

PalArch's Journal of Archaeology  
of Egypt / Egyptology

## Bravanese Migrants Habitus In The Periphery: Cultural Transformation Through Integration

*Heena Amir*

Postgraduate Student-Newman University

hanaa251094@gmail.com

**Heena Amir, Bravanese Migrants Habitus In The Periphery: Cultural Transformation Through Integration--- Palarch's Journal Of Archaeology Of Egypt/Egyptology 17(9). ISSN1567-214x, Keywords: Bravanese Migrants, Habitus, Cultural Values, Integration, Discrimination**

### Abstract

Migration development and cultural studies are particularly challenging for researchers who acquire ample information and must be conversant with various social studies such as anthropology, sociology, and political science. In particular, it considers the anthropological understanding of Bravanese migrant's habitus – the adopting patterns of thinking and acting of the "new milieu" after their exodus. Underlying the habitus cleft concept presumes that acquiring a new habitus involves moving away from the previous one (Schneider and Lang 2014, p. 89-90). It reveals patterns of thinking and actions concerning social integration and cultural affiliation. The study argues that Bravanese migrants' ways of thinking and acting concerning social integration and the cultural association may result in two possibilities, "assimilation" and the experience of "discrimination". Most Bravanese migrants maintain intensive relations with family from their "milieu of origin" while others assimilate to the expected habitus in their professional environments and high-ranking positions. Therefore, it aims to document the Bravanese minority group's everyday experiences who feel culturally homeless and are, in effect, marginalised lack a clear sense of belonging. In turn, they may turn to a supportive group that affirms their sense of self-worth and offers a clear understanding of identity (Farooq and Egmond, 2019, p. 7). Thus, conclusions are drawn from Bravanese migrant's habitus re-inscribes position and inform others' denigration and positioning to unpack ongoing struggles for cultural identity and authority in the new field re-draw the common mass (Reay, 2004).

**Keywords:** Bravanese Migrants, Habitus, Cultural Values, Integration, Discrimination.

### 1. Introduction

Migration contributes significantly to all aspects of socio-economic development everywhere, and as such, it will be vital in achieving sustainable development goals (Foresti, 2018, p. 2). The migration and development nexus is essential and not sufficiently reflected in most studies, including recent studies. Evident from the obscure scholarships on ethnic minority migrants in Somalia and their practices regarding development effects (Nyberg-Sørensen et al., 2003). The existing research is often concerned with the nomadic Somalis and far less with other minorities such as the Barawa<sup>1</sup> culture along the coast of east Africa. Barawa was known for its interaction with multiple ethnic groups, businesses, and other Swahili coastal towns integrated with Arab

and Asian traders and settlers (Pouwels, 2002, p. 385-425). The revival of exchanges in the Indian Ocean resulted in growth in the number and size of towns on the East African coast. Although the Islamic pottery continued to come via the Red Sea and Southern Arabia, a resumption of contacts with the Persian Gulf was even appreciable (Horten, 1996, p. 293). Besides, China's economic influence was strongly felt. In 1417 and 1422, two Chinese fleets visited Barawa, hence many of their pottery and growing integration with the world system and Chinese system (Beaujard, 2007, p. 24-25). Barawa was famous for its traditional crafts such as *Kofiya Baraawi* (hats), *Kikoy or Alindi* (cloth), traditional sandals, belts, shields, cooking pots, and horned clay stoves seen in heybon pottery. The local Bravanese people produced various styles of furniture-making such as Atiir (wedding bed), Wambar (wooden or leather-covered stools), Mihail (Qur'an holder), and gold and silver jewelry for commercial gain. Moreover, corals that burned to make lime for the buildings transported by camels' carts, a traditional skill that was much more economical as it did not use imported cement (Mukhtar, 2003, p. 51). Barawa and other coastal towns in East Africa, alongside Arabia, Persia, and Malabar were flourishing, especially with their trading business (Vernet 2009).

Until 1503, when the Portuguese expedition force destroyed the city Barawa (Njoku, 2013). In 1506, European interruption in widely practiced trade, especially the Portuguese forts on the Indian trades, would capture Indian ships. As soon as Barawa liberated itself from the Portuguese due to its league with other coastal towns in 1758, it later became part of the Zanzibar Sultanate's coastal alliances. In 1840, the Bardera Jama'a looking for an outlet, attacked the people of Barawa and burned the town, and Barawas appealed to the Sultan of Zanzibar for protection (Mukhtar, 2003, p. 51). Despite the onslaught of Bardera Jama'a, the port city of Barawa established a key transit center for goods coming from the interior and arriving from across the Indian Ocean. It also became a target of imperial expansions by the Sultanate of Zanzibar, the Italians, and the British (Dua, 2017). Within this shifting world, these port cities shaped their own political and commercial destinies. As early as the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, tribal chiefs and merchants in the port of Barawa maneuvered strategically within various regional powers otherwise brought into line with the Sultan of Zanzibar in their bid to drive the British ship out (Dua 2017, p. 10). In 1889, Barawa fell into Italians' hands when the Sultan of Zanzibar was forced to reach an agreement to the Banadir ports' annexation to the Italian colonial administration, to which Barawa resisted. Barawa began to decline during the colonial era as advanced port facilities established in Mogadishu and Marka – post-independence also neglected Barawa town (Mukhtar, 2003, p. 51).

