Identity, Social Inclusion and Progression: a comparative study of Somalis migrating to the UK from Somalia and the Netherlands

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Abstract

This study aimed to explore the differences in self-perceived identities, perceptions of social inclusion and perceptions of social progression of Somali-born migrants entering and residing in the UK. The study focuses on whether these differences exist depending on whether migrants arrive from the Netherlands, a Member State of the European Union (EU), or whether they arrive directly from Somalia, a nation outside of the EU. Literature concerned with Somalis residing in the UK, as well as specific literature focusing on Somalis leaving the Netherlands to migrate to the UK was used to contextualise the study. The research consisted of 18 face-to-face interviews carried in the UK: 10 interviews with individuals who arrived from Somalia and 8 with those that arrived from the Netherlands. Based on the data collected from these interviews, self-perceived identities between the two groups largely differ. Those arriving from the Netherlands typically disassociate from their Somali identity. Secondly, formulations of identity play a pivotal role in perceptions of social inclusion and social progression. On arrival those arriving from the Netherlands perceive themselves to be more socially included and have higher prospects of progressing in society. In terms of how these factors change over time, few conclusions could be drawn – though it appears that differences in country of arrival may become less important. Nevertheless, Somalis residing in the UK from both groups hold positive perceptions of how they are progressing in society.

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Introduction

The study

This paper seeks to understand the differences in self-perceived identities, perceptions of social inclusion and perceptions of social progression of Somali-born migrants entering and residing the UK. The study focuses on whether these differences exist depending on whether migrants arrive from the Netherlands, a Member State of the European Union (EU), or whether they arrive directly from Somalia, a nation outside of the EU. To truly understand how these categorisations, as well as differing real life experiences, affect an individual's perceptions of identity, inclusion and progression, it was necessary to study a group of migrants that are as close to being indistinguishable as possible. It is essential to accentuate the purpose of this research. It is key to explore how these differing migratory routes to the UK, and the obvious subsequent differences in experience, have affected individuals' perceptions of self-identity, social inclusion and social progression. In addition, it is important to discover how these perceptions changed over time. If one of these two groups appear to feel as if they are more included in society or progressing better than the other, why is this the case?

Research Questions

This research has two predominant focuses:

1. Do self-perceptions of identity, social inclusion and social progression differ for Somali migrants residing in the UK depending on whether they arrived directly from Somalia or from the Netherlands?
2. Have self-perceptions of identity, social inclusion and social progression changed during Somali migrants' period of residence, from arrival to the current day?

Historical Context

Somalis are historically known for being nomadic.[1] This inherent nomadism has been exacerbated in recent history by conflict in Somalia - particularly since 1988.[2] This is because in 1988, whilst a peace treaty was signed that put an end to an ongoing war with Ethiopia, a civil war within Somalia began to commence forcing Somalis to flee the country[3]. The number of Somalis fleeing to Western countries consistently increased throughout the period 1991-2000.[4] The geographical and political nature of Somalia during and after the civil has played a huge role in Somali migration to the UK. The nation divided into two autonomous regions: Somalia and Somaliland. The former, officially the Federal Republic of Somalia, is a recognised nation located in the Horn of Africa. It has a population of around 15,500,000 people[5] and borders countries such as Kenya and Ethiopia. The latter is a self-declared state, internationally considered to be an autonomous region in the northwest of Somalia and hosts an estimated 4,500,000 people[6] (2013). During the civil war, Somaliland's capital city, Hargeisa, was the base for the Somali National Movement. Politically, Somalia has been categorised as a "failed state" - its government fell in 1991 and Somalia has since operated without a central government until the establishment of the Transitional National Government in 2006. Somalis would not vote in parliamentary elections again until 2016. Those from Somaliland would not vote in parliamentary elections again until 2005.

Intersectional Nature of Somali Identities

Somali identities are arguably far more intersectional than other nationalities - one could consider their nationality, whether they consider themselves to be Somali or a Somalilander, their age, their gender, their sexual orientation, their ethnicity, their religion, their membership to clans among many other identity markers. These markers cannot all be explored within this study. Identity markers such as sexual orientation, gender and age are far beyond the scope of this study. This study

[1] A. van Heelsum, 'Why Somalis move? An investigation into migratory processes among Somalis', *Paper presented at ECAS 4: 4th European Conference on African Studies* (Amsterdam 2011) 1-24, 2; Brian J. Hesse, 'Introduction: The myth of 'Somalia'', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 28:3 (2010) 247-259, 249
[2] Monica Fagioli-Ndlovu, 'Somalis in Europe', *Interact Research Report 2015/12: Researching Third Country Nationals' Integration as a Three-way Process - Immigrants, Countries of Emigration and Countries of Immigration as Actors of Integration* (New York 2015) 7-28, 10
[3] It should be noted that this date is contested; the focus of this study begins in 1990
[4] Fagioli-Ndlovu, 'Somalis in Europe', 7-28, 11
[5] World Population Review, Somalia Population, 2019, http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/somalia-population/, 6 March 2019
[6] Unrepresented Peoples and Nations Organisation, Somaliland, N/A, https://unpo.org/members/7916, 6 March 2019

does however recommend future research on this topic to explore these subjects much deeper. Furthermore, considerations such as one's religion, clan or birth-region of Somalia would make this study too complex. This study seeks to understand how one's migratory route to the UK may affect perceptions of identity, inclusion and progression - this includes the citizenship(s) they hold, their spoken languages and their transnational engagements. Since none of the aforementioned markers relate directly to individuals' differing migration routes, they unfortunately cannot be considered. It is also noted that this study appears to ignore the separation of Somalia and Somaliland. This is not strictly the case, but rather that some participants considered themselves to be from Somaliland whilst others considered themselves to be from Somalia (even if they arrived from the Northern region of Somalia). Thus, it was decided to use the appropriate legal term for the nation, Somalia, throughout the study. Thus, participants are referred to, throughout, as Somalis. This introduction will now take a moment to explain Somali relations to their clans and to Islam.

Somali society is largely influenced by association with 'clans'. For some Somalis, ethnicity is translated to simply mean membership of a clan and can even be a stronger identity marker than being from Somalia.[7] The Change Institute writes:

> 'There are five main clans; four of these, Darod, Isaq, Hawiye and Dir, are commonly referred to as 'Noble' clans, whose members are believed to share a common Somali ancestry. The fifth main clan, the Digil and Mirifle, are described as occupying the middle ground between the 'Noble' clans and Somali minority groups'[8]

Furthermore:

> 'Clans play a central role in Somali society, politics and identity formation. Clan groups share a common ancestry through male descent, with lineage often going back generations. The clan system in Somali society forms not only the basis of the traditional Somali political structure, but also provides both a system of rights and social support. The system continues to have an impact on the community in the UK,

[7] Maaike van Kruijsdijk, "I am in between. I am not belonging to there, I am not belonging to here": Identity Reconstruction of Dutch Somalis Living in Leicester, United Kingdom', *Centre for International Development Issues Nijmegen* (Nijmegen 2006)

[8] Communities and Local Government, 'Understanding Muslim Ethnic Communities – The Somali Muslim Community in England', *Change Institute*, April 2009 http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120919132719/http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/communities/pdf/1210847.pdf (27 February 2019) 35

> often acting as a pre-existing support network with clan members feeling obliged to assist a newly arrived refugee from their own'[9]

Another key identity marker of Somalis is their religion. Cassanelli stresses that "if today one can almost automatically say that to be a Somali is to be a Muslim, historically it can be said that to accept Islam was to accept membership in a larger Somali nation."[10] According to the 2001 Census, 89.3 percent of migrants born in Somalia are Muslim[11] and Somalis identify themselves primarily as Muslims[12]. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh & Qasmiyeh propose that Islam as an identity marker has grown to dictate interactions with the host community[13] and this is especially true in an age where Islam is often equated with a threat of terror. Muslims are often marked by physical and psychological alienation from both their country of origin and residence.[14] For Somalis in the UK these factors appear to also be true, for Somalis tend to attend mosques established by the more settled Muslim communities.[15] Islam, being a central feature of Somali identity, may well be a defining factor in the changing perceptions of social inclusion and progression amongst Somalis living in the UK. The effects of Islamophobia were not explored explicitly, but participants were asked about their perceptions of exclusion, discrimination and other social circumstances that could be caused by Islamophobia – how closely one identifies with religion was far from the focus of this study.

[9] CLG, 'Somali Muslim Community in England', April 2009, 35
[10] L.V Cassanelli, *The Shaping of Somali Society: Reconstructing the History of a Pastoral People, 1600-1900* (Pennsylvania 1982) 129
[11] CLG, 'Somali Muslim Community in England', April 2009, 6
[12] CLG, 'Somali Muslim Community in England', April 2009, 6; Fagioli-Ndlovu, 'Somalis in Europe', 7; Open Society Foundations, Somalis in European Cities, *At Home in Europe* (New York 2015), 17; Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Yousif M. Qasmiyeh, Muslim Asylum-Seekers and Refugees: Negotiating Identity, Politics and Religion in the UK, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 23:3 (2010) 294-314, 294; Mulki Al-Sharmani, Livelihood and Identity Constructions of Somali Refugees in Cairo (The American University in Cairo 2003) 1-36
[13] Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Qasmiyeh, Muslim Asylum-Seekers, 294-314, 308
[14] Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Qasmiyeh, Muslim Asylum-Seekers, 294-314, 310
[15] CLG, 'Somali Muslim Community in England', April 2009, 6

Historiography

Somalis arriving in the UK

The Somali community in the UK is the largest of all Somali communities anywhere in Europe.[16] According to the 2011 UK census, the Somali-born population is around 101,000.[17] There exists a large number of Somalilanders living in the UK, predominantly due to the British colonial invasion of Somaliland in the 1800s: 'the UK has historically been closely connected to Somalia, and because of this colonial linkage there has been a long tradition of Somalis settling in the country'.[18] During this period, Somalilanders migrated to the UK as merchant seamen and/or students.[19] A great number of these people settled in coastal cities such as Cardiff and Liverpool.[20] For this paper, however, emphasis is placed on the movement of people who left Somalia from 1990 onwards. According to the Office for National Statistics (ONS), thirty-six percent of the previously mentioned 101,000 Somali-born residents within the UK arrived during the 1990s[21] - thus around 36,000 people.

Somalis arriving in the UK from the Netherlands

A large number of Somalis who originally fled to the Netherlands have famously relocated to the UK.[22] Since 2000, it is estimated that around 10,000 to 20,000 Somali migrants left the Netherlands to the UK [23] - though the exact number of Dutch Somalis who have emmigrated to the UK from the Netherlands cannot be traced back in existing databases.[24] To accentuate this point and highlight the

[16] Fagioli-Ndlovu, 'Somalis in Europe', 7-28, 14; Laura Hammond, 'Somali Transnational Activism and Integration in the UK: Mutually Supporting Strategies', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39:6 (2013) 1001-1017, 1005

[17] ONS (Office for National Statistics) Census 2011: Population estimates for the UK. *United Nations Census Statistics*. 2011

[18] Gill Valentine, Deborah Sporton and Katrine Bang Nielson, Identities and Belonging: A Study of Somali Refugee and Asylum Seekers Living in the UK and Denmark. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 27:2 (2009) 234–250, 235

[19] Hammond, 'Somali Transnational Activism', 1001-1017, 1005

[20] Hammond, 'Somali Transnational Activism', 1001-1017, 1005; CLG, 'Somali Muslim Community in England', April 2009, 24

[21] ONS (Office for National Statistics) Census 2011: Population estimates for the UK. *United Nations Census Statistics*. 2011

[22] Ilse van Liempt, ''And then one day they all moved to Leicester': the relocation of Somalis from the Netherlands to the UK explained', *Population, Space and Place* 17:3 (2011) 254-266; van Heelsum, 'Why Somalis move?', 2; van Kruijsdijk, "I am in between', 6

[23] E.W.A. van den Reek and A.I. Hussein, '*Somaliers op doorreis. Verhuisgedrag van Nederlandse Somaliers naar Engeland'*, (University of Tilburg 2003) 1-83

*(English translation: Somalis in transit. Relocation behaviour of Dutch Somalis to England)

[24] van Liempt, 'And then one day', 254-266, 254

inaccuracy of current estimates, Leicester City Council estimate 15,000 Somalis from the Netherlands live within Leicester alone.[25] What is known is that Somalis within the European Union (EU) contribute to more intra-EU migration than the average population.[26] The movement of Dutch Somalis from the Netherlands to the UK is often referred to within academia as 'secondary movement': a move after the first claim to refugee status is completed.[27] However, the majority of Somalis who have relocated to the UK have done so as EU citizens and thus do not fit the category of secondary movers.[28] However, van der Reek and Hussein argue that the motivations are similar to those of secondary movers and that there exists little time between acquiring EU-citizenship and moving to the UK.[29]

In terms of scholarly work on Somalis migrating from the Netherlands to the UK, the majority of work has been undertaken by van Liempt.[30] One of van Liempt's articles focused on the reasons behind Somalis moving from the Netherlands to the UK. This article found that Somalis living in the Netherlands perceived the UK to be more welcoming of foreigners than they had experienced in the Netherlands.[31] During the years of residence for many Somalis in the Netherlands, the political climate of the nation changed and, consequently, most Somalis perceived the country as becoming less tolerant of foreigners.[32] Many found the Netherlands was becoming particularly anti-Muslim.[33] This was one of the predominant motivations behind Somalis leaving the Netherlands to the UK. Furthermore, the fact the UK already had a strong presence of Somalis was a strong pull factor.[34] In the Netherlands, Somalis had been subject to the country's dispersal policy, forcing them to "spread out" across the nation. Thus, for Somalis to reconnect with their co-nationals, whether in the Netherlands or in the UK, was a significant driving force behind their movements[35]: 'Living closer to the Somali community is something Somalis clearly had missed in the Netherlands'.[36] Van Liempt found that Dutch Somalis in the UK often referred to themselves as *Kaaskoppen*, or cheeseheads, because they perceive themselves to be more Westernised than other Somalis in the UK.[37] Somalis

