

Resettled Somali Women in Georgia and Changing Gender Roles

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I. Introduction

“Women and men experience conflict, displacement, and post-conflict settings directly because of the culturally determined gender division of roles and responsibilities.”¹ As a result, women face different challenges than men in the aftermath of war.² Since women comprise the majority of refugees, they tend to be the majority of asylum seekers.³ According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), approximately 80 percent of refugee women are responsible for themselves and children.⁴ Many female refugees are from patriarchal societies where men tend to dominate the political, economic, and social decision-making processes.⁵ Consequently, men tend to provide the dominant economic support for the family. However, when men are killed or go missing during war,⁶ women must become their own providers and protectors. This makes them heads of their households.⁷ For most, this is a new responsibility.⁸

Added to this new responsibility, resettled women must also address language, education, religious, employment, dietary, and other issues while adjusting to life in the country of asylum. In the United States, this adjustment occurs in the context of women’s rights and equality. Being introduced to new employment and educational opportunities in the U.S., in particular, becomes problematic when attempting to maintain traditional gender and social roles.

Resettled women enter asylum countries understanding established traditional gender roles from their home countries. Thus, their ideas

concerning male/female roles transfer into their resettled communities. Consequently, resettled women initially attempt to adhere to these traditional gender roles within their new communities. However, when met with a different cultural attitude toward male/female roles, some traditional gender roles are challenged or changed. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze the situation of resettled women who adhere to their traditional gender/social roles in a society that embraces a different version of women's rights.

Although some experiences of resettled women have been published, more documentation is necessary to provide a comprehensive understanding of their struggles and triumphs in the country of asylum. Moreover, further analysis is needed on resettled women in the United States,⁹ and more specifically, resettled African women in the United States. The goal of this article is to examine the gender roles of resettled Somali women in Clarkston, Georgia, as a case study to determine whether gender roles have changed within their resettled Somali families.

II. Somali Women Forced into the Diaspora

Somalia's state government collapsed in 1991 when Siyaad Barre fled the country.¹⁰ His departure left a governmental vacuum that still exists, despite the creation of a Transitional Federal Government in 2004. The latter has yet to establish a firm base, let alone rule the country.¹¹

In the aftermath of the 1991 civil war, many Somali women were left without husbands, fathers, brothers, uncles, and male cousins to protect their families. Most of the men were killed, went missing, or were incapacitated. The majority of fighting occurred in the capital city of Mogadishu, where factions fought over the control of the city and other southern territories.¹² Houses were looted; women and girls were kidnapped, raped, and even gang raped. Searching for food, clothes, shelter, water, and medicine were familiar tasks, yet they became virtually impossible without societal order. As a result, many became refugees in Kenya, Ethiopia, and other neighboring African countries, while some fled to other continents.

Research on internally displaced women in Somalia has examined their entrepreneurial efforts, the formation of aid organizations, and their demands for more political participation.¹³ Here, they too are functioning as heads of households to provide for themselves and their

dependents.¹⁴ Research on Somali women in the diaspora also exists.¹⁵ In Europe,¹⁶ North America,¹⁷ and Australia,¹⁸ there is a focus on how they adjust to life in an asylum country as well as their remittance issues.¹⁹

The analysis of Somali gender roles covers women in Somalia as well as in the diaspora. Gender roles in pastoral Somalia have been addressed by Rhoda M. Ibrahim, and Ladan Affi has contributed to understanding the pressures on single mothers in Canada.²⁰ Diaspora analysis reveals that unemployed Somali men find it difficult to relinquish authority over the household to their working wives since men have traditionally been the sole family providers, while their wives worked voluntarily. In order to survive in the United States, however, two incomes become necessary. As a result, women obtain jobs that correspond with their level of education and English proficiency. This may create a power struggle within a marriage and ultimately disrupt the family hierarchy. In addition, some married women take advantage of women's rights in their host country. For example, resettled women in the U.S. obtain restraining orders against their husbands for domestic abuse.

