

POST CONFLICT IDENTITIES - AFFILIATIONS AND IDENTITY PRACTICES OF SOMALI REFUGEE CHILDREN

FULL REPORT OF RESEARCH ACTIVITIES AND RESULTS

1.BACKGROUND

1.1 Political Context

As a colonial ruler the UK has historically been closely connected to Somalia. Somali migration to the UK can be divided into different phases: around the turn of the 20th century Somali seamen came to work in the British Merchant Navy, when this was run down in the 1950s, Somalis moved to work in industrial cities (e.g. Sheffield) and were joined by their families. From the late 1980s onwards, significant numbers of Somalis arrived in the UK seeking asylum because of the Civil War in Somalia. The last phase of migration began around 2000 when Somalis with refugee status and later citizenship in other European countries such as The Netherlands, and Denmark, began secondary migrations to the UK. The Somali community in the UK is thus characterised by different arrival scenarios.

The numbers of Somalis in the UK is difficult to estimate because of the complex histories of forced and voluntary, internal and international migration as well as the limitations of how data is collected and categorised. It is estimated however, that c. 75,000 Somalis live in the UK with c. 5,000 Somalis estimated to be living in Sheffield.

1.2 Academic Context

This project drew on narrative theories of identity (Somers 1994) and theories of individualisation (Beck 1992). In outlining a narrative approach to identity, Somers (1994: 606) argues that *'it is through narratives and narrativity that we constitute our social identities...all of us come to be who we are (however ephemeral, multiple and changing) by being located or locating ourselves (usually unconsciously) in social narratives rarely of our own making'*. In particular, we sought to understand how young Somalis negotiate and discursively position themselves within hegemonic social narratives that are not of their own making that: define their role as children (James *et al.* 1998) and transition to adulthood (Cieslik and Pollock 2002); that are racialised (Hall 1996); and increasingly founded on particular constructions of asylum seekers (Lynn and Lea 2003). At the same time, we also considered the ways that Somali young people choose to construct their own narratives of the self and the particular interpretative repertoires that they draw on within this process.

As geographers our research has been informed by understandings of the ways in which identities are spatially constituted: particularly how young Somalis discursive understandings of 'self' and 'other' are shaped through their histories of mobility. Beyond this concern with 'identities on the move' we understand identity as something that is actively accomplished in relational micro-geographical spaces. Here, we focused on identity practices in particular sites: home, school and 'community'.

2. OBJECTIVES

1. To understand how young Somali asylum seekers/refugees construct their own narratives of identity within the context of public narratives not of their own making (e.g. what it is to be a child/adult, 'black', asylum seeker etc.).
2. To explore the ways in young Somalis' identity affiliations are shaped by their histories of mobility and geographical imaginations and the implications of this for their integration.
3. To investigate how young people's identities (objectives 1 & 2) are constituted in, and through, the different relational spaces of the home, school, and 'community' and the implications of these processes for their integration.

4. To assess the extent to which the outcomes of objectives 1-3 differ according to the arrival experiences of refugee children.
5. To identify practical measures to meet the needs of Somali young people identified in objectives 1-4 in order to equip them with the skills necessary to become full and equal citizens.

All the above objectives have been addressed and met in full. For objectives 1-5 see results section, activities, outputs and impacts.

3. METHODS

The research design incorporated children from the following groups:

- a) Accompanied children who arrived in Sheffield pre-NASS and have been granted refugee status.
- b) Accompanied children granted refugee status, dispersed to Sheffield through NASS.
- c) Accompanied children who have arrived in Sheffield from Europe.
- d) Unaccompanied children in the care of Sheffield City Council.
- e) Somali children whose families arrived as a result of labour migration.

3.1 Extensive Methodology

Questionnaire Survey. Administered to all children in year groups 7, 9, 11 and where there were 6th forms, year 13 in eight secondary schools and one FE College in Sheffield. These schools were selected, in consultation with Sheffield City Council's Ethnic Minority Achievement Service (EMAS), on the basis of their BME (and Somali) numbers and include Sheffield schools in the DfES Black Pupil's Achievement Programme. 3313 young people were surveyed. To accommodate diverse linguistic abilities/literacy levels the questionnaire was designed in age/language appropriate formats in consultation with our steering group and piloted in a school that was not part of the survey. Data was gathered on: self-identity; experience of mobility and other countries; trans-national networks; role in household/relationship with parent(s)/guardian(s); schooling; experiences of racism; friendship/community networks; plans for future/awareness of obstacles to achievement.

