

Making Home in a Hostile Land: Understanding Somali Identity, Integration, Livelihood and Risks in Johannesburg

Zaheera Jinnah

School of Anthropology, Gender and Historical Studies, University of KwaZulu Natal, Durban, 4000, South Africa
Telephone: +27 31 260 2915, E-mail: singhan@ukzn.ac.za

KEYWORDS Migration. South Africa. Belonging. Migrant Entrepreneurship. Xenophobia. Social Networks.

ABSTRACT This paper seeks to understand Somali migration to South Africa and the lives of Somalis living and working in Johannesburg, a city that has provided economic opportunities and risks to life and livelihoods. Based on interviews with Somali leaders in Johannesburg, participant observation, a desktop study and secondary analysis of migration surveys, this paper is part of a doctoral thesis on livelihoods and empowerment amongst these migrants. It explores concepts of identity and integration within and amongst these migrants. Evidence suggests that national and religious identity is central to Somali settlement and integration, spawned out of social networks that play an important role in migrating, settling and maintaining connections with home.

INTRODUCTION

This paper explores Somali migration to South Africa and the lives of Somali migrants in Johannesburg. The structure of the paper is as follows: firstly, the general trend of migration to South Africa and that of Somalis in particular since 1994, will be discussed. Thereafter there is a socio-economic profile of Somalis in Johannesburg followed by a discussion of the risks that this group faces. Issues of identity and integration as they relate to the physical, social and institutional spaces of Johannesburg will be weaved into the discussion. The paper concludes by arguing that Somalis have created a unique space for economic integration and identity preservation though the formation of physical spaces and religious and organizational institutions in a xenophobic South Africa.

Migration to South Africa and Johannesburg in particular is on the increaseⁱ. As an urban centre and an economic hub in the region, Johannesburg has always attracted migrants from within its borders and further afield. Somalis though were some of the first non Southern African Development Corporation (SADC) migrants who arrived in the country, some even before 1994. This first group of pioneers established themselves in Cape Town and Johannesburg, urban centers that had economic potential. Over the years, some migrants relocated to smaller towns in the Eastern Cape, Limpopo and North-West provinces. In Johannesburg, Somalis are located almost exclusively in one suburb-

Mayfair. In contrast, Somalis are spread across the city and its townships in Cape Town. The spatial distribution of Somalis in Johannesburg provides an interesting context to study integration and settlement patterns.

These early migrants established themselves as reliable and hardworking with a sense of business acumen and paved the way for future Somalis by being a source of information and support. Subsequently there were two additional waves of migration to South Africa; the second flow of Somali migrants' occurred between 1995-2000 and the third in 2006 when Ethiopia invaded Somalia. There are no accurate figures on the number of Somalis in South Africa although estimates range from 27 000 to 40 000. In 2006, a total of 3024 asylum seekers from Somalia applied for asylum in South Africaⁱⁱⁱ. In 2005, there were 7548 refugees and 3774 asylum seekers, according to United Nations High Commission for Refugees in the country (UNHCR). Somali community leaders claim that the actual number of Somalis is higher than official figures.

Somalia: A Recent History

Lewis (1961) historical work on the history of Somalia identifies six major family clans, which through its divisions and sub-divisions make up the populace of Somalia. His work was later criticized by social scientists for failing to recognise the dynamics and differences within and outside this categorization, but it remains an authoritative source on the history of the coun-

try. There is a diverse race and class structure amongst Somalis which constitutes descendants of slaves, farmers and Arabs. This in turn is further complicated by village like structures that determine social standing.

The independent Somali Republic was formed in 1960 following the merger of the Italian and British colonial land. In 1969, Syed Barre assumed the presidency after a military coup. His rule over the next two decades created economic and political marginalization of tribes in the north of the country and resulted in the collapse of his regime in 1991. The ensuing clan divisions escalated into civil war that would plague the nation for the next two decades resulting in the collapse of the central government and increasing power of warlords. A common thread in the recent political science literature on Somalia is its description of the country as a failed state (Besteman 1996:586). This was partly fuelled by the absence of a central authority which gave rise to increasing levels of violence which claimed hundreds of thousands of lives and caused millions of people to flee the country (Besteman 1996).

