

POSITIONING IN SOMALI NARRATIVES IN THE SALDANHA BAY MUNICIPAL AREA ON THE WEST COAST OF SOUTH AFRICA

By

Lehahn Searle Swanepoel

Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of

MPhil in Intercultural Communication

at

Stellenbosch University

Supervisor: Prof. A. Deumert

Co-supervisor: Prof. C. Anthonissen

DECLARATION

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained herein is my own, original work, that I am the owner of the copyright thereof and that I have not previously, in its entirety or in part, submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Date: 22 November 2011

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. A. Deumert, whose expertise, and patience, added considerably to my graduate experience. I appreciate her vast knowledge in this particular area of Linguistics.

A very special thanks goes out to my co-supervisor, Prof. C Anthonissen, without whose motivation and encouragement I would not have been successful.

I am indebted to Taryn Bernard for her suggestions, assistance, and understanding. I also acknowledge the librarians at JS Gericke Library who assisted me in many different ways, and Connie Park, from Humarga, who did the final formatting.

I am for ever indebted to my first teacher, my mother, Annie Swanepoel, who has been a constant source of support.

Lastly, and most importantly, I wish to thank my wife, Lucia, who has always been my pillar and my joy.

ABSTRACT

This study is interested in discourses of displacement in which migrants articulate the experience of seeking improved life chances in a community considerably removed from their place of origin. Not only physical and environmental distance, but also distance related to cultural, linguistic and religious differences distinguish the (im)migrants from the local indigenous population, which is already a culturally and linguistically diverse community. This study investigates how histories of displacement and experiences of alienation or integration may be discursively managed among a group of young Somali males aged between 15 and 35 who entered South Africa in their late teens or early twenties.

Specifically, this thesis considers how young Somali men who relocated to a rural Western Cape town and make a living through trading, present themselves in English-language narratives elicited during informal interviews. The study was conducted in Vredenburg, the administrative centre and economic hub of the Saldanha Bay Municipal area on the West Coast of South Africa. The data for the study was collected by means of audio recorded interviews. To supplement this data and gain more perspective on the situatedness of the discourses, the researcher further relied on field notes as well as additional informal conversations with the participants. The data was collected over a period of five months in 2007.

To analyse the data, the researcher draws on the theoretical frameworks of Labov's structural analysis of narratives and Wodak and Reisigl's (2001) discourse-historical approach, and Bamberg's (1997) narrative constructivist perspective. The research aims to determine (i) how the narrators construct themselves in their narratives, and (ii) how speakers position themselves towards the content of their narratives, and towards their actual and imagined audiences.

This study shows that displacement brings about new contexts characterised by uncertainty, conflict and inequalities, and this influences the way narrators orient themselves. The Somali narrators, in interviews conducted in English with a community outsider, position themselves as displaced and marginalised. During their narratives, the participants used several linguistic strategies to present themselves in various ways to actual or imagined audiences, which lead to negative other-presentation and positive self-presentation and construction of in-group and out-group membership.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie fokus op diskoerse van ontworteling waarin migrante hul ervaring verwoord van 'n soeke na beter lewensgeleenthede in 'n gemeenskap ver verwyderd van hul plek van herkoms. Buiten vir die fisiese en omgewingsafstand, is daar ook afstand daargestel deur kulturele, linguistiese en godsdiensverskille, wat die (im)migrante onderskei van die plaaslike bevolking – op sigself 'n kultureel en linguisties diverse gemeenskap. Hierdie studie doen ondersoek na hoe geskiedenisverhale oor ontworteling en ervarings van vervreemding of integrasie diskursief bestuur kan word binne 'n groep jong Somaliese mans van 15 tot 35 jaar wat Suid-Afrika in hul laat tienerjare of vroeë twintigerjare binnegekom het.

Die tesis fokus spesifiek op hoe jong Somaliese mans wat na 'n plattelandse Wes-Kaapse dorp migreer het en 'n handelsbestaan voer, hulself voorstel in Engelstalige narratiewe wat ontlok is tydens informele onderhoude. Die studie is gedoen in Vredenburg, die administratiewe en ekonomiese kern van die Saldanhabaai Munisipale Area aan die Weskus van Suid-Afrika. Die data vir die studie is ingesamel deur middel van klankopnames van onderhoude. Ten einde dié data aan te vul en meer perspektief te verkry ten opsigte van die plasing van die diskoerse, het die navorser verder gesteun op veldnotas sowel as bykomende informele gesprekke met die deelnemers. Die data is oor 'n tydperk van vyf maande in 2007 versamel.

In die ontleding van die data maak die navorser gebruik van die teoretiese raamwerke van Labov se strukturele analise van narratiewe en Wodak en Reisigl (2001) se diskoers-historiese benadering, asook Bamberg (1997) se narratief-konstruktivistiese perspektief. Die navorsing het ten doel om vas te stel (i) hoe die vertellers hulself in hul narratiewe konstrueer, en (ii) hoe sprekers hulself posisioneer ten opsigte van die inhoud van hul narratiewe en ten opsigte van hul werklike en denkbeeldige gehore.

Hierdie studie toon dat ontworteling nuwe kontekste skep wat gekenmerk word deur onsekerheid, konflik en ongelykhede en 'n invloed het op die wyse waarop vertellers hulself orienteer. Tydens onderhoude met 'n gemeenskapsbuitestaander, uitgevoer in Engels, posisioneer die Somaliese vertellers hulself as ontwortel en gemarginaliseer. In hul narratiewe gebruik hulle verskeie linguistiese strategieë om hulself op verskillende maniere voor te stel aan werklike en denkbeeldige gehore wat lei tot 'n negatiewe voorstelling van die Ander, 'n positiewe voorstelling van die Self en die daarstelling van binne- en buite-groep lidmaatskap.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One: Introduction to the Research Problem.....	1
1.1 Background.....	1
1.2 Situational context	2
1.2.1 Somalis and Somali migrants in South Africa.....	4
1.3 Research aims, questions and hypotheses	6
1.4 Chapter overview	8
1.5 Terms of reference	9
Chapter Two: Literature review.....	12
2.1 Intercultural Communication.....	12
2.2 Narrative theory	14
2.2.1 Labov's model for analysing narratives.....	15
2.2.2 Narrative analysis after Labov and Waletzky	17
2.2.3 Narrative and identity	19
2.2.4 Narrative and culture	21
2.2.5 Narrative and place	22
2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis	23
2.4 The Discourse Historical Approach	24
2.5 Positioning theory	25
2.6 Summary	29
Chapter Three: Research Methodology	30
3.1 Qualitative research	30
3.2 Selection of participants	30
3.3 Gathering of data	31
3.4 Interview data	32
3.5 The use of EFL among participants	33
3.6 Research difficulties	37
3.7 Ethical considerations	38
3.8 Summary	38

Chapter Four: Profile of Respondents	40
4.1 Linguistic profile of respondents	40
4.2 Migration history of respondents	41
4.3 Individual profile of the respondents	44
4.5 Summary	47
Chapter Five: Presentation of Data	48
5.1 Narratives about a "mythical home"	49
5.2 Language and racism: The construction of 'in-group' and 'out-group' identities	66
5.3 Analysis in terms of the Discourse Historical Approach	68
5.3.1 Positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation	68
5.3.2 Referential/Nomination strategies	69
5.3.3 Predicational strategies	70
5.3.4 Argumentation strategies	71
5.3.5 Framing/discourse representation	71
5.3.6 Intensifying and mitigation strategies	73
5.4 Pronoun switches in Somali narratives	79
5.4.1 The use of "I", "we" and "they"	80
5.5 Summary	85
Chapter Six: Conclusion	86
6.1 Summary of research aims and achievements	86
6.2 Suggestions for further research	88
LIST OF REFERENCES	89
APPENDICES:	97
APPENDIX 1 (A1) Transcript of interview with MD	98
APPENDIX 2 (A2) Transcript of interview with TT	103
APPENDIX 3 (A3) Transcript of interview with BB	110
APPENDIX 4 (A4) Transcript of interview with JJ	119
APPENDIX 5 (A5) List of questions	125
APPENDIX 6 (A6) Maps	127
Figure 1: Map of Somalia (political)	127
Figure 2: Boundaries of Saldanha Bay Municipality (SBM area)	128

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

1.1 BACKGROUND

Since its transition to majority rule in 1994, South Africa has become the destination for large numbers of migrants from across Africa (Landau & Jacobsen, 2003:3). The number of refugees to South Africa has in the last three years quadrupled compared to 2007 (UNHCR, 2010:17). A considerable number of these asylum seekers, also referred to as "forced migrants", who have relocated to South Africa are Somalis, who started settling in Vredenburg on the West Coast of South Africa. Somalia, according to the UNHCR (2010), is recorded as a country with one of the "most severe forced displacements in the region, with more than 1.5 million of its citizens uprooted, many several times over".

The presence of refugees¹ and asylum seekers is changing the demographics as well as the public attitudes and political rhetoric in particular areas in South Africa and the country at large. The narratives of refugees like those of the Somalis recently settled in West Coast communities, often differ considerably in terms of culture and religion from the rural population of the Saldanha Bay Municipal area (henceforth SBM area). These narratives can give an indication as to how such migrants to the country discursively construct themselves and their experiences, interact with the local population, and evaluate their own and the voices of others (Landau & Jacobsen, 2004:44). Of interest is that these processes of interaction and construction of self and others are taking place within the context of connecting in time and space: the foreign intercultural space "here" and the pre-exile "there", as well as the displaced "now" and the pre-migration "then" (Dudley, 2008:23). The pre-migration space might have been inter-cultural in more ways than one. In their home country, there are a variety of different tribes, languages and cultures; en route to South Africa, members of this community may have spent time in other countries and before settling in the SBM area in other parts of South Africa.

¹ I use the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' (UNHCR) definition for refugees, as persons who have fled their country because of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group, and who cannot or do not want to return (UNHCR Report, 1993).

According to Parkin (1999:1), the stories and artefacts that refugees carry with them may be all that remains of their pre-migration personhood to provide for continuity with the future. The experiences of refugees, told as stories or autobiographical narratives, are used by their narrators to create coherence in their fragmented and shifting linguistic and identity experiences. Their life stories can be regarded as resources for social interaction, and provide personal and social comfort (Linde, 1993:3-4). The aim of this thesis is to present an analysis of narratives of male Somali refugees in order to gain a deeper understanding of the historical, psychological and sociological experiences of the refugees themselves. In order to do this, this thesis draws on aspects of narrative theory as entry point into an examination of how these particular narratives construct and position the narrators in their current environment. Discourse Analysis is used as a further theoretical tool to investigate telling grammatical features of the narratives.

This study contributes to our understanding of how migration figures in the construction of identities in post-Apartheid South Africa. The narratives of refugees, on the one hand, highlight their anxieties, needs and hopes. On the other hand, they pose questions about "strangers", "citizens" and "homeland". They reflect on questions of unity and diversity. Studies like these can help change the perception that refugees are merely "surplus people", "a problem" and even a threat to local communities who often also find themselves in socially vulnerable positions. Systematic analysis of narratives does not only help to better understand this particular mode of language behaviour (the narrative itself), but also intercultural communication in general.

1.2 SITUATIONAL CONTEXT

Labour migration and refugees have been an important component of international migration in Africa (Tienda, Findley, Tollman & Preston-Whyte, 2006:34). More than a century ago, mostly migrant labourers from Africa moved into South Africa because the mining and agriculture sectors in South Africa had become dependent on (authorised and unauthorised) migrant labour from African countries (Maharaj, 2004:3). Cross-border labour migration between South Africa and its neighbouring states dates back to the mid-19th century when the diamond and gold mining industries were founded and South Africa's economy developed into a modern industrial economy (Crush, 2008:1).

The former government's racist policies and the economy's dependence on cheap Black² labour contributed to the fact that the most authorised migrants to South Africa came from Europe and neighbouring countries (Crush, 2008:3). According to the 2001 census, the number of authorised migrants in South Africa included 687 678 from Southern African developing countries (SADC), and 228 318 from Europe. Since 1994, South Africa has deported 1.7 million undocumented migrants to Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Lesotho. In 2006 alone, 260 000 migrants were arrested and deported (Crush, 2008:2).

There never has been a definite figure with regard to the number of refugees in South Africa. The figures ranged from 4.1 million to 12 million by various political leaders and institutions (Solomon, 2003:91). The *Forced Migration Studies Programme* (FMSP) questions these numbers since data on migration into and within South Africa are poorly collected. They estimate the overall foreign national population today in South Africa at between 1.6 and 2 million or 3-4% of the total population (Polzer, 2010).

African immigrants³ traditionally include more males than females (Maharaj, 2004:5). Young men play an active role in the processes of displacement and resettlement. However, they do not represent one homogenous group (Brun, 2000:10). In the case of the Somali community in the SBM area, men are the dominant figures in terms of the household and business ventures. They were also the first to enter the country in relatively large numbers (in their late teens and early twenties), and enjoy the highest level of interaction with the native speakers (Nackerdien,⁴ 2010 verbatim). This helps to explain the rationale for focusing on male Somali narratives in this study.

According to research in 1996 and 1997 by the HSRC and the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), 93% whites, 77% Coloureds,⁵ and 56% Black Africans believe the influx of illegal

² In 1978, the Nationalist government agreed to use the term "Blacks" in place of "Bantu" in referring to inhabitants of exclusively African ancestry. Although the term did refer, especially, during the seventies and eighties, under the influence of the Black Consciousness Movement, to all those who would identify themselves as Black, excluding only those who regard themselves as white, but including Coloureds and Indians, the term has since 1994 come to refer exclusively to people of African ancestry (Williams, 1988:33).

³ For a clear distinction between migrant, immigrant, refugee and asylum seeker, see the list of key terms at the end of chapter 1 on p.19. The term to be used in this thesis in reference to the Somali participants is "migrants".

⁴ Ebrahim Nackerdien is a former Chairperson of the Muslim Community of Vredenburg, ward councillor and first mayor of the unified Saldanha Bay Municipality.

⁵ The Nationalist government referred to people of mixed racial ancestry as being "Coloureds". Their origins, dating to 1657, involved White men and slave women from tropical Africa, Madagascar, Java as well as local San and Khoi women. The term "Coloured" is considered by many as offensive: Educated "Coloureds" think it is a one-size fits all description for people from different geographical, ethnic and cultural backgrounds, and was never chosen by them, "Coloureds" from the lower classes are starting to associate themselves with their San or

immigrants to be a bad thing for the country. In terms of language groups, more Afrikaans speakers (85%) than isiXhosa speakers (71%) thought illegal immigration had negative consequences for the country.

Solomon (2000:2) claims that already in the late nineties there was evidence to suggest that South Africans were becoming more xenophobic in their attitudes towards immigrants. Along with an almost "new racist" post-apartheid migration policy by the government, developed a new post-apartheid nationalism that views foreign nationals as a threat to African citizens' economic prospects (Crush, 2008:4). The rationale here is that, on the one hand, foreign Africans are competing with SA citizens, where workers are willing to work for less than the state-suggested minimum wage, and, on the other hand, well-educated foreigners are appointed in senior positions, so that Black Economic Empowerment aims profit other Africans more than South African Africans.

The Forced Migration Studies Programme regards competition for informal local leadership positions and competition for business opportunities as the key triggers for violence against foreigners which erupted from 11 May to 26 May 2008 (Polzer, 2010). The attacks which started in Alexandra spread over at least 138 settlements across South Africa, resulting in 62 deaths (of which 21 were South African citizens from minorities like Vatsonga). More than 100 000 people were displaced and millions of Rand of property were damaged or stolen (Polzer, 2010). This project works with data collected among Somali migrants to South Africa who can be identified as refugees or forced migrants to the Western Cape.

1.2.1 Somalis and Somali migrants in South Africa

The Somali society is based on a vertically oriented segmentary lineage system in which individuals take their position according to their patrilineal descent (Gundel, 2006:4). According to Lewis (1961:4), the segmentary lineage system can be differentiated into categories of clan-family, clan, sub-clan, primary lineage and *mag*-paying group.⁶ The clan-family is generally the upper limit of clanship. The genealogical length of a clan-family is not fixed and includes up to 30 generations (Lewis, 1961:4). The clan (most typically in the region of 20 generations) can act as a corporate political unit, and tends to have some territorial exclusiveness.

Khoi ancestors. The term "Coloured" is used in this study to make certain distinctions that do function in this work clear (Phillips, 1984:42).

⁶ *Mag* is a Somali word that refers to 'blood-compensation' that according to Sharia law is 100 camels for homicide. It is the responsibility of the *oday* (elders) of the *mag*-paying group, who are a corporate group with a common ancestor, to oversee that the terms of the *xeer* (Somali customary law) are honoured (Gundel, 2006:6).

The image of Somalia as a homogenous nation with one culture, one language and one religion has been pervasive in both the Somali media as well as in Somali scholarly writings (Samatar, 1993:69). Ethnic Somalis constitute 85% of the population, and are divided into six major clan-families, namely the Daarood, Isaaq, Hawiye, Dir, Diqil and Rahanwayn. Each of the six clans comprise of numerous sub-families and lineages (Bradbury, 2008:10).

The Somali civil war is perhaps the greatest single factor that contributed to the Somali diaspora. The civil war, whose root causes were competition for resources and/power, state repression and the colonial legacy, was preceded by Siad Barre's dictatorship of 22 years (Elmi & Barisse, 2006:32-54). Barre's aim was to create hegemony for his own clan, the Daroods. Siad Barre was expelled in 1991 from Mogadishu, by forces of the Islamic Courts Union (USC) led by Muhammad Farah Aided and Ali Mahdi Mohamed (Buyer, 2008:227).

Somalia has had no effective national government since 1991. Today, the country can be described as a "collapsed state" since its authority, law and political order has fallen apart (Ajulu, 2004:76). The Somalia Transitional Federal Government (TFG) came into power in August 2004 with Yusuf Abdallahi but was based in Baidoa (Prendergast & Thomas-Jensen, 2007:4-74). In 2006, the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) came to control all of Mogadishu and most of southern Somalia. Early in 2007, a power struggle emerged within the ICU which led to the organization taking more radical positions against the TFG and its ally Ethiopia. This led to attacks on Ethiopia by the ICU and counter attacks on civilians by the TFG forces in 2007. By late 2007, exiled ICU leaders established the Alliance for the Re-Liberation of Somalia (ARS). In 2008, moderate leaders in ARS and moderate leaders in the TFG signed the Djibouti Agreement, yet no effective peace has yet been established on the ground. In January 2009, the Transitional Federal Parliament (TFP) extended its 5-year mandate with an additional two years to 2011, and expanded to include 200 members of Parliament from the opposition Alliance for the Re-Liberation of Somalia and 75 MPs from civil society and other groups.

This history forced many Somalis to seek refuge in neighbouring countries like Kenya and even countries as far afield as South Africa, and to find a location where they were able to find a job and settle with their families. The first significant groups of Somalis (mostly males between the ages of 15 and 35) moved to the SBM (Vredenburg)⁷ area in the late 1990s, and

⁷ In the nineteenth century, Vredenburg, situated approximately 140km from Cape Town, consisted mainly of fishing communities that provided farmers from the hinterland with salted fish. In 1975, Vredenburg and adjacent Saldanha Bay formed the amalgamated Vredenburg/Saldanha Bay Municipality (SBM) to administer the area, stretching from Langebaan in the south to Velddrif in the north, as a unit. Today Vredenburg is the

took up jobs in the informal trading sector and sold snacks, handmade artefacts, and imported clothing (SBM LED, 2005).

According to Nackerdien (2010, verbatim), there were five male Somalis in the SBM area in 1992. According to Census 2001, 70 441 people lived in the SBM area management in 2001: 44 828 were classified as Coloured, 13 321 as White, 11 953 as Black African, and 337 as Indian or Asian. The majority of people lived in Vredenburg and Saldanha. In terms of citizenship, 69 575 were South African, 493 were from SADC Countries, and 22 were from other African countries. In terms of language groups, 56 401 spoke Afrikaans, 9 994 spoke isiXhosa, and 3 049 spoke English (see table 3 in Chapter Four). The refugee group with the largest number of people from any African country in the SBM area is the Somalis (SBM LED, 2005).

Since Vredenburg is the economic hub of the SBM area and the West Coast as a whole, most foreign informal traders do business in this town. Although the Somalis are from different clans who were on opposite sides during the civil war, they do not prioritise their clan identity in the diaspora. Osman (2007:129) argues that Somalis in the Somali diaspora have come to the sad realisation that they are strangers in foreign lands with no claim to nobility. Ethnic identity for most of the respondents has been supplanted and supplemented by other forms of identity, like national identity and refugee identity. The clan affiliation of Somalis of this study is as follows: two belong to the Hawiye clan, two to the Shekhail sub-clan and six belong to the Ogadeni sub-clan (see table 4 on p.41.). The Shekhail is a sub-clan of the Hawiye clan, and the Ogadeni is a sub-clan of the Darood clan. The Hawiye is the dominant clan in Somalia, followed by the Darood.

Most Somalis in the SBM area are not positive about intermarriages with South Africans, and by resisting intermarriages a pattern is created whereby wives would join their husbands in South Africa, and the unmarried men would choose a wife from the available, single, young Somali women who later arrived with their family members to link up with the family member(s) already in the country.

1.3 RESEARCH AIMS AND QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

This study looks at how young male Somali narrators position themselves and discursively construct their identities in narratives prompted and thus also structured by interview

commercial hub and the administrative capital of the SBM area (SBM LED Strategy, 2005). The Trade Sector contributed 14.5% towards the SBM area's GGP in 2004 and provides work to 15% of the working population.

questions. The research answers two main questions, namely: how do the narrators construct themselves and others? How do the narrators position themselves to different audiences? In answering the research questions, I use methods developed within the discourse-historical approach of CDA to investigate how Somali speakers position themselves to actual or imagined audiences, and to determine whether this could lead to negative other-presentation and positive self-presentation and the construction of an out-group and an in-group.

This study focuses on the interactional means employed for getting the story accomplished. The study also focuses on how narrators position or "voice" and evaluate people represented in their narratives as recognisable types of people. Thus, this thesis investigates how young male Somali narrators position themselves and their characters in their narratives. In answering this question, I focus on pronominal choice and the perspectives that are foregrounded in narratives. These highlight important aspects of the resistance and to some extent integration in their new communities, and illustrate counter-narratives constructed by the narrators. I will show that the respondents use pronouns not merely as substitutes for nouns but that pronominal choices are inseparable from expressing identities, group memberships and roles which the respondents adopt for themselves and ascribe to others. Two main hypotheses were developed from the main research questions, and these two hypotheses, elaborated on below, guided the research.

Hypothesis 1

Positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is salient during intercultural communication between Somalis and South Africans, and Somali individuals position themselves as one collective group against another collective group.

Refugee narratives, according to Buyer (2008:231) are not passive stories of victimhood, but are actively constructed by and communicated between the displaced as part of the process of re-organising their identity. In my data, there are no communication taking place "between" the displaced; nevertheless, Buyer's perspective is helpful in my analysis. In this study data were collected individually from the respective narrators: In other words the narrators were (in nine out of ten cases) communicating only with the person conducting the interview. The respondents in this study also counter the dominant narrative⁸ with personal and cultural information that only the speaker has access to (Bamberg, 2004:362). And although they foreground their vulnerability and the victimisation they have had to endure, their focus is

⁸ Dominant narratives develop within the context of the dominant discourse and tell stories about the way in which the in-group manages reality, and how the in-group expects the out-group to make sense of that reality.

rather on their resolve as providers, a united people and observant Muslims that help in constructing them as a united people. I will argue that positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation in Somali refugee narratives have a social function, that is, to protect their identity as a marginalised group. The inconsistencies, contradictions, and ambiguities of victim and of agent in control of the same intercultural space offer a way of examining how interviewees are managing their identity claims.

Hypothesis 2

Pronominal choices that designate speakers' selves, identity, gender, group membership and roles which they adopt for themselves and ascribe to others, are salient in the narratives of refugee narrators.

This hypothesis refers to the way in which speakers use pronouns in order to make sense of social encounters and conflicts, and to foreground emerging senses of identity. The anaphoric and referential functions of pronouns play an important role in discourse structuring, even when using a lingua franca. The pronominal choices, firstly, hold interactions together; secondly, they reveal the complexities of ideological dilemmas; and lastly, they allow the Somali narrators to establish how they are related to their interlocutors. Somali narrators do choose the first person "I" when answering questions about themselves but often switch from the first person "I" to the first person (collective) "we" and in some instances back to "I" as their narrative unfolds. This indicates a powerful generic position that involves speaking for a group and not just for oneself, as well as the fact that personal identities and social relationships are constructed and signalled simultaneously. Harré (2003:62) claims that each person has a repertoire of autobiographies appropriate for different cultural settings.

1.4 CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Besides giving an introduction and background to the study, and indicating its delimitations, Chapter One provides definitions of particular terms that are central to this study. Chapter Two gives a critical overview of the literature pertaining to the topic of this study. First, Chapter Two investigates the concept of "narrative" and introduces pertinent aspects of narrative theory. This is required, since the data that was collected is viewed as a particular type of story told on behalf of the speaker, who arranges the components of the story in a particular way. Second, Chapter Two provides an overview of Critical Discourse Analysis and the discourse-historical approach which is used in interpreting aspects of self- and other-

presentation that is articulated in the data. Chapter Three provides a synopsis of the research design and the methodology used in this project. Predominantly, the discourse-historical approach and positioning theory are used in order to determine the ways in which the narrators present themselves to their audience and position themselves towards the content of their narratives. Chapter Four provides the relevant data and case studies of ten male Somali refugees. Finally, I present the findings and give some concluding remarks on the findings of the study and suggest areas for further research that will elaborate on what has been done here.

1.5 TERMS OF REFERENCE

Terms used in this study are defined as follows:

a) Culture

In this study, I work with the concept of “culture” that assumes that different societies - and sub-groups within societies - have different cultures. Guirdham (1999:48) defines culture as the way in which one group of people live that is different from the way another group lives. Culture serves in other words as the "safety net" in which individuals seek to satisfy their needs for identity, inclusion and communication coordination (Ting-Toomey, 1999:270).

b) Diaspora

Diaspora is the Greek word for "dispersion" of a people from their homeland. It was used collectively for the dispersed Jews after the Babilonian captivity, and also in the apostolic age for the Jews living outside of Palestine, and now for Jews outside Israel. Today diaspora also refers to a similar dispersion or migration of other people or communities (Chambers, 1983:344).

c) Identity

Identity is treated in this study as a social construct that changes over time and over space (Juzwik, 2006:13). Identities, thus, are always in motion, and depend in part on social and contextual interactions, rather than on inner and individual processes alone (Bamberg & Andrews, 2004:366). Narratives provide a mechanism for capturing the always-in-motion process of identifying, because they are discursive counterparts of one's lived experiences (Juzwik, 2006:13). Identity not only takes the form of a story, but its development is profoundly influenced by narratives.

d) Narrative

In this study, the concept 'narrative' is not regarded as synonymous to 'story', but is regarded as a part of a story. A narrative is perhaps the most basic of all discourse units. It is a form of discourse whereby we reconstruct and represent past experience both for ourselves and for others. Labov (1972) defines a narrative as a method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred. Narratives are characterised by a degree of artificial fabrication (constructedness); they have a teller and an audience and it involves the recall of happenings spatially and temporally removed from the teller and his audience (Toolan, 2001:4-9).

e) Positioning

In this study, a view of positioning that is more concerned with self-reflection, self-criticism and agency is held based on Bamberg (2004) and Butler's (1990) notion of performing identities in acts of self-marking. Bamberg (2000:33) developed a theory of positioning to analyse the different linguistic forms used to position oneself within different topics, during different interactive situations, and for the management of certain ideological tensions in the overall establishment of "who I am" or "who I am becoming". He specifies three distinct, but interrelated, levels of positioning. Positioning Level 1 (PL-1) concerns the presentation of referential meaning or denotational content. Positioning Level 2 (PL-2) situates the referential content in interaction: its concern is interactively designed and received. Positioning Level 3 (PL-3) both motivates and builds upon PL-1 and PL-2 as the means by which participants project and develop identities: the way that we construct meanings (PL-1) within social interaction (PL-2) displays identities (PL-3) to which others can react with overt (or tacit) approval or disapproval.

f) Racism

Racism is the belief that races have distinctive cultural characteristics determined by hereditary factors and that this endows some races with an intrinsic superiority. It can also refer to the abusive or aggressive behaviour towards members of another race on the basis of such a belief (Collins, 2004:1335).

g) Refugees

The 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of "Refugees" defines refugees as persons who have fled their country because of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group and who cannot or do not want to return (Solomon, 2003:7).

h) Migrant

In this study, contract labour migrants are of the same variety as *Gastarbeiter* or guest workers. A contract is drawn up between an employer - for example the South African Chamber of Mines - and a prospective foreign or South African worker. According to such contracts, employees undertake to work for a fixed period after which they are supposed to return to their country of origin (Solomon, 2003:5).

i) Immigrant

An immigrant could be any person who is not a citizen of the country to which he or she migrates or moves either legally or illegally. The South African Alien's Control Act of 1991 stipulates that a person is an illegal or undocumented immigrant if he or she enters South Africa at a place other than a port of entry; remains in the country without a valid residence permit; acts in contravention of his or her residence permit; remains in South Africa after the expiry of a residence permit; is prohibited from entering the country or becomes a prohibited person while in South Africa (Solomon, 2003:7).

j) Xenophobia

Xenophobia is the fear or hatred of those considered to be "foreigners" or "strangers" (anyone different to the group already present within a society) or of their politics and culture (Collins, 2004:1839).

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

First and foremost, the literature review tries to put this study in historical and disciplinary perspective, as well as place it in relation to earlier work dealing with narratives and, in particular, the narratives of refugees (Leedy, 1989:66-67). The review also refers to work which informed my methodology. The interaction between the participants and the researcher is viewed as an intercultural encounter, and the dynamics of such an encounter is first discussed to inform the reader of the cultural complexities that formed part of this research project. Second, the data collected from the participants is viewed as a particular type of narrative, and section 2.2 continues by looking at research on oral narrative texts that focused originally on the structure of stories, and the social functions that stories perform. It then discusses research on the relationship between narrative and identity and culture. Third, it looks at Wodak and Reisigl's discourse-historical approach, developed within the field of CDA, as a method of investigating the means by which the narrators present themselves and the subject of their narratives. Finally, this section looks at Bamberg and Harre's theory of positioning as a means of analysing identity and the ways in which participants position themselves towards the audience as well as the content of their narratives.