3.2 Intensive Methodologies

(a) Semi-structured interviews with young Somalis and their parent(s)/guardian(s)

Interviews were conducted with 44 Somali children snowballed from each of the arrival groups a-e above and with the majority of their parent(s)/guardian(s). The research identified close links between Somalis living in Sheffield and those in Aarhus, Denmark, with strong patterns of secondary migration from Aarhus to Sheffield. Interviews were therefore undertaken with Somali children and parent(s)/guardian(s) in Aarhus. The fieldwork in both places was conducted by the same researcher who is bi-lingual in English and Danish and has an intimate knowledge of both societies, as well as experience of working with the Somali community in both cities. In a few cases interviews were conducted in Somali through an interpreter. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. Interviews with young Somalis explored:

- **identification with public narratives not of their own making** in terms of: childhood and 'age'; gender; race and asylum seeking; and associated (under)achievement at school.
- **identities on the move:** histories of mobility; attachments to and imaginings of place.
- **social relationships** within, and personal experiences of, home, school and community. This also involved life mapping exercises (see below).
- Perceptions/ experiences of **integration and/or social exclusion** and **aspirations** for the future.

For parent(s)/guardian(s), the same interview agendas were used in relation to their children/wards but also addressed **intergenerational identity practices and tensions**.

(b) Participatory methods: Interviews were complemented by child-centred participatory methods that did not rely on high levels of literacy. A secure WEBCT online discussion forum was facilitated. The research team also undertook participant observation through regularly assisting with after school homework clubs and by attending community events.

- At the beginning of interviews participants were asked to **draw life-space maps** to visually indicate the importance of certain features in their lives and the relationships between them. This data contributes to an exploration of the relative importance of home, school and community and Somali young people's degree of social integration.
- Three exploratory **identity workshops** were organised with children facilitated by two registered **art therapists**. Participants were asked to represent their aspirations, dreams, fears as they consider the future by using *the hoped for self* (person they desire to be however unrealistic); *a feared self* (the possible self the informant does not want to become) and the *expected self* (the person they believe they can most realistically become) (cf. Cross and Markus 1991).

3.3 Interviews with Service Providers/Community Organisations

These explored the role of these institutions in shaping children's identities.

3.4 Analysis

The survey data was analysed using SPSS in relation to variables including migration histories, arrival scenarios, living arrangements, educational achievement, age and gender. Interview transcripts were analysed using conventional social science techniques that involved identifying '*in vivo*' codes (terms used by the informants themselves) and 'constructed' codes (developed by the research team). As the art workshops facilitated an exploration of identity positions that arise from the group process of *producing* the imagery, as well as the outcomes, analysis of the workshops was undertaken by the art psychotherapists in conjunction with the project team.

3.5 Ethics

This research was informed by codes of ethics for working with children (e.g. Alderson 1995) and was conducted according to the University of Sheffield's research ethics guidelines and approved by the University's Ethics Committee. Specifically, individuals were provided with leaflets about the research in age/language appropriate formats to enable them to make an informed decision to consent to participate. PIs/RA were subject to police checks and informants were allocated pseudonyms that were applied to all materials and publications

4. RESULTS

This research found that 28% of the Somali young people who responded to the questionnaire survey had come to the UK direct from Somalia; 33% had migrated to the UK via another European country; and 6% had arrived in the UK via, or from, a Middle Eastern country. These results reflect the complex patterns of mobility that are characteristic of the Somali Diaspora. The following discussion of our results explores the implications of these experiences of mobility for young people's sense of identity, focusing on what it means to them to be: Somali, Muslim, and British/Danish. We then consider specific relationships between language and integration, education and integration, as well as gender issues.

