

Social Integration and the Sense of Hope among Somali Youth in Australia and the United States

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I. Study Methodologies

This study is a qualitative investigation comparing the experiences of young men born in Somalia and now living in Minneapolis, United States, with those living in Melbourne, Australia. The study took place over a two-and-a-half-year period and involved fieldwork in the two communities. The overall study design included a mix of methods including unstructured interviews, in-depth interviews using a theme list, and examination of secondary data sources, including newspapers, statistical information, and print and media materials. The total number of formal interviews conducted as part of the study was eighty, representing thirty young participants and fifty other interviewees, including parents, key community members, and six focus group members. The study also included participant observation in both study settings.

This study was carried out in two field sites, the northwest suburbs of Melbourne and the Cedar Riverside neighbourhood of Minneapolis. According to the 2006 census, Melbourne is home to 2,593 people who were born in Somalia, most of whom arrived after 1991 as a consequence of the civil war.¹ The majority of Somalis settled in north-western Melbourne, although there are communities in the inner-ring suburbs and the west. The northwest suburbs are culturally diverse and the specific areas where Somalis settled can be characterized as low-income with a high proportion of public housing.

Minneapolis is home to around 50,000 Somali refugees, most of whom arrived after 1991.² The Cedar Riverside Neighbourhood in

Minneapolis is one of the areas with the highest number of Somali refugees.

II. Somali Communities in Australia and the United States

Since the civil war began in Somalia in 1991, many Somalis have fled to countries like Australia and the United States seeking refuge and asylum. "Somali Diaspora communities are often heavily concentrated in certain towns and cities," such as Minneapolis, Columbus (Ohio), London, Toronto, and Melbourne.³ Both Australia and the U.S.A. are signatories to the 1951 Refugee Convention and have accepted obligations to protect and assist refugees. They are two of the sixteen countries that resettle refugees on a regular basis through the UNHCR program.

A. Australia

A significant number of Somalis have arrived in Australia, particularly Victoria, under the Refugee and Special Humanitarian Program and the Family Reunion program, particularly during the period 1991–2001.⁴ As the 2006 Census shows, the Somali-born population in Australia numbered 4,313 persons. The largest concentration, more than 2,624 (60%), was in Victoria, particularly in Melbourne (2,593); 629 (14.6%) people were in Western Australia; 577 (13.4%) were in New South Wales, and just 18 (0.4%) people lived in the Australian Capital Territory. (See Table 1)

According to the 2006 Census, only twenty-four Somali-born people arrived in Victoria before 1986; 96 arrived between 1986 and 1990; and 699 between 1991 and 1995. The number of Somali-born in Victoria

Table 1. Distribution within Australia of Somali-Born Population

State	Somali-Born Number
Victoria	2,624 (Melbourne 2,593)
Western Australia	629
New South Wales	577
Queensland	257
South Australia	184
Northern Territory	24
Australia Capital City	18
Total	4313

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2006 and Victorian Multicultural Commission (2007).

increased to 1,037 between 1996 and 2001. The Somali community in Australia is highly urbanized, with 98.7 percent living in capital cities. The largest numbers of Somalis in Melbourne are concentrated in the Local Government Areas of Moonee Valley, Banyule, City of Melbourne, Darebin, Maribyrnong, Hume, and Greater Dandenong. There are also a number of Somalis in Brimbank, Yarra, and Whittlesea.⁵

B. The United States of America

Immigration Department records show that the first Somali arrivals entered the U.S.A. in the 1920s in search of education and employment.⁶ Additionally, Immigration and Naturalization Services sources state that in the early 1980s, fewer than 100 Somalis were admitted each year, mainly comprised of skilled migrants and students.⁷ In 1990, there were only 2,070 Somali-born people in the U.S.⁸ As a result of the civil war, however, the Somali community has become the largest group of African refugees in the country. It is "one of the unique sets of newcomers to ever enter this nation ... the uniqueness of these newcomers and the fact that relatively little is known about them make it imperative to study and understand their situation."⁹

The first Somali refugee entered the United States in 1986. By 2004, the Somali refugee population had increased to 56,000. Similarly, the number of Somalis who entered as immigrants steadily increased from 1985 to 2004, reaching more than 35,000 people. Some of these immigrants were highly skilled and began working as skilled labourers. The most recent estimates of the total population of Somali-born people in the U.S. ranges from 150,000¹⁰ to 300,000.¹¹ It is expected that the arrival of Somali refugees and asylum seekers will continue because of the enduring civil war and political and economic uncertainties in their home country.¹² Table 2 indicates the top ten states with the largest Somali population in the United States. Minnesota has the largest proportion.

