Report Part Title: Identity and Belonging

4.   IDENTITY AND BELONGING

4.1   Introduction

This chapter presents the findings and analysis on identity and belonging from stakeholders and three focus groups, one with women aged between 18 and 35 in Tower Hamlets, and two with men aged 18 to 35 in both Camden and Tower Hamlets. The analysis considers the following: citizenship in the United Kingdom; what citizenship entails; how British-Somalis feel about their neighbourhood and city and how they experience belonging to it; the spaces and people British-Somalis interact in and with; how British-Somalis define themselves and how religion, ethnicity and culture intersect; generational differences and divides within British-Somali communities; and finally, how global and national events impact on identity and belonging.

Examples of community events in Tower Hamlets include "Somali week", which involves a celebration of Somali music, culture, poetry and food in October. The annual event hosts artists and authors from the United Kingdom, the Horn of Africa and beyond, highlighting the significance of literature, culture and the arts for the diaspora community in the United Kingdom. The unique series of events held as part of Somali week acts as a focal point for lectures and discussions to reflect on historical achievements in the arts, and also to engage both younger and older generations to look to and share grassroots initiatives for the future.

4.2   Citizenship in the U.K.

In the United Kingdom, if a person is over 18 years of age and has been living in the United Kingdom for five years (three if married to or has a civil partner who is a British citizen) they can apply for British citizenship. Each person must demonstrate that they are "of good character", "of sound mind" and importantly, that they abide by U.K. law and fulfil taxation obligations. Migrants to the United Kingdom who wish to naturalise as a British citizen take a citizenship test, which is aimed at demonstrating their knowledge about life in the United Kingdom and British history and customs. Citizens are expected to be proficient in the English language and attend a Citizenship Ceremony, where they pledge an oath (or affirmation) of allegiance to the Crown and make the following promise: "I will give my loyalty to the United Kingdom and respect its rights and freedoms. I will uphold its democratic values. I will observe its laws faithfully and fulfil my duties and obligations as a British citizen". Citizenship issues were raised in the focus groups.

For some respondents, the notion and application of British citizenship appeared to be straightforward and based on being able to exercise rights and take advantage of opportunities:

> I see myself as a British citizen. I have the right to work and live here, so my
> definition of citizenship is someone who has the right to work and live in that

country and has the rights to the passport and papers and everything, so that's my definition of citizenship. (Tower Hamlets, woman 18–35)

I feel more … citizenship to this country than to the country where I originally come from. Because this country has given me more than my other country, I feel more of a British citizen than a Somali or Somaliland citizen. (Tower Hamlets, woman 18–35)

Some focus group participants felt they had a dual nationality or citizenship status which encompassed being both British and Somali:

[a] British citizen is someone who is willing to have a British passport … In my opinion I am a British citizen but I'm originally Somali. (Tower Hamlets, woman 18–35)

Other respondents felt less sure about what being a citizen meant and how it described them, highlighting that assumptions by others about black people, ethnic minorities and Muslims precluded their acceptance as a British citizen:

I don't believe I'm a British citizen and I don't believe I'm a Somali citizen. I'm a citizen of the world, I'm absolutely confused—that's me! The fact is, I live in a society where people don't see me as either a British citizen or as a Somali citizen, they only see me as a foreigner. It doesn't matter if you have a British passport … they only see you as a black foreigner. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

However, some focus group participants felt that although they technically had citizenship status in the United Kingdom, this did not mean that they had equal rights to European migrants to the United Kingdom or the majority population:

When we come into this country we don't get equal rights to someone who is European, to someone who is British; when I say British I mean somebody who is English, Scottish or Irish. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

We are not British citizens, we are not going to lie to ourselves. We live in this country, yes, but we do not feel like a British citizen; you know it, come on, everybody knows it. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

We are British by papers but there are limitations, there is no participation … when it comes to British, no one is willing to help or even acknowledge you calling yourself a British citizen, that's how I feel. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

4.3   What Citizenship Entails

Although not new, citizenship is a contested concept. The meaning it evokes is synonymous with the social, cultural and political context in which discussions about it

arise.[56] Usually, citizenship is framed in relation to three criteria, which can be broadly summarised as: legal; philosophical; or socio-political definitions.[57]