4.1 What it Means to be Somali

'Asylum seeker' was regarded by young Somalis as a negative identity. To counter the stigmata of this label, young people emphasised their pride in Somalia. For those who remember their homeland, Somalia is a powerful part of their identities. Most of the children however, either left Somalia at a very young age or were born while their families were on the move and have limited or no direct memories of Somalia. Rather, their knowledge and understanding of the country is second-hand, coming from family/friends or media representations. As such, these young people must position themselves in relation to public narratives about what it means to be Somali that are not of their own making and are predicated on sometimes differing and contradictory accounts of a place of which they have limited direct knowledge. Whereas media reporting of Somalia focuses on the civil war, and

terrorism, parents tend to offer a more positive representation of a beautiful country and family life, glossing over some of the hardships which they may have experienced.

Somali parents acknowledge their children's lack of understanding of their homeland and so in recent years many families have made visits to Somalia. On these trips however, some children described feeling 'out of place', recalling that they were stared at and accused of not speaking Somali properly. As some young Somalis became aware, it is not enough to claim a self-identity, rather, belonging requires that an identity must also be recognised or accepted as such by a wider community.

These return visits have had a powerful impact on a number of those interviewed. Several described how these experiences made them more appreciative of life in the UK. Girls, in particular, recognised that as young women in the UK they are not so confined by gender roles and responsibilities as their counterparts in Somalia. In such ways, return visits cemented young people's recognition of Britain as a positive place to live, and in some cases led them to (re)consider whether they should self-identify as British as well as Somali.

4.2 The Importance of Being Muslim

Virtually all Somalis are Muslims. Prior to immigration many adults took their religion for granted but following migration their faith became a more important focus of their lives and identities. It provides an important anchor within broader experiences of mobility, and a means of ensuring that parents do not lose their children to western individualistic culture.

For young people themselves their forced history of mobility has left them with a confused attachment to place. As such, the identity 'Muslim' has become for many young Somalis the most important and consistent way that they have of defining who they are. Notably, 92% of Somali survey respondents claimed that their Muslim faith was 'important to their everyday life'. This role of religion was significantly higher than for all other minority ethnic groups surveyed. Young women in particular experience strong social pressure to practise their faith by managing their identities in a modest, respectful and controlled way in order to maintain their own and their family's reputation within the neighbourhood (although some also described the ways that they re-negotiate these expectations).

4.3 Disavowal of the Identity 'Black'

The majority of the interviewees disavowed the identity 'black'. In defining their relationship to white majority communities in the UK, the Somali interviewees argued that they were 'refugees'; suggesting that the identity 'black' could refer only to the British Afro-Caribbean population. The apparent absence of the racialised identity 'black' among young Somalis has a number of implications for their understandings of their encounters in everyday spaces. Whilst the majority of the young people interviewed did not self-identify as black, nonetheless it became apparent from their accounts that their identities were read as such by others. In particular, a number of participants, for example, reported being told that they could not be British because they were not white, yet described such incidents as 'hassle' or 'bullying' rather than racism.

4.4 Ambivalence about Being British

Only 19% of the UK Somali respondents stated that being British was important to them. While most acknowledged that Britain has given them a safe home and education, some claiming that they now speak English better than they speak Somali, there was a general wariness about publicly claiming a British identity. It was feared that to do so would be received negatively by their family/community because it would be read as a rejection of their Somali heritage. Some were also wary of claiming a British identity because 'British' is implicitly still imagined as a white identity. Several interviewees acknowledged that a British identity can only be claimed at particular times and places to particular audiences.

In contrast, young Somalis from Aarhus, Denmark emphasised that they do identify as Danish. The Somali community has not had space to establish its own identity in Denmark because of Government emphasis placed on the importance of migrants becoming Danish. All newly arrived adult (18+) refugees must join a three year 'integration programme'. To gain permanent status, asylum seekers must complete this programme, pass tests in Danish

language and Danish society and have no convictions. Upon starting school, children are sent to 'reception classes' in specific schools to learn Danish intensively, alongside other subjects as preparation for entry into a mainstream classroom. Indeed, many Somali families living in Aarhus speak Danish at home as well as in public space whereas Sheffield Somalis predominantly speak Somali at home.