African refugees began to arrive in Minneapolis in the early 1990s. Since then, the number of Somalis in the U.S. has increased rapidly, concentrating in the midwestern states, particularly Minnesota.¹³ Since 1997, Somalis have constituted the largest immigrant group in the state.¹⁴ Many Somali refugees in camps were resettled in Minnesota while some moved from other states to Minnesota looking for education and employment opportunities, healthcare, and housing services. The largest Somali community in the U.S. lives in the Twin Cities,

Table 2. The Top Ten Largest Somali Populations by State

State	Percent
Minnesota (Minneapolis)	27.4
Georgia	10
Ohio	9.4
Washington	8.5
California	7.2
Virginia	7.1
Massachusetts	4.7
New York	3.7
North Carolina	3.5
Missouri	2.2
Other States	16.3

Source: 2000 U.S. Census (cited in Goza, 2007, p. 261)

Minneapolis and St. Paul, with a combined population of more than fifty thousand. The Twin Cities is regarded as the *de facto* capital of the Somali community in the U.S.¹⁵ Many Somalis, especially new arrivals, live “[i]n the Cedar-Riverside areas between downtown Minneapolis and the University of Minnesota [where you can easily see] women wearing the hijab or a group of Somali men lingering outside a coffee shop.”¹⁶ Somalis have also been drawn to almost all cities in Minnesota, including small ones. Thus, they can be found in places like Rochester, St. Cloud, Owatonna, Waseca, Marshall, Faribault, and Mankato.¹⁷ “Pull” factors for Somali resettlement to these cities include educational and employment opportunities, a good social welfare system, a well-established Somali community, and word-of-mouth among the Somali diaspora about the benefits of living there.¹⁸

III. Cultural Negotiation

The interviews and information gleaned from young men living in Melbourne and Minneapolis show that their belonging to, and identification with, their clans is weakening. They mostly pay no attention to clan matters. This is in agreement with Luling’s finding that belonging to their clans may only remain “as an idea” and abstract.¹⁹ Some are very critical of affiliation with clan lines and they perceive clannism as the main factor in the prolonged civil war and destruction of Somalia. They are also aware of the negative effects of tribalism in fragmenting Somali communities in the United States and Australia. Similarly, Ramsden identified that a breakdown of trust and the fragmentation of the Australian Somali community along clan divisions constituted

some of the main factors incapacitating Somalis in the rebuilding of their shattered future caused by the civil war.²⁰ The young participants in this study are greatly influenced by the cultures and social systems of the societies in which they live, which diminishes the importance and influence of clan connections. In their perceptions, Islam and parents constitute the main sources of the preservation of clan identity.

Instead of belonging to their clans, most young male participants in the study indicated that they have two intertwined identities developed from their Somali cultural background and the culture of their new environment. This view was endorsed by Ibrahim, who insists that the old identity is part of Somali youth's existence while their new identity in the West is gradually becoming an integral part of their identity.²¹ As time passes, ongoing cultural change may swing in favor of the new culture and lead to a gradual loss of many aspects of their previous Somali cultural background. During cultural adaptation, some young men may select what they feel as positive and meaningful aspects from each culture, measuring American/Australian cultures against Somali culture and the Islamic religion in order to either choose or reject them. Similarly, they may use American/Australian culture, which they describe as modernized, to select aspects of Somali culture that work with the new culture.