To some extent, Barawa shared a similar history to other regions located on the east African coast (Vernet, 2009). The richness of Bravanese living conditions in Barawa had in later centuries shifted dramatically through subjugation. From 1974, the people of Barawa suffered due to the refugee settlement programs of Sablaale, where over 5000 nomads from drought areas were ineffectively taught fishing and agriculture as a new way of life. The new settlers turned the urban lifestyle of Barawa into a nomadic lifestyle leaving many Barawas to leave their town, resulting in their cultural prosperity, commercial gain, and characteristics fading away as Bravanese communities were known for trade and business (Mukhtar, 2003). Barawa, a minority group, sought refuge in IDP<sup>2</sup> camps and migrated within and out of Africa from where many studies were not able to gather any further data (Gundel, 2003, p. 249). Therefore, the study is concerned with how migration has changed and shaped Bravanese migrants' thinking about their culture. The differences they perceive in their lifestyle, ethnic belonging, and cultural affiliation through discovering Bravanese migrants' transferrable attitudes across space to the place of origin. With this, the objective is to investigate the movement of Bravanese<sup>3</sup> migrants to a new field. There are ultimately limits to the

---

<sup>2</sup> Internally Displaced People: People who have to flee home due to conflict or persecution but do not cross borders due to no means or physical strength to take the hazardous journey and hence it is almost impossible for aid organisations to reach them. The fundamental difference is that IDP stay within their country whilst refugees' cross border and are protected by international law whilst IDPs have to rely on their government for protection. IDPs are twice as many compared to refugees and are most vulnerable displaced person and their needs are property, jobs, livelihoods (UNHCR 2020).

<sup>3</sup> Majority of local historians have related the origins of Barawas to the Arabs, Egyptians, Persians, Indians, and even Javanese. Similarly, other scholars suggest that the descendants of Barawas are immigrants from Arabia and Persia (Eno 2008). In parallel, Lieut W. Christopher observes upon his arrival in Barawa in 1843 as the location being near the sea and a well-built town that belonged to the Arabs (Bombay Geographical Society 1865 p. 386).

possibilities of reinventing and transforming the habitus<sup>4</sup> of Bravanese migrants through integration in the social fields. The emphasis on habitus enables determining the behavioural transformation and exploring the shifting attitudes in everyday cultural values observing the outcomes of Bravanese migrant's integration through semi-structured interviews.

This study has focused on multiple aspects of Bravanese migrants and highlighted their cultural transformation through integration. First of all this manuscript has highlighted the methodological sample of study then explained the habitus of Bravanese migrants and outcome of their integration. Moreover, the implications of study from perspective of Bravanese migrants' culture development are also discussed.

## 2. Methodological Sample

The study produces a qualitative approach of semi-structured interviews to understand Bravanese migrant's habitus of culture. The semi-structured interview does contain structured questions, allowing informants to share their everyday experiences. It explores the patterns of Bravanese migrants' migration outside Barawa and the impact of integration on their cultural practices in Britain – evaluating whether the outcomes of integration resulted in the positive or negative outcome of Bravanese migrants' cultural identity.

## 3. Bourdieu's "Cleft Habitus"

The cleft habitus concept is useful for examining sequential temporal processes (Potter, 2000; Vaughan, 2000). It serves as a tool to explore how emotions influence our judgments, steer our life projects, and affect our values (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 160-161). Individuals pursuing their life projects may find themselves situated in different fields and spaces at other moments. Thus, individual habitus is always a relatively unique set of life experiences that combine different social settings and unfold over time (Flisbäck, 2014, p. 56). Habitus is created processual in the face of rules and reward derived from diverse and constituted social environments' (Bourdieu, 2000; Peters, 2011, p. 68). Researchers have not thoroughly neglected Bourdieu's (2002) notion of habitus. The concept of habitus as a framework works as a practical sense of place, producing everyday life rituals (McKay, 2001, p. 44). McKay's work in the Philippines explores how new bodily dispositions create a local habitus transformed through transnational movement engagement. Bauder's work depicts that migrants bring dispositions from their habitus, including their expectations and preferences relating to the labour market (Bauder 2006). These dispositions are carried to a new habitus in which changes apply – denoting that carrying habitus of foreign place likely consigns migrants to marginality. Likewise, disorientation and displacement of migrants navigate new habitus while acknowledging the transnational character of such experiences (Friedmann, 2002, p. 311). Bourdieu's notion adds to the existing practice of possibilities of an encompassing heuristic (Bourdieu, 2002-2004). Bravanese migrants' can be transported by ethnic networks, social ties, cultural identity transformation, and economic resources together in a holistic vocabulary. Migration studies in the context of cultural marginalization, political upheaval, and economic deprivation have a usual assumption that migrants who have settled and established new lives have abandoned their previous way of lives. Some studies have defined migrant's everyday life as both "here" and "there" (Baas, 2013; McKeown, 2001). Transnationalism can be defined as a "process in which migrants forge multistranded social relations linked to their settlement and place of origin" (Basch et al., 1994, p. 6).

---

Whereas, I.M. Lewis (1994) suggest there are alleged descendants of Israeli escapes who fled from their ancient settlement in the era of Islamic expansion. Contrasting, Mukhtar (2003) points out, historically Barawas are *Bantu, Tunni, Jiddu, Ajuran*, and *Galla* who are various African ethnicities that fought each other through centuries. In the 10<sup>th</sup> Century, they accepted the first Muslim migrants the *Hatimi* and *Amawi* who migrated for commercial and religious reasons.

<sup>4</sup> Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) defines habitus as "durable installed sets of dispositions; that tends to generate perception and practices, works and appreciations, which concur with the condition of existence of which habitus itself is the product" (Thomas 1991, p. 14).

