophobia and crime were said to occur.

Those that ran businesses in these townships were primary targets of crime and the xenophobic attitudes of the local people. The participants explained that they were targeted mainly because of their businesses. The locals residing in the townships did not trust the businesses (Palmary, 2002). Moreover, they claimed that their businesses flourished faster in the townships than in towns. This was supported by findings by Landau (2008), hence the participants were injured and their shops were regularly looted in the townships.

Crush and Ramachandram (2010) showed that part of the explanation for this was from the locals’ perspective that the Somali migrants were held responsible for high crime rates despite the South African Police Service data that countered this claim. Harris (2001) added that locals’ attitudes were often formed by the things that they heared and not their personal experiences and these views lead to the violence directed at foreigners, who suffered because of bias,
discrimination, apathy and ignorance (Handmaker, 2002). The primary assertion is that Somalis’ entrepreneurial prowess and economic success agitated resentment among South Africans who believed that Somalis became rich by taking South Africans’ opportunities for generating wealth (IRIN, 2008). Black South Africans, in particular, were said to view those migrants as opponents competing for the available resources and employment prospects and used them as scapegoats for the continued social and economic hardships they experienced (Freemantle, 2011; Steenkamp, 2008). This was because xenophobia appeared to occur where expectations of service delivery were high and yet acute inequalities and deprivation persevered (Burns & Mopapatra, 2008). This occurred mainly in the townships where the participants claimed xenophobic attacks were rife.

As the participants became involved in business they did well in townships, because they were able to sell their products that were affordable to the locals and in turn were able to make a little profit that went a long way (Hlatshwayo & Vally, 2014). Therefore, several participants concluded that their success was also their problem, eliciting xenophobic attitudes and the accompanying crime that was justified by the locals. As if this was not enough, even if they tried to report problems to the police, nothing was done about them (Landau, 2010). This made it difficult for the participants to report any other crime that was committed against them because they knew that it will not be processed anyway (Jinnah, 2013). Because of this problem, they painfully revealed that they continued to be killed in townships and no one was held accountable for this (Harris, 2002). Sadouni (2010) confirmed that Somali migrants were killed and their murders were not reported to the police. Nevertheless, they indicated that this did not discourage them because they started new shops, even if it meant doing so in another area, with the goal of supporting their families (Hammond, 2014).

5.3.4 Rape

Rape was one of the problems hindering the mobility of the female participants. Previous findings also showed that the fear of rape created by insecurity within Somalia and the reality of life in refugee camps affected women’s movement (Shaffer, 2012). (Niyigena, 2013) agreed that this created fear and trauma for the female Somalis who did not have husbands to protect them, they work away from home, either in the rural area or outside the provinces where their families resided (Hayem, 2013).
On the mode of transport in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Sadouni (2009) reported that Somali women used Somali taxi drivers instead of public transportation as a way of protecting themselves from the threat of robbery, sexual harassment and rape. According to their culture, the female participants in the current study feared rape more than any other form of violence against them; it was crime worse than death. The stigma attached to rape was so great that women carried their secrets and seldom told anyone, not even a spouse, best friend or close relative, for fear of gossip (Landua, 2006). This was the reason the female participants, in this study mentioned the importance of being in the company of their husbands whenever they moved around in this country. While this fear may be seen as relating to a possibility rather than a probability, there was a female participant who in fact experienced the trauma of almost being raped while she was pregnant when she was travelling to South Africa and lost her baby while being on the run from the perpetrators.

In the case of Somalis, identity could be expressed physically, through real material relations and violence. Rape, for example, was not intellectual; it was physical violence, and there was physical evidence of this occurrence in Mayfair (Buyer, 2008).

5.3.5 Educational challenges

The South African Constitution and national education legislation, as well as the Refugee Act, consistent with international treaties, guaranteed the right to basic education to refugees and asylum seekers (Younge, 2010). However, some of the participants stated that they struggled to find schools for their children. Young Somali men also faced this challenge. Although education in South Africa is accessible to most people, the participants faced problems because of their migrant documents that were not recognised by the South African authorities (CoRMSA, 2011). When they presented those documents, they were also asked for green identity documents that they did not possess. Without identity documents that identify the children as local citizens, they were regarded as illegal migrants and educational opportunities were blocked to them (Hemson, 2011). The young Somalis, over the age of 20 years were determined to attend private schools, which were managed by Ugandan migrants. These private schools accommodated students who were unable to attend South African government schools (Hlatshwayo & Valley, 2014). When these Somali participants were unable to pay their fees at the private schools, the Indian Muslim community and Somali community collaborated and sponsored their educational needs (Stevens, 2016).
Lack of formal education and job skills training was a widely recognised barrier to Somali women’s economic opportunities and success (Freemantle (2011). Tertiary education was an aspiration for many women, but it was an unattainable goal because it was expensive, time-consuming and required travel outside Mayfair (Shaffer, 2012). One of the biggest problems was that university fees were too expensive and there was no financial support available to Somalis, who often arrived in South Africa with nothing. In addition, Somali students were forced to work part-time to earn money to pay for food and accommodation. Admission to university was problematic for those who desired to further their education. Many Somali migrants could not produce a high school certificate or diploma, and South Africa’s system was unlikely to recognise Somali credentials (Spreen & Vally, 2012).