Globally, young men identified with a number of global identity markers. Some young men in the U.S. and Australia adopt a global Islamic cultural identity that does not belong to a particular time, space, or society. In fact, global Islamic narratives appeal to these young men and represent a source of strength and hope, bring them together, and connect them to the modern Muslim identities that ensure their membership in the global Muslim communities.²² For some young men, transnational and diasporic relatives are also global identity-makers, and they feel an attachment to, and identification with, countries where their relatives and other Somalis live. Additionally, speaking the English language contributes to shaping young people's identity; it gives them a sense of belonging to English-speaking societies. Some participants stated that they communicate most effectively with their relatives and friends, particularly youth, who speak English, and especially those who live in English-speaking countries. Thus, the international language factor may strengthen bonds and enhance mutual understanding among relatives in Canada, the U.S., the United Kingdom, New Zealand, and Australia, rather than with those who live in non-English-speaking societies. This view is similar to Lindley's and

Hear's finding that large numbers of Somalis in Europe are moving to the U.K. and that one of the main factors behind this movement is to learn the English language, which they perceive as essential.²³

African-American hip-hop is another aspect of Somali youths' global identity. This is in agreement with Forman's findings.²⁴ They see African-American art, such as hip-hop, as globally recognized, accepted, and admired. Notwithstanding their preference for hip-hop, there is also a new trend among Somali youth to explore their cultural backgrounds through listening to Somali verse and music. Even though they may not always understand the lyrics, it provides them with a sense of belonging and identity.

In general, the young men's understanding and knowledge of Somali culture is not deep. They know more about tangible aspects, such as food and clothing, than about values and literature. This is linked to a lack of cultural resources, such as recorded and written work. This poor understanding of the intangible aspects of Somali culture is also linked to parents' incapacity to provide their children with cultural knowledge. This is because many parents lack the basic education to teach their children the Somali culture and some parents may not understand its importance. Knowing more about tangible aspects of the Somali culture is partly attributed to mainstream curiosity about its concrete aspects, which can lead young men to learn more about those facets of the culture.

Despite the fact that many parents and families lack the capacity to teach or provide cultural resources for their children, they are seen by our youth respondents as the main resources for all young Somalis in Melbourne and Minneapolis. Mothers in particular are seen as more closely connected to young people's lives than fathers. Youth also acquire culture at Somali malls, community gatherings, and weekend community Qur'an sessions. The Internet and libraries are vital resources that can help young people find information about Somali culture. Public school multicultural days, too, are important cultural resources in both countries.

Going back to Africa is also seen as an important strategy to learn about Somali culture. A few young men who were repatriated to Somalia to learn Somali culture, language, and Islam acknowledged that returning to Somalia itself is a critical cultural resource. However, some young Somalis who have returned to Somalia have had alienating experiences "in which they were made to feel out of place by local [Somali] people" because of the way they dress and because

they speak languages other than Somali.²⁵ Our data confirms that more recent arrivals tend to maintain their Somali culture compared to those who grew up in Australia or the U.S. Because of language and cultural differences, these two groups (new arrivals versus those who grew up in Australia and the U.S.) often misunderstand each other.

With regard to cultural preferences, a few young men in Minneapolis (not in Melbourne) indicated their preference for American culture over Somali culture. They feel at home and have a greater connection to and understanding of American culture. Similar findings were reached by Langellier,²⁶ Bigelow,²⁷ and Ibrahim,²⁸ who acknowledged that newly arrived young immigrants with African backgrounds tend to adopt an African-American lifestyle and accent, which eventually leads them to develop an African-American identity. The sense of being African seems to be stronger among those in the U.S. than in Australia.

Additionally, hip-hop culture tends to be a stronger identity marker among youth in Minneapolis compared to those in Melbourne. Nevertheless, in Australia, Somali youth do not identify with Australian music but with African-American music. Some describe Australian music as tasteless and some question its very existence. Similar to this finding, Zevallos argues that some second-generation Turkish and Latin American migrants believe that Australia has no distinctive culture or music.²⁹ They do not regard Anglo-Australian culture as a true culture; they consider Aboriginal culture as the authentic and legitimate culture for Australia.