2.1 INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Neuliep (2006:xi) defines intercultural communication as the exchange of verbal and nonverbal messages that occurs within the cultural, micro-cultural⁹, environmental, socio-relational, and perceptual contexts of the interactants. According to Neuliep (32-37), the fundamental assumptions about intercultural communication is as follows: the message sent is not always the message received; it is fundamentally a non-verbal act between people; it involves a clash of communicator style; it is a group phenomenon experienced by individuals and lastly, it is a cycle of stress and adaptation.

The complexity of the process of intercultural communication contributes to the fact that the message sent is often not the message received. Gudykunst (1997:327-348) notes that culture

⁹ Microculture is used to refer to those identifiable groups of people who share the set of values, beliefs, and behaviours of the macro-culture, possess a common history, and use a verbal and nonverbal system (Neuliep, 2006:93-94).

acts during intercultural communication as a filter through which all messages must pass. All intercultural exchanges thus are to some extent charged with ethnocentrism¹⁰ (Neuliep, 2006:33).

Neuliep (2006:35) argues that although proficiency in a foreign language expedites intercultural communication, it remains primarily a non-verbal act between people. The expression of intimacy, power, and status among communicators is typically accomplished non-verbally through paralinguistic cues, proxemics, haptics, oculosics, and olfactics.

Intercultural communication necessarily involves a clash of communicator style. In many collectivistic cultures, such as the Japanese, silence can carry as much and sometimes more meaning than words, especially in the maintenance of intimate relationships. This is in contrast to individualistic cultures (observed in many countries in the Western world).

Whenever we interact with a person from a different culture, we carry with us assumptions and impressions of the person based on characteristics of the other person by virtue of his or her membership to a group such as his or her culture, race or sex. Intercultural communication may be stressful due to feelings of uncertainty and anxiety. By accepting the fact that people are different, not better or worse, we can learn to adapt and adjust our communication style (Neuliep, 2006:37).

Many speakers from different cultures who communicate with each other can be described as intercultural speakers, because they perform in both their native culture and in at least one other culture in their new host country. House (2007:16) argues that such speakers' use of a language should not be seen as ignorance of a second culture but as a clear sign of the intercultural competence they possess. The difference regarding language use must be seen as deliberate cultural alternations and not as failure. House (2007:17) argues that rather than looking at intercultural speakers' talk as an instance of deviation from mainstream culture bearers' behaviour, one might rather consider their performance as a third way, as a hybrid culture in operation. According to House (2007:17-18), Bhabha sees hybridity as a deliberate crossing of borders, whereby alien items are taken into one's own language and culture with the result that the hybrid intercultural speaker deliberately goes against conventional rules and standards. Bakhtin (1981) also had a positive view of hybridity, and links it to narrative construction and dialogicity and looks upon them as essential elements of these interpersonal processes of the production of coherence.

¹⁰ Ethnocentrism refers to the idea that one's own culture is the centre of everything, and all other groups (or cultures) are scaled and rated with reference to it (Neuliep, 2006:33).

2.2 NARRATIVE THEORY

During the interviews, participants may view certain components of the story as optional, or they may order the narrative in a particular way. Arranging the sequence of events, re-framing them, or even omitting certain components of the story, are strategies which occur in the refugees' narratives for a number of reasons, such as legitimising their connection to the events or due to emotional attachment to the information. However, the participants may simply have altered their narratives because of external factors, such as the use of a second language or a lingua franca, as well as the fact that the interviewer and the participants were from different cultures. The following section briefly describes the concept of narrative and provides an overview of the means by which we can analyse narratives to illuminate the ways in which narratives are linked to culture and identity.

The academic study of narratives began in the 1960s with the development of narratology and contemporary narrative theory. Broadly speaking, narrative analysis is an interpretative tool designed to examine people's lives through the stories they tell. In narrative analysis, a number of questions are being asked. These questions include why the narrative developed in a particular way and was told in that order; what kind of stories the narrators place themselves in; how narrators strategically make preferred identity claims and what the response of the audience was (Riessman, 2003:8)?

Narratives should be seen as forms inherent in our ways of gaining knowledge: they structure our experience about the world and ourselves. Put in another way, the discursive order in which we weave the world of our experience emerges only as a *modus operandi* of the narrative process itself. Narrative is an organising framework for identity; it recounts how the individual acts in time and through a succession of events, and mediates, through emplotment, lived experience. Bruner (2001:27) claims that a narrator in the here and now takes upon him/herself the task of describing the progress of a protagonist in the there and then. The narrator brings the protagonist from the past into the present in such a way that the protagonist and narrator eventually fuse and become one shared person with a shared consciousness.

There are different versions of narrative analysis. This study can be associated with Bamberg's (2004) view of narratives, who regard interview data as a situated, co-constructed interaction between interviewer and participant with identities as their product or process. Due to the fact that the testimonies of participants are viewed as a narrative, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of approaches to the analysis of narratives, in order to clarify the theoretical approach of this thesis, and aid in the analysis of data at a later stage.

2.2.1 Labov's model for analysing narratives

Labov pioneered research on everyday narratives of ordinary people. Labov defines a narrative of personal experience as a report of a sequence of events that have entered into the biography of the speaker by a sequence of clauses that correspond to the order of the original events. Labov distinguishes narrative from simple recounting of observations, because events that have entered into the speaker's biography are emotionally and socially evaluated, and transformed from raw experience (Labov, 1997:3).

In their analysis of narrative, Labov and Waletzky (1967:13) concentrate on the smallest unit of linguistic expression, namely the clause, which, they argue, can have either a "referential" or an "evaluative" function (Toolan, 2001:146). According to Labov and Waletzky, a fully developed natural¹¹ narrative begins with an orientation, proceeds to the complicating action, is suspended at the focus of evaluation before the resolution, and returns the listener to the present time with the coda (Labov & Waletzky, 1972:369). The abstract refers to the clause or clauses with which the narrator starts his narrative. These clauses summarise the whole story. The different stages as described by Labov can be identified in a narrative by one of the participants, BB, who will be discussed below (BB's complete narrative can be found in the Appendix: A1). I have incorporated these examples for illustrative purposes, although Labov's stages are not a critical part of this study but merely introduce the concept of a "narrative". By identifying stages of narratives, I show how narratives can be structured differently depending on the speaker as well as situational and cultural contexts.

Labov (1997:5) defines an abstract as an initial clause in a narrative that reports the entire sequence of events of the narrative. For example, BB states "South Africa I came 1997, when I come I think I don't have R1 that time". The phrase, "that time" is a linguistic marker that signals that a narrative is about to be told and helps to emphasise the past. It also does not only establish the beginning of the narrative, but also give some old information about his situation upon arrival in South Africa.

The orientation clause or stage gives information on the time, place of the events of a narrative, the identities of the participants and their initial behaviour (Labov, 1997:5). For example, BB states that (he):

"start to sell for fruit: apple, tomatoes, onions, some per, one person he borrow me for R20. He say you must bring it back tomorrow. I buy two bockets [*boxes*], one

¹¹ 'Natural narratives' refers to narratives like oral anecdotes that speakers create during normal conversations.

apple, and one I started that time. I was stay for Beaufort West. (I think you know) So I make really little money I make R500, R600."

This stage orientates the listener as to what is to follow. It is concerned with detailing people, actions, time and place (Eggins & Slade, 1997:239).

The complicating action which follows the orientation stage is a sequential clause that reports a next event in response to a potential audience question "what happened then?", through the use of temporal juncture. The complication stage is followed by the evaluation, defined by Labov (1972:366) as the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of view expressed in the narrative (why the story is being told, what its message is, and what the narrative's point of view is). This section is placed just before the most highly evaluated action, or "point" of the narrative (Labov, 1997:6). The complication stage is illustrated by the following excerpt from BB's interview:

After 2 months I get malaria. Maybe you know the malaria, Ja, do you know the malaria? I get some problem from malaria. I sleep the hospital for one month, I lose all the money.

The complication stage is an obligatory stage in which most of the story's positionally fixed narrative (sequential) clauses occur. Toolan (2001:149) calls it the obligatory nucleus of the narrative. According to Van Dijk (1984:88), we find in the Complication section a description of the "interesting" events which may be strange, unexpected, criminal or weird. Eggings and Slade (1997:239) argue that the Complication stage foregrounds experiential meanings and involves a problem culminating in a crisis. BB's life is disrupted by the fact that he contracted malaria and lost his money.

Whereas the evaluation deals with a possible "so what?" question, the resolution tells the audience what finally happened (Labov, 1972:370). By introducing the most reportable event as a structural unit, Labov (1997:14) defines the resolution of a personal narrative as the set of complicating actions that follow the most reportable event. Labov (1997:8) defines a most reportable event as the event that is less common than any other in the narrative and has the greatest effect upon the needs and desires of the participants in the narrative.

The evaluative sections of a narrative can occur between the Complication and the Resolution, or can follow the Resolution since it does not have a standard position in the structure of the narrative (Linde, 1993:71). The Evaluation stage gives the text its significance. It establishes the point of telling the story. I think the Evaluative section in this

particular narrative could not be separated from the Complication section. The Evaluation stage is followed by the Resolution stage which explains how the protagonist manages to resolve the crisis. In this case he resolved the crisis by moving to another town:

I start again. I stay Beaufort West. So I leave it for Beaufort West. I go Oudtshoorn. I start again. I get betterer life for Beaufort West that time when I go Oudtshoorn.

The Coda often refers back to the theme of the Abstract, and makes an evaluative or overall comment about the text (Eggins & Slade, 1997:242). One of the functions of the Coda is to return to the present and by doing so to evaluate the whole event (Labov, 1997), (Eggins & Slade, 1997:243). In the examined narrative, the narrator returns to the themes of "arrival" and "money":

So I call for my wife when I get some money. She come South Africa 1997 also.

Edwards (2006:231) argues that Labov's categories are idealized as well as empirical, since they define the kinds of things a narrative ought to have, in order to count as a narrative. Edwards warns against using Labov's categories as "pre-coded analytic slots" into which we should try to place an actual story. He argues that fitting the content into these slots and using these kinds of structural categories as a coding scheme might impose rather than reveal the action-performative workings of discourse. According to Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2003:6-7), although Labov and Waletzky were particularly concerned with identifying the "segments" of a narrative, they were instrumental in establishing the field, and their work forms the basis for those researchers who seek to explore situated uses of narrative structures.

2.2.2 Narrative analysis after Labov and Waletzky

Today, the emphasis is not only on investigating the forms through which narratives are told, but also the interactional contexts in which stories are embedded. Moreover, the very structure of stories is seen as reflecting the fact that stories perform social actions. The focus on the processes of linguistic constructions by which prototype narratives are adapted to different and varying situations has led Bruner (1997:67) to believe that narratives give "voice" to social relations and locally embedded cultural meanings.

Prototype narratives refer to the communality of themes in the individual's core-biographical memories (Bruner, 2010:48). Bruner (2010:48) uses Burke's idea of narratives requiring a pentad of features: an agent, an act, a goal, a recipient, and a scene of which some of these

elements need to be in conflict. Bruner describes prototypes as the "characteristic pentads with characteristic troubles" of a particular culture. And according to him, they are intended to shape or instantiate our expectations about how the culture works and how others think (Bruner, 2010:48).

Today's narrative theory has extended its scope and interest, and distanced itself from the grand narratives of structuralism. For Bal (1997:11), narratology is a "heuristic tool", and narrative analysis an activity of "cultural analysis". Bal's poststructuralist project aims to maintain the procedures and responsibilities of constructing meaning in the face of a new philosophy of language which claims that any utterance has a multifocal nature and ambiguous meanings (Bal, 1997:11). In light of this, Bernstein (1997:45) suggests that narratives should be conceptualised in terms of "dimensions" or "continua" rather than dichotomies or dualisms. A narrative should be classified in terms of the concrete contexts of use in which the meaning is created and in which it takes its form as a narrative.

Bakhtin's (1973) theory of novelistic discourse with ideas about the multi-vocal and polysemic nature of narrative, led to new conceptions of the multi-voiced mind and the dialogical self. Bakhtin's work (1973, 1981) helps us to realise that different stories are being told in different situations because of a dynamic at work between actual stories about real life and possible stories about potential life as well as countless combinations of them. Life's narratives can in other words be treated as open without end, because life always opens up more options (real or fictional). This includes more meanings, more identities and evokes more interpretations. Dobson (2004:131-134) claims postmodern texts also show signs of multi-punctual and multi-accentedness due to the polyphonic presence of several voices in the texts. In the texts in this study, there are examples of the polyphonic presence of several voices in the texts as will be shown in Chapter 5.

In the Labovian tradition, stories are always a "recapitulation" of past experience, and analysts are interested in the structure of the representation. In interactional accounts of narrative, stories are seen as creating experience and veracity is not seen as an issue since all represented events are seen as constructed (De Fina & Baynham, 2005:3). Narratives are thus to a great extent about the unrealised potential and unrealised demands, and unfulfilled options of identity. One of the main aims of this study is to investigate the ways in which Somalis express their identities in their narratives. Identity work is a complex dynamic, where the speaker or narrator takes into account the perceived stance of their listener, as well as

complex contextual elements. The factors contributing to the construction of identity on behalf of the narrator are discussed in the section below.

2.2.3 Narrative and identity

The notion of identity as a project of the self started with Enlightenment rationalism and the emphasis on individuality. The individual was conceptualised as a self-sufficient, rational subject of action and being (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006:18-19). Today, selves and identities are seen as constituted in discourse and constructed in stories, and an investigation of the "stories" the male Somalis tell are thought to provide reasonable access to their sense of selves (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006:137). In narrative theory and CDA, the emphasis is on identity as performed rather than as prior to language, as dynamic rather than fixed, as culturally and historically located, as constructed in interaction with other people and institutional structures, as continually remade, and as contradictory and situational (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006:138).

Through storytelling, narrators can produce edited descriptions and evaluations of themselves and others. Georgakopoulou and Goutsos (2004:42) claim that narratives are a key element of a person's identity. Narratives do not only permeate our lives but also forms a constructive element of them. In other words narratives are a fundamental principle of organising and making sense of experience.

Storytelling adds a crucial aspect to discourse-based theories of identity construction, namely temporality. Narration produces a sense of coherence by incorporating notions of connectedness and temporal unity. Writers like Ricoeur (1984, 1992) use the label "emplotment" to describe how selves are narratively configured by bringing together different temporal elements and directing them towards a conclusion or sequence of disconnected events into a unified story with a point or theme. Emplotment refers to how things are connected to a structure that makes sense of the events. The outcome of emplotment thus, is to integrate discordant events into the unity of a life considered a temporal totality (Ricoeur, 1992:147). Ricoeur differentiates emplotment (*mis en intrigue*) putting-into-the-form from plot (*intrigue*). The former is a dynamic and active process of organizing things into a system. Through emplotment, lived experience is mediated in narrative discourse in three closely related ways (Sparrowe, 2005:425). Emplotment draws, according to Ricoeur, a meaningful story from a diversity of events or incidents. It also brings together factors as heterogeneous as agents, goals, means, interactions etc. And lastly, it reveals a glimpse of the narrative as a whole (Ricoeur, 1984:65-67).

Identity can be regarded as a social construct that changes over time according to Juzwik (2006:13). Identities, thus, are always in motion, and depend in part on social and contextual interactions, rather than on inner or individual processes alone. Bamberg and Butler (2004:366) argue that the identity (who-am-I) question does not presuppose a unitary subject, but an agentive and interactive subject. Ricoeur (1992:141-142) claims that the narrative self is not a constant self, identical through time, but the subject that experiences change, reversal, and surprise. Narrative discloses the self not as a consistency or continuity, but as "discordant concordance" (comprehensible narrative). In other words, the Somalis in this study, as narrators, constantly construct and reconstruct a self to meet the needs of the situations they encounter. This is done with the guidance of their memories of the past as well as their hopes and fears for the future.

Hecht and other writers (2001:430) moved the analysis of identity away from self-conception toward an understanding of how our various layers of identity are constructed in interaction with others. Hecht, Jackson, Lindsley, Strauss, Johnson (2001:430) claim four layers or levels of identity: personal identity (self-concept), enacted identity (how an identity is expressed in language and communication), relational identity (identities in reference to each other), and communal identity (identities as defined by collectives). Joseph (2004:81) argues that Hecht's differentiation of personal identity (who-I-am for myself) and enacted identity (who-I-am for others) implies a difference in status between the two identities. Although the privileged interpreter (the narrator, in this case the participants of this study) may position himself or act as if it is the sole authority capable of determining what it is, the notion of an enacted identity means everyone who encounters the narrator can construct their own interpretation of him.

Gender is a critical aspect of identity, and becomes a major focal point of this study, particularly with regards to the concept of "male" and the social roles associated with this term. The view that people have an essential self that is fixed and not subject to change is radically questioned by Post-structuralists. Post-structuralists see social identities as discursively constructed in historically specific social contexts, complex, plural, contradictory and shifting over time (Fraser, 1992:178). Butler (1990:33) argues that gender is performative "constituting the identity it is purported to be". Butler claims that "feminine" and "masculine" are not what we are, nor traits we have, but affects we produce by way of particular things we do, even the way we speak.

Gender has constantly to be reaffirmed and publicly displayed by repeatedly performing particular acts in accordance with the cultural norms (Cameron, 2006:420). People also do

perform gender differently in different contexts, and do sometimes behave in ways we would not associate with the "other" gender (Cameron, 2006:421). It becomes evident through the Somali narratives that "gender" and "identity" are also very much culture-bound, and different cultural perceptions regarding the display of gender roles in discourse become evident through the narratives of the participants.

2.2.4 Narrative and culture

Anderson and Blayer (2005:3) claim that narratives are central to sustaining culture and identity. Narratives are important means by which we communicate our sense of self and negotiate it with others (Linde, 1993:3). Individuals also use narratives to claim and negotiate group membership and to demonstrate that they are worthy members of those groups, as illustrated in the case of the ten respondents of this study. Their pronominal use illustrates that in the narrative process various senses of personal identities and social relationships are constructed simultaneously (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2003:12). The narratives are not only collective or collaborative productions that take place under particular social conditions, but are also social actions.

Today's narrative theory is characterised by a "cultural way" of looking at things, and narrative analysis has turned into a form of cultural analysis. How a life (and self) is constructed needs to be examined in the light of narrative forms provided by speakers in certain social events (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2003:10). Narrative can be regarded as a form of symbolic communication in a particular cultural context. Narrative is thus a "situated performance", 'shaped by historically grounded human communities, socially occasioned in particular cultural and political texts and contexts' (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2003:14). Stories bring with them some kind of "framing" since the stories are grounded in particular histories and cultures, with narrative formulation creating a rhetorical reserve of those very histories and cultures (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2003:11).

Narratives, however, involve more than the preservation of memories because they are "more than, less than, or other than" what really happened. They are "renditions of events" cohering to certain cultural standards, which made sense of life in a particular context (Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004:270). Narratives, in other words, impose meanings on experience and "unfold and act in culturally specific ways" (Lee, Rosenfeld, Mendenhall, Rivers & Tynes, 2004:39).

Culture serves as the "safety net" in which individuals seek to satisfy their needs for identity, inclusion, and communication coordination. And their cultural beliefs, values, and norms

provide the anchoring points to which people, especially refugees, attribute significance with regard to their identities wherever they may find themselves (Ting-Toomey, 1999:15).

2.2.5 Narrative and place

Foucault (1986:22) argued that we are currently living in an "epoch of space", meaning that space rather than time is crucial to contemporary cultural and social analysis. This brought about a shift away from temporality and from the historical to the spatiality and geographical when it comes to theorizing about social processes. Who we are is, in other words, inextricably linked to where we are, have been or are going.

In this study, the historical and political aspects of the "spatial shift" are also taken into consideration. Who we are, and where we find ourselves, is often distinctly political in nature. In South Africa, ideologies of who belongs where led to xenophobic attacks on refugees in 2008 when differences could not be managed, assimilated or incorporated within intercultural zones (Giroux, 1994:i). The relationship between place and people is of such a nature that people do not only make spaces, but spaces also make people (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006:211). A suburb like Bellville has acquired a potent symbolic meaning in comparison to other suburbs within Cape Town. This is perhaps due to Bellville's considerable Somali population, including also Somali businesses, the distribution of stock from Bellville to Somalis in other parts of the province (including the West Coast), places managed by Somalis that offer refuge to other Somalis, and the broader social network. One narrator, HH, describes Bellville as "the heart of the Somalis". Space is therefore central to the production and maintenance of in-groups and out-groups in everyday life (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006:214).

Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2005:63) argue that narrators position themselves when using place formulations, because they are indexing familiarity with, or empathy for, different places. These formulations may be denotative place formulations, which are cases of deictics, and connotative place formulations, which are formulations evoking places based on mutual cultural knowledge.

Baynham and De Fina (2005:37) argue that narrative activity becomes particularly illuminating in the case of "displaced" groups such as immigrants, in that it is through the process of retelling and reconstructing past experience that members of these groups often make sense of social encounters and conflicts and foreground an emerging sense of their identities, a process that in many cases implies contesting established roles and claiming social space.

2.3 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Telling stories is an integral part of human discourse. Narrative is an important tradition within discourse analysis. It is partly through narrative discourse that we comprehend the world and present our understanding of it to others (Jaworski & Coupland, 2006:26).

Discourse is language use relative to social, political and cultural formulations - it is language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order, and shaping individual's interaction with society (Jaworski & Coupland, 2006:3). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) studies complex social phenomena, using a multi-disciplinary and multi-methodical approach (Wodak & Meyer, 2009:2). Discourse analysis is a committedly qualitative orientation to linguistic and social understanding (Jaworski & Coupland, 2006:30). CDA as a school or paradigm is characterised by a number of principles: it is problem-oriented, interdisciplinary and eclectic, and demystifies ideologies and power through the systematic and retroductable¹² investigation of semiotic data. The central concepts of CDA are as follows:

- (i) *Discourse*: CDA sees language as social practice and the context of language is considered to be crucial. The term discourse is used differently by different critical discourse analysts. Some make a distinction between "text" and "discourse", while others use "discourse" both for written and oral texts. The discourse-historical approach views "discourse" as structured forms of knowledge, whereas "text" refers to concrete oral utterances or written documents (Wodak & Meyer, 2009:5-6).
- (ii) *Critical*: Critique in a critical discourse approach refers to making visible the interconnectedness of things. Critical theories want to produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection, and is thus aimed at enlightenment and emancipation (Wodak & Meyer, 2009:7). Discourse analysis offers a means of exposing or deconstructing the social practices that constitute "social structure". The motivation for studying discourse analysis has to do with a concern about social inequality and the perpetuation of power relationships between individuals or between social groups. Since all knowledge and narratives are constructs, CDA analyses the processes of construction and offers the possibility that we might profitably conceive the world in some alternative way (Fowler, 1981:25).

¹² Retroductable means that the analyses should be transparent so that any reader can trace and understand the detailed in-depth textual analysis.

- (iii) *Ideology and Power*: The aim of critique is to unmask structures of power as they manifest themselves in the ideological use of language, the power relations and social discrimination between groups. In Linguistics and CDA, ideology refers to the hidden and latent everyday beliefs. CDA researchers are interested in the way discourse reproduces social domination (Wodak & Meyer, 2009:9), and explore, according to Benwell and Stokoe (2006:43-44), the ideological workings of language in representing the world. Language, in other words, is not a neutral or transparent medium that directly reflects an objective reality. It is a form of ideological practice that mediates, influences and even constructs our experiences, identities and ways of viewing the world.

Within CDA, identity is constituted in language, both at the level of representation, as well as in terms of the relationship between text and reader or conversational participants. CDA has the explicitly political agenda of raising awareness about the ideological frameworks informing language choice, and the way that subjects may be constructed, represented and positioned by discourse. Like positioning theory, CDA rejects the determinist account of the "powerless" subject. Fairclough (2003:159-160) argues for a dialectical relationship between discourse/representation and style/identification, by which discourses are "inculcated" in identities, in a more agentive and on-going process of identification.

2.4 THE DISCOURSE HISTORICAL APPROACH

There exist different schools of CDA. One of these schools is the discourse-historical approach. The discourse-historical approach formulated by researchers such as Wodak, Reisigl and Weiss can be used with good results when analysing the discursive manifestations of racism and discrimination (Schiffrin, 2001:383). According to Weiss and Wodak (2003:21-22), the discourse-historical approach is interdisciplinary, multi-methodical, and uses a variety of different empirical data and background information. It transcends the pure linguistic dimension, and includes the historical, political, sociological and psychological dimension when a discursive event is analysed and interpreted. Spoken language is also seen as a form of social practice. Discourses can be seen both as constituting non-discursive social practices and, at the same time as being constituted by them (Weiss & Wodak, 2003:22). They also adopt Van Dijk's (1984) concepts of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, but do not overemphasise the top-down causality of opinion making and manipulation (Schiffrin, 2001:324). Reisigl and Wodak (2009:93) argue that the discourse-historical approach is three-dimensional. After a researcher has identified the specific contents

or topics of a specific discourse, discursive strategies are investigated. Then, he/she has to examine the linguistic means and the specific context-dependent linguistic realisations.

Wodak and Reisigl (2001:386) identify five types of discursive strategies which are involved in positive self-presentation and negative self-presentation. A strategy refers to the intentional plan or practices adopted to achieve a certain social, political, psychological, or linguistic aim (Wodak & Reisigl, 2001:386). The discursive strategies (or systematic ways of using language) are located at different levels of linguistic organisation and complexity. The five strategies are: Referential or Nomination Strategies, Predicational Strategies, Argumentational Strategies, Framing or Discourse Representation, Intensifying and Mitigation Strategies. Referential or Nomination Strategies refer to the strategies used to locate the social actors that are being constructed and represented. Predicational strategies refer to the negative and positive traits of the actors. Argumentation strategies refer to the justification of positive and negative attribution in a text. Framing strategies refer to the perspective from which nominations, arguments and attributions are expressed. And the Intensifying and mitigation strategies help to qualify and modify the epistemic status of a proposition by intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of an utterance. These strategies will be illustrated with examples from the data in Chapter Five.

2.5 POSITIONING THEORY

Davies and Harré (1999:34) argue that an individual emerges through the process of social interaction, not as a relatively fixed end product, but as one who is constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate. Who one is, is always an open question with the answer depending upon the positions made available within one's own and others' discursive practices. The theory of positioning has been developed to help understand personhood which is characterised by both continuous personal identity and by discontinuous personal diversity. In a conversation, the same person is variously positioned: he experiences and displays aspects of self that are involved in the continuity of a multiplicity of selves. As stated before, a person is not just male, but other descriptors such as South African, Indian, middle-class, father, politician, Hindu, point to the many social contexts in which his identity has been constructed through the various descriptors that give experience meaning.

Harré & Van Langenhove (1999:36) claims that the concept positioning makes a distinction between a "person" as an individual agent and "the subject". The subject refers to the

provisional subject-positions a person may find himself in due to discursive practices. Positioning is the discursive process whereby people are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced narratives. Davies and Harré (1999:37) argue that the concepts 'positioning' and "subject position" allows the researcher to think of the speaker as choosing subjects, locating himself in conversations and bringing to narratives his own subjective lived histories.

The concepts "position" and "positioning" were first introduced by Hollway (1984:236) in her analysis of the construction of subjectivity. The concept "positioning" is according to Schifffrin (2001:698) related to Goffman's concept of "footing" and Goffman's work was influenced by Burke's theory of "dramatism" which used concepts from the stage to analyse lived experiences. Bakhtin's notion of "voice" and position (1935/1981) suggested that any utterance has the power to position speakers in particular ways. The positioning also depends on how speaker and interlocutor perceive each other's identity.

Within the persons/conversations grid, positioning should be understood as the discursive construction of personal stories that make a person's actions intelligible and relatively determinate as social acts within which the members of the conversation have specific locations (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006:16). Positioning and subject position permit every narrator to think of themselves as a "choosing subject" (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006:16). A choosing subject locates him/herself in conversations according to those narrative forms with which he/she is familiar, and brings to those narratives her/his own subjective lived histories through which he/she learnt metaphors, characters and plot. One can position oneself or be positioned as, for example, powerful or powerless, confident or apologetic, dominant or submissive. Conversations consist of storylines and the positions of interlocutors are linked to these storylines (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006:17).

The act of positioning refers to the assignment of specific roles to speakers in the discursive construction of personal stories that make a person's actions intelligible and relatively determinate as social acts (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006:17). There are several modes or forms of positioning and they are most likely to occur simultaneously. Harré and Langenhove (1999:20-22) identify the following possible forms in which positioning can occur as a discursive practice: first, second and third order positioning; performative and accountive positioning; moral and personal positioning; self and other positioning; and tacit and intentional positioning.

First order positioning or performative positioning refers to the way a person locates himself and his interlocutor and audience within an essentially moral space by using several categories and storylines. Second order positioning or accountive positioning occurs when the first order positioning is challenged or revised by the interlocutor. When accountive positioning occurs outside the initial discussion, that is, in another conversation, then it is called third order positioning (Harré & Van Langenhove, 1999:20-21).

When people are positioned or position themselves it is within the context of the moral orders in which they perform social actions (moral positioning) as well as in terms of their individual attributes and particularities (personal positioning). Within a conversation, each of the participants always positions the other while simultaneously positioning him/herself (Harré & Van Langenhove, 1999:22).

Most first order positioning will be of a tacit kind, while second and third order positioning will always be intentional (Harré & Van Langenhove, 1999:22). There are different types of intentional positioning like deliberate self-positioning, forced self-positioning, deliberate positioning of others, and forced positioning of others. Deliberate self-positioning occurs where one wants to express one's personal identity by stressing one's agency, by referring to one's unique point of view, or by referring to events in one's biography. Harré & Langenhove (1999:25) argue that the deliberate self-positioning process can also be called "strategic positioning" since the speaker has a certain goal in mind. Forced self-positioning differs only from deliberate self-positioning in that the initiative or demand for positioning comes from an institution (like a company) or somebody else than the person involved. Deliberate positioning and forced positioning of others can occur either in the presence or absence of the person being positioned. Gossiping is an example of deliberate positioning and a trial an example of forced positioning (Harré & Van Langenhove, 1999:27-28).