Research Site

In Johannesburg, Somalis settled in Mayfair and Fordsburg, suburbs located close to the city centre that were hubs of trading amongst South African Indians, a significant number of whom are Muslims. The proximity of mosques was a determining factor in their settlement. They have over the years transformed the landscape of the city. Today migrants from across Africa and the sub-continent live and trade in these suburbs and the area has a distinct identity as a migrant trading space. The area was once a high dense suburb. It is presently rundown in appearance through infrastructural neglect. However, it occupies a strategic trading position in the suburb due to its close proximity to the city centre. The area, about 1 square kilometer on Central and 8th Avenues, between Mint Road and Bird Street in Mayfair and is marked by a distinct Somali presence. There are at least 60 Somali owned or operated businesses and a Somali shopping mall which also has a branch in Nairobi. The shopping centre was established by the Somali community and houses some 70 shops retailing and wholesaling goods ranging from electronics, daily consumables, clothing and telephonic ser-

vices. The shopping centre is owned and run by Somalis but premises are also let out to other migrant groups thereby creating some economic stability and status for the group. Close-by there is a house converted into a low cost lodge which caters for migrants and locals who are in need of low cost, temporary shelter. In addition to this commercial presence, there is also a mosque which was built with funds raised by the Somali community itself, and several restaurants which combine to create a cultural and religious identity for the community. There are also several internet cafes and telephone shops set up within the suburb where the majority of Somalis live to facilitate telecommunication networks and maintain ties with home

The Somali community in Johannesburg appears to be highly organized and visible. There are three organisations set up specifically to protect the interests of the group: the Somali Association of South Africa (SASA), the Somali Community Board (SCB) and the Somali Community Forum (SCF).

Literature Review

In South Africa, the recent xenophobic attacks in 2007 and 2008 on foreigners have turned the lens on how South Africa treats its migrants. While many argue that migrants further strain access to resources in a highly unequal country, others suggest that migrants are net contributors to the country's economy in terms of their skills, capital and experience. However, this is often viewed in terms of male labour. Within such a context the spaces that female migrants have carved for themselves in terms of living and working are unexplored.

In the literature on international migration, there is growing trend to recognise the increasing numbers of human mobility and movement and its impact on nation states and society. Castles' (1993) identifies the past twenty years as a 'new age of migration'. Whitwell (2002: 17) however argues that it is more a 'new age of racism' in which migrants feel excluded and marginalised. According to Massey (1998), the current global period of migration is marked by harsh immigration laws, discrimination, and violations of human rights in terms of working conditions and legal rights. Hammar and Kristoff (1997: 11) state that for the United States of America and Western Europe, migrants are not

wanted or tolerated. Anti-immigrant sentiment in these countries is on the rise as fears of 'being flooded' and threats of terrorism being linked to foreigners are constantly being played out in the media and amongst politicians. Jordan and Duvell (2003) argue that weary citizens, facing stiff competition for jobs from cheaper foreign labour and threats of terrorism from migrants feel insecure about the rising immigration levels. Yet the number of people who migrate each year is higher than ever before. According to Castles and Miller (1998), this can be attributed to global inequality, economic and political instability, and rising unemployment in many countries. The ideals of equality, justice, opportunity and peace, much fought for by civil society and governments of the developing world have not been realised. The rapid pace of globalisation has divided as much as or perhaps more than it has bridged.

Over the past twelve years, migration to South Africa has increased significantly as the country became the major regional economic and political power. Democracy, natural wealth, and the country's developed industrial infrastructure are all 'pull' factors for migrants from countries fleeing war, strife, poor economic conditions, and oppression. A Statistics South Africa report (cited in Crush and Williams 2001) state that South Africa's post apartheid landscape is characterised by a sharp increase in migrant movements toward South Africa, although an absence of reliable data on exactly how many foreigners are present in South Africa fuels this debate.

Since the 1990's, there have been attempts to understand the types and impacts of migration flows into South Africa. However, limited qualitative research, especially on women has been conducted to understand the migrant experience in South Africa.