Although the participants in the focus group were aware of the constitutional requirements of citizenship, demonstrated by passing the citizenship test and attending a citizenship ceremony, for many of the research participants, being a citizen involved having access to education and services, being employed, having opportunities and being able to exercise one's rights, freedom and responsibilities:

> The way I understand citizen, I'm a British citizen in this country, I'm working, I now achieved different things. I work in this country, I know my rights. I think I got same right to anyone living in this country. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

> I'm a citizen of this country because I have opportunities in this country I've got work in this country. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

> For me, citizenship means someone can access work, education and can from my understanding [be a] citizen if someone has the right to access to work, have the right to gain your citizenship, health, public services and everything that makes you a citizen. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

> I am a citizen … If you are able to work in this country to you are available different opportunities. I don't care that there are some people or some small groups that they are label ethnic minorities … I feel free to do whatever I like, I feel the same to the other people. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

> Also you have to contribute to the society you live, you have to educate yourself, you have to work, you have to pay taxes. That's the only way people will respect you, that's the only way people will see you as a citizen hard working, law abiding, who has contributed to the economy of this country, someone who can bring to this society, then you be seen as a British citizen. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

Others defined citizenship as abiding by the U.K. legal system and showing respect for other U.K. customs:

> Respecting the values of the country, respecting the laws, the culture of this country, that would make you a citizen. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

> You have to abide by the laws of the land. You have to respect the religion and culture although you have a different religion or culture, still you need as a value

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[56] P. Dwyer, *Understanding Social Citizenship. Themes and Perspectives for Policy and Practice.* Bristol: Policy Press, 2010.

[57] K. Faulks, *Citizenship in Modern Britain.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998.

of the citizen to respect the laws and culture of the land, that's my opinion. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

As a citizen you have to follow the rules. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

One such "rule" was thought to be to integrate and to respect other ethnic minorities and mainstream society, as the quotes below illustrate:

I think another value is integrating into mainstream society. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

Getting to know your neighbours, mixing with people you work with, knowing the culture that you live in. Learning about other people's cultures, it doesn't necessarily mean that you have to be mixing with white but mixing with other ethnic minorities, that's my value of citizenship. You need to know other people's values and culture, way of living, the different food they eat. Basically, just trying to get to know your neighbours. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

It was generally felt that expressing support for the monarchy and British football teams were not necessarily part of being a British citizen or Britishness:

If this country has a problem and invaders come and invade this country, I'll defend this country with my life. But I will not go and attack any other country, that's my point. Which means the values of this country, you will respect the values of this country, is if I see a sick person, if anybody needs help I'll help them. I'll be nice to my neighbours, I will respect their country. It doesn't mean I'm going defend the Queen or respect the Queen or go out of my way to go and kill others. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

4.4   New Arrivals vs. Longer Settlement History

It was also evident that the women in the focus group made a distinction between themselves and new Somali arrivals to the United Kingdom and to their area. The longer settlement history was significant in terms of belonging and contributions to society. The main distinction here appeared to be in terms of perceptions of levels of adaptation to U.K. culture:

The people who are just coming to the country right now, you can tell the people who have just arrived, you might see them as foreigners, and they can adapt the way that we adapted. It depends on how quickly you adapt to the culture here. (Tower Hamlets, woman 18–35)

Among the women, there was also a consciousness of how the rest of the country and the white British population in particular perceived British-Somalis. This appeared to take two forms, first a positive acknowledgement of the contribution Somalia had made to the United Kingdom, but second, a more negative recognition of how Somalis are stereotyped and not accepted as being British, as the excerpt below indicates:

> I think what you're talking about is the past generation where there was a tradition for Somalis to become seafarers and part of the British navy, obviously some parts of Somalia were colonised by the British, I think those kind of traditions have faded, mainly because of the new wave of immigration after the civil war, and you only have to look at the newspapers, if a crime has been reported about a Somali person, it's not a British-Somali, or a British citizen, it's a Somali who came from this city. (Tower Hamlets, woman 18–35)