In recent years, narrative analysis has been combined with positioning theory. Positioning theory attempts to make connections between macro-discourses and micro-levels of interaction. Positioning has become an influential construct in the analysis of oral narratives, since it allows for exploring how humans construct their own identity and the identity of others. Positioning is a discursive activity that was originally defined as how narrators locate themselves in conversation in relation to one another. Positioning, firstly, orients how characters are situated in space and time in the story world and, secondly, affects how the teller designs the story in the act of telling it to an audience.

Davies and Harré (1990:480) define positioning as 'the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines'. Positioning can occur between characters within a story (interactive positioning), as well as between the storyteller and the audience (reflexive positioning). Wortham and Gadsden (2006:319) identify four types of narrative positioning: (1) narrators position themselves as having experienced various events in the past; (2) narrators "voice" or position people in their narrative, as recognisable types of people; (3) narrators evaluate these "voices" (takes a position on the types of characters represented); and (4) narrators position themselves interactionally, with respect to their interlocutors in the storytelling event.

Traditionally, positioning has been seen as grounded in master narratives or dominant discourses. Bamberg argues that master narratives are inherently contradictory, and subjects are forced to pick a position among those available. Bamberg (2004:366), elaborating on Butler's (1990) notion of performing identities in acts of "self-marking", advanced a view of positioning that is more concerned with self-reflection, self-criticism, and agency. He makes a clear distinction between "being positioned" (which is attributing a deterministic force to master narratives), and a more agentive notion of the subject as "positioning itself". 'Being positioned' and "positioning oneself" reflect two different agent-world relationships: the former with a world-to-agent direction of fit, the latter with an agent-to-world direction of fit (Bamberg, 2004:366).

Kupfenberg and Green (2005:27-28) claims that Bamberg suggests positioning analysis as tool for analysing identity. The researcher starts by analysing the means that contribute to a story's inherent order (i.e., how characters are designed in time and space inside the story). At Positioning Analysis Level 1 (PL1), the researcher examines how participants position themselves in relation to significant others in the narrated past. At Positioning Analysis Level 2 (PL2), the researcher explores how participants position themselves discursively *vis-a-vis* other participants in the present ongoing interaction. The interactional means employed for getting the story accomplished are scrutinised in PL2. At Positioning Analysis Level 3 (PL3), the researcher summarises PL1 and PL2, and the participants' selves that were partially displayed at PL1 and PL2 are described. By using positioning analysis, attention is directed to the context in which the subject is situated, rather than the individual characteristics of the person. In this way, subjects become embodied, contextualised and historicised (Kupfenberg & Green, 2005:27-28). These strategies will be illustrated with examples from the data in Chapter Five.

2.6 SUMMARY

It is in the context of structuralism that we find the starting point for the narratological study of non-fictional and everyday narratives. The work of Labov and Waletzky was instrumental in exploring narrative structures. However, today, the emphasis is more on processes of linguistic construction whereby prototype narratives are adapted to different and varying situations. Every culture has its own prototype narratives, which in turn have their own pentad of elements (an agent, an act, a goal, a recipient, a scene). These prototype narratives are central to sustaining culture and identity, and identity is expressed within the narratives themselves. This feature of narrative becomes salient during the data analysis in Chapter Four, notwithstanding the participants' ability to construct their own personal sense of selves during their narratives. The discourse-historical approach and positioning theory are both useful tools for analysing both individual and social identities within discourses, including the narrator's awareness of gender roles relating to men, the experience of migration and their perceived marginalisation in South Africa.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides detailed information on the design, methodology and procedures used to gather and analyse data and information on young male Somalis living in South Africa. First, this chapter provides a brief description of qualitative research, and introduces the methodological tools used during this research process collecting data in the form of recorded interviews. Second, information is provided regarding the participants of the study as background to the analysis of the recorded discursive data.

3.1 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Qualitative research is a type of inquiry designed to gain insight into an individual's or group's value systems, aspirations, culture, lifestyles, behaviour as well as the reasons for such behaviour. Qualitative data deals with the questions of how something is, as opposed to how much or how many of a particular phenomenon can be counted (Rasinger, 2009:11). Rather than explaining the distribution of larger or smaller numbers, qualitative methods attempt to explain the experiences of informants from their own point of view (emic perspective). They thus provide rich (or "thick") descriptions of the meanings that are attached to these experiences. The researcher is a key instrument in qualitative studies and a lot depends on his or her powers of observation and listening.

3.2 SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS

All in all, ten respondents were interviewed and their participation in the interviews was audio-recorded. The respondents were randomly selected among a group of migrant traders recently settled in the SBM area. The researcher was formerly a resident in this area and informally got to know a number of these traders. As there are relatively few women in this community, and due to limited participation of Somali women in the commercial workspace, the study focuses on the experiences of men. The study is limited to young men who are developing careers that will enable them to support a wife and family, and their extended families. Mostly, they have been through an experience of displacement from their home

country and close family. Such histories of relatively young people necessarily shape their experience of the present.

For reasons of confidentiality, the real names of the participants are not given; they will be identified as follows: AA, AD, JB, MA, AD, BB, HH, FF, JJ and MD. The ten respondents do not represent a homogenous group in terms of route and time of migration, and of educational histories (see table 2 in Chapter Three and table 4 in Chapter Four). Only two of them finished their schooling in Somalia, and another two finished theirs in Kenya. The rest left school before they finished their school careers. Two have aspirations to study further. Seven are unmarried, and, of those who are married, two are the head of their households, since they don't live with their parents or in-laws.

3.3 GATHERING OF DATA

Interviewing in this study was designed to yield mostly qualitative information and a limited amount of quantitative information. Semi-structured interviews offer a versatile way of collecting data, and were used because the topic is of a very sensitive nature (Welman, 2001:161). Semi-structured interviews consist of a set of questions (guides) that allow researchers to generate their own questions to develop interesting areas of inquiry during the interviews (Flick, 1998:76). The order in which the interviewer broached these topics varied from one respondent to the next, and depended on the English proficiency of the respondent as well as on the way in which the interview developed. In order to describe the localized intercultural spaces of Somali experience, direct observations also took place during the period of collecting data. Plummer (1983:90) argues that life history research involves "the establishment and maintenance of a close and intimate relationship with the subject". Observation is not only a way of gathering data, but is also a way of establishing and maintaining a relationship with the participants. The collection of data and the analysis of data proceeded simultaneously. It is believed that by transcribing the data during the early phases the research, the analysis was sharpened because it increased familiarity with the data and thus shaped the formulation of research questions in subsequent interviews (Plummer, 1983:85-86).

Often the interviews could not be conducted in an environment free of distractions. Three of the interviews took place in cars, three took place next to the owners' stall, and the rest inside the owner's shop. Although this ensured that the respondents felt comfortable inside or next to their own space, it also had some drawbacks. Where interviews were held in shops or near

stalls, there were always some kind of disruptions, with the narrator having to delay a response. In some cases, the narrators (MA, AA, HH) had to stop answering the question because they had to help some customers. And in the cases of BB, and FF, the wife and a sister respectively interrupted them near the end of the interview to hear what is keeping them.

3.4 INTERVIEW DATA

Data was primarily collected orally by way of semi-structured interviews with ten Somali males between the age of 15 and 35. In addition, Mr Ebrahim Nackerdien, a former Chairperson of the Muslim Community, and a former councillor and the first Mayor of the unified Saldanha Bay Municipality, provided information orally to the researcher. Respondents older than 16 were chosen for this study because they have to be able to personally consent to their participation; in their community, males older than 16 have gone through puberty and the associated rituals (*moekallaf*; Arabic), which means that they are now at an age where they can act as responsible individuals.

Each of the ten interviews was taped. Four interviews were transcribed in full and are included in the Appendix: A1, A2, A3, and A4. Of the other six narratives, only those parts that were essential for the analysis were transcribed. The ten narratives were compared to determine whether there were any patterns across the narratives in terms of the way in which the narrators construct their identity through language. The length of the study does not allow for a comparative analysis of the narratives of different refugee groups. I decided to focus on Somali narrators, because they represented - at the time - the biggest group of refugees in the SBM area, and Somalis differ to a greater degree from the other refugee groups in terms of culture, social visibility, and in presenting themselves as moral agents and bearers of alternative values (Pastor & De Fina, 2005:47).

A critique against semi-structured interviews is that they do not produce good narrative data because the scheduled or guided questions have a determining effect on what the participants say. According to this view, JJ's uninterrupted narrative is an example of "good" narrative data (30 minutes). His narrative consists of a lot of detail. In the narratives of MA, AD, AA, FF, and HH, the guided questions led to smaller portions of narrative with less instances of miscommunication. I have to agree that the guided questions do have an effect on the narratives or do structure in some way the responses.

When a lingua franca¹³ is used, however, the possibility of a "pure", uninterrupted narrative of a L1 Somali speaker is lessened. This issue is discussed further in the section below. Because of this issue, the Biographic Narrative Interpretative Method (BNIN; see Bennwell & Stokoe, 2006:142) which casts the interviewer in a passive role, is not a good interpretive tool for this data, and hence the reliance on methods of CDA. The example of interviewee AAO who could not answer questions without being "led" by the interviewer illustrates this point. It is hypothesized that if AAO (or even TT, see Appendix 2 (A2)) were asked to tell the story of his life in English, his proficiency would have been problematic in that he would have only been able to construct a few intelligible sentences and he would have struggled with larger discourse units. Methods like the BNIN have also been criticized for engaging people in an unnatural situation that removes them from their everyday lives in which stories are often told in brief/short portions to an interlocutor. The BNIN also ignores the ontological nature of the narrative interview itself by assuming that people carry their complete life stories around in their minds, ready to be narrated upon request (Bennwell & Stokoe, 2006:142). I believe that the guided questions should not be regarded as a hindrance to the production of good narrative data, since through these guided questions the narrators are positioned in some way. Positioning constitutes the initiator and at the same time is a resource through which all persons involved can negotiate new positions. The responses of the narrators to these initiated positions are of interest in their own right.

3.5 THE USE OF ELF AMONGST PARTICIPANTS

The interaction between interviewer and interviewee and between Somali refugee and South African citizen in this study can be described as an intercultural or cross-cultural interaction. Ting-Toomey (1992:159) regards intercultural communication as a transactional, symbolic interactive process whereby individuals from two or more cultures attribute and negotiate meanings in this give-and-take process. A primary function of intercultural communication, for her, is the negotiation of self- and other-identity in the context of the interaction. During an intercultural encounter, speaker and interlocutor may perceive each other as different ("strangers") or as sharing some similarities. According to the ten respondents, they do share some similarities with some South African cultural groups, yet other South African groups do regard them as being "strangers" to them. Within a conversation, each speaker and

¹³ The term 'lingua franca' is used to indicate any widely spoken language, used for communication between people with mutually unintelligible first languages; it is a language that is important in international dealings, civil or commercial (Tuleja, 1989:76). In this study, 'lingua franca' refers to English specifically, since it is the language that is most used between Somalis and South Africans.

interlocutor always positions the other while simultaneously positioning themselves. Whenever somebody positions himself, this discursive act simultaneously implies a positioning of the one to whom it is addressed. And similarly, when somebody positions somebody else, that always implies a positioning of the person himself (Harré & Langenhove, 1999:22).

English as a lingua franca (ELF) serves in this study as a "contact language" between the South African interviewer and the Somali interviewees - as well as between the Somali businessmen and the South African customers - since neither share a common language (the interviewer's mother language being Afrikaans) nor a common culture (Firth, 1996:240). Table 1 summarises the participants' self-assessed English proficiency. Overall, the data indicates a range of spoken English proficiency among participants, ranging from "very well" to "poorly".

Table 1: Intercultural Communication: Languages (self-assessed)¹⁴

Resp	Somali			English			Afrikaans			isiXhosa			Swahili			O/African			Arabic		
Aspect	S	R	W	S	R	W	S	R	W	S	R	W	S	R	W	S	R	W	S	R	W
AD	1	1	1	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
JB	1	1	1	3	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MD	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2
TT	1	1	1	3	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
FF	1	1	1	2	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0
JJ	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	0	0	3	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	2	2
BB	1	1	1	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AA	1	1	1	3	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MA	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
HH	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	0	0	3	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

¹⁴

Table 1 key:

S: Speaking

R: Reading

W: Writing

Language: Scores:

1: Very Well

2: Well

3: Poorly

0: Cannot use language at all

Proficiency is generally low for other South African languages: participants have limited (spoken) knowledge of Afrikaans. Only one respondent is fluent in Afrikaans and the other nine can make simple sentences in Afrikaans. Two participants have knowledge of isiXhosa and two are knowledgeable of another Bantu language, namely Kiswahili. Three can speak Arabic. Because the ten participants' proficiency was higher in English than in Afrikaans, and due to the interviewer not being able to use any Somalian language, the interviews were conducted in English.

All the respondents (L1 Somali speakers) studied English as a school subject in Somalia. However, the Somali civil war which started in the 1980s prevented many Somalis from attending or finishing school. This meant that many young people did not have the opportunity of acquiring a high proficiency in English at school. On their way to South Africa, they often acquired varieties of East African English (EAE) in countries like Kenya and Tanzania where English is used more widely than in Somalia; as well as Kiswahili, the East African Lingua Franca. Table 2 provides further information on participants' proficiency and contact with English.

Table 2: English proficiency and contact with English for the ten participants

Respondents	Speak	Read	Write	Acquired	School level	Years in RSA (2007)	ELF use
AD	3	0	0	School	Gr. 8	3 years	Daily
JB	3	3	0	School	Gr. 6	6 years	Daily
MD	1	1	1	School	Gr. 10	7 years	Daily
TT	3	3	0	School	Gr. 6	3 years	Daily
FF	2	2	0	School	Gr. 12	8 years	Daily
JJ	2	2	2	School	Gr. 12	3 years	Daily
BB	3	0	0	School	Gr. 6	10 years	Daily
AA	3	3	0	School	Gr. 10	9 years	Daily
MA	2	2	2	School	Gr. 12	1 years	Daily
HH	2	2	2	School	Gr. 10	3 years	Daily

In South Africa, the Somalis were exposed to Coloured South African English (CSAE) in the Karoo (Beaufort West) and Little Karoo (Oudtshoorn), and to Black South African English (BSAE) in the Eastern Cape areas of Mthatha, Port Elizabeth and Queenstown. All ten narrators were exposed to CSAE and in particular Cape Flats English (CF Eng), White South African English (WSAE) and BSAE when they moved to Western Cape areas like Delft, Bellville and Parow. Malan (1996:123) and Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008:57) claims that "Coloureds" in and around Cape Town, uses a distinctive form of English called CF Eng that has developed because at home children are addressed in L2 English by their parents, and in dialectical Afrikaans by grandparents, while their parents and grandparents speak Afrikaans amongst themselves. The pronunciation and grammar of CF Eng differ considerably from the CSAE variant that most of the clientele in the SBM area as well as the interviewer use to interact with the Somali respondents. In the SBM area, the BSAE is mostly influenced by isiXhosa. (See table 3 in Chapter Four).

The variety of English that is being used by Somalis in the SBM area includes features of varieties of English used outside the borders of South Africa as well as some used inside the borders of South Africa (Kirkpatrick, 2007:110). These features include: freer word order; variation between past and zero past marking; occasional omission of articles and auxiliary verbs, as well as prepositions; pronoun copying, which is common; frequent use of verb + *ing* constructions and invariant discourse markers like "you know"; and a range of non-standard pronunciations.

There are a number of grammatical features that are common in all ten narratives. The ten narratives illustrate that the variety of English that is being used as the lingua franca by Somalis in the SBM area differs to a certain extent from the CSAE variety spoken by the interviewer and most of the people who buy groceries at the shops of the Somalis. The ELF use by Somalis differs considerably from the ELF used by Coloureds in the SBM area. It firstly differs with regard to pronunciation, since both language groups are L1 speakers of two different languages, namely Somali, a Cushitic language, and Afrikaans, a Germanic language. Coloured speakers do not "break" consonant clusters like Somali speakers who add the [ɪ] vowel between the [nt] and [s] consonants in words like "parents" and "months". However, both Somali and Coloured speakers, especially children, emphasise the silent last vowel in words like "jumped" and "walked". Whilst Coloured speakers make use of Afrikaans words more regularly when using ELF, Somali speakers use pronoun copying more regularly when using ELF. Some of the features of the Somali-ELF result in misunderstanding and

influence turn taking during conversations. However, misunderstandings are on the whole rather rare, most probably because the form of English used by Somalis is also shaped by the linguistic influences of the intercultural space of the SBM area.

3.6 RESEARCH DIFFICULTIES

I initially planned to interview both younger and older men. However, I could only get hold of three men older than 50 years. Of these, one claimed he could hardly understand English. Another one refused on the grounds that his English is "poor". The third one (JOJ), a veterinary surgeon, was more fluent than the ten younger respondents. However, his interview data was in the end not included as he was the only older participant.

By researching autobiographical narratives, researchers are tapping into a rich mode of human discourse. Interviewing in the participants' L2 proved to be a major challenge and required adaptations from the interviewer. Thus, the number of questions posed to different narrators often depended on the narrator's proficiency in English. JJ narrated his life story with the smallest number of prompts, and TT with the highest number of prompts. To AAO, who is not included in the sample, even the prompts had to be "explained" by using other questions. (AAO is one of the younger Somali males whose data was not used in the analysis due to the fact that his proficiency in English was too low and he could not construct a coherent narrative in English).

After finding young men (between 21 and 33) to take part in the interviews, it was difficult to find the proper time and place to conduct these interviews, since the participants could not leave their shops and stalls, and they normally close late at night. On two occasions, the interviews had to be rescheduled, because the respondents had to go and buy stock in Cape Town. This explains why some interviews were held either in the shops or next to their stalls or in motorcars (as noted above). Since the linguistic abilities of the respondents were on different levels, I had to rephrase some of the questions to ensure understanding. Transcribing interviews which are conducted in the respondents L2 creates its own difficulties. L2 speakers do not only lack a native-like level of pronunciation and the control of idiomatic expressions, they also often lack the cultural pragmatics of the target language which contributes to determining intonation structure and expressing meaning.

3.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The sample of ten narratives is a fair number for a sample of a study of this length. It represents at least one third of the total Somali male population (for that period) in the SBM area. According to Nackerdien (2010, verbatim), there were at least 30 Somali male individuals who visited the mosque in Vredenburg from time to time during 2007.

Plummer (1983:101) identifies three domains of bias in research: those arising from the subject being interviewed, those arising from the researcher and those arising from the subject-researcher interaction. As far as possible, an attempt was made to reduce the amount of "bias" that the researcher brings to the process, by encouraging respondents not to try to please the interviewer during the interview, i.e. by explaining to them that there are no "correct answers" to the questions. The respondents were also assured that no prejudices are held against Somalis, and that prejudices and stereotypes did not influence the structure of the questions or the interviewing process. The narrators were also not encouraged to embellish their stories, but rather focus on relaying a factual account of events. Precautions were taken to ensure the "accuracy" of the recording: no parts were erased and every precaution was taken to ensure that every part was audible.

Collecting data from people raises ethical concerns about access, confidentiality and privacy. The purpose of the interviews and the study was explained to the participants and appointments were arranged in advance. Special care was taken to respect the privacy of each individual respondent, and to ensure that no one incurred physical damage. Respondents were also assured that the collected data will be kept confidential, and that no respondent would be identifiable from the data collected, as pseudonyms will be used (Melville & Goddard, 1996:45).

3.8 SUMMARY

Qualitative research is used to gain insight into the value system, culture and behaviour of individuals and groups of people in this study. The study is limited to young Somali males who were randomly selected. The English language proficiency of the participants differ, yet is generally higher than the proficiency in English of Somali women due to the fact that their level of interaction with L1 and L2 English speakers is much higher than that of women. Data was collected orally by way of semi-structured interviews. A set of questions were used during the interviews. The number of questions that were used to collect the data was determined by the proficiency in English of the participant. It was difficult to get hold of a

sufficient number of older men to participate in the study. Some older men claimed they could not speak English well. It was also difficult to arrange meetings for the interviews, as the young men were either too busy in the shops or had to buy stock. The participants represents at least one third of the number of adult Somali males who, according to Muslim leaders, visited the mosque during that period (2007-2008). In order to better understand the discourses analysed in Chapter Five, the following Chapter gives an elaboration of the demographic and biographical information of the group of participants.

CHAPTER FOUR

PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS

This chapter will give information on the linguistic profile and cultural networks of the participants. It will provide information on social and linguistic features of the community to which they belong, and will enrich our understanding of the data to be analysed in Chapter Five.

4.1 LINGUISTIC PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS

Although Afrikaans is the majority language in Vredenburg (see Table 3) the language which acts as a contact language for speakers from local and foreign backgrounds is English. English is, in other words, vital for them to interact with speakers of other languages and for speakers of other languages to interact with them. With English, Somali traders have access to wholesalers and services, and Afrikaans and Xhosa speakers use English to access the products in the Somalis' shops.

Table 3: Language groups in the SBM area (Census 2001, Statistics South Africa)

Language	2001	1996
Afrikaans	56 401	48 996
English	3 050	2 436
IsiNdebele	23	39
IsiXhosa	9 994	3 668
IsiZulu	107	66
Sepedi	61	49
Sesotho	480	137
Setswana	114	83
Siswati	41	3
Tshivenda	29	6
Xitsonga	38	15
Other	102	125

The average period the participants stayed in the SBM area at the time of the interview was 4.5 years. Their average age on arrival was 20.1 year. None of the respondents have visited Somalia since they fled the country, either because it is too dangerous to visit the area or because it would, according to them, be too difficult to locate their family members. Only MD's father, JOJ, visits his family in Somalia to arrange for them to come to South Africa. Most respondents, however, are in contact with their immediate family members in Kenya and Somalia. They phone and e-mail and send goods and money to them in Somalia.

4.2 MIGRATION HISTORY OF THE RESPONDENTS

Three respondents came straight to the SBM area. Three first went through Bellville/Parow before they came to settle in Vredenburg. One came from the Eastern Cape straight through to Vredenburg. Another one started in the Karoo, went into the Eastern Cape and then moved to Vredenburg, while one moved from the Eastern Cape to Delft and then to Vredenburg.

Table 4 below provides detailed information regarding the migration patterns of the participants including the average length of time in the SBM area and the average age on arrival. Table 5 summarizes the contact participants still have with family and friends in Somalia.

Table 4: The migration of Somalis to the SBM area

RESP.	DATE OF BIRTH	DATE OF ARRIVAL IN SA	AGE UPON ARRIVAL	RESIDENCE IN RSA PRIOR TO MOVING TO SBM AREA	DATE OF ARRIVAL IN SBM	PERIOD IN SBM (2007)	CLAN AFFILIATION
AD	1985	2004	19		2004	3 years	Ogadeni
JB	1980	2001	21		2001	6 years	Hawiye
MD	1981	2000	19	Bellville	2000	7 years	Shekhail
TT	1986	2004	8	Parow	2005	2 years	Hawiye
FF	1982	1999	17	Port Elizabeth Delft	2004	3 years	Shekhail
JJ	1982	2004	22	Kroonstad Mthatha Queenstown	2005	2 years	Ogadni
BB	1974	1997	23	Bellville Oudtshoorn Mthatha	1997	10 years	Ogadeni
AA	1980	1998	18	Bellville Parow	1999	8 years	Ogadeni
MA	1984	2006	22		2006	1 year	Ogadeni
HH	1982	2004	22	Bellville	2004	3 years	Ogadeni

When they arrived in South Africa, five respondents were in their late teens and five in their early twenties. Three entered the country in the late 1990s, two before 2005 and the rest after 2005. Only one respondent did not know any family members when he came to South Africa.

Three respondents did not spend any time in other provinces or towns or cities in the Western Cape, before moving to the SBM area. There is some pattern that seems to have emerged around 2004-06 with respondents either moving via Bellville to or moving straight to the SBM area - where a small but growing Somali community was settling - to join up with family members.

The migration of Somalis to South Africa is mainly politically motivated, yet there is some indication that economic reasons also played a significant part in their choice of South Africa and the SBM area as a destination. Some moved to South Africa to link up with family members, others were "sent" by the family to go to South Africa with its strong economy. Five respondents left Somalia because of the civil war and four because they were looking for a peaceful country to rebuild their lives, while only one moved because of business reasons. The narratives suggest that the refugee movements between South Africa and Somalia are "considered" or planned. In this sample, only one respondent (JB) followed the clandestine route to leave Somalia. However, he entered South Africa through O R Tambo. Most of the Somalis that migrate to South Africa belong to the lower income groups in Somalia. The narratives support Gundel's view (2002:255-281) that the main reason for Somali migration in history has been the intertwining of political conflict and the search for economic opportunity.

Table Five below indicates the contact of the ten participants with family members in Somalia and Kenya. The most common forms of getting information about Somalia are via the Internet and the radio. Messages are sent more regularly by e-mail than by landline. Sixty percent of the participants make use of the Hawilad system. Money and goods are, however, not sent at a specific time by members of the community, and depends on the economic situation of the sender. No participant has ever been back to Somalia and only three claim to have visited Kenya since their arrival in South Africa.

Table 5: Contact with Somalia

Resp.	Internet	E-mail	Landline	Radio (BBC World Service)	Hawilad¹⁵	Visits to Kenya	Visits to Somalia	Visits from ...
AD	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Daily	Seldom	Never	Never	None
JB	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Daily	Never	Never	Never	None
MD	Daily	Weekly	Weekly	Daily	Never	Once	Never	None
TT	Daily	Never	Never	Daily	Never	Never	Never	None
FF	Daily	Weekly	Never	Daily	Never	Never	Never	Australia
JJ	Daily	Weekly	Weekly	Daily	Sometimes	Never	Never	None
BB	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Daily	Sometimes	Never	Never	None
AA	Daily	Daily	Weekly	Daily	Monthly	Once	Never	None
MA	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Daily	Seldom	Never	Never	None
HH	Daily	Daily	Weekly	Daily	Sometimes	Once	Never	None

Two dominant Somali clans, the Hawiye/Shekail and Darood/Ogaden are represented among the respondents. Most of the respondents had family members in the SBM area before they moved to the area. An important aspect of the Somali community in the SBM area is the fact that they live in close proximity to each other. They share strong economic bonds, and often work together. BB's sister-in-law helps his wife while he manages another stall in Langebaan. FF helps his sister in one of her husband's shops. TT, AD and MA assist their cousins in their respective shops.

Many of the participants have strong clan and family ties, emblematic of their cultural value of kinship and the importance of belonging to family, which is a motivating factor in bringing individuals to this particular settlement. The Somali groups represented by each of the respondent are indicated in table 4.

The young men's identities are built through relationships with other Somalis. The majority of the respondents seldom move, for non-business reasons, out of their own cultural space into a space that is dominated by the values and culture of the host speakers. Somalis do not live in

¹⁵ Hawilad or Hawala refers to the system of sending remittances through remittance companies by Somalis in the diaspora to family members in Somalia (Waldo, 2006:19).

one particular neighbourhood in the SBM area. They normally live close to their shops. In most cases, their shops consist of one room of an RDP house. Only one respondent, MD, indicated that he interacts on a regular basis, after work and over weekends, with non-Somalis. Another two, JJ and MA, articulated there to be a possibility that they may become, through marriage, a part of the larger South African society. The networks of the respondents are thus mainly based on work (in the shops and stalls) and religious activities (in the mosque). Few of these young men have taken leadership positions in the Somali community and they are still "subordinate" to their fathers-in-law, uncles and other older men.

The three respondents (AD, JB and MA) who moved straight to the SBM area are also the people who left the Western Cape subsequently to settle in Johannesburg, Kenya and the USA, respectively. AD left after three years, JB after eight years and MA after three years (see table). AA left for Bellville and BB left for Velddrif (22km from Vredenburg) after being, respectively, nine and eleven years in the SBM area. The more recent migration of other African migrants (from e.g. DRC, Senegal and Zimbabwe) to Vredenburg meant that the market for roadside trading became contested. Some Somalis started stalls and even shops in areas like Velddrif in the Berg River Municipality area and Langebaan (25km from Vredenburg). Velddrif offered new business opportunities for more established traders like BB who had been doing business in Vredenburg during the week for 10 years, and later started doing business in Langebaan over weekends. For younger Somalis like MA and AD who has not yet established themselves, the inflow of more migrants made it more difficult to establish their own businesses.

4.3 INDIVIDUAL PROFILES OF THE RESPONDENTS

HH belongs to a sub-clan of the Darood, the Ogadeni. He was born in Mogadishu in 1982, passed form 2 (grade 10) in Kenya, and arrived in SA in February 2004 to start a more productive life. He stayed in Bellville for 7 months before moving to Vredenburg in the hope that his uncle could help him settle in the SBM area. HH speaks Somali (daily) and Kiswahili (weekly). He learnt English at school and can speak read and write it well. His Afrikaans is limited to a few stock phrases. HH knows some isiXhosa words and simple sentences which he picked up, since he already knows a Bantu language (Kiswahili).

BB, an Ogadeni, was born in 1974 in Mogadishu. He passed grade 6 before leaving Somalia in 1997 because of the civil war. BB entered South Africa in 1997 through Johannesburg. He stayed for some time in Beaufort West, Oudtshoorn and Mthatha, before moving to

Vredenburg in October 1997. BB is one of the first Somali inhabitants in the SBM area. He does communicate every month with his mother and sisters in Kenya, and sometimes sends money and goods to them. BB's level of proficiency and literacy in English is relatively good, but weak in Afrikaans.

FF was born in Mogadishu in 1982 and belongs to the Shekhail, a sub-clan of the Hawiye. He finished grade 12 before moving to SA in 1999. He carries the scars of nine bullet wounds sustained during the Somali civil war. After staying in Port Elizabeth (PE), he moved to Delft (Cape Town) and finally to Vredenburg, because of the hostility shown by black South Africans to foreigners in the Delft area. FF had worked in a shop in PE where groceries, fruit and vegetables were sold. In partnership with another Somali, he opened a shop in Delft where he sold the same produce. After an attack on their business, in which his partner was killed, FF moved to Vredenburg to become an assistant in the shop of a female member of the family who adopted him when he was still in Somalia. FF speaks to friends and family in Somalia every month, but never sends money back home. He claims he speaks and reads Arabic at least twice a week, and can speak and read English. His Afrikaans is limited to some basic sentences.