Research by Rogerson (1997) sheds some light onto the financial activities of migrants in Johannesburg. I will concentrate only on the findings of migrants from non-Southern African Development Corporation (SADC) countries, as this group is more relevant to this study and will provide better comparative analysis and background. The average age of migrants is 31, most are male (71%), educated to at least secondary school level. Almost 33% of respondents to a similar study by Belvedere (2003: 4) had some sort of tertiary education. In a national survey, it was found that two-thirds of refugees and asylum seekers indicated were fluent in English, and

many spoke another international language (usually French or Portuguese). The findings of that report were that most migrant owned businesses were involved in retail or service industries (95%) and not in production. The new immigrant businesses tend to be run by single young men (87% are men in Rogerson's survey) and the majority (59%) are between the ages of 26-35 years. They work very long hours (54% of respondents in Rogerson's survey worked between 50 and 69 hours a week) without social protection. Rogerson's case studies reported that they work between 55 and 60 hours a week. They encounter considerable hostility from government officials, public servants, hospitals and government departments and from ordinary citizens. Many of the businesses have international linkages often drawing on experience from their home countries or from family and/or friends connected to the industry.

Work on transnationalism has concentrated on analyses of social networks, capital flows and information and skill transfers between migrants in a host society and their country of origin (Vertovec, 1999: 448). Research on social networks and identity amongst migrants has been conducted on the Somali community in Denmark where Nielsen (2004) found that secondary migration amongst Danish Somalis' to Britain is influenced by transnational social networks in Britain. These networks are responsible for disseminating information about the country. His study suggests that social networks are an important influence in migrants' decision-making. In a similar study, Anwar (1979) has found that Pakistanis in the United Kingdom remain closely connected to home through extended kinship. The role and structure of social networks are therefore important considerations in any study on migration settlement.

METHODOLOGY

Data for this paper was based on primary and secondary research and is part of a more in-depth research study. Primary material constitutes of interviews with key Somali respondents in Johannesburg, participant observation in Somali areas and internet based research on Somali associations. An analysis of the African Cities Study, a Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP)² study which surveyed 847 people from the DRC, Mozambique, Somalia and South Africa in Johannesburg was also conducted.

FINDINGS

South Africa was not an obvious choice for Somali migrants. It had no ethnic, language or religious commonalities with Somalia nor was it easy to obtain documentation³. Kenya had been the preferred option for Somalis as many Kenyans shared the language and ethnic characteristics of Somalis. Nevertheless, South Africa, as the economic hub of Africa offered Somalis the hope of establishing themselves economically and being self sufficient an idea which appealed to their sense of honor and independence and which many Somalis claim is central to their identity. As one respondent says, “A Somali will not even take R50 from someone if he feels it is given in a demeaning way”.

A Socio-economic Profile of Somalis in Johannesburg

The 2006 FMSP African Cities Survey found that the majority of Somalis surveyed in Johannesburg (89%), live in Mayfair, a suburb located close to the inner city of Johannesburg with a sizable local Muslim population (the research site is described in greater detail elsewhere in the article). The spatial distribution of this population group is therefore significant in any study.

A third of Somalis surveyed in the African Cities Study lived in hostels or boarding, compared to only 12% of other migrants in this category; a further 25.3% in multiple family apartments and 22% in single family apartments. A typical household has between 4-6 occupants; of this a third are friends from Somalia, 28.6% are friends from other countries and 25.4% are family. This suggests that two types of Somali households can be identified in Johannesburg. The first comprises of a hostel-type arrangement suggesting that migrants are single and temporary or transient. The second type points to longer established migrants who are living with family.

Half of the Somalis surveyed were between the ages of 26 and 35. An overwhelming majority are Muslim 98.9%, which is a distinct difference from the other major migrant groups in South Africa who are Protestant or Catholic. Somalis have settled overwhelmingly in a Muslim-dominated environment in Johannesburg, drawing on religious affiliation to settle and immerse in host communities.

Education levels amongst Somali migrants are of a similar level to other migrant groups. 40.3% of Somalis surveyed had completed secondary school and 24.7% had finished primary school. Nearly all Somalis surveyed (82.8%) speak English; this is about 20 % higher than migrants from DRC and Mozambique.