In regard to identity, some young men from Melbourne emphasized that being constantly asked by other Australians about where they came from reminds them of their original background and strengthens their sense of belonging to Somalia, while weakening their sense of belonging to Australia. This type of question is linked to their names and to attributes such as skin colour, accent, and religious visibility.

Community organizations can also serve as critical cultural resources. In Melbourne, however, these organizations are described as counterproductive because of their allegiance to incompetent community leaders in Australia. Moreover, some youth are unaware of the very purpose of such organizations in Melbourne. Unlike in Melbourne, some young participants in Minneapolis declared that they learn about Somali culture from activities organized by community organizations. (Of course, since the Twin Cities has a much larger

Somali population than Melbourne, it can support more amenities like community centers, etc.)

Somali community media is also perceived as a cultural resource, even though it is seen as playing a minor role in transmitting Somali culture to young people. The presence of Somali media is greater in Minneapolis than in Melbourne. However, those young people with weak Somali language skills may not benefit from this media. In addition to the media, the shops and boutiques in Minneapolis that sell Somali music and films were mentioned as a cultural resource. Many Somali singers and actors who have resettled in the U.S.A. organize frequent performances, mainly in Somali. These powerful artistic cultural resources are not available to Somali youth in Australia.

The Somali charter schools and after-school educational programs in Minneapolis are becoming a hub for the transmission of Somali culture and symbols of community identity, pride, and creativity. Somali teachers in both charter schools and public schools are also viewed by the young men as good cultural resources.

In terms of parent-youth cultural negotiation, intergenerational differences were articulated by youth in both countries. In Minneapolis, for example, while parents and older people tend to describe young people's interactions with African-American culture as "imitation," young men contend that their association with African-American culture is based on understanding rather than mere imitation. They relate to and enjoy African-American cultural manifestations.

Besides cultural misconceptions, there are significant language misunderstandings between parents and young people, resulting in a lack of meaningful discussion. The cultural and language differences arise from discrepancies in parents' and youth lifestyles, attitudes, and general outlook, which are all influenced by the new environment. For example, young people in Australia and the U.S.A. feel more empowered than their parents. This leads them to challenge their parents by expressing their ideas more openly and expecting their views to be considered. Consequently, some Somali parents in Melbourne and Minneapolis feel challenged in their parental roles. Nderu asserts that Somali parents note that their children are aware of their power in relation to their parents in the U.S.A.³⁰ This weakens parents' control over their children. In addition, parents expect their children not to behave like Westerners, thinking that some aspects of Western culture are contrary to Islam. This view is supported by Ramadan, who argues that many Muslim parents believe that to be a good Muslim requires

behaviours that are in opposition to the practices of the West.³¹ Despite these differences between youth and their parents, most young men share the view that their parents brought them to their adopted countries in order to have better educational opportunities and a better future.

IV. Education

Young men from both countries agree about the importance of education. They believe that education opens their minds, makes them mentally flexible, and gives them the capacity to differentiate between right and wrong and to accept different views. In their opinion, education reduces young people's involvement in criminal, drug, and gang activities. Education also leads to professional work and an understanding of what is going on around the world. This view was endorsed by Wilkinson³² as well as Phillimore and colleagues,³³ who described education as a precondition for young immigrants' occupational success in the long term. This view is confirmed by Bloch.³⁴ Educational programs preferred by young people include the fields of health, engineering, and accountancy. These programs represent positive collective memories for Somali adults/parents. The young Somalis also express the intention to use their education as a means to help their communities and their country of origin.³⁵ However, there are numerous obstacles to achieving their educational goals, including poorly educated parents. Wilkinson,³⁶ Simon and Rothermund,³⁷ and Bhatnagar³⁸ argue that parental educational background is the best predictor of their children's educational success.