In South Africa access to education was promised by the Constitution’s Bill of Rights (Chapter 2, section 29), which stated: “Everyone has the right to a basic education.” Furthermore, the education system was regulated by the South African Schools Act, No 84 of 1996, and related regulations. The Act made entrance to schooling a basic right and prohibited any kind of discrimination or exclusion, whether on the basis of nationality, documentation status or ability to pay. Furthermore, this required the South African government to provide adequate primary schooling for all children. It was shown that asylum seekers, refugees and migrants had rights and the government had obligations to uphold these rights through domestic and international legal obligations (University of Johannesburg Centre for Education Rights and Transformation, 2012).

In addition, the DoHA was in charge of disseminating the immigration permits and identity documents the children needed to attend schools or access services, but were permitted to do so, unless children were allocated a social worker by the Department of Social Development and had a Children’s Court order setting out their care arrangements (IRIN, 2011).

The following recommendations were derived from the barriers impeding the education rights of refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers that were outlined in a report of the University of Johannesburg Centre for Education Rights and Transformation (2012). The National Government and the Ministry of Education should:

- Provide policy guidelines outlining the rights of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers to access quality education in South Africa
- Facilitate intergovernmental communication within South Africa to streamline the documentation and enrolment processes for migrants, refugees and asylum seekers;
• Establish formal collaboration designed to assist with information sharing and the harmonisation of migration policies with countries in the rest of the continent

• Mandate that all school faculty and administrative personnel complete a basic education rights awareness seminar that makes clear the policies for enrolment with and without documentation, as well as the education rights to which refugees, migrants and asylum seekers are entitled (Hemson, 2011)

• Develop integration strategies within schools by considering appropriating and incorporating a culturally responsive curriculum, and re-examining the current curricula for examples and ideas that negatively stereotype refugees, migrants and asylum seekers

• Incorporate appropriate policies and programming related to education rights for migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers currently used successfully in other countries

• Take punitive measures against government officials who fail to comply with formal policies designed to ensure the right to education for migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers

• Develop government bursary schemes for migrant learners to facilitate their ability to access higher education institutions.

Non-governmental organisations should:

• Utilise social networks and partner with other NGOs to distribute information about education rights to migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, and their families

• Adopt an integrated and collaborative approach whenever possible with relevant government departments, NGOs, community organisations, migrant organisations and other stakeholders when mobilising and advocating the provision of rights and services to migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers (University of Johannesburg Centre for Education Rights and Transformation, 2012).

5.3.6 Language barrier

The problem of the language barrier that was raised by the participants was also recognised in migrant literature as a hindrance to migrants’ access to many opportunities, including the rights of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa (Freemantle, 2011; University of Johannesburg Centre for Education Rights and Transformation, 2012). Not being able to speak
the language that was spoken, and to communicate with the locals, excluded the participants from full participation in and access to the South African tradition. The participants mentioned how a rich oral tradition was an essential component of the Somali culture. According to Mire (2007), knowledge of all forms of social life and expression are traditionally transmitted from generation to generation through the oral tradition. The male and female participants in the current study believed that women spoke less English than men and possessed greater difficulty navigating their lives in this country. Literature showed that women were responsible for managing their children’s education, for example, and their difficulty with communicating in English meant that they were unable to establish bonds with teachers and administrators (Shakespeare-Finch & Wickham, 2009).

The lack of proficiency in communicating in English also complicated the female participants’ ability to communicate with nurses in order to receive the required medical treatment. Palmary (2010) has also found that Somali women’s inability to communicate in this language affected their interaction with doctors in their offices and in hospitals. Additionally, they struggled to describe their afflictions to the doctor, which created confusion with the diagnosis of the illness. Likewise, free and accessible English classes were not available to the community, which meant that women and men were to learn the new language independently or put together the cash to pay for classes at language schools offered in the CBD (Portes, 2010).

It was important for Somalis to be able to communicate and express themselves in their own language and speak in the language of the people in the host country. Being able to communicate was essential for Somali settlement, not only for a Somali migrants’ future, but also for their optimal physical and mental health outcomes (Brodine & Brouwer, 2009). Language, both written and spoken, was a cultural marker. Brouwer, Brodine, Morris, Popper and Rodwell (2009) showed the importance of linguistic competence and economic stability as determinant factors prompting individuals eventually to leave their non-dominant cultural group, which was typically geographically bound, and venture into the dominant culture.

5.4 THE SOMALI MIGRANT COMMUNITY’S RESILIENT SPIRIT

Resilience was understood as the capacity to anticipate, manage, adapt to, cope with, and recover from risks to livelihoods and it expressed the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and reorganise itself so as to retain essential functions, structure, identity and feedbacks. In conceptual terms, the resilience of a household depended on the number of options available,
such as assets, income-generating activities, public services and social safety nets. When shocks occurred (endogenous or exogenous), households reacted by using available coping (The United Nations Children’s Fund – UNICEF, 2014). The following reasons why the participants could cope with adversity and adapt in this country were found in this study:

5.4.1 Resilience through individual determination to effect change

The Somali migrant community’s journey to Fordsburg/Mayfair in Johannesburg, South Africa was a very long and upsetting one, as they had to cope with bribes, theft, human trafficking, arrests, rape, death of family members and long hours and days of travelling. The determination of each individual to make it to this country in the end, despite the hardships experienced, signified their willingness to withstand all odds to change their lives from a life of fear and suffering to an enriched life, not only for themselves, but for their families as well (Zautra, Hall, & Murray, 2010).