Somalis in South Africa appear to have legal status and valid documentation. A large amount of Somalis (71%) reported to hold refugee status, which is significantly higher than migrants from the DRC. The majority of Somalis (93%) cite war as the major ‘push’ factor in leaving home. As table 1 illustrates, more than two-thirds of Somalis did not leave home with a household member.

Table 1: Number of Somalis who left home with another household member

<i>Left with other household member</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Yes	58	31.18
No	128	68.82
Total	186	100.00

Source: FMSP, African Cities Survey Data 2006

Networks

An important feature of Somali migration to Europe and the United States of America has been the role of networks.¹ Somalis rely on family and ethnic tribal links to secure means of passage, settle in host countries and maintain contact with home (Table 2).

Table 2: First contact for migrants in Johannesburg.

<i>First contacts in Johannesburg</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Did not know/ question not answered	7	3.76
Local South Africans	8	4.30
Kin or family members already in South Africa	60	32.26
Members of pre-flight community	21	11.29
People from country of origin	46	24.73
South African aid workers/NGO	29	15.59
South African Govt. officials	3	1.61
Religious leaders	11	5.91
Other	1	0.54
Total	186	100.00

Source: FMSP, African Cities Survey Data 2006

Preliminary findings from the Johannesburg study indicate similar patterns. For most Somalis, like other migrants in South Africa, the first contact in Johannesburg upon arrival was family or people from the same country of origin.

Family and friends also provided assistance and encouragement to migrants *before* leaving Somalia although this was mainly in an indirect non-material form (Table 3).

Table 3: Role of family/friends before migrating

<i>Encouraged/helped by relatives/friends to come</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Yes	48	78.69
No	13	21.31
Total	61	100.00

Source: FMSP, African Cities Survey Data 2006

Table 4: Type of assistance provided by family and friends

<i>Assistance provided by relatives 1</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
General information about South Africa	41	85.42
Money to pay for travel	3	6.25
Employment help	1	2.08
Provided accommodation	3	6.25
Total	48	100.00

Source: FMSP, African Cities Survey Data 2006

Livelihoods

Somali migration and settlement is marked by family and clan patterns. This is evident in studies on Somalis in Europe, the US and South Africa^{vi}. Drawing on social capital enables Somalis to diversify their trade, minimize risk and pool resources. In Johannesburg, this is no different; Somali-owned businesses have kinship links that cut across industry and spatial boundaries.

Case Study 1: Ahmed

Ahmed is a young Somali migrant in his 30's. He fled the war in Somali and settled in South Africa about 10 years ago. He lives with his wife, children and brother-in-law. He has a retail business in Johannesburg selling products that he buys locally. In addition, he has a share in two general dealer businesses in a small town in Mpumalanga province. His brother-in-law assists him in the business by buying goods. The additional manpower allows him to have several busi-

ness interests and to keep abreast of industry trends such as where to buy the cheapest goods.

Case Study 2: Mariam

Mariam is a single mother of 6 children and has been in South Africa since 1995. She works at a government office as a translator during the day from which she draws a small salary. In addition to this, she has a small grocery store in the front of her house which her older children manager during the day. She also has links with local and Somali businessmen in Johannesburg who supply her with surplus goods that they do not need which she can resell. As a single mother, she is also receives material goods such as clothing from local charities from time to time. In this way, she can draw on several income and funding streams to sustain her family.

Types of Work

Upon arrival in Johannesburg, most Somalis worked either as street traders or hawkers, peddling small quantities of low cost goods in informal ways or as professionals (Table 5). Those in the former category worked mainly for other Somalis. By contrast, non-professional migrants from the Democratic Republic of Congo and Mozambique worked in sector specific industries such as car or security guarding (DRC) or mechanics or petty trading (Mozambique) and were employed by South Africans. This points to a

Table 5: Income generating activity upon arrival in Johannesburg

<i>Income generating activity on arrival in Johannesburg</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Car guard	1	0.54
Domestic worker/caretaker	1	0.54
Driver	9	4.84
Factory/sweat shop worker	6	3.23
Hawker (no fixed location)	38	20.43
Housewife/homemaker	4	2.15
Mechanic	2	1.08
Other professional	50	26.88
Own business/business person	18	9.68
Primary/secondary sch. Student	1	0.54
Restaurant employee	9	4.84
Teacher	1	0.54
Didn't work	3	1.61
Does not work	43	23.12
Total	186	100.00

Source: FMSP, African Cities Survey Data 2006

distinct difference in the dependence levels of migrants as Somalis sought to establish self-sustainable income modes rather than seeking employment.