Transnationals are also classified as "activities and occupation require sustained social contacts across borders for their implementation and incorporate global structures of power, dependence, and inequality" (Portes et al., 1999, p. 219). Other researchers believe transnational practices "emerged from colonialism (Espiritu, 2003, p. 72). Hence gendered and racialized representations and economic and political dependency arose from it which situated migration in global capitalism and history of conquest". His arguments in parallel to Bourdieu's lexicon calls for attention to the everyday lived experiences and practices of migrants by incorporating structural power relations into the analysis (Kelly and Lusic, 2006, p. 832). The concept of transnationalism helps discover migrants' everyday stories regarding social integration in host societies (Mountz and Wright, 1996). However, Bourdieu's conceptual vocabulary attempts to go beyond rational choice and economism to understand the connections and transcend the analytical distinctions between cultural, social, and economic processes. In this way, it provides analytical avenues for bringing migrants into everyday life with structural circumstances that are often not their choice. Thus, one may argue that habitus itself is transnationalised (Kelly and Lusic, 2006, p. 831-7).

#### 4. The Habitus of Bravanese Migrants

Barawa is one of the unknown marginalized communities in East Africa, and only few studies focused on this community. The position of marginalization is derivative from a deviated feeling, which creates three possible responses by agents. First, "counter-culture", one's sense of otherness or rejection of values held by an established group (Bourdieu, 2004). Second, the "symbolic violence", when the repressed understand its feeling of marginalized position as a cause triggered by their actions, thus becoming victims. In such cases, the actors are bound by situations in which they have internalized dominant interpretations (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 138-141). Third, "cleft habitus", the acceptance of established rules and the feeling of sharing the standard belief system, creates a reflexive, creative, and critical eye. This critical stance may direct to resist these conditions, likewise, paradoxically, sustaining a longing for hope and recognition for the future (Bourdieu, 2008, p. 100, 107). With this, the experiences and varied expressions of some Bravanese Migrants encompass the reinforcing cultural norms over history and character of surrounding, which in turn envelop identity (O'Riordan, 2019). Likewise, ethnic and economic diversity may impact migrants' perceptions and experiences – this overemphasis the notion of learned behaviour, cultural acceptance, and identity for Bravanese migrant's development.

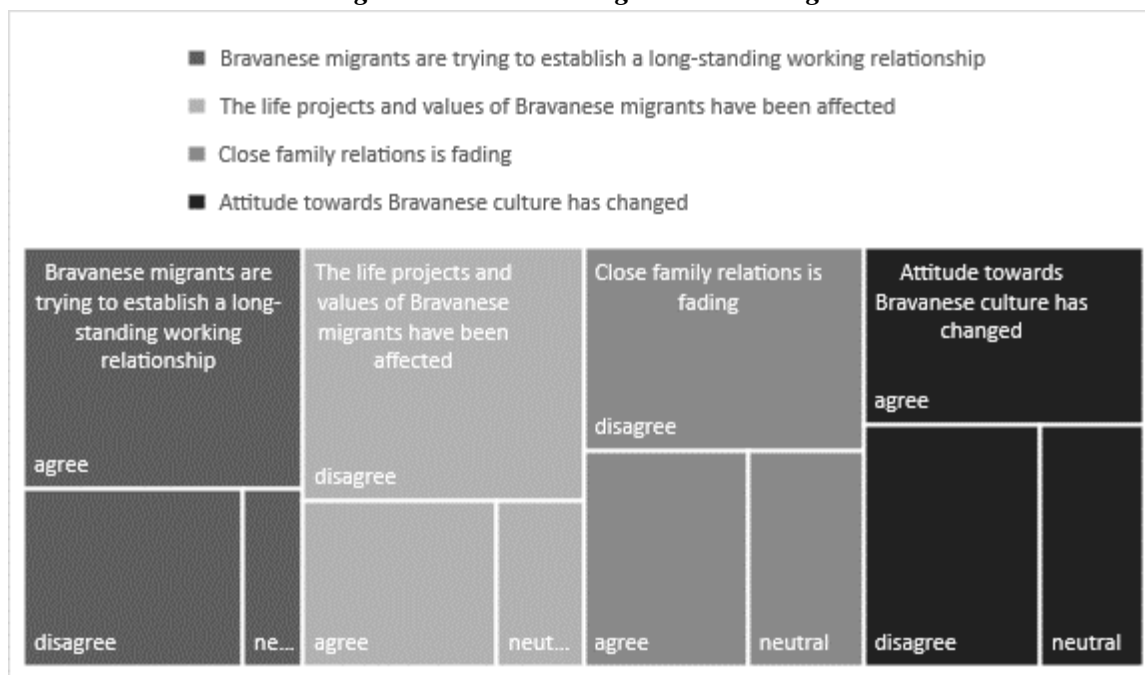
*Figure 1* shows that a large number of Bravanese migrants are trying to establish a long-standing working relationship. Meaning, a large number require or struggle to develop and identify shared values and goals. *Faye*, a female migrant who lives in outskirts London shares her experience of struggle in establishing a long-standing working relationship:

"I worked at my previous job for four months only. I had to leave! I could not balance my culture and occupation. The workplace was overcrowded, and there was not a single African person. My colleagues would bring their dogs in the office, and I was not happy with the dogs next to me. Every day I would look at the time, hoping to go home. Later, I found a new job. At my current job, I can dress the way I want, interact with clients and colleagues from other ethnic groups. Now I do not look at the time; in fact, I often work overtime".