5.4.2 Communal culture within the Somali migrant community

Metropolitan centres were an important destination for Somalis because of the reasonable ease of finding employment, particularly in small business sectors such as shops or restaurants, which enabled them to earn a decent livelihood (Griffith, 2012). The participants asserted that they were used to living among their own Somali people, but felt uncomfortable with another nationality. For the reason of, language, religious and cultural barriers, they have a tendency to group themselves in specific sections of town, in this case Fordsburg/Mayfair in Johannesburg. Moreover, they typically live among Indian Muslim communities where they felt “protected” by religious associations, instead of living in black communities where such protection did not guarantee their safety (Green & McDermott, 2010). The literature revealed that this was the typical belief among the Somalis based in South Africa (Al Sharmani, 2010; Palmary, 2010). Furthermore, the mosques and Muslim networks in general played a crucial role in that they acted as an alternative to state-public services. What's more, the Somali students where helped when they were in need to pay their school fees. In this way, the Somali identity was maintained. Chetty’s (2002; 2011) study successfully employed contextual and social scientific methods to analyse the biblical concept of the early church as a 'family'. This was a pioneering attempt to look at the first century church through South African eyes. The result of his research is of importance to the church in this country and will serve to foster a culture of rich personal relationships in a situation where church communities tend to become impersonal and apathetic.
Therefore, cultural identity proved to play a vital role in the participants’ resilience. Culture encompassed the values, norms, beliefs, attitudes and social rules that informed worldviews. It comprised features that shared and bound people into a community, and it was learned and passed on through generations (Robinson, 2013). Comparatively, Chetty (2009) elaborates on the sociological and structural analysis of the structure of local families was affected, while also exploring the interface between present day family structures and the first century oikos-based churches. Similarly Wilber (1998) agrees that the beliefs and value system of the Somali society brings about cohesion between the participants and their fellow Somali and Muslim sub-communities in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg.

The real issue was how people perceive cultural identity. Robinson (2013) wrote that identity was always constructed through memory, fantasy, narrative and myth. From the findings, it was clear that different memories of Somalia based on experience, geography, clan, gender, class and livelihood, among others, created various ideas about what was being a Somali meant, but that the participants emphasised the use of one language and following one religion and one culture (Robinson, 2013). In the context of migration, therefore, traditional cultural teachings and values, as well as social systems and practices, influence people’s conceptualisation of self and their relations with others (Kwak, 2010). The fact that there was not much difference between their religion and culture this gave the participants freedom and a sense of security, knowing that the mosque and madrassa were located in their vicinity and that there was a Muslim Indian community (UNHCR, 2013).

Similarly, the participants had strong ties with this (Muslim Indian) community and this was revealed in the way they networked with one another. The Somalis were usually considered to be the most unified society in all Africa, as they shared the equivalent way of life. Their lives focussed on grazing the lands for their animals and they were a close-knit group who are watchful of outsiders (Hammond, 2014).

Therefore, the communal spirit and collective preservation of the Somali identity led the participants and other Somalis to live and socialise predominantly within the Somali community. As the UNHCR (2012) disclosed that, Somalis were not obligated to adapt to a different social conduct or way of life, as would normally occur when an individual or group moves to a foreign country, because they know how to look after one another to ensure their collective survival. Similarly, Jinnah (2013) and Sadouni (2009) concurred that in Johannesburg the Somali migrants are positioned in a spatially dense location. This created protection for the Somali if a non-Somali
infiltrated into the inner part of the physical space of Somalis without feeling a sense of isolation. The invisible boundaries of the area are closely guarded by local Somalis, so that any movement into and around the area is easily noticed and the message about any such movement would spread across the groups who resided in it (Sharmani, 2010). The communal life of the Somalis, correspondingly created suspicion and, therefore, lead to discrimination by outsiders, as integration was difficult for them (Graber, Pichon & Carabine, 2015).

5.4.3 Religion and spirituality

Relocation was not simply a matter of adapting to a new culture. It included challenges of maintaining lifelong beliefs and values, while at the same time embracing new ways of living in a new country (Amit, 2012). The Somali sense of life’s meaning, personal values, moral framework and commitments was greatly influenced, not only by the culture of origin, but by their spirituality as well (Correa-Velez, Gifford & Barnett, 2010). McMichael (2002) confirmed that culture encompassed the values, norms, beliefs, attitudes, and social rules that informed worldviews, while spirituality provided the universal and fundamental aspects of human nature and moral frameworks for relating with self, other, and the ultimate reality.

Consequently, religion and spirituality were identified as other principal aspects that strengthened the participants’ resilience (Robinson, 2013). Shaffer (2012) likewise found, the participants appeared to be homogenously connected by their religion. It was reported that nearly all Somali people practised Islam, and their religion served as a unifying force across the country. In addition, to them, culture and religion were identical, hence, they identified with Indians in South Africa who shared the same culture and religion with them.