Table 6: Type of person worked for on arrival

Type of person worked for on arrival	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Did not know	40	28.57	28.57
Ref/migrant of same tribe	50	35.71	64.29
Ref/migrant of another tribe from c of o	6	4.29	68.57
South African different tribe	24	17.14	85.71
Other	3	2.14	87.86
Didn't work on arrival	5	3.57	91.43
Started business immediately	12	8.57	100.00
Total	140	100.00	

Source: FMSP, African Cities Survey Data 2006

Somali work in Johannesburg is diverse. Businesses range from wholesale suppliers, retail business selling clothing and blankets in the city centre to cheaper daily convenience stores in townships. Service oriented business includes nationwide delivery networks, internet and international calling shops, money transfer and exchange, and motor mechanics. Businesses are located alongside local and other migrant owned businesses and there appears to be some solidarity amongst owners against crime. A significant aspect of Somali owned business is its awareness of shifting market conditions and ability to respond quickly to these. Owners keep updated with industry trends and are able to respond quickly to shifts in demand and supply and price fluctuations. They also draw on a network of Somalis to share such information. For example, a Somali businessman mentioned how he can buy a product from a shop in Pretoria for a lower price because he heard that it was on special there whereas other traders would still shop at Makro^{vii}. Traditionally, South African Indians were one of the groups who owned and operated small to medium retail stores in the city centre, convenience stores in rural towns and larger wholesale suppliers in the periphery of the CBD. The characteristics of their businesses were high profit margins on everyday goods, close relationships with a closed group of customers and suppliers, the provision of credit and restricted operating hours^{vii}. By operating on different and strategic business principles; such buying more strategically which allows them to set a small profit margin and sell goods cheaper, dealing almost

only in cash, and operating for longer hours they are able to stay ahead of competitors and in so doing have changed the nature of retail and wholesale business in South Africa.

Identity and Integration

There are diverse ethnic identities in Somalia straddling Arab and African backgrounds. A feature of recent Somali national identity is its mobility. Large number of Somali refugees have fled the war torn country in the past two decades settling in Europe, North America, the Gulf States and South Africa. Studies on Somali refugees in some of these countries (see for example Ferraro 2008 and Horst 2006) have shown that religious and national identity is central to Somalis.

The following poem by Somali poet Hussein Yusuf titled "Identity: I am Somali"¹ raises some of these issues:

Beautiful and proud, Somalis remain Somali.
Clan means so much to so many of my people.
Yes, I belong to a clan, a powerful clan in
Somalia, but I have no affinity for it.
I choose to be Somali.

But I am also more than Somali, I am the
product of many oceans, always changing,
revolving, learning and growing.
Yet my Somali culture and history remains the
tower that gives light to the oceans I swim in.
I breathe like a Somali.

My culture is not a fixed configuration but a
constructive process.

This is maybe a weakness on my part, but my
identity and culture are always conditional to
my environment and the centre of the process
that I feel is never complete but always under
construction.

This is the Somali story: we are the product of
many cultures, ideas and people.

I am *Somali*.

Source: BBC

Somali identity is manifested through religious symbols and practices such as mosques, *madressas* (Islamic schools), restaurants and grocery stores offering Somali food and ingredients (such as *angera* a type of bread), and economic self-sufficiency which is marked by small stores. These features are visible present in the research site.