[25] Open Society Foundations, Somalis in Leicester, *At Home in Europe* (New York 2015), 29
[26] van Liempt, 'And then one day', 254-266, 255
[27] van Liempt, 'And then one day', 254-266, 254
[28] van Liempt, 'And then one day', 254-266, 254
[29] van den Reek and Hussein, Somaliers op doorreis, 16
[30] van Liempt, 'And then one day', 254-266; Ilse van Liempt, 'Young Dutch Somalis in the UK: Citizenship, Identities and Belonging in a Transnational Triangle', *Mobilities* 6:4 (2011) 569-583; Ilse van Liempt, 'From Dutch Dispersal to Ethnic Enclaves in the UK: The Relationship between Segregation and Integration Examined through the Eyes of Somalis', *Urban Studies* 48:16 (2011) 3385–3398
[31] van Liempt, 'And then one day', 254-266, 263
[32] van Liempt, 'And then one day', 254-266, 260; van Liempt, 'From Dutch Dispersal', 3385–3398, 3387
[33] van Liempt, 'From Dutch Dispersal', 3385–3398, 3390
[34] van Liempt, 'And then one day', 254-266, 263
[35] van Liempt, 'And then one day', 254-266, 259-263; van Liempt, 'From Dutch Dispersal', 3396
[36] van Liempt, 'From Dutch Dispersal', 3385–3398, 3396
[37] van Liempt, 'And then one day', 254-266, 256

from the Netherlands, therefore, feel as if they share a particular identity compared to those arriving from other nations that drives their desire to reconnect. Finally, most Somalis stated that they left the Netherlands for the UK in order to pursue economic and educational opportunities they perceived to be lacking in the Netherlands.[38]

Identity: Somalis Arriving from Somalia

This section seeks to talk about the identity of migrants and refugees – as this encapsulates the experiences of Somali migrants arriving from Somalia. The following section will then discuss the specific case of Somalis arriving from the Netherlands and their identity.

The identities of migrants are explored vastly within academic literature, but rarely do these studies consider the perceptions of the migrants themselves on what their identity truly is:

> 'How individuals identify themselves and the way in which they are identified are important for integration. A person may be employed, or succeed in education, but may not feel a sense of belonging to the place where he or she lives.'[39]

This study seeks to do just that for Somali migrants by looking at self-perceptions of identity, social inclusion and social progression. In addition to asking participants about perceptions of their own identity, indicators of one's identity will also be explored: citizenship, language and transnational engagements. It is considered that all these factors affect the perceptions of one's own identity, but also how well society receives migrants. Firstly, national identity and self-identity deeply entwined.[40] Citizenship, or a lack of the receiving nation's citizenship, also creates inner-boundaries within a nation that can work to include or exclude individuals based on their nationality.[41] Most Somalis arriving in the UK from Somalia acquire British citizenship, this is due to the history between Somaliland and the UK discussed above. Likewise, arrivals from the Netherlands will have acquired Dutch citizenship. It will be interesting to understand if this creates differences in perceptions of inclusion and

[38] van Liempt, 'And then one day', 254-266, 257-259
[39] CLG, 'Somali Muslim Community in England', April 2009, 16
[40] Roger Waldinger, 'A cross-border perspective on migration: beyond the assimilation/transnationalism debate', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43:1 (2017) 1-17, 14
[41] Waldinger, 'A cross-border perspective on migration', 1-17, 6

progression. Whilst on the one hand it may be expected, with both citizenships belonging to the European Union (on date of arrival and on writing this paper), not all arrivals from Somalia would have had instant access to citizenship and thus how their perceptions evolve over time in comparison to those arriving from the Netherlands is important.

Furthermore, discussions of Brubaker's 'ethnocultural exclusion' could be essential to this comparison. Waldinger writes:

> 'formal legal status is more of a nominal category: one's condition as citizen, legal permanent resident, or undocumented immigrant is hidden in everyday interaction, cutting across the more easily noticed traits of accent, name, or appearance'.[42]

This could, on the one hand, ethnicise Somalis' legal status in the UK, meaning that traits, such as those discussed above, may signal 'possible membership in a population where unauthorised status is common [and] in turn place all the members of that population under suspicion'.[43] In layman's terms this means that Somalis arriving from all nations may simply be assumed to be refugees and thus treated as such by society. On the other, if these identifiable traits are identifiably different, such as language (the knowledge of Dutch), English proficiency or the accents (Dutch sounding vs. Somali sounding accents) of individuals, then these traits may work to create differences in the inclusion and progression of individuals in this study. One predominant aspect where this could be significant is language. Firstly, research suggests that acquiring knowledge of the host nation's language is beneficial for labour migrants' and refugees' labour market participation.[44] Secondly, research also accentuates the positive correlation between speaking the language of the host nation and social integration.[45] To this point, those arriving from the Netherlands may struggle with social inclusion, both into British society and Somali networks. The Change Institute found:

> 'that there are some Somalis who have arrived from Holland, or other European countries, who do not speak their mother tongue or English very well, and

[42] Waldinger, 'A cross-border perspective on migration', 1-17, 7
[43] Waldinger, 'A cross-border perspective on migration', 1-17, 7
[44] Alexia Lochmann, Hillel Rapoport and Biagio Speciale, 'The Effect of Language Training on Immigrants' Economic Integration: Empirical Evidence from France', *IZA Discussion Paper No. 11331* (2018) 1-44
[45] H. Esser, 'Migration, Sprache und Integration'*, AKI Research review,* 4 (2006) 1-119

> consequently face significant challenges integrating into both the Somali and British communities in the UK'[46]

Contrariwise, those arriving from the Netherlands having a knowledge of Dutch and using this language within the UK helps create an identity that will be ascribed to the individual by wider society – this identity notably being European. In other words, what these individuals have achieved in the acquisition of embodied cultural capital. Embodied cultural capital refers to Bourdieu's works and describes how individuals subconsciously assume the characteristics of the culture that surrounds them.[47] Considering that Dutch integration policies in the 1990s became very assimilationist, it would is not surprising that Somalis in the Netherlands would have begun to become "more Dutch". Furthermore, Bourdieu specifically wrote about linguistic cultural capital, of which refers to the knowledge and proficiency of language and embodiment of national culture.[48] Furthermore, within linguistics, there is an understood phenomenon coined linguistic profiling – identifying a person through auditory cues. Research on how language can be used as an exclusionary tool has been conducted by Baugh.[49] It is argued that the knowledge of Dutch could work to include Somalis arriving from the Netherlands more than those from Somalia – but this conclusion cannot be made without first understanding the English proficiency of both groups or to what frequency those from the Netherlands continue to use Dutch over Somalia in the UK. Whilst the Change Institute stated that those arriving from the Netherlands often do not speak good English, the proficiency of English in the Netherlands is extremely high and thus it is expected that many migrants also learnt some English during their residence in the Netherlands.

When considering identity of Somalis in the UK, it must not be ignored that three of the ten participants arriving from Somalia arrived as asylum seekers. Phillips and Hardy wrote about how identities within the UK refugee system are formed by institutions in order to achieve specific goals - whether they be exclusionary or welcoming.[50] For example, they argued that the UK government promotes a false identity of refugees by claiming that their attempts to seek refuge are not genuine but rather they are motivated primarily by a desire to circumvent normal immigration controls.[51]

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[46] CLG, 'Somali Muslim Community in England', April 2009, 38
[47] Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', in: John Richardson, (Ed.) *Handbook of Theory of Research for the Sociology of Education* (New York 1986) 46-58, 48-49
[48] P. Bourdieu and J.C. Passeron, *Theory, culture & society. Reproduction in education, society and culture* (Thousand Oaks 1990) 1-288, 71-107
[49] John Baugh, 'Linguistic Profiling and Discrimination', *The Oxford Handbook of Language and Society* (2017) 349-369
[50] Nelson Phillips and Cynthia Hardy, 'Managing Multiple Identities: Discourse, Legitimacy and Resources in the UK Refugee System', *Organization* 4:2 (1997) 159–185
[51] Phillips and Hardy, 'Managing Multiple Identities', 159–185, 161

They argue that governments create these identities in order to make refugees seem less desirable members of society in hopes of keeping them out the country.[52] Such constructions often ignore the valuable contributions that refugees can, and do, make to their communities.[53] Furthermore, these constructions are particularly important when studying the self-perceived identities and senses of belonging among Somali migrants in the UK as these constructions can determine whether individuals and/or groups feel welcome or not within society or how well they may progress in terms of accessing government institutions or the labour market. Individual perceptions of identity are likely to be influenced by societal, structural and institutional forces.[54] Thus, if there exists an idea that Somalis arriving from Somalia are all refugees and these individuals are received with the same sense of undesirability that Phillips and Hardy discuss, they are less likely to perceive themselves as welcome within the UK. This idea coincides with that of ethnocultural exclusion. However, here again, identifiable traits of those arriving from the Netherlands may create a distinction between the two groups in UK society and work to consolidate the idea that those arriving from Somalia are all refugees, even if they are not. Morrice's study on learning and refugees found that respondents often did not disclose their identity as a refugee to members of the public for these exact reasons.[55] Refugees within the study claimed that the asylum process treats refugees poorly and people expect refugees to be, for example, poor and uneducated.[56]

Morrice's study focused predominantly on what immigrants and refugees gain from integration in a new society, but also the behaviours, cultural identities and traits that individuals unlearn during the process.[57] Understanding how one's identity changes throughout their residence in the UK is thus also important to the study: by understanding how British or Dutch the Somali participants feel, we begin to understand how their perception of their identities have changed since leaving Somalia and subsequently arriving in the UK. This is could also be an indicator of how welcome one feels in British society. This sense of inclusion is often based on recognition of what is shared with some people as well as what is different from others[58] - meaning those identifying closer to European, Dutch identities could thus face a higher degree of inclusion than those that feel predominantly Somali. Thus, for the comparative study of Somali migrants residing in the UK, the two differing geographical dimensions are sure to have an impact on one's identity construction.

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[52] Phillips and Hardy, 'Managing Multiple Identities', 159–185, 161
[53] Linda Morrice, 'Learning and Refugees: Recognizing the Darker Side of Transformative Learning', *Adult Education Quarterly* 63:3 (2013) 251-271, 256
[54] Phillips and Hardy, 'Managing Multiple Identities', 159–185, 159-185
[55] Morrice, 'Learning and Refugees', 251-271, 262
[56] Morrice, 'Learning and Refugees', 251-271, 262
[57] Morrice, 'Learning and Refugees', 251-271, 266
[58] Jeffrey Weeks, 'The Value of Difference', in: Johnathan Rutherford (Ed), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (London 1990) 88-100, 88

Valentine et al. found that Somali refugees residing in Sheffield did not necessarily feel 'British'.[59] Rather, participants stated that being Somali was much more important to them than being British.[60] Nevertheless, participants stated that they felt like they belonged in the UK.[61] It is interesting that Somalis arriving to the UK from Somalia do not feel a strong sense of Britishness within their self-identity. It is thus important to understand how closely Somalis arriving from Somalia associate with their Somali identity as well as their British identities.

Identity: Somalis Arriving from the Netherlands

A few studies exist concerning the identity and sense of belonging of Dutch Somalis living in the UK – again, carried out by van Liempt. This final section discusses these studies and their findings. One study found that Dutch Somalis often hold close bonds to the Netherlands even though they left for the UK.[62] Whilst soon after obtaining their Dutch passport, around one third of Somalis left the Netherlands for the UK, the majority retain their Dutch passport and do not acquire a British citizenship.[63] It is argued that this is because Dutch Somalis see the Netherlands as the country that provided them with refuge and thus their passport triggers positive nostalgic feelings.[64] In terms of the younger generation, typically those of working age whom move to the UK, interestingly, they appear to explain their move to the UK in a similar manner that their parents describe their move to the Netherlands.[65] Thus, it may be expected that Somalis leaving the Netherlands retain association to their Dutch identity in the same manner that Somalis leaving Somalia do. It is also suggested that Dutch Somalis associate less with "being Somali".[66] The Change Institute wrote that 'often successful settlement in the UK results in a weakening of links with Somalia'.[67] If weakening links with Somalia are central to inclusion in the UK, based on a combination of van Liempt's and Valentine et al's studies, it would be expected that Somalis arriving from the Netherlands are likely to possess stronger perceptions of inclusion.