According to Koshen (2007), Islamic teachings suggested that all events are God’s will and were therefore, out of an individual’s control. Therefore, some participants conceptualised the suffering and social turmoil as God’s punishment for straying from the Islamic path (Fernando & Ferrari, 2011). Islamic faith emerged as a powerful contributor to resilience for the Somali community in Fordsburg/Mayfair. All the participants discussed God’s will as an explanatory model for exposure to life adversity, and religious practices such as prayer emerged as an emotional coping mechanism. Traditionally, Muslim prayer occurred five times a day - at sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset, and then again after sunset (Sadouni, 2009). According to the participants, prayer facilitated connection with God and contributed to a general sense of well-being, patience and respectful relations with family members and community. Families gathered
at the mosque in prayer and meditation, each connected with a higher power and the greater purpose of life.

In sum, Islamic faith overarched all aforementioned domains of resilience. The belief in Insha Allah (or God’s will) provided an explanatory model for understanding life’s adversity. Religious practices, for example, prayer and reading the Quran, emerged as a primary emotional coping mechanism. Islam provided meaning and purpose in the context of adversity and quite possibly contributed to the most effective form of resilience in Somali culture (Nell, 2008). Somali business networks and the building of religious placed such as a Somali mosque and a network of madrassas demonstrated a process of community building in Mayfair (Sadouni, 2009).

Islamic faith embraced that all things occurred place because of God’s will and God was the conductor of one’s life path. According to the participants, each life experience was a test to one’s faith (Robinson, 2013). Several studies revealed that religion in its various forms is linked to enhancing a person’s psychological and physical wellbeing (Green & Elliot, 2010; Sadouni, 2009; Shaffer, 2012). In a similar case, a study of 62 young orphaned participants implied that Buddhist spirituality promoted resilience in children in many ways; it offered them “structure, encouraged cognitive restructuring, acceptance of the trauma, cultivated a sense of control and the rituals promoted integration in the broader community” (Fernando & Ferrari, 2011, p. 70). Schweitzer et al. (2007) suggested that belief in God helped people regain control and meaning in their lives. All the Somali participants had resigned themselves to the situation, and they believed that fate was out of their hands and in God’s hands (Khawaja et al., 2008).

5.4.4 The family spirit

The sense of life’s meaning, personal values, a moral framework and commitments were also influenced by family (Correa-Velez, Gifford & Barnett, 2010). Robinson (2013) added that the immediate and extended families provided nurture, protection and support to meet basic psychosocial needs. Hence, culture, religion, spirituality and family comprised of protective factors in dealing with life’s challenges and adversities.

Several participants attested to close ties with their family and friends. Hayem (2012) expressed such close ties even among clans and clan-families among the Somalis. Support is shown in various areas, including those described below.
With regard to their social networks, the participants uttered that Somali migrants maintained strong ties with their families wherever they were. Physical distance did not affect the closeness of their relationships. They maintained connection with members of the family and use any available means of communication to achieve that. Relatives played an important role in one another’s lives and livelihoods even over large distances (Horst, 2006). Therefore, apart from personal qualities such as determination to survive being associated with their resilience, external forms of support also contributed to the building of resilience among the participants. Jinnah (2013) pointed out the importance of family, friends, and community in encouraging migration resilience in the resettlement process. Similarly, the participants mentioned that support included the shared processes of providing and accepting support from family, friends, acquaintances and fellow religious believers, who according to them was regarded as family (Graber, Pichon & Carabine, 2015).

Finch and Wickham’s (2009) study emphasised that this family spirit is motivated by looking ahead to the future, and that it strengthened migrants’ resilience. This was also supported by one of the participants’ responses, reported in Shakespeare-Finch and Wickham’s (2009, p. 38) study “I am going to lay a good foundation for me, for my children, for my family”.

Likewise, the Somali migrants supported one another when it emanated to paving the way for migration and information-sharing about the potential host country; with food, school fees, jobs and accommodation in the foreign country. Amit (2012) also mentioned support in starting businesses, as many have acquired capital from their relatives from a foreign country in order to start shops in South Africa and they, invariably, supported their families financially in Somalia.

### 5.4.5 Gender role adaptation

In contrast determination to start and maintain businesses, as well as finding jobs even in different provinces as a role for fathers was a gender-related reason for resilience that was identified among the male participants, the continuous adaptation of gender roles within the family, in response to the husbands’ absence, was one of the reasons that built resilience among the female participants. There were times when they had no choice but to take on the role of finding jobs near home and being the head of their homes when their husbands were away. In this way, patriarchal power was transferred to women. According to Hansen (2008), Harris (2004), Kleist (2008) and Pasura (2008), Somali women were different from other female migrants in South Africa in many ways, as they had a tendency to migrate without a male partner.
and with or without monetary or emotional support from the family. Once they entered South Africa, they engaged themselves in and create new social networks that enabled better leverage of resources. This illustrated the extent of adaptation of which Somali women were capable. Past mobile and entrepreneurial customs, the collapse of Somalia and the parallel political process of independence in South Africa have allowed new and growing impressions of female Somali migrants to raise and strengthen the idea of female migrant agency, and change female migratory patterns in the region (Horst, 2006; Kleist, 2007).