AA, an Ogadeni, was born in 1980, completed grade 10 back in Mogadishu and moved to South Africa in 1998. According to AA, his family fled to Kenya after the killing of his uncle. He was sent by his family to South Africa to earn some money for them to survive on. He followed his brother to South Africa who left a year earlier. AA entered the country through Johannesburg, moved to Bellville and Parow where he stayed for nine months before finally moving to Vredenburg. Every week he contacts his family in Somalia and sometimes sends them money. AA visited his immediate family in Kenya once. AA can speak and read English relatively well, although he thinks he is only capable of communicating at a basic level. AA has a passive understanding of Afrikaans and he is capable of forming simple sentences.

JJ, an Ogadeni, was born in 1982 in Mogadishu, passed grade 12 before he left Somalia in search of peace and arrived in SA, in 2004. Before coming to SA he worked in a restaurant, and later sold watches, televisions and radios in Nairobi. JJ claims that the isiXhosa-speakers in Mthatha and Queenstown (Eastern Cape) were very unfriendly towards him. JJ phones his family and friends in Somalia regularly and sometimes sends money back home. Apart from Somali, he can also speak, read and write Kiswahili, Arabic and English. JJ also claims that he can communicate in isiXhosa, and that he uses isiXhosa every day. JJ can greet, ask and answer simple questions in isiXhosa, more proficiently than he can in Afrikaans. He manages

a shop in Witteklip which sells groceries, fruit and vegetables. He also helps in another shop in the business area of Vredenburg on Saturdays.

AD is an Ogadeni, and was born in Kismayo in 1985. He finished grade 8 and fled Somalia in 2004 because of the civil war. He spent 3 months in a refugee camp in the Northern Province of Kenya. He arrived in South Africa in 2004 through O R Tambo Airport. AD's first language is Somali. He can communicate relatively well in English, but can construct only the simplest of sentences like *Goeie naand* (Good evening) in Afrikaans. AD stays abreast of what is happening in Somalia by listening to the BBC World Service, and listen to programs about Somalia in both English and Somali. He interacts daily with other Somalis, and communicates monthly with family and friends back home by land line. He does not send money or goods back home, and lives alone in South Africa. He is not married.

MA, an Ogadeni was born in 1986 in Kismayo. He left Somalia after finishing grade 12 because of the civil war. He had the dream of becoming a doctor, but realised that this would not be possible in a country at war with itself. Today, he claims that he fled to South Africa because of 'business' reasons, meaning that he wanted to start his own business in order to be self sufficient. He arrived in South Africa in 2006 and has one brother who lives in Johannesburg. MA is not married and manages a shop for another Somali in Witteklip. He contacts his family in Somalia and England once a week and sends his family in Somalia goods and money when he is in a position to do so. MA's first language is Somali. He can speak, read and write English relatively well, but knows only few Afrikaans words such as *dankie* (thank you), *twee* (two) and *jou* (you). MA is not married and has no children.

JB, a Hawiye, was born in 1980 in Mogadishu. He passed Level 4 (grade 6) in Somalia. His family had a 'long history of trading', but during the reign of Siad Barre their homes and assets were confiscated and most family members went overseas, mainly to England. Some fled to Kenya and only a few stayed on in Somalia. JB left Somalia in 2001 on board a ship that ferried supplies (aid). He left the ship at Maputo, and entered South Africa through Johannesburg International Airport (O R Tambo) in 2001. JB can speak and read in English, but his Afrikaans is limited to basic sentences. JB is married and does not have any children. He sends money every month to relatives in Somalia. He thinks of Somalis as being just as racist as South Africans since they regard certain clans as superior to other smaller clans, and he thinks that the system of family clanship plays an important role in the civil war.

MD belongs to the Shekhail sub-clan. He was born in 1981 in Mogadishu. MD spent 3 years in Kenya before he followed his father, who left Somalia in 1997, to SA in 2000. MD's

mother, younger brother and three sisters still live in Somalia, and he phones them once or twice a week. He also contributes to the money and goods that they receive every month. MD is not married and has no children. In Vredenburg, he works as a fitter and turner. He is the only respondent who does not work full time in a shop or stall. MD has a greater degree of contact with Afrikaans- and English-speaking people than do the other Somalis interviewed for this thesis. There are examples of compound sentences in MD's Afrikaans narrative.

TT, a Hawiye, was born in Mogadishu in 1986 where he also finished grade 6. He arrived in South Africa in 2004. Somali is his first language. His use of English is perhaps the weakest of the ten narrators. His English is greatly influenced by Afrikaans, and his proficiency in the latter is high. TT has not maintained contact with people in Somalia. He moved to the SBM area to link up with his uncle for a job in a stall, after staying in Parow for a year. He never phones people in Somalia, and has never been back to Somalia since 2004. He is unmarried, has no children and lives in Saldanha, although he regularly visits Vredenburg where some family members live.

4.4 SUMMARY

This chapter provided information regarding the linguistic profile and cultural networks of the participants, which is important background information for our understanding of the narratives to be presented and analysed in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

As discussed in Chapter Two, narrative activity becomes particularly informative in the case of "displaced" groups such as refugees. It is through the process of retelling and reconstructing past experiences that members of these groups make sense of social encounters and conflicts, and foreground old and new identities. Baynham and De Fina (2005:370) argue that narratives give us a view of (i) "the inside" of groups that were silenced about displacement and resettlement, and (ii) of the conflicts that accompany such processes and allow members of these groups to enact or perform social and moral change.

The narratives of this study of young males, who work hard to support their families, are to a certain extent hegemonic tales of the male migrant/provider. The respondents tell their histories as a kind of progress or journey (Peneff cited in Samuel & Thompson, 1990:36). With the exception of one narrative, the respondents position themselves as dynamic entrepreneurs and "self-made" men.

In the following sections, I will look critically at the claims of all ten narrators that they are the victims of discrimination and racism, and investigate how the narrators position themselves in relation to their stories. Firstly, I look at the way in which Somali narrators construct themselves as a group, and how their narratives about "home" create a shared sense of communal and individual identity, which is strongly related to their gender. Secondly, I apply Wodak and Riesigl's (2001, 2009) discourse-historical approach and their five discursive strategies: Referential or Nomination Strategies, Predicational Strategies, Argumentational Strategies, Framing or Discourse Representation, and Intensifying and Mitigation Strategies in order to closely investigate how the narrators talk about themselves and others. Finally, I use the methods developed in positioning theory to investigate how speakers discursively construct their personal stories in order to make their actions intelligible and relatively determinate as social acts.

5.1 NARRATIVES ABOUT A "MYTHICAL HOME"

In Chapter Two, I argued that narrators express a sense of "who they are" through stories about 'where they are'. The concept "place" is central to all ten narratives of this study. Place is one of the key discourses in culture and it functions to stabilise cultural patterns and to fix cultural identities. It also suggests "boundedness" (Koser, 2003:143). The ten respondents regard Somalia as their "home", yet only one (FF) describes it as a place of peace and quiet. This is perhaps due to the fact that only one respondent, BB, can claim to have had an "idyllic" childhood, prior to the outbreak of the civil war. Most narrators tell about the physical and political destruction of the country, but nevertheless continue to cling to the image of Somalia as a place that is culturally relatively coherent and bounded (see Massey, 1995:87-132).

By looking critically at the narratives/responses to the first question: *Tell me something about your life in Somalia - the town or village you grew up and the school you attended and do you remember some of the games you used to play as a boy*, I will determine how the narrators initially position themselves in terms of their homeland (Somalia) and their new home (South Africa). Since orientation is a dynamic, ongoing process throughout a narrative, the initial orientation does not imply that the narrator will continue to exclude or include the audience throughout the entire narrative (Modan & Shuman, 2010:83).

The spatial positions with which people identify, structure their sense of themselves (their subjectivity). Narratives are spatiotemporally oriented. Many narrators use places strategically, not as a backdrop for events but also as a means for asserting some connections and negating others (Modan & Shuman, 2010:83). Places can be evoked explicitly through narrative orientation in the Labovian sense, or implicitly through presupposition, allusion or even silence. In the case of implicit invocations, place knowledge is constructed as shared, whereas in orientation, it is constructed as not shared (Modan & Shuman, 2010:84). The strategic use of orientation can be crucial for the larger meaning of a story as it indicates how the speaker positions himself and the audience.

The discursive practices of positioning make possible three ways of expressing and experiencing one's personal identity or unique selfhood, namely, by stressing one's agency in claiming responsibility for some action; by indexing one's statements with the point of view one has of its relevant world; and by presenting a description/evaluation of some past event or episode as contribution to one's biography (Harré & Van Langenhove, 1999:62). FF and MA

express their personal identities by indexing the statements or points of views they have of the world they experience. Speaker commitment to moral responsibility is weak in these narratives. Moral positioning takes place when people position themselves within the moral orders in which they perform social actions (Harré & Langenhove, 1999:22). Moral positioning is the way in which people establish social identities from a moral viewpoint. The speaker uses moral order to place himself in a favourable position according to his or her needs and interests. An excerpt from FF's interview will illustrate this:

Excerpt 1 -FF

1. You see my country the time I was stay there
2. my life was good,
3. got nice school,
4. got nice life.
5. I was grade twelve
6. and I never get problem.
7. If I come here
8. I get only problem
9. and I see the life so difficult,
10. my life that's all I see in this country,
11. but I don't see any problem of my country.
12. Now, if I come here
13. I got a many problem than my country
14. better than my country here now.

FF's minimal narrative is characterised by repetition. Yet, a definite beginning, middle and end can be identified. He starts by referring to "the time I was stay there", moves on to the difficult times when he came "here" and ends with the "better/improved" experience of "now". The beginning consists of clauses 1-6, the middle consists of clauses 7-13, and the end consists of clause 14. Clause 1 is a sequential clause and clauses 2-6 subordinate clauses that are independent. Clauses 2-6 are also free clauses since they can be moved to any position in

the narrative without altering the semantic interpretation. It would however, be difficult to move clause 1 to any other position in the narrative.

Clauses 1-6 sketch what was going on before the event that changed FF's life - his move to South Africa. These clauses constitute the Orientation stage. Clauses 7-13 represents the Complication stage, and describe the difficulties he had to face when he moved to South Africa. A salient aspect of FF's narrative is the evaluation of the narrative. From the beginning until the end he indicates the point of the narrative and what he was getting at. Clause 14 refers back to 'my country' and makes an evaluative comment about his situation in South Africa.

Orientations can be regarded as occasions for narrators and audience to negotiate and build shared understandings of experiences. Orientations are thus not only setting the scene because it is an interactional resource. Modan and Shuman (2010:84) state that orientation is not simply about creating shared knowledge, and that it is not necessarily related to a narrator's assumptions about what a listener knows.

In FF's narrative, details, like the names of places such as towns, cities, villages and schools are not given. Somalia is identified as "my country" and "there", while South Africa is identified as "this country" and "here". The two countries are also respectively positioned by FF as a place where he experienced only problems (SA) and a place where he experienced no problems (Somalia). Modan and Shuman (2010:84) argue that the presence, absence or level of detail of orientation serves as a strategy to include or exclude the audience as an in-group member. The absence of physical detail about Somalia does not imply that the speaker assumes that the hearer has good knowledge about the country. It rather implies that the speaker excludes the hearer as an in-group member. In this narrative, the repetition of "my country" (x 4) emphasises the exclusion of the hearer. Places are a key to narrative, and narrative action is constituted in, motivated by, and understood with reference to the particularities of place (Modan & Shuman, 2010:83).

In the narrative of FF, two storylines are linked by the first person point of view namely, "I in Somalia" and "I in South Africa". The narrative is characterised by a personal and a moral positioning. Although the personal pronoun "I" is positioned as the dominant subject position and point of view, the first storyline about his life in Somalia is being eclipsed by the difficulties and negative events currently in South Africa. The "I" is turned powerless. Its powerlessness is well illustrated by the speaker's submissiveness in the last clause when the

contrast between "there" and "here" is concluded and the speaker admits that "(it is) better than my country here now". FF does not switch to "we" during his narrative.

By positioning the first person point of view outside the physical reality (cities, towns and villages) and collective history (civil war, clan and family, displacement), FF constructs a "mythical homeland", which is almost a possession of the individual ("my country"), and differs considerably from the one that the other nine narrators construct. Later in his story (complete narrative), he calls South Africa "my jail" rather than "our jail".

The construction of a "mythical homeland" is also a creative imagining of a different personal life and collective history in order to make the present more bearable. Individuals give historical facts a different meaning, which Cohen (2001:7) refers to as "interpretive denial". By creating the idea of an "idyllic" childhood, FF implies the existence of a different personal life and collective history in order to make the present more bearable. MA does not construct a "mythical homeland" without problems. Rather he implies that it did not matter to him as a child whether there was a government or not when they were playing soccer.

Excerpt 2 - MA:

1. Ja, ja I recall a government
2. but in Somalia we used to play football, netball.
3. Sometimes we used to play other games like what ...
4. what can I say now ...

MA's narrative fragment consists of free clauses. They have no temporal juncture and could have been ordered in any way within this section of the narrative. The clauses cannot be regarded as narrative clauses as in this fragment no beginning, middle or end can be identified. Thus internal ordering here does not take on similar structure to that of a complete and standardly formed narrative. MA confers on the past experience a certain meaning, which contributes to the meaning of his present situation of being a refugee in a foreign country. After recalling the games he used to play as a boy, MA finds it impossible to talk about the other things his country reminds him of, because thinking about it automatically forces him to compare the current dysfunctional state of Somalia with other countries. Home does, in other words, become a point of reference or a contrast to the present (Buyer, 2008:232). Stewart (1992:261) argues that what is true about all exiles is not that home and love of home is lost,

but that loss is inevitable when one home is left behind and a new home has to be found. In MA's narrative fragment, "we" refers to boys of his age in Somalia. However, he keeps his faith in the country, and later in his story he calls Somalia "the best country in the world".

Half of the respondents present a description/evaluation of some past event/period in their lives. JB, AD, TT, JJ and MD belong to this group. JB only uses the first person "I" in his narrative, but unlike FF, describes his relationship in more factual terms, as in line 2 in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 3 - JB:

1. I ... where I live before?
2. I was in Somalia the capital of Mogadishu.
3. And that's where I grow up.
4. When I was a young I used to soccer ... football ... soccer.

Repetition enables a speaker to articulate experience more fluently and emphatically (Tannen, 2007:58). This is especially true in the case of L2 speakers using English as a lingua franca. L2 speakers normally have a limited vocabulary of the target language. Repetition also benefits comprehension. According to Tannen (2007:59), repetition facilitates comprehension by providing semantically less dense discourse. If some words are repetitious, comparatively less new information is communicated than if all words uttered carried new information. Repetition also serves the purpose served by all conventionalised discourse strategies at every level of language: giving talk a character of familiarity (Tannen, 2007:60).

JB repeats the question of the interviewer in his narrative fragment. This is a form of allo-repetition - repetition of others. He does not repeat the exact words of the interviewer, but paraphrases the interviewer's ideas in his own words (Tannen, 2007:63). By repeating the question in his own words, the narrator not only manoeuvres more time to answer the question but also simplifies his response. JB evaluates it at the same time, and positions himself as interlocutor who challenges the power relationship between speaker and interlocutor, since his question cannot be answered by the interviewer. And when he answers it himself, he uses the pronoun "I" as the "centre" of every one of the free clauses.

JB switches from "I" to "we" and back to "I" in the narrative fragment discussed in section 5.2. Switches from "I" to "we" are common in his narratives. In JB's narrative, "we" seems to

refer in most cases to the Somali nation as a whole. He is very critical of the Somali civil war, and calls it a racist war. Unlike the other nine narratives which extol the unity of the Somali nation, JB's complete narrative exposes the divisions in the Somali nation due to 'geographies of power' (see King, 1995). JB sees his "nation" in geographical terms: 'The one is come southeren and northeren, easti we are same'. He starts off by referring to the most dominant geographical area in terms of its economic and cultural development. It is a lack of development that led to unequal interdependence between the southern and the northern parts of Somalia (King, 1995). The Republic of Somalia was over-centralised on the southern capital, Mogadishu, to the detriment of northern towns and ports like Berbera, and Bossasso (Gundel, 2003:257).

Excerpt 4 - AD:

1. Yeah, I can remember
2. I born Somalia, Kismayo
3. and my ... Kismayo I born Kismayo.
4. There the game I like to play is football.
5. I live with my mother and with my parentis (parents)
6. and with my brothers, elder and smallest than me.
7. So I am very happy
8. when I stay here,
9. and then the fighting, civil war starting
10. and we ran away for about the other countries in Africa's countries.

In AD's narrative, a definite beginning, middle and end can be identified and certain clauses form an Abstract, Orientation, Complication, Evaluation, and Resolution stage, respectively. If clause 10 and 9 or 10 and 4 were to be changed, this would result in a change in the listener's interpretation of the events described. AD's narrative thus, is a minimal narrative since it contains at least one temporal juncture.

Clause 1 represents the Abstract and advertises that the teller intends to narrate something from his past. Clause 2 to 6 give information on the place of the events and the identities of the participants, and represents the Orientation stage. Clause 7 and 8 forms the Evaluation

stage. Clause 9 is the Complication clause, and clause 10 the Resolution clause. AD's narrative consists of a series of temporally ordered clauses (narrative clauses) which are independent clauses.

AD refers to Somalia later in his narrative as "my own country", "my real home" that "is better than any other countries". AD switches from "I" to "we" to imply an end to the activities of the individual, because the safety of the family (context of the "I") has been threatened in his homeland. The first person point of view dominates the rest of his narrative. When AD speaks about "we", he may be referring to his household since he talks about his brothers and sisters and parents. This household might itself form an extended family since Somali men are traditionally polygamists. It might also refer to the most basic and functional lineage unit, the *mag*-paying group.

Excerpt 5 - TT:

1. I didn't remember the games
2. I speling, I speel now from here.
3. I didn't play for the games or anything from here
4. I didn't play for Somalian also

The problem of narrative construction is how to construct a series of events which include in a logical and meaningful way the most reportable event (Labov 1997:8). Labov defines the most reportable event as the event that has the greatest effect upon the needs and desires of the participants in a narrative (Labov, 1997:16). The four clauses in TT's narrative fragment (see below) have no temporal juncture, and also do not indicate a beginning, middle or end. In his narrative fragment, TT describes his past by using the English word "play" and the Afrikaans equivalent "speel" interchangeably in the four clauses (1-4). This becomes to a certain extent the most important topic of this particular narrative fragment about his youth. By using the negative "didn't" and by repeating it in terms of "play", the narrator evaluates what should have been the most reportable event(s) of any childhood. The words "now" and "from there" may refer to the time and place (context) of the interview. Now that he has to think about it, after all these years, he cannot exactly recall what "games" he used to play, but he is convinced that he was "playing" around as any child. Later in his story, he evaluates Somalia as a place of war where "every morning you can see the bly [blood]".

In response to a question (much later in his narrative), JJ says, "I see we are same, same you know, same cultures like that I see same cultures in Coloured people" to the audience which he knows belong to the Coloured group. This is an example of the strategic use of orientation. And it is used to frame knowledge as shared in order to achieve an ideological goal (Modan & Shuman, 2010:84).

However, at the start of his story, when JJ tells about his youth in Somalia, he seems to exclude the audience by constructing place knowledge as not shared. JJ gives a detailed description and evaluation of his life. JJ's narrative is the longest and contains the most detail and references to life in Somalia. Place names like Mogadishu, Baidoa, Akmedow, Hilwadek and Hamedgury index a physical space. His references to time and place are more complex so that the listener becomes aware of more fluid "parts" or "roles" by a single speaker. In his account, references to the civil war are not linked only to a specific part of Somalia or the city of Mogadishu. The Somali conflict is also not only sketched in terms of the struggle of one family against soldiers or guerrillas, but even in terms of clan against clan.

JJ's long narrative (see below) shows similarities with MD's narrative in terms of lexical repetition and the repetition of narrative structural types. (MD's narrative will be discussed next). JJ repeats words like "classes", "standard 4", "school", "tribe", and "war". The Abstract clause 1 is followed by an Orientation stage clause 2-4, followed by a Complication stage that leads to another Orientation stage clause 6-14. Clause 15 is a Complication clause followed by a Resolution clause 16: "I run home and our families". The child and the family members' "running" "home" is followed by the migration of the "families" or "tribes" to areas which are safer and which they could perhaps call 'home'. The use of the word "tribe" implies that JJ is referring to larger groups than the family or extended family - most probably sub-clans and clans.

The narratives of JJ and the next narrator, MD, are multi-directional. A multi-directional narrative can be defined as one that proceeds forwards as well as backwards in search of an origin. Jefferson (1978:221) calls this phenomenon embedded repetition. Embedded repetition refers to the repetition of a phrase or a topic from a preceding conversation or non-verbal event, and the repetition functions as a recall of the trigger that set the narrative in motion. The reversal of the causality means that it is not cause to effect, but an effect or several effects in search of a cause and this becomes the focus of the narrative.

Excerpt 6 - JJ:

1. Ja, the first time I ...
2. I was born in Mogadishu in the village of Hilwadek,
3. and after that I land in the school of Hamedgury.
4. When in standard 4 in 1991 ... 1990 or 1991
5. I don't remember the war starting.
6. I remember that afternoon my ...
7. when I go to school
8. because in Somalia there is a different ... different
9. the school is different ...
10. there is a day and afternoon.
11. Some ... some classes they enter for 7 o'clock
12. and some classes they enter in 2 o'clock.
13. I am the classes they enter 2 o'clock.
14. I am in standard 4.
15. And that time when the War is starting
16. I run home and our families.
17. After that when we are two weeks or three weeks
18. the war will not started.
19. We move in some other city nearest to the Mogadishu
20. and the other families, the other tribes are attacking to other, my tribe.
21. They get the bigger power
22. so our tribe we moved it the where in Baidoa.
23. So when I reach in Baidoa
24. that time I am not I am too young.
25. I am ten years ... nine years old that time.

26. So I don't remember anything like that,
27. but I remembering some little things.
28. So we move it again in ... in Akmedow a city of that tribes.
29. Our tribe is longing
30. so I am here that time in Akmedow 2 years.
31. I ... I come back.
32. Me alone after ... after four ... after four years in Mogadishu
33. me alone, so that's why my uncle and my other parentis [parents] are living in there.

In JJ's narrative, the narrator uses narrative emplotment to unify events into a coherent narrative of individual identity. JJ makes sense of events by figuring them into brief plots with personas, intentions and outcomes. JJ starts by narrating about him being at school in Hamedgury. This is followed by him narrating about the "families" migrating to Baidoa after fighting break out between the "families". And he ends by narrating about his "tribe" in Akmedow. He explains his actions in relation to the intentions of his family and tribe and the contextual factors that affect these actions. The pronouns "I" and "me" indicate that an individual is present from the beginning to the end of the narrative in which the life of the individual is bound up in the life of others. These brief plots are then retrospectively figured into larger narratives where there is an implied or actual beginning, middle and ending (Sparrowe, 2005:428-429).

Excerpt 7 - MD:

1. Okay. I grew up in Mogadishu
2. mmh when I was in the town actually, not in a village.
3. I used to go in a school mmh in town
4. which was not far from us actually ...
5. No (I) mean, actually there was no much fun about it, actually,
6. because I grew up when the war started actually.
7. And people get education very scare.

8. This education was not that good either.
9. So this is actually what it is.
10. I mean there is not much to tell, actually,
11. because as soon as I study when I was in standard 4
12. and then the war started
13. so we have to learn mmh secretly in the houses
14. so can get teachers getting into the homes
15. and teaching us mmh us what to the rest of the education,
16. till the war get very bad
17. so we can no cannot get out
18. just running away from the country.

MD's narrative is characterised by a definite beginning, middle and end and by individual clauses and sections of clauses of a common functional type identified by Labov (1997:6). There is repetition of some structural types in JJ's narrative due to lexical repetition as described by Tannen (2007:80). Clause 1 represents the Abstract; Clause 2 and 3 represent an Orientation stage; Clause 4 and 5 represent an Evaluation stage; and clause 6 is a Complication clause. This does not lead to a Resolution stage or Coda. Instead, the process is repeated because of lexical repetition. Clauses 7 and 8 represent another Complication stage. Clauses 9, 10 and 11 represent an Evaluation stage. Clause 12 represents another Complication stage. Clause 13 and 14 represent an Orientation stage; clause 15 and 16 represent an Evaluation stage; clause 17 represents another Complication stage. This time it leads to a Resolution stage, clause 18.

Repetitions characterise MD's narrative. The repetition of structural narrative types in MD's narrative is a result of him repeating a number of words or phrases referring to specific topics or ideas in his narrative. The words that are repeated include "war", "town", "education" and "actually". The use of the discourse marker "actually" in clause 5 and 6 e.g. illustrates that repetition is a resource by which the same word or phrase can be used in a different way (Tannen, 2007:81). MD also repeats the interviewers' words: "town", "village" and "school", but not words like "Somalia", "games" and "boy". He repeats the word "war" and the phrase "the war started" several times in Complication clauses. Although the word "school" is

repeated only once, he uses a variety of words (repetition with variation) that can be associated with the word "school". These words are "education", "study", "standard 4", "teachers" and "teaching" to create an Orientation stage. Like JJ and other narrators, MD repeats words or phrases from the interviewer's question, words or phrases from his own narrative (the earlier stages of the narrative) as well as words or phrases that refer to events, like the civil war. In the narratives of MD and JJ, these lexical repetitions from different spheres are in fact a recall of the trigger(s) that set the narrative in motion. Words like "Somalia", "town", "village", "school" and "games" used in the questions form key concepts in the narrative told in answer to the question. In the case of MD, some of these words are used in creating narrative clauses as in "I was in a town", "(I) was not in a village", "I used to go to school" etc. This results in several effects in search of a cause and becomes the focus of the narrative.

The last group of narrators stress their agency by claiming responsibility for their actions. This includes BB, AA and HH. Overt indexing of the speaker as one who has a moral responsibility characterises these narratives.

According to Toolan (2001:150), Abstracts summarise and advertise the narrative and request telling rights. In an interview, a narrator tells a story after he or she had been asked a question or invited to tell a story. This makes the Abstract stage somewhat superfluous in elicited (interview) narratives (responses). This explains to a certain extent its absence in most of the ten narratives of this study.

Clause 1 and 2 of BB's narrative give information about the place and year in which BB was born. The interviewee provides the interviewer voluntarily with the necessary information he needs to follow the narrative.

The Orientation stage is followed by the Complication stage, represented in clause 3, 4 and 5. The Complication stage involves a disruption to the usual sequence of events. Instead of describing the civil war as the result of human action, BB describes it as some kind of natural force over which the country and members of his family do not have any control. The country becomes affected in the same way as his brothers/sisters become affected by "trouble".

Clause 6 introduces the Resolution stage, when he decides to "run" to Kismayo. This stage also includes clause 11 in which he describes how he came to South Africa by ship. The Resolution of a narrative is not simply the ending or outcome of a narrative. Labov (1997:14) defines the resolution of a personal narrative as the set of complicating actions that follow the

most reportable event. The most reportable event is the civil war which led to the "troubles" his brothers and sisters experienced, displacement inside Somalia and eventually, migration to South Africa.

This is followed by clause 12, an evaluative clause. Clause 13 forms the Coda. A coda can be described as the clause or clauses that bring the narrative back to the time of telling (Labov, 1997:14). According to Toolan (2001:157-158), a coda signals the sealing off of a narrative. Codas are also the site of a deictic shift. In narratives of personal experience, the teller who is also a principal participant often switches the deictic anchorage to the spatiotemporal orientation of himself-as-participant, selecting items such as "this", "here" and "now" relative to the individual (Toolan, 2001:158).

Excerpt 8 - BB:

1. I born Mogadishu, the capital.
2. I born 1974.
3. So 1991 the country there get civil war
4. so that time is a lot of my brother, my sister,
5. some they get trouble
6. so I run that time
7. so I come other place the name of Kismayo
8. is the other capital.
9. I stay that time 3 months
10. I think so.
11. I arrive that time ship on the sea for South Africa to Kismayo,
12. so my life before was too bad,
13. but now I stay in South Africa.

Although AA's narrative consists of only 8 clauses, a beginning, middle and end can be identified. Like FF's narrative, AA's narrative also lacks an Abstract stage. Toolan (2001:149) argues that the abstract together with the coda is one of the optional stages of a narrative.

These two stages fall not so much at the beginning and the end of a narrative, as before the beginning and after the end, respectively.

In his narrative, a Resolution clause 4 follows after the Orientation stage: clauses 1, 2 and 3. The Complication clause or stage (reason for him running away) is not given. There is a connection between AA's lack of reference to the reason for his migration to Kenya and the little detail that is given about his youth. It is not because the speaker presupposes that the audience has a lot of information about Somalia, the civil war or the reasons why Somalis in general migrate to South Africa, but rather, because of him strategically excluding the audience from the in-group.

The discourse marker "so" introduces a clause which follows a statement: "I grew up in Somalia in the Mogadishu especially in the Hamerweni" (clause 1) "so I went to school to Hamerweni" (clause 2). Clause 2 motivates or logically concludes the action of the speaker. Clause 1 and 2 overlaps and cannot be moved in the narrative. Clauses 6, 7 and 8 also overlap. The conjunction "so" in clause 8 also motivates the actions of clause 6. In the case of clause 3 "I got friends in Kenya", and clause 4 "so I run away from the country", a temporal juncture separates the two clauses. Clause 2 and clause 3 overlap, and clause 4 and clause 5 overlap.

AA repeats his own words (self-repetition): "Hamerweni" "South Africa", "to", "I", and "so". He names the suburb and school of the city where he grew up. He locates himself in a group which is dependent on him "... so I run away from the country and we come in Kenya". In this particular narrative "we" does not refer to the nation, but to the family. Family refers here most likely to the extended family or a group just bigger than the extended family, since he claims a vital role in ensuring their survival. AA is most probably referring here to the most basic and functional lineage unit namely, the *mag*-paying group, the most important level of social organisation for each individual.

Excerpt 9 - AA:

1. I grew up in Somalia in the Mogadishu especially in the Hamerweni,
2. so I went to school to Hamerweni.
3. I got friends there
4. so I run away from the country
5. and we come in Kenya.