[59] Valentine, Sporton and Bang Nielson, 'Identities and Belonging', 234–250, 247
[60] Valentine, Sporton and Bang Nielson, 'Identities and Belonging', 234–250, 247
[61] Valentine, Sporton and Bang Nielson, 'Identities and Belonging', 234–250, 247
[62] van Liempt, 'Young Dutch Somalis in the UK', 569-583, 571-573
[63] van Liempt, 'Young Dutch Somalis in the UK', 569-583, 572
[64] van Liempt, 'Young Dutch Somalis in the UK', 569-583, 581; van Liempt, 'From Dutch Dispersal', 3385-3398, 3396
[65] van Liempt, 'Young Dutch Somalis in the UK', 569-583, 581
[66] Valentine, Sporton and Bang Nielson, 'Identities and Belonging', 234–250, 241
[67] CLG, 'Somali Muslim Community in England', April 2009, 36

Research Gap

This study seeks to fill a gap in the current research on Somali migrants residing in the UK by comparing the experiences and perceptions of Somalis arriving from Somalia with the experiences and perceptions of Somalis arriving from the Netherlands. To repeat the words used at the beginning of this paper: it is key to explore how these differing migratory routes to the UK, and the obvious subsequent differences in experience, have affected individuals' perceptions of self-identity, social inclusion and social progression. In addition, it is important to discover how have these perceptions changed over time. If one of these two groups appear to feel as if they are more included in society or progressing better than the other, why is this the case? By seeking to answer this question it may be possible to conclude that those arriving to the UK from a European nation have prospered better in the UK since arrival than those arriving from Somalia. Studies comparing Somalis with differing nationalities exist, but these studies seek to compare Somalis residing in different nations. A comparison based on Somalis with different nationalities residing in the same nation has not been conducted. Finally, it is noted by van Kruijsdijk that there exists a lack of research on remigration.[68] This study seeks to understand how the remigration of Somalis from the Netherlands to the UK may have altered their lives.

Theory

The relevant literature used here suggests multiple potential results for this study. Firstly, ethno-cultural exclusion could play a vital role. As Somalis possess membership to a population where asylum applications to Europe, and the UK specifically, are common, it is possible that no differences between to the two groups may be found. Somalis, regardless whether they arrive from Somalia or the Netherlands, may be assumed to have arrived in the UK as refugees and be subsequently be received negatively by society and experience exclusion. On the other hand, by acquiring Dutch nationality and the ability to speak the Dutch language whilst maintaining a strong sense of identification with the Netherlands, it is hypothesised that it is likely that Somalis arriving from the Netherlands will be distinguishable within society compared to those arriving from Somalia. The attainment this of cultural capital is something that separates Dutch Somalis. It is thus expected that those arriving from the Netherlands will possess stronger perceptions of social inclusion.

Furthermore, it appears that building strong social networks in the UK is of great importance to Somalis from the Netherlands. Their desire to reconnect is likely going to accentuate differences

[68] van Kruijsdijk, '"I am in between.' (Nijmegen 2006)

in identity between arrivals from the Netherlands and Somalia. This is point is accentuated by the fact that Dutch Somalis in the UK refer to themselves as *Kaaskoppen* – they have branded an identity for themselves. This shared sense of identity provides Somalis arriving from the Netherlands with a specific type of social capital. Social capital in this sense includes a sense of shared identity and shared values.[69] Possessing this capital within Dutch Somali networks may prove to be beneficial for Somalis arriving from the Netherlands as networks often help migrants gain access to resources.[70] With access to resources that may be exclusive to Dutch Somali network, it would not be surprising, in line with theories of social capital, that Somalis arriving from the Netherlands may experiences a stronger perception of both social inclusion and social progression. However, a lack of consideration for how clan affiliations affect these networks may prove to be a flaw in this study.

Finally, it may also be expected that possessing negative experiences of the Netherlands, those migrating to the UK may perceive the UK to be more ideal for social inclusion and social progression. These two factors were dominant push/pull factors for those leaving the Netherlands. Social inclusion has been discussed above; in terms of social progression, many Somalis migrating from the Netherlands moved for work.[71] Many experienced unemployment in the Netherlands. Thus, finding work in the UK is likely to generate positive feelings about how well they may be progressing in society. Whereas those arriving from Somalia may view the same opportunities less positively depending on their experiences within the UK. It is not unforeseeable that participants arriving from Somalia may view the UK more negatively than those arriving from the Netherlands, because, as their first country of settlement after leaving Somalia, they have no experience of residence in another European country to make comparisons. Therefore, it is expected to find that perceptions of social inclusion and progression do differ depending on the country of arrival in this respect.

In terms of changes over time, it is difficult to hypothesise how these perceptions will change over time. It could simply be expected that, as Somali networks grow in the UK, and as time of residence increases, that perceptions of social progression improve. This is because English proficiency will improve, as will access to jobs and supporting networks. In terms of perceptions of social inclusion, the rising anti-Islamic attitudes within the UK could make Somalis of all nationalities feel less included in society.

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[69] Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', 56

[70] Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou, 'The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and its Variants' *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530:1 (1993) 74–96, 86

[71] van Liempt, 'And then one day', 254-266, 257-259

Method

Focusing on individual experiences, this study used primary qualitative research and carried out 18 semi-structured interviews with Somali migrants living in the UK. These 18 participants consisted of ten Somalis who arrived to the UK directly from Somalia and eight Somalis that arrived to the UK from the Netherlands. Qualitative research was favoured due to its ability to describe social phenomena as experienced by participants (Ritchie, 2003). In the words of Kvale:

> 'Knowledge is understood as buried metal and the interviewer is a miner who unearths the valuable metal… [T]he knowledge is waiting in the subjects' interior to be uncovered, uncontaminated by the miner. The interviewer digs nuggets of data or meanings out of the subject's pure experiences, unpolluted by any leading questions'[72]

Semi-structured interviews were the chosen method due to the flexibility they allow the interviewer. This flexibility is not unlimited: semi-structured interviews still require the formulation of an 'interview guide'[73] that is based on specific topics. However, the questions are open ended which allows the interviewee a 'great deal of leeway in how to reply'.[74] This leeway aids the unpacking of accounts and experiences for the researcher to record. The researcher may also ask questions that had not been anticipated prior to the interview, perhaps in response to an answer given, which further assists the interviewer in fulfilling the role of the 'miner'.[75] This type of contextual interviewing asks 'people to talk through specific experiences in their lives'[76], something that is not necessarily achievable through the use of other methods[77].

Face-to-face interviews are 'characterised by synchronous communication in time and place'[78] Advantages of this are explored further: interviewers benefit from social cues that may

[72] S. Kvale, *Interviews* (London 1996) 3
[73] A. Bryman, *Social Research Methods,* (Oxford 2012) 471
[74] A. Bryman, *Social Research Methods,* (Oxford 2012) 471
[75] S. Kvale, *Interviews* (London 1996) 3
[76] J. Mason, *Qualitative Researching* (London 2002) 64
[77] A. Bryman, *Social Research Methods,* (Oxford 2012) 471; Raymond Oppendaker, 'Advantages and Disadvantages of Four Interview Techniques in Qualitative Research', *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 7:4 (2006) 1-14, 3-4
[78] Oppendaker, 'Advantages and Disadvantages', 1-14, 3

suggest whether, for example, there is doubt in the tone of the voice of the interviewee; participants' answers are spontaneous, disallowing for extended periods of reflection.[79]

However, using interviews as a record of oral history does not come without criticism. Firstly, participants are reflecting on their period of arrival in the UK, which for some was over 20 years ago. This gives the opportunity for details of the provided answers to potentially contain inaccuracies - or at least, skewed truths. One way this study could have been improved is to have focused on significant events that occurred during a participants' residence (i.e. elections, 11th September, Brexit referendum). Whilst it appears there is a dearth of literature based on the disadvantages of oral history, Thompson refutes the idea that the value of someone's account depreciates over time and highlights multiple experiments that show, for example, that people's memories do not worsen when they are recollecting something they are interested in.[80] Considering these stories are concerned with personal experiences, it could be argued that the accounts given within this study are reliable.

Sample

It must be stated from the outset that the sample of this study is by no means representative. The sampling method adopted was snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is a form of convenience sampling.[81] The predominant benefit of snowball sampling is to access difficult to reach populations. From the offset, it appeared that finding Somalis that fitted the sample criteria would prove to be an arduous task. Once the snowball method was adopted, participants were much easier to find and access. This method details a scenario where the 'researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contacts with others'.[82] This method was soon realised to be appropriate due to the difficulties experienced in recruiting participants into the study. Whist gatekeepers were made use of, particularly those thanked at the beginning of this paper, much of the research involved sitting in Somali Cafes, particularly around the time of Islamic evening prayer, Salat al-maghrib, in hopes of being introduced to candidates that matched the participant criteria. This of course creates a sample bias: only those who were present in the cafe could be asked to participate. This bias was predominantly expressed through the lack of females that participated in the study - only males were present in the cafes. Whilst attempts were made to rectify this bias by seeking out female participants - i.e. by

[79] Oppendaker, 'Advantages and Disadvantages', 1-14, 3
[80] Paul Thompson, 'Problems of Method in Oral History', *Oral History* 1:4 (1972) 1–47
[81] A. Bryman, *Social Research Methods,* (Oxford 2012) 201
[82] A. Bryman, *Social Research Methods,* (Oxford 2012) 202

contacting Somali women's organisations in Bristol - little headway was made and Somali women proved to be very difficult to access. Thus, unfortunately only one interview was carried out with a female participant. This of course affects the outcome of the research, for female migrants may have different experiences in the receiving nation than male migrants. For example, the double burden hypothesis argues that women face more discrimination than men because they belong to two lower status groups simultaneously.[83] Contrarily, it is argued by some that women have smoother experiences to men. The subordinate male target hypothesis argues that migrant men suffer more discrimination because they are perceived as a more threatening being.[84] These two theories highlight how women's experiences could differ to men's experiences and thus alters the generalisations that may be made from the results of this study.

For participants to partake in the study, they were required to meet the following criteria:

- Somali born
- Arrived in the UK directly from Somalia **OR** the Netherlands (without living in other nations prior to their time in the Netherlands)
- Arrived in the UK of working age

Interviews were carried out with Somalis based in Bristol and Cardiff between the dates of 24 April 2019 and 3 May 2019. Interviews were carried out in English.

Ethical Measures

Prior to conducting the interview, participants were given a consent form[85] for which they were granted time to read, check and sign to confirm their participation within the study. The form detailed how their data would be handled and informed them how they should contact the researcher in case they wished to withdraw their information. Due to the sensitive nature of specific conversations, many participants asked to remain anonymous within the write up. Thus, it was decided that it would be easier to anonymise every participant.

[83] Jennifer Berdahl and Celia Moore, 'Workplace harassment: Double jeopardy for minority women', *Journal of Applied Psychology* 91:2 (2006) 426-436
[84] Jim Sidanius and Rosemary Veniegas, 'Gender and race discrimination: The interactive nature of disadvantage', in: Stuart Oskamp (Ed.), *Reducing prejudice and discrimination* (Mahwah 2000) 47-69
[85] Appendix (2)

In total, eighteen interviews were conducted with participants that fitted the criteria: ten interviews with British Somalis and eight interviews with Dutch Somalis. For unknown reasons, it appeared that Dutch Somalis were much harder to access. I was first required to seek approval from a Somali community leader before people were open to participating in the study in the case of Dutch Somalis. But once approval was granted, access became very easy. The arrival year of participants varied slightly: the earliest arrival being 1990 and the latest arrival in 2002.[86] Whilst this does of course affect individual's perceptions of their inclusion and progression in society, the majority of participants arrived during the Premiership of Tony Blair and New Labour, thus, there are not many significant factors that would skew the results. The differing locations of interviews could also be a potential flaw in the study that affects individual's perceptions. However, it is argued that both Cardiff and Bristol have a rich history of receiving migrant populations and, particularly, Somalis are the largest ethnic minority group in both cities.[87] In addition, despite one city being located in Wales and the other in England, they are close in geographical proximity. The greatest similarity between the two cities is the proportion of ethnic minorities that live in the city: both cities host a population that consists of around 16% ethnic minorities.[88] Thus, there are enough similarities between the two cities that the differing circumstances should not alter the individual experiences, namely experiences concerning factors such as inclusion and progression, enough to make the results incomparable.

One further interview was conducted, unexpectedly, with a 'Caseworker' who is employed by the Bristol Somali Forum. Mohamed Abdi Sayaqle was happy to be identified within the study, especially due to his position at the Forum and Mohamed is mentioned in the thank you section of this paper. His job requires him to 'help refugees and ethnic minorities' in Bristol who may have dilemmas or concerns with which they need assistance. This may include translation of documents or navigation toward appropriate services such as doctors' surgeries or mental health clinics. The interview was thus carried out to gain some context of the experiences of Somalis living in the UK and the answers he gave to my questions granted me considerable insight. Thus, some of Mohamed's data has also been included in this study as he works with a considerable number of Dutch and British Somalis.

[86] Though in the Appendix (1), random date ranges are provided as to conceal the exact date of arrival
[87] Mohamed Abdi Sayaqle, 1 May 2019, Asher Websdale (transcripts not archived)
[88] World Population Review, Bristol Population, 2019, http://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/bristol-population/ 2 June 2019; World Population Review, Cardiff Population, 2019, http://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/cardiff-population/ 2 June 2019

Identity

Individuals were asked questions based on their identity: questions were concerned with participants' nationality, self-perceptions of their own identity, their proficiency of English on arrival to the UK, their involvement in British politics, involvement in Somali politics and the frequency of trips back to Somalia - Dutch Somalis were also asked about their involvement in Dutch politics and frequency of trips back to the Netherlands. The answers to these questions are expected to have significant impact on the other two topics of this study. How a migrant perceives themselves is of course important in its own right, but, equally, these perceptions are ultimately reflected onto the receiving society and how a society may perceive the migrant will affect their social inclusion and progression. By appearing more Dutch than Somali, Somalis arriving from the Netherlands may be more welcome in British society due to their shared 'Europeanness'. These topics will be explored below.