A particular example of this is the transformation of the migrant household. The transnational household in some instances strengthened marital and family relations and in other instances strained (Sadouni, 2009). Similarly, the female participants in this study felt the strain of taking the responsibility of leading their households as a major responsibility. Separation from the family was seen in different ways by the migrant men and women. While the men saw it as an opportunity for provision for the family, the migrant women saw it as strenuous, as it was in direct contrast to their traditional responsibility of staying at home and caring for children. In the same way, Al-Sharmani (2006) stated that men view geographically split households as either an opportunity to move away from their duties or to take more responsibility. Women, on the other hand, found new prospects to access services and to take on decision-making roles in households where males were absent by being engaged in trade or continuing their studies (King & Vullnetari, 2006). The new pattern of the household also warranted new kinds of networks. In Cairo, Egypt, for example, a family-based network led by females was the main support system used by Somalis (Al-Sharmani, 2006).

Given this change in roles, the question raised: Could there be reasons for families to urge women to leave Somalia? Al-Sharmani (2006) pointed out that there were three main reasons for migration among Somali women: migration as a means of protection from sexual violence in Somalia, to fuel the mythical notion that women were more likely to be granted asylum than men, and the fact that women were able to find work in the informal economy, particularly in the global recession. In support of the last-named reason, this study showed an adjustment in Somali society where women were not just producers and reproducers of care, but were also beginning to be active participants in the economy of this country. This necessitated their migration to embrace their families together in the host country.
5.4.6 The value of hard work

Despite the different gender roles, both men and women proved to be very hard working and were accustomed to working for themselves since they left their home country. Most people in Somalia who had cattle or farms did everything for themselves to the point that even when they migrated to other countries; they still worked hard for their survival (Jinnah, 2010; Sadouni, 2009). In this study, hard work was demonstrated through the participants opening their shops in townships where xenophobia was very common (Ungar, 2008). They also worked in different provinces to provide for their families, despite being discriminated against by the people in this country. The men left their wives with the children to manage the home, while they worked to earn a living. Their hard work allowed them to be resilient, they were accustomed to this lifestyle in Somalia (Jinnah, 2013; Shaffer, 2012).

5.4.7 The sociodemographic situation of the Somali community

The Somalis who were interviewed were between the ages of 20 and 40. The four females were between the ages of 20 and 35. The four males were between the ages of 20 and 40. The younger adults continued their education, because of their resilience, and the older men and women sought work as chefs and shopkeepers to cope with the reality of relocation (Al-Sharmani, 2015). Relocation had redefined Somali gender roles (Sadouni, 2009; Shaffer, 2012). In the Somali culture men provided for the home, while women took care of the children. According to the findings in chapter4, the adaptation of gender roles within the family, especially the absence of the husband, facilitated to build resilience among the female participants (Al-Sharmani; Mir-Hosseini & Rumminger, 2015). Furthermore, the education levels of Somali migrants were similar to those in other migrant groups: 40.3% of Somalis assessed had completed secondary school and 24.7% had finished primary school (Jinnah, 2010). This confirmed their resilience to progress and made a difference. The literature attested to that the children adapted to the education system despite feeling restricted and intimidated by a different system of rules set out by the Department of Education (Landua, 2004). Despite their age, being over 20 years, they sought education in private schools to meet the criteria to enter university (Landua, 2006). Likewise, the Somali migrants entered university, in the hope that they could become a value to their native country (Spreen & Vally, 2012). In addition, Somalis valued entrepreneurship and most believed that owning a business is the best occupation option. That explained, in part, why men accepted the risk of opening shops in the townships and in Fordsburg and Mayfair (Shaffer,
On the other hand, the women sold vegetables, coats, perfume, jewellery, and anything else that yielded profits. Moreover, women worked as cooks and chefs at the local restaurants in Fordsburg and Mayfair (Jinnah, 2010). In summary, the sociodemographic situation of the Somali community in Fordsburg/Mayfair contributed to their resilience.

Internal sources were identified in the literature and the findings which were incorporated in the discussion. Bourdieu (2001) elucidated the understanding of the approaches the Somali used to adapt to the host country. Furthermore, (Kunz typology (1981) provided a prospective income to describe the connection of a community to their host country. In their resilience, I learned that that the personal qualities of optimism, adaptability and perseverance were a hallmark based on their attachment. In addition, Axel Honneth (1995) presented a scheme of love, solidarity and rights, which contributed to their growth, self-confidence, self-respect and self-respect. The Somali culture and religion provided these aspects in the Somali resilience. Finally, the Metatheory of and resiliency (Richardson, 2002) reinforced religiosity and spirituality, culture and community in the resilience of the Somali migrants. Likewise, the research question and objectives were aligned to the findings and analysis of the study. Furthermore, the literature review, results established from the semi-structured interviews and analysis of the findings provided a comprehensive reason for the resilience of the Somali community residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg.

5.5 CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY

The study explored the lived experiences of resilience of eight Somali migrants who resided in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg. The participants migrated to South Africa because of their desire to have a prosperous life for themselves and for their children.

Migration was a complicated journey that brought losses, disappointments and dissatisfaction in life. The losses were multiple and concurrent. They included the loss of self and one’s identity, the loss of family, of culture and of traditions and a way of life (Portes, 2010). This study presented the complex stressors that Somali migrants experienced in their day-to-day lives. The participants experienced challenges, including difficulty accessing public transport during their migration, fear that came with the various discriminatory and criminal offences that were committed against them, non-recognition by government officials, language barriers, as well as loss of family and friends. In addition, they experienced education problems and the reverse of traditional roles that they were used to in Somalia.
However, the study established the strengths and capabilities of these Somalis who drew together all their resources to deal with the challenges in their lives. The participants revealed how strong and determined they had become as a result of the hardships that they endured en route to and in South Africa. They were unwavering in their pursuit of survival. They enriched their communication skills by attempting to improve their English. Xenophobia did not halt their quest for survival. Their resilience was significantly influenced by their sense of community, family and religion, as well as hard work.