6. So my family they sent me in South Africa
7. to ... to make survive.
8. So that's why I come here South Africa.

HH's narrative shows signs of a beginning, middle and end. His narrative starts with the statement that he "was staying in Somalia" (clause 1), followed by a description or orientation about his life in Somalia (clause 2), and ends with a Resolution clause "we run away from Somalia" (clause 7), and a Coda "Till now the fighting is going on" (clause 8). Clause 8 is a free clause and a general observation which finally orients the audience to the disruptive nature of HH's youth. The Orientation clause (2) initially states only the name of the country and town where HH grew up, before the Complication stage is introduced by clause 3.

A common feature of HH's narrative is his use of repetition: "my main" (x2), "fighting" (x4), "we run away" (x2) and "and then" (x4). 'And then' introduces Complication clause 3, Resolution clause 4, Orientation clause 5 and Resolution clause 7. The lexical repetition by Somali narrators using English as a second language leads to a repetition of narrative structural stages which to a certain extent mirrors the disruption and displacement they experienced. The narrative is constructed in such a way that the sequence of clauses corresponds to the order of the original events.

In his narrative, HH starts with "I", but switches to "we" without switching back to "I". His narrative is dominated by the use of "we", but he does not "demarcate" it with clauses like "my sisters", "my brothers" and "my parents". "We" refers here to a larger group than the immediate or even extended family. Unlike BB's narrative, which is dominated by the agency of individuals, his narrative is dominated by the agency of groups. HH declares later, in another narrative, that he will return to Somalia to help it become the "greatest place in the world in the future".

Excerpt 10 - HH:

1. Ja, actually, when I was staying in Somalia
2. I used to stay a town called Kismayo
3. and then there's a ... there's a fighting break out
4. and then we run away from the fighting

5. and then we ... uh ... uh we were playing a game like just now saying now football
6. was my main uh uh uh my main game
7. and then after the fighting we run away from Somalia.
8. Till now the fighting is going on.

It is clear from the ten narratives that the narrators do not regard place as a mere backdrop for events. Yet, all ten position themselves differently in terms of their homeland and their new home. Seven (HH, MA, AA, BB, MD, JJ, AD, JB) evoke places explicitly through narrative orientation. Even among these seven narrators, the information that is given about these places also differs dramatically. HH refers to the country and hometown in which he was born: "I was staying in Somalia" (excerpt 10 clause or line 1) and "I used to stay a town called Kismayo" (excerpt 10, line 2). And he refers to the civil war as "the fighting" (excerpt 10, line 3). MA only refers to the country, Somalia, but not to the civil war (excerpt 2, line 2). AA gives more detail about the place where he grew up. He refers to the country, the city as well as the neighbourhood, "Hamerweni" (excerpt 9, lines 1 and 2, where he grew up, but is silent on the reason why he left the country, simply saying "so I run away from the country" (excerpt 9, line 4). BB refers to "Mogadishu" (excerpt 8, line 1), and "Kismayo", the city to which they moved because of the "civil war" (excerpt 8, lines 7, 8 and 3). MD refers only to "Mogadishu" and the "war" (excerpt 7, lines 1, 6 and 12) in his narrative. JJ provides the most detail in referring to life in Somalia. He names the following places (in excerpt 6): Mogadishu (lines 2, 19 and 32), Baidoa (lines 22 and 23), Akmedow (lines 28 and 30), Hilwadek (line 2) and Hamedgury (line 3). He refers to the civil war by describing clashes between tribes (excerpt 6 lines 5, 15, 20 and 28). Two (TT, FF) use the implicit invocation of place through allusion. TT does not refer to the country, Somalia, or to a town or village in that country. Instead, he uses the word "Somalian" (excerpt 5, line 4) to allude to the country. FF calls Somalia "my country" (excerpt 1, lines 1, 11 and 13) and South Africa "this country" (excerpt 1, line 10). One narrator (AD) positions South Africa as one of the "other African countries" (excerpt 4, line 10). BB implies in his narrative that he enjoys a better life in South Africa by saying that his past life was "bad" (excerpt 8, line 12). In AA's narrative, South Africa plays a meaningful role in his life even before his arrival in South Africa, since it was even then linked to the future of his family (excerpt 9, line 6). His arrival was the outcome of the

intentions of his family, while in the case of other narrators it is rather linked to the intentions of some other entity or contextual factors.

Through implicit invocations like allusion, place knowledge is usually constructed as shared, whereas through explicit orientation place knowledge is constructed as not shared by speaker and audience. In all ten narratives, however, the narrators do not indicate that they presuppose that the audience has any first hand information about the reputations of these "foreign" places, the relations among these "foreign" places, the people who inhabit them, and the kinds of things that occur there (Modan & Shuman, 2010:83).

Perouse de Montclos (2003:38) depicts the Somali diaspora as "a community with their mind turned towards the homeland" since Somalis maintain closer relations with their compatriots and home country than with the citizens of their host country and the host country itself. Only one respondent in this study visits members from the local community after work and over weekends. Most of the respondents have contact with family members who live in Somalia or its neighbouring countries, via the phone, the internet, radio and the hawilad system (See table 5 in Chapter Four). The Internet is a popular form of making contact with other Somalis outside the borders of South Africa. They visit websites like palktalk.com, BBC Somali.com, calanka.com and shabelle.com. Very few of the respondents have visited their family in Somalia and even fewer have received visits from friends or family members. Nine respondents indicated that they eventually want to return to Somalia when peace has returned to their country.

I agree with Buyer (2008:232) that memories of home and the civil war do influence the way Somalis negotiate their present in South Africa and how they view their future. Although most narrators do not initially acknowledge that Somalia is ravaged by a civil war, they do later acknowledge the influence of the war on their lives. Yet, only four explained their personal or clan position in the civil war. TT and HH describe the civil war as a kind of intra-family conflict, and JB calls it a racist war, while JJ narrates about his conflict with members of another clan. Most narrators, however, position themselves as victims of a war over which neither individual nor clan has any control.

Life histories are not a random collection of memories but are part of an organised memory of an individual's life. These narratives are constructed to present a certain image of the narrator (Buyer, 2008:299). The SBM respondents prioritise two aspects of their identity, namely that of refugee and Somalian national rather than that of specific clan member. This may perhaps be due to the fact that the SBM area houses a relatively small Somali population. The Somali

respondents disavow the identity "South African" or "Black", but are quite willing to accept the identity "African". Ironically, according to them, the language groups in South Africa most likely to exclude them from society are the ones who have appropriated the term "African" for themselves.

The Somali speakers in this study can be described as intercultural communicators. They can be regarded as hybrid intercultural speakers not only because they can perform in both their native culture and in at least one other culture, but also because they bring alien "items" like non-standard pronunciation to the local communicative context. They were found to use Afrikaans words and phrases in their English narratives. These speakers have managed their own third way in between the cultures they are familiar with (House, 2007:19). The differences regarding language use must be seen as deliberate cultural alternation and not as failure. Their level of English can on the one hand be described as low, but on the other hand it must also be seen as a clear sign of intercultural competence.

When TT uses Afrikaans words like *speel* in excerpt 5 line 2 "I speling, I speel now from here" (see also appendix A2), and BB uses Afrikaans words like *mos* (see appendix A3) they are deliberately or inadvertently crossing borders. Alien items are taken into a speaker's language and culture with the result that the hybrid intercultural speaker goes deliberately against conventional rules and standards. The level of English of the respondents did play a role in the interviews. For example, TT answers the very first question he was asked in his interview (see A2), *What is the meaning of your name?*, by giving his name and not explaining its meaning. In this instance, the message sent out was not the message received, and it was not necessarily influenced by ethnocentrism, but rather by a lack of vocabulary.

The following section relies on the strategies developed within the discourse-historical approach in order to illuminate the ways in which Somalis construct themselves and others during their narratives.

5.2 LANGUAGE AND RACISM: THE CONSTRUCTION OF "IN-GROUP" AND "OUT-GROUP" IDENTITIES

Language is an important factor in the construction of groups and it is often used to "invent" the other. Through language use, we can distance ourselves by creating a discourse in which the "other" is stereotyped (Wright, 1998:43). Linguistic evidence from a number of languages shows how the definition of a "stranger" comes from the idea of incomprehension and the impossibility of communication. The Russian for German/foreigner is *nemtzi*, which also

means "dumb". The word "barbarian" comes from Greek *barbaroi*, which refers to those who make incomprehensible babbling noises instead of speaking Greek and are therefore, by definition, less civilised (Wright, 1998:44). The term *amakwerekwere* is a slang word used by Blacks in South Africa to refer to Black migrants from the rest of Africa (Collins, 2004:45). The word *amakwerekwere* also carries the meaning of "those who make incomprehensible babbling noises" (Wright 1998:44), instead of speaking isiXhosa. The origin of the word is not fully known. It is associated with the Nguni tribes (Xhosas and Zulus) who initially used the word referring to Sotho speakers whose language they could not understand. The word is also pronounced differently by different speakers. Zulu speakers would say *amakwerekwere*, while Sotho speakers would pronounce it as *makwerekwere*, and English speakers may drop the prefix and say *kwerekwere*.

Language is, according to Wright (1998:44), a group marker, an indicator of difference and sameness, and ultimately both the medium and the message of the construction of "us" as opposed to "them". And groups who cannot communicate with us are categorised as "strangers".

The respondents inadvertently claim that racism is propagated through "collective symbols" and orally through cultural stereotypes present in everyday speech. According to Van Dijk (1984:13), prejudice is a shared form of social representation in group members, acquired during socialisation, and has social functions, e.g. to protect the interests of the in-group. Quasthoff (1978:27) defines the term 'stereotype' as the verbal expression of a certain conviction or belief directed at social groups or members of social groups. The stereotype is normally an element of common knowledge, shared to a high degree in a particular culture. It takes the logical form of a judgment that attributes or denies, in an oversimplified and generalising manner, and with an emotionally slanted tendency, particular qualities or behavioural patterns to certain groups or members of social groups. Quasthoff (1978:27) comes to the conclusion that stereotypes do not exclusively appear as warrants. If they are used to support a claim, they usually appear to maintain and sustain the view of the speaker.

In the discourse-historical approach language is not powerful on its own - it is a means to gain and maintain power by the use "powerful" people make of it. Ironically, in this study, according to the ten participants, the poor, Black working class position themselves as the "powerful" group and use threats in order to control refugees and regulate access to certain public spheres (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009:88-89).

5.3 ANALYSIS IN TERMS OF THE DISCOURSE HISTORICAL APPROACH

5.3.1 Positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation

In this section, I will concentrate on the linguistic strategies for positive-self-presentation and negative-other-presentation in the narratives of a number of Somali respondents. The main part of the analysis focuses on the narrative of JJ. I will show that in response to consistent stereotyping of being called *amakwerekwere* by South Africans, Somali narrators construct "victim" as well as "hero" personas, and portray certain South African groups as "villains". Most narrators¹⁶ claim that Coloureds and Whites do not use derogatory terms like *amakwerekwere*. These narratives can be described as "complaint narratives" where the in-group (the state apparatus and certain groups of citizens) is accused of being antagonistic and not caring for foreigners and Somalis in particular.

Excerpt 11 - JJ

1. L: But I mean do the people call you *amakwerekwere* or names like that?
2. JJ: Ja, they call *amakwerekwere*, cause is the Black people,
3. they are very dangerous and there is no respect.
4. Ja, so after that they abuse you every time
5. Every time they come to you and they are pretending to respect
6. but they can't respect you, all of them.
7. L: Tell me the so-called Coloured people, what names do they call you?
8. I've heard about goto. MA told me that some of the people call him "goto."
9. JJ: Ja, you know the Coloured people they are different
10. for I think when I see we are same, same you know same cultures
11. like that I see same cultures in Coloured people.
12. L: But haven't you heard the word "goto"?
13. JJ: No, I didn't heard that word here. I didn't heard.

In the next extract, FF claims that the state apparatus is also discriminating against them.

¹⁶ AA, AD, JB, MA, AD, BB, HH, FF and JJ.

Excerpt 12 -FF

1. In SA we haven't got even passport to go to even Zimbabwe.
2. We haven't got even passport to go to Angola.
3. We haven't got any passport to somewhere.
4. Just we've got only the paper.
5. Some of the policeman they say what is this paper, where is your ID.
6. They talk like that.
7. And even some of the police they don't even understand this paper.
8. That's the problem of this country.

The discourse-historical approach aims to answer five questions. Based on the answers to these five questions, the discourse-historical approach elaborates on five types of discursive strategies. By "strategy" discourse-historical approach analysts refer to an intentional plan or practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic goal. The discursive strategies are located at different levels of linguistic organisation and complexity. The first question discourse-historical approach analysts posit is *How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically?* and the first discursive strategy related to this is called the nomination strategy (see Chapter 2.3). Devices that are being used include membership categorisation, deictics, metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches, as well as the verbs and nouns that are being used to denote process and actions (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009:93-94).

5.3.2 Referential/nomination strategies

The social actors that are constructed and represented in the respondent interviews, are the Black people, the Coloured people and "we" (Somalis). JJ argues that Black South Africans regard themselves as the in-group and Somalis as the out-group. He uses a number of strategies to refer to and to alter the situation. By using the pronoun "we" the Somalis become the in-group and, interestingly, the local Coloureds are implied as being part of that in-group, as being an ally.

JJ also makes use of cataphoric reference (Paltridge, 2006:132) when referring to Blacks. The pronoun "they" refers forward to the phrase Black people which is used later in the text. In the case of Coloureds in excerpt 11, line 9, he makes use of anaphoric reference (Paltridge,

2006:131). The pronoun "they" refers to the phrase "the Coloured people" used earlier in the text.

The definite article is used in reference to both local groups e.g. in excerpt 11, line 2 "the Black people" and in excerpt 11, line 9 to "the Coloured people". This often characterises stereotyping discourse (Wodak & Reisigl, 2001:388) as in excerpt 11, line 12 where JJ also claims the word "goto", which can be regarded as a potential equal to *amakwerekwere*, is not used by Coloureds to stereotype Somalis. He, however, describes the actions of Black South Africans negatively: "very dangerous", "pretending to respect", "abuse", etc. in excerpt 11 lines 3, 4, 5 and 6.

5.3.3 Predicational strategies

Predication strategies may be realised as stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative and positive traits in the form of adjectives, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctive clauses, and explicit predicates or predicative nouns/pronouns/adverbs, collocations, hyperboles, euphemisms, similes, metaphors, allusions and presuppositions. The question that is posited is *What characteristics and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?* (Wodak & Reisigl, 2009:94)

The "blacks" are labelled negatively as "very dangerous", "show no respect", "abuse you" and "pretending to respect". Coloureds, on the other hand, are euphemistically described as "same" as Somalis, and "different" from Black South Africans. Apparently, the Somalis identify with the "coloured" group, as they are constructed as being similar in a number of ways. For example, regarding certain cultural aspects like religion, where there is adherence to Islam, there appears to be mutual understanding. The referential strategies can be considered as specific forms of predicational strategies, because the pure referential identification involves a denotatively or connotatively depreciatory or appreciative labelling of the social actors. This is achieved by the use of pronouns.

When JJ refers to Blacks, he uses the pronoun "they" six times (excerpt 11, lines 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6) and when he refers to Coloureds, he uses the pronoun "they" only once (excerpt 11, line 9). JJ places as much distance as possible between himself and "the Black people" and, at the same time, seeks common ground with "the Coloured people". He first of all uses the pronoun "you" with the verb "know" twice as in excerpt 11, lines 9 and 10. Repetition gives added emphasis to a point being made. By using "you know", a cognitive statement and discourse marker, the speaker also seeks confirmation from the hearer, which the speaker knows

belongs to the Coloured group. "You" is being used in contrast to "they" (the Black people) and in all three cases "acts" not as subject as in the first case, but as object: (they) call amakwerekwere you; (they) abuse you; (they) can't respect you. The pronoun "we" on the other hand establishes common ground: "we are same". "Same" is repeated four times and "same cultures" twice. Belonging to the same culture and speaking the same language is what distinguishes Somalis from other nations, including South Africans. This is a salient aspect in all ten narratives. Here, however, pronominal use and the use of "same" serve as a strategy to include the audience as in-group member.

5.3.4 Argumentation strategies

The question here refers to the arguments that are employed in the discourse in question (Wodak & Reisigl, 2009:93). Argumentation strategies refer to the justification of positive and negative attribution in a text. The perceived incapability or insincerity of Blacks with regard to showing respect, is presented as justification for distancing yourself from them. The following negative attributes are articulated: "they are pretending to respect, but they can't respect you". Ironically, the narrator considers Coloureds as culturally similar to Somalis, although they are citizens of two different countries, and pronounced linguistic, religious, culinary, and various other differences are apparent. Coloureds, since they share some cultural features with Somalis, are given positive attributes. The use of "I see we are same" is perhaps determined by the immediate context of the interview, implying that a bond exists between the Coloured interviewer and the Somali interviewee. AA claims "No, it is not Afrikaans people, but Coloured and White people they don't call us, but only black people they call us *amakwerekwere*". And FF even claims that Coloured people are better than Black people: 'No, this are nice people, they buy at the shop this is Coloured. The Coloured people are better than black people, they don't call you *amakwerekwere*, they say Somalians that's all, they never gonna say other things'. Wodak and Reisigl (2009:93) argue that fallacies and deictic devices are used for this strategy. In both AA's and FF's answer, there are fallacies in that they seem not to recognise the diversity within the local "coloured" community. AA constructs each language group as homogenous as if they are not made up of individuals, while FF constructs Coloureds as inherently better than Blacks.

5.2.5 Framing/Discourse representation

The fourth question refers to the perspective from which these nominations, attributions and arguments are expressed (Wodak & Reisigl, 2009:93). Devices that are being used include direct and indirect speech, quotation marks, discourse markers, animating prosody etc. In this

instance, we consider why the speakers express their involvement in discourse and position their point of view in the narration. On PL-1 (Positioning Level 1), JJ positions Blacks as the in-group that treats Somalis as the out-group. Coloureds is positioned as the allies of the Somalis. Although both Coloureds and Blacks are native South African groups, they differ from each other, since Coloureds do not use pejorative words such as *amakwerekwere*. The use of "they" and "we" not only polarises the in-group and the out-group, but also the in-group internally. On PL-2, JJ positions himself and the audience as allies, who share some similarities in terms of culture - a fact the Coloured audience must be aware of (excerpt 11, lines 10 and 11). The discourse marker *you know* affirms the point the narrator is making. On PL-3, JJ places as much distance as possible between the out-group and in-group by using "they" six times (excerpt 11, lines 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 9) and by giving a list of crimes attributed to Blacks (excerpt 11, lines 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6) which put them in a negative light. On PL-3, JJ places as much distance as possible between the out-group (South Africans) and the in-group (Somalis). By using or repeating "they" five times to refer to Blacks and assigning a list of negative actions to Blacks only, the narrator indirectly excludes Coloureds and Whites from that polarization.

In his reply to the question whether people call him names in South Africa, AD states that he engages South Africans when called *amakwerekwere*. He not only argues his point as one that is normatively right, but also expresses his involvement in the discourse.

Excerpt 13 - AD

1. AD: They call for me sometimes some people *amakwerekwere* or *kwerekwere* or other names
2. I don't like it.
3. When I say my friend don't call me like that
4. some people they say sorry, what's your name or my country's name.
5. Some people they say you are *amakwerekwere* they about they something for is not good
6. so the people they different.
7. Some they say you are *amakwerekwere* you are *kwerekwere*.
8. Some people they call my name,

9. when I say my name is not *amakwerekwere*,
10. my name is AD or my name is AP or my name is MM they calling my name,
11. they is good people.
12. The people is not right
13. they call it anytime that apartheid names, names not good because
amakwerekwere
14. I don't know what is meaning for *amakwerekwere* that's right.

AD repeats the word *amakwerekwere* a number of times as well as his response to the speech act. I believe the repetition of bad words (*amakwerekwere*) and good acts (apology, greeting) indicates the presence of both good and bad in in-group/out-group interactions. He is, in other words, not denying the fact that many people are stereotyping Somalis, but he is also questioning claims that they are just bad and do not have a potential for goodness, change and understanding. AD makes use of direct, indirect and free indirect speech to point out the involvement of speaker and interlocutor in discursive construction. He also does not position "them" as being overtly bad. By specifying that "some" people use the word and that "some" apologise, and that "some" use whatever name he may use for himself, AD describes the out-group as internally heterogeneous. He also does not stereotype certain language groups or "race" groups as being good while others as being bad.

5.3.6 Intensifying and mitigation strategies

The last question addresses whether the utterances are overtly articulated, i.e. whether they are intensified or mitigated (Wodak & Reisigl, 2009:93). Intensifying and mitigating strategies help to qualify and modify the epistemic status of a proposition by intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of an utterance (Wodak & Reisigl, 2001:386). In the first instance, as in excerpt 11, lines 3, 4, 5 and 6, the position that any black individual is dangerous, abusive and does not show respect to people who do not belong to their culture, is intensified by the clause "all of them". This clause signals that a conclusion has been reached about the "black" group. In the second instance, as in excerpt 11, line 13, the utterance "No, I didn't heard that word here I didn't heard" implies that no "coloured" person uses pejorative names in that area. JJ experienced abuse by blacks in the Eastern Cape and not in the Western Cape, yet he does not make a distinction between his experiences on the West Coast (Western Cape) and his experiences in the Eastern Cape. In the following three excerpts (excerpt 14, 15

and 16) (from Appendix A4), JJ tells about his experiences with black South Africans in the Eastern Cape and contrasts it with his experiences with Coloureds in the Western Cape. JJ repeatedly recalls the negative treatment he had to suffer at the hands of blacks. He even claims that he suffers from recurring dreams about the ordeal in the Eastern Cape. Yet, nowhere in these three excerpts as well as the narrative as a whole does he specify the treatment meted out to him, nor does he mention any bad treatment he had to suffer at the hands of blacks in the West Coast and Vredenburg in particular.

Excerpt 14 -JJ

1. JJ: The capital cities you know uhm its very difficult to stay there
2. or to get some places you know, you can't say without, you know, the big life..
When you don't get the big life 'cause you are not respondent in there.
3. Some people is come long time and they got some little money and the big cities
they need, to stay, the big money.
4. So if I was one I would take it that in Johannesburg paper ...
5. I come through in Kroonstad,
6. then I started to work for other guys, the shop ...
7. Somalian guys in the shops is the owners.
8. So when I work in 9 monthis (months) I get some problem.
9. The people who stay there, 'cause its ... er, that side
10. I'm staying is too dangerous,
11. so they kill one person, for I, we work together in that shop.
12. So I tell that guys I can't work again.
13. After that I come through in other city in Eastern Cape, is Umtata (Mthatha).
14. I work there in 3 monthis (months).
15. After that I get same, same problem in that, like that side, for killing and
robbing, some like that.
16. That's why I come in Vredenburg
17. and I hear some Vredenburg is maybe is the best.

Excerpt 15 - JJ

1. JJ: Ja, almost when I come in Vredenburg I like,
2. 'cause before you know I remember some nightish if I die like that
3. you know or so every time when I wake up I must die
4. and before I stay and when I stay in Eastern Cape every time you must remember
you must die like that,
5. 'cause every time its very dangerous
6. you can, you can look and you get scare like that
7. and when I come in Vredenburg I feel, I feel better

Excerpts 16 - JJ

1. JJ: And South Africa even it is right here
2. and I see some, some little problem is in, in that side in Mthatha,
3. maybe one it is at night or one it is at afternoon you go out and you want to
move a little bit,
4. 'cause you are human being 'cause you must work little bit when you finish here
maybe you work.
5. Every road when you pass it they can call you amakwerekwere.
6. And they abusing you like, such abuse you, and ...
7. but when I come this side I didn't see like that here.
8. I moving like someone who got a big bees (business) here.

Complex social structures are present in each interaction and these are reflected in the discourse uttered between speakers. According to Bourdieu (2006:481) what happens between speaker and hearer in an intercultural situation derives its particular form from the relation between the corresponding languages or usages. A conversation between a "citizen" and "refugee" derives its particular form from the relationship between these groups who speak different languages. Somali refugees claim that they are being called *amakwerekwere* by Black South Africans. The word *amakwerekwere* is not only a sign to be linguistically interpreted; it is also a sign of authority, intended to be believed and obeyed by the refugee.

Refugees must accept their exclusion by the local in-group, and regarding business opportunities they feel obliged to leave the particular area where certain speakers of indigenous languages have used the word *amakwerekwere* against them. It can be taken as a performative speech act since it effects a change through the action of being spoken, namely an act of denying the other certain socio-economic opportunities. The only felicity condition (to give authority to the speaker) is that the speaker has to be a South African citizen who speaks an indigenous language.

In the interview with HH, the narrator uses mitigation and intensifying strategies very subtly. In an earlier narrative, he referred to the mostly Coloured residents who do business at his shop as "uneducated". He thinks that this might be the reason why they sometimes want to steal from him or damage the building when he is not around. In the next narrative, HH does not specify the "they" (South African citizens), but refers to "same with them" (excerpt 17 line 2) intertextually. This utterance forms an interdiscursive relationship with the previous utterance "we are same" (us) as used by him and other Somali narrators like JJ in excerpt 11 line 10. The contrast that he creates between "us" and "them", as well as the fact that he does not explicitly say who uses the word *amakwerekwere*, illustrates intensification. He presupposes that the Coloured hearer (excerpt 17 line 1) will know who belongs to the in- and out-groups and uses the negative tag words against Somalis.

Excerpt 17 - HH

1. HH: Ja, you see brother,
2. when the people see you and they see that you are not the same with them,
3. you don't look like them,
4. they will call you *amakwerekwere* or such words.
5. That ... that such words will make you even angry
6. because you don't even know why are they calling you
7. and I still struggling to know the meaning of *amakwerekwere* is.

JB illustrates the use of mitigation strategies in the next fragment from his interview. The discourse marker "probably" is an adverb which tempers the hyperbole 90%. And the verbs "get" and "given" imply that nothing has been taken away from Somalis, who instead have benefitted from their relationship with South Africans.

Excerpt 18 - JB

1. L: But I mean have people called you names like *amakwaerekwere*?
2. JB: Uh, that's, you can see the people, not a mostly of all South African people.
3. At least 90% we get respect from them.
4. All I just can say 10% can't.
5. Good people all of them, maybe some of good maybe some of bad,
6. but 90% are very good they have given us a full respect, probably.

In three different instances, the participants create counter-narratives by engaging the speaker from the host country. Counter-narratives are the stories which people tell and live which offer resistance, either implicitly or explicitly, to the dominant cultural narratives (Bamberg, 2004:1). These dominant or master narratives offer people a way of identifying what is assumed to be a normative experience. Such storylines serve as a blueprint for all narratives that the speakers of a particular culture narrate. These narratives become internalised and the vehicle through which speakers comprehend the stories of others as well as the stories of themselves. Although refugees may construct counter-narratives in their host country against the dominant cultural order, these stories may be internalised stories despite the fact that their own experiences do not match the "master counter-narrative" with which they are familiar. In the following narratives, narrators tell stories in which the narrator tries to find meaning outside the emplotments which are available to him. AD's narrative runs counter to the stereotypical image amongst most Somali narrators of this study that all South African speakers are racist. He does not paint speakers belonging to a particular language group (South Africans) as villains and Somali refugees as victims. He claims e.g. that some people have apologised and called him by his name when he told them his name. In AD's narrative, he uses mitigating strategies in favour of the speakers of the host country, because he treats them as individuals who differ from each other and not as a homogenous group (see narrative and discussion in Chapter 5.3.5). According to JB, he either inquired about the meaning of the word or confronted his interlocutor about the reason for using the word *amakwaerekwere* (see excerpt).

As far as the other narratives are concerned, only one narrator claims that other South African language groups also use derogatory terms. MA claims that some Afrikaans speaking residents of Witteklip who do business at his shop use the term "goto" to refer to him. I

suspect that "goto" is a corruption of the word "hotnotsgod" (praying mantis), implying that Somalis look like praying mantises. Alternatively, MA might mistakenly have heard Afrikaans speakers saying "my God" when not satisfied with some deals, which he then corrupts as "goto" since his proficiency in Afrikaans is very low (see table 1 in Chapter Three). The last explanation is perhaps the most acceptable one, since I could not find further evidence of people using the word "goto". The Coloured speakers I asked denied that they have either used or even heard the word "goto", and none of the other Somali speakers had heard the word "goto". TT uses parody when creating his counter narrative, and says that South Africans calls him *skoroskoro* (a vehicle that resembles a wreck, yet is still operational) instead of *amakwerekwere* as the word that is being used to stereotype him.

Excerpt 19 - TT

1. L: But sometimes they, not the South African friends, they call you names, what names do they call you
2. TT: Now it, other people is not the same, some people they call me "jy jou Somalian"!
3. Somebody they call me "hey, jou skorroskorro", or what's the name?
4. L: Amakwerekwere?
5. TT: Amakwerekwere [laughter] but it doesn't matter, it, why is not in the heart.
6. L: Okay.
7. TT: Just only in the mouth. He talk, but it doesn't matter,
8. if you are feeling for the better, *amakwerekwere* me *kwerekwere* is jou *kwerekwere*.
9. Just who you talk doesn't make for me the trouble, nothing that what I am.
10. L: Okay, so these are just words?
11. TT: You also who now, you need the people now the people does not need you because want to you are the businessman you are go inside, you want to make the money fast.
12. How can you make before you get the people.

13. You must got the trouble inside then you are the kwerekwere, but it doesn't matter all in the mouth.
14. Today he say, tomorrow he doesn't say, but is finish.

FF positions himself as a judge of the behaviour of Blacks and Coloureds. He judges these two groups on the basis of using the word *amakwerekwere* or not. And this, according to him, represents a situation that will not change. Blacks will keep on saying *amakwerekwere*, and Coloureds are "never gonna say other things", therefore, "the Coloured people are better than black". FF himself also refers in a derogatory way to the language, isiXhosa, as "tjung-tjang, tjung-tjang". Some narrators imply that the use of *amakwerekwere* and the use of violence, like robbery or assault, go hand in hand. Only one, however, has had personal experiences of being attacked.

For communication with Somalis, all locals use English. *Amakwerekwere* is a neologism developed in indigenous African languages, and used as a loanword in English. I did not specifically interrogate the apparently ethnophobic identification of isiXhosa-speakers as abusive and inclined to exclude Somalis, nor did I probe the identification some participants showed with Coloureds who are mostly Afrikaans-speakers. However, a number of the interviewees had certainly appropriated a distinction between local communities on the basis of language, ethnicity and socio-economic position.