The first question posed to participants simply asked them to provide details about their nationality. They were asked if they held single or dual nationality, and to which countries these nationalities belonged to. This question was asked in order to understand how people's nationalities compared to their own perceptions of their identity. Naturally, the second question that was asked to participants concerned their own perception of their identity - how close they feel to their place of birth, their nationality or their place of residence. This question was not to suggest that an individual should feel more, for example, British than Somali or Dutch than British, but to simply understand how people perceive themselves in comparison to the nationalities they hold. For many years Somalis were unable to obtain Somali citizenship - there was no active government operating in Somalia and no embassies across the world. Thus, it is highly unlikely that participants would have Somali citizenship. Nevertheless, failing to ask participants how they perceive their own identity would be neglecting the fact that being Somali may be a predominant aspect of one's identity. In addition, the answers show how this perceived identity may have changed during a participant's residence in Britain – of course, on arrival, none of the participants would have felt British, so how many people feel British now? And how does this differ for those arriving from the Netherlands: have any individuals adapted to feel more British than either Somali or Dutch? For Somalis arriving directly to Britain, seven out of ten participants stated that they held British nationality and the remaining three held a dual nationality of British and Somali. However, only three of these participants stated that they felt predominantly British.

> 'I live here, my family is raised here, I am British'[89]

> 'My Grandad was British, I am here because of that. If I was to say I was not British it would be stupid'[90]

A further three said that they felt predominantly Somali, but only one of those had Somali citizenship.

> 'I am Somali before anything. I am first a Somali, and then I am a Muslim. If I am British it comes after those things. But do I feel British? No'[91]

The remaining four participants stated that they felt a 50/50 balance of both Somali and British. The reason given for this balance was best characterised by one participant who expressed:

'I feel like a foreigner here, and I feel like a foreigner there'[92]

Whilst not a large majority, this was the majority response overall. Thus, this answer gives insight into how some Somalis perceived how welcome they are in Britain - a topic discussed below. What is interesting is that a majority of participants in this study did feel at least somewhat British. This finding does not coincide with the findings by Valentine et al.[93] Their study found that feeling British was not something that Somalis arriving from Somalia living in Sheffield experienced. One may argue that a stronger Somali presence could make individuals feel more Somali than British – however, the Somali population of both Bristol and Cardiff is larger than any other ethnic population living in the cities.[94] Thus, this was an interesting finding.

However, for Somalis arriving from the Netherlands, all eight participants held a single nationality. Seven of these held Dutch citizenships, the remaining one had obtained British citizenship and thus renounced their Dutch nationality. It will be interesting to find out whether this individual's experiences differ to the remaining participants that arrived from the Netherlands. Five of the participants arriving from the Netherlands stated that they felt predominantly Dutch and only one stated they felt a balance between Somali and Dutch - similar to those who felt balanced

[89] Participant 4, 2 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[90] Participant 3, 2 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[91] Participant 8, 2 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[92] Participant 6, 3 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[93] Valentine, Sporton and Bang Nielson, 'Identities and Belonging', 234-250, 247
[94] Mohamed Abdi Sayaqle, 1 May 2019, Asher Websdale

between British and Somali. Another participant stated they felt predominantly Somali and, perhaps unsurprisingly, the individual who obtained British citizenship felt predominantly British. This gave the study and unsurprising context in which to make comparisons: it would become interesting to compare the results of the participant arriving from the Netherlands who obtained British citizenship with the results of those arriving from Somalia (as they also held British citizenship). It would also serve to compare this participants' results with those arriving from the Netherlands. In this way it will be possible to see if the participants' citizenship made any significant difference to the results.

The third question based on an individual's identity was concerned with their proficiency of English on arrival to the UK and how it may have improved throughout their years present in the UK. Language barriers can affect individual's inclusion within society and hinder them from obtaining access to services and opportunities that may benefit their social progression. What the results showed was that those arriving from the Netherlands predominantly spoke more English on arrival than those arriving from Somalia. Nine out of ten people arriving from Somalia spoke 'little to no English'.

> 'I actually only knew one word, that was return. I knew that word so I could get on a bus and buy a ticket to town and back'[95]

Another jokingly remarked:

> 'I learnt English on the job'[96]

However, seven out of eight people from the Netherlands spoke at least a basic level of English or better. This was an expected finding despite the literature stating that Dutch Somalis' English was poor. Based on the literature discussed within the introduction, we know that language can be an influential factor in an individual's labour market participation[97] and social integration[98]. It was also discussed above how acquisition of linguistic cultural capital can provide migrants with a stronger association with the national culture. If on arrival those from the Netherlands could speak basic English, it would be expected that Dutch arrivals faced less discrimination or felt more included in society. Furthermore, some participants arriving from the Netherlands also claimed that they speak Dutch within their family and Dutch-Somali friendship groups, as opposed to English, Somali or

[95] Participant 5, 2 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[96] Participant 1, 24 April 2019, Asher Websdale
[97] Lochmann, Rapoport and Speciale, 'The Effect of Language Training, 1-44
[98] H. Esser, 'Migration, Sprache und Integration'*, AKI Research review,* 4 (2006) 1-119

Arabic. For Somalis arriving from Somalia, they often speak Somali. This is a very interesting finding and one that was discussed as a possibility in the introduction. The above text highlighted how linguistic profiling can cause to be subject to discrimination.[99] The audio cues of a European language would thus be accepted to a greater degree in a European receiving society than a language from outside of Europe. Thus, even in the presence of native English speakers, the Dutch language is less likely to make individuals susceptible to social exclusion than the Somali language, Arabic or any other non-European dialect. By learning and using Dutch in the UK, participants arriving from the Netherlands acquired a form of cultural capital that would make them less likely to be subject to discrimination.

The following questions focused on individuals' political orientation. This question was asked in order to contrast the participants' responses with how frequently they partake in politics inside the UK and outside of the UK – either in the Netherlands or in Somalia – to further understand how closely these participants associate with each nation. Typically, most participants engaged with British politics. Of course, only British citizens can vote, so as a measure of participation in politics this would be an unfair indicator. However, questions were asked concerning frequency of engagement with political news, membership to political parties and canvassing for politicians among other indicators. From these questions it could be vaguely concluded that those arriving from Somalia engaged in British politics more than those arriving from the Netherlands. Whilst both groups kept up to date with news and read frequently about current issues, more individuals arriving directly from Somalia are members of parties, canvas for politicians and engage in local politics in their area - these were the three predominant answers that were repeatedly given. This may be unsurprising as Dutch citizens cannot vote in British elections, but this does not prevent them from partaking in political issues or supporting particular parties. What is surprising is that participants arriving from the Netherlands did not engage with British politics to the same frequency as they did engage with Dutch politics. Whilst this, to some, may not be shocking because as citizens of the Netherlands they may still exercise their votes from overseas, research has shown that a majority of Dutch Somalis living in the UK only resided in the Netherlands long enough to gain a Dutch passport before migrating.[100] If their intention was to always arrive in the UK, why is it that these individuals do not engage more with British politics? They would not have had the right to vote in the Netherlands before becoming naturalised citizens and therefore have no strong political connection to the nation. One possible explanation may be found in the interview data carried out with the Bristol Somali Forum caseworker, Mohamed. He claimed that a lot of Dutch Somalis hold their

[99] John Baugh, 'Linguistic Profiling and Discrimination', *The Oxford Handbook of Language and Society* (2017) 349-369

[100] van Liempt, 'And then one day', 254-266, 254

passports close to their hearts, they love the country for being their place of sanctuary after leaving Somalia due to the civil war[101] – and this statement coincides with the findings of van Liempt.[102] From this, one further inference may be made: refugees or those applying for Family Reunification to leave Somalia/Somaliland are leaving behind a country whose government has collapsed and where embassies are being closed. Obtaining a passport in a foreign country and regaining the right to vote within a nation may be more symbolic and meaningful to Somalis than this paragraph previously gave credit. In this context, it is logical that British Somalis engage more with British politics than those with Dutch citizenship. Furthermore, it is understandable that Somalis arriving from the Netherlands may not wish to partake heavily in British politics, but rather focus their political attention on the country which they have citizenship - particularly if they feel a stronger sense of being Dutch and are thankful for the country providing them with a place of refuge.

Thus, participants were asked directly about their engagement in transnational politics, namely Somali and Dutch politics. Following this, they were also asked about their trips to the Netherlands and Somalia. This paper does not discuss or explore transnationalism in great depth. The questions posed are used to simply understand how closely these individuals still associate to different aspects of their identity. It would be wrong to conclude from this study alone that Somalis residing in the UK are transnational, however, there is a wealth of research that has found that they are.[103] Firstly, to define transnationalism:

> 'Transnational migration is a pattern of migration in which persons, although they move across international borders, settle, and establish relations in a new state, maintain ongoing social connections with the polity from which they originated. In transnational migration people literally live their lives across international borders. Such persons are best identified as "transmigrants"'.[104]

However, as stated, this is not a study focused on transnationalism, but rather makes use of two indicators in order to grasp a vague understanding of how closely Somalis, both arriving from Somalia and the Netherlands, associate with their former nations of residence. Snel et al. provided a list of transnational activities that their study's participants were asked about.[105] This list was used in

[101] Mohamed Abdi Sayaqle, 1 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[102] van Liempt, 'Young Dutch Somalis in the UK', 569-583, 581; van Liempt, 'From Dutch Dispersal', 3385-3398, 3396
[103] For example, Hammond, 'Somali Transnational Activism', 1001-1017
[104] Erik Snel, Godfried Engbersen and Arjen Leerkes, 'Transnational involvement and social integration', *Global Networks* 6:3 (2006) 285-308, 285
[105] Snel, Engbersen and Leerkes, 'Transnational', 285-308, 291

order to formulate two questions that could suggest if one associates with their country of former residence: thus people were asked about their political activities and how often they visit these countries. Whilst it is not concluded by Snel et al. that transnational activities affect structural integration of migrants, these questions were asked in order to compare those arriving from the Netherlands with those from Somalia - is it possible that stronger association to the Netherlands over Somalia could lead to stronger perceptions of social inclusion and/or progression? It is known that Dutch Somalis strongly associate with the Netherlands[106] and that Somalis arriving in the UK from Somalia return for extended periods of the year.[107] Based on the literature it is difficult to assume whether Somalis' association with Somalia will have significant impact on their perceptions of social inclusion. It was suggested by the Change Institute that successful settlement in the UK often coincides with weakening links to Somalia.[108] Snel et al. also found that transnational identifications with the country of origin weaken the longer a participant resides in the country of residence.[109] However, Valentine et al. found that Somalis in Sheffield felt predominantly Somali yet still felt included in Britain.[110] Based on the hypothesis explored in the theory section of this paper, it is expected that Somalis from the Netherlands will still perceive themselves to be more socially included than those from Somalia. This is because their identities are, at least in terms of their self-identity and how society will perceive them, more European than participants' arriving from Somalia.

Thus, to make a comparison of transnational activities participants were asked about their transnational political engagements. Snel et al. found that individuals from refugee countries are often involved in transnational political activities[111], and thus it should be expected that participants from Somalia do engage in transnational politics. As expected, Hammond found that Somalis in the UK tend to involve themselves in politics in Somalia/Somaliland and that prospective political candidates return home to gain election.[112] The results highlighted that Somalis arriving from Somalia clearly had a stronger political connection to Somalia than those arriving from the Netherlands. Eight out of ten people arriving from Somalia stated that they kept up to date with Somali politics - whilst this varied slightly in frequency, most participants often read the news, are associated with political organisations and engage in political conversations in the Somali Cafes in their local area. Somalis arriving from the Netherlands engaged in politics in the Netherlands

[106] van Liempt, 'Young Dutch Somalis in the UK', 581; van Liempt, 'From Dutch Dispersal', 3385-3398, 3396
[107] Hammond, 'Somali Transnational Activism', 1001-1017, 1010
[108] CLG, 'Somali Muslim Community in England', April 2009, 36
[109] Snel, Engbersen and Leerkes, 'Transnational', 285-308, 303
[110] Valentine, Sporton and Bang Nielson, 'Identities and Belonging', 234-250, 247
[111] Snel, Engbersen and Leerkes, 'Transnational', 285-308, 292
[112] Hammond, 'Somali Transnational Activism', 1001-1017, 1010-1011

considerably more than in Somalia. In fact, a majority of participants from the Netherlands stated they deliberately avoid Somali politics whilst they do keep up to date with affairs in the Netherlands.

> 'I do not talk about Somalia much, in the cafes and stuff. I sit in the corner and watch the T.V. if they're talking. It doesn't affect me'.[113]

This is an interesting finding because all participants were born in Somalia. The above theory concerned with individuals regaining the right to vote and thus feeling more politically attached to their citizenship does not necessarily extend to this circumstance. This reality is also true for those who have obtained British citizenship, but still individuals arriving from Somalia kept up to date with Somalia's political events. Why this is the case is difficult to understand. In terms of its effect on social inclusion, two possibilities could exist. On the one hand, those arriving from Somalia could experience higher levels of social inclusion compared to those arriving from the Netherlands because they are more closely associated with British politics and current events. On the other hand, they are also transnationally associated with the politics of a non-European nation – this may work to exclude these individuals and thus those arriving from the Netherlands may experience higher levels of social inclusion. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that people arriving from the Netherlands have a stronger political transnational association with the Netherlands than Somalia as well as a stronger connection to the Netherlands than Britain.