Association with Somali friends who failed or dropped out of school is also cited as an educational barrier. However, the association with Somali peers is a way of reconnecting to their cultural background and reaffirming their identity.³⁹ Poor parent-teacher communication can have a negative impact on students' educational performance. Ineffective communication between Somali parents and the schools was reported by Alitolppa-Niitamo,⁴⁰ Birman, Trickett, and Bacchus,⁴¹ and Nsubuga-Kyobe.⁴²

Some young men interviewed also believe that new hard-line religious groups (described by Kapteijns and Arman as regressive fundamentalist⁴³) are detrimental to educational success. These groups discourage youngsters, particularly girls, from continuing secular education, and instead urge them to stay at home, be subservient to their

parents/husbands, and attend religious classes. Discrimination against youth based on their skin color or religious conspicuousness is also cited as a barrier to educational success in both countries.⁴⁴

According to some young participants' points of view, the lack of clear educational goals and plans for the future, and the lack of urban skills, can have a negative impact on the willingness of young people to finish their education. Birman, Trickett, and Bacchus find that many young Somalis in the new environment of the United States lack planning skills and clear educational and professional goals.

Additionally, some young men claim that negative expectations of Somali youth's educational performance by their teachers can also impact their educational achievements. If students have strong Somali accents, teachers often assume that they are uneducated and expect them to perform poorly. Teachers' low expectations of migrant students' educational performance is underlined as the major impediment to students' educational progress.⁴⁵

There are a number of notable differences between youth in Melbourne and Minneapolis. Although both groups feel positive about the educational opportunities they have in their new countries, those in the U.S. seem to be more appreciative than their counterparts in Australia. Birman, Trickett and Bacchus emphasize that Somali students in the U.S. are appreciative of the good educational opportunities available to them. Because of U.S. affirmative action policies, which can turn disadvantage into advantage,⁴⁶ students from low-income families (such as refugees) are given financial aid, and the majority of Somali students at universities or colleges fall into that category.

New arrivals express more enthusiasm about their educational opportunities than those who have been living for longer in Melbourne or Minneapolis. Those who have been in the country longer are more likely to take these opportunities for granted. They also spend a large portion of their time with computer games, the Internet, and television. Similarly, those who have returned to Africa to learn Somali language, culture, and religion, or to be "rehabilitated," are more appreciative of their educational opportunities than those who grew up in the West and have never returned to Somalia. However, Wilkinson argues that students who have been in the new country a longer time have a greater chance of educational success as compared to the new arrivals.⁴⁷

Regarding gender attitudes toward education, girls in both countries were said to be more motivated and expressive about their educational opportunities than boys. Participant girls explain that they are aware of females' low social status and restricted opportunities in Somalia and want to take all available opportunities in their new countries that were not accessible to their mothers in Somalia. This finding is shared by Ramadan,⁴⁸ Wilkinson,⁴⁹ and Taylor and Krohn.⁵⁰ Girls' better performance than boys is attributed to the greater freedom of movement given to the boys, including those with poor guidance and supervision, whilst young females are supervised and given clear cultural instructions and guidance.⁵¹ Since the higher the educational achievement, the better the social integration in the new country in the long term, girls may be more likely to integrate successfully than boys.

Other significant differences are educational celebrations after graduation from universities and colleges. Such celebrations are common with young Somalis in the U.S. but rare in Melbourne. In Minneapolis, young men have high expectations of professional employment. Ogbu argues that the low expectations of finding jobs will eventually lead to low educational performance and aspiration.⁵²

The lack of a learning culture within the Somali communities in both Melbourne and Minneapolis is also seen as an educational barrier, especially for boys. Giddens argues that the level of educational achievement is largely influenced by the learning culture existing at home.⁵³ However, to some extent, the Minneapolis Somali community is developing a stronger learning culture compared to its counterpart in Melbourne. Supplementing these findings, Nderu concludes that Somali parents in the U.S. are in the process of learning and mastering the English language.⁵⁴ Somali Charter schools and after-school programs are contributing to important educational achievements in the Minneapolis community. This is because they provide a culturally appropriate educational environment in which students feel at home and develop a sense of belonging to the Somali community.

V. Employment

Employment is seen first and foremost as fulfilling the personal need to be self-sufficient. Lack of work can lead to loss of independence and social status. This view correlates with Giddens' conclusion that without an income from a regular job, anxieties about coping with everyday life will be multiplied.⁵⁵ Employment is also viewed as improving

physical and psychological well-being. Both groups of young people (from Melbourne and Minneapolis) stress that employment, as well as education, serves as a buffer against crime, drug dealing, and gang activity. Employment makes people well disciplined, as it provides them with a sense of purpose and a daily routine.