This research demonstrates that Somali women in the diaspora have garnered academic attention. As a result, their lives in resettled communities are better understood. Moreover, challenges to traditional gender roles are acknowledged. Although extensive analysis exists on Somali women in Minnesota, more documentation is needed on resettled Somali women in other areas of the U.S., particularly in terms of changing gender roles.

A. Methodology

My exploratory research focuses on resettled Somali women in Clarkston, Georgia.²¹ Clarkston is located approximately two miles away from highway I-285 South. This city was selected as the location to gather data since a large concentration of Somalis reside here. Most Somalis in Georgia reside in Clarkston due to settlement in the area by refugees who fled Siyaad Barre's attacks on northern and central Somalia in 1987–1988. Clarkston is also home to other refugee communities, such as Ethiopians, Vietnamese, Bosnians and Sudanese.²²

Oral histories were obtained from the Somali women. This approach was selected because oral histories provide the best method of allowing resettled women to express their experiences in their own words.²³

Likewise, oral histories give voice to certain groups that are often overlooked. "If narrative really is this fundamental to how people understand their lives and the world around them, then we should be more attentive to the stories that refugees tell about their past and their present."²⁴

The majority of government departments in Clarkston and Decatur, Georgia, and DeKalb County do not possess specific documentation on Somalis residing in these respective areas because refugees tend to be a mobile community. The most reliable statistics were obtained from the State of Georgia Refugee Health Program.

The Georgia Refugee Health Program (GRHP) reported 484 Somalis residing in DeKalb County as of October 25, 1999, but the exact number of Somali women residing in Georgia remains undetermined. Therefore, fifty surveys and ten interviews were administered as a representative sample of the estimated 60 percent of Clarkston Somalis who are women.²⁵ As of 2004, the GRHP reported that 412 Somali women resided in Clarkston. Although it was difficult to obtain an accurate count, those surveyed and interviewed generally represent resettled refugee women.

Becoming familiar with the resettled Somali women was crucial to gathering the data. Their displacement experiences have made them cautious regarding outsiders. Being an African-American female, I especially wanted to convey my sincerity and empathy. This was important because of shared U.S. racial identifications and stereotypes.

To establish trust and familiarity with the Somali women, two female Somali leaders introduced me to the community. After attending social events, such as weddings and family dinners, the women began to recognize and become acquainted with me. An unexpected bonus was subsequent employment during my research at the refugee center that assisted the Somali women. As a result, I became the co-worker of the two community leaders assisting me. Indeed, this exposure created more trust and comfort between the Somali women and me.

The two community leaders enlisted the participation of the interviewees and surveyed women. The potential biases of familiarity between the interviewees, the two assisting Somali community leaders, and the women surveyed are acknowledged. Also recognized is the problem of utilizing assistants from the same group being analyzed.²⁶ Nevertheless, trustworthy female community leaders were critical to me in order to become acquainted with the women. They advised me

that explaining who I was and what I was doing would ease the women's apprehensions about participating. Likewise, their community's respect gave them the credibility to explain that a graduate student from the local university would be speaking with them about their displacement experiences.

Data was gathered from May through July 2000, with the assistance of the two community leaders, who also served as interpreters throughout the research process. In order to examine the theme of changing gender roles, fifty women were randomly selected to provide general demographic information. The surveys were administered to women frequenting the refugee center. In addition, ten personal interviews provided specific details.²⁷

The interviews were conducted through "snowball sampling." This method of securing women for the interviews was appropriate because of the cautiousness of the Somali women. In essence, more women were apt to participate if other women spoke positively of their own interviews and then encouraged additional women to participate. The approach to scheduling and conducting the interviews was informal. Interviews were scheduled after a Somali woman expressed interest to the two assistants. I then kept track of the appointments, and the two community leaders reminded the respondents of the interview date and time.

Due to Somali women's illiteracy in Somali and English, verbal consent from the interview respondents was obtained by the two community leaders.²⁸ Verbal consent was especially important since the respondents requested anonymity.²⁹ The respondents were verbally assured by the two community leaders and I that their identities would not be revealed in the final document. The interviews were conducted in the women's homes without the use of tape recorders, based on the requests for anonymity.