To delve a little deeper into the transnational activities of Somalis residing in the UK, the study also asked participants about their trips back to either Somalia or the Netherlands. Whilst only two participants had never returned to Somalia, however, there was a large difference in the frequency of these returning trips depending on whether the participant arrived from Somalia or the Netherlands. Somalis arriving from the Netherlands travelled frequently to the Netherlands as opposed to travelling to Somalia. In addition, the frequency of trips to Somalia for those arriving directly from Somalia have typically increased the longer they have lived in the UK, whereas they have decreased for those arriving from the Netherlands. It appears that Somalis arriving to the UK from Somalia feel a stronger transnational bond with Somalia than those arriving from the Netherlands. It could be argued that this makes Dutch Somalis' inclusion in society easier - the stories they tell of their trips 'home' are of a European country and they may only be out of the country for a weekend at a time. This result, combined with that concerned with transnational politics, suggests that Somalis arriving from the Netherlands appear to associate more with their Dutch identity than their Somali ethnicity – and this ultimately would make their inclusion in society

[113] Participant 16, 3 May 2019, Asher Websdale

a lot easier. By disassociating from their Somali identity, those arriving from the Netherlands will likely face a smoother transition to living in the UK, experience higher levels of social inclusion and be less frequently subject to discrimination. Contrastly, by maintaining strong transnational ties to the Netherlands, some theories[114] would suggest that Somalis arriving from the Netherlands' engagements may create tensions with the host country's society. However, these theories are highly debated, and there are studies that argue that strong transnational engagements do not affect migrants' ability to be included in society.[115] Nevertheless, it can be argued here that transnational ties to a European nation, as opposed to a non-European nation, would make one's inclusion easier. The fact that Somalis arriving from the Netherlands can vote in EU elections as well supports this argument. Either way, these results are not enough to conclude whether this may or may be the case, these questions were asked to gather a vague understanding about the differences between Somalis arriving from Somalia and the Netherlands. A study more focussed on the transnational engagements of Somalis arriving to the UK from different nations would be valuable for both the study of Somali migrants living in the UK and the study of transnationalism.

Overall, Somalis arriving from Somalia felt a stronger sense of being Somali than those arriving from the Netherlands – whilst of course they also felt more British than those arriving from the Netherlands, this could potentially be an alienating factor. This may be because Somalis with British citizenship are assumed to explicitly be refugees from Somalia – due to ethno-cultural exclusion. If this is the case, it would not surprising that these participants hold less positive perceptions concerning social inclusion as society generally treats refugees badly.[116] It can also be argued that Somalis arriving from the Netherlands bypass this ethno-cultural exclusion through linguistic cultural capital: they speak fluent Dutch and most spoke basic English on arrival – that may, for some at least, be spoken with a Dutch accent. Furthermore, these participants' strong association to the Netherlands, frequency of trips and political engagements, make Somalis arriving from the Netherlands appear to be more 'Westernised' to British society. Their residence in the Netherlands, perhaps in combination with the assimilationist policies they were subject to, has provided these Somalis with a form of 'Dutch' social capital. In the same vain, those arriving from the Netherlands appear to have fewer transnational engagements with Somalia – making them appear not only more 'European', but less 'non-European'. These findings are supported by the fact that Dutch Somalis refer to themselves as *Kaaskoppen.* Below the study focuses on participants' own perceptions of how included they feel in society and how well they feel they have progressed since arrival. Based on the findings focused on the identity of participants, there is at least one expected

[114] Waldinger, 'A cross-border perspective on migration', 3-17
[115] Snel, Engbersen and Leerkes, 'Transnational', 285-308
[116] Morrice, 'Learning and Refugees', 251-271, 266

result: Somalis arriving from the Netherlands will have experienced greater levels of social inclusion due to the cultural and social capital they possess.

Perceptions of Social Inclusion

The study aimed to understand how included participants felt within society. Whilst a particular definition was provided to participants (see below), they were also asked a series of questions based on, for example, their reception on arrival and how welcome they felt/feel now, whether they received assistance from members of the community on arrival and whether this has changed now and whether they have been subject to racism or discrimination. These are just a few examples of the types of questions people were asked to gauge how included one felt in society. The majority of questions were asked with a longitudinal lens: to clarify, participants were asked, for example, how welcome they felt on arrival and then asked how welcome they feel now and if there has been any change in these perceptions, positive or negative, and why this may be the case.

The first question asked to participants was based on their reception on arrival in the UK and whether their perceptions of how welcome they feel in the UK have changed since then. This question was asked in order to make a comparison between the perceptions of each group and see if any differences between the two migrant groups' reception existed. If a difference in reception on arrival existed, we could assume that any negative perceptions about the UK expressed in later questions could be heavily influenced by this factor. It appeared from the outset that those arriving from the Netherlands felt more welcome on arrival than those arriving from Somalia, confirming the hypothesis. For those arriving from Somalia, there existed a fairly equal distribution of participants who felt welcome on arrival and still felt welcome today, those who felt more welcome on arrival and those who felt more welcome currently. This is not necessarily surprising, Valentine et al. found that Somali refugees living in Sheffield felt as they belonged in the UK, but that this was not tied to any attachment to the nation, but rather having their own place.[117] Thus, the perceptions of participants in this study may be simply affected by how closely one is included within the local Somali community. All but one participant arriving from the Netherlands felt welcome on arrival and two participants expressed that they feel less welcome today than on arrival. This result showed no higher frequency of participants feeling unwelcome today than those arriving from Somalia. Overall, a majority of all participants appeared to feel welcome in the UK. The reasons given for feeling unwelcome on arrival were always due to discrimination, for example:

> 'We had some neighbours coming over everyday to see if we were okay, but then we also had bricks thrown through the front door and our windows egged'[118]

[117] Valentine, Sporton and Bang Nielson, 'Identities and Belonging', 234-250, 246
[118] Participant 10, 2 May 2019, Asher Websdale

Another participant disclosed:

> 'I still get flashbacks… I used to get my dinner [lunch] smashed out of my hand... I was beaten up in the streets'[119]

A further participant talked predominantly about discrimination on the labour market:

> 'I did not feel welcome at all when I first came to England. Thatcher had just left office, and so things were very difficult economically for working-class and low-skilled migrants, both categories which I fit into. My partner at the time and I were living on £15 a week sometimes. I discovered racism here, and the attitudes the community I was in had toward me. I particularly remember being 23 and asking the Bristol City Council if there were any jobs available only to be laughed out of the building'[120]

Additionally, one participant arriving from the Netherlands talked primarily about the way he was perceived by society as a Somali migrant:

> 'They genuinely thought you arrived yesterday, like you just got off a boat'.[121]

This participant also then talked about the lack of halal food and how migrants are ultimately given an ultimatum of either fitting in or losing out. It should be noted that the one participant from the Netherlands that expressed this opinion was the participant that held British citizenship. The phenomena he describes is ethno-cultural exclusion. He describes how members of society naïvely assumed he was new to Europe and the reference to a boat suggests that society perceived him to be a refugee.

Despite most participants arriving from the Netherlands stating that they felt welcomed in the UK on their arrival, there was one particularly noteworthy finding: four participants who arrived from the Netherlands stated that they felt less welcome on arrival than when they arrived in the Netherlands. Considering this question was never directly posed to any of the participants, as it

[119] Participant 6, 3 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[120] Participant 1, 24 April 2019, Asher Websdale
[121] Participant 15, 3 May 2019, Asher Websdale

would certainly have been far too leading, it is interesting that these participants felt the desire to reveal this opinion. Furthermore, this finding was unexpected. Van Liempt found that one of the predominant reasons Somalis left the Netherlands to migrate to the UK was because it was more welcoming of foreigners than the Netherlands.[122] The literature would suggest that from the outset that those arriving from the Netherlands would have bias perceptions of how welcome they felt in the UK due to their contrasting reception in the Netherlands, but this is not true. Participants arriving from the Netherlands still felt significantly welcome in the UK on arrival.

For those participants that stated that they feel less welcome in the current day, all answers were based on anti-Islamic attitudes and the rise of right-wing populist politics. This was an expected finding hypothesised in the theory section.

> 'I feel less welcome now; I think this is because of events such as terror attacks'[123]

> 'There are more attitudes against immigrants today than there were when I came here'[124]

The answers given to this question from the two groups were less distinguishable, though a majority of participants in both groups stated that they felt welcome in the UK today. Overall, the answers given to this question were conflicting. Those who stated that they felt less welcome on arrival, due to discrimination, stated that whilst racism still obviously existed, the situation had improved and there was less discrimination today than when they arrived - or at least that the focus was no longer on Somali migrants. However, those who felt less welcome today spoke of anti-Islamic attitudes making them feel unwelcome, which would encompass the majority of Somali migrants. A clear example of this was highlighted by one participant:

> I have faced much more Islamophobia than actual racism, and I do believe it is because of my dress so I am an easy target. Since Brexit, I did not hear many slurs anymore but they started up again since.[125]

These beliefs were shared by those arriving from the Netherlands. One conclusion that can be drawn from the fact that most participants who felt less welcome today due to anti-Islamic attitudes is that

[122] van Liempt, 'And then one day', 254-266, 260; van Liempt, 'From Dutch Dispersal', 3385-3398, 3387
[123] Participant 3, 2 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[124] Participant 14, 2 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[125] Participant 1, 24 April 2019, Asher Websdale

an aspect of these participants' identity, that surpasses their citizenship or ethnicity, was now the predominant cause of their perceptions of social inclusion. Specifically, when participants arriving from the Netherlands had their religious identities targeted, the fact they held EU citizenship on arrival was no longer important. This was also one of the predominant reasons why Somalis left the Netherlands.[126] This could firstly reaffirm that these individuals felt welcome on arrival due to this EU citizenship, but also highlights a flaw in this study - religious identities are an important aspect to consider in one's social inclusion. It would have been interesting to have compared how closely one identifies with their religious identity and their perceptions of social inclusion with the aspects of identity considered within this study. One suggestion rises from the literature that states that Somalis arriving from the Netherlands are often less religious than those, for example, arriving from Somalia.[127] This is largely due to the fact that Islam was harshly criticised during their period of residence in the Netherlands. If Somalis from the Netherlands associate less with Islam than those arriving from Somalia, it could be expected that they would be less subject to Islamophobic discrimination and thus feel more included in society. For the two individuals that felt less welcome today, it is significant to realise that during times of less anti-Islamic discrimination – not to state that Muslims have been free of discrimination in Europe, but the situation certainly worsened post September 11th - that they felt welcome. In times where anti-Islamic rhetoric and attitudes are predominant in society, these two individuals feel less welcome than when they arrived. Only one individual stated that they had never felt welcome in the UK: this was the participant arriving from the Netherlands who had obtained British citizenship. Predominantly, participants in both groups felt welcome throughout, but it was clear that participants arriving from the Netherlands felt more welcome on their arrival to the UK but that perceptions of how welcome participants feel today in the UK is fairly equal among both groups.

Questions concerned with how welcome individuals felt in the UK often lead to answers concerned with discrimination; this leads the paper directly into discussion of participants' experiences with racism and discrimination. Participants were asked if, without needing to disclose any personal details, they had been subject to discrimination since arriving in the UK and if they wished to disclose, in what form this discrimination was exhibited. They were then asked if they had experienced discrimination more/less frequently on arrival or if the situation had potentially got worse/better during their time residing in the UK. Finally, they were asked to detail the frequency of such events. Seven out of ten of participants arriving from Somalia stated that they had been subject to discrimination. No participant claimed that the situation had improved, but that discrimination

[126] van Liempt, 'From Dutch Dispersal', 3385-3398, 3390
[127] Valentine, Sporton and Bang Nielson, 'Identities and Belonging', 234-250, 241

had been present throughout their time living in the UK, or that it had got worse in recent years. One participant, whom I cannot quote to avoid sharing an identifiable detail, told a story about how an employer they had phoned asking for a job seemed overtly keen to interview them. On arrival to the interview, the employer's attitude 'completely changed'.[128] They detailed how they had used a nickname on the phone that they believe the employer mistook for a Western European name and was shocked to be greeted by 'an African'.[129] They did not get offered the job despite the employer's earlier eagerness to interview them. This is not a rare occurrence on the labour market, particularly concerning names, and it would not be surprising if the employer did believe the participant was Western European and thus offered an interview as opposed to if the participant did not use their nickname. Andriessen et al. conducted a study in the Netherlands where they sent two applications to a range of employers: one with a Dutch sounding name, and the other with a name that suggested immigrant descent.[130] The results concluded that labour market discrimination remains a concern in selecting employees. Another participant described their experience:

> 'I have faced much discrimination. Within school systems, my children's academic experiences, jobs and the bureaucratic system itself. I have been called awful things, and have been pushed out of many areas. My children were advised not to go to university because they weren't the right fit, despite entering Russell Group universities.[131]

One participant also described how they were removed from a queue at the airport by Border Force on a return trip from Somalia and were questioned relentlessly about their reasons for visiting:

> 'I told them I was visiting family, but they just asked why? I said, what do you mean why? I was just visiting my family. They said, yeah, but why? It's like they expected a different answer from me. When I couldn't given them the answer they wanted, they called for an anti-terror unit. They then questioned me and I was left in a room whilst they went off to check if everything I said was true'.[132]

[128] Participant 6, 3 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[129] Participant 6, 3 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[130] Iris Andriessen, Eline Nievers, Jaco Dagevos and Laila Faulk, 'Ethnic Discrimination in the Dutch Labor Market: Its Relationship With Job Characteristics and Multiple Group Membership' *Work and Occupations* 39:3 (2012) 237–269
[131] Participant 1, 24 April 2019, Asher Websdale
[132] Participant 6, 3 May 2019, Asher Websdale

This story highlights how Islam plays a huge role in Somali identities. This individual was removed from the queue for being recognisably Muslim. It accentuates a circumstance where identities of Somalis from different nations are less significant, but rather that Islam is an identity marker that can surpass these differences.