4.5   Future Prospects in the U.K.

Women in the focus group also talked about the future prospects for British-Somalis living in London in terms of opportunities for education, employment and integration. There was a sense among the group that they considered the United Kingdom to be a country with more prospects and opportunities for British-Somalis than other European countries:

> I feel like the Somalis in the U.K. are trying to become better citizens here and show that they are not different to anyone else who lives here, they want to study hard and provide a better future for themselves and their families. (Tower Hamlets, woman 18–35)

> Generally speaking, in the U.K. we have quite a bright future, I get the sense that people are trying to push their way forward into society, I'm not sure about the rest of Europe because I don't really know much about the other communities outside of the U.K., but yeah, I think that, especially with the push towards education that Somali parents are getting into now, that has to reap some sort of reward in the future. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

> I think that a lot of Somalis are migrating from Europe to England, the reasons for that are probably that there are not as many opportunities for education. (Tower Hamlets, woman 18–35)

4.6   The Potential for Maintaining a "Somali" Identity

There seemed to be greater potential to maintain a "Somali identity" in the United Kingdom because of the longer settlement history and larger community. These factors, in conjunction with the benefits of having large ethnic minority population concentrations in certain areas, were identified by some respondents as a reason for moving to the United Kingdom. However, this did not appear to detract from the construction and adoption of a "British-Somali" identity, as the quote below illustrates:

> What I hear from a lot of the older generation is that people are losing their culture in these [other European] cities, because the Somali population is very small. So they're coming over to the U.K. and joining with British-Somalis. (Tower Hamlets, woman 18–35)

As discussed in Chapter 2, British-Somali communities have a long history of settlement in the United Kingdom and this is particularly relevant in London. It seems that this large, long-established community, coupled with the educational opportunities available in the United Kingdom, is attractive to new Somali migrants from other European countries, where their settlement histories are shorter.

> I think Somalis are seen as a big attribute to Britain, because there were Somalis who took part in the World War One or Two, so I don't think they're seen as foreigners. I think they're seen as a big attribute in a way, because they served for the British. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

4.7   Places and Space where Interactions Take Place

In the Camden focus group, although the consensus was that British-Somali communities were achieving more and progress had been made, it was felt that there was still a good deal of work to be done in terms of interacting with other ethnic minorities and the majority population:

> I think we need to integrate as well. (Camden, woman 18–35)

Another participant talked about where Somalis met within community space and also highlighted the lack of interaction, or integration, with other ethnic groups:

> So obviously one way or another, whether you go to the mosque or the coffee shop, especially Somalis they are known to go to the coffee shop a lot, talking about what's happening back home, so when it comes to the Somali community, Somalis get involved. But we are talking about integration and outside community. The local community can be someone who comes from anywhere in the world. So it could be the Bengali community, it could be white community. Yes, we do get involved in the Somali community but not other communities, I think that's what we are lacking. (Camden, woman 18–35)

The view here appears to be that British-Somalis are involved with and interested in issues perceived to affect British-Somalis and the British-Somali community, but there is less engagement with majority population and other minority ethnic groups. Another participant echoed this comment by saying:

> Somalis don't communicate with other communities. They only communicate amongst themselves. (Tower Hamlets, woman 18–35)

This view that British-Somalis were insular and tend to only interact with other British-Somalis was also raised in the women's focus group:

> You know the other Somalis in your neighbourhood. Like my mum who I live with knows all the Somali people in the neighbourhood, they all kind of say "hi" to each other, and they all know each other. But in terms of the people either

side [of] you, other than "hi" and "bye", you don't really interact too much.
(Tower Hamlets, woman 18–35)

For the men in the Camden focus group, some of the obstacles to interacting related to where interaction usually takes place, which precludes interaction for British-Somalis:

We can't go to the pub, obviously, and that's where they [others] meet.
(Camden, man 18–35)

The women's discussion suggested that local authority estate design and layout and the demographic constitution of an area were also barriers to interaction:

Firstly, I think generally, it depends what kind of housing you live in, what kind of accommodation. If you live in a house you're more likely to interact with your neighbours either side of you, but if you're living in a council flat where there are multiple houses of small flats, you're not really going to be forming relationships with people just because of the turnover of properties anyway. We live in quite a quiet estate and people don't really interact with each other much. I think it's to do with there not being many families, it's more flats, like two-bedroom, one-bedroom flats. So one or two neighbours who've lived near us for about 10 years now, we talk to them regularly, but the other ones not so much.
(Tower Hamlets, woman 18–35)

From the above quote, it is apparent that there are a number of factors that are perceived to impact on a community being cohesive and sustainable. Importantly, ethnicity and background are not the only issues to consider. The development of one- or two-bedroom flats, mainly designed for single people or couples, could mean that these residents are less integrated into local communities. The design of multi-storey dwellings can also present physical barriers to everyday interaction between community members.