The women responding to the interviews were not given the survey. This was ensured through the aid of the two community leaders. Once women expressed interest in conducting an interview, they were pointed out to me by the two assistants. Thus, the surveyed and interviewed groups of women remained separate.

The surveys were distributed in English to Somali women visiting the refugee center. The two Somali aides reviewed the surveys and then translated the survey questions for the participating women. The aides recorded the responses to the corresponding questions.

The decision to distribute the surveys in English and have them interpreted was made based on the illiteracy of the Somali women in both Somali and English. The surveys were processed through the Social Science statistical software of SPSS. Then I analyzed the SPSS survey results and interview responses.

B. Description of the Women in Clarkston, Georgia

Twenty-four percent of the resettled Somali women in Clarkston, Georgia, are from southern Somalia. Places such as Mogadishu and Barawi represent large cities from which the women fled, while such places as Taleh and Bashanir represent small villages. Other southern Somali urban areas represented include Kismayo, Gaalkayo, and Merka.³⁰ These southern sites were areas caught in factional fighting after dictator Siyaad Barre's ouster in 1991 and the subsequent collapse of the state.³¹

Northern Somali areas represented by the women include the Nugaal area and the urban locations of Boosaaso, Hargeisa, and Laasanood, which account for eight percent of the total responses. Representation of the northern cities can be traced back to the implosion of the state. Moreover, these women fleeing from northern Somali cities were targeted because of their kin identification with the ousted leader.³²

Sixty percent of the women from the survey sample have been in the United States for three or more years, 52 percent are heads of their households, 56 percent are married, 34 percent have at least a primary education, 52 percent have jobs, and 86 percent wish to return to Somalia. The age ranges of the sample are from eighteen to over fifty-four, with the majority of the young women falling between the ages of twenty-nine and thirty-three. Eighteen percent of the women are fifty or older, which means there are a large number of elderly women in the community.

III. Gender Roles

A. In Somalia

Within Somali society, the dependency of women on men is a cultural component dating back to the pre-colonial era. This dependency was later legally enforced by the state colonial powers. Likewise, following independence from Italy and Britain, the established Somali

state continued to legally enforce this dependency. Women's dependency became more profound because they were marginalized by two forces of authority: the state and their communities. Consequently, the dependence of women became institutionalized through their marginalization.³³

In traditional Somalia, education on all levels, but particularly higher levels, was mainly a male privilege. In rural areas, the family sacrificed to send boys to the university, instead of girls, due to the cultural perpetuation of specific gender spheres.³⁴ A more comprehensive education belonged to males because they operated and functioned in the public sphere, and they were to provide for their families. One woman explains that, "Most of the families, they educated the sons and not the daughters, but here you're able to get educated and get a job. For sons back home, they see that he will grow up and support his family, but they don't see that with the daughters."³⁵ Thus, men required a better education to accomplish the family support. This was especially true for nomads in rural Somalia.

Some of the women from higher socioeconomic levels are educated, and worked in Somalia to provide their own income. As one woman speaks about her life, she explains, "It was good. I used to have a... wholesale business."³⁶ Another responds by saying, "I used to have a really good life. I used to have farms and worked for the government for twenty-six years. I started as a cleaner and became a telephone operator. I left the government job in 1985 and had my own farms."³⁷ A young woman asserts, "Even though I was young at that time, we had a really good life. We had a small business and we had cars. I was a student. We had a good life."³⁸

Cultural and government restrictions on women's lives often meant they were mostly illiterate, untrained, and therefore incapable of obtaining the jobs that the modern Western state offered. As a result, women became more dependent upon men for their survival.³⁹ There were, however, a few exceptions. Then, General Mohammed Siyaad Barre and his cohorts staged a coup d'etat in 1969.