Moreover, some young men from the U.S. and Australia express the view that employment gives them a sense of belonging to the new country, makes them respected, and helps them to be seen by the mainstream as good citizens because they are contributing to the new country in positive ways. Phillimore and colleagues find that employment provides refugees with opportunities to establish social connections, make friends among the mainstream, and develop a sense of security and belonging through participation in shared activities within the host society.⁵⁶

In regard to the future, after obtaining good qualifications and work experience, many young men, particularly those in Australia, said that they plan to go back to Somalia, "if peace is restored and the country is stabilized." Reasons for returning may include helping to rebuild the destroyed country, to treat injuries, and to create employment. Finally, some young men have a variety of future plans, such as staying in the United States or Australia, going back to Somalia, or journeying to other Arab countries. Such multifaceted plans in part reflect their hybrid identities because these young men are Somalis, Americans/Australians, Muslims, and Africans.⁵⁷ Some of these young men are undecided about what to do and where to live in the long term.

In terms of finding jobs, those in Minneapolis acknowledge the help they receive from Somali community organizations to find work, while their counterparts in Melbourne do not mention such support. Instead, they describe Somali community organizations as ineffective. Mestan⁵⁸ and Bloch⁵⁹ emphasize that refugees' utilizing social capital, community networks, kinship, and friends to find jobs is an effective strategy. Most young respondents in the United States say that finding work, either professional or not, is quite easy. Those in Melbourne, however, stress the challenges and difficulties of finding a job, particularly a professional job compatible with their qualifications. These difficulties are attributed to discrimination against young Somali men in Melbourne, including setting job criteria that Somalis cannot meet and rejection on the basis of Somali accents. Employers suspicious of the work skills and competence of Africans are also seen as a barrier to employment by youth in Melbourne. Discrimination against visible refugee groups,

such as Somalis and Muslims in the workplace, is elucidated by Colic-Peisker and Tilbury⁶⁰ and Vichealth.⁶¹

Lack of motivation to work because of social welfare payments, coupled with tough work criteria, is a common observation among the Somali community in Melbourne. Some participants claim that tough work conditions and social welfare demoralize Somalis. At the same time, it makes them dependent on government benefits so that they do not gain work skills or local experience. Welfare-dependent persons devote less effort to finding a job. Furthermore, they turn down unattractive job offers.⁶² In contrast, some participants from Minneapolis assume that easy job conditions and meagre social welfare encourage Somalis to work hard and become self-reliant. As a consequence, they develop greater self-esteem and gain work experience.

In relation to intergenerational differences related to long-term employment, almost all parents feel that their sons will not go back to Somalia. This is because Somalia is a failed state and would not provide them with what they need to survive, compared to Australia and the United States. This perspective is in agreement with Goza's contention that the majority of Somali youth are not willing to go back to Somalia because they do not know much about Somalia, and what they do know is about the civil war.⁶³ On the other hand, they perceive that their new country is their home; thus, they do not want to replace it with one they do not know much about and in which they see no positive signs. In contrast to Somali parents' views, the majority of young men state that they are planning to return to Somalia, particularly when peace and stability are restored. The differences between parents and young men indicate misunderstanding in terms of language, culture, future plans, and ways of thinking.

VI. Sense of Achievement and Hope

The Somali community in Minneapolis has created its own educational institutions, including charter schools and various after-school programs. The community has also consistently organized many educational celebrations. Ubah Medical Academy (UMA) in Minneapolis represents one of the main Somali charter schools in the state of Minnesota. The UMA symbolizes the community creativity and achievement in the education field. It has provided a warm Somali atmosphere for Somali students, their parents, and the community at large. It has also given them a sense of ownership of the school, a sense of belong-

ing and identity—of feeling at home—and of pride and confidence. In addition, it has created positive role models for the young generations, as well as creating diverse employment opportunities for the community.