Somali migration to South Africa was likely to continue or even increase. Therefore, this study made a valuable contribution to understanding the nature of adversities that Somali women, men, and children, as vulnerable groups experienced. In addition, it contributed to knowing the traditions, customs, and habits of adaptation, which they articulated to ensure their survival in South Africa. Understanding how these migrants adapted positively to the risks and challenges they faced was crucial to informing the health and well-being of the population of the Somali migrants (UNHCR, 2015).

5.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

5.6.1 Limitations of the sampling period and sample size

Owing to the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals at the time of collecting data for this study, which occurred in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg, it was not easy to gain access to Somali migrants because the situation in Fordsburg/Mayfair was volatile and the Somalis were suspicious about the nature of the research and feared deportation. Data collection was consequently limited to eight participants who were willing to take part in the study. The participants who volunteered in this study were comfortable and willing to be interviewed in English. It was not until late in my fieldwork that I began to gain real trust from community members in Fordsburg/Mayfair. Somalis were suspicious of outsiders, and my time in the field ended just as I made invaluable connections with those who were perhaps initially apprehensive of my presence.

Because of the universal description of the phenomenon that was studied here, it is important to acknowledge that approaches differed from context to context. Therefore, these findings were not generalisable. This resulted in Somali research participants living in other provinces in South
Africa, and certainly the results may not be generalisable to Somali people who have migrated to other countries around the world. Future research should address this issue by examining resilience among Somali people on a broader and larger scale.

As this study sought to explore and generate knowledge and understanding of the Somali migrant community’s lived experience of resettlement in Fordsburg/Mayfair and their capacity for resilience, the small sample size cannot be relied on to represent the entirety of experiences of the Somali migrants in this area. Given the time constraints, sample diversity was also limited to four women and four men who had relocated from Somalia. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this study, data saturation was reached by the eighth participant, as the similarities and differences were analogous in their lived experience. The findings gathered could help to understand resilience among the Somali migrants residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair better.

5.6.2 Limitations of data collection procedures

The gatekeeper was the translator for all the participants, who found it very difficult to understand and communicate in English. Nevertheless, despite their reasonable ability to converse in English, one of the participants experienced difficulty in articulating her thoughts and emotions. As language is an essential vehicle to express emotional experience, because it shapes the words and concepts, and thus conveys the meaning of experiences, future research could address this limitation by gathering data in the Somali language.

Social and community dynamics meant that I spent most of my time in the same venue, which may have limited my sample and observations. Additional research in different social settings in Fordsburg/Mayfair would have been important to future inquiries in the community. Future research should also apply the interpretive phenomenological approach to include interviews with spouses and children to get a richer interpretation of family meanings of resilience.

5.6.3 Procedures that diminished trustworthiness of the results

During member checking it was difficult to communicate with participants owing to the xenophobic attacks taking place at that time. The participants were afraid to go out because of the looting and killing. The time allowed for interviewing the participants could have been organised in a more consistent way. The Somali Association had given me permission to use the venue made available for the interviews; however, time was limited because the offices were
being used by other Somali students, making it somewhat difficult to be consistent about the
time of interviewing. I had hoped to have a more comfortable location for the follow-up
interviews, but the gatekeeper seemed to have changed his telephone number in response to the
xenophobic attacks at that time. Additionally, he was also a tutor for the grade 11 students at a
private school, which affected organising a better venue for follow-up interviews. The Somali
Association of South Africa assisted me in finding another gatekeeper. All these events
compromised the affirmation of the confirmability of the findings. Nevertheless, the follow-up
interviews took place despite the challenges.

5.7 RECOMMENDATIONS

5.7.1 Recommendations for practice

**Recommendation 1:** The Somali migrants will benefit from counselling by non-profit
organisations that are involved in trauma counselling, such as the Family and Marriage Society
of South Africa, which offers different counselling practices, including trauma. Trauma
counselling would be beneficial, particularly when Somali migrants experience looting, rape,
family members being murdered, displacement and resettlement to a new environment and
xenophobia. NGOs could also be set up for this kind of help to incorporate grief and bereavement
counselling for families in light of the multiple losses associated with migration and specifically
losses linked to rape, killings and xenophobia. Available organisations like Life line South
Africa, which incorporate victim empowerment, could also be involved. The Victim
Empowerment Programme is a service where the dignity and rights of victims are protected, and
the victim is empowered and not subjected to secondary victimisation by the inefficiency of the
members of the criminal justice system. The four basic elements of victim empowerment are
emotional support, practical support, provision of information and referral to professional
support services. Therefore, migrants who face traumatic situations should be referred for such
services (South African Human Rights Commission, 2014).

The South African society is in great need of more services of registered counsellors in the
profession of psychology. In the context of violence, trauma, woman and child abuse, including
rape, and HIV and AIDS that may result from rape, the country is in need of psychology
practitioners who can design, implement and monitor preventative and developmental
programmes that are appropriate for a particular group or community, including migrants (South African Human Rights Commission, 2014).