In the next few years, his regime began to implement radical societal and legislative changes that impacted women's roles. These changes were less to promote the genuine equality of women, and more to legitimize the regime's socialist philosophy. Yet Somali women's rights were advanced more during his regime than any time during the colonial and post-independence years.⁴⁰

Life for most Somali women prior to the 1991 war was relatively relaxed. Days were spent sharing tea and conversing with their female neighbors, while the children were at school and the husbands at work. Rural women were responsible for caring for the home and children. They often sold agricultural or craft products in the market, but not as a necessary second income, as is experienced in the United States. For instance, one woman states, "I had a good life. My life was better. I was a housewife. He (her husband) had a business and I was taking care of the children."⁴¹

Women in the urban areas also had defined roles that encompassed caring for the home and family, but they often also held professional jobs. Some Somali women worked to earn money in addition to the money their husbands gave them. This extra money was used for several purposes, such as personal consumption, assisting extended family members (especially other women), adding to the family income, starting small businesses, or simply for personal security. Urban professional women tended to be civil servants or work for multinational corporations, while rural women sold family produce or arts and crafts in the local market.

B. In the United States

Resettled Somali women's roles in Somalia and in the United States are substantially defined by their marital status and the presence of children. Fifty-six percent of the respondents are married, 20 percent are single, 16 percent are divorced, and 8 percent are widows. Thirty-eight percent have five or more children, while 28 percent are childless. Eighteen percent have one to two children and 16 percent had three to four children.

Being a wife and mother are significant attributes in Somali culture. Women cherish their roles as mothers, perhaps more than being a wife, since bearing children has traditionally been an avenue of status. As previously noted, Somali women were culturally marginalized, then institutionally marginalized, by colonial powers. Therefore, women were socialized to remain focused on family, not public matters. This by no means indicates that Somali women were submissive or accepting of these parameters. Indeed, Somali women have been strong willed in achieving personal and professional goals despite restrictions. Nevertheless, the social, political, and economic power structure relied on unequal male/female dichotomies.

One of the primary elements impacting women's roles in the United States is education, and education directly affects job opportunities for resettled Somali women. One respondent declares, "I educated myself. I'm safe. No more civil war."⁴² Thirty-four percent of the Clarkston women say they reached the primary school level, and 28 percent say they either had no education or achieved a secondary level of education. Only six percent report that they obtained a university degree. Regarding education, one woman replies, "I'm still struggling with my life. It seems okay since I'm in school and I might have a chance to get a job. I didn't have a chance to do this in Somalia. Life will be okay for me."⁴³ Another respondent says, "It's been a big change. My kids get education for life. I'm able to work and make money. I get education too. I'm one hundred percent happy. My life here doesn't even compare."⁴⁴

One respondent explains that rural and urban women face the same obstacles. She says that, "Whether they came from the rural areas or the cities, they all are doing the same job. Sometimes the education the women had in Somalia doesn't count here. Women from back home have more stress because they can't use their skills."⁴⁵ Nevertheless, some educated resettled Somali women are able to attain higher paying jobs in the U.S. than illiterate resettled Somali women. Thus, those women proficient in English with some level of professional skills are able to acquire jobs that pay well above the minimum wage. Fifty-two percent of the respondents are employed while 46 percent are unemployed. Since the majority of the women only received a primary school education, their level of English fluency, as well as suitable American job skills, are limited. Thus, employment does not necessarily denote above minimum-wage positions. Nevertheless, the women need jobs to support their families. Moreover, if the women are married, their wages are possibly more than those earned by their husbands.

The fact that some wives earn higher incomes than their husbands creates tension within the household because monetary abilities and responsibilities fell to the husband, not the wife, in Somalia. One respondent explains the difference that working creates in relationships:

The women don't work in Somalia. Men are the care suppliers for the families. Men are more used to [being] an authoritarian. It's easier for women to find jobs [in the United States] than men. The men have to get used to lower jobs because they can't speak English. The women become

the care suppliers of the home and this causes problems in marriages. You see some men who were doctors back home, or worked in colleges and universities, get Medicare jobs here. Both sexes [professionals] are having to get used to lesser jobs here in the states.⁴⁶