Despite enacting a Danish identity through language many young Somalis described encountering significant discrimination. While Danish Society has traditionally imagined itself to be a liberal and tolerant place predicated on a strong commitment to social equality, commentators have observed a significant shift in social attitudes and policy (e.g. Wren 2001). Since the early 1990s there has been growing concern about immigration, a tightening of asylum legislation, a discouragement of immigrants from maintaining transnational relations and the emergence of far-right groups. The desire to escape prejudice and discrimination is therefore one of the most common motivations for Somalis to undertake secondary migration from Denmark to the UK. While the aim in Denmark has been to promote integration, the effect has been to legitimate negative attitudes by the majority population towards migrants and their cultures (Hamburger 1990).

In contrast, most Sheffield interviewees, despite disavowing the identity 'British', nonetheless described feeling 'safe' and 'at home' in the UK. Across the Somali diaspora there is an image of 'Britain' as a place of freedom (Nielsen 2004). Unlike in Denmark, none of the families in Sheffield had any explicit plans to leave the city in the immediate future. While some interviews described experiences of racism, these events were countered by a broader perception of safety and trust that comes from belonging to a strong and stable local Somali Muslim community. This may also reflect the fact that in spite of racism in Britain there has also been another more benevolent history of hospitality (Nava 2006) and mainstream British society has become increasingly cosmopolitan. Amin (2003) attributes this change to a public culture, since Labour's 1997 election victory, which has addressed institutional racism, discrimination and racially motivated violence, as well as the importance of everyday social encounters in overcoming cultural differences. In one sense then, Somalis in Sheffield feel that they belong in the UK because they feel secure in their local community without necessarily being included in, or self-identifying with, the nation.

Belonging to a nation is not just about citizenship per se, it is about the security that being in 'place' provides. Aarhus Somalis do not feel that they belong in Denmark, even though they enact a Danish identity (e.g. through language). As such their networks and ability to reproduce a community of practice are fragile, leaving them feeling vulnerable in the face of narrow definitions of Danish nationhood. In Sheffield, Somalis feel that they belong in the UK – even though they do not identify as British -- because at a local level they have defined their own community in terms of shared values, networks and practices, and in so doing have made the place their own. This stability and emotional sense of being part of a larger whole, which resonates from a sense of having a place, enables the Sheffield Somalis a freedom to define their identities beyond narrow prescriptions of Britishness.

4.5 Language and Integration

Refugee children are generally quicker to learn the language of the countries in which they settle than their parents because they are immersed in the dominant national language at school, whereas if parents are unemployed they may spend most of their time in community spaces where they have limited exposure to the new language. Children are also commonly less fearful of attempting to communicate than adults, and as such may assume the role of family interpreter at an early age.

The complex routes that Somali families have taken to arrive in the UK mean that different linguistic preferences, as well as different linguistic competencies between children and parents and even between siblings themselves are commonplace. Amongst recent arrivals, Somali is the common first language of parents. School age children arriving into the UK via European countries are usually fluent in a European language having spent several formative years in a European education system. Whereas, younger children who have had little or no formal education prior to arriving in the UK because of their age at the point of migration pick up English very quickly.

The issue of language is often a cause of intergenerational or familial tensions. For parents, speaking Somali at home is an important way of ensuring their children retain their roots and develop a Somali identity. For many parents the possibility of a 'return' to Somaliland figures significantly in their geographical imaginations. As such, ensuring their children are fluent in Somali is also preparation for their imagined futures (as well as allowing them to communicate with diasporic families) although this vision is not shared by the majority of the children. Parents often therefore try to enforce the Somali language in the home, whereas children commonly prefer to speak English as a result of their schooling. As a result intercultural differences are emerging between the generations.