**Recommendation 2:** Integrate cultural traditions within family counselling to work with migrant families to foster resilience within those families and to help them adapt well together in new environments. Focusing on understanding how partners perceive their roles in the same relationship will give insight into the challenges of gender relations and the way gender shapes each partner’s ideas about power dynamics in marriage.

**Recommendation 3:** Shortcomings of the migration policy in South Africa which were discussed in chapter 2 suggest that a policy is needed to protect the human rights of illegal migrants, giving them access to basic health services and basic primary education, as recommended by the IOM. Such a policy would also discourage ways in which the migrants are exploited by employers, South African citizens and those in authority. Perhaps those illegal migrants who have been in the country for more than five years and have proven themselves in terms of adding value to the South African economy could be recognised and have legal documentation organised for them to grant them refugee status with permission to work in the country. A more favourable environment for skilled illegal migrants would help them maximise their potential, thus benefiting the South African economy.

**Recommendation 4:** Controlling the corruption of some police members, nurses and Home Affairs officials would also help reduce the number of illegal migrants. For the same reason, corruption at the DoHA in terms of taking bribes from asylum seekers, migrants and refugees must be investigated. Carte Blanche (August, 2016) also reported on the corruption that is taking place in this department, and how migrants, refugees and asylum seekers are expected to pay bribes in order to get assistance.

**Recommendation 5:** Developing programmes that would help migrants to integrate with locals would also minimise problems such as xenophobic attacks, discrimination and crime. This requires the involvement of both the migrants and the locals to foster the necessary relationship between the two groups. One of the programmes that could be initiated is for the DoHA to form partnerships with cultural and religious organisations, as well as non-profit organisations in the country, to inform illegal migrants of appropriate procedures to follow to be registered with the
department once they are in the country, how to be recognised by this department and how to make use of useful networking services that will enhance their integration in the country.

5.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided a discussion of the research findings. The chapter also showed the strengths and limitations of the study. The chapter further considered the implications of the study findings for practical application and made recommendations on future research.
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APPENDIX A
ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

Ethical Clearance for M/D students: Research on human participants

The Ethics Committee of the Department of Psychology at Unisa have evaluated this research proposal for a Higher Degree in Psychology in light of appropriate ethical requirements, with special reference to the requirements of the Code of Conduct for Psychologists of the HPCSA.

Student Name: R F Sigamoney  
Student no.: 35535733

Supervisor/promoter: Dr. M A. Gumani  
Affiliation: Department of Psychology, Unisa

Title of project:

| The role played by resilience in the empowerment of a Somali Community residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair Johannesburg |

Ethical clearance is given to this project without any further conditions

| X |

Ethical clearance is given on conditions that certain requirements are met (as appended)

| |

Ethical clearance is deferred as the matter was referred to the Ethics Committee of the CHS, Unisa

| |

Ethical clearance is deferred until additional information is supplied (see the appended list)

| |

Ethical clearance cannot be granted on the basis of the information as presented (for reasons as listed in an appendix)

| |

Signed:

[Signature]

Prof. M Papai Korovonou

Date: 2013-10-24

[For the Ethics Committee]  
[Department of Psychology, Unisa]
APPENDIX B
LETTER TO THE GATEKEEPER

RE: Interviews
My name is Rosalind Florence Sigamoney. I am currently completing a research report in fulfilment of my master’s degree in research consultation in psychology at the University of South Africa. This research aims to explore and describe the factors contributing to the resilience of a Somali community residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair. This study will contribute to the discipline of psychology to gain an in-depth understanding of the factors that play a role in the adaptation of this community in Fordsburg/Mayfair in Johannesburg.

I hereby request permission to access participants (both males and females) who are willing to participate in my study. All volunteering participants in the study will remain anonymous in that, while their words will be made known, their identities will remain confidential. The interviewing process will take place for approximately 60 minutes. Interviewees may refuse to answer any question and may withdraw at any point if they wish. Non-participation or withdrawal from the study will not have any negative consequences for them in any way.

Debriefing information resources will be provided to the participants. Each interview will be audio-recorded and later transcribed. Feedback regarding the study’s outcomes will be made available to all those interested.

You are in no way required to participate in this study. If you have any queries do not hesitate to ask me. It is necessary for me to obtain your informed consent before I can begin the study.

Your support is greatly appreciated.

Yours faithfully

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Researcher: Rosalind Florence Sigamoney
Cell no: 0724350822
Email: jsigamoney1@gmail.com
APPENDIX C
INFORMATION LEAFLET

Dear potential participant
My name is Rosalind Sigamoney. I am currently completing a research report in fulfilment of my master’s degree in Research Psychology and Consultancy at the University of South Africa. This research aims to explore and describe the experiences of a Somali community residing in Fordsburg/ Mayfair. This study will contribute to the discipline of psychology in gaining an in-depth understanding of migration experiences that exist in the Somali community.

I hereby ask for your willingness to participate in my study as your insight in this area of research is highly valuable. All volunteering participants in the study will remain anonymous in that, while their words will be made known, their identities will remain confidential. The information given will be for research purposes only. The interviewing process will take place for approximately 60 minutes. As an interviewee, you may refuse to answer any question and may withdraw at any point you wish. Non-participation or withdrawal in the study will not have any negative consequences for you in any way.