Another woman contends, "Most women back home used to be housewives. They used to be at home and calm. Now, here, I see them running trying to get their bills paid. They are more active here than they were at home."⁴⁷ Another woman states, "We used to stay home and now we have to work and suffer. The men used to take care of us."⁴⁸ "We have been here nine months. Because of [the] life situation here, most women have to work. Because of bills you have to work. Back home we used to own our houses, here we have to pay rent," explains one respondent.⁴⁹

Furthermore, the wage imbalance within families creates emotional and often physical expressions of the tension.⁵⁰ Many women suffer domestic abuse from their husbands, which is often fueled by the consumption of a narcotic leaf called *Qat*.⁵¹

In Somalia, working was an optional means of economic independence for many women regardless of socioeconomic status.⁵² One respondent explains that, "Back home even the women who worked liked it. Working was for fun. Whatever money we got from men, we spent our extra money on ourselves. We knew that the husband would support us. But here, you need the extra income to support the family."⁵³

Another respondent explains that, "Men were affected the worst because they used to go to work and support the family. Eighty percent of the women used to stay home. The man was used to going to work, but after that [the 1991 civil war], the men didn't have a job and had to provide food, clothes, shelter. It was more stressful for men."⁵⁴ Indeed, some Somali men in Clarkston do suffer from depression, anger, and frustration, and often their wives bare the brunt of these conditions.

Some view the job market as an opportunity for personal advancement. "Here anyone can be somebody. You have a lot of opportunities, but there [in Somalia] it was tough." Yet others view women working as an unwanted disruption to their previous lifestyle. "Women used to be housewives and took care of themselves. The servants used to take care of the children. But here [our] income is not enough. You have to work to help your husband support the family," replies one woman.⁵⁵

When asked if gender roles have changed in the United States, one woman maintains that roles have “Definitely changed here. We were in [a] Third World country and you weren’t necessarily able to make money if you weren’t educated. But here you are able to make money whether you’re educated or not. Women have more opportunity here than in Somalia. Here it’s difficult to support the family on just the husband’s income. So, the women have to work also.”⁵⁶

Four of the interviewed women say their family relationships are unchanged. One gives an explanation for the maintenance of the family structure in her response when she states, “We are like we used to be. We are sticking with our religion so the family order remains the same.”⁵⁷ Furthermore, Islam helps the women maintain traditional roles by providing the structure for family life.

For the women who say their family relationships changed, one response is:

The relationship between my husband and me has improved. Both of us were able to work when we came here. Before, I was dependent on my husband’s income alone, and I spend it the way I want. I get stronger. I was kind of weak person. I got empowered when I lost some of my family, friends, and neighbors. When I came to America, I just kept working to help those I left behind. I remember when I first came to America. My nephew called me and told me that fourteen of my family members had died. But I asked myself what were my duties and they were to go to work so I can support my family back home. I cried, but I went to work because I knew I had to support them.⁵⁸

Newfound independence in the U.S. can also be explained by this response: “At the beginning I was so confused because I didn’t have family to help me. I was depending on strangers. But now I’m working and I rent an apartment with someone else. I work in a factory where they make diapers. A friend picks me and other women up to take us to work. We pay him twenty dollars.”⁵⁹ Echoing these sentiments, respondents elaborate: “Here we get more freedom, which is good. We can do for ourselves. We can work;”⁶⁰ “We work and we have an income. We have independence;”⁶¹ “I’m able to work, make money, support my family here and the ones I left behind on [my] mother and father’s side [as well as] widows and orphans.”⁶²

But clearly, the following statement provides the most striking thought on the newfound independence and change in gender roles for some resettled Somali women in Clarkston, “[Somali women] learn

they can support their families without men. They learn they can make money. You can live without a husband."⁶³

IV. Conclusion

Somali women arrived in the U.S. with traditional gender roles firmly established. However, the American idea of liberty and the feminists' call for political, social, and economic equality tend to clash with those traditional gender roles.⁶⁴ The traditional roles were then observed through the women's oral histories to determine how they fare when juxtaposed to American culture.⁶⁵

Clearly there are differences among the women based on socioeconomic status and residential location prior to resettling in the U.S. Yet, the overall Somali culture and institutions designated certain roles for women and men regardless of these differences. Therefore, upon resettlement in the U.S., the Somalis arrived with an understanding of social divisions based on gender.