Deducing information through *Faye's* habitus, her taste, dress, and behavior are not associated with host country alternatives who live nearby or present at her four-month job position (Bourdieu 1984). With changing time and space, migrants experience new circumstances favoring or countering their hopes. *Faye's* habitus represents both a 'structured' and 'structuring' force in explaining social action. Migrants located in neighboring positions in social space socialize with similar 'conditions of existence' (Bourdieu argued 1990). In other words, stocks of capital and distance from material necessity act to form individuals' 'structure', such as *Faye's* habitus. In turn, this structure generates 'structuring' dispositions that guide social practice (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 60). The social approach in *Faye's* instance exemplifies her complex social entities altering into a non-complex lifestyle that

well along developed her capital through mix-integration – this enabled *Faye* to establish a long-standing working relationship.

**Figure 1: Understanding Bravanese Migrants Habitus**



Source: (Authors questionnaire survey, 2020)

In *figure 1*, some Bravanese migrants like *Faye*, at first instance, struggled to establish a long-standing working relationship. The reason lies in their attitudes and believes that Bravanese migrants cannot compromise their cultural values in line with Islamic norms, even with the increased capital. Individuals may recognize that failing to adhere to Bravanese culture to establish long-standing relationships may imply the outcome of losing affiliation towards the Bravanese culture or perhaps tolerance towards the standards in the host country. Thus, in some other cases, migrants may face exclusion and disadvantage (Light, 2007). In contrast, some other workers assimilate to seek employment by appreciating the congenial conditions of life enjoyed by people in the host country (Jiobu, 1988; Johnston, 2012). A direct outcome of this is visible in agreed responses who believe their values and life projects have been affected by the surrounding ethnic values even though the vast majority of Bravanese migrants disagreed that their life is affected by the ethnic networks. Of course, not all Bravanese migrants face disadvantages at their workplace and must have some access to resources. Whether these resources stem from their ethnicity remains a question. Thus, there is an urgency to address possible ways to establish working relations while upholding "own" ethnic values rather than "other" ethnic values to preserve Bravanese identity. These solutions may relate to creating the Bravanese association in which everyday life projects, neither migrant's ethnic capital is affected to create some belonging. Hence, there is not much of a discrepancy between agreed, neutral, and disagreed responses, yet close family ties prevail among Bravanese migrants.

However, the continuation of close family relations enables Bravanese migrants to create a strong community network, helping to retain Bravanese cultural values. The unidentified and unexplored development of a strong community network may result in the loss of Bravanese culture. It may be due to Bravanese migrants' actions that can significantly alter their social group's usual activities even if one is unaware of the objective constraints inscribing the possibilities open to us (Bourdieu, 1990). Bravanese migrants mould what is consider, what is worth aspiring to and achievable as time changes and the objective probability of acquiring specific goals alter, but the practical experience remains formative. The habitus can change slowly, and it predominates, it is long-term and unconscious (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 9). Evident from the majority of Bravanese migrants, they agreed that

their behavior changed through the diverse interaction. Some may argue that losing the cultural forms of classification, identification, and duties among migrant's links to modernity. The diversity of choices forces migrants to monitor reflexively in their actions and fashion their lifestyles as "routinized practices" (Oliver and O'Reilly, 2010). The concept of habitus among Bravanese migrants pertinent for considering migrants' commencing afresh in new domains (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53). For a reason, often starting fresh in new fields likely results in migrant's assimilation and loss of cultural ties. Hence, the vast majority of Bravanese migrants experienced a gradual loss of attachment to their culture through diverse interactions. Simultaneously, some remained unclear whether their cultural behavior is stable or transformed though a few Bravanese migrants rejected the behavioral and cultural change. Thus, *Faye* situated strong emphases on close ties with her community, even at her workplace to assuredly practice culture. According to Bourdieu, durability is also a vital source of psychological stability because it ensures that one's practices are preconsciously orchestrated with, and validated by, those from homologous social backgrounds 'through the systematic 'choices' it makes (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 52-64). In *Faye's* case, her habitus tends to protect itself from crises by providing a milieu to which it is pre-adapted (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 61). As a result of this, most Bravanese migrant's habitus in the host society fields does not circulate economic inequalities but symbolic and cultural forms (Lawler, 2005). Therefore, applying the concept of habitus to Bravanese culture contributes to structural behavior in the field of social science (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 14).

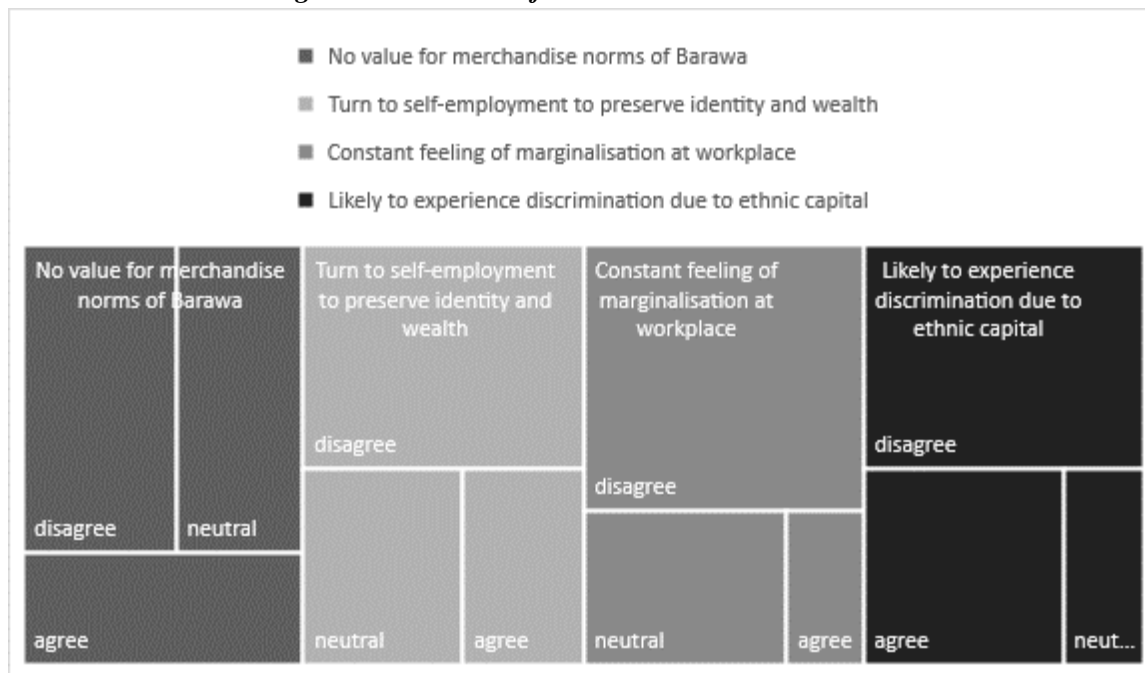
## 5. The Outcome of Bravanese Migrant's Integration