4.6 Education and Integration

Somali children have been consistently at the bottom of achievement tables suggesting potential problems of integration in the education system (ESES 2002). Many young Somalis arrived in the UK with limited schooling as a result of the Civil War and associated disruption of mobility yet years of 'adult' experience working to support the household economy. Our survey findings, for example, demonstrated that Somali respondents are significantly more likely than other children to: help look after brothers and sisters; help siblings with homework; and translate for family members than both white majority children and children from other minority ethnic groups. Perhaps not surprisingly, 68% of Somali children agreed with the statement, *'I'm treated as an adult at home'* compared to 48% of the total sample

The State school system and most services for children and families are neighbourhood based and begin from an assumption that most people are located in one place. Yet, young asylum seekers are frequently moved as part of dispersal initiatives and as such, can struggle to settle in UK schools. Children described the ways that their education has been disrupted because of the different course content, and teaching styles in different schools, as well as the way mobility has undermined their ability to develop relationships with teachers, and the upheaval and isolation they encountered leaving school friends and re-establishing themselves within different peer groups.

Most children stated that they had not received any formal assistance from teachers to learn English or to settle into the UK education system. Rather, they described being placed in classrooms where they could not understand the lessons being taught. It was often fellow pupils (both white majority and Somali peers) who supported their integration by translating lessons for them, or re-explaining concepts to them. These practices were most evident in schools with ethnically diverse catchments. However, in some cases where children were placed in pre-dominantly white schools they encountered bullying because of their language difficulties. Many were acutely aware of the educational disadvantages they faced. Boys in particular, were more likely to respond to the frustrations of communication and integration difficulties by being disruptive resulting in punishments which further perpetuated their sense of marginalisation and reproduced their educational disadvantage (cf. Willis 1977).

Differences between the languages spoken at home and at school may also contribute to the relative underachievement of Somali children. The emphasis placed on speaking Somali within the home means that Somali children's English language skills are not developed within the family and there is also a disjuncture between literacy practices at school and at home. Because many parents lack formal education in either Somali or English, and combined with their unfamiliarity with the English education system, most are unable to provide effective support for their children. This problem is compounded by high levels of lone parent female headed households within the 'community'.

Given these problems the Somali community has set-up after-school homework clubs. Somali parents enforce their children's attendance at these because they can communicate with, and trust the Somali volunteers who run them. While offering support in core school subjects, the homework clubs also provide Quranic education. In this way, these community spaces both support Somali children's education in UK schools while also (re)producing a particular understanding of what it means to be Somali which is predicated on the Muslim faith.

4.7 Gender

Many Somali young men have grown up in the UK in single parent, female-headed households or in households where the father plays a minor role. Somali men have experienced high levels of unemployment and it is increasingly women who are the public face of families, taking responsibility for housing and welfare issues. Community representatives argue that this crisis of masculinity and lack of male mentors is contributing to the high incidence of youth offending amongst Somalis. Young Somali men who have experienced the educational disadvantages outlined above find it difficult to achieve the 'British' lifestyle to which they aspire through conventional educational and employment routes. As such significant numbers are turning to drugs and anti-social/criminal activities as: alternative sources of material and social status; as an escape from the circumstances in which they find themselves; or as a demonstration of their 'masculinity'. The young people interviewed also indicated that levels of alcohol consumption and smoking are on the rise amongst their peers

Young women experience tensions in relation to balancing their sense of duty towards their parents and the wider Somali/Muslim community and their desire to make their own choices about clothing, dating, and their futures. This was most clearly expressed in relation to the wearing of the hijab. Many young women, particularly those who had lived in the Netherlands or Scandinavian countries where Somali communities adopt a more liberal approach to their faith, were ambivalent about wearing the hijab. Some of these women managed their identities differently in different spaces according to the people they were with, or whom they may be seen by.

4.8 Conclusions

This research has explored the complex, and intersecting influences on young Somali refugee and asylum seekers' identity formations. The findings demonstrate the importance of place or context in shaping how individuals develop and perform their own identities; and in terms of how their identities are read and acknowledged or denied by others. In doing so, the research moves beyond the theorising of the intersection of identity categories to an understanding of how identifications and dis-identifications are simultaneously experienced by subjects in specific spatial and temporal moments through the course of everyday lives. As such the research adds an appreciation of the significance of space in processes of subject formation to wider social science theorising of intersectionality.