Racism is a multifaceted and theoretically complex issue. I have shown how racism, characterised by positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, is manifested in the interviews. Pronominal use also plays a role in positive self-construction and negative other-construction. In the next section, it will be shown that the anaphoric and referential functions of pronouns play an important role in discourse structuring, like the construction of the "other".

5.4 PRONOUN SWITCHES IN SOMALI NARRATIVES

Central amongst the conditions for personhood is the possession of a sense of identity - a self that is continuously oneself (Mühlhäusler & Harré, 1990:87). Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990:88) argue that our sense of self is the sense we have of being located in certain ways. The sense of self involves a double location. We have locations as embodied beings amongst material things and events (spatio-temporal). We also have a less well-defined location when we find ourselves among other people in a social environment where there is an awareness of

rights and obligations. Due to our double location, we have a point of view as well as a moral responsibility. The pronouns "I" (first person singular) and "we" (first person plural) are used as indexes of location. "I" also indexes the utterance with the person who is to be held responsible for its illocutionary force and its perlocutionary effects (Mühlhäusler & Harré, 1990:92).

5.4.1 The use of *I, they and we*

Pronouns are not merely substitutes for nouns, but have an extraordinary transiency of reference (Sacks, 1992:333). Pronominal choices allow participants to establish how they are related to each other in the broad sense within the interaction, and their choices are inseparable from the selves, identities, group memberships and roles which the participants adopt for themselves and ascribe to others. In this section, I will explore how the participants' choice of personal pronouns is holding the interaction together, and how the use of pronouns is rhetorically significant for the unfolding narration, and also how it may reveal the complexities of ideological dilemmas (Stanley & Billig, 2004:171).

The following extracts from narratives are characterised by switches in pronoun use. In the first narrative, the switches are from "I" to "we" and back to "I".

Excerpt 20 - JB

1. L: And how do you feel now, living in South Africa? How do you feel about the residents that come and shop here?
2. JB: As I've told you already they did support for us.
3. South African people we're thanking 100% Somali community in thanking for South African people.
4. We don't have any racist.
5. We don't have any uh complain.
6. And I am thanking for South African people.

In excerpt 20, JB starts and ends in the first person (from the same point of view) to express his attitude to South Africans in general. The change in pronoun does not denote a change in conversational topic. The pronouns "I", "they" and "we" have a macro-pragmatic function in encoding the differential status of the interlocutors as well as a micro-pragmatic function in

expressing emotional attitude. JB "voices" the "acts" by South Africans towards Somalis, rather than commenting on their acts towards him as an individual. His use of "they" (excerpt 20 line 2) and "we" (excerpt 20 lines 3, 4 and 5) instead of "I" and "they" implies that the "power-relations" and "solidarity-relations" that come into play in the narrative are not between individuals or between an individual and a collective, but rather between collectives.

JB's pronominal use is also determined by narrative emplotment. The narrative self is both the subject and the object of narrative emplotment. The subject appears according to Ricoeur (1988:246) as the reader and writer of his own life. The basis of narrating one's self is to take oneself as an object of reflection for the self. To tell our stories, we have to see ourselves as others see ourselves. Narrating ourselves is therefore "seeing" oneself as an "other". The speaker, although asked for his personal opinion about South Africans, implies that South Africans "they" (excerpt 20 line 2) do not "see" him as an individual, and therefore positions himself as individual as well as a member of a collective.

This narrative contrasts strongly with JB's first narrative (discussed in the next section) in which he does not switch to "we", but starts in the first person and ends in the first person. This indicates that pronominal choice differs from narrative to narrative, since speakers locate themselves differently in conversations. The way in which the speakers use pronouns is a way of expressing their personal identity.

In the following extract from an interview, again, the narrator switches from "we" to "I" and back to "we":

Excerpt 21 - FF

1. L: What things make Somalia different from the countries you have been to so far?
2. FF: This country is so different - the life even not the same, the people even not the same, the language even is not the same.
3. We don't understand this country.
4. But that country we born there, we grow up there, we understand very well.
5. That's why I don't understand very well.
6. That's why I don't understand this country, but we stay now.

The narrator's response and the pronoun switches stem from his position as speaker for a group. The narrator's choice of pronouns, verbs, tense, and gender are linguistic features that intensify or specify intended effects the speaker wishes to achieve in the hearer. His emotions are emphasised with his use of the deictic expression "this" and "that". Interpreting the deictic expressions requires following the deictic centre, *viz* the "I", "here", and "now" of the narrator's point of view as this is explained by Clark and Van der Wege (2001:774). The disappointment about not understanding "this" country grows into anger, because the deictic centre finds itself in a foreign country, with the country of birth having lost its possibility of being a home.

On a number of occasions, FF uses the pronoun "they" and "we" to refer to Somalis. In the next excerpt, "we" refers to the "good" Somalis, who are victims of "they" - the "bad" Somalis who are even compared to South Africans.

Excerpt 22 - FF

1. L: And when and why did you leave Somalia?
2. FF: I leave to get peace only in Somalia they fight each other.
3. There is no government there.
4. The time we come here we got other problem.
5. We run away the problem we come other problem.
6. Now the people, we don't understand the language so well and second time the people they told other apartheid.
7. They say no you not from South Africa.
8. Even the police and even the people they say you are not from South Africa, you are *amakwerekwere*, what what what.
9. They talk a lot of things.

When Somalis are involved in negative social activities, FF refers to this group by using the demonstrative pronoun "they" (excerpt 22 line 2), by which he positions himself, for the moment, in the narrative outside of this in-group. And he becomes part of "we" (excerpt 22 lines 4 and 5). FF starts by positioning himself as "I" against "they" in Somalia (excerpt 22 line 2). He then positions himself as part of "we" (excerpt 22, lines 3, 4 and 5) against "they" (excerpt 22, lines 7 and 8) in South Africa.

In the next narrative, AA starts by using pronoun copying to refer to friends he met in Somalia. Pronoun copying refers to the use of a personal pronoun, either directly following a coreferential preceding noun phrase, or occurring in a relative clause which describes the coreferential noun phrase. In “Some people they” (excerpt 23 line 3) the noun phrase “some people” is followed by a pronoun “they” with the same referent. Such copying may have an identifying function; however, one would have to consider whether this is a transfer effect from the Somali language these speakers have as a first language. In order to make a distinction between the Somali friends he made in Somalia, and the Somali friends he made in South Africa, this speaker uses the pronouns “I” and “we” to distinguish between “here” and “there”, between being a citizen of a country and being a refugee. “We” is linked to “our country” (excerpt 23 line 3) and “I” to South Africa (excerpt 23 line 4). “I” (first person singular) and “we” (first person plural) are used as indexes of location (Mühlhäusler & Harré, 1990:92).

Excerpt 23 - AA

1. L: The Somali friends that you have, did you meet them here in South Africa, here in Vredenburg or where did you meet them?
2. Did you meet them in Somalia? Did you know them there already?
3. AA: Some people they know when our country we stay we know before.
4. Some people ahm got here I ... I ... know only in South Africa,
5. but the different people, some people I know before
6. some people when I come here I ... I see and I coming for I don't know what's calling in English language there, some is new friends.

Manuh (2003:143) argues that narratives about the nation attempt to produce identification with the nation and a sense of belonging. Somali narrators use “us” and “we” to refer to peer groups, family members, clan members or the Somali nation. In the Somali context, “family” does not necessarily correspond to household or even extended family as we know it in South Africa. In the following narrative fragment, TT uses “we” only once to refer to clan members. Somalis share a common language, religion, geographical origin and common history yet the population can be divided into clans and sub-clans. This is also the only occasion when TT uses “we” in his entire narrative (see Appendix 2 (A2)).

Excerpt 24 - TT

1. L: Now tell me, the war what do you think is the problem the war is now going on for more than 16 years.
2. What is the problem there?
3. TT: The problem is the family, same that family which we other one kill for each other.
4. He fight for each other.
5. He doesn't have no respect for him.
6. All the people you talk for the Muslim people also say it doesn't matter you say what you must do.
7. And someone if you want to kill for someone its not it's the haram shooting gun its not not alright,
8. but now it doesn't matter for the Muslim and it doesn't say if he say I a Muslim and then someone kill for another brother who Muslim.
9. No respect, no doesn't give the respect is the for the brother.
10. Now each two people is fighting taking up shooting gun and then he can shoot you.
11. Is small thing you can talk. That's the problem in coun ... country in the Somalia.

The way in which the ten respondents construct their individual identities in and between narratives indicate that their identity is not something that is fixed. Although the pronoun "I" dominates the narratives of JB and FF in general, there are instances where they move towards a group identity, indexed by "we". As has already been stated about TT's story (complete narrative), "we" is used only once. He mainly uses the pronoun "I" or the second person "you". It is significant that TT does not position "we" against "they", but rather "I" and "you" against "he" or "the people" and in some instances "they". TT's narrative clearly indicates that he does not position himself as being subject to the identity of citizens, neither as being a victim. TT is not determined by dominant narratives or the local discourse. His pronominal choice "you" and "I" against "he" illustrates the relational and socially constructed nature of his identity. There is also some contradiction in his pronoun use. He uses the noun

"the people" or "people", which carries the connotation of "democracy" or an inclusive group, yet the pronoun "he" excludes the female members of that collective.

The life stories of all ten respondents are characterised by pronoun switches during and/or just after particular narratives. The pronoun switches underlie, to a certain extent, the narrator's involvement in the story event. His identification is, however, not only with a constant position, namely that of protagonist. His identification is with the position of both antagonist and protagonist at different times in the story events, since he acts as spokesperson for the "nation" e.g. in excerpt 12 and 21 (FF), excerpt 20 (JB), excerpt 17 (HH), 13 (AD), excerpt 11 (JJ) etc. In the next section, I will show that the construction of a "mythical home" (in which pronoun switching also plays an important role) has important implications for the personal life and collective history of the respondents.

5.5 SUMMARY

None of the ten narratives referred to above can be regarded as fully-formed narratives, and only a few of them actually exhibit Labov's six narrative structural types. The "non-narratives" or narratives prompted by interview-type questions should, however, not be regarded as meaningless, as they represent attempts by the narrators to organise and make sense of events from their respective lived experiences.

All ten narratives can be regarded as hegemonic tales of the male provider. The pronoun switches that characterise the narratives underlie the narrators' involvement in the story event. The narrators act as both spokesmen for the family and nation at the same time. By positioning themselves as being involved primarily in collective power-relationships, the narratives of the respondents are on the one hand "complaint stories", and on the other hand "commitment stories". Both respondents and their South African interlocutors, however, exhibit positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, and is thus a carrier for a cultural status quo. Although not all the respondents portray their childhood as idyllic, "home" becomes a point of reference or contrast to the present. The creation of a mythical homeland is a creative imagining of a different personal life and collective history in order to make the present more bearable.

A new environment and culture brings new challenges in terms of the way individuals construct their identities. The narratives give an indication that identities are multi-faceted and locally constructed during interaction and not merely a reflection of external social reality. The ten personal stories are not merely artefacts or epiphenomena of cultural or group stories (Freeman, 2003:287).

There are definite indications in the narratives that some Somalis are shaping their lives through personal identities rather than only the categorisation of nationality.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

This study set out to present an analysis of the narratives of ten Somali migrants living in the SBM area of South Africa. One of the guiding assumptions of the study was that strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation are salient during intercultural communication between Somalis and South Africans, and Somali individuals position themselves as one collective group against another collective group. Secondly, this study assumed that pronominal choices are inseparable from identity, group membership and roles which speakers adopt for themselves and ascribe to others, and that these are salient in the narratives of refugee narrators.

In answering the question as to positioning of the narrator in discourses of displacement, I focused on narrative theory, discursive strategies developed within the discourse-historical approach, such as referential or nomination strategies, predication strategies, argumentational strategies, framing or discourse representation, intensifying and mitigation strategies, as well as the use of pronominal choices to refer to “I” and “we” and to “us” and “them”. The central concepts of all of these theories were set out in Chapter Two, and the theories were subsequently applied to the data in Chapter Four.

6.1 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH AIMS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

I have, in eliciting and analysing discourses referring to their displacement, attempted to provide an understanding of the experience and self-construction of Somali migrants that goes beyond stereotypes and popular representations. In doing so, this study aims to show that displacement brings about new contexts characterised by uncertainty, conflict and inequalities, and this influences the way narrators orient themselves. Narratives of displacement are necessarily revealing about the nature of the public discourses within which migrants are positioned (Baynham & De Fina, 2005:3).

The narratives of the migrants highlight the anxieties and specific needs of refugees. There is a perception that the Somalis are one of the more settled groups of refugees in South Africa. A study like this helps to determine to what extent this is true with respect to rural areas in South Africa.

As I hypothesised from the start, the Somali narrators position themselves as displaced and marginalised. During their narratives, the participants used several linguistic strategies to present themselves in various ways to actual or imagined audiences, which leads to negative other-presentation of "Africans" and positive self-presentation and construction of in-group and out-group membership.

Studies like these can help to address both the linguistic and cultural challenges that refugees have to face in South Africa and on the continent at large. This is of the utmost importance on a continent like Africa and specifically in a country like South Africa, which is plagued by xenophobia. Wodak and Reisigl (1999) argue that displacements are increasingly viewed through the lenses of nationalist and racist rhetoric in the media, creating atmospheres of social panic in which migrants and refugees are seen as threatening the socio-economic setup as well as the national identities. This study is an attempt to offer an "emic" perspective and to illustrate the subjective construction of these movements of human beings.

The narratives of the ten Somalis featured in this study point towards their awareness of the judgments and opinions that South Africans have towards them as migrants. It further indicates that the number of languages a person speaks does not imply that the speaker is capable of the highest level of linguistic or intercultural interaction in a new cultural setting. JJ, who exhibited the highest level of linguistic proficiency, regards Coloureds as the "same" as Somalis and "better" than Blacks. The level of cultural understanding appears to a great extent to be determined by the nature of the intercultural communication. MD, whose intercultural interaction takes place outside the Somali space, exhibits the highest level of intercultural awareness and skill in communicating across cultural barriers. He does not regard Coloureds as "better" than Blacks and Whites. Neither does he regard Coloureds as the "same" as Somalis.

Issues of racism and xenophobia are salient in the recorded narratives. Most of the narrators identify the Xhosa community of the area as one of the local language groups that make them feel unwelcome in South Africa. This confirms the more general research results. Yet, their narratives do not support the results of a study that was done in 1996 and 1997 by the HSRC and the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) as far as Afrikaans is concerned, because the narrators claim Afrikaans-L1 Coloureds have never been negative towards them.

6.2 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This concluding section gives a number of pointers as to how the research reported on in this thesis can be taken further.

Narrative theory, the discourse-historical approach and Positioning theory are all useful tools for analysing the narratives of displaced persons. While this thesis focused on one migrant group within South Africa, Somalis, it would be interesting to look at other migrant groups and compare their discourse and narratives with those of the Somalis.

A further analysis should focus on the use of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) among the migrants and the local population, including an inventory of the linguistic features of the language as it is used by the Somali migrants in South Africa. A further analysis of how the use of ELF might influence the kind of communication that was captured for this study, could be very insightful. While this was not the primary focus of this research project, such an investigation would add to new research being done within ELF studies.

Finally, it would be useful to look at the Somali narratives from a specifically intercultural perspective. A narrative offers a particular perspective of an event and it is commonly believed that a particular way of telling a story is reflective of cultural values and beliefs on behalf of the speaker. Because of these cultural influences, the speaker may order his/her narrative in a particular way or consider certain aspects of the narrative to be optional. The effect of intercultural difference in communicative conventions could assist in disclosing misunderstanding and in understanding how interlocutors may repair typical instances of miscommunication.

In all, there remains much research to be done regarding the discourse of migrants and refugees, not only in South Africa but across the globe. Such analyses can be done from a variety of perspectives and will help to illuminate the situation and contribute to understanding of politics and geography that is still problematic. Continued research concerning the discourse of displaced persons can facilitate change and healing, and perhaps lessen racism and xenophobia.

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Ajulu, C. 2004. The reasons for failures in the reunification of Somalia. *Africa Insight*, 34(1):76-80.
- Anderson, M. & Blayer, I. (Eds.). 2005. *Interdisciplinary and Cross-Cultural Narratives in North America Studies on Themes and Motifs in Literature*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Andrews, M. 2004. Opening to the original contributions Counter-narratives and the power to oppose. In Bamberg, M. & Andrews, M. (Eds.). *Considering Counter-Narratives Narrating, resisting, making sense*, 1-6. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bakhtin, M. 1973. *Problems of Dostoevsky's poetic*. Ann Arbor, MI: Ardis.
- Bakhtin, M. 1981. *The Dialogic Imagination*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Bal, M. 1997. *Narratology Introduction in the theory of narrative*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Bamberg, M. & Andrews, M. (Eds.). 2004. *Considering Counter-Narratives Narrating, resisting, making sense*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Baynham, M. & De Fina, A. (Eds.). 2005. *Dislocations/Relocations Narratives of Displacement*. Manchester: St Jerome.
- Benwell, B. & Stokoe, E. 2006. *Discourse and Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Bernstein, B. 1997. Labov and Waletzky in context. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, 7(1-4):45-71.
- Bhabha, H. 1994. *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P. 2006. Language and symbolic power. In Jaworski, A. & Coupland, N. *The Discourse Reader*, 480-490. London: Routledge.
- Brockmeier, J. & Carbaugh, D. (Eds.). 2001. *Narrative and Identity: Studies in Autobiography, Self and Culture*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bradbury, M. 2008. *Becoming Somaliland*. London: Progressio.
- Brun, C. 2000. Making young displaced men visible. *Forced Migration Review*, 9:10-12.
- Bruner, J. 1997. Labov and Waletzky thirty years on. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, 7(1-4):61-68.
- Bruner, J. 2010. Narrative, culture, and mind. In Schiffrin, D., De Fina, A. & Nylund, A. (Eds.). *Telling Stories: Language narrative and Social Life*, 45-55. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.

- Butler J. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Buyer, M. 2008. Negotiating Identity and Displacement among the Somali Refugees of Cape Town. *South African Historical Journal* , 60(2):226-241.
- Cameron, D. 2006. Performing Gender Identity: Young Men's talk and the construction of Heterosexual masculinity. In Jaworski, A. & Coupland, N. (Eds.). *The Discourse Reader*, 419-453. London: Routledge.
- Clark, H. & Van der Wege, M. 2001. Imagination in Discourse. In Schiffrin, D., Tannen, D. & Hamilton, H.E. (Eds.). 2001. *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, 772-786. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cohen, S. 2001. *States of Denial Knowing about atrocities and suffering*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Collins English Dictionary Desktop Edition*. 2004. Glasgow: Harper Collins.
- Cross, C., Gelderblom, D., Roux, N. & Mafukidze, J. 2006. *Views on Migration in sub-Saharan Africa*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Crush, J. 2008. South Africa: Policy in the face of Xenophobia: Southern African Migration Project (SAMP). <http://www.migration.org> (In-house publication.)
- Daiute, C. & Lightfoot, C. (Eds.). 2004. *Narrative analysis: studying the development of individuals in society*. California: Sage.
- Davies, B. & Harré, R. 1990. Positioning: the social construction of selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 20:43-63.
- Dobson, S. 2004. *Cultures of Exile and the experience of Refugeeeness*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Dudley, S. 2008. A sense of home in exile. *Forced Migration Review*, 30:23-24.
- Edwards, D. 2006. Narrative Analysis. In Jaworski, A. & Coupland, N. (Eds.). 2006. *The Discourse Reader*, 227-238. London: Routledge.
- Eggins, S. & Slade, D. 1997. *Analyzing Casual Conversation*. London: Cassell.
- Elmi, A. & Barisse, A. 2006. The Somali conflict: Root causes, obstacles, and peace-building strategies. *African Security Review*, 15(1):32-54.
- Fairclough, N. 2003. *Analysing Discourse Textual Analysis for Social Research*. London: Routledge.
- Firth, A. 1996. The discursive accomplishments of normality. On 'lingua franca' English and conversation analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 26(3):237-289.
- Fivush, R. & Haden, C.A. (Eds.). 2003. *Autobiographical Memory and the Construction of Narrative Self-Developmental and Cultural Perspectives*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Flick, U. 1998. *An introduction to qualitative research*. London: Sage.
- Foucault, M. 1986. *The Use of Pleasure*. London: Penguins Books.
- Fowler, R. 1981. *Literature as Social Discourse the Practice of Linguistic Criticism*. London: Batsford Academic.
- Fraser, N. & Bartky, S. (Eds.). 1992. *Revealing French Feminism: Critical essays on difference, agency and culture*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Freeman, M. 2001. From Substance to Story Narrative, Identity, and the Reconstruction of the Self. In Brockmeier, J. & Carbaugh, D. (Eds.). 2001. *Narrative and Identity: Studies in Autobiography, Self and Culture*, 283-298. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Georgakopoulou, A. & Goutsos, D. 2004. *Discourse Analysis An Introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Giroux, H. 1994. *Disturbing pleasures: learning popular culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Gudykunst, W. 1997. Cultural Viability in Communication: An Introduction. *Communication Research*, 24:327-348.
- Guirdham, M. 1999. *Communicating across cultures*. London: Macmillian Press.
- Gundel, J. (2002). The Migration-Development Nexus: Somalia Case Study. *International Migration*, 40 (5): 255-281.
- Gundel, J. 2006. *The predicament of the 'Oday'. The role of traditional structures in security rights, law and development in Somalia*. Nairobi: Novib-Oxfam.
- Harré, R. & Van Langenhove, L. 1999. *Positioning Theory*. Malden Blackwell Publishers.
- Harré, R. & Moghaddan, F. (Eds.). 2003. *The self and the Others: Positioning Individuals and Groups in Personal, Political, and Cultural Contexts*. Westport: Praeger.
- Hecht, M., Jackson, R., Lindsley, S., Strauss, S. & Johnson, K. 2001. "A Layered Approach to Communication Language and Communication". In Robinson, W. & Giles, H. (Eds.). *The New Handbook of Language and Social Psychology*, 429-449. New York: John Wiley.
- House, J. 2007. What is an 'Intercultural Speaker'. In Soler, E. & Jordà, M. (Eds.). *Intercultural Language Use and Language Learning*, 5-21. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Jaworski, A. & Coupland, N (Eds.) 2006. *The Discourse Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Jefferson, G. 1978. "Sequential aspects of storytelling in conversation". In Schenkein, J. (Ed.). *Studies in the Conversational Interaction*, 219-248. London: Academic Press.
- Joseph, J. 2004. *Language and Identity: national, ethnic, religious*. New York: Palgrave Macmillian.

- Juzwik, M. 2006. Situating Narrative-Minded Research: A Commentary on Anna Sfard and Anna Prusak's 'Telling Identities'. *Educational Researcher*, 35(9):13-21.
- King, R. 1995. Migrations, Globalization and Place. In Massey, D. & Jess, P. (Eds.). *A Place in the world? Places and globalization*, 5-53. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kirkpatrick, A. 2007. *World Englishes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Koser, K. (Ed.). 2003. *New African Diasporas: Global Diasporas*. London: Routledge.
- Kupferberg, I. & Green, D. 2005. *Troubled Talk Metaphorical Negotiation in Problem Discourse*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Labov, W. 1972. *Language in the Inner City*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Labov, W. 1997. Some Further Steps in Narrative Analysis. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, 7(1-4):1-16.
- Labov, W. & Waletzky, J. 1967. *Narrative Analysis: Oral versions of personal experience. Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Landau, B. & Jacobsen, K. 2004. Refugees in the New Johannesburg. *Forced Migration Review*, 19:44-46.
- Landau, L. & Jacobsen, K. 2003. Forced migrants in the New Johannesburg, Forced Migration Studies Programme. Working Paper Series No 6, p. 1. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.
- Laubscher, H.D.J. 1988. Die geskiedenis van die N.G-gemeente van Vredenburg. MA Thesis. University of Stellenbosch.
- Lee, C., Rosenfeld, E., Mendenhall, R., Rivers, A. & Tynes, B. 2004. Cultural Modeling as a Frame for narrative Analysis. In Daiute, C. & Lightfoot, C. (Eds.). *Narrative analysis: studying the development of individuals in society*. California: Sage.
- Leedy, P. 1989. *Practical Research: Planning and Design*. New York: Macmillan.
- Lewis, I.M. 1961. *A Pastoral Democracy: A study of Pastoralism and Politics Among the Northern Somali of the Horn of Africa*. London: James Currey.
- Liebscher, G. & Dailey-O'Cain, J. 2005. West Germans moving East - Place, Political Space, and Positioning in Conversational Narratives. In Baynham, M. & de Fina, A. (Eds.). *Dislocations/Relocations Narratives of Displacement*, 61-85. Manchester: St Jerome
- Linde, C. 1993. *Life Stories. The creation of coherence*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Malan, K. 1996. Cape Flats English. In De Klerk, V. (Ed.). 1996. *Focus on South Africa*, 125-148. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Maharaj, B. 2004. Immigration to post-apartheid South Africa. *Global Migration Perspectives*, 1:1-26.

- Manuh, T. 2003. 'Efie' or the meaning of 'home' among female and male Ghanaian migrants in Toronto, Canada and returned migrants to Ghana. In Koser, K. *New African Diasporas: Global Diasporas*, 140-159. London: Routledge.
- Massey, D. 1995. "The Conceptualization of Place". In Massey, D. & Jess, P (Eds.). *A Place in the World? Places, Cultures and Globalization*, 87-132. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Melville, S. & Goddard, W. 1996. *Research Methodology*. Kenwyn: Juta.
- Mesthrie, R. & Bhatt, R. (Eds.). 2008. *World Englishes The Study of New Linguistic Varieties*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Minnaar, A. & Hough, M. 1996. *Who goes there? Perspectives on clandestine and illegal aliens in Southern Africa*. Pretoria: HSRC Publishers.
- Modan, G. & Shuman, A. 2010. Narratives of reputation: layerings of social and spatial identities. In Schiffrin, D., De Fina, A. & Nylund, A. (Eds.). 2010. *Telling Stories: Language Narrative and Social Life*, 83-94. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Mühlhäusler, P. & Harré, R. 1990. *Pronouns and People*. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell.
- Neuliep, J. 2006. *Intercultural Communication A Contextual Approach*. London: Sage.
- Ngyong'o, P. 1993. *Arms and Daggers in the Heart of Africa*. Nairobi: Academy Science Publishers.
- Osman, A. 2007. Cultural Diversity and the Somali Conflict: Myth or Reality. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 7(2):93-132.
- Paltridge, B. 2006. *Discourse Analysis*. London: Continuum.
- Paasi, A. 2001. Europe as a social process and discourse: considerations of place, boundaries and identity. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 8(1):7-28.
- Parkin, D. 1999. Introduction. *Forced Migration Review*, 6:1-2.
- Pastor, A. & De Fina, A. 2005. Contesting Social Place Narratives of Language Conflict. In Baynham, M.D., Baynham, M. & De Fina, A. (Ed.). *Dislocations/Relocations Narratives of Displacement*, 61-85. Manchester: St Jerome.
- Perouse de Montclos, M. 2003. A Refugee Diaspora When the Somali Go West. In Koser, K. (Ed.). *New African Diasporas: Global Diasporas*, 37-55. London: Routledge.
- Phillips, C. S. 1984. *The African Political Dictionary*, Oxford: Clio Press.
- Plummer, K. 1983. *Documents of Life: an Introduction to the Problems and Literature of a humanistic method*. London: Unwin Hyman.

- Polzer, T. 2010. 'Xenophobia: Violence against Foreign Nationals and other 'Outsiders' in Contemporary South Africa'. South Africa: Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP). Migration Issue Brief 3. www.migration.org.za.
- Prendergast, J. & Thomas-Jensen, C. 2007. Blowing the Horn *Foreign Affairs*, 86(2):54-74.
- Quasthoff, U. 1978. The uses of stereotype in everyday argument. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 2(1):1-48.
- Rabie, E. 2008. The impact of the climate change on human security in South Africa. MA Thesis: University of Stellenbosch.
- Rasinger, S.M. 2009. *Qualitative Research in Linguistics: An Introduction*. New York: Continuum.
- Rattan, S.N.S. 1998. Intercultural Spaces and Positioning Narratives of Identity, Constraint, Ethnicity and Support. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Calgary.
- Reisigl, M. & Wodak, R. 2009. "The discourse-historical approach (DHA)". In Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (Eds.). 2009. *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, 1-33. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Ricoeur, P. 1984. *Time and Narrative*, vol 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ricoeur, P. 1988. *Time and Narrative*, vol 3. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ricoeur, P. 1992. *Oneself as Another*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Riessman, C. 2003. Performing identities in illness narrative: Masculinity and multiple sclerosis. *Qualitative Research*, 3(1):5-33.
- Sacks, H. 1992. *Lectures on Conversation (1964-1972)*. Vols. I and II. Oxford: Penguin.
- Tuleja, T.A. 1989. *Dictionary of Foreign Words and Phrases*. London: Robert Hale.
- Saldanha Bay Municipal Local Economic Development Document (SBM LED). 2005. (In-house publication).
- Samatar, A. 1993. Under siege: Blood, Power, and the Somali State In Ngyong'o, P (Ed.). *Arms and Daggers in the Heart of Africa*, 67-100. Nairobi: Academy Science Publishers.
- Samuel, R. & Thompson, P. 1990. *The myths we live by*. London: Routledge.
- Schiffrin, D., De Fina, A. & Nylund, A. (Eds.). 2010. *Telling Stories: Language narrative and Social Life*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Schiffrin, D., Tannen, D. & Hamilton, H.E. (Eds.). 2001. *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Soler, E & Jordà, M (Eds.). 2007. *Intercultural Language Use and Language Learning*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Solomon, H. 2000. Contemplating the Impact of Illegal Immigration to the Republic of South Africa. *Unit for African Studies Working Paper*. 1-17. Centre for International Political Studies. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.
- Solomon, H. 2003. *Of Myths and Migration: Illegal immigration into South Africa*. Pretoria: University of South Africa.
- South African Census 2001. <http://www.statssa.gov.za>.
- Sparrowe, R.T. 2005. Authentic Leadership and the Narrative Self. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 16:419-439.
- Stanley, S. & Billig, M. 2004. "Dilemmas of storytelling and Identity". In Daiute, C. & Lightfoot, C. (Eds.). *Narrative analysis: studying the development of individuals in society*, 159-180. California: Sage.
- Tannen, D. 1989. *Talking Voices: Repetition, Dialogue, and Imagery in Conversational Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tienda, M., Findley, S., Tollman, S. & Preston-Whyte, E. (Ed.). 2008. *Africa on the Move: African migration and Urbanisation in Comparative Perspective*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Ting-Toomey, S. 1999. *Communicating across cultures*. New York: Guildford Press.
- Toolan, M. 2001. *Narrative a critical linguistic introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Turner, S. 2000. Vindicating masculinity: the fate of promoting gender equality. *Forced Migration Review*, 9:8-9.
- UNHCR. 2009. Global Trends: Refugees, Asylum-seekers, Returnees, Internally Displaced and Stateless Persons. 2010. Geneva.
- Van Dijk, T. 1984. *Prejudice in Discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Waldo, A.M. 2006. Somalia Remittances: Myth and Reality. *Remittances and Economic Development in Somalia: An Overview*. In Maimbo, S. (Ed.). Social Development Papers Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction. Paper No.38. Washington DC: The World Bank, 19-22.
- Weiss, G. & Wodak, R. (Eds.). 2003. *Critical Discourse Analysis Theory and Interdisciplinarity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Welman, J. 2001. *Research Methodology for the Business and Administrative Sciences*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

- Williams, G & Hackland, B. 1988. *The dictionary of contemporary politics of southern Africa*. London: Rutledge.
- Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (Eds.). 2009. *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Wodak, R. & Reisigl, M. 2001. "Discourse and Racism". In Schiffrin, S., Tannen, D. & Hamilton, H.E. (Eds.). 2001. *The handbook of Discourse Analysis*, 372-397. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Wortham, S. 2000. Interactional Positioning and Narrative Self-Construction. *Narrative Inquiry*, 10:157-184.
- Wright, S. (Ed.). 1998. *Language and Conflict A Neglected Relationship*. Clevedon: Short Run Press.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 (A1)

Transcript of interview with MD

In this interview the L indicates the words spoken by the interviewer and MD indicates the words spoken by the first respondent.