In the 20th Century, class struggle was the key framework within political and social struggles (Borchorst and Teigen, 2010). In the contemporary socio-historical context, people who previously defined themselves, their adversaries, and socio-political issues in terms of economic position now define these in terms of ethnicity and nationality (Rydgren, 2013, p. 9). As a result, many fundamental problems, such as welfare state, inequality, and citizenship, are addressed as race and culture matters (Soysal, 2009). Many researchers have argued that "capitalist societies seem to curb unemployment and tackle exclusion among migrants" (González-González et al., 2011). These social groups experienced marginalization and discrimination in domestic, family, and paid employment in migrant's homeland (Anuld, 2003). Research has primarily addressed why migrants have a greater propensity for self-employment than natives. Researchers have considered cultural traits, ethnic solidarity, ethnic organization, and sojourning orientation as critical cultural factors (Bonacich, 1973; Light, 1972). They have also cited discrimination in the mainstream labor market, disadvantages associated with immigrant statuses, such as lack of proficiency in the host society's dominant language and lack of transferable professional skills and educational credentials, and the availability of unpaid family labor or low-paid co-ethnic labor as critical structural factors (Bates, 1998; Portes and Zhou, 1992; Waldinger, 1986). For example, migrants in the United States, many of whom are ethnic minorities lacking English language fluency, more often report "blocked mobility" as a reason for becoming self-employed than to their English-proficient counterparts (Raijman and Tienda, 2000; Wang, 2010). Avoiding "blocked opportunities" and lagging acculturation into the host society are reinforced by a "sojourner" cast of minds where immigrants see themselves as transients rather than settlers (Wang, 2010).

Migrants' experience of discrimination can likewise be an outcome of "blocked opportunities". The view of discrimination among migrants may indicate how accepted or welcomed they are by the local population, and therefore, relevance in their integration development (De Vroome et al., 2014). Studies have shown that migrant groups who are ethnically and culturally distant from the local majority population are likely to experience discrimination (Dancgier and Laitin, 2014). Whereas, migrants from less developed destinations are often perceived negatively than those from developed countries, regardless of their characteristics (Kustov, 2019). It demonstrates that the ascriptive features drove migration policy in the past, but current policies are based on non-discrimination (Ellermann and Goenaga, 2019). It may argue that migration shapes and transforms the attitudes of migrants, evident from the data analysis in *figure 2*. The scientific description of Bravanese migrants

changing attitudes and preserving traditional culture in *figure 2* is embodied in the epistemological framework of Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1930-2002).

**Figure 2: Outcomes of Bravanese Culture in Economic Practice**



(Source: Authors questionnaire survey, 2020)

In *figure 2*, most Bravanese migrants valued their norms of Barawa constructing some visibility and practice of Bravanese norms. While some Bravanese migrants could not agree nor disagree were neutral. Perhaps due to the veneration to merchandise norms but vis-à-vis Bravanese culture in practice among migrants remains somewhat invisible. Indicating dual disposition among actors were factual determination towards belonging cannot be made. In consideration, it becomes essential to analyze whether Bravanese migrants would turn to self-employment to preserve their identity and capital, by which the majority of Bravanese migrants disagreed. The reason being, Bravanese migrants did not experience "blocked opportunities" or found no prosperity in undertaking business or entrepreneurial roles. An insignificant number of Bravanese migrants want to preserve their identity and wealth through self-employment because migrants often experience difficulty entering job markets. There is empirical evidence that immigrant job search in the United Kingdom is less successful than that of individuals born in the United Kingdom (Frijters, Shields, and Price, 2005). Mainly due to language differences, cultural dissimilarities, and lack of access to particular goods (Levie, 2007).

However, most Bravanese migrants do not find it necessary to turn to self-employment to preserve their identity and wealth. They may have adopted the host country's lifestyle where a wide range of employment prospects are obtainable. In such cases, it is possible that Bravanese migrants made cultural sacrifices and gained economic position. In fact, it is surprising that an insignificant proportion of Bravanese migrants felt marginalized at the workplace. In contrast, a few numbers of Bravanese migrants would experience discrimination due to their ethnic capital. Hence, Bravanese migrants are less likely to feel marginalized in working domains as legislations are in place to protect workers, migrants' rights, and equal opportunity and non-discriminatory policies, yet some feel discriminated at their workplace ethnic capital. Although the proportion is not significant, it cannot oversee the Bravanese migrants' marginalized feeling at their workplace. Braveness migrants, a social minority group, consequently experience discrimination in paid employment. To overcome prejudice, some migrants instead turn to their merchandise norms to sustain their capital. Thus, turning to merchandise norms can be often seen as a reactive adaption to geographical, cultural, and psychological dislocation (Light and Bonacich, 1988).