Education significantly affects job opportunities for Somalis in the U.S. Thus, educated women tend to earn higher wages than less educated women. There is a direct correlation between education levels and income levels. In addition, some of the educated women earn an income when their husbands are unemployed, or their incomes are higher than those of their husbands. Moreover, a wife's higher wages, coupled with U.S. messages of women's rights and equality, challenges some marriages, for along with these concepts of equality for women outside the home is the notion of men assisting more within the home.

Somali men's responses to women's newfound roles in Clarkston are similar to the responses of Somali men in Germany and Canada. According to Ladan Affi, husbands have not assisted their wives with caring for children or household duties in Canada because they were accustomed to relatives providing this support in Somalia. Yet, despite the absence of family support in the Canadian Somali community, men still did not lend support to their wives. Thus, the redefinition of traditional cultural roles between men and women amidst the stress of adjusting to life in Canada leads to high divorce rates.⁶⁶

Amongst some of the Clarkston married couples, the financial power holder may have changed but the household decision maker remains the same. In other words, husbands may not be the sole or highest wage earners, but they continue to control the home. In fact, some women found it more difficult to work in the U.S. and prefer to remain

home as they did in Somalia. In addition, some married women view their roles as wives and mothers as sacred based on Islamic scriptures. Therefore, they tend to feel stronger about maintaining the family hierarchical structure they subscribed to in Somalia. However, other married women take advantage of the concept of women's equality and resist maintaining traditional gender assignments. Thus, among married couples, traditional social gender roles remain, but are always susceptible to change.

Resettled Somali women who are less proficient in English are often forced into manual labor jobs that require long hours, which may not render earned wages above those of their husbands. In this setting, family hierarchy is undisturbed because the male continues to be the head of the household based on his higher income.

Although gender roles are challenged in some married couples, they change in terms of single women. Resettled Somali women who do not remarry, or who enter the U.S. unmarried or widowed, perhaps represent the most visible change in gender roles. In the absence of a male, and often any family, they are solely responsible for their survival. This situation brings about a new life of independence and strength. Moreover, such independence may impact new U.S. Somali male/female relationships, especially amongst the youth. There is definitely more room for sociological analysis of resettled Somali women in Clarkston, Georgia.

Notes

1. Torres 2002. In addition to vulnerabilities faced in a war torn country and in refugee camps, women seeking asylum face two hurdles in obtaining refugee status: 1) the basis for which one is granted refugee status; and 2) the process of establishing justification for refugee status (Martin 1992, p. 23). At either point a petition might be denied. Thus, obtaining refugee status to resettle in asylum countries is not always smooth or successful.
2. Olsson 2001, p. 1.
3. Mayotte 1992.
4. "The State of the World's Refugees," UNHCR, 1995, p. 6.
5. Goldstein 2001, p. 7.
6. Byrne 1996, p. 34.
7. Lindsey 2001.
8. El Bushra 2003, p. 159.
9. Drachman and Ryan 2001.
10. Samatar and Samatar 2002, p. 232.