The evidence of the comparative work, exploring the experiences of Somali refugee and asylum seekers in Sheffield, UK and Aarhus, Denmark respectively, demonstrates that a sense of 'belonging' in a country develops where a community has a sense of security and space to define its own identity beyond or alongside narrow prescriptions of national identity. As such, policies that are implemented to support Somali young people to integrate into the UK must enable them to retain and develop a strong sense of their own cultural identity and heritage, while also supporting them to access education, services and similar life opportunities to the rest of the population.

Specifically, we recommend that there is a need to:

- develop more effective processes of preparation and reception to support refugee and asylum seeker children's entry into UK schools.
- provide funding to develop the educational support that Somali community homework clubs provide for Somali young people and to link this more strongly with the UK school curriculum;
- avoid stressing the importance of a shared national identity in policy initiatives because this can have the potential effect of legitimising negative attitudes by the majority white population towards migrants and their cultures.
- address the persistence of the association of Britishness with whiteness – which is implicit, if not intended, in new systems for developing British citizenship.
- support and develop community space and capacity building for Somali organisations, because this gives these groups the security to feel they belong to the nation.
- train more Somali men as mentors to work with young boys in their communities through both national programmes, such as Connexions, and community-based initiatives.

- develop appropriate 'community' specific local health promotion initiatives to tackle an emerging – but hidden -- culture of smoking and drinking.

ACTIVITIES

5.1 Conference/Policy Workshops Organised

- *Empowering Somali Communities* Conference, Sheffield (see 7.2 below).
- *Identities on the Move* workshop, London (see 7.2 below).

5.2 Academic Presentations:

- Association of American Geographers Conference, Denver (March 2005).
- Conference on Language, Migration and the Re-theorisation of Socio-Linguistic Space, Leeds (June 2006).
- ESRC Methods Festival, Oxford (July 2006).
- RGS/IBG Annual Conference, London (September 2006).
- World University Network seminar, on-line (March 2007).
- Association of American Geographers Conference, San Francisco (April 2007).
- Poster presentations at the launch of the Leeds Social Science Institute (June 2006) and the Sheffield Public Services Academy (October 2007).
- Europe and its Established & Emerging Immigrant Communities Conference, Leicester (November 2007).

Forthcoming Presentations – papers/invitations have been accepted for:

- Association of American Geographers Annual Conference, Boston. (15-18 April)
- Children and Migration: Identities, Mobilities and Belonging(s) Conference, University College Cork, Ireland (9-11 April 2008).
- Encounters and Intersections: Religion, Diaspora and Ethnicities Conference, Oxford (9-11 July 2008)
- Representing Childhood and Youth: International Children's Geographies Conference, University of Sheffield, UK (8-10 July 2008)
- IBG/RGS Annual Conference, London, August 2008
- Seminars at: ERCOMER (Netherlands); University of Sydney (Australia)

** 17 additional academic presentations associated with the ESRC Identities and Social Action Programme (see Section 8).

5.3 Policy Presentations

Presentation at the Commission for Racial Equality. The audience included: the Head of public policy at CRE; the Chair of the Home Affairs Committee, Head of the secretariat of the Commission on Cohesion and Integration, and Head of Strategy at the then Department for Education and Skills (21/3/2007).

** see impacts below for additional policy inputs associated with the ESRC Programme.

5.4 Networks

- Participation in the Identities and Social Action Programme has developed our interdisciplinary networks enabling a mutual exchange of discipline-based concepts.
- Fieldwork in Denmark and international dissemination activities have enabled us to develop links with international institutions generating a project-led international network of colleagues working with Somali refugee and asylum seekers in different national contexts.
- Throughout the research process we have developed 'user' group networks at local and national levels with whom we have worked closely (see section 7).
- Through alternative dissemination strategies to reach young Somalis we have developed networks with those working in visual media (including art therapists, photographers, IT consultants).

6. OUTPUTS

6.1 User Report

Sporton, D. and Valentine, G. (2007) *Identities on the Move: The Integration Experiences of Somali Refugee and Asylum Seeker Young People*. Available in English or Somali, as a hard copy or PDF (downloadable from project website).