However, people belonging to different social classes hold different views and shape different attitudes and abilities (American Psychology Association, 2019). The difference in attitudes may also relate to the habitually supposed notion that the lower-class have less opportunity than everyone else (OECD, 2011). Evident in *figure 2*, the vast majority belonging to the lower-class groups valued their Bravanese merchandise norms. However, perceiving migrants of lower social class have rarer liberal attitudes and values than the upper class in market competition, trust, and upward mobility (Manstead, 2018). Bravanese migrants from lower social class; their responses reflect the existing downward social mobility that created higher aspirations and sturdy attachment towards Bravanese culture and values. *Abba*, a lower-working-class migrant who is self-employed and runs a tailoring store, remarks about his everyday economic practice:

**Abba:** Life is hard, the money is not enough, but the positivity is that I am in charge. I want to study and open another business so I can make more money.

**ME:** What is wrong with your current job?

**Abba:** I often experience problems with some Somali customers.

**ME:** Why?

**Abba:** Some are troublesome when they come to my shop. They do not want to purchase anything but instead bring their troubling stories. I cannot ignore them as I do not want to cause any difficulties for myself. So, I have to be careful when dealing with customers like that.

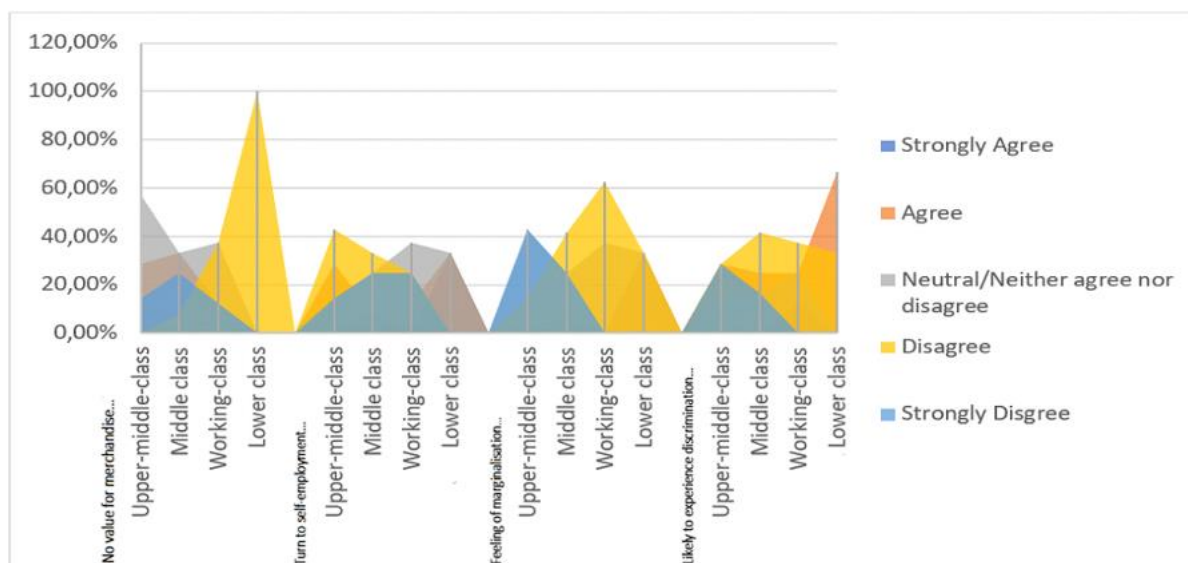
**ME:** Do customers from other ethnic groups bother you?

**Abba:** It depends from person to person but rarely other ethnic groups come into my shop.

*Abba's* complaint reveals how, despite the homogeneous community not concerned with status, lower-working class migrants re-inscribe certain divisions. *Abba's* behavior resonates with the former customary integration norms at the workplace, where fear may occur from the varied populace with changing time and space. Thus far, Bravanese merchandise norms remain vibrant regardless of the satisfaction and dissatisfaction around social integration and economic progress. With a lack of capital or encounters with discrimination, migrants such as *Abba* presumably turn to self-employment as almost a last resort (Ward, 1987). In the theoretical context of the latest immigration literature, "entrepreneurship has emerged as a neglected but potent influence upon the economic and social integration of migrants" (Hum, 2006, p. 13). In this case, migrants regularly start businesses within ethnic enclaves. Enclaves provide typically low returns but offer protected markets that non-ethnic capitalists have difficulty entering because of language differences, cultural dissimilarities, and lack of access to particular goods (Zhou, 2004). They contest the belief that Bravanese culture did not matter despite the reaffirmation of social class distinctions, positions, and trajectory. *Abba's* remark in parallel depicts durable systems among lower-working class migrant populace even with the commencing difficulties in integration, which complements data in *figure 3*.

**Figure 3: Integrating Socioeconomic Class**





Source: (Authors questionnaire survey, 2020)

Figure 3 analyses the attitudes of Bravane migrants in the upper-middle-class towards self-employment. Upper-middle-class Bravane migrants are less likely to turn to self-employment to sustain their identity and wealth than the lower-working-class. A disadvantage perspective argues that job scarcity or lower wages induced by discrimination pushes the discriminated group members into self-employment, in contrast to those who perceive themselves as a middle class found to have values that are likely to contribute to economic growth (OECD, 2011). Thus, Bravane migrants belonging to the upper-middle-class group find themselves well settled, living a prosperous life with sufficient capital and security, and did not see the necessity to turn to self-employment. Whereas, most Bravane migrants belonging to lower-working-class have not secured protection nor attained prosperous living. Therefore, they have taken a firm stand towards self-employment in anticipation of increased economic growth while not compromising their Bravane cultural values that their ancestors upheld. Likewise, studies from the 1980s found that self-employed and entrepreneurs' potential wages and wage growth are not significantly different from paid employees' salaries and growth (Brock and Evans, 1986; Rees and Shah, 1986; Evans and Leighton, 1989).