Debriefing will be made available, should it be required. Debriefing and information resources will be provided to you. Each interview will be audio-recorded and later transcribed. The recordings will be transcribed and kept for at least five years. After a period of five years the transcripts will be destroyed. The transcriptions may be included in the appendix of the final work with all identifying remarks and names changed. Feedback regarding the study’s outcomes will be made available in the form of a report of the findings, should you be interested. No monetary compensation will be given. However, as a token of appreciation for your time, snacks and refreshments will be made available after the interview.

You are in no way required to participate in this study. If you have any queries do not hesitate to ask me. It is necessary for me to obtain your informed consent before I can begin the study. Your support is greatly appreciated.

Yours faithfully

---------------------------------------
Rosalind Florence Sigamoney
Cell no: 0724350822
Email:jsigamoney1@gmail.com
Primary supervisor: Dr Gumani
Telephone number: 012 429 8267
Email:gumanma@unisa.ac.za
APPENDIX D
CONSENT FORM

My name is Rosalind Florence Sigamoney (Jennifer) and I am a student for the master’s degree in a Research Consultation Programme at the University of South Africa. I am the principal researcher of this project, entitled “The factors that contribute to the resilience of a Somali community residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair.” This is a research study of Somali migrants residing in Mayfair/Fordsburg. Data collection for the study is expected to take a year to complete. I would like permission to interview you about your experiences.

This interview will take approximately one hour. With your permission, I would like to audio-record this interview so I can record the details accurately. The recordings will only be heard by me and my supervisor. All information gathered will be kept strictly confidential, and will be stored in a locked filing cabinet, to which only my supervisor and I will have access. You may at any time during the interview refuse to answer any questions or end the interview.

The risk involved in this study is that the interview may evoke some negative emotions, in which case counselling will be arranged to assist you to deal with those emotions. The benefit of your participation is that you may benefit by voicing your opinion on the experiences encountered as a migrant in this country. It is also hoped that other migrant communities will learn from the experiences of your community and gain knowledge from the factors that contribute to your resilience as migrants residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair.

There are prospects of publishing the results of the study in scientific journals, but names of participants, or any identifying characteristics, will not be used in any of the publications. If you would like a copy of the study, please provide me with your address and I will send you a copy in the future.

If you have any questions about this research, you can contact me at 072 435 0822 or email the researcher at Jsigamoney1@gmail.com or my primary supervisor, Dr Gumani, at gumanma@unisa.ac.

Thank you for your participation in the study. I will give you a copy of this form to take with you.

I agree to have this interview audio-recorded; please circle one:
Yes  No
Rosalind Florence Sigamoney
……………………………  ………………………
Researcher’s signature  Participant’s signature

Date: 31/01/14
APPENDIX E
INTERVIEW GUIDE (FOR MEN AND WOMEN)

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW
The main interview question:
Can you describe your journey from Somalia to being a resident in Fordsburg/Mayfair in Johannesburg?

The main interview question will be asked and follow-up questions will not be asked in sequence to all participants, but to fill the gaps in the information provided by the participants. Follow-up questions will be guided mainly by the responses that the participants will give.

Themes to guide discussions with the participants:
Settlement
1. Describe the reasons that made you choose Fordsburg/ Mayfair as your residential area.
2. Describe your experience as a man/woman and as part of a migrant community when you settled in the Fordsburg/Mayfair community.
3. Describe the benefits and challenges that you experienced when you settled in Fordsburg/Mayfair.
4. Describe how the benefits profited you as you settled in Fordsburg/Mayfair.
5. Describe how you overcame these challenges.
Values
1. Describe the role of men/women in the Somali community.
2. Describe the values that are important in your community.
3. Explain how these values have assisted you to resettle in a foreign country.
4. Describe what has given you the strength to elevate your status from being a migrant community member to a productive member of the community.
Resilience
1. Explain whether or not you see yourself as resilient.
2. Describe the reasons for this resilience, if any.
3. Describe how you empower yourself.
APPENDIX F
BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF PARTICIPANTS

Could you please provide information on the attributes shown in the table below? Your name and address are not required. Confidentiality and anonymity will be ensured for your protection.

Participant number ……

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APPENDIX G

TURN-IT-IN CERTIFICATE

Title: The reasons that promote the resilience of a Somali community residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg

Name: R.F. (Jennifer) Sigamoney

FILE

TIME SUBMITTED 14-OCT-2016 01:16PM

SUBMISSION ID 720724925

WORD COUNT 46593

CHARACTER COUNT 255305

The reasons that promote the resilience of a Somali community residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg

ORIGINALITY REPORT

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APPENDIX H
PROOFREADING CERTIFICATE

M.B. BRADLEY
P.O. Box 37326 ........................................................................................................................................
................................................................................................................................................................

Faerie Glen
Pretoria 0043
072 369 5149

DECLARATION ON EDITING

Customer: Ms R.F. Sigamoney

Date
2016/10/28

Dissertation submitted for editing

The reasons that promote the resilience of a Somali community residing in Fordsburg/Mayfair, Johannesburg

The above document was submitted to me for language editing, which was completed on 28 October 2016. The student has added changes since then.

M.B. BRADLEY (MA) - Language editor

Cell no 072 3695 149