The Somali Education Center (SEC) in Minneapolis represents one of the main after-school educational programs. SEC has offered well-organized educational programs for students, particularly in the areas of mathematics, science, and the English language, together with some recreational and creative activities, to prevent them from becoming involved with drugs and crimes. The SEC also organizes English classes for Somali parents with language barriers. Similar to UMA, SEC has created employment opportunities for the community.

In Minneapolis, there have been multiple educational celebrations organized by the community in which awards are given to students for high educational achievements. These celebrations are an appreciation of the educational opportunities given to the students as well as being expressions of the high expectations of employment opportunities after graduation. In contrast, such educational celebrations are rare in the Somali community in Melbourne.

Folklore arts events and activities are popular in the Somali community in Minneapolis. There are competitions among young poets who mainly compose their poems in English, expressing their experiences and aspirations in the new milieu as well as their feelings toward their country of origin. Furthermore, storytelling sessions, cultural exhibitions of aspects of Somali folk life, and documentaries relating to the diaspora of Somalis have more captivating characteristics in Minneapolis than in Melbourne.

Moreover, the community businesses and economic development organizations are stronger in Minneapolis than in Melbourne. For instance, the African Development Center in Minneapolis financially and economically assists the community in various ways, such as training and assisting individuals to establish their own businesses or to buy houses. It also organizes seminars on how to save money, buy a home, or start a small business.

The community in Minneapolis is very civically and politically active. The community assisted in campaigning and voting for the election of the first Muslim congressman, Keith Ellison, and organized meetings before and after elections for local, state, and federal candidates to ask them if they could meet the community's needs and demands should they be elected. These kinds of activities are rare in

the Somali community in Melbourne. In general, the Somali community's aspirations and hopes for a better and brighter future are stronger in Minneapolis than in Melbourne.

Notes

1. Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006; Jupp 2001.
2. Schaid and Grossman 2004.
3. Sheikh and Healy 2009, p. 10.
4. Omar 2005a; Jupp 2001; and Clyne and Kipp 2005.
5. Victorian Multicultural Commission 2007.
6. Shio 2006, p. 23.
7. Goza 2007, p. 256.
8. Goza, 2007.
9. Goza 2007, p. 255.
10. Shio 2006, p. 14.
11. Sonsalla 2003, p.12.
12. Goza 2007, p. 256.
13. Goza 2007; Kusow 2007.
14. Darboe 2003, p. 460.
15. Schaid and Grossman, 2004.
16. Roble and Rutledge 2008, p. 135.
17. Shio 2006; Minneapolis Foundation 2009.
18. Horst 2006.
19. Luling 2006, p. 483.
20. Ramsden 2008.
21. Ibrahim 2008, p. 242.
22. Kapteijns and Arman 2004, p. 34.
23. Lindley's and Hear's 2007.
24. Forman's 2001.
25. Valentine 2009, p. 238.
26. Langellier 2010.
27. Bigelow 2008.
28. Ibrahim 2008.
29. Zevallos 2002.
30. Nderu 2005.
31. Ramadan 2004.
32. Wilkinson 2002.
33. Phillimore et al. 2003.
34. Bloch 2002.
35. Oikonomidoy 2005.

36. Wilkinson 2002.
37. Simon and Rothermund 1986.
38. Bhatnagar 1981.
39. Shepard 2005.
40. Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004.
41. Birman, Trickett, and Bacchus 2001.
42. Nsubuga-Kyobe 2003.
43. Kapteijns and Arman 2004.
44. White 1999; McBrien 2005.
45. Blair 2002; Zine 2001.
46. Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2007.
47. Wilkinson 2002.
48. Ramadan 2009.
49. Wilkinson 2002.
50. Taylor and Krohn 2005.
51. Humpage 2009; Shepard 2005.
52. Ogbu 1987.
53. Giddens 1993.
54. Nderu 2005.
55. Giddens 1993; Phillipmore et al. 2003.
56. Phillipmore et al. 2003.
57. Siukonen 2004.
58. Mestan 2008.
59. Bloch 2002.
60. Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2007.
61. Vichealth 2007.
62. Gans et al. 2009.
63. Goza 2007.

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