L: Now, MD tell me something about your life in Somalia: the town or village you grew up, the school you attended. Do you remember the games you used to play?

MD: Okay. I grew up in Mogadishu mmh when I was in the town actually, not in a village. I used to go in a school mmh in town which was not far from us actually ... No mean actually there was no much fun about it actually, because I grew up when the war started actually. And people get education very scarce. This education was not that good either. So this is actually what it is. I mean there is not much to tell actually, because as soon as I study when I was in standard 4 and then the war started so we have to learn mmh secretly in the houses so can get teachers getting into the homes and teaching us mmh us what to the rest of the education, till the war get very bad so we can no cannot get out just running away from the country.

L: Okay were you asked to fight ever. Were you asked to join.

MD: O, no, I was young so young so there is no much I could have to fight or could do anything.

L: And games you played or used to play?

MD: Ja, I liked playing soccer and actually I like.

L: Children's games?

MD: O, children's games I can't really remember because I was so young.

L: Okay, now when you grew up, what kind of work did you do and how did you do your first job and how long did you do that job?

MD: Okay my first job was actually mmh ... a seller mmh. I used to help my father selling goods in town. My father used to make a business so I used to help him how to get his work done, normally. That's my first job.

L: MD, when and why did you leave Somalia? And how did you get here ... was it on foot, by bus, was it by boat, by car, by train.

MD: Okay. Okay. I left from Somalia in 1999 the month of May and I left the country by bus to Kenya that's where I left my country. Since there I live there for a year and a half something like that and to get my studies finished and from there I came to South Africa in actually 2000 in ja 8 month ja and I came by bus.

L: And how did you get to Vredenburg when you get into South Africa?

MD: Okay. I used to live in ... I first came in from Johannesburg and I live there in for 4 days. So I find out now you cannot really done job here in Johannesburg, so you can rather go so people told me you can go to Cape Town so you can find people help you find actually

work actually. So I start living in Cape Town 2000. Than I work there for 2 and 3 years - something like that.

And then from there on my business didn't went that good and I came to Vredenburg and help my father was making business here that's that's how I get in Vredenburg

L: Okay, now how do you feel like living in South Africa? Do you like it here in Vredenburg?

MD: Ja its really good and I work now as a mechanic on fitter and turner. That's what I start learning here in Vredenburg and than I am a good fitter and turner and I like it. It's really nice. So I have a skill and I never have a skill before.

L: So is that how you earn your money.

MD: Yea, That how I earn my living, definitief.

L: Tell me is it hard work. What's the name of the company you work for.

MD: Okay. It's not hard work. It's really good. It's not physical. I'm a fitter and turner. It's means a hydraulic fitter and turner and the company's name is ART Hydraulics.

L: Now is this what you always wanted to be?

MD: Definitief, being an engineer. Turning stuff is what I always hoped to do.

L: Right. Now in a normal week what kind of things do you do in the morning, in the afternoon and in the evening?

MD: Okay. In our in our people like the Muslim people. They they really don't have that much fun about it and dingesse normally, normally work most of the time actually overtime etc to get my dingesse out of my head. What I do normally sir, is like we work like five days during the week and there when it comes to weekend I go with my friends so that we can have fun mmh we go to Cape Town like to have the weekend to get finishing and the rest of it just work. Most time I like work.

L: So you just go to Cape Town and do visit clubs like dancing.

MD: No! No! Our religion does not let me do that.

L: So your religion (don't or) means a lot to you?

MD: I can't, yea, that it means very a lot to me because I can't can't really work out my religion, that's my culture, that's my hobby, my everything, that's my life.

L: So would you say there is a difference [okay now] between you guys (the younger ones and the Somali the grown-ups - your father ja, I mean in terms of their relation to your religion?

MD: O, yes there is a lot more different than us. When we used to live back home it is not the same as it used to be because my father living now with us. They still very much stronger in faith than we are, but we we actually are not that wobbly as we pray; we do all the things God wants us to. We we don't do just bad things as well, because we very young. We do all the bad stuff, but we hope to do well.

L: Tell me now the women, the young women I see they wear the same kind of clothing that say for instance women in Somalia would wear [ja and ja].

MD: Our womans actually dressed up dress up all. We call it *hitswa* actually. They have to clothing all their clothing on so that they don't expose their bodies time actually overtime etc to get my dingesse out of my head. What I do normally sir, is like we work like five days during the week and there when it comes to weekend I go with my friends so that we can have

fun mmh we go to Cape Town like to have the weekend to get finishing and the rest of it just work. Most time I like work.

L: So you just go to Cape Town and do visit clubs like dancing.

MD: No! No! Our religion does not let me do that.

L: So your religion (don't) means a lot to you?

MD: I can't, yea, that it means very a lot to me because I can't can't really work out my religion, that's my culture, that's my hobby, my everything, that's my life.

L: So would you say there is a difference [okay now] between you guys (the younger ones and the Somali the grown-ups - your father [ja] I mean in terms of their relation to your religion?

MD: O, yes there is a lot more different than us. When we used to live back home it is not the same as it used to be because my father living now with us. They still very much stronger in faith than we are, but we we actually are not that wobbly as we pray; we do all the things God wants us to. W we don't do just bad things as well, because we very young. We do all the bad stuff, but we hope to do well.

L: Tell me now the women, the young women I see they wear the same kind of clothing that say for instance women in Somalia would wear [ja and ja].

MD: Our womans actually dressed up dress up all. We call it *hitswa* actually. They have to clothing all their clothing on so that they don't expose their bodies.

L: The men, young men they don't have to dress up like ... traditionally [No! No!].

MD: They doesn't have to be like. It's only. We, we wear *hamish*, long hamish

We call it. It's for Muslim religion. It's not for [like the sjeg]. Ja, like my father was wearing. We don't have to get protective. It's only man, only ladies! That have to get.

L: Tell when you. Do you interact with other Somali people who are professionals, people like engineers, doctors, learned people [O, no really]

MD: The only person that I interacts is my father who's a veterinary doctor. That's the only person that can say who's well educated.

L: Tell me about your family and how many of you are there and how big is your family.

MD: Our family circle contains about 7 or 8 person I think. My mother and the rest of the family is actually in Somalia. My mother and my other sisters and young brother. The rest is my family is here with me.

L: mmh Tell me, when you meet other Somalis and how do you as a group entertain each other. What do you do in other words what you talk about, you eat and you listen and the songs you sing.

MD: Okay. We actually listen to I mean in the young generation that living in South Africa of our Somalis they like to listen Somalian music but we don't actually interact to that we like to listen to American music and all that kind of stuff, because of the country we live in. But then they like their culture so they listen to Somalian music. We go out and go maybe to the beach have a swim and something like and we don't go to the clubs rather. We have sports clubs so we go to sort and play some soccer or play basketball. Ja [yes] we actually like playing basketball, we you don't get much here.

L: So you say the older men they listen to Somalian music, but the younger ones would more go for the American music. Now tell me do you have any South African friends here.

MD: The people I work with. Ja. They are my friends. Visit them sometimes in weekends and when they are having a marriage or something like that they just go visit them.

L: Do you go to their places?

MD: Ja. I go places with them some weekends not every time.

L: Okay, now tell me mmh your Somalian friends you have Somalian friends here as well.

MD: [Ja, really. Ja, lots]. We get to meet here. We did not know much of us in our country. We meet here and we start checking each other and start know and we become friends here.

L: So you were not friends in Somalia?

MD: We were not friends in Somalia. We just meet here and then just have become friends.

L: Tell me ... you said you can speak Afrikaans, a bit of Afrikaans.

MD: Ja, I can Afrikaans.

L: Now, what can you say in Afrikaans. Or should I ask questions ...

MD: Ja, you should ask me questions and I can just tell you.

L: Ok, As jy nou dink ... Or should I [not] speak Afrikaans?

MD: Ja, jy kan Afrikaans praat.[Yes, you may speak Afrikaans.]

L: Ok, as jy nou dink aan Somalië, né. Wat ... Waar ... Waaarna verlang jy die meeste? Wat mis jy die meeste? [Ok, when you recall your days in Somalia what ... where ... what do you long for. What do you miss most?]

MD: Okay, meeste wat ek mis is my ma wat nou daar anderkant lewe. Ek het nie so lank vir haar gesien nie. Inne, ek kannie namme vra ek voel nie nou dingesse, sê nie hoe ek nou rêrag voel nie, want ek voel baie baie bad en ek mis haar baie erg ... Ek sal nog gehope het om my ma hier te gehad het, saam met ons gelewe. [Okay, I miss my mother who is living on there on the other side the most. I haven't seen her for quite some time. And I cannot ask, I name, ask, I feel not, you know, say how I really feel, because I feel very bad and I really miss her ... I would have hoped to have my mother here, to live with us.]

L: Enne, sê vir my hoe ... as [jy] eendag ... Jy's nou 'n fitter en turner, maar nou wat sal jy eendag nog wil bereik? Hoe hoog sal jy nog wil gaan? [And tell me how ... if you ... You're a fitter and turner, but now, what do you still want to achieve? What heights do you want to reach?]

MD: Uh ... uh die job die job wat ek nou doen is eintlik nou reg wat ek nou dingesse my eie besigheid kon gehet het, dit sale k nou graag uh ... [Uh..uh the job, the job that I'm doing is now really ok, but I now really how can I put it, my own business could have had. This I really would have liked, uh ...]

L: Sê gou vir my hoe kan Afrika, die African Union Somalië help. [Tell me how can Africa, the African Union help Somalia?]

MD: Ja, hulle kan baie help om hulle dingesse hulle eie staat te kry. Mense gaan nou dingesse 'n goeie lewe 'n goeie lewe kry as hulle hul eie staat gekry het. Hulle kan nou baie help. [Yes, they can help in many ways to, how can I put it, help them to get a good life when they got their own state. They can now help a lot.]

L: Hoe gaan dit die oorlog stop? [How will it contribute to ending the war?]

MD: Uh ... uh mense moet lief wees vir mekaar. Ek weet nie rêrig nie. Ek kan nie eintlik vir jou sê nie, because hulle uh dingese, hulle voel nie soos ons voel nie. Ons voel baie lieflik in die country. Hulle voel nie so nie. Hulle mors alles. [Uh ... uh ... People must love one another. I do not really know. I can't really tell you, because they ... uh, how can I put it, they don't feel like us. We feel very good about the country. They don't feel like that. They are messing up everything.]

L: Hulle wil political power hê? [They want political power?]

MD: Political power hê [to have], ja. [Polical power, yes.]

L: Baie dankie, MD. [Thank you very much, MD.]

Appendix 2 (A2)

Transcript of interview with TT

In this interview the L indicates the words spoken by the interviewer and TT indicates the words spoken by the first respondent.

L: What does your name mean?

TT: TT.

L: But ... And uhh. Tell me something about your life in Somalia ... the town or village you grow up, the school you attended. And do you remember games you used to play.

TT: I didn't remember the games I speling, I speel now from here. I didn't play for the games or anything from here. I didn't play for Somalian also.

L: But but what, where did you grow up - In what village or town?

TT: Mogadishu

L: And where did you go from there?

TT: From South Africa.

L: To South Africa

TT: Ja, to South Africa - straight.

L: And the school, can you remember your schooldays? What did you do at school - the teachers for instance?

TT: Ja ... Ja, Some the students. Some time like it. I am just like it contact it with my teacher everyone.

L: Your friends at school, but I mean is there a subject that you really like.

TT: Yes

L: What was that?

TT: Yes, it's the English, ja.

L: Right, and what things do you miss most about Somalia?

TT: It's the ... in the Somalia.

L: Ja, Ja, I mean what about Somalia I mean the the for instance the weather or something beautiful ... the sea or ... the ... you know

TT: It's the all the sea now town very (bad) beautiful, but now it's the only sea.

L: It's only the sea that is beautiful?

TT: Every morning you can see everything the bly as you go up and down.

L: The blood is it the blood? And the camels, camels ... do you miss the, that

TT: Ja, ja. Camels is still there, but it is from the bush, you know.

L: Okay, is it the desert or where is that

TT: Ja, the desert.

L: When you were in Mogadishu, did you visit your family that that lived in other parts of the country.

TT: The other people?

L: Ja, your family that lived in other parts far from you in other towns.

TT: Staying there from what its name and Kismayo and other town also.

L: but didn't you stay some time in Kismayo.

TT: No, ja.

L: And the ... what things make Somalia different from other countries that you have been to so far what ... what things. If you think about Somalia, say well, the other countries have got this: South Africa has got all this nice roads and technology, but there are certain things that make Somalia just I love it, I like it, just different from South Africa.

TT: It is very different about the technology, because why is not same like the before. It's not same like that before. Before what you have a company, everything you can make it right through. Now is it doesn't feel everything now it go down. It doesn't fell nice. I don't trust now with the what the what is the Somalia now, because why I am see. Everything is now you live it and it will come out that is the what is the country they say to you now that's the better for that one that's the better for you.

L: Now tell me, the war what do you think is the problem the war is now going on for more than 16 years. What is the problem there?

TT: The problem is the family, same that family which we other one kill for each other. He fight for each other. He doesn't have no respect for him. All the people you talk for the Muslim people also say it doesn't matter you say what you must do. And someone if you want to kill for someone its not it's the haram shooting gun its not not alright, but now it doesn't matter for the Muslim and it doesn't say if he say I a Muslim and then someone kill for another brother who Muslim. No respect, no doesn't give the respect is the for the brother. Now each two people is fighting taking up shooting gun and then he can shoot you. Is small thing you can talk. That's the problem in coun country in the Somalia.

L: So actually all the people are just fighting each other. Is it, is it clan war, tribe ... different tribes ...?

TT: Ja, different, same like groups, the groups, now is you, your brother you come fighting for which other, other one is his brother and the family. You take the machine gun you ... it doesn't talk, it doesn't talk finished that's the problem and he just talk the machine gun started that and he then eat.

L: Shoots

TT: ... He shoots ... that's the that's the problem.

L: And when you ... when you ... when and why did you leave Somalia? And how did you get here: by bus or by boat or how did you get here?

TT: Some why. Sometimes I am coming to the war. Sometimes I'm coming for the bus. Sometimes maybe sometimes get maybe I'm coming for to the walking with spirit the maybe 6 hours or 12 hours. I am still going with the walk. The problem also that because don't have a place where I'm just live you know that's the problem.

L: But when did you leave Somalia?

TT: 2004

L: 2004. And you came here, what did you say by bus or?

TT: I was come here to the bus.

L: By bus. And where when you came to South Africa did you go, to what city did you go first.

TT: Johannesburg

L: And then after Johannesburg?

TT: After Johannesburg Cape Town. Cape Town I still live long and then here after that I still live long Vredenburg.

L: How long did you stay in Cape Town?

TT: I stay a for 1 year.

L: Bellville area ... where?

TT: I am a stay Bellville also but I am stay Parow also.

L: Did you like it there? How is it different from Vredenburg?

TT: Vredenburg and others are ... other country and they from other countries the area of Cape Town and the others the same like, but it is better here.

L: Did you know that Vredenburg means "place of peace" in Afrikaans that's what the name means its Vredenburg.

TT: Ja, when.

L: Now ... why you say you decided to come here because its peaceful or did somebody a family member ...?

TT: No its just you know why I wanne just go for someone my uncle is here. T always come here time for him his are my family. And then I come for him. After that he give me the job. I just working with him after that is still I working for him, sometimes someone else.

L: Now how do you feel living in South Africa? And how do you feel about the residents?

TT: Sometimes how you get the trouble sometimes how for trouble because sometimes it the people who doesn't like it for the foreign people. Someone is it like it sometime. Sometimes who makes still friend and everything that is the some same like now situation 2000 and still 5 is 2005 is the first time I come here something happen to me same like situated gone he and is just ask me where is the money and I say don't have the money I am not a boss might just stay or just go. That is the word I say and just leave it, yea.

L: And have there been any other cases when people robbed people robbed you of money?

TT: Yes, that that time talking about now someone has tried to robbed me and then he robbed me also. Sometimes one is my brothers I used it the cars and then it is that car I don't know what is going on put in the petrol I [inaudible] Sometimes what happens the 2005. Now is 2006 it is still fine you see the nothing but it is still better.

L: And how do you earn a living? How do you get money to buy things. You the work ...

TT: I am working for the cigarette I am selling it for the living. You know the stalltjie. The name is stalltjie ...

L: Houkering [Hawkers] And you also work for your uncle and other people.

TT: Ja, I am working for my uncle and other people. Two months, three months something like that.

L: Okay, tell me about your work is it hard work? And your work, tell me ... just what you do?

TT: I'm working.

L: You sell things?

TT: I am sell things. If I get things I just try and sell it. If I doesn't get I just go and then I working for someone. If he's got a shop I just working for him.

L: But you ... you don't have a shop, a place enough money of your own ...?

TT: No

L: Is this what you've always wanted to be or to do?

TT: but I wanted to do something, now I must still I must still where I want to work. Ever I get the money maybe I will try. I will just make a shop.

L: But I mean maybe when you were young maybe you wanted to be a doctor, engineer or learned professor.

TT: Professor is the same like engineering.

L: Okay

TT: Ja, but its gone now. Its gone now.

L: And, can you speak Afrikaans?

TT: I am speaking Afrikaans, but a little bit. It's not too much.

L: And tell me why did you learn to speak Afrikaans?

TT: Because why I am speak with me all the time for me English. All the children speak with me the Afrikaans. And then I start speak Afrikaans.

L: Wat vra hulle vir jou, soms?

TT: Hulle vra my alles goete. En then ek vra vir hom: Haai ... is dit jou goete? Hoeveel is so gepraat?

L: Nou, nou jy is nog nie getroud nie, né?

TT: Nee, ek is nog nie getroud nie.

L: Sal jy nou 'n Suid-Afrikaanse vrou ook trou?

TT: Ja, is. It doesn't matter as ek hom kry ek sal hom so trou. [laughter]

L: En sê vir my moet sy 'n Moeslim meisie wees?

TT: A, is nie nodig nie.

L: Hoekom is dit nie nodig nie?

TT: As sy Moesli is sy Moeslim. Verstaan jy nou? Alles mense is regte mense. Dan gaan jy trou.

L: So sy moet net 'n regte mens wees?

TT: Jas y 'n regte meisie jy gaan trou.

L: So het jy ander Suid-Afrikaanse ... Do you have other South African friends?

TT: Yes, I have, Ja, I have a lot friend of South Africans. If something happen to me they bring me everything. Ja, I have.

L: But sometimes they, not the South African friends, they call you names, what names do they call you

TT: Now it, other people is not the same, some people they call me jy jou Somalian! Somebody they call me hey jou skorroskorro, or what's the name?

L: Amakwerekwere

TT: Amakwerekwere [laughter] but it doesn't matter it why is not in the heart.

L: Okay

TT: Just only in the mouth. He talk, but it doesn't matter, if you are feeling for the better, amakwerekwere me kwerekwere is jou kwerekwere. Just who you talk doesn't make for me the trouble, nothing that what I am.

L: Okay, so these are just words.

TT: You also who now, you need the people now the people does not need you because want to you are the businessman you are go inside, you want to make the money fast. How can you make before you get the people. You must got the trouble inside then you are the kwerekwere, but it doesn't matter all in the mouth. Today he say, tomorrow he doesn't say but is finish.

L: Right, but what do you do in a normal week, in the morning, in the afternoon and in the evening.

TT: You know sometimes in the morning I come out from the from the work. I working for my uncle. I come out from the work I go to the taxi. I come here I buy the stuff and then I go back.

L: Where do you live?

TT: I live in Saldanha. I go back and then I work for him. After that afternoon it doesn't I ... I ... I ... don't have the times I do with something else just I will do things speling two hours six in the morning six in the night.

L: Okay, over the weekends that's now Saturdays and Sundays what do you do you?

TT: Saturdays, Sundays the same like this Sundays it little bit relax and still of because I am a bit off because I am not working everytime hard, because it is not my own work.

L: Do you go out sometimes go out ... you know Cape Town or to the beach?

TT: Sometimes, sometimes if not all the times not all the time. It now, If it is now the winds I can't go maybe if you get the winds now 5 times I go to the Sunday beach. I feeling nice, you know that when I go you know sometimes not all the time.

L: And, do you ... what kind of people do you interact with, the people that you come into contact with, other Somalian ... are they professional people. Are they ...

TT: You have it, but it is not all the people. Somalian it also doesn't you which made the other the contact. Doesn't go with other South African people together together. And you know daytimes some Somalian is alone, he is the family, somebody doesn't like it when he is the family, he is the Somalian you the culture he is the speak which together the Somalia. But me I don't worry the about that. If I want to speak with him you know what he speak. If I go in the 'cause I go g with him in the because I just do that things and ...

L: And ... tell me about your family and give their names and how many are there and in what country are they at the moment - your family?

TT: My family. One is in the one is. I have two brothers. One is in Ethiopia and one is Kenya. Is only two brothers. My mamma is died, my father is died. Me and him is only three brothers. Is only two brothers young for me.

L: And do you sometimes phone them. Do you sometimes contact them?

TT: He phone for me's maybe the last now is last year. Is till this time I didn't get my phone but I will just try. Then I will phone him.

L: So when you ... the other Somalis that you know, did you meet there or did you know them from Somalia?

TT: From here.

L: Ja, I mean how long do you know them?

TT: Other Somalians here I not know all of them.

L: Yea, but I mean do you know them from here in South Africa or did you meet them in Somalia?

TT: Now, I just know him from here.

L: And when you meet each other, how do you interact, you know, what do you talk about, what do you eat, what do you listen to, and what songs do you listen to?

TT: The songs I just listen for the now is English songs.

L: English songs, American songs?

TT: Ja, American songs. Doesn't what ... sometimes I will get it for that thing I don't stress for that one too much because why don't feel all the songs for me don't feeling better for the song.

L: And eat, what do you eat? Do eat Somali food/dishes?

TT: I am yes eat sometimes if I meet I get a someone he making the food buy from him if I go the Bellville you go just there, then I eat.

L: But I mean do you talk about the war?

TT: No, not really.

L: Not really.

TT: And do you have any friends other Somali friends that live in any other countries like Australia or England or ...

TT: Yes! yes!

L: Have you seen them?

TT: My sister, my brother's, my uncle's sister and my father's sister. What's the name?

L: Your aunty.

TT: My aunty still live in Australia.

L: But do you contact each other? Do you phone?

TT: She phone me. I phone her, but it not same like. But in my country is Somalian someone still live there for me family.

L: Are there any Somalis, do they help you, I mean, you are a young man, you haven't got parents that are still alive. Are there clubs, are there groups of people that help other Somalis that are really struggling.

TT: Here

L: I mean do, you know ... would they tell do they tell you you're a young man we will help you to get a job, money ...

TT: yes

L: Or is it, yes your family members?

TT: Just is my family.

L: There are no groups. There are no groups. There are no ...

TT: No, no group. No groups. Ever some ... some to get working I see is only friend is not all the friend is the family ... family, you know, he is married with family ... family to the business.

L: It is a family business?

TT: A family business is not for friend business.

L: Okay, and do you think of South Africa as your home now?

TT: South Africa is my home now.

L: So would ... would you go back to Somalia then.

TT: I am not sure I go back before they make it ... before the make it the take it out that of trouble.

L: And, tell me, and if you have children. I mean you're not married now, but if you are married now and you've got children, would you sent them to South African schools.

TT: Yes

L: And what languages would you teach them?

TT: I teach A ... Afrikaans and because I like it. I teach them English because it international language is the English.

L: And your culture and Somali?

TT: My culture is the Somali, but is if he staying here he just take it from my culture because he can take it also because he the mom also he can take it also.

L: So, so he must have part of his mother's culture also, and is there anything that happened to you that make you feel that South Africa is not a place for you? Is there anything that happened in the past that made you say, no man, I am just staying here for a moment ... just to get a bit of money and later on I will move on.

TT: No, no, no that is after you get maybe I don't, no what time you get maybe I don't know but I can say I stay here I live here. I am just sure today I am here tomorrow I don't know where I am in. I can't say I just wane sit here I wane just play here just make money and then I go. I can't say but after I see the government maybe I don't know if it is the better, yes. But I am not trust with doing that things.

L: Right, thanks a lot, TT.

Appendix 3 (A3)

Transcript of interview with BB

In this interview the L indicates the words spoken by the interviewer and BB indicates the words spoken by the first respondent.

L: BB, tell me something about your life. The town or village you grew up and the school you attended?

BB: I born Mogadishu, the capital. I born 1994. So 1991 the country there get civil war so that time is a lot of my brother, my sister some they get trouble so I run that time so I come other place the name of Kismayo is the other capital. I stay that time 3 months I think so. I arrive that time ship on the sea for South Africa to Kismayo, so my life before was too bad, but now I stay in South Africa.

L: Right, now what can you remember about the civil war?

BB: Civil war, I remember there are a lot of people they die and a lot of people they are don't have something to eat. I remember also my brothers some my brothers they are killed. Other people for opposite with our, us so. And also when I come South Africa I also see other problem. I don't know nothing I don't know how are you, but now I talk little bit. So the life I see in lot of life but now I talk little bit English. I know my English maybe broken but I remember.

L: Tell me BB, and why are the Somalis fighting? Are they not one nation and don't they love each other, you know?

BB: You know, the Somalis there are before they the problem for that government is not democratic, you know mos [also] for democratic, something like South Africa, you are free mos. Is not like South Africa, that country is not military. So you can't do nothing. If you want that cap, if you get cap for army, South Africa is free, for that cap for army, if you get cap for army you will go to jail. So the country that time so is not alright that present is soldier so and the people are fighting that man. When that man is run. He run away in 1992: So he go for, I think, Nigeria. So that present he die for Nigeria. I think he three, six years ago. So he name that present is Mohammed Siad Barre. So now, after that we get present, his name is Ali Mahdi, and that also Ali Mahdi is no good, he killed a lot of people. So I waiting two present when I feel everything is bad I run, ja.

L: Now, but the clans are people not you know fighting against each other different clans, different groups of people?

BB: It's different people because you know the country, there are come other country so now the problem some people, some people they are wanted to make the government for Muslim, you know Muslim are get court, and some people they are like it to ... to make like democratic, ja so that is the problem. They want some it ... it some people they are want it.

L: But it is not the clans different Somali groups who are fighting each other?

BB: No other problem but they never are not fighting for religion only the government we do democratic or we do for Islamists. Only that one they are fighting, ja.

L: How did you find your first job and how long did you work there?

BB: South Africa I came 1997, when I come I think I don't have R1 that time. I start to sell for fruit: apple, tomatoes, onions, some per, one person he borrow me for R20. He say you must bring it back tomorrow. I buy two bockets [boxes], one apple, and one I started that time. I was stay for Beaufort West. (I think you know) So I make really little money I make R500, R600. After 2 months I get malaria. Maybe you know the malaria, Ja, do you know the malaria? I get some problem from malaria. I sleep the hospital for one month, I lose all the money. I start again. I stay Beaufort West. So I leave it for Beaufort Weste. I go Oudtshoorn. I start again. I get betterer life for Beaufort West that time when I go Oudtshoorn. So I call for my wife when I get some money. She come South Africa 1997 also.

L: And what happened after that?

BB: So I lose again. I run for Umtata [Mthatha]. So my friend so that time when I go what is the name ... Umtata. I make also other business to sell the fish I change the business, you know the vis the winter cap ... the vis the winter cap [fleece cap]. So 1998 leave it for Umtata I come Cape Town. I change business: I sell cigarette. So my wife she come South Africa. I got a small baby that time. When I sell the cigarette that cigarette is bad business. When you sell cigarette to somebody you lose. You buy only food you don't have nothing Monday. So I leave it after one years for Cape Town. I come Vredenburg. Really Vredenburg is better than there I stay here now I get bakkie and car I get house. So the life my friend not so bad only business is now quiet, but everything is allright.

L: Tell me the guy that gave you R20 was he a Somali or South African?

BB: That man he gave me R20 is South African, that people with name slams.

L: Slams? And when you were in Umtata were the people bad to you - the ... the black people?

BB: Umtata is bad life that place is not good is no good for business. I remember one night I go to bus I buy the stuff. When I back for Umtata I sleep I think one hour when I come out the bus I want to check it my stuff ... the bus is nothing. They took it al my stuff. How many times I lose it, my friend. Business is good if you will be basic but it you lose it and you sleep not be good. I remember that morning I don't have R10 to eat something but everything if you try I saw there are to inside that time I took it vis. I start I saw my friend in South Africa sometime is bad life sometime is good life, so not so bad.