In Johannesburg, Somalis found within the local Muslim community^{viii} some support and religious identification. Many Somalis worked

for Indian Muslim owned businesses for a short while upon arrival but soon after opened their own businesses. Mosques were common ground for meeting other Somalis and South Africans and sharing information on housing, work and documentation. As the number of Somalis grew, preserving Somali identity and interests ascended towards becoming a major priority. The Somali Association of South Africa was formed in 1995 in Johannesburg, one of the first migrant led organisations, and now has offices and/or representatives in Port Elizabeth, East London, Queenstown, Cape Town, Mpumalanga and Limpopo. Its mission is to mobilise Somalis to protect their rights, preserve Somali social practices and identity, lobby government for services and protection as set out in the Constitution and address the challenges that Somalis face in South Africa. Other organizations which have been formed by Somalis in Johannesburg include the Somali Community Forum and the Al Bayaan Institute. Formal organising amongst Somalis is common in the Diaspora, Somali organisations are active in the UK, US, Denmark, Norway, Holland and Canada (see McGown 1999; Hopkins 2006; Norredam, et al. 2009). One of the major functions of these organisations is to try and recreate indigenous beliefs and practices.

The Somali dominated area in Mayfair is marked by Somali owned shops, restaurants, internet cafes, delivery services, a mosque and religious school and financial facilities. It is perhaps this tendency to self-suffice that has resulted in a perception that they are unwilling to integrate. However, interviews with Somalis reveal a different side. They claim Somalis have lived and worked with locals and other migrants, offering evidence of economic ties, a sharing of public spaces and services as evidence of their integration. As one respondent says, "We live and work side by side." They argue rather, that the definition of integration is problematic, as it is often understood as wanting to marry local women, visiting local shebeens- issues that the community would not consider as it clashes with their customs and practices. Integrated or not, Somalis have changed the economic and social life of Mayfair, by providing goods and /or services that were not always available- or affordable- to all. Two examples of this are the delivery service for small businesses that runs countrywide in SA and the affordable short term housing provided close to the city centre.

Risks Faced

"Somalis are easy prey. They don't have access to the law." Siyad Hajir, a former Motherwell shop owner quoted in Misago, 2009¹

Perhaps the biggest contribution of Somalis to South Africa has also given rise to their strongest threat. Somali owned businesses in city centres, townships and rural areas across South Africa have provided goods at cheaper prices, and longer trading hours. This has resulted in fierce competition for business. In Misago's (2009) report on the causes of xenophobic violence in South Africa, perceptions around business competition is listed as a trigger for the May 2008 xenophobic violence.

This study confirms that, in Masiphumelele, the August 2006 xenophobic violence was stimulated by a build up of tensions over business competition between Somali and locally owned businesses. Although not able to provide specific numbers, all respondents report that the number of Somali-owned shops had significantly increased in that year. This resulted in the downfall of businesses owned by local residents, who were not able to compete with the relatively cheap prices offered by Somali traders. Subsequently, local business owners mobilised to organise the attacks on Somali shops. The looting and destruction of Somali shops was carried out by groups of youths, but all respondents report that it is common knowledge that they were 'hired' to do so by the local business owners.^{ix}

However, his study convincingly shows that local residents want Somali traders to remain because they provide essential goods and services to the community.

As Somalis succeed in business in Johannesburg and elsewhere, they face increasing risks to their property and lives. When Somali businesses moved into townships across the country from the mid 1990's, a smart business move as they penetrated new markets, selling goods at cheaper prices and trading longer hours, they became targets of violence and xenophobia. September 11, 2001, is known amongst Somalis as the 9/11 against Somalis in South Africa. On this day, according to Somali community leaders, over 100 Somali owned business were targeted and some even killed. Over the next 8 years, Somali leaders' records show that 500 Somalis were killed in xenophobic attacks in the country and looting

of shops has resulted in loss of millions of rands of stock. Although this cannot be verified with official statistics, they are mentioned here because of the meanings that they hold for Somalis. They often refer to these figures to illustrate their vulnerability and risk that they face as foreigners. Whether the actual numbers are less or not is irrelevant to Somalis on the ground, they are concerned with the perceptions of violence and biased targeting rather than actual violence.

Efforts at addressing these risks have taken two primary forms: firstly some businesses have closed and moved to other 'safer area' where there was little or no xenophobic violence experienced in May 2008, and secondly, Somali community organisations have set up working relations with the local police and community forums to address safety issues.

Despite this, migration of Somalis to South Africa and active levels of business and economic activities continue.