One female research participant, felt that the area she lived in was "friendly", but that her family still gravitated towards the other Somali families there:

In the area I live, people tend to be quite friendly; we interact with our neighbours quite regularly as well. There aren't a lot of Somali people where I live, I think there are three families, and we know them very well, probably, yeah, more than we do the other people. (Tower Hamlets, woman 18–35)

An example of positive interaction across ethnicities was raised in the Tower Hamlets focus group, when a respondent explained how through sport he became involved with people from a range of backgrounds. This was felt to be extremely positive in terms of integration and feeling accepted by society:

The only time I participated in local organisations was through football and sports. All of people from different backgrounds, whites, Indians, Africans, Somalis and that's the only time I found out their way of life and the way they

live, and it's the only time I found that I'm accepted in society and that's about it. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

Sport, and in particular football, was identified as a positive area for interaction and integration by stakeholders. An important example of successful engagement is HORN STARS, which is an initiative that was established in Brent[58] in 1995.

Example of Best Practice: HORN STARS

HORN STARS was first established in 1995 with the aim of setting up a football team to engage the local Somali youths who congregated around the Harlesden, Stonebridge and Wembley area. HORN STARS was commissioned by Neighbourhood Renewal and the Home Office to carry out extensive research on the conduct of the Somali community and in particular disengaged young people. The outcome of the research was the establishment of a number of initiatives including:

- a youth club;
- a supplementary school;
- homework clubs;
- ESOL classes;
- football training.

HORN STARS is not now an exclusively Somali programme; instead, it is inclusive of a range of ethnic groups and gender. HORN STARS has worked with a number of agencies in community consultations (e.g. Stonebridge and Harlesdon Neighbourhood Renewal Teams and Stonebridge Housing Action Trust to map the needs of communities in these wards.

HORN STARS has also worked with The Black Londoners Forum in conducting an audit of refugee youth crime in Brent.[59]

The issue of integration was raised in all of the stakeholder interviews. The consensus among stakeholders was that in order to take advantage of the opportunities available and to thrive in the United Kingdom, Somali communities needed to integrate into wider society. Stakeholders highlighted, however, that there was still some confusion about what integration actually means, with several emphasising that it should not mean assimilation. Instead, it was suggested that Somali communities should be able to

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[58] The London borough of Brent is located in north-west London and borders Camden to the west.

[59] See the organisation's website at http://www.hornstars.org (accessed 4 August 2014).

participate in society without losing their culture or traditional values as a group. However, this was seen as posing a challenge, since the context in which integration should take place is one of non-negotiable principles of the host population, the upholding of the liberal social contract and adherence to the law. Some stakeholders also raised the duality of structure and agency characterising integration, emphasising that there needs to be willingness from the mainstream as well as a disposition to integrate from Somali communities. As one policymaker commented:

> Integration needs to be driven by government and there need to be mechanisms which promote this but members of the Somali community also have individual responsibility through learning English, wanting to belong and contribute and gaining employment.

However, other stakeholders felt that integration should be "bottom-up" and driven by community priorities, rather than being "top-down" and initiated by government, and should involve ongoing activities and interactions rather than "one-off" events.

Stakeholders also identified a number of barriers to integration, mentioning language, religion, the United Kingdom's political system and the lack of Somali role models participating in public life. Stakeholders also felt that mistrust of authority acted as a barrier, and that being located in particular areas with people of the same community, not engaging with others through employment and feeling marginalised compounded such barriers. It was also felt that these barriers work as mutually reinforcing. This is discussed further in Chapter 10, when participation and citizenship are addressed.