L: At the moment ... but you, it is not that black people are against Somalis? Is it the business people or is it any black person who is against Somalis?

BB: Really, you know I now very well in South Africa now, you know why, if I don't know we ... we black, but it you go wanted to stay there for black is big problem. He look for you. He look for you for you sometimes amakwerkwere. I don't know what is the amakwerkwere. But coloured people when you stay you are never get any problem. They ate never worried for you, they are never talk for your life or where you come from or like that one, but that people for black I don't know what they are feel.

L: And when and why did you leave Somalia? And why did you come here?

BB: I come on the ship. I've inside on the sea I believe 24 days. So, you know Mozambique I leave it for Mozambique. I jump in the border for 1996. So, Home Affairs they give me permit, ja.

L: And then, you go from there ... from Mozambique ...?

BB: Mozambique to here I come on the bus. When I come the border the border I jump in. So they catch me ... Immigration they give me permanent. The say go ... go work.

L: And why and how ... to Vredenburg. Were there any family members or friends?

BB: When I come Vredenburg, there no friends, no brother, no sister 1997.

L: No uncle?

BB: Nothing. When I come I sleep on church, mosque's, you know mosque?

L: Ja, mosque.

BB: Ja, I was sleep that place. So, after that we get house. We get wife. So, now life is alright.

L: I mean, you ... what ... you mean ... haven't you got ... get a wife in Somalia?

BB: Ja, I got wife in Somalia. I don't like these wives ... is coloured ... they no good.

L: Is it ... what did you say ... this ... this?

BB: Because is my neighbour mos. I know everything. This woman she drink, she smoke. We ... we don't like the lady to smoke ... drinking. Our ladies you will never see all our country. The ladies ... If I saw beautiful lady and she smoke I feel bad.

L: Okay, but what did you say when you came to South Africa you were already married?

BB: Ja, I married already.

L: You were married already?

BB: I call her my wife in Somalia, because she can't stay. My wife she don't have mamma, she don't have father and mother.

L: So she came here, but then when you were here?

BB: I sent her some money for 250 dollar. So I say come, so she come how I come.

L: But what did you say did you take another wife in South Africa too?

BB: No!

L: O. you did say you do not want a wife from here.

BB: No, I didn't South African woman and I don't want to ...

L: Coloured women they drink and they smoke ...

BB: No, that's problem and you lose.

L: Now how do you feel about South Africa ... the people of South Africa. Do the people call you names. The ... here ... how do you feel about the people who come and buy at your shop?

BB: Ja, but I forget for you, I also get South Africa. I also get South Africa when I come name not for that name for my country. The people, you know mos, BB is original the name, but the people now call me Jam. Jam, you know, the jam. When I came South Africa I don't have that house I was stay no water, no electric, nothing. So, you know what I used. I used butter and jam and one bread. So that I bought I go Shoprite I see what you gonna eat. You don't have electric, you don't have water. I see okay you I buy 1 kg for jam 500 jam and butter, butter - Rama and one half bread and night I eat half. So some my friends they call me BB, we don't know what we eat, same like you. So what eat, tell us for nice better this one?

So is you must eat the night the half - in the night you must eat half bread and in the morning you must eat the half. So is good, so that man he can call me Jam.

L: And other names, bad names. People do they call you bad names?

BB: Not the all people, only that people the call you for amakwerekwere. Not only me, that one is international. All the foreign people they are call like that one. Not only me that name.

L: But do you think that ... that the black people are treating only the Somalis bad or be treating ...?

BB: No, everywhere, everywhere, not only me. Every person and you know if you want to make also some business for the area for the black I don't why the people are forced they say you can't make here, but this people then coloured, no they are never worried nothing whatever you want you can do, so, I don't know.

L: How do you earn a living. How do you get your money, what do you do?

BB: You know the money, money is the lucky Somethings you never get, nothings you ... some profit, but end of the month is good, ja.

L: But tell me, you told ... said something about being a tailor, you didn't explain ... you did tell me in the beginning what kind of work you did when you were still in Somalia.

BB: You know the way I come when I come Vredenburg the ... I come, I want to, you know, Nackerdien?

L: Ja, ja

BB: He got tailor mos, so that time I want you ask him for tailor job I came. One man is a brother he told me, he say that man got big tailor, so you get job, come. When I come, he told me the money, week. So that money I think is not alright for me. He told me the week for R200. If you've got family what you gonna do. So I say what you gonna do for tailor leave. I start for that other one, for my own business, but is better if I start for my own business because to work somebody I am not believe it.

L: But, I mean in Somalia did you work there as a tailor?

BB: Ja, I worked well. I work the dress for the ladies. I worked shirt. I do caps, I make ... and most me make that machine for the picture, here ... what is the name ... I juke never see in South Africa. Ja, my friend, the tailor only my life is good, but you are never come rich. You get nice left to eat everything, but no rich, yea.

L: And is this what you always wanted to do? I mean when you were at school is there ... did you want something else?

BB: No, I don't like to go back for when the name ... for tailor, because tailor is only for here, no more.

L: So you can't become a rich man?

BB: Somalis tailors maybe for when we get what is the name we our get Christmas mos for Eid, Ramadaan the people for everybody they make clothes that time business is good but its only three days.

L: Tell me would you call this, Vredenburg and South Africa your, home? Do you still dream about Somalia as your home?

BB: Ja, but it still we can't call the home it still remember I'm the memory is not alright because you know how many I stay 1997 until now. I think is 11 years, ja. And every two years I get two permit two years permit that's why my memory now is not hundred percent, ja/

L: But I mean do do you like this place, South Africa, or do you think of Somalia as your home?

BB: Somalia, no never ever, what you can do is still now the life is bad. Is better South Africa to stay, ja if the government they give me permit its alright, I know where I start mos, but if go Somalia I don't know where I start. This is bad, but now I don't know where I back up, but now I know where I start.

L: But do you do you think I mean do you prefer South Africa now? Do you think that South Africans are just as good or as bad as Somalis ... just people?

BB: No South Africans are good people really all of the Africa this one is best one, because you know how ... how many people I saw in I saw in Cameroon I see Senegal. I see every country. This country is like Europe or America ... South Africa.

L: But I mean how do the people treat you?

BB: The people you know, the white people is quiet. He never talk to you and he don't know where you come from. I asked. I too saw him some him people man One he asked me where you come from he say Somali. He sy where is Somali. I say near the Jo'burg. He say, okay.[laughter].

L: Okay

BB: The people are, but that people ...

L: Can you speak Afrikaans?

BB: Little bit I can say.

L: Nou laat (ek gou) hoor gou daar! Sê so 'n paar Afrikaanse woorde? [Now let us hear! Say a few Afrikaans words.]

BB: I can say "goed", "goeie naand", "waar gaan jy", "waarom". I say "wat's jou naam". Little bit, but my children they are talk well. When I come South Africa now I get now seven children.

L: It's it in South Africa? [laughter]

BB: South Africa is number one, my friend [laughter].

L: From the one wife?

BB: Ja, so now I get and one more is this ...

L: Seven children?

BB: But I get other wife before I come South Africa. So now I get 5 boys and 3 girl. L: 5 boys and 3 girls?

BB: Boys.

L: 5 boys and 3 girls, but 7 in South Africa and 1 there.

BB: Well they talk English and Afrikaans.

Okay

BB: I want to taked the other two children, but they are ... I don't know

L: Okay

BB: Ja

L: Do you want them also in that school?

BB: Because you know that other school they are talk Afrikaans only.

L: Okay

BB: I want English and Afrikaans. So this school is alright, ja.

L: Okay

BB: Money, but I want to now go tomorrow.

L: You know if they grow up would like ... you be against them if they marry a South African.

BB: No

L: Guys or South African girls

BB: No, that's not problem really, but I like it to marry for good person. I really don't like it bad, ja because now my children they are don't like it to go back. If I say do you like to go back they say Somali is a lot of hungry, is no good.

L: But I mean in South Africa would you okay ... man take a South African man and woman for a wife.

BB: Ja, is alright, because you stay South Africa. Now I stay 10 years. I don't know about Somalia now nothing, so I must talk, I must discuss for South Africa.

L: In a normal week what kind of things do you do ... you during the week where do you work?

BB: You know before I get shop so that shop, me and other man we sell it, but now I am here only. But Friday and Saturday I am Langebaan, ja.

L: So you work from what time? How/

BB: 7 o'clock to 5 o'clock. So life is not sometimes is bad, sometimes is good. Business like that one, its not like the salary.

L: And what kind of things you do over the weekend. Okay, you just work over the weekend.

BB: Ja, I don't like to sleep.

L: And do you sometimes go out, you and your wife. Do you sometimes go to Cape Town, Bellville ...

BB: Ja, we go sometime there, we sometimes go Cape Town. You know me wife, her brother stays Worcester.

L: Worcester

BB: Ja, but he is die, for one year ago. So his children we visit sometimes, ja.

L: What, how did he die?

BB: He got I think sugar before.

L: So he was ... how old was he?

BB: I think is 38, 35 like that uhh.

L: And what kind of people do you interact with? What kind of Somali people do you meet? Are they professional people are they doctors?

BB: Ja, some people are professional, you know that man, Jerry, heh, he was working before medical, what is the name?

L: Vet, veterinary surgeon, ja.

BB: So that man, but he still he is looking for the education. You know that country, the people they are never taught. My country the people are never taught for English, they are taught Italy, ja Italy before the countries, so what you do Italy. International is English or Arabic, ja.

L: And tell me about your family, you know, your family in Somalia?

BB: My Family, my mama

L: Ja, jou ma en ...

BB: My mama, my father they stay me place, but I don't know me, I'd like it to see, but the ticket, maybe if I go home I used maybe 25 000 or 20 000 because ticket and you want to show bit that people you go you must give some. So, I talk with the phone, but I don't know I don't have time to go, ja, but I will go one day, no problem.

L: And how many sisters and brothers?

BB: I get a lot of brother, you won't believe it I tell you surprise. All my brother is 24.

L: Twenty four and did some of them die in the war?

BB: No, only one ladies die, so 23 is life.

L: How many wives did your father have?

BB: But most here my brothers. I've 2 brothers here, Abdi, you know Abdi mos.

L: Abdi, ja, okay

BB: Ja, and other one.

L: Abdi. Ja, okay.

BB: Ja, and other one is Joussef. But other all is there.

L: Okay, when you get together as a group how do you entertain each other, in other words, what do you talk about, what do you listen to and what songs do you sing. If you Somalis get together what do you do together?

BB: You know we like it if we come one place, this place we like it to drink. We don't like it ...

L: Wine?

BB: Wine or that one coffee or sheh. You know sheh mos tea. Arabic you say sheh. We meeting like that one, but you know no you can't meet we can't meeting our brother, because everybody he look in his job when I go in the night [laughter].

L: Sleeping?

BB: Ja, electric is gone.

L: Now your friends, do you have friends South Africa friends?

BB: I get a lot of friend. Some George, but that friend I will see after one years or after six months.

L: But I mean SA friends ... people born here?

BB: SA friend I get a lot. I get coloured. I get not so much for black, most is coloured. I get white people also. I get one my big friend. He stay what is name ... Paternoster. He is old man. Always we talk about business. He sell that man fish. So is not so bad. The people is good man. But ... ja ... Saturday also our friend from Somalia I ... I buy airtime R15 and I phone everywhere the country and I talk situation how's it the country, but the country now, my friend is fucked up, really that Somalia, no no, how many years they are fighting ... 1991 until now.

L: But Somali people are they fighting people? Do they like to fight with each other. BB: Machine gun, machine gun, ja how many people?

L: But I mean ... if ... was nit this fighting ... if you and a friend ... if ... if you don't I mean, you know, you disagree, would you fight with fists against each other.? How would you solve the problem?

BB: You know why they are fighting. They are fighting, they are not understanding each other and they are never listen each other. You know you and me if he fighting and we talk and its finished with all fihting, but they never listen each other that is problem and you know other problem they are fighting the capitol, other place is safe, that capital they are fighting they are fighting one group is move other group is here so that other group they come back this one is here other one is move. Is like soccer, my friend.

L: And the ... tell me how do you get your information about Somalia? How do you get stuff from Somalia? How do you know what ...

BB: We get my cellphone is got Internet mos, you see www.com google. After that you say .com shabelle. Shabelle is our news our country. Now I can ...

L: How do you spell that?

BB: First you must say ...

L: Shabelle?

BB: You also can see the English if you want Shabelle.

L: Is that correct?

BB: Ja, it's right. shabelle.com. First you must say www.

L: www?

BB: No, google.com, you can say only, you know google?

L: Ja, google.com.

BB: After that you say shabelle.com. It's English. English and Somali. Show situation in my country. You see everything there today what happen there they tell you. So, my friend, I don't know what I do.

L: Do you have any hope for the future for the future ... for your country?

BB: No, No ... my children maybe, but me, no, no. My time is I think is South Africans, because if I look back future my children maybe they can see Somalia is alright, but now, I hope, is bad, my friend, because everyday they are fight. Today they make bomb, maybe

twenty person is die, tomorrow they are make bomb they are die 5 or 10, so the country, my friend ...

L: Okay, it's the last one ... And what do you have any hope for yourself, your family here in South Africa. Do you think you can live here, you can be happy?

BB: Ja, but you know you can't now if I get green card it is alright, but like this one you can't make everything, you can't ticket some trading. If you want one bed or TV you can't get paper what you do that paper. They say where's your green card. But if you get that one it is alright. But now I also feel bad, but the country if is alright but I think is not alright, my friend I am not believe that country.

L: Now tell me, the last question ... do you believe Somalis from other parts of the world also, say for instance Australia or ...

BB: No

L: United States

BB: Ja, ja, some but people don't have airtime ...

L: Phone them?

BB: I get their number some my friend, ladies there for Australia, some is America, but the problem is time and you haven't got that money to talk to, buy the cart, so ...

L: Difficult to communicate.

BB: Difficult, but everything situation the country I saw him that news.

L: Alright thanks, BB

BB: Alright, my friend.

L: Tell me first of all what's your wife's name and your children's names?

BB: My name wife is Sofia. My daughter is Hannie, one Imraan, one the Okaaz. Other one name for Nema, other one the name Abdullah, other one, small one is Ali.

L: Thank you.

BB: Thank you.

Appendix 4 (A4)

Transcript of interview with JJ

In this interview the L indicates the words spoken by the interviewer and JJ indicates the words spoken by the first respondent.

L: Tell me something about your life in Somalia: the town or village you grow up and the school you attended.

JJ: Ja, the first time I ... I was born in Mogadishu in the village of Hilwadek, and after that I land in the school of Hamedgury. When in standard 4 in 1991 ... 1990 or 1991 I don't remember. The war starting I remember that afternoon my ... when I go to school because in Somalia. There is a different ... different the school is different ... there is a day and afternoon. Some ... some classes they enter for 7 o'clock and some classes they enter in 2 o'clock. I am the classes they enter 2 o'clock. I am in standard 4. And that time when the War is starting I run home and our families.

After that when we are two weeks or three weeks the war will not started. We move in some other city nearest to the Mogadishu and the other families, the other tribes are attacking to other, my tribe. They get the bigger power so our tribe we moved it the where in Baidoa. So when I reach in Baidoa that time I am not I am too young. I am ten years ... nine years old that time. So I don't remember anything like that, but I remembering some little things. So we move it again in ... in Akmedow a city of that tribes. Our tribe is longing so I am here that time in Akmedow 2 years. I ... I come back. Me alone after ... after four ... after four years in Mogadishu me alone, so that's why my uncle and my other parentis [parents] are living in there.

When I come back there I started and little work whose ... whose working my uncle is some what you call some mirror ... Somalian are using some ... some plantis [plants] ... you know some plantis are the people eating. So I started that work to sell it and to look it some they say food ... food. So ... so that time I am looking only of and what you eat and what you wear the money I bring to work me and my uncle we are, you know, we are supporting the house food, you know like that. So after that I get into for, you know, shooting for other guys because we are playing like that that time, football like that. So my tribe is not there that time I am in other tribe, you know. So after that we fight other guy so he tell you me, he can ... can ... can shoot me like that. So when I kicked other he other family for his other guy he take his gun and he shoot me on my back here. So three months I am I am the hospital.

So when I get little something I go up and ... and I come back where my family is there and my parentis who like my father and my mother that city in Akmedow. So after ... after three years again I ... go back again and there Mogadishu because is where I was born and I ... I miss. So when I go back there and my parentis all of them they are coming back there and my father and my brother all of them or my mother they will come back there in Mogadishu. We stay there a long time after that I ... I myself ... even I I try you know to communicate for that guys and to take a gun is like that to stay out for that guys long time. So my father he try, you

know, to make and to stop me. So when I I taked his advice and my father is gone away and he died there in ... in ...

After he died we come back me and my mother and the childrens in Akmedow. So we pass in there in the refugee of Kya [Kenya] in Ifo. So I started there in Ifo refugee to learn something in the school. When I learn in three years I graduated in primary school in eight. So then they change for me in Garisa for for that country. So that people is all there in a refugee camp it will call WWF, WFO, I don't remember. So they change for me to get a high school Garisa in a Kenya city. So I learn there in for four years and I graduated there in grade twolo [twelve].

So when I finish there I didn't get a job there, so I go in the capital city of Kenya to start the work. I work in the restaurantis [restaurants] in one year so I get some money to start the little business and I start to selling some electronic things in the highway roadis [roads] like that to take in my hand. So aunty like the little shop to sell.

And after 5 years I get another line to come in Tanzania because I hear some some stories, you know, South Africa, learning, South Africa there is some peace and some business and everything, you can get. So I come first first in Tanzania, I stay there three monthis [months] to get the some instruction to go to the South Africa. So when I stay in three monthis in Tanzania other guys I don't what they are walking with some guys South African or Tanzania they tell me if I paying them \$1 000 they bring into in South Africa border. So I give the \$1000. So they bring in ... when they reach for me in Mozambique they put for me in hotel. And they tell me tomorrow morning they must start for me her ... another ... another another car to go through to the border of SA. And after that when I wake up in the morning and I didn't see anybody there I phoned for someone for who know that guys and they tell me last night when they bring they go back there. So I didn't do nothing, I some confused, because I give all my money for that guys. I started to phone again in my families back in Nairobi so stay there another one months to get the money so I get some little money in my family. Then after that I come in the capital city Mozambique. So I stay there in five days again and I see other guys who is Mozambican and South African guys and then take me \$200 and they bring it to me and they get through to me in the border. I met in the people South Africa the police of South Africa after that they catch for me I at in the police station in ... in two days after that police they sent me Home Affairs, Johannesburg to give me some papers to stay South Africa.

L: Why did you decide to come to Vredenburg and not stay in Cape Town or Johannesburg, the bigger cities?

JJ: The capital cities you know uhm its very difficult to stay there or to get some places you know, you can't say without, you know, the big life. When you don't get the big life 'cause you are not respondent in there. Some people is come long time and they got some little money and the big cities they need, to stay, the big money. So if I was one I would take it that in Johannesburg paper ... I come through in Kroonstad, then I started to work for other guys, the shop ... Somalian guys in the shops is the owners. So when I work in 9 monthis (months) I get some problem. The people who stay there, 'cause its ... er, that side I'm staying is too dangerous, so they kill one person, for I, we work together in that shop. So I tell that guys I can't work again. After that I come through in other city in Eastern Cape, is Umtata. I work there in 3 monthis (months). After that I get same, same problem in that, like that side, for killing and robbing, some like that. That's why I come in Vredenburg and I hear some Vredenburg is maybe is the best.

L: Do the people call you names, Somalians, the other people of South Africa?

JJ: Ja dat uhm they call me, because when I speak my first, my first time I speak, I speak like a someone like a 'djy' like that. Like 'what do you want.,djy'?, I make like that in a word like that so they catch for me to say it 'Jy-Jy'. Yes

L: But I mean do the people call you "makwerekwere" or names like that?

JJ: Ya ... they call you 'amakwerekwere', cause the black people is they are very dangerous and there is no respect, yeah so after that they abuse you every time, every time they come to you and you are returning to respect but they can't respect you, all of them.

L: So tell me, the so-called coloured people what names do they call you? I've heard they call you 'goto', (MA) told me that some of the people call him 'goto'

JJ: Ja, you know coloured people they are different for. I think when I see we are same, same you know, same cultures, like that. I see some cultures in coloured peoples is ...

L: Have you heard the word 'goto'?

JJ: No, I didn't heard that word here, no I didn't heard that word

L: How do you feel now living in South Africa? Do you like it here in Vredenburg?

JJ: Ya, almost when I come in Vredenburg I like, 'cause before you know I remember some nightish if I die like that you know or so everytime when I wake up I must die and before I stay and when I stay in Eastern Cape everytime you must remember you must die like that, 'cause every time its very dangerous you can, you can look and you get scare like that and when I come in Vredenburg I feel, I feel better.

L: How do you earn a living and tell me something about your work here.

JJ: My work is only to, to serve the people or to help the customer in selling some foodies and some sweets with people they eat.

L: And tell me is this what you always wanted to be? When you were at school maybe you wanted to be a doctor or engineer?

JJ: Ja you know, when you are, when you are at school you dream everything, you dream every dream for how you can manage your education, like that. I dream to become, you know, someone who is like, you know, some engineering or some physical man ...

L: Physics man, Scientist?

JJ: ... Scientist, ja.

L: Tell me in a normal week what type of things do you do? In the morning, afternoon and evening, and what things do you do over the weekend? Saturdays and Sundays ...

JJ: Saturday even I work ... I work in 7days a week. I wake up on 6 o' clock maybe I work until I close the shop, until 10 o'clock at night pm. so I didn't get any challenge when I come in here to legs (relax), because I like to make a business, to work it here

L: So you've got another dream now?

JJ: I've got more dreamis (dreams), but that dream is to get some, some, another business another work, nice work, you know, in high places or lifestyle, you know, 'cause we don't got now lifestyle even now we get money, ... we can't make that money ...

L: ... Buy properties?

JJ ... we can't buy properties here, ja.

L: Do you have the dream of going back to Somalia?

JJ: I'm thinking and I wish to go back there 'cause even that side is not safe now. I, I dream to go back where is my, right now, family there in Kenya and to see them, because I miss it, my family, but I'm not now ready to go back, because you are looking at life now and money to manage our families.

L: So you never go out weekends? You never go to Cape town or other cities?

JJ: No uhm we didn't, I didn't go there in Cape Town and sometimis (sometimes) maybe when I get the chance or when I get someone who I can visit there, and my friend is there sometimis (sometimes) I go there in Cape Town.

L: Now your friends, do you have a lot of friends? Where did you meet your Somali friends?

JJ: Uhm we don't meet sometimes, we meet sometimes and, cause some people is here in Vredenburg and we meet that people we are friends maybe in Cape Town in Johannesburg, only only phone we connect to the phone.

L: Now the ones that you know here, did you grow up with them in Somalia?

JJ: Some, some, someoneis I meet here and someoneis I meet in Somalia, but there is no, there is no friendis we grew up in Somalia, here in South Africa.

L: Do you have any South African friends?

JJ: Ja I got more, menis (men?) and women is here.

L: You're not married yet?

JJ: No I didn't married yet.

L: One day when you do marry will it be to a Somali woman or can it be to South African woman?

JJ: No I can't right now. I can't guess where I can married in Somalia or in here, I don't know really 'cause I didn't think about it still, you know

L: But I mean, will it be a problem to take a South African woman as a wife?

JJ: There is no problem, because many of them, many of our family they marry in here South African people is, and there is no problem. I, I wish where I can get in my in, my size or what do you call in ...?

L: ... In your age group?

JJ: In my age group, ja.

L: But you will only marry when you have a nice business?

JJ: Ja a nice business, because in our religion it is right thing if you get some some

L:... Good life?

JJ: Ja some good life that you can marriage that time.

L: Tell me something about your family. How big is your family?

JJ: Our family they are too large and too big, because the tribe I was born is too big and but then my father he got only for 9 children; is 5 ladies and 4 boys.

L: And how many wives did your father have?

JJ: He marriage only 2. One is died and one is alive.

L: What is it that you miss most about Somalia? What are the beautiful things in Somalia that you haven't found in any other country; Tanzania, Kenya or South Africa?

JJ: The beauty I see ... er ... only is in Mozambique and South Africa

L: But what is beautiful about Somalia itself?

JJ: Somalia it got uhm beautiful things like er, like, like the farmies [farms], like the sight of the sea, cause it's a seaside, you know, ja coastal area. And is a lot of beautiful things there, but is there is no peace, because its a lot of war, er now it is 15 years war and right now there is no, there is no beautiful, 'cause everything is brocked [broken]?

L: When you think about Africa, don't you sometimes get sad when you think Africa is all about the wars and the fact that African people don't always see each other as brothers and sisters?

JJ: Ja I become every day sad, 'cause when you see in our country right now there is a war, who come from is next country in Africa, so they is trying to make a peace and they kill the peoples who is innocent, you know so I see in the tv and I watch in the morning in SABC 2 and to see what is the war is going on. So I see the first batch that they started in, in the tv is our country and I see many war for there is going on and I become too much sad.

L: As you move through the other countries and in South Africa, do you like the way you have been treated by African people?

JJ: Most of them and like in Tanzania right now they will treat you like a animal, when you are there. So Tanzania, every Somalian people is they don't like why you are now buzzing if they catch you even they can't make you a court. they will go, they will bring you in a jail without reason even if you say the name of Somalia and I never seen a country, such country like that in Tanzania. And other countries in like Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Mali every people is they can attracted you and they can treat you like a nice person

L: And South Africa?

JJ: And South Africa even it is right here and I see some, some little problem is in, in that side in Mthatha, maybe one it is at night or one it is at afternoon you go out and you want to move a little bit, 'cause you are human being 'cause you must work little bit when you finish here maybe you work. Every road when you pass it they can call you "amakwerekwere". And they abusing you like, such abuse you, and but when I come this side I didn't see like that here. I moving like someone who got a big bees here.

L: Has anything happened to you that makes you feel that you are at home here in Vredenburg, in South Africa or has anything happened to you that made you feel that you are not welcome in South Africa?

JJ: No, no, I didn't see, and in South Africa when come and every, and every people is the first people I met, they make me a nice welcome here.

L: Do you think of South Africa as your home or do you think of Somalia as your home?

JJ: Everybody is wishing he's home and cause you miss your language and your people, everything and, and only the way we are, the way we are feeling or the way we are thinking and to get in here peace and to allow these people until we get some, some peaces in my country, you know

L: JJ, tell me, what type of hope do you have for the future?

JJ: I hope the first one to get the peace, I hope my country, my people to become one, because in every people, every people there, every boy or every girl was born there with blood. I hope to get our people is to get the peace.

L: So the war, is it about clans that are fighting? Is that the main reason for the war? Is it groups of people that are fighting over power or what is it that they are fighting about?

JJ: The fighting is er, over demogratiek (democracy). Every one they want is to become president or to become some inside the government.

L: What do you think Somalia can learn from South Africa's political setup here? What is good about this in South Africa?

JJ: We didn't enter on the side of the politicalis, only we in on the side of business and its better, nice for a business, ya.

L: If you were to go back to Somalia what would you tell them about the good things in South Africa?

JJ: We would tell first the peace, you know.

L: JJ, I've seen it's only women who dress up in traditional clothes. Why don't you and the other young men dress up like that?

JJ: You know, is our religion to dress up the lady, up and down. Starting legs up to face, so when you, when you are sister is growing maybe 5 years or 4 years you start to teach it to dress like that, you know, until even when you are inside in the house, you are family, she must respect you, you know, and to dress like that and to hide for the face and legs, everything.

L: Tell me, religion, is it very important for you and other young Somalians here in South Africa?

JJ: Yes, religion is first, religion is better for me, 'cause, 'cause I pray 5 times a day and, and the first time, the first thing we come believe is our religion.

L: Now the women, are they just at home? Do most of them just stay at home or do some women take part in the fighting?

JJ: Some women is in, you can see in human being, you know, you will get right and you will get bad days. Some women is, they will try to take off, you know, and pretend the man is to fight it, but most of them they are home is and respect is for the man is or respect is the families here.

L: But there are some woman who are fighting, young woman?

JJ: Ja, who are young women, fighting. They can't fighting women to women, some women is inside the manis and is, you know, because some tribes they got the car, whose the big lorry like that, whose the big gun is there inside for that lorry. So they go inside for that lorry and take the gunis (guns), you know, to fight it face-to-face for the man, yea

L: Thank you, JJ.

Appendix 5 (A5)

List of Questions

1) Background:

- (i). Tell me something about your life in Somalia: the town or village you grew up, school you attended. Do you remember the games that you used to play?
- (ii). What things do you miss most about Somalia?
- (iii). What things make Somalia different from other countries that you have been to so far?
- (vi). How did you find your first job and how long did you work there? (What kind of job was it that you did?)

2) Coming to South Africa:

- (i). When and why did you leave Somalia? And by what using what mode of transport? i
- (ii). Where did you go to or settle on arriving in South Africa?
- (iii). How did you make your way to Vredenburg and why did you decided to come to Vredenburg.

3) Being n South Africa:

- (i). How do you feel now about living in South Africa (and Vredenburg in particular)? How do you feel about the residents? Do they call you names?
- (ii). How do you earn a living? Tell me about your work? Is this what you always wanted to do?
- (iii). Can you speak Afrikaans? Let me hear what you can make?
- (vi). Do you have children? What languages should they speak/learn? Where would you sent them to school? Would you be against them marrying a South African? Would you marry a South African woman(unmarried)?

(4). Social Life

- (i). In a normal week what kind of things do you in the morning, in the afternoon and in the evening. And what kind of things do you do over weekends.
- (ii). Do you and your friends go out? If yes, what places do you visit?
- (iii). What kind of people do you interact with?
- (vi). Tell me about your family (How big is your family and how many members are in South Africa?)

(5) Social Networks:

- (i). When you meet other Somalis, how do you as a group entertain each other: what do you talk about, eat, listen to, songs you sing etc.
 - (ii). Do you have any South African friends? What languages do they speak?
- (6) The future
- (i). Are there anything that happened to you that make you feel at home in South Africa or are there anything that happened to you that don't make you feel at home in South Africa.
 - (ii). Do you have any hope for the future for your country? Do you have any hope for yourself in South Africa?

Appendix 6 (A6) Maps

Figure 1: Map of Somalia (political)



Figure 2:
Boundries of Saldanha Bay Municipality (SBM area)