For those arriving from the Netherlands, their experiences with discrimination told a different story. Only one participant had ever been subject to discrimination since arriving in the UK, and even more interestingly, this was, again, the participant who was now a naturalised British citizen. Concluding why this might be the case is difficult. Arguably, one's citizenship plays a larger role in the way society perceives an individual than expected - even if subconsciously. This could be explained by virtue of social capital. Through obtaining British citizenship and thus disassociating from their Dutch identity, it could be argued that a breakdown of shared identity and norms has occurred. Without the support of Dutch networks in the UK, this participant may have found themselves alienated in British society seeking to build social capital with Somalis living already in Britain. This argument feeds another. Becoming a naturalised British citizen and disassociating from their Dutch identity could suggest that British society views him the same as those arriving from Somalia – non-European on arrival. Arguably, there is one identifiable physical feature of this participants' character that could be causing this apparent case of ethno-cultural exclusion: their age.[133] As a participant who is at least fifteen years older than the other participants arriving from the Netherlands, society may assume that this individual arrived prior to 1990 and thus must have arrived directly from Somalia. This is not necessarily true, Somalis, even those arriving before 1990 may have lived in other European nations prior to their migration to the UK. But it is likely that society may simply perceive this individual as a refugee arriving from Somalia. It is nevertheless a significant finding that those arriving to the UK from the Netherlands with Dutch nationality appear to have faced no discrimination at all, despite being very aware that it exists, and despite the majority of those arriving from Somalia being subject to it throughout their residence in the UK. Here cultural capital and its effects on self-identity may also be the contributing factor in how these individuals are being received and treated by society. Those arriving from the Netherlands stated that they felt predominantly Dutch; whilst they felt less British than participants arriving from Somalia, they also felt less Somali than these participants. As discussed above in the section focused on identity, by disassociating from their Somali identity, those arriving from the Netherlands made themselves less likely be subject to societal exclusion. Their European identities, through the accumulation of Dutch cultural capital, gives these individuals a more 'Westernised' identity than those arriving from Somalia despite these individuals obtaining British citizenship. On final argument

[133] Refer to the table of participants in Appendix (1)

may suggest that these individuals did not face discrimination because they are not ”changing” the concept of Britishness. Hampshire writes in his chapter, *Politics of Closure,* that migration is often viewed as a threat to national identity – this can of course be a source for discrimination.[134] Those arriving from Somalia are obtaining British citizenship and thus “changing the face of what it is to be British”. Being British in this example is not welcomed with inclusion, but rather feared and reacted to with exclusionary practices. This point is particularly accentuated by the fact that participants arriving from the Netherlands continue to speak Dutch in their families, as opposed to Somali, and other identity markers that associate these individuals closer to the Netherlands than Somalia.

Participants were asked about their perceptions of their own happiness since arriving in the UK and whether this had improved. Whilst a very abstract question, and admittedly this exact opinion was expressed by participants, it was predicted that it would be an interesting question to ask in order to understand the relationship between discrimination, reception and actual happiness. In fact, the majority of participants stated they have been happy since the day of arrival and still are now and this has been consistent throughout. The only participant to state they are not happy was the only individual arriving from the Netherlands who had been subject to discrimination. Therefore, despite discrimination occurring for participants arriving from Somalia, and numerous members from each group stating they did not feel welcome now or that they feel less welcome today, their perceptions of their own happiness living within the UK remained positive. However, in terms of a comparison between the two groups, there were no noteworthy findings. There were also no changes over time so, again, there were no significant findings from this question.

Both groups were also asked whether they received any help or assistance from the wider community. This question was asked to understand how different social networks assisted the inclusion of Somalis in the UK. As stated in the historiography, based on van Liempt’s study, it was argued that that Dutch Somalis may perceive forming strong networks as an important feature of their residence in the UK and thus sought/seek to create a cohesive and structured network of support, perhaps even stronger than those who had arrived to the UK from other countries. The majority of participants stated that they had received help from the community, but every single participant that claimed this also stated that this support came from Somali members of the community as opposed to non-Somali members. Furthermore, it became apparent to ask Somalis from the Netherlands whether it was Dutch Somalis that helped them – this was predominantly the case. Whilst asking this question I was educated on why Somalis are seemingly generous and helpful to fellow Somali members of the community. These habits are tied to practices of charitable giving in Islam: *Fitra* in Somali or *Zakah* in Arabic. Zakah is the third pillar of Islam and requires every adult to

[134] J. Hampshire, *The Politics of Immigration: Contradictions of the Liberal State* (Cambridge 2013) 16-35, 20-21

pay 2.5% of *Nisaab*[135] - this money is used for those in need such as people in poverty. In the circumstance of helping out members of the community, Zakah is understood simply as charitable work or giving, as is encourage by Islam - Muslims should practice Zakah all year round though it is not considered to be as obligatory as the third pillar. Many stories were shared from participants:

> 'I had a friend here already, he told me, when you get your Dutch passport, you come to the UK. You live with me, I get you job and you start your life here'.[136]

> 'Yes definitely, loads of people helped. Somalis help each other. My friend, he translated documents for me so I could become a taxi driver. You know, he helped me study'[137]

> 'Yes my neighbours were great. They would buy you coats, and food and give you money'[138]

> 'When a Somali moves here, into this area. If they don't have food, they come into the restaurants and the cafes. They eat. But they don't have to pay. It's free. And when they have money they never have to pay it back. It's the Somali way'[139]

In total, seven out of ten individuals that arrived directly from Somalia stated that they received help from the community. However, all eight participants who arrived from the Netherlands expressed that the community had been a great help in assisting them from the day of their arrival into the present day. These results were hypothesised in the theory section of this paper. It was never suggested that Somali networks in the UK were not already strong, it is well documented that networks of Somalis have been well established for years[140] and the results of this study show that they are. However, using Dutch Somalis' desire to reconnect with each other as justification for arguing that the networks they build in the UK would be more effective, the results also suggest this is true. These results support van Liempt's findings and arguably exhibit that Dutch Somalis really do establish stronger networks than Somalis arriving to the UK from other nations. This is not to suggest

[135] Simply understood as the threshold one's wealth must exceed in order to be obliged to pay Zakah. One can measure their wealth in either gold or silver to see if they exceed the threshold.
[136] Participant 17, 3 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[137] Participant 11, 3 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[138] Participant 3, 2 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[139] Participant 12, 3 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[140] van Liempt, 'And then one day', 254-266, 254

that the Somali community is divided among countries of arrival. Rather, it suggests that the accumulation of social capital that Somalis in the Netherlands acquired has provided them with a strong base in which to prosper in British society. For Somalis arriving from the Netherlands, regrouping and building strong networks was important and therefore were more likely to help fellow Dutch Somalis arriving in the UK. The mutual trust and shared values within the networks help them to strive. Networks provide migrants, from the start, access to more resources than are made available through assistance programmes.[141] These resources may include food, clothing, housing or employment. There were many stories told to confirm this, and predominantly by those arriving from the Netherlands – these have been noted above. It is also noted below that Somalis from the Netherlands played a pivotal role in finding their co-nationals work in the UK. Thus, based on this data, it appears that Somalis arriving from the Netherlands possess an advantage in comparison to those arriving from Somalia. Not requiring the help of assistance programmes and arriving into a nation with already strong support networks, those arriving from the Netherlands gained instant access to such resources, which could, in turn, enhance their social progression more than those arriving from Somalia.

Participants were finally provided with a definition of social inclusion, provided by the World Bank:

- *The process of improving the terms for individuals and groups to take part in society*
- *The process of improving the ability, opportunity, and dignity of people, disadvantaged on the basis of their identity, to take part in society*[142]

Based on this definition, participants were asked whether they felt included within society. Of those arriving from Somalia, only four participants stated that since arrival that both of these statements coincided with their perceptions of inclusiveness within UK society. Those who disagreed with the statements held varied opinions. One participant stated that inclusion in society is down to how one, as a migrant, interacts with society:

> 'It is how you interact with society yourself. Language is important. Learning English is important. The problems I see [other] taxi drivers have is when they can't speak good English. They are stood on the street shouting but can't understand the problem. Sometimes I have spoken to the customer for them and it's easy, it's no big

[141] Portes and Zhou, 'The New Second Generation', 74–96, 86
[142] World Bank, 'Social Inclusion', N/A, https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/social-inclusion (6 March 2019)

> deal. They [the taxi driver] feel that they are being discriminated against, but it is often a situation that someone who can speak good English can easily avoid'.[143]

This same participant also humorously went onto add:

> 'And the Queen! Got to love the Queen, she's the boss'.[144]

But this quote is further reaching than it may seem on the surface. Firstly, it must be noted, that language is seen as essential tool to avoid exclusion. Thus, again, those arriving from the Netherlands had an advantage on arrival. But, furthermore, this participant is talking about *"being British"*; not only speaking the language, but assimilating, in some respects, to the culture that surrounds you. This answer directly contradicts the findings of Valentine et al. who found that Somalis felt they did not need to be feel British to feel included.[145] Such measures are far from the practice of inclusion and does not focus on the receiving society's willingness to welcome and include migrants. Rather, assimilative measures place the burden of integration and inclusion onto the migrant and expect their behaviour to change in order to get on in society.[146] It is not necessarily surprising that these views were held by a participant arriving from Somalia, as most participants suffered discrimination or felt unwelcome in society on arrival. Thus, these participants are more likely to have made special efforts to aid their own inclusion. Another negative perception of social inclusion was provided through an answer that does not coincide with this opinion:

> 'I do not need to feel included within British society, I have my own home and culture and identity. However, if you are asking as a refugee, I do not think British society can exist without migrants and refugees. We are included, regardless'.[147]

This statement argues the opposite to the opinion expressed above: rather than assimilating to British culture and society, refugees can exist within society simply because they are needed - whether this be for work, to uphold the multicultural society that exists within the UK or any other factors. This answer does in fact share sentiments with Valentine et al's. findings.[148] Through this,

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[143] Participant 9, 2 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[144] Participant 9, 2 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[145] Valentine, Sporton and Bang Nielson, 'Identities and Belonging', 234-250, 247
[146] John Berry, 'Integration and Multiculturalism: Ways towards social Solidarity', *Special Issue: Cultural Encounters and Social Solidarity* 20:1 (2011) 2.1-2.21
[147] Participant 1, 24 April 2019, Asher Websdale
[148] Valentine, Sporton and Bang Nielson, 'Identities and Belonging', 234-250, 247

refugees can retain their own identity and culture without assimilating. Nonetheless, the answer does not strictly agree with the definition provided and thus is considered to be a negative response to the question.

Those that stated they did not feel included often referred to their ethnicity or religion being used against them.

> 'The predominant discourse, you know, the young, Black, Muslim makes it impossible'.[149]

Another stated that they would have agreed with the statement after arrival, but no longer since 11th September 2001. This is obviously due to the wave of anti-Islamic rhetoric that has existed since the Twin Tower terror attacks and coincides with the participants' statement above.

For participants arriving from the Netherlands, only one individual stated that they did not feel included in society. This again was the participant with British citizenship. When asked to read the definition and give their opinion of whether they felt included in society, they simply pointed to their skin and stated:

> 'I cannot change this'.[150]

This opinion corresponds with the two participants referenced above that arrived from Somalia – they are all referring to discrimination being the largest barrier to their social inclusion. To this participant, their nationality is not important, but their appearance is. But it remains extremely intriguing that it is the British citizen who initially arrived from the Netherlands that is highlighting this point and that similar experiences were not shared by other participants arriving from the Netherlands.

The remaining seven participants all stated that they felt included. Here, the effect of Dutch Somali networks may also be a contributing factor. If those arriving from the Netherlands have all consistently received help from their local community, it is unsurprising that the majority feel included within society – especially if, as Valentine et al. found, inclusion is related to having a place for themselves within the UK.[151] The only participant to not agree with this sentiment is the only participant from this group to be subject to discrimination, with this reality perhaps being the deciding factor in whether they personally felt/feel included in British society. However, a total of

[149] Participant 10, 2 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[150] Participant 15, 3 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[151] Valentine, Sporton and Bang Nielson, 'Identities and Belonging', 234-250, 246

five participants also felt the necessity to express that they feel less included in British society than Dutch society - again, without being asked. It is interesting that for this question, five participants expressed this opinion, as opposed to four when asked about reception. However, this study is not a comparison of participants' experiences in the Netherlands with those experiences in the UK and thus this finding will not be elaborated on – though this finding is especially interesting as it appears to contradict the findings of van Liempt.[152] However, if these Somalis were well received in the Netherlands and felt though the support that the community gave them on arrival was key to their inclusion into society, this sentiment could be something that has driven Dutch Somalis in the UK to repeat for those arriving to the UK from the Netherlands. Again, their shared values by virtue of their acquired social capital is key.