Empowering Somali Communities (Practice and Research) Conference Report.

6.2 Project Website

<http://identities.group.shef.ac.uk/>

6.3 Briefings

Project briefing papers are available on the project website.

6.4 Journal Articles:

Sporton, D., Valentine, G., Nielsen, K.B. (2006) Post-Conflict Identities: Practices and Affiliations of Somali Asylum Seeker Children. *Children's Geographies*, 4, 203-217.

Valentine, G., Sporton, D. and Nielsen, K.B. (under review) Language on the Move: Sites of Encounter, Identities and Belonging *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*.

Valentine, G., Sporton, D. and Nielsen, K.B. (under review) Identities and Belonging: a Comparative Study of Somali Refugee and Asylum Seekers Living in the UK and Denmark *Environment and Planning D: Society & Space*

In progress

'The Places We Live By: The Role of Geographical Imaginings of Somalia in Refugee and Asylum Seeker Children's Identities', for *Sociology*

'Every Child Matters? The Place of Young Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Policy', for *Environment & Planning A*

'Mobile Childhoods. Post-conflict Migration of Young Somali Asylum Seekers and Refugees', for *Journal of Refugee Studies*.

'Creating Spaces: Lessons from the Use of WebCT as an On-line Research Tool for Accessing Children's Voices', for *Professional Geographer*

'The Disavowal of a Black Identity: the Implications of Young Somalis' Self-identifications for Encounters, Policies and Practices', for *Geoforum*.

'Intersectionality as Lived Experience: the Importance of Space in Processes of Subject Formation', for *Sociological Review*.

'Representations of the Self: the Role of Art Therapy in Understandings of Social Identities',
 for *Qualitative Research*

6.5 Book Chapters

Valentine, G., Sporton, D. and Nielsen, K.B. (in press) 'Spaces of Language' in Baynham, M., et al (eds.) *Language, Migration and the Re-theorisation of Socio-Linguistic Space*, Jerome Publishing.

Valentine, G. and Sporton, D. (in press) 'Geographies of Young Refugee and Asylum Seeker Identities' Furlong, A. (ed.) *International Handbook on Youth and Young Adulthood*. Routledge.

Sporton, D. and Valentine, G. (forthcoming) 'Migrant Narratives: Exploring the Intersections of Somali Asylum Seeker and Refugee Identities', in Wetherall, M. (ed.) *New Identities, New Intersections*. Palgrave.

7. IMPACTS

7.1 Applications of the Research:

- Research findings were included in a collective Identities Programme briefing for No 10. to inform Tony Blair's speech on 'Multiculturalism and Integration' (8/12/2006).
- Research findings contributed to a collective ESRC Identities Programme submission to the Commission for Integration and Cohesion.
- The research was used in the implementation of Citizens Advice's equality and diversity strategy.

7.2 Other User Engagement

- Policy workshop for national/local government, and NGOs on '*Identities on the Move*', London (November 2007) including a presentation by the investigators, a Q&A session and themed discussion groups to reflect on implications of key findings for the participants' own work.
- *Empowering Somali Communities (Practice and Research) Conference* (July 2006) jointly hosted with the Sheffield City Council, attended by 67 delegates (national and local government, NGOs, CBOs and academics).
- Findings were presented at a Commission for Racial Equality (see 5.3 above) workshop to explore strategies to support the integration of young people.
- Somali organisations and schools (Lambeth, Sheffield) are using project briefings to educate Somali children about Somalia.
- The project team have been invited by Lambeth EMAS to speak at a workshop, March 2008.
- The project has participated and disseminated findings at the NGO workshops run by the: Refugee Council, Somaliland Societies in Europe Workshop, Children's Society.

8. FUTURE RESEARCH PRIORITIES

There is a need for further research on:

(1) Secondary migration - specifically, the policy and welfare impacts of this invisible flow of non-European migrants within the European Union.

(2) Invisible or hidden cultures of smoking and alcohol consumption amongst young people within Somali (and possibly other Muslim) communities.

(3) Gendered and generational differences amongst refugee and asylum seeker communities.