4.8   How British-Somalis Define Themselves

It became clear from both focus groups that British-Somalis have multiple, overlapping identities. People could define themselves in relation to the city, by being "a Londoner"; they could also see themselves as "foreign" through the eyes of others; they could also be British, Somali, Muslim, all of these and also "other". Sometimes identity can be pragmatic and specific, as one participant, in the Tower Hamlets focus group suggested:

> I would identify myself as a Londoner. (Tower Hamlets, woman 18–35)

The people in both focus groups also highlighted the differences between self-identification and labelling by others. At times, the intersection of ethnicity/race, nationality and religion was confusing and felt to result in a lack of understanding about "who" Somalis are, and that it also leads to marginalisation and discrimination. The comments from three participants, illustrate this:

> I know my identity, I know where I'm come from, I know exactly who I am. But when people see me, they see a foreigner and the fact is we cannot mix with society, they don't allow us to mix, we don't mix in society, I don't know, it seems to be confusing, that's my answer to you. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

> I consider myself a Somali even though I have a British passport. But being a Somali, Muslim and black, there [are] a lot of limitations and a lack of opportunity. (Tower Hamlets, woman 18–35)

> Some people prefer to call themselves Somali because they feel their sense of belonging is to Somalis because they feel that they are part of big a family. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

It seems evident that there is a perception of safety and security in choosing a Somali identity, as this denotes belonging to a specific group and is less likely to be challenged by others. Participants in both focus groups highlighted the complexity of having multiple identities and how these can overlap, be seen as contradictory and pose limits to British-Somalis integrating with other ethnic groups, as a woman explains:

> Somali people … they do sometimes not fit into any particular category. When you go to schools, because you're Muslim you get put in with other Muslims as well, but most of those Muslims are from an Asian background, because you're African you sometimes fit into the African category, but then the Africans don't identify with you because you're Muslim, sometimes the Muslims don't identify with you because you're black, sometimes you do not quite fit into a group, that's why Somali people a lot of the time just stick together and don't really branch out into other communities because they feel like they don't really fit into any particular group. (Tower Hamlets, woman 18–35)

From the comments above, it is clear that research participants experienced some structural barriers, preventing feelings of being accepted. Significantly too, having potentially multiple identities can obscure the reality of being black, Muslim and African, so for some, "being Somali" seems to be more straightforward and less likely to be challenged.

Although identifying on one level as "British", having multiple identities or labels was considered to be damaging to British-Somalis in terms of suffering from different forms of discrimination, in terms of racism, xenophobia and Islamophobia. As a participant in the young male focus group, commented:

> Being black, a Muslim and being a foreigner, that's a deadly combination right there for you. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

Another respondent articulated this point further and highlighted multiple forms of discrimination and how this shapes identity formation:

> You have the same rights by law but there are certain limitations to what you can access because you are black, Somali and also Muslim. You know you come against all sorts of obstacles and it's very difficult to break that barrier, and that's why a lot of Somalis consider themselves Somali, although they have a British passport and have jobs in this country and also they are tax payers, they contribute to this country but they see themselves as someone who is residing in

this country on a temporary basis and they want to go back one day. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

Another male participant explained how society negatively labeled British-Somalis as "foreigners" and prevented acceptance into wider society:

> I am part of a society and I'm part of a community. I'm part of a Somali community and every day I see people from my own country, and I ask them the same question 'cos I know what they are going to say and how they feel about it, what do they say to me that exactly they don't like a British because they cannot integrate with British societies because they have been isolated because people don't accept them as British citizen. Once you accept someone into British society, then they will feel like a British citizen, but once they feel isolated in a community, you're not going to feel like a British citizen, you're going to feel like a foreigner. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

The above quote highlights the complexities of being part of a community and also of wider society. Belonging to both is not impossible, but there are issues to navigate in terms of the perceptions of others, and there are also structural barriers to being accepted as British by the indigenous population. Others felt that going outside areas which were ethnically diverse compounded feelings of non-acceptance by British-Somali communities, as the following excerpt suggests:

> When mainstream society sees a coloured person, whether you are black, Asian, the prejudice is that you are foreign, whether you have a British passport is doesn't matter really. You are someone who has come from Nigeria or Somalia, it doesn't matter really to them, if you go to one of the white suburbs in London, if you go to Kingston or Barking. There are less ethnic minority people living in the area, so obviously you are considered as a foreigner, we may not feel like foreigners in the area that we live in like Tower Hamlets where there [are] lots of foreigners that [live] in this area. Asian and blacks, but when you go to white suburbs you feel that obviously you feel like you really don't belong to this country but that's the perception. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

In many ways, although providing security and belonging, ethnic, religious and cultural identity also acted as powerful barriers to acceptance by mainstream society and therefore to integration:

> So the barrier would be the language, religion and the colour because you feel a part of that group. You may not feel any racism, but you also don't feel a sense of belonging to that group and that's the issue. (Tower Hamlets, woman 18–35)

A respondent, for example, defined herself primarily through her religious identity:

> This is how I see myself, first I'm Muslim, then I'm Somali, and then black British is way back. (Tower Hamlets, woman 18–35)

One (British-Somali) stakeholder explained how religion acted as a serious barrier to integration for British-Somalis in the United Kingdom. Since religion is central, or indeed paramount to identity formation, the fear of losing religion is a big issue for parents, which means that integrating fully is thought to potentially jeopardise the morality of their children. This view was also articulated in the focus groups:

> They're very protective of their children, and giving their children freedom is something that they're very reluctant to do. Only because they're worried, they've got their best interests at heart, but they think that that's something that will lead to a flood of things that they don't want to imagine, so they'd rather keep them away from all of that. (Tower Hamlets, woman 18–35)

Focus group participants also discussed the role of culture and appearance and how this makes British-Somalis distinctive:

> I think another thing that you can observe with Somalis is that they're not quick to let go of their culture, they dress a certain way, they don't conform to expected standards. (Camden, man 18–35)

The findings here resonate with Kusow's (2006) qualitative study of Somalis and identity in North America. Kusow found that Somalis increasingly identified themselves through culture and nationality rather than skin colour. It should be noted, though, that there were thought to be significant differences between older and younger generations, with the younger generation considered to be well integrated, able to speak the language, mix with other ethnic groups and participate in society. It was also felt that clan identities were much less important to the younger generation, as the following excerpts illustrate:

> I don't think young people are bothered about clans, it's something the older generation keep hold off. (Tower Hamlets, man 18–35)

4.9   The Influence of Global and National Events on Identity

A number of stakeholders mentioned how the British-Somali community in the United Kingdom were very aware of the political situation in Somalia as well as of global and national events and the way that Somali communities are portrayed in the media (discussed further in Chapter 11—The Role of the Media). The overall feeling expressed by focus group participants was an awareness of negative portrayals of Somalis as a group, as the final quote in this chapter illustrates:

> So I think there's a lot of bad press right now, about being Somali at the moment, and I think that's to do with what's going on at the moment, and the associations of Somalis as being violent and disconnected, and all sort of claims that stem from what's been happening back home. (Camden, man 18–35)

4.10 Summary

In the main, focus group participants were positive about living in their neighbourhood, in London and in the United Kingdom, citing the opportunities available in terms of education and employment as factors influencing this. There was recognition that identity was complex, and at times confusing and that identity formation is shaped by both an individual and collective "sense of belonging" as well as being aware of how "other" ethnicities and the indigenous population perceive and define minority groups. For the participants in the study, being Somali, British, black and Muslim overlapped. On one level, such intersectionality was not problematic as it encapsulates the complexities surrounding identity formation and belonging. However, on another level, having multiple identities also compounded potential discrimination, as there are several ways in which people experienced this. Adopting a "Somali identity" was seen by some participants as a "safe" identity since this was not challenged by mainstream society. Focus group participants and stakeholders recognised the importance and benefits of integration, but a number of barriers were identified. Some of these barriers were structural, for example not being able to speak English, not having access to employment and other opportunities to integrate and the unwillingness of mainstream society to integrate. Other barriers pertained to the agency of British-Somali communities and their choosing not to interact with other ethnic groups. Both focus group participants and stakeholders felt that integration had to work from both sides, and that the responsibility to make it happen should not be seen to lie entirely with British-Somali community members.