Overall, Somalis arriving to the UK from the Netherlands appear to have experienced a greater degree of social inclusion than those who arrived from Somalia. This result is not unsurprising based on a combination of the identity data and the relevant literature. Somalis from the Netherlands appear to receive more help from their local Somali community, build stronger networks, experience less discrimination, and all participants with Dutch citizenship believed themselves to be included within society based on the definition they were provided. The historical factor of these measurements provided relatively little data. However, one significant finding can be elaborated on. It appears that in both groups, feelings of exclusion began to grow after September 11th. These feelings were not expressed by all, but those who felt that exclusion and discrimination were more frequent in the present day felt that this was due to anti-Islamic attitudes. Thus, whilst it could be argued that Somalis arriving from the Netherlands felt more included in society, perhaps the rise of anti-Islamic attitudes has begun to make their different migratory route and acquisition of capital less significant in how they are treated by society. A study focussing on how perceptions of discrimination and exclusion have changed for these groups over significant events during their residence would be particularly interesting. Questions based on these significant events may trigger clearer memories for the participants. There were a few notable changes in perception over the time period. The rise of these ideologies has worked to stigmatise immigration to the UK. The following consequences of the rise in anti-Islamic attitudes and right-wing populist rhetoric can be seen through significant events such as Brexit. How Brexit will alter these concerns is certainly thought-provoking. Will those with Dutch citizenship now be subject to discrimination that they have not faced before in the UK? Will this improve the situation for those with British citizenship?

[152] van Liempt, 'And then one day', 254-266, 260; van Liempt, 'From Dutch Dispersal', 3385-3398, 3387

Perceptions of Social Progression

Finally, participants were asked questions based on how well they have progressed in society since arriving in the UK. However, these questions did not focus, for example, on personal, financial details such as personal wealth/income, their housing situation or other measurable socio-economic indicators. Rather, the questions were again framed based on individuals' own perceptions of their social progression. Whilst a study focused on these two migrant groups that did explore some of the socio-economic mentioned above would certainly be interesting and beneficial to the field of migration studies, it is also considered important to understand how individuals feel about their own progression. How migrants perceive their own position in society is often ignored. Earning more money or owning a bigger house, for example, does not necessarily mean one believes they are progressing well in society. Participants were thus asked about their perceptions based on the ease of access to welfare services, access to housing, education and schooling for their children (if they had children), and questions based on their occupation and how happy they are in their profession.

The first question posed to participants was focused on how easily they were able to obtain a job after their arrival in the UK. There was a stark difference between the two groups. The participants that arrived from the Netherlands found work almost instantly. One participant even detailed:

> 'My job is why I came here, I knew I could get work here and so I got my passport, and I came'[153]

Again, social capital is central. The mutual trust shared by Dutch Somalis that allows them to leave the Netherlands in order to undertake work in the UK that they have been promised is an advantage. Another obvious advantage is their EU citizenship: they already possess the right to work in the UK. They can look for jobs, leave the Netherlands, arrive in the UK and start working immediately – they faced no legal barriers. What is even more interesting is that many of those arriving from the Netherlands stated that they found jobs through networks. Two conclusions can be made from this point: firstly, it highlights the strength of Somalis arriving from the Netherlands' ability to build support networks in the UK; secondly, based on van Liempt's findings, that Somalis from the Netherlands moved to the UK for employment opportunities[154], could suggest that these networks ensure that Somalis arriving in the UK from the Netherlands have work on arrival. Much like the

[153] Participant 18, 3 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[154] van Liempt, 'And then one day', 254-266, 257-259

arguments made in this paper concerning Somalis arriving from the Netherlands building strong networks due to a collective desire to regroup, there exists a collective desire to find work in the UK – another exhibition of the shared values this groups possesses. It is not surprising, thus, that these networks play a pivotal role in Somalis finding work once arriving from the Netherlands. Beyond the fact that networks were central to finding work in the UK, the ability to speak basic English on arrival will have also acted as an advantage for many – thus the acquisition of cultural capital is again essential. Lochmann et al. found that language acquisition in the host country is central to improving labour market participation.[155] For those arriving from Somalia as refugees, of course this question is not an easy one to answer. They would not have been able to seek employment straight away. Their application would take at least six months to be processed before receiving a decision, though these decisions can take much longer to acquire. Once they had been granted refugee status, individuals will have received the right to work in the UK. Nevertheless, for some participants arriving from Somalia finding work was no trouble. Those arriving through family reunification applications, having family members who have arrived in the UK and been granted refugee status/humanitarian protection, they would have faced no legal barriers upon arriving in the UK. UK law ensures that once family reunification applications are approved, and an appointment to collect biometric information from the individuals arriving has been attended, a permit will be granted that allows the individual to work and study. But this does not mean it was easy to find work for all participants:

> 'I was in the UK a couple of years before finding work, I worked as a cleaner for years and a carer. I never thought about what I wanted to do, only that there was an income coming in'.[156]

> 'I was here a few months, then I got a job in a pizza takeaway. I didn't want to do the job, but I needed it'[157]

It appears there is the potentiality that these participants arriving from Somalia faced some form of discrimination on the labour market. As noted in the identity chapter above, discrimination on the labour market was something that some participants felt they experienced. If those arriving from the Netherlands found it much easier to find work in the UK, there must be an additional factor that is affecting the ability of those arriving from Somalia to obtain employment. This could well be the fact that those arriving from the Netherlands possess EU citizenship or it could be the reality that those

[155] Lochmann, Rapoport and Speciale, 'The Effect of Language Training on Immigrants', 1-44
[156] Participant 1, 24 April 2019, Asher Websdale
[157] Participant 2, 2 May 2019, Asher Websdale

arriving from Somalia were subject to more discrimination, and that this sometimes exhibited itself on the labour market.

Participants were also asked about their current occupation and whether they were happy working within the position they held. This question was not asked to enable the study to compare jobs held by participants, but whether the individuals were content with their progression – whether they obtained jobs they were happy with on arrival, and if not, whether they do now. All arrivals from the Netherlands stated they were happy with their first job on arrival to the UK, whereas those coming from Somalia stated that they were not happy with their first job. This provided the study with a great opportunity to understand how these opinions changed over time for each group. In total four of those arriving from Somalia stated that they were now happy in their profession, but obviously this leaves a remaining six participants that were not. The majority of participants arriving from Somalia feel that their happiness on the job market has not improved since arriving in the UK. This was not the case for individuals arriving from the Netherlands. Seven out of eight participants remained happy in their work, whilst the other participant stated that they were not currently working. One explanation may be offered of which was hypothesised in the theory section: perhaps those arriving from the Netherlands, as they were coming to the UK predominantly to find work, possessed lower thresholds of what job would make them happy. They had experienced unemployment or difficulties obtaining jobs in the Netherlands, and thus any work in the UK was a blessing. This conclusion may be supported by the fact that an overwhelming majority of participants were taxi drivers – in both groups – and it is thus peculiar that the people arriving from the Netherlands were happy with this profession, but those arriving from Somalia were not as happy. One could make the argument that arriving from Somalia would surely create a higher sense of happiness working within the UK. But it must not be forgotten that the Dutch arrivals were so disgruntled with their working realities in the Netherlands, that they left for the UK despite previous arrival from Somalia. Thus, this argument would not stand. Another argument could be made based on the higher levels of discrimination that participants arriving from Somalia appeared to face compared to their Dutch counterparts. As it was not expected that those arriving from the Netherlands would experience as little discrimination as they did, it could be possible that discrimination was a key factor here too. Perhaps the fact that these individuals held British citizenship, of would have likely been listed on job applications, placed them into the ‘ethno-culturally’ excluded Somali refugee population. Thus, from their responses, it could be expected that participants arriving from Somalia faced exclusion on the labour market. Furthermore, in the context of the majority of participants being taxi drivers but feeling very differently about their jobs depending on which study group they belonged to, it could be explained by the levels of face-to-face

racism participants arriving from Somalia could be facing. Additionally, for taxi drivers, language barriers may make their work difficult. A Somali arriving from the Netherlands and starting work as a taxi driver with at least a basic level of English proficiency would be less likely to face work-related dilemmas concerned with language than a Somali arriving directly from Somalia whose English is not very good. Thus, here, factors of social inclusion appear to be influencing perceptions of social progression.

Participants were then asked about their access to employment in the current day and whether the reality of finding a job has improved or worsened. Overall, there were a lot of positive responses to this question. The majority of participants felt that access to jobs had improved during their residence in the UK. The only negative responses came from two participants, one arriving from Somalia and the other from the Netherlands – though again, it was the participant from the Netherlands who now held British citizenship:

> 'Since 2008 opportunities in the UK have decreased. The nation has lacked wealth to help poor people since the recession. Life was easier in my day'[158]

> 'We're supposed to have that thing, urm, what is it? You get things based on merit… yes, meritocracy. I can't see much of it.[159]

However, in general these two responses are not particularly significant as most participants stated that opportunities on the job market had improved.

> 'Yes! Definitely! For jobs in particular. For Black people now it is a lot easier to get jobs. The overall representation in companies has improved in the UK'[160]

> 'Yes there is a lot of work here, a lot of work for migrants'[161]

> 'If you look in the right places, opportunities are easy to come by here'[162]

Arguably the most significant response came from a participant that arrived from Somalia:

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[158] Participant 5, 2 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[159] Participant 15, 3 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[160] Participant 10, 2 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[161] Participant 6, 3 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[162] Participant 14, 3 May 2019, Asher Websdale

> 'Access to education and work has been better as we are not such an alien minority anymore'[163]

What this answer describes is how opportunities on the labour market have got easier because the number of Somalis have increased in the UK. This result is particularly surprising in the context of participants arriving from Somalia as the majority of participants were not happy in their current occupation – though it is not impossible to say that their opportunities and access to jobs had improved over the years of their residence. What this result does conclude is that in-migration of Somalis to the UK, arriving from the Netherlands and Somalia alike (as well as other nations) has improved the social progression of all Somalis residing in the UK. Whilst no stark differences between the groups existed, this is a positive finding for Somalis living in the UK.

Furthermore, this response leads discussion onto Somalis' access to education in the UK - this could include tertiary education or any form of free, additional education provided by the state. However, most participants had not sought access to any form of educational service/institution - only one participant explicitly stated that they had. This participant said they that they had learnt a tremendous amount about the opportunities available within education in the UK.[164] They also stated that this had improved the longer they had lived in the UK and they were still learning about the multitude of opportunities accessible.[165] However, as this is the only result, for the study it is rather inconclusive. However, one participant did state (cited above) that their children had entered Russel Group universities. It would have been interesting to ask further about the progression of participants' children(s)'s education and whether they had gone to university.

Next, participants were asked about their ease in accessing the National Health Service (NHS). On arrival all eight participants arriving from the Netherlands stated they had no concerns or problems accessing the NHS. Likewise, eight participants arriving from Somalia stated that they had no issues. It is not surprising that the majority of participants did not have any dilemmas accessing the NHS, the institution's core principles ensure:

- That it meets the needs of everyone
- That it be free at the point of delivery

[163] Participant 1, 24 April 2019, Asher Websdale
[164] Participant 4, 03 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[165] Participant 4, 03 May 2019, Asher Websdale

- That it be based on clinical need, not ability to pay[166]

However, two participants, both arriving from Somalia, did face difficulties accessing basic healthcare and expressed that this was due to a lack of English proficiency. One of these participants opened up:

> 'A lack of English made it difficult at first, I was unsure about my entitlements. I was once punched and beaten up in the street. I had concussion and a fractured skull, but I initially stayed home because I wasn't even sure if I could get help'[167]

Here again, factors of social inclusion appear to be affecting perceptions of social progression. This means that those arriving from the Netherlands held an advantage in this respect. As previously discussed, compared to participants arriving from Somalia, those from the Netherlands arrived to the UK with at least a basic level of English proficiency. It also not unfair to say that there exists a stark difference between the ability to access healthcare in Somalia and the Netherlands. Thus, those arriving from the Netherlands also have at least five years of experience of having relatively easy access to a healthcare system. Thus, not only may they already possess knowledge of how to access said healthcare, but also even grown to expect help from a healthcare professional when faced with a dilemma that required medical attention. Whilst this not an advantage tied to participants possessing EU citizenship, and of course Somalis arriving to the Netherlands would have faced the same difficulties with the Dutch language and accessing healthcare there, it could thus be considered an unfair comparison and an unimportant finding. It would be naive to ignore that Somalis arriving from the Netherlands never faced similar difficulties in their life prior to arriving in the UK. Their experiences living within the Netherlands however did grant them an advantage in accessing healthcare once arriving to the UK – and this is a key focus of the study. Nevertheless, the majority of participants did not face difficulties, and thus a lack of English proficiency only affected two participants - there were no significant findings.

Participants were also asked about how easy they found accessing government assistance. However, this question did not necessarily provide any fruitful conclusions either. The majority of participants never sought government assistance. One participant arriving from Somalia stated that

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[166] Department of Health & Social Care, The NHS Constitution for England, 14 October 2015, https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-nhs-constitution-for-england/the-nhs-constitution-for-england (11 June 2019)
[167] Participant 6, 3 May 2019, Asher Websdale

due to their asylum process, they received food stamps.[168] A further two participants stated they sought unemployment benefit, one arriving from the Netherlands and the other from Somalia. The only conclusions that could possibly be drawn is that Somalis arriving in the UK appear to at least be progressing well enough not to seek assistance from the government. Alternatively, Somali social networks and the practice of *Fitra* (discussed above) supports Somali members of the community well enough once they arrive in the UK that they do not require extra help from the state. If this is true, then it would be expected that those arriving from the Netherlands would hold an advantage as the results of this study show that participants from the Netherlands received more help from their local Somali community. But these results do not explicitly allow the study to draw this conclusion.