Notwithstanding the insignificant ratio among all social status experience marginalization. Therefore, it is not surprising that many Bravane migrants from the lower-class indicated their concern around discrimination at the workplace compared to the upper-middle-class. The negative impact of discrimination can affect migrants, especially regarding identity, differences, race, and color, ethnic or national origin in host countries (Bhambra, 2017). The lack of capital or encounters with discrimination in paid employment migrants of lower-working-class may presumably turn to self-employment (Ward, 1987). Therefore, Bravane migrants of lower-class likely valued their merchandise norms but are undecided whether to turn to self-employment. Particularly, suppose disadvantages are associated with migrants' social statuses. In that case, they lack transferable professional skills and low-paid co-ethnic labor as critical structural factors, with the social and economic deprivation, discrimination, and absence of equity fallouts in complications reaching the 2030 development agenda (IPCC, 2014; Zhang et al., 2007; Roser and Ortiz-Ospina, 2013). The universal application to sustainable development is achievable by addressing Bravane migrant's development rights undermined by their political migration (Holliday, Henneby, and Gammage, 2018).

## 6. Implications for Bravane Migrants Cultural Development

The study conveys implications for some Bravane migrants who experience the concurrent struggle of upholding Bravane identity. Therefore, it is vital to address the strengthening strategies of Bravane migrants' materialistic and non-materialistic well-being and capabilities. It requires the 2030 sustainable development

agenda to protect human well-being, eradicating deprivations across multiple dimensions, and expanding capabilities while safeguarding Bravanese culture on which some Bravanese migrants depend. Pathways to advance materialistic and non-materialistic well-being and sustain culture requires cooperation, collaboration, and dialogue between multiple actors and many transformation levers. There is no single pathway, and there are different combinations of efforts required from the Bravanese migrants themselves. Unspoken realities of Barawa as an ethnic minority group should be addressed and measure to shape the development planning process of Bravanese culture with improved coordination with other landmark United Nations agreements. Governments should invest in building human capabilities so that Bravanese migrants can shape their everyday life and bring about collective change and preserve their cultural identity. Simultaneously, some Bravanese migrants should provide shared goals and pursue them in the face of social inequalities. Those groups need to have the freedom to organize, besides having optimal access to information and knowledge, thus boosting their aptitudes to contribute to the cultural sustainability transformation at social and economic levels of some Bravanese migrants' culture.

## 7. Conclusion

The science of migration explicates social dynamics with human mobility as the norm rather than a discrete event. The modifying patterns in the socio-economic domain point out distinctions in behavior and attitude are somehow crucial in social positions and even when some Bravanese migrants are starting afresh. In such cases, assimilation may occur to avoid possible discrimination experience. It dismissively declares that "egalitarian sentiments are common in unequal societies" (Sayer, 2005, p. 171). Thus, Bravanese migrant seems to reinvent themselves due to discriminatory powers because many are economically better off but socially disadvantaged. Bravanese migrant's habitus transformed in developing equity and prosperity because ideas from their migration perform a crucial role in changing social and economic life (Reay, 2004). In such circumstances, the symbolic becomes particularly important, and expressions of Bravanese cultural values are re-drawn as a basis of distinction. Their habitus re-inscribes position and informs the denigration and positioning of others. While ongoing struggles for power and authority in the new field re-draw the common mass, some Bravanese migrant's habitus transformed in the course of prosperity because ideas from migration play a key role in transforming socio-economic life. They represent Bravanese migrants' intrinsic part of social transformation (Adger et al., 2019). The rhetoric supposedly informing a new way of life of Bravanese migrants prescribes a new beginning, freedom, and choice. In contrast, most of the Bravanese migrants objectively fall because most of them have a vague sense of belonging. It requires the right approach to fully understand Bravanese migrant's integration process through exchange and valuation studied via transnational social fields after Bravanese migrant's exodus (Kelly and Lusia, 2006, p. 837). Thus, the process of culture for Bravanese migrants require transformation and adoption in at least two intersection categories: ethnicity and social class. The process of Bravanese migrants' culture explains the change among Bravanese migrants through the used concept in the literature on cleft habitus and integration, a term defined by Pierre Bourdieu's empirical studies in which differentiating functions of preferences within different social classes (Bourdieu, 1984). Some Bravanese migrants have adopted new habitus as a permanent transformation. In contrast, others have demonstrated stability and continuity in their behaviour and attitudes (Schneider and Lang, 2014, p. 102).

## REFERENCES

1. Beaujard, Philippe. 2007. 'East Africa, the Comoros Islands and Madagascar Before the Sixteenth Century: on a neglected part of the world system. Azania', in *the journal of the British Institute of History and Archaeology in East Africa*. Routledge/ Taylor & Francis Online, No. 42, pp.15-35.
2. Bauder, Harald. 2006. "Habitus, rules of the labour market and employment strategies of immigrants in Vancouver, Canada", in *Social and Cultural Geography*. Vol. 6, pp. 81-97.