11. In 2002, Kenya sponsored a conference to guide the formation of a new Somali government. It included members of all Somali subclans. Fifty women leaders were initially trained to participate in the Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD) peace processes, which began in October 2002. Although women were promised 25% representation at the conference, they only received 12% (Mulama 2003). Ali Mohamed Ghedi was elected prime minister by the Somali representatives in Kenya (IRIN 2006).
12. Samatar and Samatar 2002, p. 233.
13. Hashim 1990; Williams, 1993; Kapteijns 1993; Kapteijns and Ali, 1999.
14. McGown 1999.
15. Adam and Ford 1997; Gardner and El Bushra 1991.
16. Utteh in Adam and Ford 1997, pp. 449–458.
17. Affi 2004.
18. McMichael, *Journal of Refugee Studies* 15.2 (2002): 171–188.
19. Shire in *Bildhaan* 2004, p. 97.
20. Rhoda M. Ibrahim in Gardner and El Bushra 1991, p. 28–29; Adam and Ford 1997, p. 442.
21. <http://www.epodunk.com/cgi-bin/genInfo.php?locIndex=7861>.
22. <http://www.acf.dhhs.gov/programs/orr/data/fy2004RA.htm>.
23. Letherby 2003, p. 89.
24. Powles 2004, p. 1.
25. Two prominent Somali women in the Clarkston community provided this estimation. They have resided within and worked extensively with the people in the community for a combined twenty years. Therefore, their knowledge of the changes, issues, new refugees and immigrants qualifies them to provide an educated guess as to how many resettled Somali women reside in Clarkston. Due to the paucity of data on the Somali community in general, information from established women within the community is valuable.
26. Jacobsen and Landau 2003, p. 20.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
28. Powles 2004, p. 17.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 14. Conflicts based on kin identity and loyalty contributed to the collapse of the Somali state in 1991 (Ahmed 1995). Kin and sub-kin identity remain a salient factor in Somali communities throughout the diaspora. Violence in Somalia associated with blood ties was a primary catalyst for the 1991 flight of Somalis. Thus, kin identity becomes problematic when outwardly speaking on issues relating to Somalia.
30. Information on the Clarkston women was derived from fifty random surveys and ten interviews conducted in Clarkston, Georgia, in 2000 for this author's dissertation.
31. Menkhaus 2004.
32. Clan-families are groups of clans that trace their lineage through a common male ancestor. These clans divide into smaller kin that further divide into smaller sub-kin, which are then divided into family units. Kin-families primarily found in the south include Hawiye, Dir, Rahanwien, and Digil, and those in the north include the Isaaq, Dir, Hawiye, and Darood. Although these kin-families are found throughout Somalia, they

tend to be concentrated in these particular areas (Lewis 2002). In addition, they tend to reside together in kin-families or sub-kin in the diaspora (Schiller and Nieswand, et al. 2005, p. 8). In order to determine the kin-families and sub-kin the women represented, survey question number two asked the women about their place of birth. Since kin-families occupy various territories throughout Somalia, knowledge of where the women were born would help determine their kin-family or sub-kin.

33. Gardner and El Bushra 2004, p. 11.

34. Ibid., p. 9.

35. Personal Interview. 13 June 2000.

36. Personal Interview. 22 May 2000.

37. Personal Interview. 5 June 2000.

38. Personal Interview. 7 June 2000.

39. Affi 1997.

40. Gardner and El Bushra 2004, pp. 177–178.

41. Personal Interview. 13 June 2000.

42. Personal Interview. 13 June 2000.

43. Personal Interview. 13 June 2000.

44. Personal Interview. 23 June 2000. {indent}

45. Personal Interview. 14 April 2000.

46. Personal Interview. 14 April 2000.

47. Personal Interview. 23 June 2000.

48. Personal Interview. 13 June 2000.

49. Personal Interview. 5 June 2000.

50. Gardner 2004, p. 112.

51. *Qat* is a plant found in East Africa. When the leaves or stalk is chewed, it creates a euphoric state of being that hampers solid judgment (Little 2003, p. 3). Utteh in Adam and Ford, 1997, p. 451.

52. Gardner 2004, p. 10.

53. Personal Interview. 10 May 2000.

54. Personal Interview. 14 April 2000.

55. Personal Interview. 7 June 2000.

56. Personal Interview. 14 April 2000.

57. Personal Interview. 14 April 2000.

58. Personal Interview. 5 June 2000.

59. Personal Interview. 14 April 2000.

60. Personal Interview. 13 June 2000.

61. Personal Interview. 22 May 2000.

62. Personal Interview. 5 June 2000.

63. Personal Interview. 7 June 2000.

64. Indra 1999, p. 232.

65. Lammers 1999, p. 40.

66. Affi in Adam and Ford 1997, p. 443.

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