Again, no huge differences between the two groups existed when they were asked about accessing schools for their children. All participants stated that they faced no difficulties getting their children into a local school. The only notable comments concerned discrimination that participants' children faced in their schools. Interestingly, none of these comments came from those with Dutch citizenship, but again, only those who held British citizenship. In total three participants expressed these concerns. One respondent stated:

> 'I had to move my children when they were in primary school because of the racial abuse from other children, and not enough support from the staff and when we moved, I was worried it would start again'[169]

Whilst this is not a helpful conclusion concerning perceptions of social progression, this does support the findings focussed on participants' perceptions of social inclusion - it coincides with the idea that British Somalis face more discrimination than Dutch Somalis.

Participants were then asked about their access to housing and whether, again, the ease of access had changed during their residence in the UK. Housing appeared to be one concern that existed among both groups – participants predominantly felt that access to housing had decreased and become increasingly difficult. Van Liempt also found that Dutch Somalis living in the UK felt that housing in the UK was particularly poor in comparison to housing in the Netherlands.[170] Only one participant stated that the housing situation had improved over the years:

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[168] Participant 1, 24 April 2019, Asher Websdale
[169] Participant 1, 24 April 2019, Asher Websdale
[170] van Liempt, 'From Dutch Dispersal', 3385-3398, 3392

> 'I have a job now, I have money. I have many things. Buying a house is easier today for this reason'[171]

The remaining participants stated that access to housing had decreased during their residence in the UK.

> 'It is extremely difficult to get a house'[172]

> 'Housing here is hard [compared to the Netherlands]'[173]

Van Liempt argued that discrimination on the housing market is often overlooked.[174] Though when asked housing was difficult in the UK, it was apparent that participants in this study did not believe that it was due to them being migrants. This belief was also encapsulated by those arriving directly from Somalia:

> 'Housing is definitely getting worse. It is hard for everyone to get a house, not just Somalis. It affects young people most'[175]

> 'Access to housing has not improved, though I believe that is simply because there aren't enough options'[176]

Thus, it seems for Somalis arriving from the Netherlands and Somalia alike, access to housing has got worse during their residence in the UK. However, this result does not provide the study with any comparison between the two groups or a conclusion that housing has necessarily gotten worse for migrants in general. However, housing shortages can affect migrant populations and these realities should not be ignored. Shortages in housing may create tensions between British born residents and migrant populations.[177] Additionally, migrant groups are at a higher risk of homelessness.[178] Whilst

[171] Participant 12, 3 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[172] Participant 11, 3 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[173] Participant 15, 3 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[174] van Liempt, 'From Dutch Dispersal', 3385-3998, 3393
[175] Participant 7, 2 May 2019, Asher Websdale
[176] Participant 1, 24 April 2019, Asher Websdale
[177] Communities and Local Government, 'Community Cohesion and Migration', *House of Commons* 10th Report of session 2007-2008 (2008) 1-77, 18
[178] Susan Fitzpatrick c.s, 'Destitution in the UK', *Joseph Rowntree Foundation* (2012) 1-83, 60

these were not the realities for this study's participants, they must not be ignored as housing crises can have substantial impact on migrants.

All participants were asked whether they perceive themselves as financially better off now than when they first arrived in the UK; this question was framed in this manner as to not grant either group an advantage by asking about specific indicators of wealth - earning a higher salary does not necessarily mean you are better off - but rather allow the question to be answered through individual perceptions. There are too many variables that can affect one's individual wealth e.g. number of children, price of house, cost of travel to reach work etc. It was also considered too personal ask participants about their salary. All participants stated they were financially better off now than on arrival. There were no differences found between the groups.

Unfortunately, the results concerning Somalis' perceptions of social progression in the UK seem to have not beared much fruit. However, the fact that there are few differences between the two groups is still a finding. Why this appears to be the case is difficult to conclude or discuss further. One possibility is simply that the welfare structures discussed above, state schooling, the NHS, and government assistance, are simply sufficiently provided by the state and thus do not discriminate against those with differing citizenships. The only real differences between the groups relate to their employment. Firstly, there were differences in how quickly they were able to obtain work within the UK , though this result is not necessarily surprising. However, with seven participants arriving from Somalia arriving through family reunification applications, it appears that any difficulty faced on the job market either has to be down to their own skill set, or external factors such as discrimination. Even in the scenario of refugee applicants, there are many applicants that do undertake work illegally – though they may not wish to disclose that information for this study. Secondly, how happy participants were in their occupation. This result was interesting and shows that participants arriving from Somalia are less happy in their profession than those from the Netherlands despite, predominantly, working in the same occupation. The only other negative responses were directly related to factors concerned with social inclusion such as English proficiency, discrimination and community help. Therefore, Dutch Somalis' accumulation of social and cultural capital through their experience in the Netherlands benefits them. These participants face less discrimination, spoke better English on arrival and appear to find work easier through networks. Nevertheless, Somalis in general believe that they are progressing in the UK since their arrival – this is of course a very positive finding. It also highlights that, as the longer that the two groups reside in the UK, the few differences between them on arrival start to become less significant. It can be concluded that upon arrival, Somalis from the Netherlands were in a stronger position to progress in society, but that Somalis from both nations have perceived themselves to progress throughout their period of

residence in the UK. A study focusing on the evolving accumulation of social and cultural capital and how this has “merged” the experiences of these two groups would be an interesting study into the integration of Somali migrants from arrival to the present day.

Conclusion

This study focussed on two research questions:

1. Do self-perceptions of identity, social inclusion and social progression differ for Somali migrants residing in the UK depending on whether they arrived directly from Somalia or from the Netherlands?
2. Have self-perceptions of identity, social inclusion and social progression changed during Somali migrants' period of residence, from arrival to the current day?

From the results of the study it appears that, firstly, self-perceptions of identity and how they reflect onto the host society are significant factors that affected perceptions of social inclusion. Somalis arriving from the Netherlands felt more welcome and more included in society than those who arrived from Somalia. Various explanations were offered for why this may be the case. The fact that Somalis with Dutch citizenship are not changing the face of what it is to be British is certainly a strong argument. Ultimately, this phenomenon was explained predominantly through this study's own view of ethno-cultural exclusion. Rather than all Somalis, irrelevant of which country they may have arrived from, being categorised and treated as if they were refugees, this study argues that identifiable traits between the two groups can be used to both include and exclude. Somalis' experience residing in the Netherlands provided them with an experience that would bequeath to them cultural and social capital that participants from Somalia would not have attained. With this capital being acquired in a Western European country, identifiable features of Dutch Somalis' everyday lives would enable British society to distinguish between the two groups and make those from the Netherlands less susceptible to exclusion. Namely, these traits are English proficiency, knowledge of Dutch and a shared identity among Dutch Somalis that sought to regroup in the UK. These factors help to 'Westernise'/'Europeanise' Somalis residing in the UK in a manner than not even acquiring British citizenship can achieve. In fact, it appears rather the opposite occurs, and Somalis with British citizenship often experience exclusion from British society. To put it simply, British society assumes all Somalis with British citizenship arrived as refugees and ultimately this affects the way these individuals are received.

Secondly, in terms of changes witnessed over time, there were few findings to conclude on the topic of social inclusion. One way this study could have been improved is to have focused on significant events that occurred during a participants' residence (i.e. elections, 11th September, Brexit referendum). This may have provided the study with more data in order to compare how perceptions had changed over time. The only notable difference that occurred for participants is how discrimination in the present day seems to be more focused on Islam and their Muslim

identities. However, how closely one associated with religion was not the explicit focus of this study, though elements of this identity were explored. An in-depth study focusing on how association with Islam affects these two groups' identities would be a beneficial addition to this research.

Finally, factors of social inclusion seem to also feed perceptions of social progression: how well one could speak English, the networks they received support from, and the presence of discrimination all affected how participants perceived their progression in society. Thus, again, social and cultural capital were pivotal in Dutch Somalis' perceptions of progression. Ultimately, however, it was concluded that all Somalis in the study have perceived themselves to have progressed since arriving in the UK. The majority of participants felt that access to the labour market improved, that they are financially better off now than on arrival and there were very few cases of facing difficulties accessing public services.

Thus, it can be concluded that self-perceptions of identity, social inclusion and social progression do differ depending whether Somalis arrive from the Netherlands or Somalia. It appears that over the period of residence these two differences become less significant, both in terms of progression and inclusion.

This research is important for multiple reasons. Firstly, this study has compared the perceptions of two migrant groups that are nearly indistinguishable in character. The only significant difference between the groups is the migratory route they took before arriving in the UK. With one group arriving directly to the UK and the other arriving from another European nation, it has been possible to isolate the effects of this migration. This helps the field of migration understand the negatives and benefits of remigration. By asking questions based on the migrants' own perceptions, it is possible to understand to what degree they believe this remigration has benefitted their lives – at least within Europe. Secondly, and more explicitly, this study sought to fill a gap in the current research on Somali migrants residing in the UK by comparing the experiences and perceptions of Somalis arriving from Somalia with the experiences and perceptions of Somalis arriving from the Netherlands. Studies comparing Somalis' experiences have been conducted, but not comparing the perceptions of two groups of Somalis with different nationalities residing in the same nation. This research may be used in order for others to compare different Somali groups with differing nationalities residing in the UK (e.g. Finnish, German etc.). Alternatively, this study could be replicated in another nation comparing Somalis with the host nation's nationality with Somalis who possess a different nationality. The advice given for fut1ure researchers is to consider how data concerning changes over time may be more effectively collected. Thirdly, this study highlights how the acquisition of social and cultural capital through migration can benefit migrant groups in the host society. By comparing two migrant groups, both born in the same nation, but arriving from different

countries, it is possible to understand how significant the accumulation of capital is. Finally, it is important research for the Somali community. Being a diaspora that has been troubled with various conflicts over the past 30 years, forcing many to flee their homeland, it is essential to understand how Somalis are prospering in Europe.

One significant question that was raised in the section focused on social inclusion was that of Brexit and how it may alter the situation even further. Firstly, those with Dutch citizenship may begin to experience discrimination within the UK and face much more exclusion on the labour market or housing market. Brexit could also strengthen the position of Somalis arriving from Somalia because they possess British citizenship. One possible outcome is that those with Dutch citizenship decide to return to the Netherlands. Alternatively, perhaps these citizens begin to seek acquiring British Nationality. A study directly focusing on the topic of Brexit by comparing its the effects on non-European born immigrants residing in the UK, depending on whether they possess British citizenship or a non-British, European citizenship, would be beneficial to the field of migration studies.

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Appendix (1)[179]

Participant number	Arrived from:	Nationality	Age	Year of Arrival	Date of Interview
1	Somalia	British and Somali	45-50	1990-1995	24/04/19
2	Somalia	British	30-35	1997-2002	02/05/19
3	Somalia	British	42-47	1990-1995	02/05/19
4	Somalia	British	60-65	1990-1995	02/05/19
5	Somalia	British	42-47	1990-1995	02/05/19
6	Somalia	British	40-45	1992-1997	03/05/19
7	Somalia	British	42-47	1990-1995	02/05/19
8	Somalia	British and Somali	40-45	1994-1999	02/05/19
9	Somalia	British and Somali	30-35	1996-2001	02/05/19
10	Somalia	British	32-37	1996-2001	02/05/19
11	Netherlands	Dutch	40-45	1997-2002	03/05/19
12	Netherlands	Dutch	40-45	1997-2002	03/05/19
13	Netherlands	Dutch	37-42	1995-2000	03/05/19
14	Netherlands	Dutch	45-50	1999-2004	03/05/19
15	Netherlands	British	65-70	1995-2000	03/05/19
16	Netherlands	Dutch	45-50	1995-2000	03/05/19
17	Netherlands	Dutch	45-50	1995-2000	03/05/19
18	Netherlands	Dutch	47-52	1997-2003	03/05/19

[179] Transcripts from the interviews are not transcribed; Different date ranges are assigned to participants in order to conceal their identity – due to the criteria participants were required to meet, the combination of some date and age ranges would have allowed the participants' arrival date/exact age to have been either significantly narrowed or made it possible to calculate.

Appendix (2)

Research on Somali Migrants

Interviewer: Asher Websdale

Universiteit Leiden

Research Project for MA (Hons) Governance of Migration and Diversity

Thesis

School for Humanities

University of Leiden

Consent Form

Please answer the questions below, ticking the box to signify you agree with the statement:

- I confirm that I have read and understood the participant information sheet, outlining the research project. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and these have been answered satisfactorily. ☐
- I confirm that I understand that participation in the research project is voluntary and that I may refuse to answer any questions or withdraw my interview data altogether up to 7 days following the interview. ☐
- I confirm that the interviewer may record this interview and understand that the data collected will be transcribed, held securely and analysed for the dissertation. ☐
- I understand that my name or other identifying details will not be used in the thesis if I wish. ☐
- I understand that all responses I give will be treated in confidence, unless I disclose information regarding harm to a child or other vulnerable person. ☐
- I confirm that I agree to take part in this study. ☐

*The interview is semi-structured; this means that unanticipated questions may emerge during the interview and be asked in response to an answer given.

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Name of participant	*Date*	*Signature*
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Name of researcher	*Date*	*Signature*