3. Bourdieu, Pierre. 2008. *Sketch for a Self-analysis*. English Ed edition. University of Chicago Press, Chicago
4. Bourdieu, Pierre. 2004. *Science of Science and Reflexivity*. Polity.
5. Bourdieu, Pierre. 2002, ``Habitus'', in *Habitus: A Sense of Place* Eds J Hillier, E Rooksby (Ashgate, Aldershot, Hants) pp. 27-36.
6. Bourdieu, Pierre. 2000. *The Bachelors' Ball: The Crisis of Pleasant Society in Béarn*. Polity.
7. Bourdieu, Pierre. 2000. *Pascalian Meditation*. US: Standford University.
8. Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
9. Bourdieu, Pierre. and Wacquant, Loïc. 1992. *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
10. Dool, Abdullahi. 2000. *Somalia: A Creative Political Philosophy for the New Somali Generation*. Horn Heritage Publications.
11. Dua, Jatin. 2017. 'Somalia and the Indian Ocean World', *Danish Institute for International Studies*.
12. González-González, J. Maria., Bretones, D. Francisco., Zarco, Victoria. and Rodríguez, Andres. 2011. 'Women Immigration and Entrepreneurship in Spain: A Confluence of Debates in the Face of Complex Reality', in *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 34, No. 5, pp. 360-370.
13. Harkness, Whitney. 2011. 'Cultural Relativism: Perspectives on Somali Female Circumcision in Mombasa', *Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection*. 1198. Available at [https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp\\_collection/1198](https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/1198).
14. Hum, Tarry. 2006. 'Immigrant and Minority Entrepreneurship: The Continuous Rebirth of American Communities', in *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol. 25, No. 2/3, pp. 302-303.
15. IOM, UNHCR, and the UN. 2018. Policy Guide on Entrepreneurship for Migrants and Refugees, in *United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)*. Available at [https://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/diae2018d2\\_en.pdf](https://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/diae2018d2_en.pdf).
16. Jama, Dualeh. Ahmed. 1996. 'The Origins and Development of Mogadishu AD 1000 to 1850: A Study of the Urban Growth Along the Benadir Coast of Southern Somalia', in *African Archaeology*, Vol. 12, ISSN 0284-5040.
17. Kelly, Philip. and Lusia, Tom. 2006. 'Migration and the transnational habitus: evidence from Canada and the Philippines'. *Environment and Planning*, Vol. 38, pp. 831-847.
18. Lefebvre, Henri. 2004. *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*. A&C Black.
19. Levie, Jonathan. 2007. 'Immigration, In-Migration, Ethnicity and Entrepreneurship in the United Kingdom', in *Small Business Economics*, Vol. 28, pp. 143–169. DOI 10.1007/s11187-006-9013-2.
20. Light, Ivan Hubert, and Bhachu, Parminder. 1994. 'Immigration and Entrepreneurship: Culture, Capital, and Ethnic Networks', in *American Sociological Association: Contemporary Sociology*, Vol. 23, No. 5, pp. 650-651
21. McKay, Deirdre. 2001. "Migration and masquerade: gender and habitus in the Philippines", in *Geography Research Forum*, Vol. 21, No. 44 ^ 56.
22. Mukhtar, Mohamed Haji. 2003. *Historical Dictionary of Somalia*. UK: Scarecrow Press.
23. Njoku, Raphael. 2013. *The History of Somalia: The Greenwood Histories of the Modern Nations*. ABC-CLIO. ISBN: 0313378584, 9780313378584.
24. Nyberg-Sørensen, Ninna., Van Hear, Nicholas., and Engberg-Pedersen, Poul. 2003. 'The Migration–Development Nexus: Evidence and Policy Options', in *Wiley Library: International Migration*, Vol. 40, No.5, pp. 3-47.
25. Oliver, Caroline. and O'Reilly, Karen. 2010. 'A Bourdieusian Analysis of Class and Migration: Habitus and the Individualising Process, in *Sociology*', Vol. 44, No. 1, pp. 49-66.
26. Portes, Alejandro. 2010. *Economic Sociology: A Systematic Inquiry*. Oxford: Princeton University Press.

27. Price, Charles. 1969. 'The Study of Assimilation' in J.A. Jackson ed (1969), pp. 181-237.
28. ReliefWeb. 1996. *Somalia Refugees Situation Report No. 3 - Kenya*. [ONLINE] Available at <https://reliefweb.int/report/kenya/somalia-refugees-situation-report-no-3>. [Accessed 28 March 2020].
29. Thondhlana, Juliet. 2018. 'On becoming a skilled migrant: towards habitus transformation through higher education', in *Education Review*.
30. UNHCR. 2005. FINAL REPORT: Self-reliance and sustainable livelihoods for refugees in Dadaab and Kakuma camps. Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/4326a7542.pdf>.
31. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. 2020. UNHCR – Internally Displaced People. [ONLINE] Available at <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/internally-displaced-people.html>. [Accessed 11 July 2020].
32. Vernet, Thomas. 2012. 'Slave trade and slavery on the Swahili coast (1500-1750)', *Slavery, Islam and Diaspora, Africa World Press*, pp. 37-76, Halshs-00671040, <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00671040>.
33. Wang, Qingfang. 2010. 'Immigration and Ethnic Entrepreneurship: A Comparative Study in the United States', in *Growth and Change*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (September), pp. 430–458.
34. Zhou, Min., and Liu, Hong. 2015. 'Transnational Entrepreneurship and Immigrant Integration: New Chinese Immigrants in Singapore and the United States', In *Immigration and Work Research in The Sociology of Work*, Vol. 27, Emerald Group Publishing Limited, Pp. 169-201. <https://doi.org/10.1108/S0277-283320150000027021>.