CONCLUSION

Somalis are different from other migrant groups in South Africa. Their keen sense of business acumen differentiates them in terms of who they are and how they live. Social ties play a prominent role in their migratory patterns, livelihoods identity. In Johannesburg, Somalis have carved a unique space for work and have made a valuable contribution to the local economy all whilst and preserving their ethnic and religious identity. They have also faced risks to their property and lives before and after the May 2008 attacks. To address these risks and preserve the identity and values which are central to Somali life, they have formed organisations and community forums which actively work to promote and protect the interests of the group.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Part of this study was funded by a grant from the National Research Foundation and made possible by Professors Anand Singh and Shanta Singh, from the University of KwaZulu Natal.. Data sets and reports from the Forced Migration Studies Program are hereby acknowledged. This research would not be possible without the assistance and cooperation of members of the Somali Association of South Africa.

NOTES

- ¹ DHA
- ² See for example Kleist and Shaffers works in Denmark and the USA respectively.
- ⁱ See for example Landau 2004, Crush 2000
- ⁱⁱ Department of Home Affairs
- ⁱⁱⁱ Parts of this paper form part of a doctoral thesis on Somali women and livelihoods in Johannesburg.
- ^{iv} This survey was undertaken by the Forced Migration Studies Program, Wits University in 2006 and is available from info@migration.org.za
- ^v Somalis generally have refugee or asylum seeker status in South Africa. The impact of such documentation though falls outside the scope of this paper but will be explored in later research
- ^{vi} See Ferrato (2008) and Hammond (2008)
- ^{vii} A large wholesale chain store in South Africa favoured by small business owners for regular supplies
- ^{viii} Generally, Indian owned business would be open for 5 and a half days a week and would close for an hour during lunch each day. Trading on Sundays was not common. Somalis open on average 12 hours a day 7 days a week.
- ^{ix} This poem was originally published on BBC "Identity: Who do you think you are?"
- ^x Figures of the number of Muslims in South Africa vary but most studies put the number at less than 2% of the total population but have a number of charitable, social, banking and religious institutions which play an active role in society and contribute to a sense of a visible Islamic identity.
- ^{xi} Landau(2009:52)
- ^{xii} Misago(2009)

REFERENCES

- Besteman C 1996. Violent Politics and the Politics of Violence: The Dissolution of the Somali Nation-State. *American Ethnologist*, 23(3): 579-596.
- Crush J 2000. The Dark Side of Democracy: Migration, Xenophobia and Human Rights in South Africa. *International Migration*, 38: 103-131.
- Ferrato G 2008. Border to Border, shifting identities of Somali migrants in transit to South Africa. *Paper presented at Cortona Summer School in African Studies*.
- Hammond L 2008. Obligated to give: Remittances and the Maintenance of Transnational Networks between Somalis at Home and Abroad. *La Dynamique complexes des migrations internationales*. Montreal: Presses de l'Universite de Montreal.
- Hopkins G 2006. Somali Community Organizations in London and Toronto: Collaboration and Effectiveness. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 19(3): 361-380.
- Horst C 2006. *Transnational Nomads: How Somalis cope with Refugee Life in Dadaab Camp of Kenya*. Oxford: Bergman Books.
- Landau LB 2004. Forced Migrants in the New Johannesburg: Towards a Local Government Response. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand. Available online at <http://migration.wits.ac.za/FMNJ.html> (Retrieved on 31st January, 2010).
- McGown RB 1998. *Muslims in the Diaspora: the Somali communities of London and Toronto*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- Misago JP 2009. Towards Tolerance, Law, and Dignity: Addressing Violence against Foreign Nationals in South Africa. *IOM Research Report*, Johannesburg: Forced Migration Studies Programme
- Norredam M, Nielsen AS, Krasnik A 2009. Migrants' utilization of somatic healthcare services in Europe—a systematic review. *European Journal of Public Health*, 29: ckp195v1
- Yousuf H 2007. 'I am Somali' BBC Identity: Who do you think you are? Available online at http://www.hiir.aan.com/comments2-op-2007-Jun-identity_i_am_somali.aspx, (Retrieved on 12th January, 2010).